

**EDUCATION TOWARDS 2019 ELECTIONS  
AND BEYOND**



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## **WHY 2019 ELECTIONS?**

The uniqueness and importance of the forthcoming 2019 elections goes far beyond the expiration of the tenure of APC and Muhammadu Buhari's mandate. Obasanjo was given governance mandate twice. Umaru Musa got one. Goodluck Jonathan got one. The routine or due time is therefore not uncommon for Nigerians to consider and decide on giving another mandate to a political party to form a government and to a leader or a set of leaders.

However, unlike any previous government, the present one and the leadership came about, out of a highly improved level of political consciousness and participation. While the details of these may be inconsistent or questionable, it was still able to effect a change in who gets the mandate with a common justification. And if this common justification was a mere belief, the succeeding government has more than reasonably established the reality of that belief with a scope and weight of justification evidences. It is thus sufficiently settled that, the ousted government was recklessly corrupt. This explained why it was most irresponsible and irresponsible for the trust that had to be taken away. And the chieftains have been modest in not denying this. Their members have severally resisted and given up to the shameful identity.

After three years of governance by a new political group, those that were disgraced out of office after sixteen years have made several references to corruption in the present government and are suggesting that they will fit better to be given the mandate again. Indeed a chieftain of the People's Democratic Party had proudly indicated that the big thieves of the party had moved to the ruling government. While it is questionable that no more big thief remains in the party, the return of runaway members to the party and the determined call back of the others indicate that the spirit and commitment of the PDP will not adjust.

In addition to this, while **SOME TANGIBLE IMPRESSIVE POSITIVE DIFFERENCE** cannot be denied as resulting from the deliberate efforts of the present government and leadership, the chieftains of the APC and the leadership have not claimed that their performances have been perfect. And this is consistent with the expression of pains in the polity, which have on a few occasions been met with appeals for understanding and patience.

The challenge of evaluation arises out of the dilemma of either reverting to the discredited that are regrouping and suspecting that they will not return to what they are best at or putting up with growing achievers that are not perfect but are not mostly thieves. This is at the logical platform. At the sensible platform, where majority of men are more inclined to, the logic is for the head. The body cannot be waiting unending to feel well or satisfied. This is why an animal can in this circumstance suggest that if the honest cannot make us feel well, why should the dishonest not be given the mandate? The immediate implication of the present historical experience is that majority of people will not mind sacrificing value for gratification. They will say: To hell with honesty if it cannot give us our needs, wants and fancies as they fall due. In other words, REGARDLESS of the damages that need to be mended, three year patience and understanding is more than enough. And since the government can only reasonably achieve things with limited sensible impact across the board, it is INCOMPETENT. This implication fails to appreciate that the alternative COMPETENT political platform is the one that has its members still having explanations to make. The foolish minds in this trap are quick to say that the mandate is to FIX things rather than to complain. The blindness and stupidity of evaluating the probable superior competence of those ousted who are cultured in the rape of public resources make their stand embarrassing and anti-people.

This setting is what compels the need for proper education, IF WE MUST CARE AND RESPONSIBLY ATTEND TO PREPARING FOR 2019 ELECTIONS AND TO SET A POSITIVE FOUNDATION FOR OUR FUTURE AS A SOCIETY.

### **THE UNACCEPTABLE LURES**

Given the present status of the realities defined above, it will be arrogant and foolish to suggest that the talismanic solution for the benefit of all Nigerians rests with the AGE of the leader. Even the propagandists who refer to France do not deny that the young leader has admitted responsible elders to ENABLE him run the government meaningfully. And that is in an environment where the political structures and processes have enabled the young man. In our environment, Jonathan had very good age and university schooling on his side. But he was swallowed up by the elements and factors of corruption, selfishness, impunity, crime, disrespect, etc. symbolized by aides, partners and masters of ages across the

