

# **REFLECTIONS ON ONE TERM OF GOVERNANCE FOR POLITICAL REORIENTATION**



**MUHAMMAD SA'IDU JIMADA**

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### **FOREWORD**

This book is a successful X-ray of the history of our democracy, by Muhammad Sa'idu Jimada who is not a politician, but a well-informed patriot. He does not use my style but expresses the same sense of history and values.

He has been objective in identifying and analyzing the problems we have all been battling with, especially after the abuse of our governance process by the military and those before them. The book reaffirms our belief in the Peoples Redemption Party, that our being in the political race is for the future good of the masses. We are not desperate to capture power because more requirements are unripe or are still unmet, for a responsible democratic experience.

The author has effectively captured the major and pervasive challenge of indiscipline we are all roped into. The political party members, the leadership, the elected and appointed leaders. But more disturbing is the discipline of the electorate. And he has even within this mess revealed the corruption of the elite class that continues to be a parasite on the resources belonging to all of us, by gross indiscipline.

The price of this includes the ruling party and government not doing its best when left alone; the government and ruling party not taking advantage of inputs from the opposition; the opposition not always committed to making positive contributions but aiming to bring the government down and the electorate are either confused, frustrated or helpless.

We will be sixty years by October, 2020. And the best we can show about the improvement of ourselves as a nation is that, not many leaders or accounting officers that have been entrusted with public resources can justify comfortable living, out of the lot, since independence.

Because nothing is really working right. Most differences are by tricks, smartness or corruption. It is therefore turn-by-turn for the elite. It is clear from this effort that, our distance from national unity and development is not blocked by our differences in religions, regions, states, languages etc. We have wrong systems and leaderships that led to negative results. The bitter truth is that we lack or have wrong or confused faith in Nigeria. The reader will easily appreciate that it is the only explanation for our gross insincerity in most aspects of our lives. The earlier we admit this, the earlier we shall be ready to move ahead.

Governance is carrying everybody along with positive impact on the livelihood and dreams of all and not a favor by the leader. It is impossible for all Nigerians to equally bear the blame of failure. The leader is the first, followed by elite. The parasites on our commonwealth.

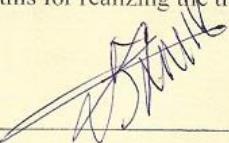
Muhammad Sa`idu Jimada has reduced the causes of all the problems to the ignorance that is peculiar to the leader, the type of ignorance that applies to the elite, the ignorance that should not be, of the political parties and the type of ignorance by the electorate.

Logically, the solution lies in corresponding shades of education. And I believe that this book should be read, understood, discussed and acted upon by every leader, every politician, every worker, every student, if we choose to be open-minded to moving forward.

This is what we need and not a conference. The present leaders can strengthen the course if they are sincere. The opposition has no choice if it is genuinely committed to the welfare of Nigerians. Every individual will be helping himself and our common good by doing the same.

If you are an observer of our leaders, how many times has the President, Governor, Chairman or Chief Executive personally written his speech or a congratulatory or condolence note? That is how far the electorates are from the leaders and the elite, even on critical matters that should bond the two together.

I congratulate the writer of this book: REFLECTIONS ON ONE TERM OF GOVERNANCE FOR POLITICAL RE-ORIENTATION and challenge all of us to support this for realizing the transformation required.



**Alh. (Dr.) Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa**  
**Peoples Redemption Party**  
**September 2020**

## INTRODUCTION

God bless Nigerians with Nigeria. This material is one of three, supported by two other volunteers, aimed at raising our consciousness for positive reorientation in Nationalism. The specific focus of this is my recorded reflections on our democracy.

It is therefore a build-up in my commitment to out of school education for our positive orientation, to attain self and collective safety and prosperity. When I considered a first step to sharing, I adopted the same method I had used in respect my foundation books on Islam. I went for and secured seniors in the knowledge and discipline of what is right and true in Islam. This informed the support I got from scholars and jurists who are generally recognized by friends and enemies as living according to Islam.

In this case of politics, I am equally neither an academic scholar in politics nor in partisan politics. And this is more challenging because the attribute that will be required is that of objectivity, selflessness or non-bias. While it is not impossible to get such identity from members of the ruling party and government, the person is most likely to either shy away or turn defensive on the critical aspects of my submission. The diplomatic option will be to wait until the government changes. From the opposition, the risk of joining with a wounded lion is not impossible. I consider all of these as immature and unsuitable. I therefore dropped one person I had pencilled who was in government and another who is in government. From the opposition I tried to avoid opportunists for irrational and senseless vengeance. An academic giant will not be very suitable either. The first temptation is to be looking for formal certificate requirements. The second is being trapped by percepts or straight practices in other democracies of his fancy, thus, closing the window of originality. The third is the tendency to be ‘immodest’ with criticism and stingy with appreciation because he is likely to be blind to the difference between thoughts or theories and the realities of governance.

I decided to approach AbdulKadir Balarabe Musa because of some of his starling credentials. The first is that he has been in the opposition consistently and at the same level. He has not jumped from one grouping to another with radically different characteristics or memberships. The second is that he has had a bitter

taste of elite resistance to transforming livelihood, by his impeachment. His offense was not corruption but stubbornness. It was a clear case because he was in the Peoples Redemption Party whereas the majority of the state legislators were in the elite party. The third is that he voluntarily retired from participating in partisan politics.

What is contained in the book is for the benefit of all and not through some. There is therefore no ranking between individuals, politicians, non-politicians. We are all in it and need to get out of the mess.

**Muhammad Sa'idiu Jimada**

## **SECTION 1**

### **NIGERIA AT 57 AND 59**

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **EDUCATION FOR THE POSITIVE TRANSFORMATION OF NIGERIA**

On the 1st of October, 2017, we became 57 years old in nationhood. And there are many aspects of us that have unquestionably grown and even developed, in relation to our livelihood as a nation. But as is normal, forging ahead has more to do with overcoming pending obstacles to sustaining and enhancing what we have achieved as against stopping at celebrating what we have achieved.

What is however most striking at this point of our national life is that democracy has become a good opportunity for our utmost self-expression, as individuals and as groups. The commanders of the media have above averagely given opportunities to a cross section of their LIKES, either by interests or what they will tolerate or accommodate. As individuals or groups, the insane, the immature, the uncultured and the disgraceful have had their day, along with their opposites. This has been so especially between May, 2015 and October 2017. And we can easily appreciate the management of this delicate trust by the IMBALANCE in the weight of the opportunities given to these different classes from the point of NATIONALISM or the spirit of our Unity. This has later informed the new call to the Press to be MORE caring for our unity, in playing its role. Some call it professionalism; some call it investigative journalism etc. The press has played this role with its INADEQUACIES. You cannot give what you do not have. In other words, the press has been part of the problem just as it is entitled to part of the credit for our present maturity-cum-crises.

The principal factors that will appear to have enabled this arrival is the dialectical result of ousting the powerful People's Democratic Party that has continued to be exposed as NEVER GOOD INTENDED or MORE ANTI PEOPLE by the All Progressives Party, OPPORTUNE BUT FAILED or with QUESTIONABLE COMPETENCE TO CARRY ALL ALONG. This propelling relationship has been sharpened by the popular personal positive credentials of President Muhammadu Buhari in combination with the variant political and financial credentials of the partners that joined his former party to form the ruling party and government.

In summary consequence, the polity bubbles with pains and contradictory complaints. A good proportion of the governed are unable to deny the ongoing pains but are unsure or unwilling to condemn the ruling party and government. When this combines with little explanation, appeal or shift of blame by the government, majority are willing to understand and even suggest that more time need be given to the government. But the political elite is not similar in response. It constantly defines its pains as the real pains of all and has a SOLUTION to this. At this level, it is not A POLITICAL PARTY ISSUE, because there is no evident difference between them. Those outside the ruling party are drumming incompetence and failure EVEN WITH MONSTROUS CONTRARY EVIDENCE. They do not care to differentiate between a zero standing status against some percentage shift from pre May, 2015. And this is done by a class, the best of who are running around to answer questions of abuse of trust, running around to avoid revelation of their qualification for next questioning, are quiet to avoid the search light for public thieves or make unintelligent condemnations that is unbearable by any conscience. Along with this are those sharing the same identity with the ruling party and government. These characters relate with the Leadership by either RESISTING/DELAYING the movement of the government subtly or out-rightly differ or contradict the government or withdraw with neutral negativity. This is the best explanation for the character of legislature-executive relationship in processing the governance of Nigeria by the ruling government. Indeed, the inconsequential role of the political party in oiling the governance process adds more credence to this explanation. And the actions isolate the identity of this same notorious elite, against the banner identity of pursuing the interests of the governed, irrespective of whether they voted for APC or not. In other words, they stand united in principle and actions, both in the main opposition party and in the ruling party. It can therefore be safely submitted that, the much that this group in the party contributed to the paltry achievements including especially statistical withdrawal from recession was compelled by circumstantial inevitability. The management of the budget is a reoccurring classical reference. The processing of the Petroleum Industry Bill is another. The elite has therefore done a LOT with other related laws but not the principal ones, that will give super credit and impact to the government it is part of and the electorate that gave it a common mandate.

To worsen the situation, the psychological weakness of the opposing players makes the electorate to continue to suffer and even get disoriented for a clear perspective. The inside government elite deserve security as a mark of honorable respect for their contribution to getting the general mandate from the electorate.

The leadership of the government appears to insist that the promises made to the electorate need to be realized through street straight transparency terms. The elite are neither ashamed of their sponsoring principles and programs that can be self-destructive nor remorseful when they are pinned to the contradiction. The process of producing leaders of the legislature, the budget padding disciplinary process, the code of conduct tribunal drama or amendment of the act, the screening of the acting head of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and the amendment of the act are fair windows for this understanding. In the executive, the neutrality of the elite members who are safe either by the fact that they evidently contributed enormously to making the government or are secure from any likely legal challenge to their status in the group is effectively a plus for the fighting members against the leadership. The leadership does not gain from their advice to adjust or ameliorate the friction between leaders of the same ruling government. The more inconsequential influence of the party was exposed in its making the leadership of the National Assembly and its intervention in the face off between the executive and the legislature. The growing intra-party crisis across the states in the country is another pointer to the weakness of the party in managing its members outside and inside the party. The logical result of this is that the leadership of the executive is as non-helping of itself as the party functionaries. The party legislators and non-party functionaries are non-helping.

This descriptive condition mainly defines the basis for the frustrating capacity of the ruling government which goes to determine the weak and isolated speed and accuracy of its performance. But the embarrassing isolation may not be fully captured without the above average impression that the aides of the President commonly make ordinary access to him impossible or driving. The logical implication of this is that the window of NEW alerters is closed. This cannot be dismissed because cabinet members have suffered unwelcome relationship either on their course to meet the President, on their way out after meeting with the president or in getting an urgent appointment with the President. An intolerant

governor expressed the impossibility of restraining him from accessing the President whenever he needs to. Willing supporters can therefore save themselves from confrontation with ANY AND THOSE WHO ARE NOT THE PRESIDENT, to do the President any favors by advice. Those who ordinarily can be measured to have the responsibility for the success of the government can easily mischievously keep away, IF they have to struggle to meet him.

This environment leaves the President with those who cannot be stopped and insist on reaching out to the President. This slim class may be the informal scope or window for helpful or unhelpful counsel IF the President listens and admits them. By every standard, THIS IS INSUFFICIENT TO MEET THE BASIC NEEDS FOR GOVERNING NIGERIA.

Above, is a partial definition of the fertile ground for the bubbling complaints in the forms of either condemnation or reservations by genuinely caring or destructive citizens and groups across the country.

## **THE ELITE DEFINITION AND PRESENTATION OF THE COMPLAINTS**

As is inevitable the explanation of the basis for the problems outlined above, is for the elite - especially those of them who have sufficient knowledge and the skill of generating meanings out of this. Scholarship is not a street affair. Thus majority of others in the elite class simply use their political and economic facilities to distribute the product of such scholarship. And the polity is confronted with a gradual formation of some understanding based on the weight and quality of competitive explanations.

This has logically and sensibly been two-faced. One face of it is that THINGS ARE NOT WORKING ENOUGH AS IT SHOULD BE OR AS EXPECTED. Governance has not been responding enough to different shades of MARGINALIZATION. The result is all kinds of intolerable denials. UNEMPLOYMENT does not require any special knowledge to be acknowledged because we generally live with it, across the country. LAND DEGRADATION is another, which even an enemy of the oil producing communities will admit as unacceptable. On the sideline, corruption is listed because it has become a popular take with the masses.

On this first face, the EXPLANATIONS never or always deliberately avoid the REAL STATUS of the challenge or challenges. The real status or definition is that THINGS ARE YET TO WORK ENOUGH AS IT SHOULD BE OR AS EXPECTED. The critical difference is that the NO PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT HAD TOTALLY FAILED OR REFUSED TO WORK. And because the explanation deliberately laces this true aspect, the recipients are easily inclined to associate the drawbacks with the competence of the incumbent government. But, the truth is that EVERY PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT DID NOT WORK ENOUGH. This was the basis of each takeover of government and change of baton. Indeed, it is the justification for the SUPERIOR change of government from the powerful incumbent to the opposition with the comparatively fairest election.

The real question and challenge for patriots is WHY ARE THINGS not or yet TO WORK ENOUGH AS IT SHOULD BE OR AS EXPECTED? IF this is made the take off point for the explanation, it will EVENTUALLY defeat the OBJECTIVE SOLUTION TO REPLACE. This is because we have been REPLACING but with unsatisfactory results.

The second face, simply clothes this bankrupt and selfish explanation with the questionable material conditions that we generally live in. This is the unfortunate intellectual carriage for kidnapping us into continuous slavery by the elite, against our salvation. If you live in Ogoni land you do not require a degree to feel the damage of the land. If you live in Lagos you do not need any immediate explanation to steal your psych, where graduates are cab drivers or hide their certificates and use only their school certificate to get clerical jobs. If you live in Sokoto you do not need special orientation to feel the loss of your children from farming the land, who have completed their school searching for work for years.

However because the premise of the explanation is faulty, the buildup will necessarily be misleading. It will have the function of placing a wool over our eyes. And since you will either not see at all or only slightly with difficulty, you have to submit to the aid of the elite.

To complete the capture of our mindset, the different shades of the elite offer seeming solutions to the challenge of THINGS ARE NOT WORKING ENOUGH AS IT SHOULD BE OR AS EXPECTED.

## **THE LAME SOLUTION AND THE VARIETY OF ELITES SOLUTIONS**

The government and in particular the leadership of the ruling party has been responsive to the condemnations and reservations. The leadership blames the past, admits that a lot more than have been achieved need to be done and pleads with the citizens for patience. Functionaries of the executive churn out achievements and reveal projects or programs on course. The legislature counts the number of laws it has processed, makes promises on long pending ones and new ones to follow. It also expresses the support it has given to the executive and that a lot more need to be done. The party functionaries amplify all the aspects with the strategic reference to their manifesto as proof of focus.

The mishap of these efforts is that, the leaderships at the state and local government levels are largely either unable to do the same or better. Indeed, some can be said to be asleep or irresponsible. The overall impact on the electorate is therefore not running across. The end picture does not bring out a unique identity of All Progressives Party in better management of public trust.

The combination of these has generated the lame solution that with more time and patience, the electorate will swim in the promised challenge. To ensure this, some individuals and groups have sang continuity for the President; two states have expressed the same for their APC governor and the President; and a governor of APC stated that their group members have endorsed the President for 2019 election. The party started chanting this from the days of National Assembly leadership struggle. The logical and sensible concern that trails this for all intelligent and discerning citizens are:

- a) WITH THE PRESENT MODE OF LEADERSHIP?
- b) WITHOUT CONVERTING THE FALLING AWAY PARTNERS IN THE GOVERNMENT?

And more seriously, HOW or what is the PROSPECT of sustaining the Change?

The quality of impression from this lame solution efforts or outings can only be measured by the open contradiction in one of the states that the governor is questionable for fitness to continue. And beyond casting doubt on the genuineness

of the claim that APC governors have approved the President to continue, governors of different parties, from the same shared geo-political region(s) are meeting TOGETHER for the way FORWARD. An initial outing by one of the leaders is that the President has not indicated to them his interest to run again and that they are open to choice of any candidate. This subtle and diplomatic reservation is as democratic as NOT having a decided candidate. Moreover, on the strength that the President has not indicated interest in running again, a cabinet member of the President indicated readiness to support a seemingly desperate candidate who is more than ready to run for the office of the President within or outside his party platform.

The first elite variety of solution is from within the ruling government. The legislature has democratically opened the necessary and responsive window for constitutional reforms or amendments. Because the leadership of this arm of government has been more resistant than is rational and sensible for supporting and checking the executive for good governance, most of its amendments are laced responses to deal with its predicament of non-cooperating executive. And to tie up, constitutional amendments need not be subjected to the assent of the President. All the sermons of not reducing the legislature to a rubber stamp of the executive combined with the several reminders to restrain them from playing the executive, give it away more to serving itself than Nigerians. The only indisputable message to the executive is that, it can be nasty. And the process of requiring two-thirds of the state assemblies to make any proposals pass for listing for the assent of the President has two inconsistent implications. The first is that what is unnecessary or even undesirable may get attention. The second is that it will be recorded as a democratic achievement. Thus, any value that may emerge out of this self-serving package is dependent upon what political hawks outside the legislature, outside the government and outside the party will make out of it.

The real value in terms of the effect of this variety of solution is the disorientation of the executive and diversion of its already bastardized time and limited resources to goodly packaged intra-political wars.

The second elite variety of solution can be said to be from within the ruling party, though outside the government. It is a logical and sensible response to DENIAL

OF ACCESS, ATTENTION or REFUSAL TO OBLIGE its ENTITLEMENTS. These obligations are most unlikely to be infrastructure or services to the general electorate. They must be not-abnormal tacit agreements or understandings. This will strongly appear suggestive in the circumstance where some express disappointment over their rating and some with similar painful characteristic maturely and strategically appear to sit back to watch. The offer from this class is that WE WILL BE CONSIDERATE. They can therefore make themselves AVAILABLE as alternative or better leaders.

What makes this important is the fact that it is a real THREAT to what the Leadership is recognized to represent by ALL classes of the polity – the ruling executive, the ruling legislature, the ruling political party, the ruling political elite, the opposition and electorate. If honesty and commitment to general good are the leading qualities of the President and Leader, this critical development can amount to displacing them with between lesser and opposite qualities. For the electorate, it should amount to damnation and a difficult restart all over. It will be like reverting to the risk of hopelessness. And the simple reason for this is NOT that there are no equally or better quality persons, but are unlikely to sprout up through the elite that we now know. Indeed, the likelihood is now more unlikely because the elite may not tolerate a second ‘betrayal’. It will be most embarrassing to self-inflict such pain on themselves, because the person is most likely not to be as senior as Buhari.

The third elite variety of solution is from outside the ruling party and government. These are in the shades of the numerous opposition parties. In this case, they enjoy more condemnation and mischievous appreciation of the ruling party and government. They define the straight opposite as read, capable and willing to provide what is superior to the achievements of the ruling party and government, less their blunders. In the forefront is the ousted political party, the People’s Democratic Party.

While this option cannot be attractive to most intelligent people because of the questionable integrity of a good size of its leaders, its damaging capacity can be measured by its strong inclination to take vengeance for its disgrace deserving exposed members and the spread of its spirit across to APC members. The

consistent impression that this class of elite make is that they are unrepentant for the anti-people credentials they have been discovered to represent.

All of these go to define what Muhammadu Buhari stands against. The people and things he has to attend to or overcome. In other words Buhari will remain relevant to the extent that he is ABLE to serve Nigerians, including most of these elite members.

## **THE TOOLS OF THE POLITICAL ELITE AND THEIR METHODS**

The famous one has been some form of reverting to the past glorious setting. The past worked, so it will be more suitable in the present different circumstances. Some present it as a matter of geopolitical regions. Some present it as previous constitutional outlay. And the meeting point for these kidnappers is that the 1999 constitution was not the making of all parts of Nigerian society. The failure of this thinking is that after the physical exit of colonial administrators the succeeding structure of our polity was not the making and with the signature of every of all peoples of Nigeria. It will therefore be backward and unintelligible to dismiss the 1999 constitution because the promoter of such explanation was NOT in the team that enabled the constitution. The reality that Nigerians of unquestionable integrity were properly and formerly engaged to process its production by recognized leaders, WE are engaged. In the same vein, it will now be unbecoming to superimpose a conference report that was generated aside of an operating National Assembly while another National Assembly is alive. If the Military acted immorally by producing a 1999 constitution, the democratic government that convened a conference with direct bearing on the responsibilities of the existing Legislature acted both ungodly and irresponsibly.

The extreme form and type that even the elite behind it are withdrawing from associating with it or ashamed of being discovered to have aided it actively or by neutrality or will wage war against being associated with it, is secession. This means has not gained general real acceptance by the international community they require to hang on. It became clearly too ambitious to too expensive for the prospective beneficiaries, under the leadership of a beloved that is not one of them.

Accordingly, Masters of the elite from among themselves have moved ahead WITH THE OTHERS to the definition of Restructuring as DEVOLUTION OF POWERS. And they have with little further effort ATTRACTED those Accused of being Against or Afraid of and frontline resistors of Secession. With the kind of self-serving intellectual power, media power MORE logically in their hands, they are engaged in MOBILIZING the polity for really CHANGING THE CHANGE.

Those who are outside this powerful machinery and process are the MAJORITY NON ELITE. This majority actually include those serving the elite closely, with the foolish prospect of transforming into their like. And majority of these elite are logically and sensibly of the south-west geopolitical zone. This is why the best defense or servings have come from this zone. And it is not a sudden wake up idea. They have been on it for long. The best indicator is the readiness and commitment to insist, as practically as possible. This explains why and how they erected and sustained a seemingly different political umbrella from the most national one with the consequences of self-survival and key participation in the government formed with national presence. The strand of them that extends to the south-south and south-east geopolitical zones is seemingly pronounced because of the population size. And the same species in the three geopolitical zones in the north will appear to be slim because of the population size.

The present status is that the same elite has transformed into APC. The real critical difference now is that, the Masters are part of the realization of the APC and the government. It is on this basis one will appreciate either the real intelligence, material and cultural burden or challenge to Re-direct the elite in general and especially the elite of the APC or, the foolishness of under rating them.

## **WHO IS THEREFORE WHO?**

It must be clear that the elite belong to the same WORLD AND RELIGION irrespective of their geopolitical location. The only non-elite members that can most safely be secured are those in the geopolitical south-west. And it makes both reason and sense because this is where their heaviest and largest presence is. In the other zones the size relationship is much wider because they are still growing. To be sure it is not the mere size of the region that is the challenge because the south-west is reasonably large. But the elite creatures started growing long earlier.

It therefore does not matter whether one is critically in PDP or APC. The Nigerian political elite have refused or failed to differ ideologically. For instance, in order to provide critical human development services like HOUSING, EDUCATION, HEALTH, EMPLOYMENT, the APC has neither made a variant definition nor differed in approach. This critical attribute that is not different made Buhari fit by qualification, to recapture power. But its suspicions have been confirmed, that not having a different ideology is not enough. Commitment or protection of the mores of the elite's style of cornering the good things of life to their likes before discretionary gestures to non-elite members is even more critical.

What is therefore relevant in our political identity is the general elite class across the country, like an anaconda. They are in the TOP class, in private sector organizations, in public sector organizations, in the political parties, in the executive structures of the political parties, in the legislature, in the executive, in the judiciary and in formal and informal organizations in the polity. Then, the elite group from among these that have political, legislative, judicial, media, financial, social, cultural powers in their hands today. Between these same but different two and the non-elite is Muhammadu Buhari, by principles.

## **THE ELEMENT OF LOGICAL ATTRACTION IN THE DEVOLUTION SOLUTION**

The elite who wrap their self-interest in the present serving of Devolution of Powers solution deserve to be listened to because they possess the credentials and powers to realize material conditions that can be positive. Nobody can deny them this.

The south west is naturally the best reference. The elite have succeeded in beginning to MELT the identities of those who live with them into superior identities. The people are more and most schooled. Lagos has the highest rating. Non Lagosians have not only become governors but affected the politics in the geopolitical zone. Late Awolowo was not an Ibadan born. Living Tinubu is neither an Ijebu nor an original native of Lagos state. Lagos has had 'outsiders' as Commissioners. It does not mean that there are no undeveloped elite members even in Lagos. The laughable incidence of resisting the appointment of Soyinka to head a cultural assignment in the recent past is one indication. How many members

of other geopolitical zones that belong to the elite group with national clout do not either have a house, a business, a family in Lagos or does not frequent or love Lagos? Lagos distinctly has the highest rate of growing and developing good even though the highest competitive struggle for this generates the highest and sharpest forms of evils.

Therefore, even though the native occupants of this geopolitical zone are by language, Yoruba and form a large nation in their own right, it will be unintelligent not to recognize that they are transforming into a limited new Yoruba enclave from Oguns, Oyos, Ondos, Osuns, Ekitis, etc. In fact there are others, outside this zone who claim or prefer to be identified as Yoruba because of this attraction that may even be unconscious.

## **THE OUTSTANDING QUESTION FOR THE ELITE SERVING OF DEVOLUTION**

The common collective objective that the polity has constantly been swung around is an assured better political, economic, financial, social and cultural environment and conditions. Whether you call it infrastructures or services is the same. They will make us and our country like the good part of United Kingdom, Germany, Netherlands, United States, Canada, Turkey, etc. that we know by seeing or reading. This is logical and sensible for all humans. In addition, even the societies of reference strive to sustain and build on what they have. By implication, we cannot possibly grow and develop to be in need, want of something different by negation.

The elite are a collection of human beings like every one of us and cannot have a different objective for itself and for all others.

However, the only WAY or MEANS of achieving this is by impersonalization of RELATIONSHIP ROLES IN GOVERNANCE. And this is achievable by institutions building. Though clumsily, the elite is making a fair way in Lagos and south west geopolitical region. This is because, given its enormous capacities, it ought to have achieved much more and better. But its popular attribute of cornering as much as will be safe continues to be its drawback for optimal performance. Less competent and undeveloped ones engage in outright stealing

that is unguarded. This is why the majority of those that can be effectively hounded by anti-graft organizations will end up being from the elite members in the less developed geopolitical regions. The most intelligent recognition that must therefore be admitted is that the elite HAVE THE CAPACITY AND RESPONSIBILITY to transform our society. You cannot compete with this.

But the first question is, IF the Federal system HAS NOT BEEN WORKING WELL, to justify Devolution of Powers, who has been responsible for this? It will be a very tricky burden to exonerate the elite, the best and most of who are from south west. Whether at the TOP, at the MIDDLE, TECHNICALLY or PROFESSIONALLY, the Masters from outside and inside have been STEERING the disworking of the system. If this was done unconsciously, it was still done knowingly.

For example, what has been the inhibition to develop the federal institutions by example and restraints in order that the upcoming members by tutelage will be all-caring and committed, for National development? Unfortunately what you observe is that even at the Federal Character Commission that has the constitutional power to enforce it, is bankrupt of the necessary cultural orientation to realize this human placement for such development. This is shamefully painful because the commission recognizes that there are very few jobs for which only few states can fill up. And even then, others can be trained. This principle and practice that is aimed at building more manpower for the nation is bastardized by some elite practices. One is that, when imbalance is established in an organization, the Commission is hesitant to STOP FURTHER ABUSE by contributing candidates that will adjust the scale to a new form of imbalance. This encourages any chief executive to serve self by family, state or region. Over and above this, political rascals consider this to be the opportunity for making impact in their constituencies. Even under Buhari the elite has not been behaving differently. If ministries and departments are to reveal such interferences to the detriment of building the organizations, it will be a story line of the junior elite trying to outdo the masters at every given opportunity. A fair damaging case was in the aviation sector. And then in the intelligence arm.

Such principles and practices that are supposed to be transitional to higher levels have been destroyed by the elite. Take a laudable program like that of re absorbing former militants. The program is run in a manner of expecting militancy to continue so that it will continue to run. When you hear submissions like it is cheaper to spend hundreds of millions every year on the program, the psych that is revealed is certainly in favor of only the elite. This is more so, when the volunteers who withdraw from militancy start crying and threatening, if their committed entitlements are not obliged. The impression is that the militancy has become a means of promoting the elite even though it is at the expense of the risks that non-elite members are forced or lured into militancy. The Niger Delta Development Commission is not different. But intelligence suggests that they should have a life span for accelerated bridging of the gap between what is on the ground and what it ought to be. The camps of Internally Displaced Persons are not different in orientation. And they are colored with corrupt practices.

