POLITICAL EDUCATION FOR A BETTER POST-2024

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CHAPTER I

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But the standard of schooling has degenerated so much that private institutions are now at least competing with public ones or claiming to be better. The strikes by academic staff for more than their emoluments and the quality of graduates

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

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

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

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

cover up with the objective to transit to a digital economy is hollow, when the larger informal sector is yet to embrace banking culture. The characteristics of partial compliance with court restraints followed by nonchalant compliance to the judgement and refusal to produce more of the new notes were anti people.

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

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

Whatever admissible mistakes may be considered, they will be slim or few and characterized by being only insufficient satisfaction of right benefits to the citizens, by forty 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.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTER OF THE CHALLENGES AHMED BOLA TINUBU SHOULD BOTHER AND FOCUS ON, TO GIVE A NEW LIFE TO OUR LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

As a Muslim, Leadership rests roundly on himself as an individual who believes, as a husband, as a father, as a community leader, as a corporate leader, as an elder and as a public leader. There must be more than reasonable synergy or consistency, between his identity consciousness, discipline and the various levels of leadership he is bearing.

The ESSENCE of the challenges is that, it is IMPERSONAL. It is FOR THE SAKE OF ALLAH ALONE AND ONLY. Himself, his relationship with and to things or others, have to consistently be IN CONSCIOUSNESS AND SUBMISSION to this essence, to SAFELY AND GENUINELY PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF ALL, REGARDLESS OF WHATEVER DIFFERENCES AND CIRCUMSTANCES, which will more than adequately cater for his own interests. In Nigeria, this is what is constitutional, right and safe, for fellow Muslims, Christians and non-believers.

This has been the essential challenge with our leadership and governance. This has become most pronounced with the consequences of the leadership and governance of Muhammadu Buhari. It became clear that the identity claim of a leader or the identity stamped on him by the electorate are not the yardstick for his identity. It is the application of his knowledge, consciousness, discipline and the effect or impact of these, that certifies the identity of a leader.

In his case, it was a greater exposure and failure of his claim and what was stamped on him. Moreover, Muslims and Christians have value driven identity. It is therefore both insufficient and contradictory, to lead and govern men for just eating, drinking, sheltering, reproducing, resting ANYTHING, ANYHOW. Leadership and governance must not just meet these needs, wants and fancies in the RIGHT WAY but must in the process and the end, not abuse their beliefs.

A leader must symbolize and act out to protect the welfare and faith of the citizens. Anything short of this is the definition of CORRUPTION, that is objectionable.

Because, it is highly burdensome and demanding, for a president to be close to perfect, his NEED for support to enable responsible leadership is inevitable. This is why he is constitutionally granted a wide scope of liberties. One is by guidance and verification by security agencies and the legislature. Another is without this guidance. These are ministers and special advisers/assistants. He also has the liberty of engaging others at will. For instance, the engagement of a special investigator to check the activities of the Central Bank.

This role and responsibility is logically dependent on the combined capacities of the supporters in helping him to bear his leadership and governance burden, as DRIVEN by him. Thus, the possible or greater inclination of these supporters either competing with him or even taking over his role and responsibility can further be helped by those who care, but are outside, and are none of these. He may know them. He may not know them. They may be his admirers or critics. They may be evidently better than him or appear not to be.

His ability to manage his supporters in harnessing this window of resources DETERMINES HIS ULTIMATE CAPACITIES AND ABILITY. This connects to ACCESS to him and the interest of his burden of leadership and governance. This is impossible where his lieutenants, aides and associates are not seeing themselves as tools and means of helping to bear his burden. For instance, the Buhari groups saw themselves as opportune and Buhari saw them as favourites. The burden of leadership and governance roles and responsibilities were not the driving factors. To worsen it, they were largely either ignorant, careless or hypocritical of identity consciousness and discipline, of themselves and Nigeria.

If a public leader and worst still, a president, cannot be reached or will not be able to respond to a formal voluntary support, for six months, he has no ordinary prospect for optimal achievements. He will require a miraculous intervention or a rare chance of luck, to do so. This means that those that can add value to his leadership and governance but may need to be invited, are barred. It logically means that the resourceful citizens that he will require to go after are lost. This misfortune will be entirely his in the first place and of Nigerians, because his supporters are subject to their perception, interpretation and understanding of his psyche, capacities, abilities, identity and orientation.

Leadership is therefore critically, an example of discipline or restraint guidance based on knowledge, for the sustenance and enhancement of the safety and prosperity of the largest majority, in our case. It is not and must not be associated with the pursuit of the safety and prosperity of one person, a few or a section, as an example for others by the opportune. The first is propelled by justice and fairness, whereas the second is propelled by strength and opportunity. It is impossible for us to attain fulfilment through the second course, regardless of the growth achievements we may make.

As Muslims or Christians, our discipline, restrictions or limitations are already largely given by directive tenants. We shall not associate anything or anyone with God. This means His Guidance. Associating anything with Him is far beyond carvings and covers any and everything that is neither human nor living. It includes physical things, processes, relationships and the ideas that accompany them. Not associating any one to Him relates to oneself (like playing absolute freedom with oneself, by committing suicide), any person, whether a parent, sibling, relative, senior, or master, any group of men, like family, association, tribe, race or nation. Either of these forms of breakage from the limits or guidance of God, will be exceeding the discipline. And this is absolutely connected to the

reality of life after death, that is eternal and hangs on the submission or obedience in this life to the tenets. The two are inseparable.

This is how and why transparency and justice that are impersonal, can be against self, someone, some persons, a thing, some things, and be RIGHT.

The embodiment of our identity and living it, is BEYOND ordinary pragmatism. It is not enough that something works to give pleasant results. It MUST ALSO BE RIGHT.

For example, Tinubu and whoever cares, now RIGHTLY KNOW that, IN SPITE of the catalogue of achievements published by the Buhari government, the leadership and governance was DOUBLE wrong, because of their identity bankruptcy. There is nothing right about entrusting a certified pilot with developing aviation resources, who will mismanage and abuse the resources while performing wonderfully as an anchor of a questionable birthday ceremony. It is equally wrong to have a Senior Lawyer of the State, to either restrain his appointees from excellent performance, witch-hunt a lieutenant to career death or abuse entrusted resources by misappropriation. These have nothing to do with his ability to prosecute or defend. The same applies to a banker. They failed in the identity they claim and failed to serve Nigeria.

This means that entrusting a technocrat with leadership is not any guarantee for good leadership, because his orientation has to be of right identity, that is dependent upon knowledge, consciousness and discipline. It also means that changing the person for another person that is identity bankrupt is not a lesser mistake.

This bankruptcy of identity consciousness and discipline that is responsible for the gross mismanagement, misappropriation and primitive accumulation, at the expense of our collective resources, that have hindered and disoriented our collective safety and prosperity, is the same essential challenge that has led

Tinubu to the confusing selection of his team. Buhari attempted to get clean, known, recommended and trusted parties, in many cases. He watered down to loyal and supportive thieves. And he has ended up with more scandalous history of the corruption he vowed against, from his family members, through his closest lieutenants, aides and associates to technocrats and professional allies. Tinubu has 'intelligently' saved himself from such identity discrimination. He has therefore used seeming political expediency and some stint of technocracy to define the suitability for competence. The warning to appointees to perform is therefore not less confusing. Like Buhari, he does not expect non-performance or stealing. But what will enable this, is not known or clear. This explains why he has no choice but to go hard on EXPOSED persons and measuring what to do with PROTECTED persons. This is the difference between his response to the regulation of the banks and the petroleum sector chieftains. In this quagmire, the corruption of the security Leaderships has led to calling on the United States to rise to defend democracy, given the blowing wind of military takeovers. But this is against the new push for independent Africa. If our identity is not cared for and protected by us, who will recognize it to respect?

In the discipline of protecting and enhancing our identity, leadership, management, operations and governance will require to LOOK INWARDS FIRST. Independence negates looking out first, because every conscious identity and disciplined society, seeks and even strives to promote its identity, deliberately or inevitably. For example, you cannot ask for loans from International Monetary Fund of the United States, in Naira. Consequently, you will have to spend it in their currency. It is therefore foolhardy to, expect to develop and meet the challenges of housing in Nigeria strictly and wholly, by the instruments and processes that conform to the United States or United Kingdom. Thus, unlike the careless commitments that trapped the Buhari solution to housing, Tinubu will require to think and work out of that box. It is the degree of your independent

strength in providing yourself with housing that determines the degree of your desperation and self-deceit, that you are progressing, by looking more like other identities. This is a backward orientation. The same applies to education that has degenerated to schooling. And the Buhari governance exposed its ignorance and competence in understanding the difference. This was why it didn't add any value to the existing decadent establishment. Minister Adamu confessed his regret for negligible reduction of out of school children. The peculiar challenge of the Almajiri system was even worse attended to by the All Progressives Congress party. Employers will tell you about the dropping quality of university graduate candidates. And the approach remains budgeting and funding. Our identity is not driving our schooling and educational system.

Similarly, only our identity knowledge, consciousness and discipline can enable our evaluation of whatever we may find attractive, to entertain or admit. Not everything and everyone will be admitted. A good example was demonstrated by Goodluck Jonathan, who signed the law against same sex marriage, in the protection of our collective identity. In the case of Buhari, a Prime Minister of the United Kingdom requested him to consider the rights of gays and lesbians. Buhari did not say that he heard her. But because of our identity bankruptcy gays and lesbians are not just increasing, they are growing into interest groups. We have sex toys businesses. We have had the experience of the groups declaring political support to candidates and some promise of empowering them. So, WHY didn't the same spirit drive the Buhari Government to attend to the corona virus pandemic? The history of managing the pandemic is worse than shameful. But the Secretary to the Government said, NO ONE WILL BE SAFE UNTIL EVERYONE IS VACCINATED. Did we get sufficient vaccines? Did everyone who got the certificate get vaccinated? Have more Nigerians died for not taking the vaccines? Do we have responsible and transparent records of what happened to those vaccinated? Were most of those who got infected treated with anti-corona

virus drugs, that did not exist? What was the result of evaluating the Madagascar product, that was reported by its President to have faced the challenge of sabotage? He was requested to provide some quantity which will be injected with poison, to declare it unsafe. What did the Federal Government or the State Governor do about the latter's claim to have recovered, using Blackseed? What records of post Covid pandemic history especially in the United States has our government followed to enable it do better, in our interest? Buhari got confused and declared that he had no more money for the bottomless funding of the pandemic. All of these are less than the financial corruption-cum-professional corruption that cost the loss of lives that were not really infected. An identity driven leadership and management of pandemic would have been positively different.