young and older generations. Those who will therefore offer that we consider the age of the seeking leader to be, or a young man who offers himself as the greatest offer, need to provide much more for rational and sensible admission. Indeed, we may not need to bother too much on this misguide because the structures and processes on the ground may not easily compromise the real and uncompromisable interests to sponsor such persons. Those who misthink that they can financially sponsor themselves will discover that it takes more than money to be admitted or accepted to lead. For instance, a young aspirant who aspires to lead this country who had actively wished a sitting leader dead is not the kind or type that has become the head of France. And it is disorganizing to consider that Nigerians side with a young man that has severally failed to dissociate himself from being a big dishonest person, after a trust he had held. I personally recall the difficult choices of the new breed; the people of Niger State had to go through. This was because the sponsors have the most backward definition of youths. The best and fitting new breed are either from the same compound, their children, children of bosom friends or in-laws. Age is as critical as a leader will need to be alive and be an adult. To suggest that a young person is a better guarantee for good governance is as hollow as suggesting that a woman will be incorruptible. This index on its own will not be helpful. Indeed it needs not be mentioned in the course of considerations because any leader will necessarily have enough age. And those who are of too much age will not be crazy for leadership. If they become, then, they are out of the too much age. The political, economic and social quagmire Niger State has been mucking in since 2015 is good reference case of how disastrous preference on the platform of age can be.

It is also more unacceptable to have a very questionable former leader to present himself as an oracle for guidance. It is unwelcoming for rubbish to make a good cleaner. It is a greater challenge and responsibility for such, to make up their disservice to the society by repentant support for the success of their successors. And the logical basis for this is that, they have by law and structure not been isolated from contributing to good governance. They are part of the Council of State, they can volunteer additional contributions and are most likely to be involved or approached on one or more governance issues before the tenure of a government expires.

The logical and sensible deduction from this is that, where a former leader turns into a seeming radical and worse so in the case of a former questionable leader, it is a revelation of strong and deep disagreement over what is NOT in the interest of the electorate, the society, the nation. And the justification for this is that more than enough provisions are in place for them to reach the leader. Beyond this, they will NOT be ACCOUNTABLE for whatever the leader commits, against good advice. And WHATEVER their feelings and observations may be, there are lots of other respectable and decent citizens that will eventually express the same and even better. Thus, after a possibly shameful role at their time, they have the opportunity for regaining another benefit of the doubt honour by a high level of humility. The standard of measure is that, while it is not impossible for a repentant atheist to become a priest or a former armed robber to make a good guard, priests are normally picks from among godly worshippers and persons clean of criminal records are usually trained for security jobs. Over ambitious former leaders can therefore help Nigeria more and better, by allowing others to lead in governance evaluation. Those who have fallen into the misfortune of finding guidance with them therefore have the choice to recollect themselves, for the good of Nigeria.

It is also most worthy to resist the hangers of rotational leadership and that of religious affiliation balance as take-off points for right leadership, at any time. To start with, there is nothing inherently evil in either rotating the leadership source or presenting a religious affiliation safety valve to the electorate, for mandate. For most of the religious balance in particular, who of the leaders has been religiously conscious in spiritual guidance that has been respectful for fellow faithfuls? Neither late Alex, Namadi, Jonathan nor even Osinbajo who is a genuine priest. The basis for this is that every state, every geopolitical region can produce a competent member to lead this country. However, the probability or possibility of enabling this rests with active participation and a winning political structure. This conditional ladder is what makes the rule of rotational or balanced religious affiliation primarily unnecessary. It will therefore be misleading and dangerous to make it a guide. The only benefit of the rotation rule is that it automatically secures the occupants of party offices. But the business of Nigeria is more serious. Therefore, after propping up flag bearers for national mandate, the officials of the party can be adjusted to balance. The balancing rot at the level of the party is more tolerable because of the superiority of Nigeria and Governance to the party and

because IF the political party plays its proper role when it is the ruling party and government, any idiosyncratic challenges can be attended to effectively. It is this negative institution and practice that have been contributory to low or only nominal or forced participation in party politics by many members. This nonsense is responsible for the audacity of some unfortunate politicians to claim and present one political party for a particular region. It is sealed with notorious funding by some while others watch and foolishly expect that those who bankrolled the party will not be inclined or tempted to direct those they sponsored. But a political party is not like a mosque or the house of God that ceases to be the property of the builder after completion.