The Federal Tertiary, Research and Training institutions are not different or better. It is so bad that except for the uniformed services it is not uncommon for a chief executive from an area different from the location of the organization to receive threats to his personal life or protests or petitions. This thwarted development of manpower development is the most embarrassing outcome of elite selfish style taught by their masters. The National Youth Service is not different. And this is revealed by the fact that some states have to issue instructions against rejecting members after the damaging practices of a good number of them deciding where to serve, because they fear being treated as unhonorable strangers.

The second question is, with the lean powers to the states, what have the elite in most of the states made of the responsibilities? A classical case is the oil producing states and the development commission that are federal responses to the genuine conditions in that environment. As for the others, how many of the governors and their allies have not attracted questions on abuse of trust?

Therefore, the Masters of the elite are really the Problem and the Solution to our transformation in Nigeria. Once they accept to fall in to SOLVE, the juniors have no option. And the hope of the general society will be REALLY more ASSURED. In other words, the Masters, the Juniors along with Buhari that is One of them

although with a disturbing difference, have the relational responsibility to really bail us out. The immediate responsibility of the electorate will be to educate itself properly and gag the elite to understanding.

## **THE CHALLENGES WAYS OUT**

The immediate challenge is to President Muhammadu Buhari in the Villa.

His availability is extremely critical because it is related to enabling him realize the burdensome mandate he is the first bearer. And it is for outsiders to express the ease of meeting him, not himself and his surrounding aides. It is therefore more than damaging for critical insiders to impress difficulty. Whoever is coordinating this isolation and those who are managing this exclusion, including the instruments they employ to achieve this, NEED TO BE URGENTLY DEALT WITH. And NOBODY can justifiably be involved in this except the President himself and any other person of real value that will be of transparent assistance to the challenges of today. The scope must INCLUDE whoever has not questioned him and has kept away, either as Party comrade or a strong supporter who had given him advice for the good of this country. It must EXCLUDE those he sees daily because of their official placement and those he sees daily who impose themselves by intruding into what they cannot be held accountable for.

The President must admit for himself that his mandate will be best carried out with a fairly balanced physical, emotional and social relationship. The best managers of this relationship are those with independent minds, those who are proudly contended with the assignment given to them and end matters with him in openness. This will be serving the President and Nigeria by bearing the task of sieving contacts of political, financial, economic, intellectual, cultural and such other Values for the President and Nigeria, as against FOR THEMSELVES. The best cultural orientation that indicates this is, restraining non officials from access to all records, contributing to subjects of official record either by physical proximity or physical interaction with officials or the President. Political, Financial, Intellectual and Legal Chieftains of registered parties and outside the party must be given initial trial access for evaluation and a selection of others across the country must be evaluated for INVITATIONS. The President must play

the most-needy. This is the only way the President can be healthily and responsibly FEEL the people.

The present situation is running towards being negatively apolitical. And needs to be checked immediately. What the President has to offer will remain of NO VALUE if it does not affect the generality of Nigerians. And the SERVING must be in bearable RATION. The scope of these Nigerians includes family members, associates, friends, colleagues, opposers, enemies, etc.

This submission of the President will grant him the best he can make of his offer by the party. This will make his executive more genuinely lively.

As for the elite in general but especially the Masters that have enabled the present ruling party and government, they must shamelessly admit that the whole of Nigeria, including all parts of Nigeria is a superior preferential responsibility BECAUSE the elite have consistently failed by virtually thwarting institutions building for national development. Institution building is far from changing cabinet members.

The ruling party and government must admit that whatever will appear to be to the credit of the elite has become, by exploiting, extorting, undermining or abuse of THE ORDER OF DOING THINGS. For instance, the seeming private sector has its movers as products of the public sector; most of them are involved in services; and depend on government patronage. The resulting end compelled the condemned ousted government to control the value of our currency by massive imports orientation. This is simple because goods production should largely dictate required or bearable services. It has therefore been most responsive of the ruling party to give attention to local production of goods and cut down on imports. The non-availability of resources to this government has positively compelled this. The shouts about savings and devaluation are the most wicked and truncated offer by some of the elite. If there were savings, then we will continue with importing toothpicks and exemption of limousines from tax. The elite have been destroying this country though it was gaining from so doing. The credit to the Masters in the present ruling government is that they have taken a path to save their necks. And this needs to be sustained and built upon.

The Masters, under the banner of the ruling party and government must also admit that the public service remains the most organized and its members will continue to aid the present order of generating new elite members at the expense of nationalism AS LONG AS THE LEADERS ARE UNSURE OF POST RETIREMENT SECURITY AND COMFORT. It will be clear to the government that pensions, their reviews as with salaries, have not broadened the scope of honesty even in the top echelon of the service. This challenge that is a real manifestation of poverty is more appreciated by the recent experience of Zero budget along with Constituency projects politics between the executive and the legislature. Legalizing constituency projects is only an escapist self-serving solution.

The President, the Party and Government must therefore admit that the only point of intra-party and inter-party crisis is dealing with Corruption and not Security or Employment. The President cannot do it in ISOLATION. The political elite cannot afford the kind of insecurity that the public servants are structurally trapped in, by ONE of them. That should be too ambitious to achieve, if and when they have to be SIGNATORIES to the process. The Judiciary of gentle-learneds cannot rush to take sides. The top bureaucrats will have to continue taking risks to secure selves.

And a waiting or stand still position is of no political value. In fact it has generated revelations of options. The President will be fully responsible for the negative outcome. It will not be an excuse that there was no cooperation, since access denial has been shared publicly. There is no shade of competence that includes waiting. And the serious offense of this relates to wasting the time, money and lives of the generality of the electorate. If there were no obstacles to attend to, governance will be unnecessary.

## **LOGICAL AND SENSIBLE DEDUCTIONS**

It will be shamefully embarrassing for the package of All Progressives Party Master elite, President, Party and Government to end up either collapsing or failing, given the spectacular support they have almost godly, continue to get. The wisdom expressed by Tinubu that he will not run away from the party he struggled to build to success is worth remembering by all members - by registration, funds

and voting. As for voters only, they have the responsibility to urge and encourage this package to continue.

It will be the first and greatest failure of the President to the electorate to use all the powers, resources, people and time entrusted to him, to a GREATER WASTE, by not dealing with real CORRUPTION across the board, by leading in the POSITIVE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ELITE and thus paving way for that of all Nigerians. In other words all other challenges are ultimately secondary to this. He has no excuse now and to ever tender for substituting infrastructure building successes with this failure.

It will amount to outright SELFISHNESS AND CONFRONTATIONAL FAILURE of the Masters in the train of the ruling party and government to consider like has been the irresponsible practice of dealing with the real responsibilities of transforming Nigeria by MERE REPLACEMENT. The Masters have the utmost responsibility of exposing the President over compromising the required actions for the necessary REDEFINITIONS for the transformation of Nigeria. In this respect Atiku is partially appreciable. There is no one who does Not understand Atiku, but NOT FOR THE KERNEL CHALLENGE that the elite NEED TO DEAL WITH, WITH THE POWER OF THE MANDATE GIVEN TO APC.

Nigeria as a country and society does not need any club or party to attend to any other secondary, tertiary or diversionary challenge as priority, other than this check and restraint of the elite from being self-serving and building against the general transformation of Nigeria, with superior and honorable responsibilities.

Devolution of powers is at best time-bad, because it will only serve the elite, THAT HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE IMMEDIATE COMPLAINTS AGAINST DRAWBACKS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM. The same elite that has to manage the added responsibilities by devolution, have failed more in managing the present recurrent trusts between 1999 to 2015 under People's Democratic Party and since All Progressives Party came into power. The devolution may better limitedly serve the enclave of the Masters in the south west. It is a long reserved wool to cover the vision and understanding of the electorate, to further protect the Masters first.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **2019 TRANSITION DEFINITIONS AS THE BASIS FOR TRANSITION AGENDA**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

For the critical objective of contributing to history making or participating in the process, a fair but right understanding of the characteristics is fundamental. There must be a beginning or starting point and a bus stop that must be the best reference for any generation. This will be the motor or driver for moving forward.

For the present generation, 1999 when we embraced civil rule is the most appropriate beginning because, it is the longest running, is still on and the chances are that it will not cease, in the coming century. Previous experiences were interrupted by non-civil rule. Of the thirty nine years before this time, less than a broken decade was the exposure. To have a running nineteen years is therefore the best basis to take off.

And the ripest or most fitting time is between 2015 and 2019. This is because leadership has changed from the hands of those who have become exposed as aimless, selfish and destructive to those who are believed to be caring and committed to general good. And the larger further entrustment of governance mandate to the same hands certifies that some things were wrong and need to be completely or further corrected or must not be given room to reappear.

What is therefore established for all is that, we are yet to be at our desired destination or track, for proper railing. The Peoples Democratic Party was evil and the All Progressives Party is making the effort to make a difference. The possible empowerment of the APC by effective breakers of the PDP who broke away again to the PDP is the best pointer to the difference between the PDP and the APC. The electorate who have given more and overwhelming support to the APC again have demonstrated the preference for care and commitment to general good over aimlessness, selfishness and destruction.

The logical and sensible fallouts from this right agreement is the lame voice of the devils, that APC is not totally clean and the firm defence by the APC that mending

the damages taken over is a more critical challenge. The weight and scope of the injuries inflicted on the collective integrity of Nigerians for sixteen years requires such specialist surgery that no intelligent person will be diverted by the bruises. When the cuts are stitched bruises can become priorities. This means that, for the benefit of all of us, the leadership and government of the All Progressives Congress needs as much guidance as the Peoples Democratic Party must be corrected.

The best time and circumstance is now.

## **AFTER 2015 ELECTIONS**

Results of the elections were logically announced and the winners declared. And of all elections, the presidential election should continue to be the most attractive. The logic and sense in this is that it will continue to be the best means of expressing both our sense of unity and our measurement of the solution to our collective challenges. The candidate will ordinarily symbolize the characteristics the party and its leaders are willing to really submit to, irrespective of their campaign declarations. The personality of the leader is very critical. As a result, if the leaders of a party agree to sponsor a crook and the electorate decide by outweigh, to give him the mandate, that will be Nigeria at that time. The same will apply if the choice is an auditor. And this will be so if sustained by the judiciary. In the past it was common to refer the matter to the courts for a final seal. It had in some cases taken more than a year to assure the declared winner that he can commit his full attention to governance. The unity and strength of state polities or otherwise are similarly so expressed by the candidate in relation to the electorate.

In the case of 2015 elections, Goodluck Jonathan admitted defeat and congratulated Muhammadu Buhari before the results were finally added up. The accompanying stories of the advice of a phony band for peace, unverified international pressures or the lies against key members of his government that they pressed him to accept the results, are all inconsequential. Even the allegations against some heads of foreign governments to have supported Buhari are inconsequential. The internal regrets by the Peoples Democratic Party, explained by the indiscipline of the leadership in managing the funds for the elections or the careless handling of key players who deserted to the opposition or the refusal of

Jonathan to sacrifice his constitutional right to contest or the risk of slighting those that Nigeria belongs to etc. are all inconsequential. His admission before the declaration will remain honourable. The same results were also adjudged to be the fairest since 1999. This credit is a practical build up on the admission of his predecessor, Umaru Musa, that his election was coloured with wrongs and that they will improve on it.

Muhammadu Buhari therefore came on board with a freer breath of electoral results. And from outside, he led the party to promise attending to the menace of insurgents, corruption and poverty. On assumption of office, when he started discovering the challenges he has to overcome, independent of the promises he made from outside the government, he felt like regretting asking for the mandate or throwing in the towel. Yemi Osinbajo would have simply taken up the mantle. But this is now inconsequential.

Thus two years after the elections, Buhari and his All Progressives Congress was locked into demonstrating that it has been better against the indications by the Peoples Democratic Party that it has at best, not made any difference or that it has performed worse.

One meeting point between the two was the status of the resources of the state when Buhari assumed office. The government screamed and promised that it will not stop blaming its predecessor because of how incapacitated it has become, to deliver the dividends of democracy. The most irresponsible response to this was that he was elected to fix things and not to complain. The present cannot be isolated from the immediate past. The present is the foundation for tomorrow. This is an inevitable process. And in a civil setting where sharing is a typical characteristic of continuity, silence will depend upon the magnitude of damage. Connecting with the past for correction is a normal process through audit and inspections or visits. However, when a system is grounded the process of connection will be abnormal or extraordinary. But the complaint does not have to continue forever. And it did continue to reduce as time unfolded. This is positive because it amounts to responsiveness.

What enabled this was the regrowth and development of the resources with a reasonable flow from the recoveries of thefts. For the first time, billions were

associated with non-businessmen who plundered public resources. In some cases that level of monies in different hard currencies were recovered from individuals who neither had two heads, mouths, stomachs nor walking on four or six legs. Top uniform and bureaucratic personnel, Governors, Ministers were part of it. Peoples Democratic Party and its allies faulted the achievements in terms of decimal variation of fiscal readings or rating by some self-appointed bodies that busy themselves with the affairs of others. Furthermore, they cried out against witch-hunt as political targets. Those who are found to be thieves should be left alone if they happen to be PDP stalwarts. And better still, what is the statistical record of convictions? The ruling party and government did not however assure its members of safety. A former governor was jailed and the president of the Senate got relief on technical grounds. The evidences of corruption in the judiciary and top members of the bar weakened the possibility of relying on the judiciary and lawyers for fighting corruption effectively and efficiently. The recoveries were therefore star achievements.

However, this is not to suggest a good pass for the government. The ultimate target for governance dividends is the ordinary citizens. The entrepreneurship programs of the government targeted to the youths and market women, the skilled and unskilled across different trades and services have made presence across the states. But the rate of graduation from universities and polytechnics and the volume indicate the need to at least quadruple the efforts, to make the impact felt. This human side is more complex to manage when compared to the building of lifeless infrastructure facilities. Thus, it cannot be said to have been ignored, but a lot remains outstanding to be done. The explanation by the ruling party and government that it is easier to create poverty than to heal it or to create prosperity is reasonable but needs to be sensible enough.

The challenge of insurgents was another. The insistence of the main opposition that it was still a worrisome concern is not disputable. But it had no witnesses to deny that physically captured territories have been effectively recovered. More students in captivity were gotten back. Indeed, even the president of the Senate managed the procedural excesses of the President in committing reserved resources for acquisition of war power equipment to strengthen sustenance of the technical successes. Niger Delta militancy started giving a benefit of the doubt with listening

ears. Secession became more and more opportunistic for a new club that isolated itself from the realities of the transformation process. The larger elite were only effectively divided between those who believe that the approach of the PDP was welcome to continue and those who believe that a different approach is superior in serving everybody. But Robberies, Kidnapping and maiming of innocent citizens was on the rise. The herdsmen exploits in different parts of the country was embarrassing. The PDP cannot be dismissed in these observations.

To deal with these forms of insecurity, the ruling party and government evidently improved the level of policing. More hands were recruited, more relevant trainings were floated and the reward system was raised. The same applies to the military. To both, working tools and arms were made available. And it will be difficult to deny the difference of their impact in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and coverage. If the difference is yet to be enough, it is rightly on course. And in a civil setting, where straight crushing is not sensible, against the insurgents because of their holding many citizens that we insist on getting back, it is even trickier in the case of robbers and kidnappers. And it is to the credit of the government that thousands have been rescued while a good number of the criminals were killed.

Another facet relates to the personality of the leader, Muhammadu Buhari. He has been accused of either non accessibility or that he does not take advice. This is grievous for good governance. The effect of this was not said to be oppression or autocracy or highhandedness. It was rather that, he was not personally in control. In his place is a cabal. No matter the amount of denials the President puts up, the challenge appeared to be finer than presented. This is because it is impossible to dismiss the very same expression by his bosom wife, just as the express dismissal of the same by Asiwaju Tinubu needs to be taken seriously. At the center of it, the President is personally accountable. And the disappearance of the arrowhead of the suspected or fingered cabal from the cameras speaks volumes of regret. The value of responsiveness lies in its timeliness.

As critical and disturbing as this drawback can be to governance, it became clear that the worry or quarrel with Buhari or whatever cabal, had nothing to do with the collective interests of Nigerians. Rather, it was their personal interests. This was personally stated by the president of the Senate in his home state before he

returned to their traditional party. He submitted that he spent a lot to make Buhari and the party win the 2015 elections but has not been patronized with appointments slots. He even mentioned key economic institutions he expected to be granted the slots to provide the leaders. And the embarrassing part of the submission was that he deliberately championed difficult relationship with the President to make his point. This is the kind of material the president or the cabal had, to work with. The volunteered case of Atiku was not different. He alleged the same thing and appeared to be speaking for the nation. But when he became the flag bearer of his party, the economic blueprint was not available. The leaders of the resistors in the APC were really only for themselves. And their moving to their most fitting party proved that they were not part of those genuinely critical of the personality of the leader.

The ruling party and government had similarly faced the criticism of abuse of time. And the window of justifiable reference was the time it took, to constitute the leadership team of the government. The submission of the national budget was not different. Appointments to Councils and Boards were embarrassing. It did not require any legislative approval and at the end dead persons were on the approved list. This was painful even for stalwarts of the All Progressives Congress, after a direct word that it would be done in a month from the day of his appeal meeting. The chieftains of Buhari Support Organization had to scream with laced threats because they were not attended to. The declaration of the President that, he was not for anybody but for everybody was beginning not to be dear. This was because a pattern of being for some bodies was thickening. The opposition topped it up with the definition of nepotism. This compelled the government to publish the details and analysis of appointments in self-defence.

The consciousness of time for responsible governance is however always related to the character of the variables at play. Like, the President submitted to his political colleagues, the restraint of resources to service the political appointments was an obstacle. This is not a challenge to wish away by any responsible leader. The outright immature disposition of the leadership of the legislature worsened whatever grade of insensitivity can be attached to the executive. The structure of going on recess in relation to processing the National Budget was beyond bearing for any reason and sense. The eventual admission by the president of the Senate

that it was deliberate, for personal reasons, settled it. All the stories of a Budget properly arriving to the legislature dead; that the legislature is not a rubber stamp; and that the agencies were not responsive or logistics for oversight functions were inadequate, were wools over the eyes of the electorate. They were smokescreens to cover the deliberate collective mischief of the president of the Senate and his team. It was sealed by the partisan posture of the leadership (of the National Assembly) when they met and declared that they were fully in support of their leader. But the effect was against the electorate and not Mr. President. It is the most irresponsible posture to act, for members of the same leadership. No leadership will expect or deserves such.

Over and above this, came the hand that compelled Obasanjo to adopt invisible or unpredictable method of shopping for food items he was fed with; the hand that was associated with contributory hit on Umaru; the very hand that appeared in daylight and made Jonathan to ‘run’ for his life. This hand sneaked in and got Buhari out of stability. But beyond chance, because medication and good nursing were the best available WITH NO CERTAINTY, Buhari crossed over. Osinbajo even faced the real wild ambitions of the aides that were constitutionally entrusted to him for continuity of governance. The romance with agents of the dark hand and the opposition gave them the confidence that, Buhari will either not return or it was a matter of a short time. When he returned and indicated that he will return, reaffirmed the confidence. He did return and even passed by to see his doctors on his way from meeting Trump. But he has overcome whatever. The Bishop of the Church of England said it was a proof, of the miracle of God. That prayers are capable of achieving the unbelievable. Thus, whatever Buhari was able to achieve in this circumstances is truly appreciable and commendable.

And there was the allegation that Buhari and the ruling party were failing in strengthening the unity of Nigeria. The indicator for this was the secessionist traits in southeast of Nigeria with veiled but growing armed characteristics. This was available for fanning by the opposition. Part of the Niger Delta militants was wooed into it. The south east politicians had members who played neutrality to let them get a hearing. And most of the others were restive because they believe that they deserve more than constitutional equality for participating in the government they did not vote for. The opposition built on this by a quick constitution

amendment process driven by objectives that are really selfish. Many naive compatriots fell for it. Sectional groups and the leaders started making pronouncements with implications that were both unreasonable and senseless. The media and the blindfolded citizens were taken on a disaster ride to no destination. This was most typical in the vomit of a priest who dabbled into politics. He was impressed by the following behind the notorious trend and misthought that democracy is **ANYTHING**. Then key legislators took up the sponsorship of the leader.

On the part of the ruling party and government were the revelations from the details of the source of arms discovered by the Customs Authority. This was followed up with international relations of interests with Turkey. Because the form of politics had become unconstitutional, the government had to eventually dis-ventilate the arms characteristics of the group. The judiciary was resorted to. The sponsors were failed by their sentiments. The sectional leaders started breaking up. The process of constitutional amendments proved to be fraudulent because there were no states electorate debates, the states houses of assemblies were not properly educated; the Speakers were cajoled or lured into resolutions, by the president of the Senate and Speaker. The time was too short for swallowing some of the resolutions even though some were attractive. The nursing of impeaching the President was not too popular. And both houses of the National Assembly were not mad enough to admit a ‘unity’ arrangement outside resources ownership and control. Only God can compel Satan and his agents to permit good. The unity of Nigeria survived across the valley of death.

## **BEFORE THE 2019 ELECTIONS**

The period the opposition has been out of power, the failure of intriguing mischiefs to disorganize the ruling party and government and the real difference that has become possible to show by the ruling party and government, have not helped the reorientation of the Peoples Democratic Party. It has therefore proceeded to launch opposition and even led the same on terms that appeared to it to be the only available windows.

The takeoff point was the person of Muhammadu Buhari. He is old and has been seriously sick. So much effort and resources were invested into making this point.

The level and duration began to inflict disorientation of common citizens that are ignorant or naive to evaluate the issue. The old age began to appear to be a crime or at least an index of a necessary minus in measuring the competence for leadership or governance. And ill health became more consequential or irrespective of recovery. Indeed some lousy analysts capped it up by defining his withdrawal as the path to having his name written in gold. He was further encouraged with the suggestion to groom younger politicians to succeed him. These opposition intellectuals even suggested names directed by their principals. The named later moved from the All Progressives Congress to where they properly belong, the Peoples Democratic Party. The named were consistently touted by the Principals/Generals when Buhari returned from his sick leave and later contested for the presidency on the same platform. After the declaration by Buhari that he has decided to ask for the mandate again, it became necessary for the principals to give open value to the point.

In the All Progressives Congress, the first diplomatic response was that he has the constitutional right to ask for a second term. This melted the ambitions of those who had no respect for Osinbajo and compelled the earlier invisible pillars of the opposition in the party to show up. The group came up to claim responsibility for enabling the party win the 2015 elections. Baraje and Galadima served as the zonal vehicles. And the doctor general with remnant credibility released the epistle of ANTI BUHARI with a democratic call to have a coalition. The voices that know that leadership does not isolate knowledge from discipline announced that only persons with integrity deserve attention for guidance. It will therefore be illogical for one who gives oil well license for sex to be reliable on the management of oil wells. It will be senseless to listen to one who is reputable for giving his word and eating it, for consistent guidance. It will be dangerous to flow along with a grand manipulator of religion or a notorious ambitious unethical intelligence professional. Then the Peoples Democratic Party real certified agents regrouped for a political ride.

The All Progressives Congress flaunted the corruption-free and performance records of Buhari, to make him the real candidate to beat. The opposition leading Party started with disrespect from within for the principals on the leadership of the party. Its culture of money is right eventually determined the flag bearer. The

make-ups necessary were set in motion on the broad shoulders of the **WINNER** in their game. Critical reconciliation led to confusion between the real party and the mystery coalition. The attractions based on the age propaganda were left to form themselves. Key competitors became engaged in the services of the winner. And the collective credibility of the new team was a fog of thunderstorms if lighted. It was a combination of ingratitude, inordinate greed, obsessive ambition and criminality. This was the seeming personification that the leading opposition provided. Against the presentation of Buhari where morality of public resources is an issue, they symbolized at best, morality by their discretion.

Thus, the credibility of the leader became a point of competition. And it was for Peoples Democratic Party to defend itself and the candidate. It was gruesome. From visiting the United States to dispel the understanding that its candidate was not an intentional criminal to alleging that Buhari is not clean, because he has enabled cornering of finance and communication organizations. And the leading opposition candidate got open support by groups of questionable honour like witches, prostitutes, gays and lesbians. The clerics that associate with him quickly turned evil. The party had more new candidates to put up to contest because it has less than the ruling party holding states. And its candidates were only most fitting to work with the leader.

On the economy, the ‘blueprint’ and economist running mate package of the opposition was not impressive enough against the infrastructural performance of Buhari and the slim impact on humans that appeared promissory. This was worsened by the promised blunder of privatization of refineries to friends and associates. No master or student of liberal economics can understand replacing productivity and profit forces or objectives with friends and associates. It was easier to understand intended or planned Next Level from low performance.

On security, it was not tactical to offer or promise that insurgency will be curbed in weeks, as if the candidate is a co-sponsor of the evil. And the lie that he had personally called to sympathize with a widow of a fallen officer into the hands of the terrorists was rightly defined as callous.

On the promise to unite Nigeria that was falling into pieces, the groups that were front believers in this were declaring withdrawals from assumed declared support

for the opposition or giving Buhari the benefit of the doubt. The sectional groups' leaderships were breaking up. They were either declaring support for Buhari or were questioning any claimed support for Atiku or any candidate. It was a lone voice that announced support for the opposition leader.

On the health and stamina of Buhari, the prediction that he will fail was not witnessed. He was not flown out for treatment. He did not die. He attended to between two and three states on every outing. No candidate of any other political party achieved such.

The summary consequence of the opportunity to ask for the mandate of Nigerians again therefore revealed the poverty of the opposition and especially the leading Peoples Democratic Party in weighty or uncompromisable facets. At the forefront is that of personal integrity of the individuals leading. What is right and who is right is measured by the amount of money and influence one can muster. The influence is often a combination of authority of the office occupied, the number of members one can pay for to act out his script and the amount of violence one can ignite. The poverty of sacrifice by the leaders couldn't permit the coming up of younger members. The principals/Generals were unable to limit themselves to guiding only, while the party leaders continued to stick to them even as their credibility was dropping. In seeming cases where others were brought out, they were too weak and had to operate as stooges. This poverty is most applicable to the Peoples Democratic Party because it was in power for sixteen years. The worst poverty aspect is that of genuine patriotism. Its shabby but expensive performance for the period it was in power is the prove. The thieving, uncompleted projects, privatization of public assets etc. reveal this.

The screams and letters about the preference, superiority or deserve of the youth over the old, to govern Nigeria became demystified. As for chronological age, the flag bearer of the leading opposition, was in the same age bracket with Buhari. The fingered youth that ignited the probable reality of the coalition had to join an existing political structure to give teeth to his dream. Most of the parties that could muster a win were in the same class. Those that were adventurous in answering the call of the youths discovered that they were left to be on their own. A civil frontline protester who mistook political contest to be the same ended up

withdrawing late and had to face the challenge of accountability or refunds. The reality of what is right became far ahead of overseas-comfort analysts perceptions or columnists grammar. Political foot soldiers were more real in determining the course of records.

## **AFTER THE 2019 ELECTIONS**

The electorate went to the polls and the Independent National Electoral Commission evaluated the process. Buhari became the winner with a margin that only the sick will bother to challenge. The observers submitted that the process was peaceful and credible, above the pockets of violence and records of irregularities. Only a twisted mind of a foreign diplomat will rate the process as not credible, in expectation that the process needs to be perfect. Indeed, the quality of the process is higher than that of 2015. The percentage of voter participation is in comparison to the outing of 2015 not poor. And the transparency was higher. Riggers were taken unawares to discover that the measure of votes was in relation to registered voters who had collected their cards.