In the identity of a people, individuals, groups and even nations will be placed on relationship status for the safety of oneself. For instance, when you hear of the presence of bandits on a road, it will be foolish to simply use the road because they are human beings like you. A fellow bandit, a relative of the bandits or a service provider for the bandits or ally should be more right to ignore the risk of difference. Authorized operatives will be very right in going beyond passing the road to pursuing them, with the ultimate objective of correcting them. This can be by arrest, use of reasonable force or eliminating them in self-defence. It is therefore a responsibility of the leader to measure not just the things or process of what to entertain and admit, but also, the integrity of the person. This is why the integrity of a head of a finance or investment company matters to prospective partners. If this had driven Obasanjo, Nigeria would not have lost its insurance company and resources, by selling it to a failed businessman. This is exactly why the publisher of Buhari authorized biography did him more harm than the author. But Bill Gates who is a world champion of depopulation and is a principal in funding the development of contraceptives that can now be remotely tuned for up

to a decade of ‘safety’; anti-natural farming and funding genetically modified seedlings, factory production of artificial meat; production of vaccines that have done damages which are still unveiling; and is open to research and development of transformed mosquitoes to infect/vaccinate humans etc. was invited by a Muslim Nigerian to meet Tinubu. And the subject of interest is malaria vaccine. Do they have the challenge of malaria in the United States like Nigeria? What have our health scientists been doing? If Gates is commitment to eradicating malaria, is it best without us? That is how dumb leadership can be, with identity bankruptcy. Of course, Dangote added the statement that the seriousness of Nigeria will depend on how Tinubu commits our Central Bank. The real interest and target. He also recommended stooges moulded by their identity culture for managing our education, health and information technology. These are the required instruments. There is no less need for entertaining, collaborating in anything or admitting anyone as safe and fitting, outside its relationship with an identity. This was why the leader of Kenya explicitly differed with Obama, when he visited Kenya.

As a result, it is necessary to have your identity measure and direct your relationship with individuals, groups or nations. And this is easy in many ways. One is by the history of the party, the specifics and implications of what is at hand and at least being on your guard. This is because, if you have made a history of your own identity, the party will either sincerely respect it or will make deliberate effort to put a wool over your eyes. The best familiar examples are change from family planning to planned parenthood along with some free contraceptives and counselling while they massively pushed the contraceptives into the market.

Ideas are therefore not excluded, along with the history of the other party or identity. Imagine the wind of the superiority of a green environment and the propaganda of having such wall. What measures has our leadership made, to take advantage of it? How many raining seasons and planting of trees will it have taken

us to transform north west to north east and beyond? Do we need to import any seedlings or technology? Indeed, relating this to agriculture and food security, what inhibits our leadership from making a stringent law for planting economic trees in schools, offices and homes? How many seasons will it take to change the face of our land and our health. But we are now running along with even the contradictions of those we are copying. The idea of global warming followed the green and because it is most senseless, the concept has changed to climate change. The bankruptcy in our identity knowledge, consciousness and discipline has degenerated us to become zombies. We are not even taking advantage of the positive resistance within the societies we are obsessed with copying. In the United States, Bill Gates has been buying large land farms to stop natural farming. In California, forests are now being cut down because of global warming. The depopulation of the world is now supported by robots. Former wife of Bill Gates expressed surprise as to why Africans were not dying enough, for not taking their corona virus vaccines. Bill Gates in an interview in United Kingdom responded to the concern that many people were dying from the vaccine with: “with time, people will get used to their own dying”.

The simple difference between us is the principle of livelihood. We both abhor poverty. But while their direction is to cut down on the population, as the solution, ours is Justice. However, our ignorance of our identity will not permit our independence and safety from the harms of blindly copying others.

The President has no less challenge with respect to even the things that appear to have been rational and making sense. A good example is with our banking and insurance businesses. The recent introduction of Islamic banking, that is no less constitutional has revealed how extortive the conventional commercial banking can be, by absolute protection of itself from the risks of its customers and optimally benefiting from any positive results. The robbery of insurance is more evident. You pay premium for a portfolio. They take the rare risk of supporting a

loss. Where most often there is none, they go with every dime of the premium. When they pay claims, you will need to establish it beyond reasonable doubt with all kinds of reports. And they take the yields from investing your premium in addition to the premium. Americans and Britons do it that way. They think the world is restricted to them and stamp it as international standard. We copy and paste without respect to our identity and circumstances.

Development that is relevant and will be fulfilling to a people that have an identity, who have knowledge of it, are conscious of living it and in pursuit of its discipline, cannot be served by any leadership and governance that chokes and fucks them, with just anything that appears to work. The ability of a dog to learn is based on positive and consistent discrimination between what is rewarded and what is not. For our identity, it is defined by knowing and keeping to the limits that define our standard, our difference. For example, we really suffered from poor health services in attending to transplant needs. But it will be irresponsible to approve and welcome the use of special breed of pig organs for humans. This is already the case in Germany. We have already embraced quick poultry production and are enveloped in the gradual resistance to the ordinary benefit of first line antibiotics, because of the amount of antibiotics that go along with quick poultry farming. The fact that it is less nutritious is aside. It is in Nigeria, a Muslim professional who was a minister, certified that 5G wireless service is safe because the World Health Organization wrote so. This is in spite of the growing scientific reports to the contrary. A failure to add any value to what we copy.

The necessary and only route to our real independence is thus identity knowledge, massive education, the constancy development of this, across all facets of livelihood, by the leadership across all strata, with the burden of leadership consciously and sincerely taken by Ahmed Bola Tinubu, EARLIEST. Except and until this is deliberately heeded with utmost discipline, we run the greater risk of discovering that stagnation in where we are jointly now criticizing is indeed

preferable to any form and style of desperation to chasing, acquiring, grabbing ANYTHING, ANYHOW, FROM ANYONE AND ANYWHERE, as progress and development. Our collective safety and prosperity will not be safe and prosperous without respect and commitment to our identity consciousness and discipline. It will be akin to satisfactory intimacy without discrimination between connecting with the opposite organ or between when the woman is having her flow and when she is free or between the relationship of the parties, like siblings or between parent and child. The starting point is oneself, ourselves, our things, our environment, our resources, our history AND NOT OTHERS'.

This is the required platform or foundation, upon which real believers, Muslims and Christians, Nigerians, can truly, sincerely, correctly and effectively, begin to race in godliness, according to our different and collective capacities and abilities. This is the nature of the challenges of our different levels of leadership. This is what Ahmed Bola Tinubu must know, be reminded, be supported, be kept in commitment, for our genuine leadership and governance. Any other path is illusionary, insufficient, deceitful and will only compound our confusion, frustrations, conflicts and servitude to others.

CHAPTER III

INSTITUTIONS, STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES VERSUS DISCIPLINE IN HISTORY

Institutions are simply organizations. However, whereas an organization can be for a specific, immediate or temporary purpose or objective, in the case of an institution, it is a more permanent organization with or for running and continuous pursuit of defined purpose(s). This difference can be overcome with time, where a temporary chain of activities become conventional and get adopted as a standard.

An example is that a belief system like Islam and Christianity are organizations. For Islam or Christianity, you cannot be a Muslim or Christian without a declaration of faith. And it does not stop there. There are tenets you require to uphold. There are also canons and rites for practice by members.

Both have the institution of Marriage and the Family. It is a sub organizational practice. This is what makes coupling of humans legal and the platform for recreation as well as possible expansion of the organization or religion.

However, with time, humans generated organizations that have transformed into bold institutions. The best example is the schooling system. The phenomenal role of time can be appreciated, when compared with Governance as an institution. While schooling is a development and extraction out of religion, governance is more of a development from both religion and human ambition. This is best reflected in the creation of military institution.

This leads to the common characteristic of organizations that have adopted institutional form. They will have attendant structures for operation. For example, a university is an organization of high level courses of instruction, in an Identity building with buildings of administration and faculties of departments. Governance has State House, ministries, departments etc. Islam has Mosques. Christianity has Churches.

Therefore, in comparison, man-made extractions and creations are structurally more elaborate. The institutions of governance are the most elaborate. Between Islam and Christianity, the Roman Catholic Church is most structured.

Take the governance of Nigeria. The institution of governance through time, has involved structuring from kingdoms to regions. This was later adjusted to states and additional states were created, along with a federal centre. Similarly, we have come up with ministries, commissions and boards at federal and state levels. The most expansive is the schooling structures, involving the federal, state and local governments as well as the private sector. For political leadership, we have political parties, Legislature, judiciary, the media. For our economy, we have oil and gas industries, oil and gas government organizations, banks, factories, etc. Schooling and training for socialization over the family. The economy for subsistence, survival and development. Politics for peace and prosperity.

In relation to Nigerians, the ultimate goals of peace and prosperity cut across the institutions and structures of religion and governance. However, the character and methods of pursuing the same goals are not strictly the same.

For governance, they are created by men and known as processes and procedures defined by laws, rules, regulations and conduct. The constitution is one. The acts establishing universities is another. The peculiarity of this is that, because man is imperfect and continues to discover the inadequacy of his standards, they are subject to expirations and irrelevance. Amendments are therefore admitted from time to time. The examples of states creation and drawing of constitutions apply to governance. Ministries have either been created, merged or even abolished. Recapitalization has led to some banks being bought over. Schools have been upgraded. **For the successful service of these institutions, structures and processes, the men who are deliberately engaged to submit to them as they operate them, are required to at least do the right things, most of the times.**

This is why trainings, monitoring, inspections, rewards and sanctions are always in company to the institutions. These are commonly known as conditions of service. With most things working right and well, the institutions, structures and processes by men, it is logically and sensibly expected that, the realization of the goals of peace and prosperity will be more smooth than rough, more satisfying than frustrating and confusing.

But unfortunately, throughout our history of independence to date, it has been an increasing embarrassment, failure, frustration, crisis and confusion. The standard explanation has been **corruption.** And by this it is meant, **abuse of the processes, the rules, the regulations, by the conduct of the men.** Indeed, the audits, visitations, probes, investigations, prosecutions and the outcome of these have often been a failure in different forms. The first is that the checks are not even done. The second is the checks fail to establish the corruption. A third is that the covered corruption is certified as the truth with the seal of professionalism. The fourth is that lesser cases are sanctioned optimally whereas principal cases thin away from sanctions. The fifth is that worst cases that are either brushed or ignored, have the principal actors entrusted with new and higher trusts. Indeed, cries of corruption can be ignored by leaders responsible for checking the suspects. Consequently, the institutions, structures and processes of checking corruption are increasing, expanding and equally suffering from inconsistent efficiency.

The worst expression of our frustration and confusion is driven by the **ignorance of the meanings and limits of the institutions, structures and processes, in themselves for the men that man and run them.** These are the fools that submit that institutions or structures or processes **can guarantee changes in their impact.** The federal system has failed, the states have failed more than succeeded, we should therefore have more states or reverse to regions or split the country into more countries, for **a difference by the same people.** Those who are no less

ignorant and foolish harp on institutions building. But both are missing the yolk of the challenge. The human beings, the men, the operators, the workers. What has become nationally different, with the refocus on the so called **human capital development?**

The point is that while these are witnessed to be working in admired societies, they are not giving close to the required satisfaction they are meant to give, in Nigeria. It is even more concerning, using the example of Nigeria Police Service. The members always perform very much above board when on foreign missions. They return with medals. But their reputation in **contributing their part** to realizing our collective safety and prosperity is **very low.** We even got to an insane state of considering the abolition of the service. But after a better realization of the madness, we are adjusting to state police structure.