Those who therefore spit of turns by region without respect for quality of governance are at best urging the electorate to accept anything. And the danger in this is that, like we experienced the impunity of IT IS OUR TURN, those in government will become careless and reckless. Then the club that will succeed it will build on the abusive culture. It is only in the mind-set of Mafioso that this kind of rapism is considered to be wise counsel.

In summary, we must hesitate to move by just replacement of a leader. Replacement is inevitable after our self-designed standard of two terms of office. If this was not the case the gluttony of a leader would have allowed for proceeding beyond. We therefore have an opportunity for review and evaluation at the end of a term, to determine renewal by extension to the limit of the second or cutting it short. Our experiences of replacements in uniform and civil dress are numerous enough to impact the lesson that mere replacement is not and cannot on its own give us the desired relief. This is why the much talk about spirit and action of ANYONE BUT JONATHAN in the 2015 politics and election is both unintelligent and misleading. This garbage was only opportune to sit on the MUCH FELT INADEQUACIES of the People's Democratic Party governance.

This time around, with another historical opportunity, we must guard against being sheepishly directed by the greater factor of age, being manipulated by those who had squandered our opportunities under their regretful rule, being misguided by the idiosyncrasies of rotational sentiment, to simply replace MINUS SUFFICIENT REASON AND SENSE OF EVALUATION. Our common objective must be to know and act sufficiently to set a foundation for improving future.

## **AVOIDING THE MISTAKE OF LIMITED SCOPE OF EVALUATION**

There can be no doubting the absolute fact that it is the close impact of governance activities on the personal lives of members that make impressions. Government performance can sweetly be related to how many citizens have gained employment after completing readiness training for those who need training. It is popular to hear that the investment in the building of infrastructure engages lots of professionals, lots of men of various skills and unskilled labour. International currency exchange rate has direct bearing on business people who have to connect with partners across our borders. This is what makes it ridiculous, when prices of consumer products shoot up on the excuse of drop in exchange value; one finds the sugarcane seller raising their prices too. With money and prices in our day to day interactions, if wages and pensions are delayed or fail to reasonably correspond with what products and services they can secure for personal needs, wants and fancies, workers and pensioners kick. For contractors, if they fail to get paid after completing their obligations, they may go to court. Governance is therefore, the fair, good, satisfactory, poor, unsatisfactory or simply bad management of the available human and material resources for the timely and continuous SATISFACTION of the needs, wants and fancies of members of the society, for any given period.

However, as realistic and important as this is, the provision of goods and services in their numbers and qualities **MUST NOT BE THE ONLY YARDSTICK FOR TOTAL EVALUATION.**

One reason for this is that the resources constantly undergo change. They can deplete in quantity or value or both, just as they can increase. The humans that need to be engaged for the needed constant increase or expansion in quantity and quality also change. Some die, some are born some get handicapped in the process of being optimally engaged. Consequently, the ultimate satisfaction of men is also dynamic. The quantity, the variety, the quality and due time for meeting their satisfaction is always changing. So it will be most insensitive and foolish to even begin to measure the provision of goods and services without due establishment of the level of resources available against the needs, wants and fancies. And it will be irresponsible and mischievous to proceed with such measurement on a known platform that the resources had been recklessly plundered. If the cry of the non-



availability of resources were not supported by massive and unprecedented recoveries with mind blowing evidences like false declaration of assets, recoveries from soak away, farmland, cemetery, guest house, underground, procured assets and honourable surrenders etc., the cry would have been questionable, with our resources.

This compels us to recognize that the RIGHT to outline outstanding needs, wants and fancies MUST NEED BE RELATED TO CAPACITY FACTORS REQUIRED OF ANY RULING PARTY AND GOVERNMENT IN OUR DEMOCRACY. It also means that the ruling party and government will not be owing up ENOUGH by MERELY LISTING THE SCOPE OF GOODS, SERVICES AND BENEFICIARIES IT HAS BEEN ABLE TO REACH OR COVER. Those who are therefore saying some things have been achieved, some things are still outstanding are only as right as the achievers who give details of achievements and acknowledge that some outstanding, are not denied. And this makes those who stand, outside the context of time and resources to reach conclusions of resolution by mere replacement, the most thoughtless of our history. Such intellectual belch is undoubtedly the product of over feeding. In the same vein, those who differ by mere direct opposition for the idiosyncrasies of region or turn, are dumb.