The association of the Peoples Democratic Party with questionable gestures to referees of the process and technical head in the Independent National Electoral Commission was damaging. It gave credit to the decision of the Commission in rescheduling the presidential election. The follow up with reformatting electronic reading machines, the request by the All Progressives Congress to have the Resident Electoral Commissioners swapped and the association of the Peoples Democratic Party Director of campaign with a hacker all exposed its obsession for power. This agreed with the leaks that the Electoral Commission server was receiving results of elections that were rescheduled before its commencement. The competitive role in alleged vote buying only darkened the Peoples Democratic Party more. And Buhari covered all the irregularities his party can be accused of by not using government funds for the campaigns. This attracted international democrats to invite other leaders to do the same. This feat is as honourable as the phone call by Goodluck to Buhari in 2015, to accept defeat and congratulate Buhari.

Against numerous dissuasions, by PDP ordinary members, a Principal, foreign voices, the loser flag bearer of the Peoples Democratic Party declared the option of

overturning the win of Buhari and the All Progressives Congress, by the Judicial process. To his personal shock, the volume of votes cast in the north east region were neither for him nor possible. He expected that the bomb scare before the elections should have affected the turnout and insurgents had killed most of the voters. The elections of the governors and states houses of assemblies healed his misbelief. A strong woman stalwart of his, recorded her disappointment over the betrayal of Atiku after he had mobilized his trustees for the votes. She was specifically pissed off for the billions for Kano and hundreds of millions for Jigawa. For the Peoples Democratic Party, money pays to buy. It learnt that it may not be assuredly, disappointedly. And in law, the right or admissible status of both evidence and presenter are critical to determining what is just.

The ruling party and government therefore returned to governance matters including preparations for the transition ceremonies for its continuity with the promised and approved Next Level. More members of the Peoples Democratic Party are joining the All Progressives Congress. And Atiku fell into trial marriage with willing chieftains of the bar.

## **LESSONS FOR THE NEXT TRANSITION**

The first is that the desirability and possibility of having youths, take over the governance of Nigeria is a more serious challenge than the combination of wishful thinking and constitutional provisions. The old generation has to be committed to grooming the youths. They will need to be involved in the process of leadership to grow to higher levels. Then, it may become meaningful and comfortable to make financial sacrifices to support the youths. This is because the cost of contesting for office is not the right target for first attention. Indeed it will either not get down or does not need to. What is now the high price PDP is paying even though it was in power for over a decade, the APC will need to start early. And it has a good reference potential in Asiwaju Tinubu. It can build on this. The quality of this effort showed up with the new concept of Abuja boys block in the drama of Ambode's bid for a second term. Tinubu had his way but with growing respect for others.

A second lesson is that, the electorate needs more political education on what is absolutely right in relation to what is transitional or has options. It will always help

in political calculations. It is for instance foolhardy to adopt a political party for traditional belonging without actively participating in its promotion. This will almost always lead to political helplessness in the end. The best one can honourably fall back to will be the limits of discretion defined by constitutional provisions. You cannot politically abuse your opportunity or advantage and later scream of being sidelined. The structures and processes are not for fun. If they were, the laws would have provided them as such. A party with no spread of membership and enough wins cannot provide a President. Two-thirds of the States and at least twenty-five percent of the voters in those states is the standard. No reference or scream outside the members of the chambers of the National Assembly therefore is right to determine their leadership. Where the arrangement for participation is open, leadership cannot be open to more than the winning participants. It will be immoral to ask for such. It will be backward in democracy. The most rational and sensible step to take will be to wake up to the common rules.

Thirdly, the amount of votes the leading opposition leader has gotten in spite of all real negative credentials he rode on, is a good alert for the ruling party and government. Even in Aso Villa the margin of win by the opposition that was slim is a serious political expression. The votes express the weight of those willing or who do not mind all the risks, disadvantages, negativities that Peoples Democratic Party is associated with to take over the governance burden. A fair proportion of them may be sure-beneficiaries should the PDP win. But most of them will be poorly educated and have given up for some relief. The All Progressives Congress and Government must therefore not assume that the rot of Peoples Democratic Party is absolutely lacking in all values.

A fourth deduction is that as a Nation, we run into the embarrassing risk of joining our nationhood with prejudices or secondary or even selfish interests. The worst that can happen to a polity is for politicians not know and keep to the limits that will protect our collective identity. Any individual, group, party or sections that attempt or thread this unholy path must be stopped immediately and punished for it. Our unity and oneness is the foundation for our prosperity. Any form of interference with it is backward and irresponsible. This bus stop must be lived by every citizen by education and orientation. It cannot be a part time, seasonal affair. It must be a permanent commitment and reference. Beyond our books, our policies,

actions, culture and orientation must not mistake this. And the All Progressives Congress has to lead in this responsibility of making our nationhood nonnegotiable. There is no doubting the history that governments have since independence not fared well in this direction or responsibility. The military by virtue of its regimental culture did attempt this, but the leaders were not developed enough to realize it. The more grown civilians that operated the government machinery failed to develop the system and culture that will propagate nationalism. But it will be worse if we recognize this and build on the weaknesses the political elite has been feeding fat on. There is no iota of reason and sense in the belief that a common interest cannot be driven by any member, given the ground rules. The colors must therefore not be allowed to destroy the substance. We must start somewhere, defined by the structures and processes on the ground.

A fifth lesson is the evident weak party discipline across all the parties. When in government, the party leadership may compete with those in government. It is even clearer when not in power. The loyalty of the members to the party as a common reference point is often personalized. The lifeline of the party is therefore either a seasonal resort or the determination of those who fund it. This setting makes almost impossible for new competences to crop up. The dues of the party are rarely obliged. Indeed in addition to not treating such obligations as sacrosanct, the members seek for government patronage. And those who ‘volunteered’ to fund the party logically lead in this. In a setting where the party lacks independent financial power and discipline of organization, it will not serve as a neutral and protective platform for every member. And it cannot give what it does not have to the polity.

A sixth understanding is that both the ruling party and the opposition largely divert from the common course of national development, to differ in methods or approach. The opposition largely remains at the levels of personalizing leadership actions or physical projects execution. This is why in the experience of the Buhari governance; budget processing was always a problem. The consequence of this is that the ruling party and government spend a lot of time and resources on defence rather than responding to criticisms that will strengthen governance. Thus, government is more engaged in administration and management as against leadership.

The seventh realization is that personality is a critical count for the politics and leadership that will serve us for peace and prosperity. The power of his above average honesty and the evident fear of Allah that go with the identity of Buhari have been his strength. These are universal disciplinary attributes that assuredly provide security for everyone. The combination of this with training qualifications of any expertise makes a superb leadership competence. On the contrary, no sky level qualifications combined with the bankruptcy of universal disciplinary attributes will make a fair serving leader for any society. This is why the constitution has been allowing people with minimal schooling combined with some experiential exposition in public life. However, universal disciplinary attributes are for regular witnessing by people. No terminal certification is available for these. A doctor of theology or military marksman who is a thief or lacks moral limits as defined by the body of truths we believe in is certainly empty in the needed power for motoring collective will. This is the only desirable unity term for competition between politicians and political parties. The absence or weakness of this common ground is responsible for the difficult to impossible relationships between the ruling party and government against the opposition. It is impossible to either move ahead or without a serious hurt where rape of public resources is a crime to the government and the opposition is of the stand that it is anything less. This unacceptable term is responsible for the exceptional swearing by Buhari that he will never accept anybody's hand for cooperation to accommodate thieves. Consequently, universal disciplinary attributes like honesty, truthfulness, knowledge and fear of Allah, keeping to limits in family and social life, discriminating between what is prohibited and what is **permissible**.

Transition is a permanent process. History is dynamic. Movement is therefore inevitable. The ruling party and government must as a result accept to take up the responsibility of carrying us and leading us ahead; supporting us; and enabling us to support it for the peace and prosperity of all of us. This is not possible without opening up to criticisms from within and outside for evaluation. Rulership is not godness but a burden of trust that is best bore by humility, because the leader is expected not to be the worst among the members. And he is rarely the best. When and where he is, he will be succeeded by another that will certainly not be him.

## **SECTION 2**

### **POLITICAL OPPOSITION CULTURE**

## CHAPTER 3

### **THE OUGHT CONCERNS FOR POLITICAL OPPOSITION**

#### **OPPOSITION BY WHO?**

It is often grossly mistaken that the assumption of knowing what opposition consists of, is safe. And this is a dangerous liberty that politicians and political leaders enjoy at the peril of the electorate and polity in general.

Politicians and political leaders often consciously or otherwise arrogantly believe and behave in the context of being the only ones entitled to express or engage in political opposition. Unfortunately, this is often allowed to pass unquestioned by the electorate. This misfortune is an abuse of the absolute truth and suppression of the political nature and right of every member of the society, respectively.

It is therefore both wrong and inadequate for only members of the political class to assume the sole status and role of political opposition.

Consequently, every citizen, as a political being is entitled to expressing and engaging in political opposition because, political arrangements are sponsored by the citizens. Therefore, political processes do not have to exclude any of them simply because only some of them have been entrusted with the mandate of final administration and management. In the same vein, members of the political class that have lost the mandate or will not mind the same mandate cannot be denied this critical participatory status and role. Indeed, they have the utmost responsive responsibility to do so, as monitors of those rightly, accidentally or wrongly given the mandate. This has the twin benefits of displaying their positive or negative difference to those given the mandate in the eyes of the electorate and preparing them for responsible governance if given the same opportunity in the future. And between the citizens and this political class that does not have the mandate for governance are political members that share the same identity with those collectively given the mandate but are not in government. This category of politicians includes political party captains or chieftains, party structure leaders or operators and all card bearers.

Consequently, it is wrong and will be most unfortunate for any government not to have opposition from across these classes. And it will be irresponsible to suppress them.

However, this opposition MUST NOT INCLUDE THE MANDATE THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN SETTLED AND GIVEN TO A CLEARLY DEFINED BODY.

It is in order to check any such uncivil, unconstitutional, undemocratic and possible animalistic tendencies that the possessor of the collective mandate is entrusted with coercive power to redress such excesses.

## **OPPOSITION OF WHAT?**

The basis and focus of political appreciation, political understanding and political opposition MUST remain and continue to be the common and collective truth as ONE. This concept of One relates to application to every and all members of the society. It will not be any right of harm or benefit by action, inaction or implication to any individual or group, to the irrational and senseless exclusion of another individual or group.

Matters of the growth, sustenance and development of every and all members of the polity must be the basis, the focus and ultimate objective of opposition. It must always have to do with protection of all irrespective of the freedom of any and some.

For example, with us in Nigeria, it must protect and enhance our material and spiritual beingness. Opposition that is relevant must not seek to serve some first before others; and it must avoid being against some before others. This means that ALL must always take precedence over any and others. And accordingly basic existence and survival of every member and all must take precedence over superior levels of these for any and others. Thus, most fundamental priorities like food, drink and shelter FOR EVERYONE must be the beginning of the success or failure of a government, for appreciation, understanding or opposition. Accordingly, disbelief in the forms of associating anything with God or against God deserves primary opposition and resistance over the kinds of associations to be registered. It is this irresponsible lapse by ignorance and carelessness in our primary identity, by the political class, in the beginning that have opened the path to So Called and

Seemingly neutral CLUBS AND FRATERNITIES with destructive orientations to our primary identities. The incursion has grown and developed to the level of some of our MISGUIDED models of our primary identities doubly associate with such OPPOSING-CUM-DESTRUCTIVE identities. And the ONLY TRUTH that remains constant but has become weak is that NO SUCH MEMBERS OPENLY DECLARE THE APPROPRIATENESS OF SUCH IDENTITY. This is not to deny that with time, members and the organizations are beginning to subtly ask for, demand for and even force for a space for themselves. The most dangerous forms known as cults are becoming popular.

Anything different or variant can be admitted as valuable opposition but is certainly not of primary relevance. This is because men have to first exist and survive extermination before other categories of needs, wants and fancies can follow suite. And next to existence and survival is the total primary identity of man. Thus, those who have spirituality in the form of a defined path for now, that connects to afterlife HAVE SOMETHING TO LOSE IF THEY ARE CARELESS. Those whose spirituality is limited to this life or are bankrupt of any, HAVE THE ABSOLUTE CHOICE OVER EVERY AND ALL OF THEIR AFFAIRS. It is therefore the necessary responsibility of opposition NOT to oversight the relationship between the government or leadership and the basic existence-identities of the people. Any contributors and contributions to opposition that hesitate or fail to make this PRIMARY are doing LESS than will SERVE THE POLITY. This is because beyond this primary necessary discrimination, for every level and sphere of needs, wants and fancies, there is a distinguishable order of priority.

For example, it is not critical to oppose the government on the budget allocation for constituency projects before inadequate funding for oversight functions by the government. It is not critical to oppose the inadequacy of funds for housing before establishing the fastest possible rate of reducing housing deficits with the available human and material resources for safe structures. In the same vein, it is not critical to oppose shortage of food before the provision of farming inputs before farming season. And these cannot be vigorously and passionately pursued in disregard of what are safe for the spiritual security and prosperity of the members.

## **OPPOSITION FOR WHAT?**

This is the aspect that is one but two-faced.

It is clearly for shift of mandate by the electorate to members of the political class that do not possess the mandate WHEN another opportunity comes up. As for those belonging to the same class that have been given the mandate, the objective will be to strengthen the governance, against considering a possible or probable alternative at the point of future validation by the electorate, for another mandate. Between and along with these two classes, the consequential effect of positive opposition from the general citizens is, SHARPENING the evaluation capacity of the polity for superior political actions.

Political opposition will remain relevant as long as it is directed to raising the quality of governance in the society.

Opposition ultimately serves the positive purpose of the ruling party and government for the general benefit of the society, irrespective of the source. If it does not, then it is not relevant. As a result, opposition is necessarily differing for adjusting, correcting and enhancement of governance. Opposition is neither neutrality to what is wrong nor ignition of what is wrong or even purposeless. Opposition is not pulling down. This is because the responsibility for the development and prosperity of the society rests on the shoulders of all members equally. The transitory mandate to a set of people is therefore more of a test of the group and not a total surrender of responsibility to them. It will be irrational and senseless of any opposition class to withdraw or be neutral about this responsibility. This is why the window of such stupidity is closed in One party democracies, even though in the others, ordinary human rationality is assumed to be a sensible security for colourful governance process. And two-party democracies appear to be modest, in this circumstance.

Any form and type of essential deviation from this will either be self-serving of a group or an individual against the general society. Hence, it is NOT rightly politics to belong to a political class to serve self. This unfortunate idea and orientation is the logical product of our degree of governance failure and opposition failure in

our politics and democracy. Politics and governance are not firstly, opportunities but burdensome challenges, for the intelligent and caring.

## **THE CONSTANT CONCERNS FOR ALL CITIZENS WHO CARE**

Because history is dynamic, our needs, wants and fancies continue to arise, renew and require to be sustained and developed, the right and acceptable understanding of our affairs need to be recertified and developed.

In other words, our primary identities that give us the revolving point for understanding and acting out our livelihood along with securing our fundamental material existence need to be constantly upheld as a responsibility of each and all of us. And knowledge is the only means and instrument of enabling and ensuring this. A society of men who either do not know themselves or do not care to know, stand the risk of losses without pain – the foundation for transforming them into different identities.

Education is thus most critical for the identity of anyone and all of us. This is not necessarily with schooling though it can enhance education. It is knowledge along with experience that sharpens our concept of what is right and acceptable for supporting with collective will and power. Without knowledge, education is not feasible and without education political participation will not help a fulfilling establishment and enhancement of any identity. Education is the necessary foundation for enabling proper representation in political practice.

The constant strive and objective of every society must be, to raise as many of its members who are embodiments of their ideas, perspective and living examples of their collective identity. The more they are commonly available the greater the prospect of representative protection of their identities and ambitions in self-governance. The contrary implies a window for possible variations and even successful abuse. It is therefore easy to appreciate, read and understand the stress the electorate can go through, when their collective representatives start quarrelling over a budget that should serve them. The presentation cannot be at free will, the appropriation cannot be so either, if they must be responsive and responsible to the electorate that gave them the mandate. Indeed, it will be outrageous to have the executive fighting corruption while a representative will move for some asylum for

the corrupt. The electorate will get confused or regret the choice of representation. This is not to dismiss the rare possibility of electing humans who may turn into animals in their orientation.

The family must serve as the first level of this necessary socialization. The school will be the first formal exposure for strengthening this socialization. And outside school, formal and informal platforms must stick to this. The logic is that those who have no identity to protect have nothing to lose. But, they can be harmful to those who have and are careless about protecting it. This is because those who simply pick anything they find attractive have no superior boundaries to exceed. Thus, their orientation inevitably becomes, **ANYTHING THAT WORKS IS RIGHT**. This kind of OPEN value can for example easily admit single parenthood without wedlock as an approach to reproduction of society. If those who side with wedlock as the means for reproduction of society sit and watch, you can expect that from among the wedlockers, the single parents will get a boost. But who is the loser?

For that reason, education is meant to define and orient members of an identity on **WHAT** is admissible, **HOW** it is to be admitted, **FOR WHO** and **WHERE**. Thus, while a society does not have to be homogeneous in identity, the different identities must define the terms of their critical or principal difference, for protection. The choice here is for a people to keep what is principal constant. If what matters most in one's identity is who speaks his language, such backwardness can be kept. But it will amount to irresponsible hypocrisy to be changing what is principal, from one situation to another. The same will apply if what is uppermost is those that share the same physical environment with you.

In the end, it is the ability to do this and continue to do this that enables standard opposition which usefully connects with the development and prosperity of the identity of the society. Every political leadership and governance is consequently a mirror of the Education and Opposition capacity for protecting the identities of the citizens. If it is a weak or disgraceful reflection of what the best citizens stand for, it is the failure of the leadership and citizenry together. And the best citizens are constantly, those among the citizens that members will be proud to be like, in most

or all respects. If it is not feasible, then the identity is WRONG or simply for fancy.

In Nigeria of today, it is hardly disputable that the institution of Marriage and Family has BROKEN DOWN for most of our identities. It is no more shocking to discover premarital sexual orientation. This opens the window to out-of-wedlock reproduction, abortion discourse, orphans from unknown parents, contraceptives FOR THE HEALTH OF WOMEN AS THEY ENJOY SEXUAL RIGHTS. This is why with our claims of godly identity it is very prospective to get applicants today, if an outfit seeking to have prostitutes to be licensed and catered for advertises that interested persons should come with their parents as sponsors. This only depicts the level of the general ignorance of our identity along with the damaging consequence of disorientation that is on-going. Negative neutrality is the most dangerous consequence of identity carelessness. The same level of damage is applicable to our schools system. The literature that children are milled with largely pretends to be morally neutral. And those that specifically entrench or promote our identities are either rare or not available – in spite of the knowledge and production capacities of the older generations and our government. How can this be a surprise when even the production of academic journals that connect with the carrier progression of teachers in tertiary institutions no more colour them?

The summary of it is that the disconnection between our knowledge and living or between the knowledge and skills we acquire against our primary identity will NEVER give us any fulfilment. The pretence for the seeming immediate benefit of safety is only a foundation for the gradual destruction or negative transformation of our preferred identity.

## **THE ADDITIONAL CONCERNS FOR THE POLITICAL CLASS**

The distinctive attribute of the political class is that they aspire to be given the mandate of governance by the electorate at every time of exercising that right and responsibility. This implies that they have the competence to put together the necessary knowledge and facilities for the same governance. In consequence, their opposition is expected as a matter of responsibility to connect to HOW governance is being pursued or handled.

And so, beyond the general opposition by the electorate the political class must focus its opposition on the timeliness of governance response. This is because it is not enough to have the knowledge of what is right against the on-going wrong; and it is equally not sufficient to make the required correction after gaining the benefit of the knowledge of what is right. It is indeed most important to carry out what is right in goodly time. For instance, it is **WRONG** to simply admit that every and all citizens of Nigeria need some minimum food, drink and shelter and **KEEP WAITING** until the challenge gets itself solved, simply because provisions are made for farming with policies, inputs and related resources. It is the opportunity burden of the political opposition to **CHECK** the relationship between the arrangements and how far it can cover the scope of challenges within the mandate period and resources available. If this failure or inadequacy is condoned, the society will simply continue to serve as a feasting or gaming field for the political class that will be playing the opportunistic role of serving itself. The best intentions of the ruling government will be inconsequential as the combination of its knowledge and actions will amount to a naught. This zero level is so because, regardless of what may appear to have been achieved is swallowed up by the logical and sensible increase of society members and the avoidable losses to hunger and related deficiencies or diseases. The connection to the factor of time is then a fundamental responsibility of the government and the take off point for responsible opposition by the political class **ESPECIALLY IN OUR CIRCUMSTANCE WHERE FOOD, DRINK AND SHELTER ARE MORE WANTING THAN AVAILABLE**. And this duty of timeliness along with the opposition to ensure timeliness applies to every and all aspects of governance. Just like the time for exercising the right to decide who to give the mandate is felt to be sacrosanct, by the electorate and those seeking to compete for the burden, it is the necessary attribute of governance for whoever gets the mandate.

It is all-round **UNBECOMING AND UNACCEPTABLE** to play god with the burden of governance that is sought for and given. It will amount to audacity to simply act at will. Nonetheless, since such situations may not be intended but can come into place, only **OPPOSITION** by the political class can best ensure the necessary adjustments. The justification of lack of the necessary knowledge, skills, persons and machinery for the right and timely action for every aspect of

governance cannot be POSSIBLE with the leadership, when the party and opposition are alive. But if others are alive and the leadership is unconscious, then, there is an internal problem that is anti-people. And the earlier the government corrects it, the better for its mandate. The gravity of this irresponsibility can be appreciated and measured by the number or weight of those affected, which can rise to generational level. A case in point is if pupils of school age have to wait UNTIL anytime arrangements are made for them, it is UNFORGIVABLE. Indeed, even if it will take eight years of waiting to hook up with the ability to totally absorb them for schooling thenceforth, the creation of a generation of eight year starters is a sufficient anomaly. This is why the longer it is ignored the more we will continue to complain while the politicians pretend to care and feast on it. This is why CROSS-SECTIONAL OPPOSITION is to the benefit of the entire society. If this gravity is not appreciated at this level, take the graduation of students and trainees from all terminal points, if their ENGAGEMENT HAS TO WAIT UNTIL IT SOLVES ITSELF. Most may either get wrongly engaged or languish with their competencies. The popular diversion of self-employment by ignoramus misplaces the primary responsibility of governance in ensuring that no employable hand is left dormant. Indeed in responsive societies where governance is optimally opposed for service, most of formally retired employees get ad hoc re-engagement especially in the areas of institutions building. In our case, the best hands may not be seen again. In fact, it is becoming questionable because there are growing unengaged hands. Timeliness is therefore not only always important but the fastest movement is required according to the relationship between the factors of the specific need, its priority status, the available knowledge, the available skills applicable, the humans to handle it and resources. Where there is no care for timeliness, the question should be, in what factor is the leadership bankrupt and unable to tap from the political opposition and the citizenry?

And from recent experiences, we can justifiably affirm that we have had our Federal budgets of the years 2016 and 2017 passed out of utmost insensitivity and carelessness for the factor of time. While the executive is blameable for very late readiness, the legislature did not help matters. And both the opposition components of the ruling party outside the government and especially the political opposition class not having the mandate have failed to play sufficient roles to make the polity

better. This goes to impress that once you are in government, IT IS YOUR TURN to do whatever you decide or in whatever way or both. This characteristic of double misfortune gives our politicians and political practices away from the electorate. Connected to this is the unfortunate realization that Nigeria got or is getting out of its economic recession WITH NO TIMELY COMMITMENT OF GOVERNMENT ACTIONS. And this can be buttressed with the fact that IF there was a responsible synergy between the ruling party, the executive and the legislature, at least the evident real obstacles between them would have been less by some fifty percent and more than three hundred percent of the achievements would have been realized.

At every point in time the evaluation of governance by the government, its partners, the political opposition and the electorate must connect ability of government in relation to the timely needs, wants and fancies of the polity. It is for instance most insensitive and even abusive, to use available resources for construction of roads in exclusion of any geopolitical zones in any year WITHOUT A DEFINITE STATUS OF WHEN, SCOPE AND TIME OF BENEFITING WITH MINIMUM RESOURCES. But because of the common deliberate setting aside of what must be done against what may wish to be done, governance is like playing with resources and making an academic defence of it. For governance, the scarcity of resources is not the first issue but what MUST FIRST BE DONE with whatever resources are available, to connect with the electorate. It is the ability to swing between optimal satisfaction of constant needs, wants and fancies of the society and minimum available resources that stands a government out as performing. If a geopolitical zone can wait for a year or two to get roads from the federal government, none of the humans can wait for so long before eating. Indeed the connecting roads cannot wait before the internal roads. This kind of opposition failures or incapacity is what the political class and government are being exposed to the electorate by the herdsmen and farmers crisis. One begins to wonder if the activities of these EQUAL Nigerians cannot be managed for the benefit of all of us. The time it is taking to sort it out with the combinations of knowledge, civility, force and responsibility is questionable.

## **THE CONCERNS FOR THE POLITICAL CLASS IN OPPOSITION**

The political class in opposition therefore **ALWAYS** has what to keep it busy, to build its credibility. This is even more when and where the opposition is part of the government like in the legislative arm. They will be entitled to the same documents and rights of expression, evaluation and debate. Thus, though may be unfortunate, it is possible to have an intelligent opposition representative leading in relevant law making in a mist of ruling accidental majority. But it is easier to be One nuisance.

Even when and where the political opposition class members are not part of the government, they will have responsible Press outfits often checking on them for a balanced understanding, as critical observers. But in our case, the common and popular experience is that even those elected do not have operating constituency offices. Where they exist, they either have skeletal staff or incompetent and ill equipped setting. Indeed even personal aides may be touts. Consequently, they do not add value to either the process or actions of opposition. But this is the window of greatest opportunity for the political class in opposition to LEAD out of the present political quagmire. That the electorate are largely illiterate is NOT an excuse because they **REMAIN** the real Masters. And Political Education is best practiced at this connecting point.

Beyond this is the definition of its ideological difference in the process of constant evaluation of governance. This opportunity is supposed to reveal the honesty, identity and competence of the opposition as it necessarily lays out its paradigm for governance **IF IT REALLY HAS ANY DIFFERENCE TO OFFER**. And this enriches the democracy as it provides an alternative to the electorate.

Where there is no real difference, like in our case, even the basics fail to be well attended to. For example, in dealing with the approach of the government to arresting corruption, while the executive is in a ring with party fellows that have consistently failed at party and government levels to provide a responsible alternative, the best the opposition has come up with is that its members are the ones hounded for corruption. Common sense then questions: Are non-ruling party members entitled to freedom even if they are caught, because the ruling party members have not been caught? This tendency of bastardizing basic common and universal truth is the greatest mischief the political class in opposition has

characterized itself with. Another example is the train of the apostles of taking loans. We have experienced the justification and pursuit of loans on the arguments of Debts do not kill, even developed countries have debts hanging on them, to get out of economic crisis we need loans to build infrastructure that will generate employment etc. We have consequently taken and are seeking for more loans to the point of frightening even the International Monetary Fund. The opposition failed to make the decision qualitative for the circumstances of Nigeria because only the expression of what it is to be used for and the ‘soft’ terms were largely determinant. None of the applicants get drilled on **WHAT IF THE REQUEST IS NOT APPROVABLE, WHEN WILL THE APPLICANT COLLAPSE?** The opposition failed to generate any water-tight terms and procedures that will reveal above average performance of the applicants and the level of generated surplus to determine the suitability for consideration. The logical foundation and assumption for the competence to pay back the loan is that the applicant will be at optimal performance. But our institutions that will enable this are largely undeveloped. Thus, instead of minimal loans, we have dived deep into maximum loans. The quality of opposition is so low, unrealistic and self-serving that, the electorate is bound to develop the fear of **NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ALTERNATIVES** when another round of elections come up. And if this becomes pervasive, then political parties are only bands of power seekers of no common relevance to the electorate.

## **THE CONCERNS FOR THE OPPOSITION IN THE RULING PARTY**

In the present Nigeria where the opposition have succeeded in securing the mandate to oust the almost traditional incumbent, the concerns should be many, without being told. This is because it is not uncommon for party members in government to become blind of real and critical matters.