We had a Head of Nigeria, General Yakubu Gowon who said: **he problem with Nigeria is not the money but how to spend it.** It was an over simplistic expression of the underdeveloped status of the leadership and citizenry. We have since then sharpened our spending capacity without productive ability. The difference we may dangerously claim is the growth of services capacity. It is akin to growing from being a hook up to a call girl, where pregnancy is a mistake or bad business. Years passed, for Ibrahim Badamosi to state that: **no economic theory/plan works in Nigeria.** The meaning and effect is the same. The Head was responding to the results of his bold attempts. Yet, after some further years, President Muhammadu Buhari gave in by submitting that: **the problem with Nigeria is neither tribe nor religion but Nigerians.** He assumed office to **execute corruption and left with strong advice to his successor, that corruption remains a big challenge.** And after he left office, some of his close ministers for Aviation, Justice, Works, Federal Capital, Humanitarian and Disaster Management were either invited for abuse of trust or the successors cried out, for the embarrassing status of the leadership. The Governor of Central Bank

and the Head of Economic and Financial Crimes were not different. The oil and gas sector is still untouchable. Indeed, Buhari left on the note that, everyone should be held accountable for himself as he was not prepared to answer questions for anyone. And Nuhu Ribadu revealed that Buhari wrecked the economy, leaving nothing in the coffers for the succeeding leader. **Are these and the present pit of debts we are in, not sufficient to be frustrated and confused?** So how true and realistic can any step be **bold and helpful** in moving ahead, **as long as it remains within the confines of the institutions, structures and processes?**

Do we not see and experience the bastardization of **the values or optimal benefits of our Muslim and Christian identities?** Have our Mosques and Churches not been increasing and expanding? Are we not confronted with either denominations, sects or orders? We are building the garments of names, buildings and officialdom **without any pronounced positive impact on the general society.** In other words, it will be laughable to suggest that it is better to have a Muslim or Christian leadership. After all, we have no much choice to opt out. And that is the beginning of our challenge. We are genuinely afraid or ashamed of our identity because we are **either really bankrupt in its knowledge or bankrupt in the discipline, which is really more dangerous because it will be a hypocritical display of the identity.** And we are both witnesses and victims of the real hypocrisy because Muslims and Christians have been leading us, to where they do not know. Not even members of the most institutionalized and structured Roman Catholic Church have saved us.

DISCIPLINE is therefore the most critical attribute in our identity, to be able to overcome our collective frustrations, confusions and crisis. No society can thrive and progress without **ITS OWN DISCIPLINE.** The communist societies have the simple belief that history is what they make of it, in all respects and without limitations. The justification for this is that **History Begins and Ends**

with their deliberate commitments and omissions. Anything before this definition and whatever maybe after this definition is not true and right. The democracies are **essentially** the same but with a deceptive clothing. Here, the **extremism and highhandedness of communism is rejected.** In its place, **every one or group is free to pursue its way and let the most powerful and popular LEAD THE WAY.** Consequently, the essence of communism wagged stronger and the **extremism of the free few is intermittently checkered with welfare gestures.** The communists are for that reason harsh and check poverty as absolute lack. The democrats frown at absolute lack and enhance security against resistance. It will be appreciated that even the communist societies are watering down the **hold** for **justice** and allowing freedom for reasonable individual differences. Both are highly Man made. They are highly institutionalized and structured, with attendant processes. The much of the **freedom** allowed for religious identity is defined by the constant submission of religion to the institutions, structures and processes. This is why in the United Kingdom a Muslim can be engaged in same sex marriage and a Christian priest can contemplate having a **unisex** identity for God, for gender equality. And in the United States an amendment to the Bible can be expressed, even though it is God's own country. These classes of society have through time evolved **their discipline for the institutions, structures and processes to work – at the cost of abandoning any other identity.**

In the case of Nigeria, **we have been trying to enjoy the man-made identity without really abandoning our religious identity.** But just like hypocrisy will not enable either communism or British/American democracy to serve, Nigeria identity can neither be fashioned nor achieved, with **Muslim or Christian bats.** You cannot be an animal and a mammal and expect to make Nigeria.

Thus, it is impossible for Muslims and Christians to enable **NIGERIA as required of its citizens, without THEIR DISCIPLINE.** For Muslims, because

there is no compulsion in religion, it is **not Islamic** to pursue the path of Islamization of Nigeria as a discipline. It will be both irresponsible and **unconstitutional.** The best indicator for **Discipline as the Orientation of Muslim Identity** is the definitions of **the entrance doors into Jannah.** It is according to **works, performance and not names.** The implication and importance of being a Muslim is that, the **ultimate prospect** for all striving, is to be admitted into paradise. And this is followed by accounting for **all activities according to the Guidance of Allah and His Messenger.**

There is the gate for those consistent in *Salat*. It is important to note that it has ten parts and looking about degrades it. Indeed, he who prays and remains harmful to himself and others, is a loser in the benefits of *Salat*. The required benefits of relating with Allah five times a day, covers making a Nigerian as required by the constitution and spiritual uplift of the believer.

There is the gate for jihadists. And there are three levels of Jihad. The first that is the greatest, is the Jihad against Self. This involves **learning true guidance and following it to the best of one's ability.** Ignorance has neither room in Islam nor is it secondary to any other thing. It is not a gate for just the learned. Indeed, among the first entrants into the Fire will be the learned **not for the sake of Allah,** by self-compliance and being a model for others. There is Jihad against Satan. This takes the forms of striving against doubts that weaken faith and corrupt desires tempted or whispered by Satan or his agents, from among men and Jinns. Then Jihad against Disbelief and Hypocrisy. These consist of physical correction of what is wrong, if you have the means and authority. An example is the legislation against same sex marriage; and correction of what is wrong by words. This will be by criticism leading to a solution, which will be advisory. This is because no one can claim to be all knowing **alone.** This is why the superior in companionship with the Qur'an and Hadith leads in *Salat*.

In fact, there is the gate for those who control their anger and forgive those who offend them. Those who are criticized have this opportunity because it is human to feel touched and critics are liable to making unintended mistakes. But criticism must be positive by being driven by Guidance. A believer and especially a leader who does not appreciate criticism and takes advantage of evaluated one is a loser.

There is the gate for those who constantly give charity. Those who are not buoyant enough to qualify to give Zakat are therefore not left out, even as those that are buoyant can do so. The difference is that service that is **willingly** given is superior to the one that is conditioned. And what will make the charity meaningful is that the resource is earned according to Guidance.

There is the gate for those in constant remembrance of Allah. These are the elite who, whether in commitment with their limbs and in relation to other creations are **in the state of consciousness,** or **actively so with their tongues and hearts, as their limbs are in restraints for only necessary commitments.** The *Ahlul Suffa* in the time of *Rasul* are examples of the second and the four caliphs are examples of the first. No Muslim on the path of either, with be **harmful,** to himself or others or **distant** from Allah.

As a result, Muslims, Christians and those who are neither, **require the personal orientation of a discipline based on true and right knowledge, driven by the consciousness of contributing to the unity, peace and progress of Nigeria.** The difference between us is not destructive. Believers simply have a more and better comprehensive basis for the safety and prosperity of Nigeria.

CHAPTER IV

IDENTITY CONSCIOUSNESS AND DISCIPLINE ARE THE BEST DRIVERS OF HISTORY

By History, I am not referring to any stories recorded by anyone opportune to do so, that becomes available for everyone to access, whether with an evaluative mind or not. This is because the most popular records are by the rulers in any particular time, regardless of whether they were leaders or oppressors.

From the experience of Nigeria, the extreme presentation of our past by colonialists later became so, as Nigerians started representing the history. If the history was consistent with what is both **true and right,** there wouldn't have been any reason and sense or justification for anti-colonialism or Independence struggles. However, as much as both colonialists and nationalists fairly agreed on the content of the presentation as true, the nationalists discovered that it was not right. And because Truth needs to be Right, to be **meaningful and serving,** the colonialists eventually admitted that the nationalists were indeed right.

But this never meant and will never mean that colonialism was **not right to the colonialists.** It was, remains and may continue to be right to them. This is the basis for understanding **neocolonialism and imperialism.** And the transformation of the same and indeed expansion, is what has characterized the so called global village concept in contemporary history. Examples are international currencies, the world bank, the International Monetary Fund, making Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Identity an issue, in determining international relationships, sponsoring of arms trafficking, wars, etc.

Unfortunately, post-independence period has not received a common nationalistic recording that is **both true and right,** for all Nigerians. Every government we have had, has positive recordings for itself in the form of achievements. But we have continuously and increasingly established that, our state of security and prosperity in livelihood has been worsening. Massage economists will say it is growth against development.

It is therefore crystal clear that we are suffering from **identity crisis.** We either do not know who we are or do not care about who we are. The simple indicator is that we have failed to develop national interests in spite of our human and material resources.

The goals are not the challenge. These are well spelt out in chapter two of our constitution as **Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy.** Interestingly, applied to us Nigerians, as elaborately defined in chapter three of the same constitution, **all and more of our variety of wears** can fit into realizing the goals, safely and responsibly. Examples of these bodies are tribes, religion, geographical location. Thus, the wears of aim provided are **the Constitution, National Anthem, National Flag,** and a National Motto of **Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress.** But any student of Political theory, History and Philosophy will understand and affirm that these are universal attributes that can enable most nations fit into. This means that no society will deliberately seek to and pursue the negation of the goals of unity, faith, peace and progress. However, the procedure or terms often differ from one nation to another. In our specific case, the **format is unity in diversity.** This is why specifically; a State Religion is out.

However, the **misinterpretation of the format of pursuing and realizing the unity and faith as well as peace and progress, is our greatest misfortune.** The indicator of this, is the various amount of energy, time and resources committed to using either tribe or geographical location or the combination of these as the format. These ignoramuses invoke the concept of federalism to stamp on their commitment. The essential defect of such definitions is that, the references of successful operation of such structures **ignores the true and right identity, which knowledge, consciousness and discipline drives the federation.** Unless the unique character and status of this identity is appreciated and admitted, the basis for the success of the structures will not be understood. In the same vein,

Our federalism cannot **become** in isolation of our true and right identity characteristics. And **the state of our history** is critical in determining this. It is both unreasonable and senseless to expect that a society that was formed through slavery, barbarism and wars will serve as a suitable reference for free and independent kingdoms that collapsed to become one. It is like kingdoms seeking to 'advance' like a stateless society.

Moreover, the identities of tribe and geography are absolutely incapable of providing the elements or characteristics for any meaningful unity both within its confines and beyond. It is absolutely incapable of doing so, beyond its realms. The proof of this, is the collapse and reformation or transformation of tribal and isolated societies. However, wherever such societies have superior identity attributes, the identity always made it and definitely makes it easier for a reformation or transformation that is more positive. This is achievable because the intruding Identity will not meet a people in a vacuum to simply swallow or sweep away. The historical process will be a responsible struggle. And the superior attributes or characteristics or identity will eventually establish its dominance. This is goodly reflected in the history of Usmanu Jihad in Hausa land. The Jihad took over with superior identity without tampering with the language. And because of the principles of the Jihad, it was needless to engage Borno kingdom. In the same vein, colonialists met with kingdoms that had identity characteristics or attributes beyond tribe and geography which led to being overcome by superior arms **but not livelihood identity.** Those who had nothing, or less, had nothing to lose or what was lost did not **really** matter.

