

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



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First Published: June, 2023

Published by

**SADAQATUTAYYIBATUN FOUNDATION**

Post Office Box 2630,

Minna, Nigeria.

[www.sadtayyfoundation.org](http://www.sadtayyfoundation.org)

[www.nigerians.sadtayyfoundation.org](http://www.nigerians.sadtayyfoundation.org)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For example, the booring of a leader is bad enough at the beginning of his tenure, when he spends forever to constitute his team and most unfortunate at the end of his tenure, regardless of any achievements claims. A history of cultic support for a leader followed by regret and rejection by stoning by the same citizens is not a sign of satisfaction or fulfillment. And for the leader to ask for forgiveness over his oppression, in the course of his duty, along with readiness

to leave his country after his tenure, is shameful. An example of the duty is the currency change policy and implementation. Between the time it was introduced and the end of his tenure, it has been impossible to print sufficient quantity for circulation. Indeed, it indicates conscious oppression by deliberate commitment and omission. The cover up with the objective to transit to a digital economy is hollow, when the larger informal sector is yet to embrace banking culture. The characteristics of partial compliance with court restraints followed by nonchalant compliance to the judgement and refusal to produce more of the new notes were anti people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

His torture record of War Against Indiscipline was not lost sight of by Nigerians, who were fed up with the corruption of the Peoples Democratic Party

governance since 1999. His experiential questioning: Fuel subsidy for who? was well understood by Nigerians. His campaign tears against the sea heads of unemployed youths along with the cost of spaghetti were instructive. This was why key persons Late Lawal Idris met in Lagos and Port Harcourt to support the bid of asking Buhari to run in 2015 was not resisted. They said “we are with Buhari 100 percent but there is a problem and the problem is Mamman Daura. Is there any way you can do away with Mamman Daura?” Lawal very well understood them because ‘... he (Mamman Daura) is a very sneaky fellow. . .’

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

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



When the All Progressives Congress therefore had Buhari to express the promises of dealing with insecurity and corruption, it was believable and assuring that economic crisis would be easier to sort out. It was unreasonable, senseless and even risky to either object to the reality of these priorities or comparable symbols to the personality of Buhari. This state of reality and spirit were responsible for driving Nigerians to rationally and sensibly give him an extension of the positive benefit of the doubt, for a second term.

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

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

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

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

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

Buhari is personally thorough in getting things certified for himself. He can go extra miles in investigating, even with standing available positive reports. He can be so dogged to the faulty point of repetitive checks by different agents that, they will discover each other. The continuous damaging reference to Jonathan

and the Peoples Democratic Party's misdeeds, up to the middle of his second term, is a fair pointer to this.

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

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

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

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

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

government regalia will use state house land to establish a regular office as an achievement. Aides and citizens considered to be rude or critical can be manhandled and prosecuted, by state security operatives.

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

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

No wonder, the economic development strategy reduced to loans taking. And the change of currency implementation displayed clearer confusion, at the pains

of citizens and contempt of court. No wonder the fuel subsidy payment quadrupled and to save face irrationality drove the process of ending it. It was first shifted to June so that he will not be fully blamed, only to hurriedly claim arranging to end it in May, 2023.

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

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

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

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

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

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

AND LIVE for the purpose he was given the mandate. This is more so, because he enjoyed two terms.

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



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

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

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

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

discipline. But things will still happen because history will not come to a stop. And this is exactly what happened.

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

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

In Islam, IF he had a taste of his true faith, let him share it with Nigerians, to help increase the faith of Muslim believers and to attract both non-Muslims and unbelievers to the true and rightness of his identity for the safe protection of all citizens as well as expansion of our prosperity. This is no less a challenge to other Muslims in positions of trust with him, those before him and others in non-political leadership positions. Let an adult Muslim child who has a parent

of the age of sixty or above, or is retired, put across the same request and see, if he or she will get an inspiring and refreshing answer.

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

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

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

personal visit to him by Mamman. The second was immediately after Buhari was declared the winner and he met Mamman, who postured as if he was the president elect. The last was after granting the interview, two years into the first term. He categorically stated that, Mamman was **principally responsible** for all the challenges of Buhari leadership and that he told Buhari that **evil people had possessed him**. This was fair but **not the minimum**.

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

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

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

The worst were those who simply refused to advise or caution him for fear of poverty or losing his favor, and are comparable to those who either worked with him and were hiding files or monetizing assignments given to them, interfering with official matters or processes or manipulating him. The Islamic basis is the responsibility of believers who know what is right to individually or jointly act to either correct the wrong, advice against what is wrong or dissociate from the wrong doing and the person or what will promote the wrong. And the terms of defining the limits and strength of this checking response are two. The first is that it will be for Allah, the second will be employment of every legal means to serve the course of Allah. This is how and why positive criticism is jihad.