The summary effect of Why 2019 Elections, the Unacceptable Lures and Avoiding the Mistake of Limited Scope of Evaluation is that the discussions so far, have indicated that majority of the elite are still as selfish, as backward and more irrelevant to the collective challenges of Nigerians. These elite members include those who are chieftains of the ruling party and government, those who are in the opposition and especially those the media have supported by allowing their opinions to be read or heard. The characteristics of let younger people take over, let the region complete its turn, let another party or group take over or we are better fit now etc. are all hopeless because of the hollow platform and questionable integrity of the flag bearers.

## **THE CAPACITY FACTOR OF ANY RULING PARTY AND GOVERNMENT**

This is the critical and superior facet for evaluation, as a foundation for the responsible placement of governance performance of any ruling party and government. In other words, whatever amount of achievements or failures that may be listed for or against a government, they need be informed by the summary capacity of the ruling party and government. Ignoring this by evaluators is both unfair and unintelligent. While the mass of people can afford to be ignorant of this aspect, it is anti-people for the elite to do the same. And they will remain so even if they are ignorant but dabble into mobilizing others with such shortcoming. They will be rightly mischievous and wicked because of their abuse of the opportunity to make society better. Those who are ignorant are best in silence.

Interestingly, this capacity is felt by the electorate though it is not the facet that is commonly aware of because of its direct impact on members of the polity. This really governance capacity consists of elements that function independently or together BUT in the common direction of realizing positive governance for the collective good of the society.

The top element is the personality of the leader. What he symbolizes in relation to the position of the party that sponsored his leadership. This can be ideological or informed by the ideology of the party. Where it does not have a developed one, at least a set of principles, under which its manifestoral dreams can be realized and the fair basis for evaluating it. In the case of the All Progressives Party, Buhari is distinguished with the identity of honesty and anti-corruption. The consistent fact that he is personally of these attributes has the governance implication that his definitions and standards of action will be the most suitable for succeeding the People's Democratic Party, which symbolized everything of opposite. The clear definition of honesty and anti-corruption of Buhari can be deduced from his machinery. Anyone who is found questionable should answer for the public resources records connect to him or her. This has understandably led to the prominence of anti-graft agencies operations under the ruling government. They have become so active that news items are incomplete without them. The strong and independent status and role of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Corruption is not just another, but a clear indication of International support for his

leadership. This ruling element of the leader has produced certain careful consequences. For example, he expressed and was actually disinterested in interfering with production of the leadership in the legislature. But he did not promise that he will work with any crooks. The outcome ended up with what some political rascals called politics – in disregard of the values that the leader symbolized. Within the ranks of the party, those who have the credentials that will qualify them for questioning acted humbly. And a good chunk of the seniors were this. The mere fact that some of these fully well know of their qualifications, they trust that it is not witch hunting, because until records prop them up. The genuine status of this is indicated by the fact that at least a member of the APC has been engaged. The diarrhoea of the PDP that anti-corruption is directed at its members is both unreasonable and senseless. The records have been propping up active functionaries in abuse of office or connection with office. No PDP floor members have been engaged. In relation to states, Buhari had expressly and actively secured his independence by not interfering in state governance matters. The consequence of this include equal stand of all governors in federal governance. And the negative aspect of this is that state governments feel freer from the national party structure and the person of the President. The Katsina State governor for instance did categorically state that he was not getting any measure of preference in the form of federal activities or services. In Kaduna State, political immaturity that was freely playing out was least expected. Chieftains and political lords who struggled together to get the running mandate are at war path because the leader is epileptic to criticism and suffers fixation against accessibility. Our State suffers the same in a subtle manner. In Kano, it is outgrown ambition into madness but within the same party. It is therefore not surprising to have Tinubu appointed to save political leaders of the party in the government across the states, the legislature and executive, from tearing down the party.