In the case of Nigeria, the **NIGERIAN** Identity is the pursuit and realization of our **goals, driven by the ETHICS.** The constitution defines the ethics as **DISCIPLINE, Integrity, Dignity of Labour, Social Justice, Religious Tolerance, Self-Reliance and Patriotism.**

In Nigeria, Muslims and Christians have **given ethical standards that cater for all of these and more, provided our beliefs are based on the knowledge, consciousness and discipline prescribed or guided by the Qur'an or the Bible.** It is a fact that most Nigerians identify ourselves as either and are identified as such. It is also a fact that **for all the time Nigeria has been, most leaders at all levels have been either of the two.** In other words, Muslims and Christians have been specifically more responsible for our collective suffering and undoing, even though they have the best tested standards for the realization of our collective peace and prosperity, through unity and faith. The beginning of our patriotism is therefore to accept that it is a big shame on us, more than the others. For Muslims, it is most regrettable because we possess the complete and final guidance that can enable us to be the best model for mankind.

The greatest misfortune of Nigeria is therefore the majority of Nigerians **that have failed or refused to be Nigerian.** Those who either have nothing to offer or have inferior things to offer are not the most blameable. It is only expected that if, when and where the right things are ignored, the doubtful and wrong will take positions. The Muslims and Christians are the most blameable.

If you have Muslims who build a Mosque and pray between their homes, work places and the Mosque five times daily, it will be factually wrong to deny them the **wears** of Islam. This is because of the right structure and canonical rite. In the same vein, it will be factually wrong to deny Nigeria, the wears of democracy, when we have political parties, manifestos, campaigns, elections, the executive, legislature, judiciary, the press and pressure groups in our politics and governance. But here we are, with both not working. We are even beginning to consider that, **there is no necessary positive relationship between the two.** Indeed, there is the worse consideration that either Islam or Muslims are a bad effect on democracy because the two are different and must not be mixed up. And because the wears are legal and constitutional, it can get really complex. You can

have appointed religious leaders said to be **involving** themselves in politics as if it is illegal or unconstitutional. You can also have religious leadership **gowns wearers** blessing or anointing a **fellow wearer** of the identity. This summary of Muslims, Christians or believers' political rascality in the politics and governance of Nigeria will be incomplete, without the intra and inter religious rascality.

What Muslims in particular must take note of is that, we cannot be the **Nigerians** the constitution has defined for us, by isolating Islam from livelihood and be of optimal value to our collective goals. This is absolutely the position because Allah has said: "And I did not create the Jinn and mankind except to worship Me" (Qur'an 51:56). And He is "Sovereign of the Day of Recompense" (Qur'an 1:4). The livelihood in this world is **right** only if in **total submission to Him.** And it is this that will be **accounted** for, on the **Day of Judgement.**

From the pillar of *Iman*, knowledge, consciousness and discipline of submitting to Allah **alone, secures oneself, others and our collective identity, without discrimination or compulsion.** This is because the rules of compulsory and commendable submission **are for the benefits of humanity.** For example, non-association of anything with Allah translates into truthfulness to oneself and others without compromise. This will amount to **SELFLESSNESS.** Belief in the Hereafter has the effect of transparency, fairness and justice since **every iota of commitment will be accounted for to qualify one for salvation or otherwise.** Thus, every commitment **is an investment.** Belief in the revealed scriptures **demands for tolerance, because there is no compulsion in Islam.** Belief in the Angels has meaning only if the activities of a Muslim translates to being **shy or ashamed** to have one's wrong doings recorded. The believer in *Qadr* or final determination of affairs resting with Allah, will be humble and modest in all of his affairs, as he strives **rightly** to his utmost. In Islam and therefore for Muslims, *Iman* is not a bookish or mere lips expression. It is a **Living** affair. If it is not lived, the bearer is dead.

Where are the parents, the teachers, the scholars and leaders, who are Muslims, that pronouncedly LIVE these elements of this article of faith, for the children, students, learners and followers, who are Muslims, to be socialized?

The implication of this is that, the Mosques will be patronized by more of the dead than the living. It means that the canonical prayers may not be quite beneficial to both the livelihood of the believer and even less so, to others. This is because *Salat* is the key symbol of a Muslim. From *Salat*, a believer is required to develop the attributes of timeliness because each prayer has its time, and the best worshippers are those who keep to the first part. Before Prayer, a Muslim learns the connection between purity and cleanliness. Personal and environmental health responsibilities are for that reason not new for a Muslim. A Muslim who does not learn orderliness and consistency from performing ablution and prayer is incomplete. Similarly, a believer will learn to correct mistakes by commission, omission or forgetfulness. A Muslim is required to learn concentration from these. When all of these that are obligatory in the daily interaction between a Muslim and Allah, five times, and they fail to be alive in the relationships of a Muslim to others, at work and every aspect of livelihood, **the Salat of the Muslim is of minimal value for active participation in the requirements of our constitution.** One can only imagine, the kind of creature that wears the garb of Islam without a **lively *Iman* and *Salat.***

Where are the parents, the teachers, the scholars and leaders, who are Muslims, that pronouncedly LIVE these elements of this article of faith, for the children, students, learners and followers, who are Muslims, to be socialized?

The **acquisition and commitments** of a Muslim's personal or entrusted resources are not left out in Islam. This is because both have to be true and right.

These requirements qualify them for rewards because both levels are **investments.** The personal physical resource of being healthy and exchanging greetings of peace or visiting the sick or taking a harmful object away from the road are of no less value to legal monetary earnings and sharing with others, including those who are not Muslims. And if you are able to generate surpluses that have remained for a year or agricultural yields for a season, Allah has prescribed His due to defined beneficiaries. How can someone of this orientation plunder resources entrusted to him, without fear and shame? How can an errand boy become an airline operator or a hair stylist think of establishing a university? How can their leaders, families and communities be less blameable?

Where are the parents, the teachers, the scholars and leaders, who are Muslims, that pronouncedly LIVE these elements of this article of faith, for the children, students, learners and followers, who are Muslims, to be socialized?

The **Nigerian Citizens** as defined and required of the constitution **cannot be realized with Muslims that are unconscious or dead, to impact positively on the general wellbeing of themselves and fellow Citizens.**

Like the Muslims can be, so can other citizens be, in relation to our political, economic, social and intellectual livelihood. The structures are there. The processes are constantly activated, but the results continue to be **questionable and unfulfilling.** Take our educational system. That Muslims and Christians have special institutions from Nursery to University levels, should have ignited a light in our tunnel of crisis, frustration and confusion. But it is not helpful because they are not alive responsibly. Take most of our disciplines or courses, we are in the same trap. For example, with the Professors, Doctors, Masters of Political Science and the Associations, why are we in the present political quagmire? What is the meaning of having Senior Advocates of Nigeria in Law, and establishing the

winner of a presidential election will take months of gamble? Do the members of the Bench train in different laws? In both cases, it is simply **the bankruptcy in identity knowledge, consciousness and discipline that drives them. This is why their services to Nigeria have not been of increasing positive impact.** It is therefore more unfortunate, disgraceful, embarrassing and shameful to have a Muslim or Christian who has excelled in any of these fields, while Nigeria remains in the present state of backwardness.

When you apply this state of **identity bankruptcy and crisis** to leadership, it is easier to appreciate our hollowness and the magnitude of our challenges or be hopeless. We are now witnesses to the impact of Muhammadu Buhari eight years of achievements. The angel of death to corruption failed woefully to make enough positive impact to warrant booing and stoning in his home state and political strong base, Kano, at the end of his tenure. It is on this worse than Peoples Democratic Party Leadership foundation that Ahmed Bola Tinubu is dreaming of making **a difficult to discern difference.** This is because Buhari was not driven by his identity to serve Nigeria. While Tinubu is not different, he has **boldly** ignored the attribute of **corruption taint and exposed corrupt persons in forming his team.**

Given the present identity bankruptcy and crisis status of our polity, the following implications can be deducted:

a) Tinubu does not have much choice than making the frightening option, because it is more realistic. The Buhari option was only fanciful but got revealed in the end. The problem with this approach is that it is seriously careless about corruption, though not totally. It cannot afford to be totally careless, because that will be clearly irresponsible. The Path is Governance with what is available, with minimum stress. This certainly does not fit into the garb identity of Tinubu,

Muslims and Christians. The government will not be predictable and will certainly not cater for the **hereafter interests of believers.**

b) Majority of Nigeria's Muslims and Christians are **really fake.** It is not worth any further pretence. Let the few who genuinely care for their identity **spice** the main course. Moreover, many countries have developed and are advancing, without the headaches of all the good things religious sincerity can offer. This is why Lagos has opened up to the envy of all and attractive to all. This is reasonably related to Tinubu. Let him give what he has. It is much much better than what Buhari has offered. This perception is essentially the same with the first. The difference is that it is more direct. The difficulty with this is that, the time it will require for fake Muslims and Christians to give up and develop faith and commitment to our goals, **with tolerable or manageable corruption as in other countries,** is not easily in sight because the character of the fakes is **selective consciousness.** Muslims and Christians can give their time, energy and lives to an identity subject, regardless of how foolish and dangerous, since it is based on ignorance. The last presidential election is a shameful example. This is why Marxist or Socialist ideologues have been evidently failing. The so called capitalists have only appeared to be succeeding because capitalism is **free corruption for the opportune.** It is not because it has been progressive. Even the reference capitalist societies have checkered the mess with welfarist policies.

The trap indicator of the difficulty related to the leadership package presently on course, is the **gamble with the principle and practice of selflessness.** Firstly, since the leader does not have a definite platform of identity, the aides, assistants and associates **are free to roam with their trusts, provided it fits into his perception or keep away enough, in order not to be discovered.** This is tied up by making him **inaccessible,** especially to critics. Unfortunately, in the case of a true and right Islamic or Christian faithful, God's Guidance is the measure **for both the leader and others.** He is clearly not perfect. It is obligatory for him

to open up, in order that he may benefit from the valuable guidance of those that are better knowledgeable, conscious and disciplined than him. Criticism is for the leader to responsibly evaluate. An ignorant person is for that reason not suitable in the first place. Where and when this is not the case, the lieutenants, aides and associates are inclined to destroy his psyche by making a hero out of him. Then he can only lose his humility for audacity. His person becomes the definition of what is right.

The cumulative dividend of this disastrous characteristics is the simple explanation and inevitable consequences of **making a lot of inputs into the packaging and not getting results.** The adjudication of disputed results has not made any difference with an affirmed winner. With the Legislature, in 2010, a total of 28 amendments were made to the constitution; in the same year, 10 out of the amendments were altered; and another 15 were made. The electoral law has been amended. These have not made any positive marked difference in the general livelihood of Nigerians. The most effective is the taxation regime. This is also negative because the economy is not better and instruments of extraction are sharpened. And no achievements of any government has been upheld as satisfactory.

