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

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## INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

## THE DUAL MEETING POINTS OF MOST NIGERIANS

There is a general agreement that we are QUESTIONABLY reasonably unprovided for by ourselves, as individuals, groups and by corporate bodies ESPECIALLY the Government – at Federal, State and Local levels. In other words every Nigerian can be MUCH, MUCH BETTER IF WE RECONSTRUCT. The

common parlance is, if we restructure, Nigerians will be much better. To be sure, there is NO state or local government that does not NEED to be affected in order to answer our questions. The questions are constantly details of the SAME question of POVERTY. No food, no schools, no skills, no houses, no jobs, no money, no roads, no transport, no drugs, no security, etc.

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

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

**THE QUESTION ARISING**

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

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

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

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

**THE PROPOSED INJECTIONS**

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

Because this recommendation is not related to any existing law that is considered a source of our collective problem, the question is: How necessary is this, in relation to dealing with general poverty? This innovation will appear to be Time Bad. The cost implications are avoidable because such individuals will continue to receive respectable audience on national matters without this additional status.

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

This will appear to positively connect with the irresponsible growing convention of completing the budget approval process getting to the middle of the year.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The real explanation for this state of affairs is that the institutions we have are weak at the federal level, weaker at the states level (maybe with the exception of a few) and very weak at the local government level. The leadership and administration of public institutions are more of opportunities than challenges. The bureaucracy is dead because the officials grow to disengage from the collective focus of their engagement to focus on self-security in post service time. When you add the immaturity of our political institutions, processes and leaders to this, the logical feasibility can only be impressive without stress, by accident, chance or miracle. This further explains why governance has been more defined by the psychology of the leaders. The case is not different between the ousted PDP government and the present APC. One can only imagine the disorientation that is capable of being generated if this recommendation is to be sheepishly admitted.

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

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

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

This recommendation is a fresh innovation and is absolutely harmless. If there is any security that is expected, it is against an undisciplined and over ambitious

Governor who may extend his excesses to the fundamental responsibility for the right of the legislature.

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

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

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

But, it is indisputable that the local government machinery has been largely incompetent. We have records of big traditional rulers as living Ticks on the machinery. When you add this to notorious orientation of the governors, one can appreciate the association of public fund sharing culture with the local government officials. The essential misfortune is that the machinery is not allowed to develop. It is therefore comparatively the worst after the federal and state systems.

The question is: with this law, will Nigerians get better served? The most modest answer will be that, it will be more hopeless. This is because the infrastructure, the personnel and bureaucracy have been reasonably stagnant. The leadership of this level of government has been least attractive to competent minds and hands. Most

of those who get plotted into it are often fine and shameless thieves. The exceptions are irrelevant because they do so with unnecessary enmity, opposition, frustration and stress.

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

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

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

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

entrenched. Legislators must therefore beware of the underlying risk of this attractive license.

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

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

8. To affect sections 134, 179 and 225 by providing a timeline to INEC for bye-elections and TO DEREGISTER ANY POLITICAL PARTIES THAT FAIL TO WIN AT LEAST A SEAT. Is this to encourage mergers by immediately weak parties with more prospective ones? This will serve only the current big ones that have made at least a Governor. Is it to curtail political nuisance by those coming parties, regardless of their nuclear potentials? Either way, it is only justifiable IF we agree that WE HAVE SO MANY AGREEMENTS TO WORRY ABOUT AND TACKLE, which makes too many political differences, identities or platforms IMMEDIATELY UNNECESSARY. And we cannot deny that in principle, it is undemocratic. But IF it is voted for across the ladders for qualification and secures assent, it would have become democratic.

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

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

In the first place, political appointees are required to give leadership direction in accordance with the mind-set of the leader or party, except IF the leader and party have no clear definition for the assignment. The assumption here is that the system to be manned is mature enough to do things rightly under the leadership of the permanent secretary. For instance, with health, if you take the appointment of a conscious physician like late Professor Kuti who had his speciality, it is logical to find primary health care becoming the priority. This was easy and seemingly impressive because the military regime had no specific interest of definition of a priority. Interestingly for governance, the achievements are only sustainable if the system is mature to ensure that the other aspects are kept alive. If the institution is weak, like in our case, you can only talk of the good old days. If the government is democratic and is committed to a different priority, the appropriate appointee may be and may not be a physician in the priority area. While this will appear less appealing, it is more inevitable with areas that are less known. For instance, the

profession of Transport is not well known for people to say, the appointee for the portfolio of transport need be a transportant. Indeed arrogant ignorants will pronounce engineers. But engineers do not even have to be in works. The appointees will be primarily required to lead by using the professionals to serve the general material needs of the people according to the template of the government. The legislators will be doing a disservice to the electorate if they screen to certify a good engineer for works ministry. The qualification for engineering has different bodies for certification. This is not to deny that there are areas where it will be unwise to appoint non specialists. For example, the governor of Central Bank should be versatile in finance matters even if his initial training was in theology. And this is possible because the profession of banking admits persons with non-finance background for developing. The legal profession is thinking of restricting training entry for graduates in other fields.