One of such has to do with the building of the political party machinery. The party necessarily outlives the government it has produced. If it is not built, it is a failure of its opposition capacities within and outside the government. For example, it is both unthinkable and shameful to have the subject of party funding becoming an outside public issue, with the executive expressly assuring that no government funds will be available for running the party. This is a challenge that tests the level

of commitment of members. And it is the opposition that must generate the meeting point of what is reasonable and sensible for members between the ideas and resources need for the party. The commitment of the key sponsors that eventually issued notices of withdrawing must be the take off point for this intellectual and resources challenge to the opposition. And in this case, it is worth appreciating that the expressed stand of the executive was a responsible opposition contribution to administration of the party. Opposition is therefore not smelly or for the outsider. It is a most responsible and honourable role, where the protection and prosperity of our positive collective interest is paramount. And serious indication of the need for party development is the asking for party submission of candidates for ministerial appointments after two and half years of a four year tenure. And the opposition is still sleeping. There is a non-clear relationship role between the government and the party in enabling the powers entrusted to the president. Indeed, at the take-off of the government, there was this lousy submission that, the president was advised to restrain state governors from influencing ministerial appointments because the president will not interfere with their appointment of commissioners. This is undemocratic and anti-party. In a situation where the relationship between the government and the party becomes a matter of INEVITABILITY, the role of its useful opposition is dead. Indeed it is more unbecoming to replace opposition with crass criticism in the media by members of the party. If they cannot be disciplined or they are simply allowed to assume such roles, the party will grow inconsequential. And at the end of the day, the president, whose leadership of the party is meant to provide such security will justifiably be blameable. It is only with a sensitive and active opposition this kind of challenge can be resolved responsibly. And if not, it will be difficult to dismiss the understanding that the politics is FOR THEMSELVES. What makes for the credibility of opposition is transparent expression in the interest of all, whereas for the leadership, it is LISTENING AND RESPONDING. Neither the Party nor the Government nor Nigeria belongs to the leader. The difference of the leader is SUPERIOR RESPONSIBILITY that can be achieved ONLY BY CONSULTATION AND EVALUATION.

Another concern for the opposition in the ruling party relates to the processing of governance. It is a cold impression for the electorate to hear from a key member of

the ruling party that budget submissions by the executive arrive at the legislature dead because appropriations and performance are the business of the legislature, only to hear another plea to the executive that the legislature should be carried along in governance, by the same member. The first impression would have very well qualified the member for an excellent opposition role, against assuming the legislature to be a rubber stamp. Then their objective and timely attendance to the budget would have established the honourable status of opposition. However, the second part cancelled the first part. Nonetheless it really only replicates the failure of its opposition to improve on the cultural relationship between the legislature and the executive. If the precedent culture of smooth and respectable relationship was wrong or bad, the present culture has failed to even achieve the external characteristic of smooth relationship. And it goes to question or expose the present composition of the two arms as strange bedfellows or real enemies. This makes the right and timely achievements involving the two arms a matter of Chance, Accident or Inevitability. Frustration, Pretences and Hypocrisy will be the ruling psych of the members in their relationship. Unfortunately, not even the opposition outside the ruling government cares about this. But most critical is the fact that it is an internal failure.

Across the executive and the legislature is the concern for WHY and HOW what went wrong earlier did so. This is of principal and special concern because the ruling party and government drums on the electorate that virtually all the things done before it were either wrong or done wrongly. The piece meal approach or strategy of focusing on the costs alone is unacceptable and insufficient. The opposition has the responsibility of finding out and establishing the WHY and HOW. This is because even if every and all members of the preceding government are established to be thieves or corrupt NOT every one of them must have been in the government to steal or solely to commit corrupt practices. The records will reveal the different times each individual got hooked up, irrespective of the quantum involved. And this will enable attending to the problem with a long lasting solution. It is certainly NOT governance, to fill the airwaves, views and the print media with those suspected, those arrested, those convicted and things recovered, as headlines or most of the activities. This challenge of weak

institutions has to be dealt with for a holistic solution, otherwise the relief will only appear, be temporary and therefore reversible.

There is also the concern of leadership personality and support composition. Common sense wonders over the energy dissipated on reducing the age of qualifying for various political offices when the experiences of older leaders are still giving us great challenges. It is most unlikely for any or most first time governors or president to personally know the most suitable persons across his constituency for constitutional compliance in producing his cabinet. They must therefore require help. This is why the party is there. This is why the logic of admitting an unknown person known to someone you know or admitting a known person by his credentials are tasks for the evaluation of the leader. And at the end of it all, it is the later knowledge of the person after entrusting him with an assignment that matters. It is therefore sensible to deal with those you know just as it is logically provided to ease out whoever disappoints quickly. The responsibility of the opposition is to ensure that WHATEVER the personality of the leader, the collective responsibility of the party is not veiled. The leader should appreciate it, respect it and respond responsibly. He does not have to agree or submit. He may adjust. In every case, he will bear the responsibility of the outcome for himself and the party.

This necessary concern is different from the assemblage of his immediate support team. While it is logical and sensible to give him all-free hand to do this, the opposition will have fewer problems if the RIGHT people are the outcome. In principle, any person can be right. And right here means LOYALTY TO THE LEADER WITHOUT ABUSE OF THE POSITION AND ROLE OF COLLECTIVE TRUST HE IS TO PLAY. The right person can and should disagree IF, WHEN and WHERE the leader tends towards ABUSE in the form of personalization or privatization of this status and role. Thus, the person can be the spouse of the leader, like former president Mugabe attempted. It can be in a veiled form, like a First Lady. But, in reality only a leader who has transformed into a universal man can have non relations, unknown persons or close relations as effective and efficient aides. Most people will be swallowed blind by their relatives if in formal positions of responsibility. It is for this reason the President of the United States is legally prohibited from giving any appointment to any of his

relatives by blood or marriage. One can then only IMAGINE the probable damage if the wrong person is a relative. This burden on the leader must be open to safe criticism and even condemnation by the opposition. If this is ignored or feared, it is clearly anti people for the leader, the opposition, the party and government. A responsible or strong leader will either quickly do away with any such wrong person or a responsible person in the wrong position or role or both or will quickly excuse himself. It will amount to the greatest misfortune for a leader, the opposition, the party and government, to be unable to deal with any such wrong person. It will amount to BETRAYAL of HOW the trust is to be managed for the entire electorate – as long as such a person remains. And the simple reason is that they serve as the cushioning bridge between the leader and all others. If they either intoxicate him with being always right and requiring no assistance or suffocate him by isolating him from those they do not like and opposition persons, he will be heading for political suicide.

Another cultural concern for the opposition of this government, formerly in opposition, is to check and resist dirty business as in the past, which the previous government can be criminalized for. These are activities that actually destroy our institutions. One example is in the area of employment of staff. Whether it is done by Chief Executives or supported by politicians or relatives of political leaders or by regulatory bodies, it is out rightly irresponsible. The process of appropriating funds for organizations is another or that of processing procurement, after financial releases for projects. It is not a hellish task to STOP all such practices and CONTINUE ARIGHT, instead of NOW BALANCING. The intelligence in so doing is that balancing requires an OPPORTUNITY FOR ‘abuse’, whereas continuing aright begins to entrench the required national orientation. There is no way we can generate nationalism out of federal character principle if there is no restarting point and every set of political or bureaucratic leaders play their turn. The failure of the opposition in government to do this will simply enhance the existing legacy. No difference would have been made by the government.

Opposition is the most serious responsibility after governance. The integrity of those who contribute to positive opposition for political development that will impact on the general wellbeing of the electorate rests on the fact that it is voluntary. The best leadership is the one that befriends, respects and entertains

opposition. This is different from academic criticism for pass time. Critiques are often admirable but have to make their contributions relevant to governance, to qualify for the status and role of opposition.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **WHAT IS WRONG WITH WHAT IS RIGHT IN APC GOVERNANCE AND WHAT IS WRONG IN WHAT IS RIGHT WITH PDP OPPOSITION ARE INFORMED BY IGNORANCE AND IMMATURITY: BETWEEN THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT IT IS THEIR TURN AGAINST THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT IT IS THEIR PERMANENT BELONGING**

#### **THE ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS PARTY**

This is the ruling party and government since May, 2015. It will be foolhardy to question the background, justification and mandate given to this party, by voting the previous party and government out of office. Insecurity, Corruption and economic crisis were unquestionably the front challenges that required priority attention.

On security, it is impossible to deny that there is a critical positive difference with respect to the insurgency facet. The recovery and retention of some local government territories in the north east is a classical success. This success was possibly not impossible for achieving by the previous government BUT WHY DID IT FAIL? Indeed why was corruption able to subdue this national challenge and priority responsibility? The money was there. The fighting men were there. The acquisition of arms was not impossible. What difference did or has the present ruling party and government made?

The element of corruption was detected as having gravely contributed to the inability of the government to attend to Boko Haram menace. And the trial along with revelations from Dasuki's roles proved this beyond reasonable doubt. The sharing between political chieftains and services chiefs of security funds is the most irresponsible history for our national destruction. The implication of this is that the institutions and men that will be engaged in the rooting out of Boko Haram were corrupted. And the indicator was the hesitation in obliging the new commander in chief on relocating to a new field. This psych had not completely disappeared when Buhari was away on sick leave. With a seeming fall-back, the Vice President repeated a similar order and the response was nonchalant. But the moment Buhari returned, it took full effect. Thus, the challenge of corruption that

fuelled insecurity was further destructive of our security institution. But why were the security chiefs a professional failure in guiding the ousted government? Why did they opt for the money at the expense of the oath of their offices? This is the critical question because none of them was an incompetent chief by skill. Worse still, they were vulnerable to posting ill equipped men to face Boko Haram and the procedure was most unprofessional. It can therefore be deducted from this experience that the roles of the Service chiefs had a security bulb. And this bulb extended from corruption attraction to the nonchalant disposition of seeming commanders outside the service and government and the submission of the then commander in chief to the same. Goodluck Jonathan is definitely not a blood sucking individual. But he was not helped by the ruling corruption of even the former commanders in the Council of State. This is a very positive suspicion in the light of the complaints of these commanders and the following by some naive or mischief leaders over the leadership of the services that have changed the story line. The drumming of federal character reflection in the appointments will appear to possibly serve the dual targets of getting those who will be fooled by listening to them and destroy the changing spirit of loyalty to the new commander in chief. What then will possibly happen if and when the security institutions and the leadership returns to dual loyalty for its selfish benefit or even shift loyalty to commanders outside? This challenge only reveals that the military that have not been democratic have not given up in keeping an unholy hold on the nature and character of our governance. Buhari is the difference. And this can partially explain the character of the new insecurity pattern. Crimes like kidnapping and secession are now armed. And arrests relating to bastardly killings like those of worshippers in Benue and those in Taraba and the one in Plateau and Zamfara etc. have indicated MORE THAN HERDSMEN as instrumental. The club of political loyalists to these commanders of corruption and destruction are now the developed force to be resisted. The electorate are largely blind and out of this. The PDP that will appear to ignorantly serve as a fitting vehicle for building the new form of challenge may be naive about this understanding but is effectively playing it. And the form is informed by its character of opposition. All that it is after is to remove Buhari. Buhari is the problem. The agents in the legislature have consistently aided the frustration or destruction of nationalist actions accordingly.

On corruption, it will be insulting to suggest that no successes have been achieved. To be attractive to questioning by anti-graft agencies to public accounting officers have revealed embarrassing outcomes. The best records relate to those convicted. They are best because the cases have been closed. For a governor, a service chief or a minister to be so involved was not expected. Some with their children or brothers or friends. Discovered funds in undisclosed accounts, soakaways, farms, seemingly abandoned vehicles, houses, etc. are no mean achievements. Whatever made this possible was the height of failure in holding public trust. For instance, a former petroleum chief was not believable when he claimed that the millions of dollars found on him was a gift until the activities of his minister came to light. The resources involved beat the imagination of any sensible man.

The cries that only non-ruling party and government members are hounded amounts to intellectual exercise. None of such cries have concretely established that any person or functionary in chase is innocent. Worse of all there are supposedly key members of the ruling party and government that are also being questioned. And the yet to be chased members of the ruling party and government that are alleged to deserve similar chase or been petitioned against CANNOT SERVE AS EXCUSES FOR EITHER NON PERFORMANCE OR RETREATING FROM CHASING THOSE FOUND TO BE QUESTIONABLE. Indeed the freeing of an accused by the Supreme Court on the ground of the locus standee of the prosecuting agent revealed the complexity of our system response to matters of values or morality. Naive observers including former justices praised the freedom, whereas it does not amount to in-culpability. But has the agency with the locus standee the lever to take that up? Why wasn't it able to initiate it? This state and nature of the system decay of the government machinery is part of the challenge that the ruling government has to face. This is necessarily so because, it reveals that the routine machinery and processes of checks in the form of ACCOUNT AUDITING have long collapsed. Like the security bosses that saw a beneficial option for not acting RIGHT, the public service functionaries were not exempted. A former minister of finance indicated the fury she faced for suggesting prudent economic restructuring from some governors. It is in this circumstance that uncritical and irresponsible opposition fails to appreciate implementation of its locked up policy of Single Treasury Account or completion of its abandoned good

projects because it stole the resources. Nothing will appear to be more shameless and revealing of the quality spectrum of the corruption orientation that has to be overcome.

These twin factors reflect on the economic capabilities of the now ruling party and government to deliver dividends of democracy. It started with a tight ability to even pay workers in employment and to meet up its contributory responsibilities for pensions. The sceneries of the Maina pension exposures and the strong resistance of the Pension Commission boss to relinquish her office were good pointers to the mess in that direction. With the roles of the legislature in the poor processing of annual budgets and frustration of other anti-corruption or economic recovery laws, the ruling government can only move at a strangled pace. When this is given the active colouration of politically motivated destruction of oil facilities, it will be appreciated that if not by the grace of a super power, the government has a slim chance to have an easy overcoming of the challenges. The slow take up of gigantic infrastructural projects has therefore been at an inevitability pace. The railway projects, the Mambila electricity project, the Niger bridge project, the Ogoni land clean-up project, the roads projects, the dredging of River Niger and the Ajaokuta steel project are credible overcoming of the internal and external resistances to the responsibilities and commitment of the ruling party and government. And a good pointer is the culpability of the government to impeachment on a critical issue like the security of the nation. The government was clearly hasty and not procedural in committing funds from reserves even though the legislature was fully contributive and aware of the contractual requirements. Thus, the greatest evidence of the opposition is in the SLOW and almost UNIMPRESSIVE process and level of delivering the concrete dividends of democracy, they were opportune to give but destroyed. A laughable but intriguing one was the offer by a presidential hopeful that he will close the history of insurgency in two weeks. He must either have a pact with the Boko Haram or its sponsors or have an undertaking by those who are ticks of our security collapse or has an assured greater command of the security operatives that can be of double loyalty, than the credentials of Buhari. The constitutional review process was the most dramatic display of resistance to our collectivity Because Buhari is the head of the ruling party and government.

It will as a result amount to a blatant lie to suggest that Nothing has been achieved on the phases of the inevitable challenges the ruling party and government was confronted with on assuming office. It will equally be dishonest to refuse to appreciate that whatever achievements have been established have been out of extreme avoidable frustration led or allowed by key members of the same ruling party.

And the sole explanation for this revolves around Muhammadu Buhari, the leader of the ruling party and government. He radically differs and strongly or adamantly resists becoming like what he does not believe or understand. His focus appears to be on REALIZATION of the opposites of what he has inherited. And he was careless about the INFORMAL process or understandings to achieve those BECAUSE they will ABUSE the DIFFERENCE he is expected to make. One angle is the scramble and war for constituency's projects that are not constitutionally provided for. The other is the painful check on COOL petroleum subsidy for questionable contracts and clearly doubtful prospect of having abused Oil and Gas licenses renewed. These two examples are extremely critical because they define or determine the poverty or prosperity of the new born ticks of the National Assembly and the undeveloped ticks on the petroleum dependent economy that we have.

What is therefore wrong with what is in the right doings of the All Progressives Congress party and the government has three related facets. The first is that, whatever realizations Muhammadu Buhari can, should or will pursue MUST need to cover all Nigerians irrespective of partisan or non-partisan status. The resisting elements within and outside the party thus have a stake in the governance he is given the mandate to lead. The implication of this is that, they deserve a listening ear and attention, as against suspicion or outright dismissal. The second facet that is related to this is the REALITY that responsibility for the first is ordinarily inevitable without giving some DELIBERATE CONSIDERATIONS to the resistors. And the philosophy that justifies this is that, if nothing was wrong there will be no need for correction, amendment or change. Beyond this, CHANGE does not or need not start with exclusion or elimination. And the third related facet is the DOUBLE REALITY that a Clean formal process is impossible, impracticable or even unjustifiable because QUALIFIED VICTIMS will cut across the board.

Between those who enabled the mandate to be secured were members and chieftains among the resistors and loyalists. For Muhammadu Buhari to move ahead with the loyalists who persevered with the ‘losses’ and only dream of a probable relief in an uncertain future, is unfair and unrealistic. It is unfair to the loyalists who have so CHOSEN and unrealistic to those who have Chosen not to persevere. The philosophy is that both choices are really or truly wrong because both parties are culpable. Consequently, Muhammadu Buhari is wrong to consider that the loyalists deserve some safety or understanding over the resistors.

Accordingly, the style or culture of leadership withdrawal or non-involvement built up an unacceptable peripheral culture of indiscipline between the two classes of the same challenge and for required support. Allegations are made or revelations of the skeletons of those in the loyalists group by the resistors or their agents. The colouration or effect on the polity and governance logically weakens the strong stand of the ruling party and government to non-participant puristic observers. The rule of equality in deserving attention of reward or punishment will be the scale. And beyond this, new ticks were being born right with and under Muhammadu Buhari but he either pretends not to know, ignores when his attention is drawn to it or only acts out of inevitable necessity. This is the background for the loss of influence in the National Assembly, collapse of party discipline and political rascality at the state levels of the ruling party. And with him, it is either his relation or his closest aide on one hand, or the manipulation of the state-house machinery for growing the characteristics of the problematic groups or abuse of standard formal access/relationship requirements for governance on the other. The culture of protective services by this bunch of rascals made or logically presented Muhammadu Buhari as a leader in captivity NO MATTER HOW MUCH DENIAL HE PERSONALLY MAKES OF IT. And the isolation of the leader from the immediate led is both wrong and unacceptable. The mandate of the leader is Not of the electorate Minus the Party and Government.

This wrong or wrongs constitute what need to be evaluated as either sufficient or otherwise, to qualify for failure of Muhammadu Buhari and his government. And this will be against two factors. The first is, IF the few undeniable achievements for the collective benefit of Nigerians are not sufficient justification for the toll, price or cost of the pains caused to especially the resistor group. The second is IF

the psychology of the resistors group was INVITING ENOUGH to assure Muhammadu Buhari for even a tacit understanding that WITH A LARGE RELIEF FOR THE SOCIETY THEIR SPECIAL RELIEFS WOULD BE ATTENDED TO. If the All Progressives Congress party and government is Ignorant of this or simply downplays it, it is not only WRONG but has the challenging responsibility to MATURE-UP to OVERCOMING them.

## **THE PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY IDENTITY**

The machinery and members of the Peoples Democratic Party are in the lead and are entitled to, in opposition. The pain of having been ousted from power cannot wither away in three years following some sixteen years of free control, cutting short a fifty year project. The siding of the party with any individual or group playing resistor role within the ruling party and government of All Progressives Congress or in other opposition parties or even self-appointed guardians outside political parties or organizations that claim to wish the lot of Nigerians well, will be treated as product of OPPOSITION, of the PDP. The logic and sense is that it will serve to strengthen the right of the opposition, with the objective that it will correct the ruling party and government.

That the opposition is right for the WRONGS defined against the All Progressives Congress party and government need not be repeated. The PDP is made up of fellow Nigerians with members who can think and have senses too. Indeed, not necessarily lower than those of members and leaders of the ruling party and government along with their supporters.

However, the first drawback of the resistance stand, the root of APC crisis and identity of the PDP is the plain and superior fact and truth that FORMALITY has a superior status over INFORMALITY. Those who self-admit their culpability to abusing their trust and surrender what did not belong to them can safely guard themselves against formal charges based on records. Those who hesitate or refuse to do so voluntarily cannot possibly resist formal charges. While they remain innocent until convicted, they remain suspects until cleared. The collective interest and commonwealth of Nigerians is in the faceless and objective form of formality. The truth of Nigeria is not in the negotiations of any individuals or groups. It is therefore wrong and will ever continue to be so, to consider that the right of

attention by any individual, individuals or groups should be admitted as a right OVER what is collective. This is why those who persevere with immediate losses and got the discretionary avoidance of Muhammadu Buhari are more tolerable. Those who resist because it is their entitled choice, can remain credible only at the informal level. This sample of dialectical relationship played out well, when Bukola Saraki met with Muhammadu Buhari after the technical discharge of the assets declaration charges against him by the Supreme Court. Muhammadu Buhari was reported to have sympathized with Bukola for the tortuous legal process he went through and Bukola prostrated to accept. However, it was clear that Muhammadu Buhari could not have meddled into the process of the charges. He is consistently in the open, for formality, that is safe and stronger. He could not be expected to ask that other charges be suspended. He did not interfere in the governance of states or the party structure.

Hence, to welcome an arrangement where for instance the standard for governance FROM A STATE OF DOOM STRIVING TO STICK OUT THE HEAD, will be some tacit understanding between immediate FAILED LOSERS and the LEADER WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY TO CHANGE THINGS will be ambitious. The discretion will be more risky than safe. It will require a bloodless heart to believe and understand that a party to the damages that require correction will be a frontline trustee for correcting the damages. Immodesty or lack of humility or remorse is the identity closer to such requests, suggestions and expectations. It is for instance appreciable if one finds the agents or representatives of such informal suggestions to have been associated with claims of unpaid billions for subsidies of refined fuel imports that were never supplied, appropriation of hundreds of houses for self out of a few thousand for public workers, purchase of public infrastructure facilities without paying, that are also dysfunctional or the arrow head of billions worth city infrastructure development that has failed to take off. It is not different at the state level, where the preceding government had stolen the resources while appearing to have worked, based on chains of loans. The succeeding government that meets up with the maturity to pay for the loans will not find it easy to believe and understand that the same party will be trustworthy for getting out of the woods. The best offer will be to ignore or exclude such party. And if the party gets ungrateful by non-remorse or even fighting, it will only be intelligent to formally

engage the rascal, regardless of what he sniffs or smokes. Similarly, it will not be funny where the excuse for losing state resources is presented as including powerful individuals in the state as the private beneficiaries through cash gifts or payment for works and services that are private to them. In other words, it will be burdensome for past business mode to be understood and much less so to continue.

The essence of this wrong is that, what is public and collective cannot of surely be safe by informal handling as against formal handling. The wish, desire, implied suggestion or expectation of the resistors, the opposition, the PDP and their supporters is therefore at least **MORE WRONG THAN RIGHT**. The collective interests of Nigerians will be vulnerable to another experience that is expected to be corrected by the change of mandate. And it will amount to both betrayal of trust and irresponsibility on the part of the ruling party and government to take such available and unjustifiable risk.

The second wrong about what is right in the expectations of the opposition, is the isolation of the performance capacity of the government from their resistance and even sabotaging roles. The right or entitlement to attention and indeed good or better governance is not **MORE FEASIBLE** with irrational and senseless resistance.

The three opportunities to process the national budget is a typical reference for utmost display of resistance. The time wasting that is not explainable and the intrigue of engaging the executive agencies in self-serving plans and projects have become established as part of legislative culture. The preparation of zero-budget that is water-tight was never given a benefit of the doubt or opportunity for trial. The sanctioning of key members of the same ruling party that is majority in the National Assembly for petitioning budget padding or questioning the leadership for forgery of import documents or ignoring the questionable integrity of another member are terrible resistance actions **AGAINST RESPONSIBLE LEGISLATION TO SUPPORT GOOD OR IMPROVED GOVERNANCE**. The epileptic manner in which the legislature responded to the charges of non-transparency on its leadership before an anti-graft institution by initiating a sudden amendment to the law establishing it and the screening of a head of another agency was less than honourable. The total suspension of the screening of nominations for

appointments to serve the country was the pointer height of determination to resist. And the experience of compelling the executive to admit its abusive budgetary amendments to immediately accommodate its constituencies funds plotting, to be made up by supplementary budgeting to follow, on two occasions, are clear indications of the desperate and obsessive commitment of the resistance forces to smooth governance experience. That is the effective benefit of the stand that Executive Budget Proposals arrive DEAD for breathing life into it by Appropriation. In the seventh Assembly no such experience had room. It was as cooperative as hyenas and vultures feasting on a carcass. The disagreements were very often inconsequential.

A classical case is that of the Petroleum Industry Laws. As central and critical as it relates to the poverty or prosperity of the national economy, the leadership of the legislature intermittently promised to process the laws to a conclusive end. Now that it is in its last year, it is clear that the resistance is rating its performance only in comparison to the unwilling preceding governments under the Peoples Democratic Party. The Governance tranche that was passed, was with unintelligent clauses of making Engineering a Certificate for Leadership and Management. And when the Executive pointed out the prejudicial irrelevance, it took a different period between the two chambers to have the corrected version transmitted to the President. The speed at which the committees independently worked or that of the joint committees never matter.

A third wrong that may be out of ignorance or mischief, is the impression that governance can be better or more rewarding IF the PERSON of Muhammadu Buhari is not the leader. This is questionable on two grounds. The first is that there is nothing personal in the governance process for any leader to hold on to. The personalization of the process is always discretionally irresponsibly injected or introduced. And the clear consequence of such was the cause of most of the performance failures of the Peoples Democratic Party governments between 1999 and 2015. It is therefore Not Buhari or Whoever But the Value of the leader. The second is that replacement of the person does not necessarily give the answer of good governance. And the pointer is that Obasanjo was resisted against a shabby third term, Umaru gave in to God under controversial circumstances and Jonathan became a targeted ANYTHING BUT JONATHAN. Thus if internal replacement

was of no benefit and replacement by another person outside the Peoples Democratic Party is now questionable, a return to the house is certainly not an answer. Heaping the inability or failure of the resistors, the opposition and their supporters on the person of Buhari is illogical, senseless and therefore unintelligent. And the basis is that it is the largest collective interests of all citizens that matter for attention and not that of any particular individual, individuals or group against the citizenry.

The Peoples Democratic Party along with the resistors, opposition and supporters who share these terms for defining the inability or incapacity of Muhammadu Buhari and the ruling government are OUT-RIGHTLY WRONG and not more wrong than right. In other words there is no element of right that is associable with the basis, style and activities of the opposition, to the ruling party and government and its leadership. The gamut of ignorance or mischief that may be responsible for these drawbacks must necessarily be overcome BY DISCIPLINE in knowledge and orientation of what is right, TO POSITIVELY CONNECT WITH THE RIGHT REQUIREMENTS FOR IMPROVING GOVERNANCE. Just like the All Progressives Congress party and government has no justification whatsoever to give good governance in exclusion of the Peoples Democratic Party and the Opposition elements in the forms of internal resistors or supporters, the Peoples Democratic Party and its carriages has no moral, rational and sensible justification to claim any credentials or capacity to be either suitable or more suitable IN DENIAL of both its inhuman committal blunders and the modest recoveries by the All Progressives Congress party and government. And the inalienable basis for this is that the entire resources of Nigeria are the absolute entitlement of all Nigerians THAT ONLY INCLUDE THE FUNCTIONARIES OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES, THE MEMBERS AND GOVERNMENT. Those that are inclusive are neither the ONLY ones nor do they have SUPERIOR RIGHTS over THE REMAINING.