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

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

leaders can mill the resources of the society easier and better for our collective safety and prosperity.

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

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

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

just the nature of a thing, but the process of its acquisition and the use it is put into. They are all thieves, armed with trusts or opportunity.

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

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

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

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

Therefore, there will still be transition along with citizens who will question its credibility, even when their own credibility is questionable. This is because even the polity has no consistent identity consciousness that drives its choices.



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

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

priority to security, are TALL. The immediate response to the declaration of fuel subsidy end, was therefore met with hike in the pump price by the marketers.

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

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

The second is the commencement of an efficient, massive and continuous informal education for positive reorientation, covering all citizens. This will

have to be deliberate and focused on leadership for good governance. And the literate citizens will be the first target. To give it life for the required impact, it must be supported with discussions and commentaries relating to leadership, governance, policies, leaders, processes, projects etc. And those with the right resources for this are Muslims and Christians. This is because their identity stems from the master morality packaged by God Himself.

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

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

To be sure, it is not enough to be a Muslim or Christian or even a scholar or leader of these identities. If it were, we would not be in the kind of state we are in now, tempting the question: IS THE IDENTITY THE CHALLENGE OR

THE CLAIMANTS? Moreover, the bearers of these identities are unquestionably the majority citizens of this country and are totally responsible for our national drawbacks and failures. A high level of humility is therefore required for a sincere and positive **SELF DELIVERANCE AND CLEANSING**. We cannot all be failures all through and begin to take off with foul competition in what is right. Our audacity and inordinate greed for the opportunities of this transitory life and world have logically led us to this degeneration.

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

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

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

The citizens will become the real drivers of our social, economic and political history, for the purpose of enhancing their safety and prosperity according to their identity. Our political, economic, social, bureaucratic, cultural, research, political institutions, structures and processes, will be TUNED to SERVE US. Of principal interest should be the banking system, the insurance, mortgage etc. The current lousy tradition of copy and impose, like the political system are doing the inevitable damage to our real identities, as much as the identity bankrupt elite are swimming in the reaps. Our leadership and governance will be set on the course of giving us satisfaction and fulfillment, because they will not isolate our livelihood from our beliefs. We shall have minimal rascality to manage. For example, the confusion of retorting at the criticism of Reverend Mbaka as dissatisfaction for failing to get a government contract, will be exposed, because contractors are not excluded from helping the government or required to be sheepish. Similarly, you cannot suggest that a pattern of marriage relationship between Christians and Muslims should be adjusted against scriptural provisions to enhance unity. The windows of creativity or innovation will be driven, with respect and protection of our identity. Our integrity will be consistent with our identity. And the greater benefit will be that the old generation will get connected to the young generation in the common and flowing commitment to our collective safety and prosperity. This will be unlike the present state where the older generation is in constant fear of losing out, the old generation is being reduced to puppies, with the young generation over ambitious and the younger generation hopeless. The realities of tribe, religion, geographical identities will become fanciful colors that are not any threat to any group, or the responsible pursuit of our collective safety and prosperity. Nigerians can then mingle well, with whoever chooses to ask for our mandate

and is found suitable by the citizens. Even members of the same family can end up to be the choice of Nigerians. And the greatest benefit will be that the connection between believers and God will be strengthened and be obvious to observers. For example, the favors and compassion for us will rise above the common universals. We shall enjoy good rains with less floods. Good yields with less famine. Science will accordingly adjust; the probabilities will increase because we can only discover what God permits. The culture of doing as we like and expecting God to serve us at will, will continue to destroy our identity and connection. This is why we currently really ONLY STAMP most of our prosperity with godliness, because the connection is fake and artificial if not clearly contradictory. Do people with questionable sources of wealth not enjoy good prayers for more and salvation on death, because of their gestures?

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

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

More and better than Buhari visited the governance of Goodluck Jonathan, the successor has a greater responsibility and duty to do the same. Buhari never meant personal evil in doing the visitation for almost through his first term. It cannot now turn evil to do the very same worthy exercise. The rational inevitability of this is that the present cannot be devoid of the immediate past. For example, the investigated report of anti-Nigeria findings on the Governor of Central Bank and why oil wells licensees have failed to perform, do not deserve shredding. And the double addition is that, it has impacted more negatively on the evident livelihood of Nigerians than the misdeeds of Jonathan while the driver was Mr. Clean. In other words, more than in the case of Jonathan, the ordinary, routine and inbuilt mechanisms of checks, that sustain the health and sanity of governance, gave in, for our oppression.

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

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

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

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



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

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

In our present circumstance, the governance challenge is of double face. The first face relates to adding value to the present state of chaotic structure of poverty by reducing its scope and character in a systematic way. The second face relates to achieving this with priority respect for our identity and resources. This challenge requires more creativity on the part of the leadership, because it has been there but either was not understood, unknown or ignored.