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

A dictate law that subtly suggests a line of suitability will therefore appear unnecessary at this level when we should be getting leaders from across the board. Is it not our commonest experience that most people in positions of leadership are largely more of managers and administrators? And this cuts across both the executive and the legislature. The explanation for this is either that the leaders are not creative or that the machinery is meant to be so backward that its management and administration is logically the demanding priority.

The distribution of responsibilities across the gender is now attractive. But in reality, it is as backward as the federal character principle we have failed to overcome. If we are concerned with service and competence, is there any express law inhibiting a government from engaging women? If there is none, what is the

rationale behind the limited percentage? Is the population of women not more than that of men? This suggestion appears to be only obliging what others say and appear to make sense out of it. It is not creative.

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

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

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

13. The recommendation to restrict a President/Governor who completes the term of an elected President/Governor from contesting for more than one term. This will appear to make sense because with four years after succeeding a boss, there should be little to add. The assumption is that he worked along with his principal while the principal was in the lead. It also enables the sponsoring party to refresh by producing new leaders. The legal provision of this checks the ordinary ambition of any of such incumbent who would have claimed the right to contest. The kangaroo arrangement of some agreement is not a law. It is therefore not criminal to ignore such an agreement. This is clearly both creative and progressive.

14. To have specific identification for the Office of Accountant General will appear to be a logical improvement on the layout of the law. This is harmless and respectful of the office. The recommendation to provide for independent funding of the Office of the Auditor General must be to express taste for the fearless performance of the incumbent. While this is supposed to be harmless, auditors rarely teach that they are guides to superior resources management. They impress

and are seen as police officers of resources management. Indeed because of the intricacies of managing weak institutions, the auditors are not free from transforming into records manipulators for managers. It is a worthwhile and harmless injection toward institutions building.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. Procedure for overriding the veto of the President in constitutional alteration is another recommendation. But why must it be held that the legislators are wiser than the executive? If the legislators are representatives of the people is the President not a superior representative? This is because his mandate is a collection or combination of many among them. The numerous provisions or recommendations for vetoing decisions only reveals either the fear, incompetence or outright unwillingness of the legislature to get the executive do things on the platform of sufficient reason and sense. But the constitution or law construction MUST NOT BE USED AS AN AVENUE OR MEANS for either setting a rack or settling scores. Laws are expected to be timeless in application except they are so expressed. This is why amendments are most intelligent if they are minimal, to allow the society build on the culture of compliance it has built.

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

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

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

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

23. The recommendation to reduce the age of qualification for President, Governor and Legislators. This will appear harmless but is certainly not a credit. Indeed, the preceding impression that the legislature was cajoled into it makes it distasteful. The factor of concern is that the present generation are above the recommended ages and WE ARE ALMOST BURSTING WITH DISSATISFACTION. The credentials required for SATISFACTION are CERTAINLY NOT prospective with reduced age. If we can have a Ph.D. holding governor with decades of public service and management experience that is above the present legal age and could

afford ignoring power blocs that will hesitate to trample on him AND HE FAILS WOEFULLY, the age is not the window of hope. In exceptional cases that we are yet to experience, this proposal will be helpful. But even then, it is a more serious challenge to the older generation to nurse, groom, build up the younger generation for early fitness. And it MUST BE ON TERMS DIFFERENT FROM WHAT IS NOW COMMON. To be corrupt or be able to expose corrupt persons or be able to discover corruption activities through investigation or taking custody or their prosecution are FAR BELOW what the younger generation requires. The enormity of this challenge can be appreciated if we note that one or a few right and good youths cannot solve our problems. We will need battalions working together to be able to relate with the old generation that are against themselves and us.

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

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

**THE IMMEDIATE CHALLENGES**

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

And they can do this by engaging both the state executive, cross selection of neutral facilitators on what is eventually transmitted, the federal ministers from the state, the national representatives that were part of what will be transmitted and a

reasonable reach out to other states. This should not only enrich the state assembly but serve TWO objectives. The first is that the public will be part of and feel the direction of eventually commitment. The second is that the assembly will not end up with acting the script of some few that can neither be held responsible for their actions nor can they be wiser than what the consultation may produce.

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

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

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