The perception and orientation that ALL Nigerians have only the right and duty to submit to whatever ESPECIALLY the ousted Peoples Democratic Party and its agents or masters offer to Nigerians amounts to audacity. It is informed by ignorance and arrogance. And a pointer to this was the loose expression that the party will continue to hold unto power for more than five decades. This has

historically been proved wrong by its failing to get another mandate to continue after sixteen years and the established justification that it has been most abusive of the collective trust it was to manage. Two wrongs are accordingly deducible from this psychological challenge of the Peoples Democratic Party and the followers of its train. The first is that political power that is really a mandate is a burden TO CARRY OUT VISITABLE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL NIGERIANS. The obsession for power is for that reason the beginning of failure. In other words, the call or cry or fight to assume or take over power is the FIRST RESERVE OF THE ELECTORATE. Any political party, including the ruling and the opposition SHOULD acquire this award to bear the burden of responsibility BY SYMBOLIZING A SUPERIOR KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF OUR COLLECTIVE CHALLENGES AND THE REQUIRED DISCIPLINE FOR BETTER REALIZATIONS. And it is no less irresponsible for the All Progressives Congress party and government to give EVEN AN IMPRESSION that, the beneficiaries of governance should be Nigerians IN EXCLUSION of either the ELITE in general or any portion or section of the elite. No individual or group in the ruling party and government will be right to assume that, the lot of Nigerians had suffered as such; and the DUE strategy is to exclude those that had benefited in the past. It is wrong to assume that the government is for the majority of Nigerians to the exclusion of a portion just like it is wrong to assume that the government should be for the whims and caprices of a portion of Nigerians against the majority.

## **THE NECESSARY BASIS FOR NATIONHOOD**

To begin with, nobody came into this world or was born with clothes, shelter, what to eat, what to drink and the companion to be with or to belong. These are matters of existence and survival that are deliberately arranged or committed. And the relationship term is that the new born or member is REALLY ALLOWED OR GRANTED THESE by the non-refusal, non-objection or non-resistance of ALL OF OTHERS. This implied value of the equal right to life and living is further protected by different grades of sanctions against anyone including the biological bearers of the new born, IF HIS EXISTENCE OR SURVIVAL IS DEFINED AS HAVING BEEN DELIBERATELY CUT SHORT. And so, in any society where ONE single person becomes short of accessing these basics, something is

unacceptably wrong or irresponsible of the society or arrangement. For instance, it is absolutely unacceptable and irresponsible for any child or children to be born with the grant of two clothes, safe shelter, nutritional foods and drinks while another one has either none or less enough to threaten existence and survival. The poverty and malnutrition across the globe is thus an indicator of human arrangements failures. And that it is VERY MUCH AVOIDABLE OR MANAGEABLE.

The first responsibility of governance is to ENSURE the sustenance of making these basics available; improving their quality in the terms of both their availability and how they are made available; expanding their quantum and spectrum in terms of variety and even types – beyond forms. For example, providing milk by breast, by powdered milk and addition of education can become part of the basics as society develops. The challenge is constant because as available deaths are minimized more members are added into the society no matter how well planners deceive themselves. The standard of basics hence continues to transform. While the scope applicable to infants differs from those of children; adolescents, adults and the aged have theirs. For example, the basic requirements for the education and employment that will enable the optimal historical attention to this first responsibility of governance do not apply to the infants, children and the aged. This is why and how in some societies, allowances are made available to the unemployed and the aged to purchase their basics that have been effectively arranged for availability in the market. In the end, every member of the society is available or useable FOR THE SUSTENANCE OF ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY AND THEIR PROSPERITY.

But these provisions or performance of any society or governance IS NOT THE BEGINNING AND END OF HUMANITY. Eating, drinking, sheltering, learning, reproduction, movement or transport etc. ARE NOT THE COMPLETE CONTENT OF HUMANITY TEMPLATE. It is therefore backward for any political party and government to ignore or remain at the level of providing ROADS, BRIDGES, DRINKING WATER, SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS, RAIL SERVICES, POLICE, MILITARY, JUDICIAL SERVICES, ELECTRICITY, BOOSTING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, RAISING MANUFACTURING OF GOODS LIKE FERTILIZER, TEXTILES, VEHICLES, etc. In other words, to

be struggling to do these along with challenges like prenatal deaths, hunger, ignorance, crimes etc. since independence IS BAD ENOUGH. If our political arrangements have successfully been clearly or more beaten by these increasing basics demands, politicians should be ashamed of sticking out their heads after a failure session. And the bankruptcy of ideas with our politicians and political platforms is evident by the poverty of ideological differences. Thus, over and over, ruling parties and governments are MORE engaged in ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT. Leadership is at best MINIMAL. Nigeria is not being taken further or beyond the level of the basics. Neither the ousted Peoples Democratic Party nor the ruling All Progressives Congress party and government have shown a clean and clear knowledge, understanding and commitment to this. This is why the ruling party and government is building credibility with catching thieves and the furthest the opposition can go is: WHAT OF THE THIEVES IN THE RULING PARTY AND GOVERNMENT? And the shameful dropping to the level of: DO NOT HARASS THE OPPOSITION LEADERS WITH CHARGES logically and sensibly cuts down its credibility. It suggests either that it is incapable of attracting non questionable members or it prefers to lead with questionable members. None of the two is responsible.

Accordingly, by the backward or below competence or wicked outings of the Peoples Democratic Party and its supporters, both the ruling party and government along with the electorate have been losing doubly. In one respect, the opposition has failed or ignored the further snail speed of the executive in carrying out governance. When it takes the Executive to the third quarter of a calendar year to present a budget for the following year and close to another six months or more to secure appropriations, the process needed not to be repeated after the 2015 experience. The incompetence or wickedness of the resistors along with the opposition has unfortunately rewarded the leader of the ruling party and government with the courage to publicly admit to slow pace of movement and that it is not always the best. But, he covered the truth that, slow pace of movement is not denied for some times but is not justifiable for most of the times. And the justifiable basis for this objection is that, the growing challenges of governance that should affect the people cannot be stemmed down by waiting. In-between this dilemma is the intellectual incompetence along with sincerity of both parties. Thus,

the second and bigger loser is the polity that gets lately, poorly or never served for the dividends it gave the mandate to the ruling party and government.

## **THE NECESSARILY SUPERIOR BASIS FOR NATIONHOOD**

Ideas, Principles and Values MUST ALWAYS BE THE BEDROCK UPON WHICH OUR SOCIETY, OUR NATIONHOOD AND OUR HUMANITY must rest. These, must be KNOWN and LIVED by all by the insurance of the leaders. Like the example of right to life, even ignoramus of law LIVE without or not to abuse another person's right to life. And when it does happen, in addition to ignorance not being an excuse, the abuser does not expect or get assistance from any person. And the leaders, through judicial instruments sanction the abuser beyond any resistance he may or can put up. Thus, it is the LIVING that is the ultimate orientation that is required. For clarity, men do not, cannot and need not Live roads, foods, drinks, houses, cars, trains, farms, schools, etc. It is Ideas, Principles and Values that are lived.

In Nigeria, we have our Constitution. There is nowhere in the document or such document of any society or nation that will list the basics for the citizens to be attended to by the government or leaders. It will express ideas, principles and values that must drive the history of the people. And they are often universal to the extent of covering ALL members safely for EXISTENCE, SURVIVAL AND PROSPERITY, even as it recognizes, respects and protects differences that will not abuse the collectivity. But every citizen does not require to be a lawyer or a barrister in constitutional law to fit in. This is because it is the ideas, the principles and values that require to be lived. Law, lawyers and adjudication come in only when citizens conflict in the material mode of LIVING them.

But, there is a minimum standard or requirement for every adult citizen. And it is packaged in the NATIONAL ANTHEM and THE PLEDGE. It is the MOTOR for living the entire constitution. This motor is spared with immaterial or spiritual parts or values or principles that are for living by the citizens in the landscape known as Nigeria. The members that are called upon, is with respect, to assume the commendable status of COMPATRIOTS. This is a meltdown concept irrespective of mother tongue, region, religion or name for the qualification of every member that qualifies as a Nigerian citizen as defined in the constitution. And the caller is

not a human being or a spirit but NIGERIA, that symbolizes a land of decent and voluntary people with an immediate reality and unfolding positive future. This collection of people with a common identity of goodness and for goodness have a common calling, to SERVE our FATHERLAND. This is an invitation to be committed to a common claim and source that produced us. The land is the father, therefore NOT the land of the father of any of us or even the land of our different or various fathers. This birth is superior to our biological relationship. And the instruments required that will enable each one, a collection of us and all of us to achieve this common value are LOVE, STRENGTH AND FAITH. We are to care, strongly and believing in Nigeria. This is consistent with what those before us (HEROES) successfully laid, that we are now enjoying. We will be failing them if we fail to build on the fruits of their labour that we now live on. Our love can only become true if we NEVER allow their labour and achievements to be in vain. Accordingly we shall serve with our HEART AND MIGHT, because we love and have the strength, given our faith in Nigeria. The ultimate goal is NATIONHOOD where the members are civilly bound in FREEDOM, PEACE AND UNITY. These are the foundation ideas for every Nigerian's citizenship and what any political party and leaders MUST, SYMBOLIZE, UPHOLD, PROMOTE AND PROTECT.

As a country of faithfuls or believing men and women in ONE Almighty God, we are required and accordingly submit to Him, to direct our Course that is undoubtedly NOBLE. This has taken care of our faith. We are not a people, a country or nation of faithlessness or pretend that God has no business in our affairs. The individuals or groups who will bear faith in God and also or proceed to restrain or exclude our beingness from religion or morality are less than our requirement for nationhood. This is because the call upon God to GUIDE our leaders RIGHT, help our youths the TRUTH to Know, in LOVE and HONESTY to grow, in order to live JUST and TRUE for building on what our past heroes have laid TO BUILD A NATION WHERE PEACE AND JUSTICE SHALL REIGN, is a declaration of submission to Him. In Nigeria, the Ideas we have chosen for ourselves for existence, survival and prosperity are to be driven by the principles outlined WITH THE HELP OF GOD.

Accordingly, when a leader takes oath of Office, he is summarily reminded and committed by pronouncing the Pledge. That he submits to Nigeria, with Faith,

Loyalty and Honesty. To Serve with all his Strength, in defence of her Unity, that her Honour and Glory will be held UP. And Almighty God is invoked to help.

It is interesting to specifically further note that, the majority of believers who are Nigerians are further blessed with either the LORD'S PRAYER or the SEVEN OFT REPEATED VERSES, as Christians or Muslims. And these do not conflict, contradict or oppose the Constitution or the National Anthem.

But how many of our politicians, leaders, technocrats, philosophers, businessmen, teachers, students, religionists are conversant with the National Anthem? How many can even sing it? How many can recite it? How many have cared to understand it? How many have imbibed it to drive their disposition and orientation? How many believe in it? For the rascals who will claim that their religion is superior, since there is no contradiction between the two, How positive is the result of their relationship with the Lord's Prayer or the Seven oft repeated verses, when the same questions are put to the person? For example, in the case of the political leaders who are Muslims, how many of them know that prayer (*Istikhara*) to consult Allah for guidance in every major affair? How many of them use it?

Thus, religion or Islam and Christianity are not obstacles to our Nationhood. Indeed they are opportunities for stronger, more meaningful and fulfilling Nationhood. Unfortunately the Ignorance of those who refuse to find out to know, is the generator of the Exploitation of both of those who refuse to find out to know along with the greater Ignorance of those who lack the capacity or skill to even know by those who feed fat on this, by claiming to know or assumed to know. This is the tragedy of our history. It is displayed by Believers in name who are ignorant or careless about their BELIEFS asking God from time to time, when they run into need or crises WITHOUT BEARING ANY GODLINESS and supported by religionists who do not know, recognize, appreciate and commit themselves to tenets THAT DO NOT CONTRADICT JUSTICE, FREEDOM PEACE AND UNITY for our nationhood. This is unfortunately, the complexity of our bankruptcy LIVING or DISCIPLINE in spite of our more than rich Ideas and Principles base. Our religion and constitution have not been embraced.

If our leaders are to be what we can be, the UNITY, PEACE AND PROGRESS of Nigeria will NOT be difficult for both the Executive and the Legislature to pursue. The colours of party identity will not be a risk or threat to whoever is the President. The electorate will not suffer the confusion between voting for honourable candidates irrespective of the party background because the President should get easy support for his bills. But the truth about competence for nationhood is IRRESPECTIVE OF COLOURS. Because the President can make mistakes or even commit wrongs, he requires checks from WHATEVER COMPETENT SOURCE, whether from within or outside his party. In other words, having a different party from that of the President to be in the majority should not make nationalism hopeless. That is why independent candidature is not a mad idea. But, where a party chief can get drunk and expect that instructing his members to act in disregard for what we all stand for and are pursuing, we are closer to animals than humans. Where the opposition will not strongly support what is right for the nation because its craze is to have its turn, we are not on the course of nationhood. What is required for instance is that after elections on different party platforms, on getting to the legislature, EVERY AND ALL MEMBERS WILL BECOME EMBODIMENTS OF THE SAME IDEAS, PRINCIPLES AND VALUES IN THE NATIONAL ANTHEM AND COMPETE IN ENSURING THAT THE EXECUTIVE REMAINS ON THE SAME COURSE. The responsibility of the electorate is to get the best men into the government by awarding their mandate. These men do not have to be on the same political platform. And both the Executive and the Legislature have openings for engaging similar good or competent men who have no partisan leanings to give helping hand.

These characteristics failure is responsible for the pervasive IMMORTALITY across our leaders and followers, always edging towards the option of ANYTHING BUT THE PRESENT. This weakness of giving up is Not of Compatriots. The Nationhood that we all cry for cannot be approached without common values. It cannot be attained without universal discipline that envelops or accommodates all of us. It is therefore foolhardy to suggest that one individual or group is the answer to the challenges of all AS IF ALL OF THOSE THAT ARE NEITHER THE INDIVIDUAL NOR GROUP ARE MERE PUNS LIKE THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE GROUP TO THE SELF APPOINTED FOOL.

Education is therefore the cardinal call by responsibility and duty, for national orientation. The political parties must constantly engage in this, whether they are in power or not. Public institutions must make it a duty to introduce and entrench this. Individuals, families and religious groups must promote knowledge, education and the discipline of godliness. Because no religious leader is God or the bearer of the scripture that is referenced for guidance, following must not be like a herd of sheep. And the justification for this is that the leaders are fallible. The distinction between what is right and wrong is determined by knowledge and the guidance of God – no matter how many false bearers of the truth appear. And one example is that an insane can claim to have been instructed spiritually to marry his sister and a false priest can accept to join them in marriage. But Jesus can intervene by children of God resisting it. Individuals and voluntary or independent organizations have this urgent responsibility to take up.

The level and quality of this education at any time in point is the basis for possible discipline that can sustain our developmental efforts. Anything less will be less fulfilling because it will not be based on common understanding and aspiration. We shall opportune our society, politics, economy and culture to a superior, safer and prosperous level with education for Reorientation – TO BE WHAT WE CLAIM AND PROSPER FOR.

## **SECTION 3**

### **ELITE NERVES**

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE GRANDIOSITY OF OUR ELITE SHAMES: A CULTURAL HANDBOOK FOR PUBLIC PALACES' TRANSIT OCCUPANTS**

#### **THE UNIVERSAL BASIS THAT PROP UP THE ELITE**

To begin from the end, every and all societies are paddled by an elite. This is inevitable because they define those that have succeeded by orderliness, hook or crookedness, to become so positioned and happen to play such role. The implication of this is that NO SINGLE MEMBER of this group that may be organized or not is so, sacredly. It arose out of a historical process that may be straight or crooked. Individual members may therefore fall out just as they fell in.

It is therefore undoubtedly a superior status of occupation by those who belong. With them is the highest amount, level, best or collection of the three principal valuables that make men and history produce a meaning that can be positive, more positive, negative or more negative. The first of these valuables is KNOWLEDGE. It is the most superior valuable because through it or with it, Consciousness becomes alive. In comparison, the Ignorant are logically and sensibly dead. It is also unique, given its intrinsic nature of being capable of limitless or infinite discovery, creation or realization. And it is a valuable that can be shared without the giver losing his possession. Indeed the elimination of the possessor does not make the valuable available to the eliminator. It is therefore behind the making and changing of history. There is ABSOLUTELY NOTHING that is devoid of any role of Knowledge. It can also be of as much beneficial use or effect as it can be of evil. This means that, ONLY ETHICS OR MORALITY IS INDISPUTABLY SUPERIOR TO EMPTY OR NAKED KNOWLEDGE. And this is both logically and sensibly so because knowledge is of no USE if it fails to SERVE THE needs, wants and fancies of Men GOODLY, better than previously or best at every point in time. If it serves only the least number of men or just most men, that will be less than its utmost purpose. The ultimate challenge of knowledge is therefore twin faced. One is to provide maximum and best facilities for use by men and secondly for the benefits of all men EVEN IF AGAINST SOME MEN WHO ARE

**AGAINST FELLOW OR ALL OTHER MEN.** Prisons are therefore of some good, with the provision of accommodation for all citizens outstandingly superior.

Next to Knowledge is the valuable POWER, in the form of AUTHORITY. This relates to the crass, innate capacity and ability to encourage, impose or deter TO ENJOY, FALL IN LINE to realize or establish what Knowledge has CERTIFIED and is for the BENEFIT OF EACH AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY. Unlike Knowledge, its possessor requires to have been so ENTRUSTED by members of the society. And the holder can be physically dispossessed of such trust and placement and have it EFFECTIVELY TRANSFERRED to another person. Even where a few rascals self-appoint themselves for such role, they will make efforts to legitimize it. Thus, by implication, it is in itself of no benefit, if not properly based and directed by beneficial knowledge. Out of this, it is dangerously risky, in the hands of ignoramus and worse, if they are ambitious. This state is easily possible when EVEN a Knowledgeable person entrusted with power distant himself from knowledgeable persons because, knowledge is constantly improved by transformation or affirmation with competing knowledge. It is therefore only imaginable when a leader poses to be All-knowing or is in the captivity of ambitious ignoramus.

Least of these valuables are riches or wealth, which is CLOSEST by Beneficial availability to men. It is like the bus stop for the experience of knowledge and power by men. For example with knowledge and skill that are related because their difference is in form, farming produces the foods we need. Safety in the transportation of the produce to the market and the economic relationship between the sellers and buyers. When the produce meets hunger, for the survival and health of an individual, it is knowledge and power that have directed the opportunity and use to which riches or wealth are both created and made useful to men. Thus, regardless of how flashy or mind blowing pure riches or wealth or resources may affect in their quantum, weight, volume or whatever, they and the owners are inferior in REAL COMPARATIVE VALUE to Power and those entrusted with it for goodly use. This is in spite of the fact that production and the use of this is what all men need for sustenance. This is because without organizing the producers, the production and ordering the process that will enable the benefit for men, life will be beastly. And both Power and Resources are inferior to Knowledge because it is

the REAL SOURCE OR GENERATOR of the spiritual content that enabled both the existence and livelihood of power and Resources.

These are the principal elements that NO INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP CAN LAY ORIGINAL CLAIM TO. It is with them or by them, properly or otherwise, that enable the emanation of claims, by individuals and groups. And after the claim, the very same elements have to be in continual use to maintain, adjust or change the claim. In every human society and endeavor, these are inevitable. The absolute independence of these from the naked helpless baby that all men start from IS THE INEVITABLE ROOT OF THE EQUAL ENTITLEMENT OF EVERYONE AND ALL MEN TO MINIMUM, SAFE AND RESPECTABLE LIVELIHOOD. It is the root for QUESTIONING every and all material acquisition ABOVE minimum, safe and respectable livelihood by ANY INDIVIDUAL, FAMILY, GROUP, etc.

## **THE ELITE**

This is made up of individuals or groups that may be so identified because they are organized and even if they are not organized, with evident ordinary possession of any or a combination of these elements ABOVE the common average level, in the society. It is therefore possible to belong by riches/wealth, position of recognized authority, recognized profession of knowledge or the combination of these or any two. This is why the non-real possessors who share the same vicinity with the possessors even have the tendency of belongingness by psych. Indeed there are false members who may not be evident contributors to society with either knowledge; entrusted authority or justifiable resources. The Tics in most of the traditional palaces fit badly into this. This is most recognizable with palaces that received the flag and guidance reminder from Usmanu *ibn* Fodio on the burdens of leadership and have been discarded.

This class also covers individuals and groups that have evident capacity to take up the status and role of becoming one shade of the possessors. For instance university professors and students, political leaders and politicians or manufacturers and distributors are closely related.

However, at the level or for history making, the ELITE of reference are those members as individuals and groups who CONNECT or are CONNECTED to the

active WELLBEING of the entire society as ONE. The intellectuals are those who offer and are given audience or are actually engaged in the Explanations or Interpretation of the State of Affairs arising from what was and the DESIRABLE DIRECTION for committing Entrusted Authority FOR BETTER REPRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES to serve all men. They may be academic professors or dropouts from school. They may come from the ranks of political leaders, politicians or the electorate. They may be from industrialists, service champions, small scale business people or inventors. The specific difference they share against the other ordinary members is CONNECTION to the WELLBEING of the entire society. Therefore, it is necessarily often less than five percent of the general elite population and likely to be less than two percent of the entire society.

And here is the point. The Elite do NOT have to be doing exactly what their responsibility and purpose is. But because they ALWAYS claim this, they stand to be so evaluated. The objective of this contribution is to attempt this evaluation for their proper consciousness and enlightenment of the electorate for our general improved direction.

## **THE POST COLONIAL ELITE**

That elder Nigerians fought for and succeeded in securing independence from Great Britain remains a history that we often refer to with some pride and satisfaction. Indeed half cultured minds get easily inclined to think and suggest that RETURNING to those terms is more assuring for our general prosperity. But their misfortune is that it is not only the structures that have undergone changes, the human relationships in operating the transformed structures have even transformed the most. The crisis has been with the effects or benefits of the two points of transformation for the generality of Nigerians. This is why the only intelligent approach to dealing with the crisis is by focusing on WHY AND WHAT HAVE DISABLED OPTIMAL BENEFITS FROM THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE STRUCTURES AND RELATIONSHIPS. Anything different is either deliberately diversionary or illogical and senseless. The reason and sense basis for this is that, human relationship is the superior element that generates the structures that give benefits. It is the more dynamic aspect of the two factors. Thus, the existing

relationship base in colonial times was admitted for a new structure the base can fit into. The regions fairly defined this.

But this was not a fixed affair, like the structures for imprisonment, but relationships. The superiority of relationships for instance generated transitional superior structures like the Parliamentary System, Universities, Federal Government, etc. to connect with Nigeria Railways. This setting is the nucleus revelation of the superiority of a larger entity over a collection of entities.

The prosperity of this phase of our history was informed essentially by a reasonably clear general society concept and commitment to making it a unit of common value for equal attention. The Northern region elite were able to do this in principle and practice ABOVE the numerous languages in its jurisdiction, effectively and satisfactorily. The identity of the elite being largely Muslims or Hausa/Fulani was regardless and a non threat. In the western region, language was NOT a challenge for principle and practice acculturation. Indeed it served as an advantage for mobilization and little resistance. The Ijebus, Egbas, Oyos were easily submitted to by others with more than average benefit of the doubt for equal progress. Religion was inconsequential. On a lower scale was the exposure of the Eastern region. The prosperity across was driven by what the elite had and could offer. Above all, members were safe in the hands of the elite.

## **THE TRANSFORMATION ELITE**

Nigeria then experienced the effect of the culture of unity with the regimental servants of this country. Their brains could recognize wrongs and they had both arms and the authority to use them for correcting the wrongs. They gave the much they could offer. By leading or being led, they offered unity, evidently stronger than what they took over, including the cost of withdrawal attempt through a civil war. Although it is often loosely identified as military because of the identity of the leaders and their order of operation, civilians remained the engine room and motor of ALL THE GOVERNMENTS they headed. And the singular best opportunist of this was General Ibrahim Badamosi. His tenure remains the most intellectualized and at worst he remains the best evidence of brushing beneficiary of the academic elite.

Thus, what we had was a newly transformed elite. The link of the permanent secretaries separately or further identified as the musketeers is an indication of this. The experience of late General Hassan Usman who was serving as a Governor and withdrew his request for a plot of land on the advice of his Secretary to the Government was another. Indeed even General Abdulsalam as Head of State for the transitional months he remained had a ‘Prime Minister’. It is therefore more reasonable and sensible to focus on the elite rather than the Military.

This class of elite, after the exiting of the first generation, either by gun or ballot, has consistently told us and we have seen them associating themselves with our general unity and prosperity. This is for all the intervening period between the close of the first republic and May, 2015. We can not dispute the fact that land and men have grown and even developed. Indeed even relationships have transformed. For instance it will remain to the credit of the club that enabled our building refineries, after which we have been struggling to move further. The approach of reaching the populace better through the creation of new states is also admissible as a credit. The innovation of having Parastatals to enable special impacts is another credit. These structural developments were necessitated by relationships that defined the superiority of togetherness over powerful many.

This singular perception of what is best for all of us continues to be what is most superior and the driving force of all civil minds. The development of the United Nations to deal with cross boarder or even national inhuman rascality has proved to be less effective than a club of members dealing with such, except for charity gestures of routine human and physical development projects or programs. Thus, a few countries will go against a country. Regional organizations are more expressive and make better impact. The European Union is one. The physical proximity of member’s relationship has enabled its superiority in performance effect over the Commonwealth of Great Britain. The United Arab Emirate is another. The African Union can easily compare with Economic Community of West Africa. In essence, the larger or bigger the members and the authority, the better. This singular feat in elite offer or creation is an unquestionable credit.

## **FACETS OF THESE ELITE CHALLENGES**

The Elite have more than reasonably failed in the reproduction or expansion of the necessary ideological and cultural orientation for maintaining and improving on the unity of this country, which will sustain the transformations that are taking place. The much it has inevitably not failed to do is to have a commendable Constitution, National Anthem, National Pledge and statement of Oath. This will not doubt for a long time continue to suffice for Nigeria. This is without reference to the current efforts at watering down the opportunities for the development of the cultural wealth to realize the principles. The elite have not started moving away from the identity of tribe and region or state. The educational institutions that have grown across the land have failed to deliberately serve as windows for this ideological and cultural orientation. If one takes the case of the universities for simple evaluation, the federal universities are NOT a saving reference. The staffing of most of these universities does not present a close to national picture. Indeed most of the universities machinery is resistant to the possibility of this. The picture of student's intake is not fairer. The leadership of a university is bastardized by partisan processes devoid of national orientation. The head is guided to come from within or the region. It is difficult to expect that a Vice Chancellor will become so preferred because of his intellectual and cultural or national orientation. He will no doubt be a certified academic. Most universities therefore have very negligible capacity for making available materials that can equally serve as better role models or guardians of the society. The disgraceful evidence is the prominent roles the leaders in the academia were opportune to play in the government of Ibrahim Badamosi. Further than this, they have, through regulatory powers destroyed this fundamental bedrock for building the necessary ideological and cultural orientation for national development. The number of universities and the manner in which they are serviced by running part time lecturers who are the best in their home universities abuses the quality of life of the teachers, the quality of attention to students within and outside their home universities and ultimately EDUCATION as against schooling. While at the post primary level most students roam to school at the university level the best teachers roam around tertiary institutions. The rate and level of literature generation, journals, books, their printing and publication by the academia is regrettable the undevelopment of today. We frown at the civility of

cattle herders and expect to build civilized minds with either roaming students or teachers. The elite have failed to manage the challenge of increasing population, needs, and available resources for national development. Schooling at lower levels is a worse scenario. An observer then begins to wonder over the credibility of external supervision meant to check falling of standard when suitable members of the same world cannot easily FIT IN in any of the arms. For a clearer picture of the rottenness of elite failure in this respect, the competition by state governments to establish own universities and the irresistible inordinate greed of money bags find a meeting point with those eager to become Vice Chancellors or achievement reports by regulatory bodies. When one merges the negligible prospect that unity schools of the federal government can provide for this orientation, it gets consumed by the university structural arrangement and operation. In the end knowledge is undeniably somehow produced and on the increase BUT the capacity of producing living ideologues to join in the transformational leadership of this country, to realize the tenets of the constitution is negligible.

Because knowledge is in itself power, when it is badly produced, managed and undirected it has the high capacity of serving the contrary objective. This is why the elite still use the vehicle of tribe for service. Thus, while it can easily fit into geopolitical southwest, it ignites crisis for national development. The first reason is that geopolitical southwest houses close to the largest chunk of the schooled citizens. It therefore has the highest and best 'destructive capacity' that WILL at worst not fail to serve itself. The second reason is that it has logically been in the lead of reproducing this 'rotteness'. The structure of the crisis is defined by the comparatively more difficult feasibility in using tribe in the three northern geopolitical zones that have not disentangled from the identity of the north. And it is less in the southeast or south-south geopolitical regions. Thus, the upcoming weaker elite in these other regions may intelligently resist the package of nationalism by withdrawal from the strong knot of tie, even as inevitable beneficiaries sing that nationalism by togetherness has not been working. If however they unintelligently submit to such dubious direction that may be sponsored by ignorant or naive stronger elite, they may only have more opportunities for raping their non-elite of collective resources. And they will still require the services of the stronger elite for operations. If for example, devolution

of powers to the states is considered, the present slim and accidental opportunities for personnel development in the insurance industry for the other regions will be worsened. And of course the investment of the resources will be more committedly directed to the base of the owners. This is the sense though not totally reasonable to fight for locating the headquarters of oil companies in the oil producing communities.