The second element is the leadership of the ruling party and government in relation to governance. This relates to political leaders in the ruling party, at the local government, state and national levels; political leaders in the National and State Assemblies; and political leaders in the State House, Ministries and Boards of Agencies. With the pace and standard setting by the leader, most of the others in the party and the government have not been able to follow. The more the distance of a leader from the standard and pace of the Leader, the more the relationship is

hypocritical. Thus, in relation to the National Assembly, the majority party has the opposition in supporting the President of the senate. It is both uncommon and ugly, for a party and leadership that has rooted out a stinking leadership. It is then hypocritically not illogical to have the federal budget really delayed in one year, because of constituency funds convention and delayed again in another year by arbitrary tempering for a window to admit the same funding along with supplementary budget later in the year. This is why both the Executive and the National Assembly pledged to Nigerians to pass the 2018 budget by the end of December 2017 but the first quarter of 2018 is mostly gone without its passage. It also explains rejection or putting on hold, screening of presidential nominees or spending three years without passing the Petroleum bill that requires not more than adjustments because for over a decade the PDP had come up with a substantive working material. This is why after three years; the best the legislature has done is to pass the governance part of the four tranches. The history of inviting the judiciary to check the president of the senate and his deputy over forgery of regulations; the growth of partisan support for the President of the senate on allegations of telling lies and abuse of public trust; and germination of an alsatian member in the senate for presidential hunting; the transformation of the ethics committee into a hunting field; the legislative attention given to the code of conduct tribunal act; the reordering of elections schedule or going to court to ascertain the power of the senate in rejecting a nominee of the president, are all indications of WEAK LEADERSHIP. The peak of this unreasonable and senseless togetherness was the joint informal request put to the President at a dinner, to withdraw the nomination of Ibrahim Magu. It is interesting to note that while this is the smoky environment at the federal level, the states were free from any benefits of national politics and suffered immaturity or submission to anything – against a common binding principles and direction. Strong or developed states in politics could therefore wag fairly while weak ones go on rampage or dormant. One can for instance compare Lagos to Niger and Kano.

Consequently, the capacity of any ruling party and government is measurable by the subtle or noisy process of the entire leadership in the management and administration of public affairs for the collective good of all, in carrying out its mandate. It should not be too smooth or disturbing. Then, both insiders and outsiders will appreciate that mistakes can get checked and relationships will be

properly weighed to keep and improve honour. The noisy and disturbing is certainly not democracy but irresponsibility.

For that reason, when a ruling party and government is placed for evaluation, mindfulness of its capacity factor must inform the rating of any achievements. The greatest and simple justification for this is that resources are not piled up and waiting for disbursement. To assume so, to suggest so, to imply so, to expect so, by expression or action, is a slight on the intelligence of the electorate. To ignore taking the two together in any evaluation is self-defeating and disqualifying for relevance. This is not to deny that for insiders to emphasize on the capacity aspect will amount to self-defence, that is unnecessary.

Above definitions serve as a basis for dismissing the mischievous inevitable direction and end of using age, rotations or turns for replacement or moving ahead.

## **STARTING WITH THE OPPOSITION**

Those in formal opposition positions, within and outside the government of the day are usually expected to be favourably placed in bearing the torch of guidance. The forgivable difference or distinction will be the ideological platform that is expected to be in competition with that of the ruling party and government. And in our setting, we have those members that had experienced federal mandate or control. We have those that were limited to only state level experience.

The electorate are for that reason supposed to have been benefiting from the positive governance criticism of the opposition in the course of governance by the ruling party and government. And the government is supposed to have been observed in its response to these criticisms, by taking positive advantage of them. On the part of the opposition parties, they are supposed to be consistently heard and seen to be developing. Those with structures limited to a state or region should be seen to be making inroads into new areas by expansion. Those that have grown to the national level should be seen to be expanding their membership and strengthening their structures.

The only means of doing this, that is freely and abundantly possible is through POLITICAL EDUCATION on a permanent and consistent basis, for its members

and for the electorate. The ultimate value or benefit of this is, the REORIENTATION of the polity for the collective good of all.