The secret is that **men** should be the focus of governance, beyond presentations or claims, and **the right men** should be the **drivers** of our history. This is impossible without **identity knowledge, consciousness and discipline.**

The Education for positive reorientation of all of us, with clear and rich identity, is the first and continuous requirement, for making any reliable and lasting difference. All levels of leadership have this responsibility. Both Muslims and Christians have this obligation to make the majority of Nigerians Nigerian. The logical and sensible justification for this is that **if Muslims and Christians get better, Nigeria will be made better, because we are the principal problem.**

Even anti-graft institutions, correctional institutions, drugs monitoring institutions, investigation institutions require the right men to man and run them. And the variety or size of these, like number and specialist variety of hospitals, **do not indicate better citizenry or health.**

CHAPTER V

THE FOUR KEY CHARACTERISTICS OF MUSLIMS CURRENT SOCIOLOGICAL DECADENCE IN BUILDING THE UMMAH FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NIGERIA IN GENERAL

PARENTS AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIP CHALLENGE

This is the inevitable foundation upon which society is based. The Muslim Ummah is not an exception. This is a great *Rahama* of Allah. It serves as the root of first ordinary belongingness. An intelligent observer will appreciate and acknowledge that the difference of Isa (AS), is a clear proof of the existence and creative power of Allah. In furtherance, it will be logically irrational to dispute the knowledge of the origin of Adam (AS) from a sounding clay or Eve from his rib.

But this favour is to make it easier for some shade of independence and responsibility to account for commitment and omissions. The express purpose of creating **Jinns and Mankind, to Worship Allah, according to His Guidance and the example of Muhammad (SAW)** can thus be easily understood.

From the Guidance, Family formation is by the standard of Marriage. This foundation for procreation is not negotiable. **But this is in a deepening state of crisis, in the Ummah.**

From the authentic records of the history of Usmanu bin Fodio and Ahmed Tijjani, they were the **first Teachers of their children.** Today, **most of the parents that scale the crisis of Family formation, contract the foundation or rudimentary literacy and education of their beloved children OUT. Many others send them to teachers with neither the foundation nor provisions.**

None of these requires the federal, state or local government authorities as we have them today, to **be able to do the quality needs of the Ummah, according to the Qur'an and Sunnah.** This is why the records of impressive budgets and interventions are more of corrupt and non-impactful results. Even the concept of *Almajiri* has been bastardized.

No one or body can responsibly attend to these for the Ummah, if not members of the Ummah themselves. Islamiyya or Islamic schools **cannot satisfactorily close this gap.** Preaching rounds cannot either. The **only solution is exemplary leadership.** But no one can give what he does not have.

This is one **trait** of Usmanu and the character of his leadership. Abandoning this along with the belief that, we are on the same course **is delusive.** No amount of or combination of **money, curriculum, structures and management** can achieve the results of the standards we have abandoned.

How these challenges are to be sincerely confronted now, with a monitoring yardstick, is **the priority responsibility of the Sultan and the Flag bearers,** to cease from being opportunists and manipulators of religion, **that is really self-destructive and not serving the Ummah.**

SCHOLARS AND LEADERSHIP RELATIONSHIP

Indeed, Allah is the Lord of the worlds. Before the worlds it was Allah **alone.** He desired to be known and created the worlds. Therefore, no one deserves praise and worship except **Him.** He chose **Muhammad (SAW)** as the best model. Muhammad (SAW) pointed out that his successors are the best dependable guides after him. And two generations following.

None of the generations or his successors are the **model.** He remains the model, the best. His successors and the identified generations are **guides** to the **Guidance.**

And the **inheritors** of this **role** are the **scholars.**

The **Path** is thus that of Allah.

The **Last Messenger, Muhammad (SAW) is the gifted best model,** from whom we are to take whatsoever he gives us (to do) and deny or distant ourselves (from doing) whatsoever he disapproves of.

The **successors** are the best after him, with the benefits of **witnessing and participating** with him, in the course of his Guidance on the Path, by Allah.

The two generations after **them** are the commendable **practitioners on the Path.**

No agreements between ALL of them, that is inconsistent with Muhammad (SAW) is tenable for acceptance. This means that disagreements BETWEEN THEM is too bad, to rest on.

Scholarship is therefore what is **consistent** across the board. Muhammad (SAW) was gifted with **knowledge of Guidance.** The first step of livelihood is the search for and acquisition of this knowledge. Today, we have it in the forms of Qur'an and the Sahih collections of Imam Bukhari.

Islam is based on knowledge **and the practice of it, consistent with these sources.** This is the root of inheritance and what is to be inherited.

It is for that reason **incomplete,** to be a scholar without being a standard practitioner, **because Islam is a DISCIPLINE.** It is worse off, to be a leader, a Shepard, like a Parent, Teacher, Manager, Officer, Amir, Sheikh, Imam, Mufti, Director, Councillor, Emir, Chief, Sultan, Governor, President or whatever, **without this knowledge of Guidance and Living it.** And the best indicator will be that their **mention, presence, representation and the expectation of them will FIRSTLY AND FIRMLY, be according to Islam.** Not their residence, not their regalia, not their lineage, not their language, not their race, not where they come from, not their material worth, not their titles, not their gestures, not the influence or power they command. Any other thing will be a diversion, a

corruption. The power, authority, influence or command **must be of his discipline in Islam.**

Accordingly, the Ummah is its worth, as the best model among mankind, **the more knowledgeable and disciplined believers drive all aspects of livelihood leadership.** And to ensure this, is absolutely the priority responsibility of the Sultan. How he will do this I have no responsibility, but the earlier he gets conscious of this burden, the better for him and all of us.

The **indicators** for this challenge are:

SCHOLARS RELATIONSHIP IN BUILDING THE UMMAH – THE INTELLECTUAL

Today we have **different organizations of the Ummah.** We even have **sects.** For the first, like the Izala and Tariqa, there are different groupings with distinct leaders. The pointer to this is the conflict between some of them, beyond disagreements. As for the second, the Shi'a and the Ahmadiyya are distinguishable. Another is NASFAT that is a prayer movement. Yet another is ANSARUDEEN, after the Madina helpers of Islam **by name.** This is because the Ansar were not an organization or movement. They were **ACTORS IN SUPPORT OF ALLAH AND HIS *RASUL*.** They did not name themselves as the ANSAR. The implications in the beliefs of a Muslim can easily be deducted from the naming of ANSARUDEEN.

With these **structuring and institutionalization processes** within the Ummah, the contradictory and confusing state and orientation of we the followers can be appreciated because they are inevitable. More seriously is the **identity** of the Sultan. Is he the Sultan of all or of only one or some? Is the identity to the different Leaderships, to the followers, to the government or to some of these? And how real is it? Indeed, how relevant or meaningful is this in the context of leading and protecting the faith of the believers?

The clear challenge here is **casting doubt** on the **reality of the meaning and unity of the Message and the Messenger.** This **questionable** status and orientation of the knowledge and discipline that we all profess is akin to the degeneration Muhammad (SAW) distinguished his time from later time. He said, among the Ummah, some persons will be identified as sincere, even though Islam is not separable from sincerity.

The essence of this challenge is that the scholars **are missing the RESPONSIBILITY of keeping to the LIMITS OR BOUNDARIES** of what is consistent with the times of Muhammad (SAW) and his successors. And whoever delves into what is doubtful is at the risk of excesses or crossing the limits, and landing into the **exclusive reserve of Allah.**

Given the superiority of **knowledge and discipline of the Guidance** for the livelihood of a Muslim and the Ummah, no law, meeting, structure or organization **can bailout.** Only superior knowledge and discipline that is sincere **can attract the blessed intervention or guidance, against the excesses.** An example is the case of compiling the Qur'an, after the death of Muhammad (SAW). The leaders disagreed **only for Allah to join their hearts in agreeing.** Allah is therefore not dead or ceased interest in guiding the sincere.

So, it can be critically asserted that the **scholarships and scholars that now drive our Ummah today are coloured with some insincerity.** These are the challenges for the Sultan to **STRAIGHTEN on the Straight Path.** This is what the caliphate gave to the Ummah and the Sultan has the **first and highest responsibility for this.** How he is going to do it, I sincerely do not have any responsibility. And the earlier he does it, the better for himself and all of us.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATION

As already pointed out, in order to give teething and **separatist identity** to the different shades of insincerity they can have Identity Mosques, Identity

Registration with Government, Identity Leadership, Identity Membership, Identity Operational Structures like Schools, Centres, Libraries etc.

With these facilities, members are **specifically socialized.** This is why they have the **embarrassing** open arms **to admit any Muslim into their folds.**

THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATION

The resources of Allah entrusted to the endowed by Allah, **do not get united or uniform commitments.** An example that indicates this is not only in the separatist structural development of these differences but even in defined rights of Allah, like **keeping away from USURY, execution of ZAKAT and INHERITANCE.**

Indeed, the shade of disrespect for scholars by the endowed is growingly pervasive. The rich, that are most often less knowledgeable if not ignorant, see the scholars as beggars for favours or easy instruments to capture and use, in defence of their status or for their popularity.

Two examples of this weakness or collapse of the unity and strength of the Ummah are what **will be extremely difficult to experience today.** When the Constituent Assembly (that had a large percentage of Muslim members) had the knot of Shari'ah to untie, Obasanjo simply invited Late Mahmoud Gumi, to educate him on the subject. He **sincerely** submitted that it will affect only Muslims. And the drama was responsibly closed. The very same Mahmoud Gumi was given Five Million Naira by the Federal Government, for the building of a National Mosque in Abuja. He sent for Shehu Musa Yar'Adua. Shehu obliged. He told him: Here is the sum by the Federal Government for a National Mosque. It will not be enough to befit the Ummah. I am giving you the sum, to use along with the wealth of Allah He has entrusted to you, to build the Mosque. It was done. The **power of Gumi was that he was sincere. He neither had nor was interested in the resources.**

The shame of today is that no singular scholar commands such respect. The businessman can comfortably ignore or even drive away the scholar, because he will be representing himself or his group or his sect. Indeed, a businessman can point to another scholar who is equally or more endowed, to do the same. Moreover, it can be the scholar who is endowed that is approached, and will not listen.

The essential meaning of this is that, **the unity of knowledge, discipline and therefore the Ummah, has been shattered.** It is the primary responsibility of the Sultan to recover this. I sincerely do not know how he can do it. But the earlier he checks this, the better for himself and all of us.

THE POLITICAL IMPLICATION

Given the democratic dispensation we are wilfully and not wrongly engaged in, the Ummah cannot be optimally served or protected. The distrust and orientation of the Christians, who are fellow believers is the greatest misfortune. They can only understand us **by our claimed identity and the actions that drive it.** For instance, it is not uncommon to label some Muslims as extremists or bigots while others are tolerant. The confusion is completed when a politically oriented Muslim group participates in Christian activities.