For example, nothing inhibits the leadership from providing at worst, more than a quadruple of the housing facilities enabled by governments, since 1999. This means that the methods on the ground have to be radically changed. It is

irrational and senseless to expect to house Nigerians through mortgage, when the percentage of the formal sector is less than twenty percent and eighty percent of this are battling with basic livelihood costs. If the growth of private estates, the structural content, designs and locations constitute the achievements, what percentage of the scope of the electorate, their locations and those in need have these covered?

It is not different with the financial development of the citizens. Take the case of insurance, which in principle is protective of the holder. What percentage of vehicle owners have taken comprehensive covers, between 2000 to date? Why is it dropping? Is the mere explanations of personal choice and inability sufficient? If the citizens need it, and the system is not serving, then leadership requires that it is transformed into what must serve Nigerians. The lousy story line that business has gone down is more negative than positive. Indeed, the arrangement may appear to be criminal because, against the dwindling financial power of average citizens, the insurance business is wagging stronger by raising the terms. Unless and until the leadership drastically intervenes, in making the systems serve our identity and needs, we shall continue to have sharp records of growth without development. Increasing money as well as poverty. Is it for instance rational and sensible to entrust a body with comprehensive insurance funds for a year, and lose the entire sum when you have no accident record? That this sleazy arrangement operates in a country is not sufficient to impose it on ourselves without adjustments. At worst, a window of alternative should be created.

The same with banking. A relationship between two free bodies, where a volunteer trustee takes limited or no risk of loss and the funding party takes most risks, is not balanced with the identity attribute of caring for others as you wish to be cared for. So, if this nature of relationship is not Nigerian and Buhari

has upgraded taxation regime for the percentage of citizens that use banking services, the burden of creativity will be higher.

It will be like continuing to send Nigerian Defense Academy products without war experience to Sambisa, until the insurgents are crushed. You can only imagine the amount of lives it will cost, that can be responsibly avoided. What if it was actually done? Another crazy example will be turning the army of unemployed youths into construction workers, without defining the transformation process relating to their civil development. This Stalin style is not acceptable in our times, with our identity.

In respect of Education, a definite orientation will need to be injected into the schooling system, the results of which must be common, known, understood and seen to be serving the protection and enhancement of our identity consciousness and discipline. Schooling is not of neutral effect. It is therefore far insufficient to simply make it generate entrepreneurial products. As Nigerians, we are more than just humans.

The case of health is not different. Hospitals growth, expansion, equipping, drugs, personnel and specialization are very secondary to the number of citizens who do not need to be going to the hospital. A society where fewer people need to be going to the hospital is both healthier and better than those counting the fitting ratio of health facilities to the population. This is impossible, if the leadership direction of agriculture, foods and drinks is not creative.

All the talks about goods and services production boosts will be illusionary if a different approach to providing power is not fashioned out. The lame and corrupt approach of metering every consumer is not enough. Consumers have no justification for buying or contributing to having meters, electric poles, transformers, cables or whatever. There is also no justification for experiencing blackouts without either notice or apologies. The criminal adjustment of either

reading standard, tariff or power supply are injection of corruption. The hopeless conditions of service for the staff against the blood sucking nutrition of the managements and boards are responsible for the unethical practices between the staff and customers.

If Jonathan administration gambled with the lives of Nigerians and refused to provide the security operatives with facilities, how was that the only explanation, against the performance of the same operatives, before Buhari got more facilities? Why is insurgency not a past history, after eight years, while the chieftains of the tools are retiring to either predicting a longer time of the insurgency, receiving National honors or leaving questionable accounts of their tenure or all? The succeeding leader cannot afford to think, trust and operate on the same anti Nigeria terms.

The civil service and the legislature that are easy and popular targets of corruption in the actualization process of governance cannot be attended to as usual, to get different results. For one, they are absolutely necessary and have developed to the capacity of possibly sabotaging a leadership. They are not different from the experience of security agencies combating insurgency. The orientation that drives the current culture must be understood, to be effectively and usefully reversed. They are part of the larger system, following the footsteps of those entrusted with the resources of Nigeria, who act the roles of owners of the resources as against Nigerians. The oil and gas sector as well as the financial institutions of the public have been dictating the style of corruption to the civil service that is the processor of governance. The pointer is the extra governmental roles that they have come to increasingly play, in governance. It is either the Central Bank is supporting victims of bomb blast, the National Oil Company is resettling victims of insurgency or Nigerian Ports Authority is supporting orphanages. Thus, how they use their approved budgets is the example for others. The political leaders and leaders of these organizations set

the pace. This explains why a critical organization like the Federal Character Commission has with time creatively keyed into the corruption, with the resources at its disposal. It certifies manning of the civil service by USING its certification powers at the cost of building a service that will OUTLIVE the need for the Commission.