Therefore, as a polity, the first misfortune of our electorate and in consequence, our democracy, is that our formal opposition is as if it does not exist, by relevance and usefulness standards. To date, the best and highest show of the opposition is in constituting a different political party and possibly fielding candidates for electoral offices. They are loudest during preparations to seek for mandate.

The best indication of this, is the People's Democratic Party that ordinarily should be the most developed as it was the most grown. The consciousness of its growth informed the logical but intoxicating assertion that it will remain in governance for many decades. This was blind or foolish of the undeveloped nature of the party. And two embarrassing indicators included inability to complete its headquarters and use of public resources for campaign. Indeed, the inability to pay staff of its headquarters was disgraceful. This characteristic of political backwardness is not foreign to the ruling party. The President in the early days of the government expressly 'shocked' the party by assuring that there is no government money to run party business. When the chieftains that bore the initial costs became sure that they were involved in charity, they had the choice to withdraw. And the Chairman announced that other means like taxing members according to their positions will be introduced. The People's Democratic Party is still drowned in this backwardness with the cried out funding for the election of the party chairman recently. The follow up splinter group exposed the weaknesses of the claimed recovery and repositioning against real regrouping of the old and disgraced PDP.

This present status of the major or leading opposition makes it most hopeless for the electorate to look up to it for responsible guidance. It is impliedly the greatest challenge of the formal opposition club and especially leaders and members of the lead opposition. In other words, the greater outing to sound that the ruling party and government has made mistakes or blunders and that the electorate are eager to vote the PDP back or drumming that they are only waiting for 2019 to return to power is NOT OPPOSITION. It is more of a pack of audacity that it was well known for. The meaningful and responsible opposition roles that will enable their relevance include checking the ruling party and government as it rebuilds its own structures, mentality, spirit and orientation. This is why beyond the logic of the

feasibility of merging or swallowing other parties to oust the ruling party and government **NO ORGANIZED MEMBER OF THE OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES WILL ACCEPT TO MERGE OR BE SWALLOWED.** Such step will reduce to naught, whatever positive attributes or credentials they already have or have the potential of developing. This is what makes the misfortune of the electorate double. The opposition is **NOT** engaged in what it should and appears unwilling to fit into the right roles.

The primary caution the electorate must commit itself to is, to beware of **APPEARING CONCERN** coming from the opposition, especially the current leader in the form of People's Democratic Party. At least for now. The electorate must thus keep distant from being lured by strong criticisms of the ruling party ending with its taking over as the solution. It should only be granted the deserving limited credibility of logical contributions.

### **BEYOND THE SEEMING DIFFERENCE**

It is clear from the foregoing that the **RESISTANT** leadership of the ruling party and government **TO** the Leader, is neither in principle nor character different from the lead opposition members, beyond party identity. This would have been easy to accommodate if it is on ideological platform, but even the distinction of the APC leader and the party books bear no such difference. The plain, honest and determined members have therefore returned, decamped or crossed to the formal opposition. And this characteristic status has two inevitable implications that have logically and sensibly been consequential.

The first is that, all the intra-political war in the ruling party and government is consistent with the real national identity, orientation and objectives of our elite. And this is superior to political party identity or affiliation. It is in this context especially, the Presidency-National Assembly and the Kwankwaso-Ganduje conflicts are to be understood. In dirty terminology, it can be said to be the PDP in APC. It was hence immodest of the PDP to open up its arms and ask or lobby its real (now only appearing to be former) members to return home. The disaster of the impatience of the chieftains that should have remained to protect its course is blind to such thoughtless strategy. This is why the Kano political madness has been rationally alleged to be an Obasanjo script. It will be recalled that when Buhari was

sick and the elite were satisfied that he is out of the way effectively; they did not hesitate to agree on what to feed the polity with. Let Buhari's tenure be completed by a northerner, Muslim and from North West political region. The cap fitted Kwankwaso and Tambuwal. Interestingly, these real (to become) attackers of Buhari when he fully recovers had this confidence. The stingers in the presidency were gaming between who will best continue from members of the shadow, that the President had personally denied that it exists. A cabinet member and a senior staff of the President were reported in the news. The National Assembly was not asleep to that opportunity. Beyond the denial of Saudi meeting, a motion was moved on the floor of the senate. The recovery of Buhari was an embarrassment to the triplets of the national elite conscience.