This is really neither the fault of the Christians nor the followers of the different Muslims identity. It is rooted in the knowledge and discipline that drives the groups.

When the political trappings of our democracy props up **a leader who is a Muslim but more bankrupt in the knowledge and discipline of the Guidance,** you can only reap more complex confusion. He will be confused. The citizens, including the Muslims will be confused. This is because the sincere will be kept away. The hypocrites will be kept close. The driving will neither be the expectations of Allah, His Messenger nor Citizens of Nigeria. The greater failures

will continually be covered by scholars who specialize in praising him, for their benefits.

The rascals around him will be even more embolden. An example is telling a president in our time that, his leadership is like that of Umar (RA). He will enjoy the deceit and the scholar will be rewarded with money. A most embarrassing one is to scold the Imam of a Friday Congregation, for asking for assistance to repair the Mosque generator. And his leader will not respond immediately.

The essential root of this, is the failure of the knowledge and discipline of our leaders at most levels but especially and most so, with our scholars. I sincerely do not know how the Sultan has to overcome this. But the earlier the better for himself and all of us.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD RESPONSIBILITIES OF A MUSLIM TO A CHRISTIAN AND OTHERS FOR COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT

OUR NIGERIA

The Sovereign and Legal State of Nigeria is made up of citizens who proclaim the faiths of Islam and Christianity in the main. The constitution also permits African Traditional Religions in their various forms. Indeed, someone can even claim to be a practitioner of Judaism.

The constitution provides for **citizenship and governance for the welfare or safety and prosperity of all parties, without material or spiritual discrimination that will mean imposition of one over another or more.**

For all the citizens of Nigeria, this is a sufficient provision because it accommodates the tenets of scriptural **neighbourhood and humanity.** For Muslims and Christians, the provisions of the constitution are therefore already **best enshrined** in the Guidance of God.

In consequence, the requirement or challenge of Muslims and Christians is to **know, understand and live the tenets,** to their best ability, in the interest of all parties. This is **especially or more so,** because we constitute the majority.

Still more, in the case of Muslims, is the belief that the message of Isa (AS) was only completed by the message and example of Muhammad (SAW). This is why if a Christian accepts the message of Muhammad (SAW), he gets **double reward,** unlike an unbeliever. For Muslims, Christians are essentially related in faith.

The immediate logical implication of this is that, every individual Muslim needs to know what his responsibilities are and to consciously act them out continuously. The collective action of Muslims will only be wider and more qualitative. For Muslims, it is part of **worship.**

The second implication is that, the basic terms that are not negotiable and those that are commendable, are neither undefined nor unclear.

The third implication is that no Muslim can rightly think or suggest that the free practice of his religion will be inhibited or restrained by **our differences.** Indeed, accepting Islam is not by compulsion.

The fourth and most critical implication is that, **until the Muslims do their part as required by the Guidance, they can neither be rightly understood by others nor will they rightly understand others.** The identity of Muslims or with Islam is a combination of transparent knowledge and conscious discipline, in **all aspects of livelihood.**

THE APPROACH

The requirement is part of the discipline of Islam, based on the knowledge and consciousness of the Guidance that should drive livelihood. No particular or special additional arrangements are required for Muslims neighbourhood responsibilities towards Christians and others.

Where there are concerns, it cannot be out of lack of guidance. It can be out of ignorance, manipulation or hypocrisy of the Muslims. It is only after these three factors are **ruled out** that the possible **mischief** of others can be considered. And for this, the Guidance has defined limits of tolerance, which has been captured by the provision and limits of freedom, in our constitution. Fundamentally, the Christians are not a threat to Muslims because we are both rooted in the faith of Ibrahim (AS).

It will be only fanciful if not diversionary, to have this subject becoming a concern. Therefore, wherever there is a practical breach of relationship, it is **first and more** about the level of knowledge and discipline of one's identity. The indicator for this is that, most of the experiences would not fit into **responding to oppression by Christians.** And if Christians are blamed for igniting the breach, it can hardly be more than by **provocation.**

None of these is right. And the challenge is **not with either scripture guidance, but the knowledge of it and the required discipline on the part of the believer.**

The burden of the solution is **specifically on each rascal participant in such breach and additionally on the leaders across the members of the faith.** This is because it is a proof of identity failure. And the only one and best instrument is the scripture of each party and the **living example of the leaders.**

None of the two scriptures prescribes **gangsterism** for its adherents. The rational and sensible implication of this is that **no breach between the two parties can responsibly go beyond WHAT A SCOLDING BY A LEADER FROM EITHER PARTY WILL NOT RESOLVE.** The Muslim party **will be able to submit to the immediate intervention by a Christian leader,** just like the Christian party **will be able to submit to the immediate intervention by a Muslim leader.** And absolute possibility as well as the reliability of this responsible relationship is that, **once the knowledge that requires the discipline of one part is clear, the wrong party will be revealed. Where the wrong party still believes that he is right and the intervening leader is partial or ignorant of his right, a higher authority that is nearest can be approached.** This person can still be of the identity of the party considered as right. This is because the two scriptures **do not prescribe enmity of or to the other.**

While it is still possible to have the wrong party claiming to have been wronged, it is **easy to then invite or involve a leader of the wrong party along with the higher leader that has been disagreed with.** Indeed, beyond these, formal authorities can be engaged.

None of these levels of resolution requires **another structure or institution or literature** to save **all of us** from religious miscreants and rascals, against our religion, society and constitution.

THE TWO POSSIBLE OUTSTANDING CHALLENGES

With this definition of our secular but religious state, it will be **ordinarily** foolhardy for any **outsider** to expect that **any anti-Islamic or anti-Christian** tenet to be embraced with love. An example is the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender concept and practice. This is responsible for the commended law against same sex marriage in Nigeria.

However, it can become complicated, where a party decides to adjust its position and stands against the law. This will generate a new implication because the common stand has been adjusted. This is technically not the business of the other party. However, it **demands for adjusting relationship terms, because it affects what is fundamental in the boundaries of Allah.** This is why a new structure is not helpful to our bonding, because building neighbourhoods relationships **must not involve BREAKING NEW GROUNDS.**

The grounds can be **creative,** like anything that is firstly against the standard of the scripture. For example, the Qur'an defines the scope of women permissible for marriage by Muslim men. They include women of the people of revealed books. And it cancels Muslim women marrying other than Muslims. It will thus amount to religious rascality to consider, suggest or practice what is contrary to this.

Another ground can be driven by the ambition of evangelism or da'wah. The discipline of neighbourhood responsibilities or relationships is both an individual and collective burden. The education for this is a **within brotherhood** requirement. It is part of the process of education and socialization between Muslims or between Christians. As a result, it is above board, for any theological education, interaction or dialogue, to seek or expect to achieve socialization or reorientation of members of either faith or both, by elite theological agreements.

The only and best fitting approach to attending to Muslims neighbourhood responsibilities towards Christians and others must be based on the simple basic template provided by the scripture and history or example of Muhammad (SAW). The Guidance is rich and sufficient to safeguard the believers against mischief and rascality.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE ISLAMIC TEMPLATE

From the **inside** Anas ibn Malik reported: The Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, said, "**None of you will have faith until he loves for his brother or his neighbour what he loves for himself.**" Source: Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 45.

For clarity, this love is **racing together in the submission and commitment of good deeds** that will earn a believer closeness and the pleasure of Allah. And it is defined by **justice to self and whoever, FOR ALLAH.** The Muslim is consequently not different or free from keeping to the Guidance, in worldly matters as against in spiritual matters. All affairs commence with Allah and end with Him. The duty of a believer is to seek knowledge and follow the Guidance consciously, to the best of his ability. "O you who have believed, be persistently standing firm in justice, witnesses for Allah, even if it be against yourselves or parents and relatives. Whether one is rich or poor, Allah is more worthy of both." [Quran, 4:135]

This status and role of neutrality that is really positively godly, is the foundation for Islamic neighbourhood responsibilities. "O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted." [Qur'an 49:13]. The mischief or rascality of 'justice' for a fellow faithful and different 'justice' for others is completely ruled out.

The concept of a neighbour is **not limited to a member of the same faith.** In one description, it is forty houses occupants in four cardinal directions of one's house. In another, it is in reference to a Mosque. Impliedly, you can have a neighbour, **by work place, study place, etc.** The specific focus on Muslim and Christian neighbourhood responsibilities is therefore only for analytical convenience. The neighbour can be a fellow Muslim, Christian or others. This is clearer with: Abu Shurayh reported: The Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, said three times, "**By Allah, he does not have faith!**" It was said, "Who is it, O Messenger of Allah?" The Prophet said, "**He whose neighbour is not safe from his harm**." Source: Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 6016

Abu Huraira reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, said, "**He will not enter Paradise whose neighbour is not secure from his evil**." Source: Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 46. Aisha reported: The Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, said, "**Gabriel continued to instruct me to treat neighbours well until I thought he would make them my heirs.**" Source: Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 6014, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 2624.

The summary of this template is that for Muslims, they have neighbourhood responsibilities for all humans, without discrimination informed or driven by injustice. There is no preference or superiority of a fellow Muslim over others, on the basis of religion.

This should make a Muslim who has any required competence, to serve or live with others, as **an equal, as a subordinate, manager, director or leader.** The basis for this will be his **orientation for justice, in respect to himself and others.** But, this is possible **only if he has the knowledge and discipline of his Guidance.** If, when or where he **lacks these**, he **can** end up as an impostor, oppressor or a real failure. This is the case since a fellow non-Muslim **can**

similarly be just. The point is that where a person identifies himself as a Muslim, he can still be a failure, because of the comprehensive scope of his Guidance.

Hence, based on our constitution, a Muslim neither expects discrimination from any other party nor has he the right to discriminate against any party. This should make it feasible and commendable to have a non-Muslim group, community, society or state, making a Muslim member its representative or leader.

This often plays out subtly in professional bodies, when they vote for their leaders. The attributes of their identity leads the credentials of competence. With two good fellows the marks or record of fairness in dealing with disagreements, truthfulness, firmness and humility **dictate** the choices. It is then easier to make the one with record of abuse of financial trust an editor or a patron. Where members have foresight, they will hesitate to make the person even a deputy, a vice or assistant.

The **only difference** of a Muslim that can **ignite** his disapproval, withdrawal and resistance is where the neighbourhood relationship **exceeds the scope of mundane responsibilities of others to him** due to the equal status and protection given to all parties, for spiritual freedom. The constitution prohibits the official adoption of a spiritual identity against others. And for a Muslim, he has the backing of Allah, in **unambiguous terms:**

"Allah does not forbid you from those who do not fight you because of religion and do not expel you from your homes – from being righteous toward them and acting justly toward them. Indeed, Allah loves those who act justly." [Qur'an 60:8]. Thus, both at work or making livelihood and at residence, the Muslim has the responsibility of neighbourhood, **provided his identity that includes spiritual duties do not face intrusion by others.**

For that reason: "Allah only forbids you from those who fight you because of religion and expel you from your homes and aid in your expulsion – [forbids] that

you make allies of them. And whoever makes allies of them, then it is those who are the wrongdoers". [Qur'an 60:9]. Not even allies of the enemies of the spiritual identity of Muslims are to be spared.