This is exactly the challenge we are battling with, with our political institutions, structures and processes, despite all the University political experts, since independence. In summary, it must not be sufficient for the leader, that something works, it must also require to serve our peculiar circumstantial needs. And the peculiarity is neither less nor more than our identity. It must serve Nigerians. This gap is the real explanation for the difficult-to-understand change of political parties by many members and the mad desperation to bear the burden of leadership that is mostly badly understood, even after someone has been declared the bearer. It explains the craze of wanting to belong in the name of support, by sharing or accepting to melt into another. This also explains intra party crisis. Nigeria is not the focus, no matter how much and well the chieftains sing it. How can you be committed to what you do not know or your understanding is confusing? People have wastefully screamed to the sky, that the religious identity of a leader is the solution or the geopolitical identity of a leader. But these had not served us, this is why they are vulnerable to collapse. With religion, labeling a rock, an animal or plant as Muslim or Christian is not more wrong than a human being who bears the identity and does not live it. This is why delegates will continue to be necessary but do not have to serve. This facet of the challenges is for the new leader to attend to differently, for a better Nigeria.

Personal leadership identity is another. The perception and understanding of the personality of the leader necessarily ignites, strengthens and expands, through his immediate evident trustees, associates, lieutenants and aides. If God and

Nigeria ALWAYS COME FIRST in his expressions, actions and orientation, he will generate a team that will push the same as the standard. And it will not matter, even if he was fairly different before assuming office. This is because he is both the symbol and instrument of determining what is right against what is wrong, and what is to be appreciated and rewarded against what is to be questioned and sanctioned. Therefore, if his family, tribesmen, religious brethren, state or geopolitical relatives, friends, school mates, classmates, course mates, cult members, club members etc. EITHER COME FIRST OR IN COMPETITION TO GOD AND NIGERIA, all others will flow accordingly. This is a critical personal challenge because the leader is one from among us and needs to be different positively. The Nigerian polity is therefore inevitably at the risk of all imaginable consequences of having a leader who is of FALSE IDENTITY CONSCIOUSNESS. Instead of a growing and expanding discipline driven by our collective identity for our collective safety and prosperity, leadership and governance will be checkered with ignorance, hypocrisy and rascality. This is the real root of the colors of nepotism, intellectual inferiority complex, constantly defensive, self-defeating and new corruption patterns that characterized the Buhari leadership and governance. This is why the OPPRESSION OVERWHELMED all the claims of achievements. If the person of Buhari was different by being consistent with what he expressed and was believed, it could've been much much better. The new leader must therefore be TRANSPARENTLY DIFFERENT. And it cannot be hidden, because his trustees, associates, lieutenants and aides will mirror him as much as his actions, no matter how much they deny people access to him.

Transforming at least his political party for political leadership in the politics of Nigeria. No previous leader had known, understood the importance of this or cared about it. The convention is to disperse after elections and hustle for gains, based on individual strengths. The opposition goes to sleep except for the elite

members who intermittently criticize, insult or scandalize the party and its leaders or governance. They reconvene as another election time approaches. This is wrong. This is insensitive. This is not leadership but opportunism. The taste, crave and commitment to the safety and prosperity of Nigeria, should be the culture of the politicians and more so of the chieftains.

This is not possible without regular and continuous education and reorientation. This is the only way life can be given to the deadwood members in our identity consciousness and discipline. Credible and responsible Nigerians will then feel attracted to join political parties. The quality manifestation of this education and reorientation will gradually pool quality and disciplined politicians together, compelling those that are unwilling to transform to either leave to form another league or remain in obedience and be inconsequential. Then we can expect that the political outings that will follow after his tenure, will be more rational and sensible and in tune with our collective identity. The delegates will be more responsive and responsible. The candidates will be more sensitive to accountability. The polity will be engaged in less political gambles.

In the end, the conception of challenges has to adjust with special care for our identity and circumstances. For example, the concept of corruption as misappropriation of funds only, has proven insufficient. The attention to poverty as effective by sharing a few thousands to people haphazardly or extortive system of feeding pupils have to change. The belief that loans are efficient means of achieving economic development in themselves has to change. As a Muslim who is required to love for his brother what he loves for himself, how indebted is Buhari personally at the time of leaving office? What then made increasing debt for the citizens Islamic, Christian or Nigerian?

None of these can be given or guaranteed by the mere combination of fine rules, technological tools and trained technocrats. Do we not note, the strides in the

amendment of electoral laws, the digital process and improving competence of the electoral personnel? But the satisfaction with our own progress results has been dropping. **IDENTITY CONSCIOUSNESS AND DISCIPLINE IS THE GAP. EDUCATION IS THE KEY TO CLOSING THE GAP.** The oppression of the Buhari leadership and governance, driven by ignorance, hypocrisy, confusion and rascality is sufficient for the sleeping to wake up.