This failure of the elite in generating a national philosophy and orientation can be perceived in the greatest wide or scope of interactions in elite circles. They rarely discuss ideas. When they do, the ideas are rarely about tomorrow and beyond in terms of **WHAT AUGHT**. And when it is this, it relates to the Use or Benefit of Power or Resources. And because it is spirit bankrupt, it is like technicians, technologists without science. Structurally most of them are over fed, over dressed, very well-schooled and in the prison of comforts. Any ideas therefore start and end in serving self-best. Anything to the contrary is almost considered to be either a sacrifice or a kind gesture. This is why they subtly transform into thieves consciously. No one of their collection or meetings will discuss food for everyone is a **MUST** and has to be made possible Now or in a Year. Once theirs will be met daily for the next five years, further feasible efforts can continue at careless rate. In fact because of this unwillingness, the matter is closed with **ONLY GOD CAN PROVIDE SUFFICIENTLY FOR ALL**. There was, now late, a governor of Niger State who complained that, no matter the amount of drugs provided to hospitals, the masses will quickly use them up. This was his experience out of the inability or failure to care for providing disease prevention measures and facilities along with drugs, to properly evaluate the relationship between his mandate and available resources. It really amounted to the unexpressed position either that some citizens do not deserve medical or health attention or that they are in excess of what he was elected to serve. In tertiary institutions, the same elite are now preferring skills development orientation and even discouraging studies like philosophy, classics and literature. In post university life for leadership, they posit that the best leader for health is a physician. But how many leaders or heads of tertiary institutions are Educationists with good records?

Beyond this, it is clearly shameful that the elite have failed to harness the greatest elements that we share. With almost all of Nigerians identifying with Christianity

and the Bible or Islam and the Qur'an, they have failed to explore the advantages. It is 'impossible' for the elite to even list the common DOS and DONTS between these related identities for the fulfilling livelihood of the members because of their bankruptcy and hypocrisy. The cultural orientation of religion being an Explosive has grown and developed over time because of this elite bankruptcy and hypocrisy. The practical carelessness has generated identities that most members are ashamed of. An example is the Boko haram. Another product is intra and interreligious conflicts. We now have religious leaders as distinct from leaders that must pretend not to care for any worthy religious status. And most dangerous inevitable dimension is that matters that can be most offensive to us all can sneak into our identities. The example of legalizing prostitution for health and revenue reasons is not a hidden pressure. It took Senate President David Mark an exceptional courage to process the law against same sex. The shame is that the elite intellectual failure that is the source of these is hidden. But the members include the religious seniors. When it happens, they can not impress anyone by commanding it or condemning it. The air of transgender has started blowing. Thus, even common standards like condemnable premarital sex, occultism has become admittedly tolerable. Today we have orphanages that are serving as escape outlets for unwanted children or pregnancy by mistake, patronized by runaway parents. These out of wedlock products have basic human rights because it was not their choice to follow this means. But the producers are either Muslims, Christians, of elite status or background. And it is the elite that build, support and take them. Those who do so in the name of charity, corporate work of mercy or adoption to have a child or an heir **HAVE THOUSANDS OF RELATIVES AND NON RELATIVES FROM PROPER WEDLOCK RELATIONSHIPS THEY HAVE IGNORED.** This formation of check-faithful's that no faithful can submit or defend as blessed is the additional harm caused by the elite failure and hypocrisy. Whether with Muslims or Christians, across all the geopolitical zones, we are genuinely failing **IN SPITE OF ALL THE EVANGELISM AND STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT** by us. In simple terms, we admit and cherish Rome and Mecca which we must steer away from and have reservations about the FREE United States. This is the creature our wicked and hopeless elite are making out of us.

Because of this characteristic failure at the level of knowledge, we have failed in building institutions with national orientation and nationalists. The public service is the most embarrassing example. The pioneer opportune elite have failed to live the principle and practice of Federal Character as a transitional thing OVER AND ABOVE the failure of establishing a system where those who exit from the service will be honorably secure with regular and timely pension, accommodation and further consistent positive engagement. This is unfortunate because citizens who get milled through the public service remain a superior resource in terms of competences. Unfortunately, the failure to establish the public service as a positive system and instrument by sharp practices like nepotism and over establishment have bastardized the public service. The further negative consequences of this include the psychological trap of struggling to become a stranger in the place you have worked if it is not your permanent home or preparing to start reliving a new life at the person's permanent home, after spending his work life outside. Additionally, the elite foolishly strive to 'train' prospective retirees to acquire new skills for living. As much as they make it appear sensible it rarely serves its purpose. One factor is that it is always time bad. The second is that the challenge of accommodation becomes uppermost. The trick of mortgage housing fails to serve. Thus in between, depending upon the opportunities available to those milling the governance of Nigeria, they are either effectively engaged in side businesses or manipulate the system to financially provide for their future security. This orientation explains decreasing commitment to service and increasing roguery competence. This easily gets perfected with willing collaborators who exit and return as experts or consultants. This is the root explanation for governance appearing to be the publicized activities of anti-graft agencies at a time we are all claiming to fight corruption. But there is no place it is possible to have a genuinely thriving private sector with a bastardized public machinery as the coordinator. This is why our achievements are service heavy and goods production weak. **MOST OF THE ELITE LEADING THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND MOST OF THE OPERATORS EITHER DO NOT BELIEVE IN THE SANCTITY OF THE SERVICE OR DO NOT UNDERSTAND IT AS A NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY.** This situation is unfortunately reasonably and sensibly justified by the TRAPPINGS of the service and members. It is therefore either self-deceptive, incompetence or deceiving to place Nigeria on the course of

transformation without TRANSFORMING THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND ITS SOLDIERS.

With faulty concept or knowledge as the competence and offer it is only logical that an ineffective and even destructive powerful instrument or machinery will be built. The devils and criminals it will produce are only consequential. Their primary and ultimate focus will be the improvement of their material being to the point of a burst. Therefore the capacity to produce material needs for the general society will be unsystematic. The best facilities will be for the elite members themselves. A leader will therefore be able to build a solid and well finished home for himself but a structurally defective office or staff quarters for officials. Costs for works, services, and constructions are well overinflated – including those that are not even done. The standard of records keeping and checking becomes a window for initiating or recruiting similar but lesser devils and criminals from among inspectors like auditors, to cover up the past and commit more and greater harm to the trust with them BUT for themselves.

This is what our elite have been able to do and are continuing to do, to our misfortune. This is the nature or character of what our elite have to be apportioned or burdened with.

## **THE HISTORICITY OF THE ELITE**

The most possible and probable members should be easily identifiable by the characteristic of above average advantage or placement in society, in politics, in the economy or in public service.

The core elite that can be held responsible for a span of history will spread between those in direct public trust holding positions across government and non-governmental structures – with the connection of ENABLING the history of the society, by principal commitments of IDEAS, POWER OR AUTHORITY AND RESOURCES.

This means that the members will always be mostly among those that are visible by their greater involvement. This involvement is characterized by MAKING THINGS HAPPEN.

The Knowledgeable or the Scholars are necessarily the torch bearers that define and give directions to others on the PATH TO PROSPERITY. And those who do so consciously are the most responsible. They can come from Teachers, Students, Politicians, Businessmen, and Technocrats. Indeed the sponsors of the ideas may come from others but require the recognition and admission of the visible ones, to matter. The status of a society is therefore the necessary making of the quality of the Knowledgeable or Scholars it produces and cares for. And this responsibility falls on the deliberate actions of the other classes of the elite, fellow members of the same class of scholars and indeed the larger non elite members. A peculiar attribute of such members is that they rarely eat to fill, drink to fill, overclothe etc. Those who are full are less capable of serious consistent positive thinking FOR OTHERS. This sacrificial modesty is rarely combinable with affluence and arrogance. Wherever and whenever the affluent, the arrogant or the greedy are the champions of ideas, the commitment and direction CANNOT be for the larger society COMING FIRST. The spirit of sacrifice for others is ignored or suppressed. One cannot give what he does not have. Thus the former can generate systems to serve all while the latter can generate systems to serve self-first. Others can wait or be patient, until their turn comes up.

Consequently, every generation inevitably lives by its elite. And if there will be any possible changes, it can be by the elite volunteering to improve, adjust or change. It can also be by changing the elite. Indeed the two direction processes inevitably always take place. However, the difference that is required is the pronounced evidence of either. And the factor that influences those who join together to produce this evidence or otherwise, is the scope of knowing, feeling, sharing and commitment to what is different from the status quo, as the solution. The elite can lead or champion the course. But this is rarely feasible where they are deeply buried in the questionable benefits of the misgivings they have generated, are sustaining and even developing. It has therefore been more commonly experienced, to have the non-elite being led by the repentant members of the core elite or even the weak but remorseful members to redress the excesses, adjust the bends and change the unacceptable. In some cases, where this form of transition is further resisted, a drastic upturn is compelled to ensure the change. Inevitably some members of the proper and oppressive elite or weak but ambitious members

for general societal wellbeing have to be involved. And at the tip of this leadership must be those with Knowledge or intellectual power of removing the wool across common understanding that may be seemingly right. This is because of the superiority of the role of knowledge in directing power and resources for good or evil. One can therefore appreciate the risk of having ignorance or wrong knowledge or a combination of these two, to be in greater steering of a society or governance. It is also indicative of the foolishness of stupid leaders that are suspicious, disrespectful or avoid scholars. Either of these and the one that believes or pretends to either know everything or better than any other, share audacity in their style and irresponsible in the results they largely give because of their irresponsiveness.

The safety of this transformation and the justification for it is resting in its sociological nature. The conditions involved or in existence and the ones preferred are both relating to men, in their relationship to or with one another. The entire ideas of definitions, values and identities belong to the history of the given society. Those who sponsor the change in perspectives are the men and same men are necessarily required for executing the realization of the change. This fundamental nature is what justifies questioning differences that generate, permit, tolerate or sustain elements or prospect of bad being with any member of the society against varied wellbeing of all members – above basic survival that is minimally affordable in that society. For instance, some cannot live in fifty-bedroom palaces while some live under bridges – even if they are sick or criminals. Some members cannot eat whatever they desire at any time, in any form and for as many times as they wish – even if their doctors prescribe so, while some cannot be sure of three healthy meals in a day – even if they choose to fast regularly. Some cannot justify having their children attend highbrow institutions simply because they believe they can afford it. Such belief will be truncated if there are children of members of the society that cannot attend standard public schools.

## **THE ORDER OF REASONABLE AND SENSIBLE CHALLENGES EXECUTION**

The assumption, expectation here is that, although humans can turn into behaving like animals, we, Nigerians have enormous civil outlets or means for sociological

transformation today. Indeed, we can even save ourselves from a revolution, which appears fanciful and often promising but it is certainly more challenging to succeed or differentiate from aimless and very costly violence. For instance the overthrow of the Shah of Iran was a complicated highly defined process like the overthrow of the Czars of Russia. It is completely out of reason and sense, and therefore disorderly to consider an approach like destroying collective resources, just to oppose the elite in power. That will be properly irresponsible because it is unintelligent, anti society and akin to war on oneself. The elite that have to be necessarily behind this either by commitment, negative neutrality or prospective ambitions to exploit the fallout from the crisis and damages needs to be marked as the worst creatures in the society. This is because they have enabled a worse condition compared to what the status quo elite have imposed on the general society that deserves checking.

The first order will connect or rest on the incumbent elite in Great, Greater and Greatest control of the matters of trust across all levels. These will cover the top echelon members of the bureaucracy, with which the core elite mill the Affairs of Nigeria. They will need to give the political elite the benefit of considering and confronting the decadence of the public service. Those of them in this phase of the elite who have the knowledge and care will remain the hope for igniting the necessary basic understanding for majority of the members that are definitely either ignorant or careless because the status quo is self-serving. The political elite in government along with the leaders of the platforms of politics will be the best initiators of this transformation because they hold the trust of final calling in decisions making. Their move will compel members of the bureaucratic elite to necessarily oblige as much goodly supportive response as possible. And the elite members in the private sector will logically get attracted for contributions. The sleeping intellectual capacities in the academia and beyond will get awoken. And the legislative arm will robustly contribute and enable the realization of results. It will therefore be appreciated that the production of the 1999 constitution is a commendable example of such effort. The few national Conferences were deliberate attempts of such requirements. However, the drawback of such conferences has been the poverty or bankruptcy of the concept of ALL NIGERIANS coming first. The elite have rather fostered all Nigerians FROM

SELF. And that Self has been either, State, Region, Religion, Office or Profession. At the end of the day, the Masters among them pushed most and best OVER whatever others may have offered, regardless of the quality. This was best played by late Yusuf and Osoba MINORITY REPORT, from their constitutional debate. The report was no doubt a very imperfect replacement for the main report BUT it remains the best attempt in the right opportunity. The point here is that IT IS POSSIBLE FROM AND THROUGH THE EXISTING ROT.

It is even more possible now, under democratic setting because then under the military the elite scared the leaders that democracy is a game of numbers. And it will be worse of the leadership that is in power by gun to ignore the main report supported by majority elite for the minority by two difficult to accommodate university ramblers from universities of Ahmadu Bello and Obafemi Awolowo. The progressive or all-caring elite that will generate and sponsor this desirable transformation can make attempts or ignite the light with the necessary ideas through the bureaucracy, when and where they are in political leadership, in the legislature, in the media and through pressure groups and indeed as individuals in their relationship with others, in groups and in forums. It can be by speech or in writing. It will be foolhardy to expect that this ignition, this leadership will necessarily come from the academia that is materially secure in the present rot arrangement and is trapped within its decaying structure and system. This is why teachers have become over unionized and are always in confrontation with the political elite for really, MORE SHARE, with wool covers like funds for research, higher pay and infrastructure. This explains why lots of them have other jobs for making competitive money with the elite members outside the academia that have no positive bearing on their primary assignment. Those of them that have had above reasonable exposure to governance process and have consciously resisted being destructively fully consumed stand on a fair pedestal for MODEST or TOLERABLE TRANSITION for the general transformation of both the currently oppressed and the oppressors. Civility dictates that change or transformation is not meant to simply displace the oppressors to be replaced with the oppressed. It will be more of replacing the unsuitable and the stubborn with the suitable.

Therefore, the beginning, regular and continuous challenge of the all-caring or progressive elite is EDUCATION FOR POSITIVE ORIENTATION to keep every

member of the society responsible for the wellbeing of ALL that covers every one. This is distinct from SCHOOLING even though schooling can enhance it. But one does not have to be schooled or literate to be educated. Most of our schooled citizens are therefore easily capable of getting educated. The elite in any society that ignores, is careless or nonchalant about EDUCATION cannot be RESPONSIVE enough to real wellbeing challenges NO MATTER HOW BEST INTENDED the leadership may be. It will inevitably find itself most untimely in taking decisions and in acting out. Even when it succeeds, it will really be less satisfactory. This was why a past conscious President of the United States went to the electorate to educate them on his DISAGREEMENT with the Senate and Congress he was governing with.

### **THE CHALLENGE THE ALL-CARING ELITE MUST OVERCOME**

The challenge of cooperation and selfless support is paramount. It is impossible for ideas to move round without leadership and resources. And it is uncommon in history to have especially this specie of elite members commanding the knowledge, power or influence and resources in one person or already existing group OUTSIDE THE CORE ELITE MEMBERS. This spirit and culture is most demanding especially in the relationship between those with the ideas and those who share or sympathize with the ideas and have to contribute their influence or material resources. The investment is not measurable in terms of returns and when to get it. But it is not IMPOSSIBLE. Good example is the comparative development of the private media outfits in the geopolitical southwest, the den of the Masters of the elite against the several failed attempts in the three geopolitical regions in the North. While a few good ones failed in the Southwest many have survived it. And today it is part of their instruments for directing or influencing or sustaining their ideas. Even those who disagree are reached and cannot be countered easily BECAUSE you require their opportunity to be heard or read.

The common logical and sensible scenario is that the members who have the ideas and are developing them are materially and influentially handicapped. Those who have the influence and their associates fear their loss of influence just like those with resources power see how they can get depleted. This is because the possessors of ideas do not lose by sharing. But they require the losable possessions to survive.

If they do not survive, the time for the possible germination of the ideas and societal transformation is postponed. It is therefore not uncommon for the possessors of losable to encourage the possessors of ideas to either join them and attend to ideas later or simply abandon the course. This can be expressed directly or by keeping away from the bearers of ideas. And it is very understandable because their level of commitment depends upon the quantum of resources or level of influence in the command of these members, along with their level of interest in the general society wellbeing. Some level of respect and patience therefore need be constantly exercised in the relationship between the parties especially because it is more difficult to understand that intellectual work requires some level of physical and psychological security to blossom. While crisis can inject some spice in the person or process it must not be the standard. Where it is, it may best produce immediate or ad hock solutions. In the circumstances where these elite members are unable to get along for the reason and sense that is superior to them all, each party will go his way and the status quo is enforced.

## **THE KERNEL OF THE IDEOLOGICAL CHALLENGE**

To be sure, the elite that will ignite this transformation through education require providing a paradigm that will give security and satisfaction to our best identities. For example, if we are mostly Muslims and Christians, it will be a great shortcoming to be neutrally negative to what will ease our qualification for SALVATION after death. Thus, the Ten Commandments and *Kabaair* (major sins) should be firstly or given utmost protection. Politics or democracy is NOT the destruction of the best identities of the members. And only fools treat and respect humans without values or morals. While humans can choose to be like animals in a democracy, that freedom must be limited to the extent of protecting humans who prefer to remain human. For example, people require the knowledge and orientation of going to Sharia court in all matters of dispute involving Muslims. If this is ignored, the law will not develop in the sphere where the dispute also involves a non believer. And if a self-declared Muslim will neither submit nor be compelled to go to Shari'ah court, the leadership (whether Muslim, Christian or Non-believer) is not protective and not serving the Muslims properly. However, if we choose the contrary, neither the leadership will be to blame nor those whose

identities we eventually put on. And we can have no justification to complain about losing a benefit like BLESSINGS which are necessarily tied to compliance.

This is distinct from intervening identities that must be admissible to our best identities. No identity is inhibited from becoming a professor of academic discipline, a political leader etc. But all laws made by organizations, local authorities, state governments are of no effect if and where they contradict federal laws, to the extent that they do. Our constitution of this superior identity must therefore be most protective of our respective identities. And this is especially applicable where the standard is not negotiable. If Christians and Muslims cannot keep and foster their identities, they must admit abuse of the identities by others and themselves. For example, a court received a woman plaintiff reporting her husband for impregnating their biological daughter. When the husband appeared he protested against the possible prejudice of the Judge. He enlightened the judge. That his wife was only jealous. That, the woman in question is his own daughter. And that, where they come from, churches and mosques are not known. So, she is being brainwashed and has come to the court that cannot do justice to them. The Judge advised the wife to go to a customary court. This was to protect their identity. Do we not have Christian and Islamic studies in our schools? Is that undemocratic? But because of the backwardness and bankruptcy of our elite, we have recorded the fear and resistance to Islamizing school children. In response there were denials. Indeed there was the diversion that it was during the time of Jonathan (a Christian), civic studies was introduced. But the leadership of Christians and Muslims only needed to connect to CORRECT whatever was wrong. And like democracy by half humans introduced civic studies to replace religious studies we got social studies introduced, which has now attracted return of studying our history. What a shame to our elite? The Education must therefore strive and be directed against making us half of what we identify with and half of what we will be ashamed to relate to our declared identities. This is not impossible and is the challenge to our elite.

With this Education, the electorate will be more equipped in evaluating political contestants for office, questioning them while in office and rating them at the end of their tenure. The machinery of governance will get more responsively directed to be responsible to the polity. This will check the common freedom from one's

best identity to escape into what is contradictory because it is permissible and safe. If for example a Christian approaches a non believer for sex before marriage and he or she says NO, unless we get married, according to your creed, our democracy will be serving us. In the event it happens and is discovered, the non-believer should be able to report, to make Nigeria better. If the person is a Muslim he or she should be ready for sanctions. But because the elite have failed, we are not just careless about personal morals but resources trust. However, if we prefer Resources security along with personal moral looseness we must not complain about the consequences. Whatever form of Education we give or fail to give will be the determinant of the kind of leadership and resources package that we must live with. Then, if more and more of the elected are real reflections of the educated electorate, audacity will be cut short. Responsiveness and responsibility will increase. Representation will transform to becoming a task or burden rather than an opportunity. And leadership will become a real test. The culture of the electorate seeking for and requesting competent or fitting persons to contest will outweigh well fed people offering themselves to 'serve'. It will be the electorate who will connect to re certify candidates, between those that know him directly and those in the same constituency but far away. In consequence, the formation of political parties, the manifesto, their leadership etc. will have to properly situate the identities that will give any of them, the mandate for governance. It will not just be THINGS by people that are values neutral. Where anything goes good things have no certainty because bad things are always easier.

## **TO STATE HOUSES MASTERS**

The first civil, honorable and responsible step to be taken must be by Chief Executives at government levels because they cannot claim other than to be committed to the general wellbeing of the entire members of Nigeria. And it does not matter whether they know what it means or not.

The specific step will be by making deliberate efforts to Educate themselves by constantly asking themselves, what they are considering to decide, their aides and proposals to them - HOW WILL THIS SERVE AND PROTECT every Nigerian? This is critical because it goes beyond NOT HARMING. Governance today often may not directly harm most of the electorate BUT it fails to serve them and

because it serves only SOME. And there is no defense in serving self or some only first. This is especially so if those to be served next or further are not clear about the reason and sense of doing so. This can be enhanced by respect, association and invitation of scholars from across the board of supporters and critics. But one must beware of those with tags, because they are often short of modesty. Leadership is a burden beyond any bearer of a certificate of award to serve as a license for rightness. Many of them should only be an advantage in the fora of the awards.

This has to connect with span of time and resources available to the Masters. Any leader that governs as if time is waiting for him or her to tick is disrespectful to the electorate that gave him the mandate. This is because if right things can wait to any time, governance will be unnecessary. It logically admits that the wrong can continue until the leader wakes up. More damaging will be that the leader is indecisive. And this may have been informed by either ignorance, unwillingness to consult, hesitation to take advice or simple stupidity mistaken for stubbornness.

For this class of transitory Masters, as regrettable as our present history is, we do not deserve to be wiped away or better still, wipe out the leading elite members we can associate our circumstances with MORE. They must therefore build on the rights that we are certain of. And because the very misleading elite do not have to continue to be so, they may not be barred from open access. Their admission and attention will however be subject to relevance to the new course. And nothing in this process will inhibit the Masters from optimizing material benefits to the electorate because they have never had ideas for our best identities but lists of infrastructure to use our resources for.

## **SECTION 4**

### **LEADERSHIP**

## CHAPTER 6

### THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER FOR NIGERIA

#### **WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?**

Let no one be deceived on what makes for democracy. In principle and practice, it amounts to PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE by all willing adults of the society. This can be done directly or indirectly by representatives or both. It therefore bears the spirit and attribute of transparency to protect all members by not harming those who safely differ. It does not, does not have to or tied to ANY particular form, in the layout of its structures and processes. The ultimate culture is that of general acceptance and fulfilment by the society of its aspirations.

This is why it is wrong to point at what is a standard somewhere as intrinsically right. The United States is for instance as bicameral as the United Kingdom but the names and determination of membership is only common with the lower chamber. Thus, it is not impressive to say that every and all characteristics of a given pack of practices makes one right and the contrary wrong. Because it is not a European affair, the versions in Europe differ, not to talk of the later coming America that now claims to be the model. It is therefore for example, a great misplacement to believe and suggest that because budgets in the United States are said to arrive the Congress dead, that the same culture fits best for Nigeria.

The democratic leader in Nigeria, at every level of the government MUST consequently beware of the urge or inclination to sign EVERYTHING with the looks or texture of the American Democracy as necessarily right. Because General Acceptance and Fulfilment of the Aspirations of the society are the ultimate focus, the leader must do his utmost in ensuring that the ENTRENCHMENT of the characteristics of our democracy enables maximum ventilation for the ultimate focus. And the more the leaders are in agreement on this, the better for the electorate. Governance in the form of legislation, execution or adjudication must not as a tradition, be controversial. As a result, controversies can come up and be attended to responsibly. And there is no reason or sense in the failure to attend to governance matters of basic material NEEDS like laws and actions connected to raising resources and their best utilization IN THE EARLIEST TIME. The laws

and actions of recovering stolen funds must for instance not be controversial and considered democratic. Any lag by law making, action or arbitration is simply irresponsible and irresponsible. Jig-jagging is NOT democracy when basic needs are involved.

The democratic leader for Nigeria must therefore know, admit and be committed to constant evaluation and creativity of building modern, civil, responsive and responsible characteristics for our general aspirational fulfilments. The kernel guide is our IDENTITY. Those who have no identity can easily find transplantation attractive. Those who have and engage in simple transplantation are bound to ignite crises of the identity they claim. This is why the formation of any political party by its leadership and the building of the party must need to express and live the identity it seeks to sustain and promote. The ability to do this qualifies its quality relevance for the membership of persons conscious of their identities. And such platform makes it easier for generating representatives of useful identity for elected leaders to join efforts with, for governance.

## **LEADERSHIP**

The essence of leadership is therefore not different because of the tag, democracy. Our society has an array of identities like gender, language, lineage, geographical location, association, organization and religion. Leadership connotes becoming AHEAD as a representative or as a guide. But political leadership is being ahead in the management of our superior differences without destroying minor but harmless differences – in the course of developing the superior identities.

The democratic leader for Nigeria can then not afford to be a simple OPPORTUNIST, for himself, his gender, his language group, his clansmen, his lineage, his classmates, his club members, his regional members or members of his religious following. Indeed, while they must not be excluded, they must bear the same terms and conditions for all others, to fit as supporters of the leadership or beneficiaries of the opportunities for ALL behind the leadership.

It is in order to play such melting and superior role that the leader is provided with larger than ordinary life security materially – the foundation for psychological, emotional and spiritual balance. Although a leader can be much assisted in these

other aspects, it is ordinarily abnormal, difficult and even frustrating to have the best of a leader for the society, where he is often suffering from the intervention of one form of imbalance or the other, after the material security. For example, if a leader has the psychological problem of non-contentment, he may be inclined to divert public trust for self. This can be in the forms of accommodation, foods, drinks, clothing, traveling, women, etc. If the leader is often in family crisis it can have bearing on his required role. If he is into a covenant with a secret group, it can be back drawing. If he has the ambition of becoming the richest person in the society, it will be inhibiting to perform optimally. The same will apply, if he has a sparking character or dead wood character that flares up at every disagreement, criticism or is insensitive and irresponsive to advice. It does not make a difference if the leader has neither taste for godliness nor institutionalism. Thus, the gesture of declining dressing provisions or part of monthly pay by late President Musa Yar'adua and President Muhammadu Buhari are spiritual expressions of contentment. But the gestures are really politically inconsequential because, these are not up to one percent of the value of material security provisions for the President and Commander in Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. As weak as this examples are for political leadership, it is outrageous for the identities of Nigerians to have a political leader as a womanizer. It is most unbecoming to have a political leader who is gay.

## **THE FOUNDATION FOR IDENTITY**

What is most critical in the history or livelihood of men is what we can share without restrictions, as the foundation for giving value, rating or differentiating. And these are necessarily immaterial. For example, time is a factor for common sharing and equal rating. Nobody has more than twenty four hours in a day. No one has an idea of when he will die. So, it will be insensitive and even destructive of a society or a leader, not to be time-conscious. For those who belong to the faith of Abraham, only God has the unquestionable justification to use time in relation to us as pleases Him because, time, space and the content absolutely and irresistibly belong to Him. Any society that is careless about timeliness is not conscious. And any such leader cannot claim to be caring.