THE ADDITIONAL EXPECTATION FROM OTHERS

Over and above the **equal terms** of entitlement relationship between Muslims and especially Christians is **the responsible support of the identity of Muslims.** This is extremely important in respect of **major Sins.** I have heard of a Christian who had his daughter impregnated by a Muslim, **without marriage.** The responsibility of the Christian was to take the matter to the nearest Shari'ah Court. He is expected to surely get a responsible resolve, with the benefits of developing both the Shari'ah records and relationships between Christians and Muslims. But he didn't.

The factors that contributed to his not **doing anything** were not better than the misbehaviour of the Muslim. One is that, another daughter was impregnated by a fellow Christian without marriage, and the man ran away. The second is that such **misfortunes are very common.** The 'intelligent' conventional resolve is to ask the man to at least provide some allowances for the mother or for the mother and child, for some time. This is because some of such children have become 'blessings' for the family.

As distasteful as this real experiences are, in spite of the fact that we share some similar guidance, the real root of the challenges is **ignorance of the knowledge and discipline of one's identity.** The requirement of transparent and informed relationship between parties and the approval of the parents or guardians of the two parties was sacrificed by all the parties. This irresponsibility generated the real shame that was responded to with hopeless bias. A thread of poverty can be sensed, admixed with the deliberate coverage of their own **primary lapse.**

The subject and challenges of neighbourhood responsibilities will remain as long as **our identities are corrupt.** The impact on nation building will continue to be **negative.**

CHAPTER VII

ONE YEAR CORRUPTION OF THE BENEFITS OF THE DOUBT

To begin with, let it be **clear** that the **swearing in** of Ahmed Bola Tinubu was the **best** opportunity Nigeria had.

The three political parties that were associated with the capacity to produce a president were All Progressives Congress, Peoples Democratic Party and Labour Party. None of the candidates presented became so with greater civility than questionable practices. This was on both the part of the candidates and the leadership of the parties. While the All Progressives Congress candidate had to express that it was his turn, against the undeniable opposition of the leadership with seeming neutrality, the Labour Party candidate smuggled his way into the party from a different party **without common invitation.** This was why he had to **resist** the standing candidate. In the case of the Peoples Democratic Party, the control of the Party structure and competitive use of money influenced the party resolve on the **political usefulness of zoning** and the **sways** that characterized the delegates at the convention. Thus, the APC and PDP that have solid structures were lame. The LP that is still growing to have one was left with only dreaming and the resort to an illogical and senseless interpretation of the status of Abuja votes, to scuttle the election results.

As for the rowdy entertainment on the certificate qualifications of the candidates, the most prospective candidate for winning stood to be most screwed. But the minimum qualification required of a candidate is post primary certificate or its equivalent and not even a diploma. Moreover, none of the candidates has failed to demonstrate improvement over that minimum requirement by any measure of intelligence quotient. However, for cognate responsibilities exposure in public trust, only Obi and Tinubu have sufficient credentials. The office of a **governor** is a constitutionally accounting office. And the complexity of managing Lagos stands Tinubu over Obi.

None of the three candidates is free from serious corruption allegations even though none was judicially barred from holding public trust for it.

The judiciary also delivered justice, informed by the parameters on the ground. The legal representations were professionally opportunistic for competitive court dance, equally driven by **making** best income as against adding to the value of patriotism.

What we have is therefore the product of our **more** collective corruptive processes management.

Tinubu was the most and best entitled to the **benefit of the doubt** by Nigerians. Indeed, he enhanced the increasing grant of this benefit, because most intelligent men and women know that **even bad people can change, given the opportunity.** Tinubu defined his **governance willingness:**

a) "I look for talents that are better than me. I am not afraid to bring on board people with higher wisdom, because the most important thing is to get the job done for the betterment of all". **This clearly states that he will be humble to those or whoever can help him bear his burden. He will respect and even submit to such and use the benefits presidentially, to serve Nigeria.**

b) "I don't wait till zero hour to discover the next person to do the job or the next job to be done, from the first hour. I find them". **This was too ambitious and an extra-rating of his ability, given the size of Nigeria and the constitutional trappings for making appointments.** This goofing logically casted doubts on the opportunity for the first.

c) He offered that all of the above are of equal **importance** and can be achieved at once. This is because time waits for no one. **The polity is logically and sensibly hooked up** with this element of time consciousness. **This may not be precisely achievable but the consciousness is good and sufficient against any**

immediate blunder or foot dragging. He can be held fully responsible because **he will always be on the alert.**

d) "Even the obstacles on my way, I predict them before those that will bring them will start to think about them. I plan for betrayal, I plan for backstabbing, I also plan for reunion and forgiveness long before they happen". **These feats are certainly not with his human capacities and the presidential apparatus he was prospecting to be entrusted with.** No intelligent person will swallow such utopian pills.

All of the above were only **extreme,** in the tempting immodesty that the pursuit of presidential trust is often characterized by. You can only grant him the **benefit of meaning well for all of us.** And this grant was of high grade because in his words "We are not here to do what is comfortable. We are here to do what is right for our people and our country. We are here to answer to a greater, a higher calling. That calling is the love of Nigeria. We dare not miss this chance because we cannot be sure of another".

Thus, the **only** credibility left for Nigerians to look up to harvesting, is **what the constituents and personalities that will HANDLE AND DRIVE THE PRESIDENT** grant us. Because **no** individual president can **be above board,** there is the opportunity-cum-challenge of his engaging **one or up to three confidants that are RIGHT,** by design or accidental chance.

The absolute pursuit or goal **is serving Nigerians in a Nigerian way.** And it has been the experience over the years, that the president has not known and understood **what is Nigerian,** to be **committed** to it. Most had been constituting the Leaderships with **more of their types** with some inevitable colour of their unlike. This is **responsible for the consistent CLOSURE or IMPRISONMENT of the president on completing his key appointments.**

Tinubu failed shockingly to cross this opportunity-cum-challenge. His **influencing or appointment** of persons with **records** of being **anti Nigeria** at the state, federal or international levels was psychologically insulting to Nigerians. This is how powerful the president can be, to **enable or disable the Nigerian value.** This may have contributed to **respectable** NADECO chieftains either sticking to the qualifications controversy drama or simply distancing themselves further from him. He therefore lost the possible opportunity of governance criticism from them.

As a transitional actor and especially because he had sustained political wounds to become president, it rested on him, as a priority, to strive or chart the course of a **leadership difference.**

This is regardless of his starting on a term (of sharing his burden of leadership with crooks or questionable characters) that is strange to History.

He was abusive. At an early stage, he will turn deaf ears and be blind to **questionable allegations against his aides.** Those unlucky to get exposed were shown to the world and even kept away. Those of his predecessor were either treated in similar terms or are not of interest. This is why Emefiele suffered more attention, with the private investigation report while the oil sector has not been of concern. This is neither a standard for responsible administration nor the values for serving Nigeria.

He failed or deliberately refused to appreciate that the Buhari infrastructure and statistical achievements didn't make better livelihood impact on the citizens **and threaded the very same path.** This exclusion of what is sensibly right from what is logically right **is bad governance.** This is why more taxes, more loans **for more infrastructure will not serve his responsibility.** The primary purpose of his engagement is **the welfare of Nigerians, the people.** The unfolding values of the strides of Nasiru governance in Kaduna is good food for thought.

The most embarrassing outing Nigerians have discovered in the hands of the president, is his personal admission to have removed the **evil fuel subsidy,** based on an "**uncommon courage" as against knowledge and understanding of the relationship of the consequences to his primary responsibility.** Governance cannot be by instinct. His seeming responsive holding on cyber security tax and possible reversion of hiked electricity tariffs **can therefore not be impressive.** The principal **mishap** is the courage of removing the fuel subsidy **not based on any evaluation.**

And the greatest abuse of governance effect is resolving the labour crisis with **additional income, as if it will be a favour.** This is why the rightness of Labour is a painful and unfortunate complex. They are ordinarily right because the law provides for intermittent increase and government didn't oblige. But the rate and the timing is not honourable. This is the time for the courage of reverting the bad implementation of **subsidy removal** in order to serve the citizens, beyond the workers. No increase templates can cover the mess.

Let it be clear that the increase has to fairly reflect the present costs parameters. The **approval** amounts to putting a seal to the present state of the economy as accepted. This is because it cannot be reversed. The misfortune is that the health of the economy which should give real value to income is **not the case.** Income is rather measuring up to the collapsing economy. And this could have been averted in the first place. The president would have been taught that in real economy, the production of **goods comes first.** They dictate the **services** that should support them. And even with goods, foods and drinks come first. This rational relational order is the only responsible **basis** for taxation. This is **governance, in a developing country.**

The **implication** only worsens our economy. With an **over bloated** civil service, with **more hands engaged for PATRONAGE,** who will continue to grow in the

burden of costs without adding value to the service and qualitatively weakening the service, **HOW CAN THE FUTURE BE BRIGHT?** Moreover, because of the obvious insecurity at the end of the service, the top echelon **is realistically more committed to securing itself, without limits, before retirement.**

For that reason, unlike Muhammadu Buhari who was only **made inaccessible,** it is clear that Tinubu is both inaccessible and **unpredictable.** In other words, **the standard rules for rational and sensible governance are not sacrosanct.** If the removal of fuel subsidy decision is not damaging enough, the swift change of the National Anthem was another display of presidential influence. And at a lower level, a Minister publicly recommended the official naming of a project after a **bosom friend.** The embarrassment was the physical gesture of Tinubu's approval even before the president spoke. This is not **HOW TO GOVERN.** Wole Soyinka only got **goodly honoured** badly.

And I am a personal witness to the submission by Obasanjo that, there is no president who does not get **good advice.** Late Ahmed Joda shared with me, his personal advice to Obasanjo and Buhari on **small scale farming** like the Asian Tigers because, in his words "**the land, the crops and animals are in our full control for managing, as against petroleum that will necessitate almost dependence on others to discover, extract, refine or sell".** I personally have connection with Buhari and I wrote two **guidance letters** to Tinubu before he was sworn in. **Each of them knows that I crossed their rascal inhibitors to get my letters across to them DIRECTLY.** Buhari will **admit** that my letters that he **ignored** would have made a seventy percent difference to Nigeria today, even if he had acted **two years before leaving office.** Tinubu will in addition to **blaming himself, prepare to be more blameable if he refuses to revert to the advice.** The challenge is as a result **not** that they do not read or get good advice **outside their circles.** It is **not** that they lack the ability to understand the advice. Indeed, it may not even be **lack of the will** to consider the advice. The

real obstruction factors are BANKRUPTCY OR HYPOCRISY in the conscious knowledge and discipline of their identity to drive their responsibility for Nigeria.