What distinguishes a man from an animal is VALUES, as a social being. Even though some animals can be recorded as having some social traits, attributes or characteristics, it is out of reflection on us. And the distinctive nature of ours is that they are both unconsciously and can be consciously dynamic. The building up of these by men, along with defined status and role is what makes for a culture. For instance, motor vehicles manufacturers produce either left or right hand driven types. Those who do not produce these vehicles but use them have a choice of which to prefer and the attending road regulations. When you use facilities like smartphones or computer notebooks with inbuilt dictionaries, the first suggestions you get are strictly informed by the diction, spellings and culture of the producers. But as you build up its usage the memory of the machine gets reoriented or coloured to further serve your difference. The mode of dressing that defines our identity is not absolutely different. Those in the tropics are not as compelled, to protect themselves from cold as those in the temperate climate. This has grown and developed to have seasonal clothing culture. Thus, our production and eventual use of materials are made to conform to what is RIGHT for us. This write up is for that reason now laying out ideas that are not mainstream for the United States of America, where the Apple company is based. It may even be disgusting to the designers and developers. But one of the major shareholders of the same company will side with my perspective. This is the complexity of values with culture in their relationship with the makers.

Beyond this, while men are inevitably connected to values, values are not of the same status, as some are not related or responded to as others. For example, the relationship to or response to using a right hand steering vehicle in Nigeria is not comparable to testing positive for alcohol by a driver, before road safety authorities. These are not comparable to an accident incidence by a person without a driving license. And if all of the above are not applicable but the driver is discovered to have stolen the vehicle, it is only comparable to the last. Accordingly, level of response or relationship can be that of advice, warning, fine, imprisonment or even execution. This is how rules and regulations and laws develop TO PROTECT OUR IDENTITIES BY THE POSITIONS AND ACTIONS THAT ARE RIGHT. In other words, against the positions and actions that are WRONG there are positions and actions that are either Less right, more

right or Right in relation to what is wrong. For example, it is wrong to steal just as it is wrong to kill. It is less right to drive after the topping of a normal meal with alcohol, believing that some quantum level of consumption is what can ignite intoxication. It is more right to drive after a normal meal without alcoholic topping. The base evaluation of each is from its closeness or distance to driving without alcohol, with legitimate license, an authorized vehicle that is of left hand steering, that consist of **RIGHT DRIVING**. Thus, in the event of an accident, it could be anything but neither the competence of the driver nor the ordinary act of driving, even if the competence is abused by over speeding.

This logically makes values an inevitable web within which we live. And because we can consciously generate them or be affected by their moulding us, there is the **PRIMARY** and **UTMOST RESPONSIBILITY** of protecting what we already have and consciously being evaluative or selective of admitting new positions and roles with attendant values. This is **HOW** to identify ourselves and keep or develop our identities. The reluctance, failure or refusal to be this conscious or proactive **INEVITABLY RESTRUCTURES THE VALUES, THE CULTURE AND CAN BE OF DAMAGING CONSEQUENCE**. For example, if Muslims and Christians hesitate to take active stand on homosexuality and lesbianism, same sex marriage will be more difficult to deal with. If Muslims and Christians hesitate to be proactive against premarital sex it will be impossible to have orphanages for abandoned children. And the gesture human milk of kindness for fellow humans will have to be competed for between those who are abandoned and those with known parents. Gradually, a spirit develops where blessing is out of the way or competing with the ability to make good persons out of human beings, regardless of how they are brought into the society. Those who are desperate or choosy of children without value boundaries can now take advantage of sperm banks. But little did those who embraced insemination procedure consider that they were exceeding the limits that will be protective of the standard for right or protected reproduction.

Hence, values are central to the real political relevance of any leadership, especially in a growing and developing society like ours. It is interesting to for instance note the cautious rate of introducing the permit for women to drive in Saudi Arabia. Another example is that of admitting gays as priests. Democracy is

therefore NOT NECESSARILY MADNESS OR SELF ABUSE OF IDENTITY. It will be more difficult to conduct a same sex marriage by any Muslims in Saudi Arabia than in the United Kingdom. In the same vein, while gender transformation is being frowned at even in the freest democracy where anything can go, it is the factor of NEGATIVE NEUTRALITY by those who have values that has opened this window of new values – from new positions and roles. The incidence of a woman who transformed into a man and got pregnant is not damaging enough for participants to check themselves. Any society, any polity any electorate that does not care about its identity or identities is VULNERABLE to fast transformation that can be of self-damaging effect.

Thus, the physical form or identity of gender is not a suitable foundation for identity. The same applies to the language spoken, even though words cannot be seen or held. But they can be measured. Some languages are more developed than others. Some languages are either more spoken across languages like English, Arabic and French or have more native speakers, like the Chinese in the world. This logically connects to lineage or clan. The same applies to the accidental restriction of geographical location. These are standards that are NOT the most superior, covering, for a citizen of Nigeria. And because the geography of Nigeria does not amount to total identity of any Nigerian, religion stands out as the identity comparable in safety, to time. With different religious following in Nigeria, it is still a higher pedestal of widest total identity than any other.

Accordingly, the beginning of the value of a member connects to HOW he is brought into being. Those who have either the misfortune of being brought into this world outside wedlock and grown with even their guardians ignorant of who their parents were, or grow up to discover that they bear the same surname with their parent or discover their parent has a family that they can only partially claim or have to query a parent to discover the story or whereabouts of the partner, are clearly results of procedural abuse. Therefore, if we care about this HOW as a value term, we cannot afford not to tighten up the loose ends. In other words, if the blessing of God matters at all in relation to this HOW, it will amount to self-destruction of our foundation identities to condone, accommodate or tolerate such abuses. We cannot possibly ignore this and make ‘bold’ moves to legislate against hate speeches when hate speaking connects to ordinary disrespect for human

affinity because of a hanging status or lack of blessedness or both. But this will only be meaningful IF we accept, admit to have value for how we are reproduced. If we do not or do not care, it will not matter.

## **THE FIRST CHALLENGE FOR OUR LEADER AND LEADERSHIP**

In democracy, to represent requires that one is NOT unlike the superior and safe IDENTITIES of those to be represented. This status and role secures the collective values under which the entire members can meaningfully and rightly prosper. And this critically means that, looking like a human being, speaking or ability to speak similar language, belonging to the same geographical location are NOT SUFFICIENT for leadership IDENTITY – even in a homogeneous setting. This is because men are on their own not necessarily perfect or even good. If men were necessarily this, there will be no need for leadership. What a leader needs to be, is to share the same SUPERIOR identity, by commitment to protect the identity or identities to be represented. In effect, the positive specific identity of the representative can vary from another or another identities he is representing, but NEITHER to the detriment of his NOR others'. And this stand in every circumstance requires the best evaluation for the best possible decision – that will most of the time be beyond the easy and consistent capacity of the leader to realize without any input.

The first sensible step is to know the identity. This can be of self. It is logically not very easy to promote or protect what is not known, except by implication or consequence. Beyond self-knowledge of the identity, it is better to live it. This is because values that connect positions and actions to satisfaction and fulfilment are by living. And this knowledge and experience should be easily witnessed by the electorate. In other words, where identities can differ, the very identity of the leader as an individual need be consistent. This is because only a person with a clear identity can be held responsible for capacity to protect his identity, protect or respect related identities or for any abuse. Thus, in a setting where one does not know himself, does not live a consistent life with a known identity and is not presentable as a personification of an identity, representation will logically suffer.

This transparency is a necessary platform for democratic leadership. In other words, there must be no hypocrisy in the identity connection or relationship

between self and the identity to be represented. The belief and practice of some lies in politics is the most irresponsible practice that a leader can clamp on the follower-ship ESPECIALLY in a developing democracy. It is akin to a thief promising that the opportunity of leadership will not be betrayed by corruption. Because identity sustenance and promotion is the constant responsibility of the leader and the leadership, it will be irresponsible to be ashamed of one's identity where different identities exist. And this is what any political party or group must ventilate for. This is what constant education must NEVER shy away from or abandon. The reason and sense of this is that we spend much more of our time and life outside schooling. The education in school is really secondary to this education in any society that cares for its identity. It is therefore only a logical consequence of unclear identity definition to have crisis even after written or unwritten understandings are sealed. A band of hypocrites can experience this to their own unexpected embarrassment. And where such comes into play, the assured way out is not another line of inter promises or apologies but applying or insisting on the values of sincerity, transparency or truthfulness of IDENTITY. If this is veiled, ignored, tolerated or accommodated ONLY, NO CLAIMED OR EXPECTED LEGACY CAN BE ESTABLISHED. Hypocrisy CANNOT produce Truth or Fulfilment.

Consequently, in the context of Nigeria, the Leader and Leadership have the superior responsibility of appreciating the misgivings relating to our identities that are on the ground. That, there is a crisis of the knowledge and living of our identities consistently. This has led to the growth and development of new, strange and outrageous positions, actions, values and identities. Of course, if they are ashamed of such recognition or incapable of such recognition or afraid of such recognition, then, the appreciation will not arise or be consequential. In such circumstance of carelessness, rather than being leaders, they will INEVITABLY become managers and administrators of the status quo WITH THE PROSPECT OF INCREASING ANY DAMAGES BY STRENGTHENING AND EXPANSION.

The root cause of this leadership responsibility is that IF everything and everyone were RIGHT and not likely to become wrong, there will be no need for leadership. Hence, what is wrong and needs to be corrected, what is right and needs to be

sustained or what is likely to go wrong and needs to be guarded consist of the scope of leadership responsibility. This is why for instance; an honourable instrument like the police service is in place to prevent what is wrong or attends to what has gotten wrong. This means that it will be most wrong of a leadership to position itself and act in either of two ways. The first will be its insensitivity to the consequence of its actions. If a leader is so carefree or really careless and will admit just anything or whatever may follow after his tenure, it amounts to irresponsibility in the least. In principle, it means no difference between the opportunity to bear the burden and otherwise. The second unbecoming orientation will be that of serving self. And this can either take the form of selfish aggrandizement of public resources and playing or acting being the only one that is right ALWAYS. Regardless of how responsible this may be, it will be irresponsible. But the two go together. A leader needs not to be irresponsible and be responsible just as he needs not to be responsive and be irresponsible. Thus, it is both hopeless to be deaf to suggestions or not entertain them, for leadership.

The business of a leader and leadership is therefore all-encompassing. He must serve as the cultural head of the society. He enables the fine connections between positions, actions and values or mores in the society. This is why a leader will care about not just roads or rail connections between economic communities but the safety and prosperity of relating and living together happily. The differences are the challenges to the leader for evaluating and sorting. A typical example was the leadership of Obasanjo. The constitution drafting committee was becoming restless about the provision of Sharia Courts. He simply asked, if the provision will compel its application to non-Muslims. He confirmed that it will not amount to that, because it will apply to only Muslims who submit themselves to it. This is leadership. But interestingly, years later he was in that position again and some states were talking Sharia. Unfortunately, even the fairest outing was full of audacity. It was empty of leadership and died out as if Sharia is limited to the courts and defined by easy feeding in Ramadan. The presentation and impression became threatening to those who have equal rights of citizenship in some of the jurisdictions. This was inevitable because it was politicized without knowledge of content and requirements by the leadership. This was why it was packaged and

delivered as a tenure affair. It had no party base and most unreflective of the culture of the electorate.

## **THE SECOND CHALLENGE FOR OUR DEMOCRATIC LEADER**

It is clear that, given the underlying superiority of values or the rightness of positions and actions or statuses and roles, the provision of tangible needs will appear to be easy to handle.

This common misbelieve is responsible for the limited mental definition of the objectives of political parties. The manifestos will list the items to provide, like schools, roads, hospitals, dams, etc. And in our circumstance of pervasive poverty these are not just attractively meaningful but inevitable.

But because men are not like poultry birds or herds of edible domestic animals, leaders are NOT to place themselves and serve as if feeding, drinking, health and housing are ALL that define their responsibilities. This unfortunate situation is worsened by the fact that WITHOUT CARING FOR THE BASIC NEEDS OF EVERY AND ALL CITIZENS, THEY PLUNGE INTO COMPETITIVE WANTS AND FANCIES AREAS. In consequence, abject basic material poverty is always at the mercy of sharp high standard provisions. The facilities that are provided to serve the leader and leadership are therefore often MORE IMPRISONING THAN AIDING. Consider a government house or the Presidential Villa, that are larger than life provisions in order to curtail the authorized occupant from erring, in playing the critical role of more than any ordinary member for the protection of all. But the measure of poverty that continues under their jurisdiction is as unexplainable as a billionaire business giant in his seventies who left public service as a bureaucrat or political elite in his late fifties. No wonder, very unknown leaders can ordinarily be rightly associated with their lifestyles. The layout outside public service is not different. The package and boisterous artworks in the form of film production in Lagos, Kano or Port Harcourt that impress goodliness do not help the slums and crime culture that are thick in these environments. This suggests that the spirit and orientation has been that of doing the electorate, the ruled, the favour of enabling their existence or survival. This is neither leadership nor governance. It is therefore the responsibility of the leader and leadership to ensure that it is not the one that is being served but that it is the one that is serving.

And the beginning of this is the basic security of every and all members. It is in this light that the objection by Osinbajo to move out of the Aguda structure to the new Vice Presidential heaven was the best demonstration of responsive and responsible leadership. This is not comparable with considering a government house already existing as lesser than a private property to be rented or making the construction of a new one a public priority. At the state level, we have experienced the prioritization of establishing airports over schools even when it is clear that flights cannot be more than three in a month with two of these as chattered flights for the governor. With this misplacement of focus, direction or orientation, the leader and leadership will be out of tune with the right responsibility for governance. This madness is what the leader must resist, in the responsibility of providing material needs. The purpose of leadership is to ensure that every and all members are materially basically provided for AND THAT LIVELIHOOD IS NOT REDUCED TO LIVING TO EAT, DRINK, SHELTER AND REPRODUCING.

This also means that personal aggrandizement is curtailed, as more than sufficient provisions are entrenched for the material security of the leader and it is not part of the purpose of public trust. This logically implies two things. It will be most insensitive and irresponsible of a leader who has been secured NOT TO CONSTANTLY ENSURE THAT EVERY AND ALL OTHERS ARE ESSENTIALLY SECURE, IN THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME. Leadership is different as a challenge position and role for all members. He is not entitled to making the best use of his every twenty four hours while wasting or being careless about the twenty four hours of any or others'. Indeed, to be sleepless does not compensate for the failure. To wait, in the personal definition of the leader is most outrageous in a democracy. This is because he has the legislature, the political party, the opposition, the bureaucracy, the media and ordinary citizens to support him. He has the close-to-difficult task of being superior to all of them all the time on all matters OR to get the best out of them for the benefit of all, most of the time. This is for the reason that he cannot be perfect in carrying out generally meaningful governance responsibility alone or making the best decisions before any inputs, all the time. The second implication of abusing this behavioural quality is that the leadership will amount to a failure, as it will inevitably drop to

concentrating on growing fat on eating, drinking and reproducing to a burst or STICK merely to spreading the same to every and all members of the society. But not all members need only to eat, drink and reproduce. Even if majority require this, they also deserve other wants and fancies that those above that level already enjoy – possibly in excess. Leadership is to raise the level of all. Indeed, if leadership is hesitant, fails or refuses to give the deserving attention to the intellectuals who serve as the scholars of the society identities, it will amount to the greatest disservice to the society.

The capacity and ability to evaluate then stands out as the greatest measure of the challenges of the leader and leadership for governance. While it is fanciful to hold a commissioning ceremony for a project, it is unpleasant in our circumstance. It is like mocking those who have been betrayed by not meeting their basic needs. The construction of roads network is for instance not the leadership challenge but the right and best determination of the communities connected at the time as the outstanding priority for the immediate overall benefit and development of the society. This is how white elephant projects or programs are determined. The distinction between the two is that, the bureaucracy manages and administers the engagement of resources to the construction of the road network. And since the resources are always scarce, it is for the leader and leadership to make allocations according to general order of necessary priorities. It is therefore not enough to have good design for schools and even build them at the price of loans IF the level of revenue generation is not above sustaining the society and providing surplus for such. This kind of bankruptcy is responsible for the growth of our schools without libraries. The level of our reading culture is a shameful mockery of most of the growth indices of our schools. Leadership is thus not a painful engagement on ad hoc basis. As a result, it is not impressive to cry out that a leader knows and cares. The care is what needs and must be felt. And only those who get the feel are really relevant for the leadership. Only the fools who do not get the feel should believe that the leader cares WITHOUT EXPLANATORY KNOWLEDGE.

### **THE THIRD CHALLENGE FOR THE LEADER AND LEADERSHIP**

The leader has the entire society to source for all the intellectual and spiritual capacities that will make it possible for him to achieve the best of his

responsibilities. He will be a fool to believe that he knows it all or better than all others. He will be an ingrate to turn the leadership and the party into pawns of chessboard. While the second situation can be checked by necessary resistance by the truth that brought members together, the first is a greater personal responsibility. It is therefore required of a leader to be responsively and responsibly CONNECTED TO THE SOCIETY, to be able to tap the best of what he can.

This can be enabled by safe personal disposition to OTHERS, defined by the corporate interest of the society. This is what will positively attract positive opposition from within the ranks of the leadership, the lieutenants, the bureaucracy, the sponsoring and ruling party, the opposition, the media and the enlightened electorate. In a setting where, for whatever mischievous, innocent or good intentions reason, this is not generously available, discipline cannot develop among members and hypocrisy will be thick. Most people will simply serve the leader or combine serving the society along with serving the leadership. And in between will be a FREE WORLD FOR SERVING SELF. And it can grow and develop into bottling and cocking the leader into serving themselves WITHOUT HIS CONSCIOUSNESS. This is the price of the political isolation of the leader, against the benefits of connecting.

Where a leader and leadership permit such misfortune or get imprisoned in such political environment, no amount of achievement can be fulfilling because it will always be more like a matter of chance. More seriously, any achievements will be under real stress for everyone EXCEPT THE LEADER AND THE LARGEST NUMBER OF INNOCENT ELECTORATE THAT BEAR NO DIRECT CONNECTION TO LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY. But the number is not relevant for the development of the society. It is the smaller size of the political elite with whom the leader is carrying out governance that matters most. It is with them he can establish a tradition, a culture, a history.

#### **THE FOURTH CHALLENGE FOR OUR DEMOCRATIC LEADER**

It is neither harmful nor unexpected or even tempting or inevitable for a prospective leader to dream for the society. But from the discussion above, it will be clear that the democratic leader will be faced with a questionable dream if it is

defined by day to day material needs in the society. Consequently, it is a misplacement to list out the benefits members should expect and stop there. Indeed it is not enough to give quantum. For example, the screams to build thousands of houses or millions of employment opportunities or additional universities have all proven to be most unsatisfactory. But it is not illegal to do so. However the regular distance between the screams and the actions that follow have revealed that they end up to be meaningless for reference.

To make such pronouncements meaningful, the knowledge base needs to be sound. This is the kernel of the spiritual expectation that an incumbent government should always be more organized and reliable, because it has all the right information at its disposal. And from our experience of the empty purse inherited by the All Progressives Congress from the Peoples' Democratic Party, the gap of value bankruptcy is strongly evident. If the PDP was transparent or truthful about the state of the resources, the APC would have dreamt less than feeding primary schools pupils across the country. And the PDP would have revealed its capacity to deal with difficulties to follow. But the secrecy of this knowledge is effectively partially responsible for the claims of delayed constitution of the national cabinet and board appointments still pending after two years in power. This kind of attribute of veiling the truth is an irresponsible action on the part of any political leader and leadership.

Therefore, regardless of whatever, the leader should be able, within the first quarter of his tenure, to have a full feel of the government capacity and revisit the dreams for straightening and reaching back to the society. This is very possible and the latest time for this expression because, the bureaucracy and the political party leadership cannot fail in the ability to do this. If there is any inhibition, it is the corporate responsibility of the party leadership to **CORRECT AND REPOSITION** the factors. Indeed if the leader is the factor it will be most unbecoming and unfortunate. If it fails, it is both the leader and leadership that have failed the electorate. The cries outside the party structure by the members are not only inconsequential and miscreant but undemocratic. And they properly deserve sanctions.

At this level and time, the special requirement in the recasting of the dream details, will be the METHOD of realizing the quantum of the dreams, which may adjust lower or higher, depending on what is found on the ground. This should be a more responsive and responsible outing because all necessary apparatus that will enable such definitions of governance are in hand. Thus, the dream, the method and the expected or estimated time for realization will now make it richer. And it will not matter, whether the leader succeeded or not. It is neither impossible nor uncommon for the successor to discover that his former boss was a careful thief.

This redefinition is the basis and opportunity for making the DIFFERENCE of the leader and leadership. This is the root for consciously laying down a legacy. And it does not matter, whether it will be a physical project or a service. If the implementing machinery does not hook up properly with the dreams, the governance history can be characterized by abandoned projects and programs simply because they were not initiated by the succeeding leader. While it can be questionable to begin a project or program you cannot complete, evaluation will excuse by admission, desirable projects and programs that will necessarily require more than the time available to the initiating leader. For example, a rail or maritime project may require more time compared to roads because of the complexities of capital requirements against the resources of the society.

Therefore, a democratic leader is required to situate his dreams for the society as a FITTING IMPROVEMENT on the history that he finds or inherits. Any responsible leadership will become more so IF he inherits well-conceived beneficial dreams and realizes them, even though he did not initiate them. Governance must be a serious affair of continuity OF RIGHT PRIORITIES. The target is the society.

However, this challenge and responsibility of hooking up with the existing history is also the opportunity for raising the total value of the society by amending or checking pending errors and abuses. For instance, it will not make sense to succeed a leader who dishes out public funds for ceremonies and continue, when many members cannot have one good meal a day. It will be more irresponsible to continue with using public funds to rent a property for a leader in the same vicinity with government house facility. Total value here covers the out-coming feasible

dreams that will increase the resources and the spread of these across the society by direct benefit, access or indirect benefits. Thus, simple duplication of projects and programs between states and the federal government can not necessarily be always beneficial at the same time. But it serves as a window for even daft leaders to breathe inordinate dreams and see how they can take advantage of it.

## **THE FIFTH CHALLENGE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER**

Society, Living and Leadership are not fun. So, a leader does not stop at dreaming well and making every effort to successfully realize them. It is equally important to ensure or support the entrenchment of the dreams and successes. The future is therefore as critical and as reviewing the past to make the present fit into each other logically and sensibly, for the utmost benefit of the entire society.

This is an indirect call for institutions building. For the reason that whatever is true or correct is right and crosses time, it is expected that only prejudicial dreams deserve to suffer first. Thus, as long as dreams of timely projects and programs are well articulated and executed in the best interest of the entire society, they stand the chance of giving lasting benefits.

The difference and relationship between this challenge and the earlier one is that this serves as a check against the frivolity of attending to the fourth challenge. This is because the fourth will amount to the solidification of the entire system, development of the society and culture of the people. A past leader in this country had crudely expressed this but short of collective responsibility. He stated that, he did not know who will succeed him but very well knew who will not succeed him. In principle, it depicts consciousness of the critical value of responsible continuity. But in practice, it is the governance activities that should MAKE or COMPEL this culture or orientation. This challenge or bankruptcy is very visible in our government houses and the presidential Villa. It is to the credit of Osinbajo for his predecessor to express surprise at seeing his former staff, in the service of his successor. This tradition enables the development of the culture of neutral discipline among the bureaucrats FOR WHOEVER becomes the boss. The less of this culture and orientation, the more the culture and orientation of THIS IS OUR TIME on the part of those who become accidentally fixed into positions and roles

they are neither trained nor fit for. This is why there is often a high level of personalization or privatization of office and public matters.

The opportunity for self-testing in this respect is usually available at the beginning of a tenure and towards the end, if the law makes it eligible for another. At the beginning, the disposition of the leader will NOT be envisaging that there will be another tenure. This will make it possible for the leader and leadership to give topmost priority to the immediate challenges that need to be attended to first. The projects and programs that can qualify for this category but will necessarily require more time can also be started in earnest. The over ambitious ones that have been inherited and become qualified for timely continuation can be admitted early. Towards the end of the tenure, the leader and leadership will always face the challenge of resisting getting drunk, deceived or being misled by praise singers who never care about a better future by reminding of those things that are outstanding or even wrong. There is also the inevitable extreme form of having innocent, naive, ignorant or sponsored rascals, chanting that the leader must continue. He would have transformed into a thug in the polity if he believes this by a flash. After all, he was not the leader before him and will have to transit by expiration of tenure, real evaluation of failure by the electorate or death. No intelligent leader should excitedly sip this rum. This is because it falls more in line with less care for institution building, for continuity that is purely in the interest of the larger society – regardless of the leader and leadership.

The crux of continuity is a greater logical and sensible determination of the electorate, which should be encouraged to base it on the superior advantages of giving the same leadership another opportunity. And the criteria cannot make age come first, for reasonable and sensible members. It must also not be the achievements of the leader and leadership solely. It needs to relate to the **WEAKNESSES OF THE LEADER THAT HAVE BECOME OBVIOUS, AGAINST THE DISADVANTAGES OF RETAINING THEM FOR THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY, THE GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY**. The tricky challenge that is for the sponsoring party and the electorate is that the Leader and Leadership **MUST** be placed on the **SCALE** of **RESPONSIVENESS** to dealing with the weaknesses. The rationale behind this is that, **WITHOUT** the weaknesses, the leader and leadership could have performed

much better. It will then be challenging if the leader is sick by FIXATION and cannot possibly amend or change. This kind of situation can be trying in many respects. If the positives of his continuity still outweigh the disadvantages of living with his ailments, it will be at the POSSIBLE UNNECESSARY COST OF ADMITTING A SIMILAR SICKLER IN THE FUTURE. And will amount to building an irresponsible tradition for the leadership in the party and society. This is because the society is always superior to any leader and leadership. If the possible or probable future of the society can be or has to be sliced IT MUST BE QUICKLY HEALED by not allowing another sick person. This is why the combination of knowledge and discipline on the part of the politicians, the leadership, the party, the opposition and the political education of the electorate are equally and togetherly critical in the total VALUE PROTECTION of the society. The cracks between these can easily allow a situation where an average leader will feel or be related with as super human or indispensable. A leadership that therefore hesitates or fails to check such leader is SELFISH and equally guilty of disservice to the society. A leader without a positively supportive leadership or one that wilfully disconnects from the leadership is both unserious and unfortunate. And a leadership that cannot check an excessive leader or one that is erring is a betrayer of collective trust.

Leadership is CARRYING ALL OTHERS along towards a higher level of material state and values superior to every and all members, with respect and integrity. This is why instruments of law and coercion are deliberately created and entrusted to an expected healthy leader and leadership AGAINST WHOEVER MAY RESIST.

## **SECTION 5**

### **NATIONALISM**

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **EDUCATION FOR PROMOTING THE UNITY, STRENGTH AND PROSPERITY OF OUR NIGERIA**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

I share with the President, his expressed concern over the lines and drums for raising our levels of unity, strength and prosperity that are suggesting between reconstruction of the terms of unity and breaking from the present structure of unity. I am also with the President, that breaking from the present WHOLE is UNNECESSARY AND THEREFORE OUT OF QUESTION. The legal or proper MEANS of channelling the calls for reconstruction must be to our voluntarily elected representatives in the legislative arm. The National Council of State is another responsible avenue where Nigerians expect their collective interests to be protected. A body of Governors and former Heads of Nigeria and Chief Justices along with the President and his men is the best the law has provided.

Before this executive expression by the President to all citizens, the National Assembly had earlier received the reports of its committees on review of the constitution and has casted votes in respect of the recommendations from the two committees of both chambers.

This is not to deny that many individuals, groups and even corporate bodies have either expressed their contributions, are in the course of doing so or have a positive competence to do so. But it will be disorderly to seek to effect any difference without respect and indeed directing these to those who are most questionable for such responsibility – the Legislature and Executive.

I will therefore hinge my contribution on what the National Assembly got recommendations on because it remains the widest scope. The votes and the consensus that will eventually get transmitted to the states assemblies will not be out of this scope. It therefore serves as the best foundation for what is legal and can be legally enforced in the end. Thus, this stage is timely for the education of all legislators and the executive.