When the person of the Leader is this **wanting** and works in **an exclusive environment** of similar creatures, you can expect **normal progression** either **by chance, accident, compelling pressure, a whimsical favour, not exploitable, escapist or not understood as right.** This can be appreciated by the ruling party already gone into **coma,** the opposition and responsible critics **not getting the respect and attention they deserve** and disregarding or failing or refusing to convene **council of state** meetings. Tinubu is on the same path with Buhari and **deeper.**

This is why with the increasing deterioration of the welfare of Nigerians against statistical financial progresses, **not even Muhammadu Buhari will feel or be moved or forced to keep everything aside and personally visit Tinubu to share notes and experiences, for the good of Nigeria.** This is as it is **not impossible** that Buhari can **enjoy the 'respect' of Tinubu, NOT TO GO STRAIGHT OR HARD on one to five of his loyalists deserving questioning.** This (to Tinubu) will not be interfering with the government, Buhari being **a good leader of the party and the country.**

The standard of caring for the **share in the evil that a leader leaves behind and is built upon by a successor** and that **supporting the enabling of good work earns no less reward than the enabler, as a Muslim, is inconsequential to Muhammadu Buhari.** This is why and how nonsensical the cries of Muslim Muslim, Muslim Christian and Christian Christian Leadership packaging is, **in effect.** Neither Islam nor Christianity is evil but the **bearers of either identity HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVELY MORE EVIL, because of their bankruptcy in the teachings and discipline, to serve Nigeria.**

If not Muhammadu Buhari, why will Obasanjo or Ibrahim Badamosi, who cannot be refused audience do the same or care? Indeed, after Obasanjo and Abubakar Atiku **offered ways out,** didn't Tinubu aides go into 'defence' responses? **They are unable to live with the TRUTH that what goes right requires no criticism but what goes wrong does.**

Those who are blind, deaf, dumb and do not understand the **truth** can **neither accept nor share it.**

The nature of **MAMMALIAN** like a bat, **will not serve** the provisions of our constitution. The nature of humans who have decent identities and **can be Nigerian,** is the only way and condition for our progression.

The solution is still for Tinubu to **get alive with himself for Nigeria by Identity Consciousness and Discipline.** This is what will not make the **package of the Lagos-Calabar project** likely in its priority, costs, changing execution and defence of **what is ordinarily commendable.**

The support solution is in the **National Reorientation Education** of the Citizens on **Leadership,** to minimize to the lowest level any **anti Nigeria** orientation. Then the government will get **open for optimal support and the transparency will attract building of governance values and cutting down governance rascality.**

One example is with **power.** If you take gas and kerosene for domestic works as preferable to use of firewood or coal, is the president **conscious enough to be committed to ensuring that NO HOUSEHOLD IS UNABLE TO HAVE THEM REGULARLY AND AFFORDABLY?** Does the same apple to electricity and diesel for industries and transport? The Peoples Democratic Party was **corruptly close** with the policy on provision of stoves. This is not **impossible** for non-believers to know and uphold, if they are opportune to assume leadership. And when it comes to commitment, a Muslim or Christian Leader

who is **further driven by the consciousness and discipline of the scripture** should make it better and safer. This **power** connection with the citizens will neither be lost sight of nor pushed to the back seat.

The **responsibility for provision of power,** does not start, remain and end with budgetary allocations, appropriations and contract awards. The essential challenge is knowing the real deficit levels and the earliest **overcoming** of the gaps, **like responding to voters who cannot cook, light, move or do not have basics to purchase.** It will not be responsive to be expressing worries, sleeping well, traveling around **for the voters to continue dying until corruption permits the provisions.**

In Nigeria, **if** this is connected to land, raining season, farming and related industries, it is **most unlikely** that in a term of the Governors and a President, above average impact will not be **felt.**

This is impossible with a leader and leadership that cannot see beyond even the structure of the bureaucratic machinery available for governance. We have daftly engaged in the **merger of ministries and organizations.** The best is by Tinubu, with the mergers to maximize taxation and collections, under Ministry of Transport. This is the **new Ministry** of Marine and Blue Economy.

This is logically and sensibly opposed to **intuitive removal of fuel subsidy and increasing electricity tariffs along with introducing cyber security tax.** There is no way supposed inconsequential costs of renewing the Aso rock seat of the President or relocating some arms of Central Bank, Aviation and Petroleum offices etc., will not draw negative attention, when **no real governance is felt.** This is why the cost of the Lagos-Calabar coastal project is abominable at this time and status of the economy.

Consequently, the **now popular** approach of prioritizing roads, street lighting, market stalls, light rail lines etc. are only **easy money spinning ways for the**

leaders. And even with these, the polity has suffered the costs of loans, over valuations, poor execution and non-execution. The trend is so destructive that, a law for probing and execution of leaders found wanting is tempting.

But the President and Governors are **not the only dis-enablers of our good governance.** They are only **most blameable** because they have been granted the authority to lead and account for the leadership. The bureaucratic Chiefs are similarly accounting officers. And the Legislators who play as **cots** in the processes are no less blameable, before **the private collaborators who may even be fronts,** in 'executing' Nigerians through the execution of public projects.

Governance is meeting **all needs** of the collective **in the best timely priority order,** which can be **changing** with the responsive progression of **people's welfare.** For instance, Israel has stabilized in food security and education. Given its peculiarities, security as a constant priority is its misfortune. But governance **requires Leaders at all levels to GIVE LEADERSHIP.** These must be **persons with a COMMON KNOWLEDGE, CONSCIOUSNESS AND DISCIPLINE that is positively related to the collective identity, to drive governance, FOR NIGERIANS.**

The President is not engaged as **a tax generator, collector and spender alone.** The definition and operation of the exclusive legislative list is a **responsible guide.** Using it for escape from **collective responsibility is senseless.** When a party (that has to be National) presents candidates and a Manifesto, there is no **separation or demarcation of responsibilities to the electorate, between the president and the governor.** And the president remains the **Boss.** This is why with setting minimum wage, the Federal Government has the **responsibility of ensuring that the difference with other states capacities is not IRRATIONAL AND SENSELESS.** The salaries and wages control establishment always tries to ensure that the difference between salary structures

of organizations is related to the value of service or work, the value of the products, the risks etc. **from a common base.**

The corruption of the benefits of the doubt granted to Tinubu cannot possibly cease or reduce, with the present orientation. This is why as populist as the orientation of democracy is required to be, the June 12 address of the President was **essentially defensive of self and NOT RELATED TO GOVERNANCE.** He was more of **pleading with the military against any upturn,** by outlining the principles of democracy against dictatorship. And he stabbed himself by expressing the preference of democracy to dictatorship, **with very poor performance impact that is still degenerating.** He then plotted in the arrangement to give some legal teeth to the resolution of the minimum wage demand by the Nigeria Labour Congress. He subsequently built it up with fraternizing with the military, by praying at Dodan Barracks. And to top it, **he who as a Muslim is firstly and lastly responsible for the welfare of every Nigerian, and Muslims cannot do the sacrifice because of shared effects of corrupting our benefits of the doubt, is asking Nigerians to sacrifice their rights on him and share the consequences.** It cannot be more inconsiderate and unkind.

What about the generality of the citizens in pains? It is difficult to understand his submissions after one year of **commitments that: WE KNOW THE PROPER WAY FORWARD AND WE SHALL TAKE IT! I SHALL ALWAYS LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE AND WILL NEVER TURN MY BACK ON YOU.** To those who scream or screamed against a Muslim Muslim presidential ticket and to the beneficiaries, **what have been Islamic about the one-year corruption?**

With **Identity Consciousness and Discipline** driving every leader at all levels and the citizens relating on the same page, we can then expect to reap optimal

benefits of skills or professional practices. This **education is to be lived and not for card certification.** No professional certification can on the basis of its charter of ethics **alone, guarantee or compete with the Truths and Discipline based on the scripture guidance that we mostly claim to define our identity.**

This can be **majorly ignited within two years,** without disrupting governance and enabling it to **transform.** Governance will not require to **stop** for this education. For example, because we have established misgivings in the operational services of some security organizations, the required reorientation and adjustments will be done **without** suspending the services. **Without this EDUCATION, the dreams of Tinubu Manifesto ARE NOT REALIZABLE RESPONSIBLY. Technologies, Technocrats and Professional competence DO NOT IN THEMSELVES GUARANTEE what is good and right for the collective.** A fine professional tax collector **aide** can still rape the collections and gift millions of dollars in cash and kind to powerful associates, while helping himself with more, **without identity consciousness and discipline.** Revenue collection is for that reason not even safe.

At most, **one year failures are sufficient to compel URGENT adjustments and change, informed by RE-EVALUATING SELF AND TRANSFORMING WITH THE REQUIRED REORIENTATION AND DISCIPLINE.** The livelihood of Nigerians **is neither for gaming nor experimentation with their resources at the pleasure of the leaders.**

After the general expressions of the abuse of the benefits of the doubt, over the period of one year, the President, the Leaderships across the country, including the ruling party and the opposition, cannot be EXCUSED FURTHER on the ground of either being Ignorant, Naive, or Innocent. It will simply mean that they are NOT GENUINE CREATURES AND ARE REALLY INCAPABLE OF LEARNING, UNDERSTANDING AND

ADJUSTING FOR OUR COLLECTIVE GOOD. At best, we will say that **THEY ARE NOT A HONEST COLLECTION.**

Consequently, the rational and sensible **challenge** that will **remain** with us to deal with will be **WHY HAD WE BEEN FAILING AND STILL FAILED?** This is because given the present settings and both the Leaders and the Polity, **the orientation driven by our relevant or applicable identity consciousness and discipline is the deficiency we need to make up.** If the humans of Nigeria are the objective for welfare and security, **no technology, technocracy, professionalisms, loans, transplants or copies** can achieve, **without the identity of the people becoming alive.** Nigerians need to be both satisfied and fulfilled. And **EDUCATION** is the only **MEANS** of making up this deficit, this poverty.

To be sure, both the Leaderships of the opposition and their ad-hoc intermittent offerings **will not do better than Tinubu.** And the simple justification is that, they are **either ignorant, innocent, naive or blind to the real experiential exposures of BEING THE PRESIDENT.** For instance, Buhari was exposed to the power and sweetness of money, to be resisted and beat those already in it into the queue of moderation for collective responsibility. He was consumed by a combination of threats and entitlement. He was further exposed to the pomp of power and praises, requiring him to use and check for his trust of collective responsibility. He was imprisoned in self security. Tinubu that is used to money now appears to carelessly need more and is going into the inner cells of power and praises prison. This is why Nigerians and Buhari were right in rubbishing Jonathan back to Obasanjo. This is why Nigerians, the PDP and Tinubu really regretted ever having Buhari. This is why Sowore woke up from his dream for a revolution and returned to the United States. This is why Nigerians are now more than regretting the one year of Tinubu. **THIS IS WHY JUST RETURNING TO THE CERTIFIED RUBBISH OF THE PDP IS NOT A SOLUTION.**

NEITHER THE LEADERS NOR THE POLITY HAS CHANGED OR RECOVERED FROM THE DEFICIENCIES.