## **THE DUAL MEETING POINTS OF MOST NIGERIANS**

There is a general agreement that we are QUESTIONABLY reasonably provided for by ourselves, as individuals, groups and by corporate bodies ESPECIALLY the Government – at Federal, State and Local levels. In other words every Nigerian can be MUCH, MUCH BETTER IF WE RECONSTRUCT. The common parlance is, if we restructure, Nigerians will be much better. To be sure, there is NO state or local government that does not NEED to be affected in order to answer our questions. The questions are constantly details of the SAME question of POVERTY. No food, no schools, no skills, no houses, no jobs, no money, no roads, no transport, no drugs, no security, etc.

The second and related agreement is that WE MUST NOW GET THE ANSWER for the good of all of us. Poverty is not our fate. Prosperity has been eluding us because of our general carelessness or larger carelessness.

However, there are REALLY SEEMING DIVIDES when it comes to the MEANS of hooking up for prosperity. And it has largely boiled down to WHAT TO RECONSTRUCT. Indeed the greatest proportion of those who cared to contribute have suggested some form of withdrawal from the present relationship setting with the Federal Government. Fortunately, the most sane, civil and responsible way of achieving any specifics of a new architecture rests with Reconstructing the Laws that bind us together. Anything to the contrary will amount to an affront to our collective will and power.

## **THE QUESTION ARISING**

The Law that is and must be our resort is not new. We have laws and we inevitably build on what we have. This is how statutes can generate even from conventions. We have laws that are most relevant for our Federal existence, those for States and those for Local government operations. Our individual, group and corporate identities are necessarily rooted in what these array of laws impose, permit or ignore. For instance, we cannot have a Chairman or Governor of Nigeria. And if you are legally recognized as a President, it will be further defined by the scope. It

can be of the Senate or the Nigerian Bar Association. The President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is further qualified as Commander in Chief.

But after laws are made, they require reasonable compliance. This is because laws are not made for fun. Breaking them attract sanctions, with ignorance not admissible as an excuse. But they can be ignored which can amount to having such law losing its spirit. In such a case, the laws are there but the abusers are not arraigned before any relevant court of jurisdiction for charges.

The Question therefore arising is IF A LAW OR ANY SET OF LAWS EXIST AND ARE ABUSED the result of which is our poverty in all of its forms, ARE THE LAWS THE PRIMARY SOURCE OR CAUSE OF OUR POVERTY? Do we have the guarantee that any mechanical engineering of the laws will sort us out? From history, the results have varied. There are references that point to the fact that it can. The Pension Act is a common example in relation to the experience of those on the old scheme as against those on the new scheme. It also may affect the order of things. The introduction of the Procurement Act is another example, where in its very early life follow up circulars ‘explaining’ tricks that should not be employed were generated. And it may not, like the expressed duration for undertaking a post graduate program, in our premier universities. Our living with these shades of compliance in relation to our laws is the root of our notorious orientation in public life. Those who read and sign the oath and pledge to serve us are often the most popular in the abuse of collective trusts.

It is in this perspective one will want to comment on the 32 recommendations the Committees of the National Assembly have reported back for decisions.

## **THE PROPOSED INJECTIONS**

1. To include former Presidents of the Senate and Speakers of the House of Representatives in the National Council of State. The effect will be that in addition to those who are still alive that should join the advisory body, it will be normal to have three persons joining after every eight years instead of one.

Because this recommendation is not related to any existing law that is considered a source of our collective problem, the question is: How necessary is this, in relation to dealing with general poverty? This innovation will appear to be Time Bad. The

cost implications are avoidable because such individuals will continue to receive respectable audience on national matters without this additional status.

2. To reduce the grace period of six months for withdrawing money from the consolidated revenue fund by the President or Governor to three months, if funds for the year have not been appropriated by the legislature.

This will appear to positively connect with the irresponsible growing convention of completing the budget approval process getting to the middle of the year. However, the same constitution provides that between these periods of processing and approval, the executive is tied to the quantum of approval in the preceding year. This administratively implies that after the appropriation, necessary additions and subtractions are effected to adjust to the approval levels. The question arising is: what makes this injection necessary? Is it an admission that the parties involved are more unlikely to adjust to completing the process by the end of December of each year WITHOUT A COMPELLING legal restructuring? Does this injection guarantee early submission and prompt attention? The intrigues that get to bear on the mechanics of the process depend upon the discipline and orientation of the parties. Ordinarily, the existing approved mid-term plan should make evaluation easy, but the contrary has always been the case. For instance, the present national legislature in its second year (2017) is yet to have a full complement of facilities for oversight functions. In the processing of the previous budgets, what interim adjustments are unbearable that compelled the duration of processing the last one? Has the legislature established the evidence of reducing the period of enabling following appropriations?

It will appear that this recommendation goes to tighten the period only on the surface. However, will this have positive impact on the indiscipline that now characterizes the delays? To be sure, if the present orientation and discipline of the parties stick, they will only have less time for their game. The polity may not get better served.

3. The recommendation for the devolution of powers by moving items from the exclusive list to the concurrent list with reference to 2nd Schedule, Parts 1 and 2. For example, borrowing of money within and outside Nigeria or the Police and other government security services.

The temptation here is to oblige those who have taken the stand that such services or responsibilities are badly managed by the federal government. However, none of such proponents have advised on the prospect of getting as much or better results when the burden is transferred to the States. And it is worth noting that at least the Senate was sensitive to the lousiness of such ambition and voted against it. Some of the States Assemblies that were committed to this expressed their disappointment AFTER the tacit agreements they had with the National Legislators.

And those who are in the environment of resource exploitation are most inclined to push for this. Behind this push is the assumption or dual call for resources control. Regardless of anybody's opinion, the environmental damage and the pervasive poverty in these geographical areas are grave enough for even an enemy to appreciate the sharp response to the perceived failure of the federal government.

However, if we take governance as a whole, with the resources available to the states from 1999 to 2015, the performance of the resources based states have not been responsive enough, with even the superior allocations. The entire physical infrastructure developed and the services amount to less than low achievements when the additional resources of the regional development commission are added to the picture. In the case of states with above average internally generated revenue base, their reckless and irresponsible debt profile on the succeeding governments reveal no less poor governance. And the other states simply suffered resources rape. The stories of the local governments are more pitiable or shameful. This has led to the strong persistent call for their independence.

Most unfortunately, it is the federal government that has come up against the irregularities of its operatives and even some state operatives that have failed in arranging a home-settlement for the criminal rape of its resources. It is therefore reasonably and sensibly more doubtful if states can do better.

The real explanation for this state of affairs is that the institutions we have are weak at the federal level, weaker at the states level (maybe with the exception of a few) and very weak at the local government level. The leadership and administration of public institutions are more of opportunities than challenges. The bureaucracy is dead because the officials grow to disengage from the collective

focus of their engagement to focus on self-security in post service time. When you add the immaturity of our political institutions, processes and leaders to this, the logical feasibility can only be impressive without stress, by accident, chance or miracle. This further explains why governance has been more defined by the psychology of the leaders. The case is not different between the ousted PDP government and the present APC. One can only imagine the disorientation that is capable of being generated if this recommendation is to be sheepishly admitted.

The amount of work required to be done can be appreciated if we use the constitutional principle of federal character that is provided for, to build our unity, strength and prosperity. The creative requirement to achieve this will be by setting a time frame during which institutions will get operated for the benefit of ALL, from personnel with different identities to personnel with melted identities. But, to date it is not very secure for federal top managers to work anywhere in the country. The exceptions are members of the uniformed services. The National Youth Service has not been taken advantage of reasonably by the states. When the Inspector General of Police recently briefed the Governors on the required logistics for better performance and his willingness to support some postings to the states of officers' origin, it became clearer to state police champions that, it is not an easy task. The principle and operation of indigenship at the states level reveal a similar institutional failure. But, that is if we are after building a Nigeria for the benefit of all by the best hands any time. And this has to start with deliberate policies to achieve such. How many federal and state universities are committed to this? The private universities are an anomaly because the ability to pay is the qualification. Their nationalism has nothing to do with melting Nigerians to be one. They have no capacity to do so because we have seen how the virus of alumni has been restricting nationalism.

If we care for leadership and service FOR MOST NIGERIANS IRRESPECTIVE OF WHERE THEY ARE, mere shifting of resources for the management of different scope of people WILL NOT SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS. Building the institutions and people is our ONLY OPTION and OUTLET. The federal judiciary will appear to be building a fair picture of getting Justice from the court system irrespective of the origin of the judges. Though not a model, it is a superior presentation of federal spirit.

4. The recommendation to fund the Houses of Assemblies of states directly from the consolidated revenue fund. This is to give the legislature some degree of autonomy, against always going cap in hand to beg the executive for its survival. The present can ordinarily be restraining on the ability of the legislature to do its best in guiding or checking the executive.

This recommendation is a fresh innovation and is absolutely harmless. If there is any security that is expected, it is against an undisciplined and over ambitious Governor who may extend his excesses to the fundamental responsibility for the right of the legislature.

But we must also know that because law in itself does not amount to a solution without compliance, the parties still have the responsibility for a disciplined relationship in determining the quantum of funds that will be necessary for the legislature. Sharp or arbitrary actions, attitudes or orientation will be destructive of the spirit of this law even when compliance is recorded. And because legislators are human beings with inexhaustible needs, wants and fancies, the most proper compliance to this recommendation does not inhibit the executive from SEDUCING the legislators or from the legislators TRAPPING the executive for UNNECESSARY funds. Discipline and orientation is what will give value to the best compliance to this harmless recommendation.

5. To abrogate the State Joint Local Government Accounts, against what is provided for in section 162 of the constitution. This is logically understandable from the notorious orientation of the Governors since 1999. While it will appear to be alike with establishing the independence of the legislature, it is critically different. The local government is NOT AN ARM but a COMPLETE GOVERNMENT.

The notoriety of the Governors was characterized by starving or even denying them their entitled funds. And it does not matter even where the state government uses the funds for local government area related or relevant projects. The rule is to have the local government machinery do it for itself.

But, it is indisputable that the local government machinery has been largely incompetent. We have records of big traditional rulers as living Ticks on the

machinery. When you add this to notorious orientation of the governors, one can appreciate the association of public fund sharing culture with the local government officials. The essential misfortune is that the machinery is not allowed to develop. It is therefore comparatively the worst after the federal and state systems.

The question is: with this law, will Nigerians get better served? The most modest answer will be that, it will be more hopeless. This is because the infrastructure, the personnel and bureaucracy have been reasonably stagnant. The leadership of this level of government has been least attractive to competent minds and hands. Most of those who get plotted into it are often fine and shameless thieves. The exceptions are irrelevant because they do so with unnecessary enmity, opposition, frustration and stress.

It will only compare to the immaturity for devolution of powers. Like for devolution of powers from the federal to the states will intelligently require being preceded by institutions building, the local government machinery will require in addition to this, the disciplined protection and guidance of the state against the ticks and nursing the machinery. And it is NOT IMPOSSIBLE to reasonably and sensibly realize much of this in the eight years of a governor that is awake. You can therefore only imagine the impossibility of this in a state where the Governor believes that the bureaucrats are useless because it crystally reveals his ignorance and/or indiscipline. The magnitude of our problem in respect of self-governance or the poverty of our institutional culture can be appreciated if we NOTE that the local government is the closest to the citizens and it is the level that the best minds and hands avoid or are driven away from.

6. The recommendations to strengthen the local government administration by democratic existence, funding, tenure; and that only elected local government councils can participate in state creation and boundary adjustments. The objective is to affect section 8 of the constitution for clarity on states creation.

The principle is most welcome but the instruments for enabling any fulfilling outcome remain very weak. How impressive will it be to have one who had served as a Senator contesting to become a local government chairman? Even those we have copied the constitution from have not advanced this way. But they will need it less because they have far more developed institutions. In their case, the higher

levels of government are only more complex, a qualitative form of development. Comparatively, ours have not grown.

7. This is for the immunity for what is said or written by the National Legislators in the course of their work. None of them has been dragged to court yet for any expression. The recommendation for this license may not be really necessary because Honourable and Distinguished persons will normally express only what is reasonable, sensible, true, responsible and shameless. Such integrity is a safeguard against what the Freedom of Information law may permit when the immunity is entrenched. Legislators must therefore beware of the underlying risk of this attractive license.

Under this recommendation, a legislative bureaucracy is suggested for institution. They already have autonomy in making laws and funding. So, why not their administration? But what is the harm in being served by an extended machinery? IF NECESSARY, will it not be sufficient to have bye laws that will protect the present machinery against unnecessary and arbitrary interference? Indeed, that will reduce the burden of developing the personnel, equipment and operations of that arm. However, it cannot be denied that it will raise the NON LEGISLATIVE but executive clout of the leaders of the National Assembly. This is a fancy because the institution of the legislature is still growing with much difficulty.

In order to complete the intended affection on sections 4, 51, 67, 68, 93 and 109 it is recommended that the provision that the President MAY attend the joint meeting of the National Assembly to address it on the state of the Nation, become OBLIGATORY. What one wonders is IF any President will refuse to honour an invitation by the leaders of the National Assembly to do so OR even ask to do so WHENEVER NECESSARY. The logical consequence of obligation is to have it, whether necessary or not. Thus, the new standard of YEARLY. We should therefore expect a budgetary sub head to serve this purpose. This is certainly not creative.

8. To affect sections 134, 179 and 225 by providing a timeline to INEC for bye-elections and TO DEREGISTER ANY POLITICAL PARTIES THAT FAIL TO WIN AT LEAST A SEAT. Is this to encourage mergers by immediately weak parties with more prospective ones? This will serve only the current big ones that

have made at least a Governor. Is it to curtail political nuisance by those coming parties, regardless of their nuclear potentials? Either way, it is only justifiable IF we agree that WE HAVE SO MANY AGREEMENTS TO WORRY ABOUT AND TACKLE, which makes too many political differences, identities or platforms IMMEDIATELY UNNECESSARY. And we cannot deny that in principle, it is undemocratic. But IF it is voted for across the ladders for qualification and secures assent, it would have become democratic.

9. To deal with impasse, when a President or Governor NEGLECTS to signify his assent to a bill. Between sections 58, 59 and 100 a duration and procedure are provided to deal with declining assent or withholding assent. Is the duration painful for the two parties to sort things out in the interest of the country/state or is the legislature ALWAYS right or MORE RIGHT than the Executive? This is a difficult recommendation to comment on either by motive or benefits. This can only further entrench the relationship of refusal, hesitation between the legislature and executive on matters of national responsibility which inevitably leads to bad or weak resolution of challenges after AN UNREASONABLE TIME.

10. Provision of time frame for submitting nominees for Ministers/Commissioners with portfolios and 35 percent of women. The experience of the present government should have informed this step. For the purpose of argument, this experience may be feared to be repeated. But we never had it this way and it may be insensitive of any leader to repeat it. However, it is one of the consequences of a weak political party as an institution, producing a government. The time frame is not the best resort for getting nominees on board. The only benefit may be that it compels the ruling party and the leaders to quickly generate a tolerable list for the National Assembly. But this benefit should not extend to sealing portfolios as a RULE. The argument that it is done that way elsewhere is not in itself sufficient.

In the first place, political appointees are required to give leadership direction in accordance with the mind-set of the leader or party, except IF the leader and party have no clear definition for the assignment. The assumption here is that the system to be manned is mature enough to do things rightly under the leadership of the permanent secretary. For instance, with health, if you take the appointment of a conscious physician like late Professor Kuti who had his speciality, it is logical to

find primary health care becoming the priority. This was easy and seemingly impressive because the military regime had no specific interest of definition of a priority. Interestingly for governance, the achievements are only sustainable if the system is mature to ensure that the other aspects are kept alive. If the institution is weak, like in our case, you can only talk of the good old days. If the government is democratic and is committed to a different priority, the appropriate appointee may be and may not be a physician in the priority area. While this will appear less appealing, it is more inevitable with areas that are less known. For instance, the profession of Transport is not well known for people to say, the appointee for the portfolio of transport need be a transportant. Indeed arrogant ignorants will pronounce engineers. But engineers do not even have to be in works. The appointees will be primarily required to lead by using the professionals to serve the general material needs of the people according to the template of the government. The legislators will be doing a disservice to the electorate if they screen to certify a good engineer for works ministry. The qualification for engineering has different bodies for certification. This is not to deny that there are areas where it will be unwise to appoint non specialists. For example, the governor of Central Bank should be versatile in finance matters even if his initial training was in theology. And this is possible because the profession of banking admits persons with non-finance background for developing. The legal profession is thinking of restricting training entry for graduates in other fields.

The legislators as such are not lawyers. Indeed, they may be able to appreciate the greater irrelevance of having a lawyer as the head of the legislature. But they bear the greatest responsibility of making laws for the nation. The courts interpret them, law apparatus keep them and those who trample on them are sanctioned. After deciding on what is **REPRESENTATIVELY GOOD AND RIGHT FOR THE GENERALITY OF NIGERIA** professional lawyers are engaged in drafting this **LAW**. This is Leadership. This is primarily what the President or Governor or Chairman is expected to demand from his nominees. And leadership is not acquired by terminal qualification.

A dictate law that subtly suggests a line of suitability will therefore appear unnecessary at this level when we should be getting leaders from across the board. Is it not our commonest experience that most people in positions of leadership are

largely more of managers and administrators? And this cuts across both the executive and the legislature. The explanation for this is either that the leaders are not creative or that the machinery is meant to be so backward that its management and administration is logically the demanding priority.

The distribution of responsibilities across the gender is now attractive. But in reality, it is as backward as the federal character principle we have failed to overcome. If we are concerned with service and competence, is there any express law inhibiting a government from engaging women? If there is none, what is the rationale behind the limited percentage? Is the population of women not more than that of men? This suggestion appears to be only obliging what others say and appear to make sense out of it. It is not creative.

11. The recommendations to provide for a Minister from the FCT is another fanciful innovation, just like changing the names of some local government councils. It will appear harmless because it compels the melting of people within this jurisdiction for a political purpose. It is a very welcome idea because of what has become of Lagos today – even though native lagosians will complain.

The same applies to the recommendation to change the name of Nigeria Police Force to Nigeria Police. A law is required to do this.

12. To provide for Independent Candidacy in seeking for political office is yet another creation. This will affect sections 65, 106, 131, 177. This will require further elaborate actions in the electoral process. But the fundamental condition for any useful benefit from this suggestion is a FAIRLY DEVELOPED POLITY. And this further depends on information and communication facilities that are not just available, but are optimally used by the polity. As a result, it will not be surprising if it fits into Lagos, Kano and Oyo.

13. The recommendation to restrict a President/Governor who completes the term of an elected President/Governor from contesting for more than one term. This will appear to make sense because with four years after succeeding a boss, there should be little to add. The assumption is that he worked along with his principal while the principal was in the lead. It also enables the sponsoring party to refresh by producing new leaders. The legal provision of this checks the ordinary ambition of

any of such incumbent who would have claimed the right to contest. The kangaroo arrangement of some agreement is not a law. It is therefore not criminal to ignore such an agreement. This is clearly both creative and progressive.

14. To have specific identification for the Office of Accountant General will appear to be a logical improvement on the layout of the law. This is harmless and respectful of the office. The recommendation to provide for independent funding of the Office of the Auditor General must be to express taste for the fearless performance of the incumbent. While this is supposed to be harmless, auditors rarely teach that they are guides to superior resources management. They impress and are seen as police officers of resources management. Indeed because of the intricacies of managing weak institutions, the auditors are not free from transforming into records manipulators for managers. It is a worthwhile and harmless injection toward institutions building.

15. To separate the office of the Attorney General from that of the Minister/Commissioner for Justice in order to safeguard matters of law from partisanship. It is logical and makes sense on the surface of it. This will affect sections 150, 174, 195, 211 and 318 of the constitution.

But, is this to admit that the legislature has dismissed the attribute of professional ethics with most learned men of the bar? If this is not the case, why the hammer of reconstructing the law of separation because the appointee is most likely going to be more partisan than a law professor or officer? Indeed, if the Attorney General and Minister/Commissioner for Justice turns partisan, are the courts and judicial officers **MORE LIKELY** to also be partisan? Do we as a country need to commit the necessary infrastructural, manpower, financial and other costs to enable this?

This will appear unnecessary FOREVER except there is a target it is badly directed to or to protect some shameful interests. But these are transitional things that must not be attended to by institutionalization.

16. To alter the composition of the National Judicial Council. This is certainly not attractive because, it is a body of mostly faceless nationals who are or have been so in their orientation and duties. They also deal with matters affecting the promotion and protection of that same culture.

It also covers the empowerment of Supreme and Appeal Courts Judges to hold hearings in their Chambers. The objective is to speed up the dispensation of Justice. But in practice, such is held at the discretion of the Judge even though in most cases, it is to reconcile or indeed arbitrate on semi-formal terms. This present proposal is most unlikely to have had any contribution from senior members of the bench WHO KEEP THE LAWS. It will appear to provide the unexpected and undesirable effect of GIVING unethical members of the bench, the bar or both, a leeway to handling serious cases out of a courtroom. And the defence parties are more likely to do this. The means or measures for speedy disposition of cases are best focused on the normal structure and process of judicial processes.

17. The affection of the timeline for determining pre-election disputes is a positive welcome recommendation. Institutionalizing it will appear justifiable, to protect against any party that may deliberately introduce delay in the process. The experience from post-election cases is that, the standing elected operates under the psychology of restraint because of the uncertainty of the eventual outcome of the pending case. We have had cases where the standing elected only got ousted after past half of the tenure in question.

18. The definition of the core functions of the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps is a logical consequential necessity, after admitting it in the exclusive legislative list.

19. The recommendation to give women the choice of indigenship between her place of birth and the origin of the husband she is married to, for the purpose of appointment. This suggestion is as burdensome as the gender recommendation. Can a woman continue to serve on what identity is convenient? What if she has been married around? This worship of the physical woman by all means is better given limits by time and number. Our laws are best, when focused on our wellbeing, on the basis of competence and performance.

20. Procedure for overriding the veto of the President in constitutional alteration is another recommendation. But why must it be held that the legislators are wiser than the executive? If the legislators are representatives of the people is the President not a superior representative? This is because his mandate is a collection

or combination of many among them. The numerous provisions or recommendations for vetoing decisions only reveals either the fear, incompetence or outright unwillingness of the legislature to get the executive do things on the platform of sufficient reason and sense. But the constitution or law construction MUST NOT BE USED AS AN AVENUE OR MEANS for either setting a rack or settling scores. Laws are expected to be timeless in application except they are so expressed. This is why amendments are most intelligent if they are minimal, to allow the society build on the culture of compliance it has built.

It will be sharp of our representatives to place stitching standards on us when it will be easier to straighten bends by beating or pulling.

21. To remove possible law making powers of the Executive as can be accommodated in section 315 of the constitution. Accordingly, specific instruments and agencies this exercise of power can relate to are to be deleted. They include the NYSC Decree, the Public Complaints Act, the National Security Agencies Act and Land Use Act.

If there is any record of executive negative tempering with any of these instruments, the same constitution provides that the Courts and the National Assembly can pull it to remain in line by not contradicting the constitution. And NOTHING stops the legislature from entertaining an improvement on these instruments. So, what is the objective of this recommendation? Moreover, the legislature CANNOT be the ONLY body that makes laws or rules or regulations. Is the power to make statutory laws not more than enough responsibility? What is the necessity for a law where no challenge exists?

22. A law to establish an investment and securities Tribunal. The recommendation may have been informed by the inability or incompetence of the present court system to manage investment and securities matters. It may have been established that investment and securities disputes are flowing unattended to because of overflowing investments in the country or into the country. The pervasive poverty in the polity does not appear to be in need of this as such a priority. Indeed sceptics will suggest that plunders of public resources who get uncaught will have an opportunity for building a supportive infrastructure and service. But even in such a case, the investments need to grow and develop to a certain level to strongly justify

this recommendation. Focus will be better placed on improving the existing investment and securities related laws, where real inadequacies have been established.

23. The recommendation to reduce the age of qualification for President, Governor and Legislators. This will appear harmless but is certainly not a credit. Indeed, the preceding impression that the legislature was cajoled into it makes it distasteful. The factor of concern is that the present generation are above the recommended ages and WE ARE ALMOST BURSTING WITH DISSATISFACTION. The credentials required for SATISFACTION are CERTAINLY NOT prospective with reduced age. If we can have a Ph.D. holding governor with decades of public service and management experience that is above the present legal age and could afford ignoring power blocs that will hesitate to trample on him AND HE FAILS WOEFULLY, the age is not the window of hope. In exceptional cases that we are yet to experience, this proposal will be helpful. But even then, it is a more serious challenge to the older generation to nurse, groom, build up the younger generation for early fitness. And it MUST BE ON TERMS DIFFERENT FROM WHAT IS NOW COMMON. To be corrupt or be able to expose corrupt persons or be able to discover corruption activities through investigation or taking custody or their prosecution are FAR BELOW what the younger generation requires. The enormity of this challenge can be appreciated if we note that one or a few right and good youths cannot solve our problems. We will need battalions working together to be able to relate with the old generation that are against themselves and us.

24. To provide a timeline for laying appropriation bill by the executive to the legislature. It may be hasty to dismiss the usefulness of this recommendation because most of the recommendations have bearing on our failure in getting things done in good time. This is not a bad suggestion even though the stand that submissions arrive dead over simplifies the seriousness of the responsibility that takes place once in a year. The further expression that it is the legislature that has the power to appropriate funds as it deems fit oversights the collective responsibility to enable the executive serve the people. And as pointed out earlier a timeline in itself does not enable good service. The discipline and orientation of both parties is what must be optimized within the timeline.

25. The deletion of NYSC Decree, Public Complaints Commission Act, National Securities Agencies Act and Land Use Act. This will be consequential to removing the inoffensive power given to the executive to make improvements of these laws.

## **THE IMMEDIATE CHALLENGES**

The National Assembly has put on course the required means for a new legal architecture to help us pursue and realize our ANSWER faster and better. The National Assembly can NOT GIVE WHAT IT DOES NOT HAVE. The States Assemblies must therefore gear up for adding value to what is transmitted to them.

And they can do this by engaging both the state executive, cross selection of neutral facilitators on what is eventually transmitted, the federal ministers from the state, the national representatives that were part of what will be transmitted and a reasonable reach out to other states. This should not only enrich the state assembly but serve TWO objectives. The first is that the public will be part of and feel the direction of eventual commitment. The second is that the assembly will not end up with acting the script of some few that can neither be held responsible for their actions nor can they be wiser than what the consultation may produce.

The superior returns to the National Assembly should be easier to manage by the National Assembly because they CANNOT INTRODUCE new things. And the states executives have numerous levels and means of reaching the federal executive that will further receive the returns to the National Assembly. This will hopefully enrich the burden of the President for the evaluation of what is transmitted to him for assent.

The different levels of executive and legislature must begin to take deliberate actions towards institutions building.

The executive along with leaders of pressure groups must begin to take deliberate actions for general education that will affect our orientation as individuals toward others and our collective identity. The present POVERTY character that makes this education necessary is that MOST of us and ESPECIALLY OUR LEADERS do not have a conscious definition and deliberately living A PURPOSE OF LIFE that admits and respects most of us. They are therefore unable to generate a take-off point template to ANSWER our common question.

## **REFLECTIONS**

Narrated Abdur Rahman ibn Samurah: The Prophet (SAW) said to me, “**O Abdur Rahman, do not ask for authority? If it is given to you at your request, you will be held fully responsible for it. If it is given to you without your request, you will be helped by Allah in it.**” (Bukhari and Muslim)

Narrated Abu Umamah: The Prophet (SAW) said, “**No man is given authority over ten people or more but that he will come to Allah on the Day of Resurrection with his hands in shackles up to his neck. His freedom is his righteousness, or his imprisonment is his sin. The first of it is blame, the middle of it is regret, and the last of it is disgrace on the Day of Resurrection.**” (Ahmad)

**Then, wherein shall an ignorant and uncultured person(s) fit into volunteering or to be elected or appointed or nominated or in assisting for governance, by leadership or management or administration? And how can anyone or a bunch of determining ignorants and uncultured people produce and maintain knowledgeable and disciplined levels of leaders, managers or administrators, for good governance or collective safety and prosperity?**