The second implication is their disastrous role in our history and governance. The best current historical reference is the combination of constitutional amendments from the inside and specialized restructuring bids and demands from outside. Obasanjo who does not lack some milk of kindness is one lone voice that had to be reported. He submitted that there is nothing wrong with our structure and that it is our minds that need restructuring. He never returned to elaborate on it, it was not demanded of him and no one bothered to develop it. And only David Nweze Umahi, the Governor of Ebonyi state was expressly sincere to admit that the state was still growing and has no genuine justification to push along for devolution of powers. This scavenging elite has used all in their powers to disorient Nigerians about nationalism and prosperity. The worst slippers proceeded to secession. It took the combination of regrets by those who were fooled into it, the shock of discovering the true commitment of the champions, the withdrawal of some of the sponsors out of evidence shame, the sympathy for those who suffered unwarranted molestation, the revelation of the criminal activities by the 'vanguard' and commitment to national unity, to overcome this creation of the elite. And none of them or their own has suffered to even go into hiding. Some of them only lost money, except death is kind to give a helping hand. To be sure, they have not been and are still not interested in ALL OF US AS EVERY ONE OF US. Independent candidacy does not connect to us assuredly. Which one of them can be this entrusted from among those before us?

The creation of state police is not different. Policing is a principle and function relating to restraining or arresting powers and skills. Its efficiency relationship to



belonging to a location is less than five percent, whereas the probability of abuse arising from belonging to a location is up to fifteen percent. Devolution of powers or resources control is for the elite in their camps and not for ALL OF US AS EVERY ONE OF US. Those who are tempted, inclined or fooled to follow should evaluate two disgraceful and oppressive failures they have committed AGAINST THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NATIONHOOD. At the state level, how have the elite fared in developing our local government systems that are the closest to the people? How well have they been able to make the state machinery of government and the environment a melting pot for neutral and equal opportunity for engagement and service? Niger State servants belong to the class of worst victims of Executive prejudicial governance. And what measure of success have they given to us in relation to our scope of priority problems and the resources that have been used up? At the federal level, what is the level of national orientation today of civil and public servants? What is the growing achievement in the implementation of the federal character principles against safe employment and deployment of personnel across all parts of Nigeria and in all federal organizations? The failure level is certainly unacceptable for a period of nineteen years practice. The mischief of using tribe, region or religion as a safe platform for prosperity only serves the affective goal of strengthening their empowerment.

This elite have been, remain and will continue to be the real problem and our challenge to genuine nationhood IF THEY REFUSE TO CHANGE, TO BEAR OUR COLLECTIVE INTEREST. And in them rest our hope for positive transformation that will benefit all of us.

The most intelligent opening for our genuine nationhood is therefore, TO COMPEL THE ELITE TO REENGINEER THE SYSTEM AND SUBSYSTEMS OF THE PRESENT STRUCTURE TO SERVE THE INTERESTS OF ALL OF US AS EVERY ONE OF US. The alternative to this will in the long run only serve them and those they discretionally favour. For now, sticking to a VERY STRONG CENTRE where we can each pool less but equal resources each TO REORGANIZE AND REORIENT for nationalism and PUSH THE STATES TO DEVELOP AS MELTING-POTS FOR CONSTITUENT LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS, is our modest bet to a stronger and more prosperous nation state. We have walked and work for long on this superior principle BUT FOR THE CORRUPTION AND ABUSIVE CULTURE OF THE ELITE. What

the electorate needs is proper education for monitoring and keeping the elite on our consciously designed and protected course.

## **THE LOGICAL CONSEQUENCES FOR THE APC**

The first, in relation to the Leader is that he will be isolated. Most interactions he will have with his men will not be totally sincere. Because he is the leader, they will wait to see if he will come forth or adjust. This is more so because it will amount to self-embarrassment to ask for what is wrong or ask the leader to ignore what is right. This level of 'trust' to rape public resources cannot be foolishly shared with a leader who has set out **NOT TO BE FOR ANYBODY**.

This nature of relationship gets thickened by a few factors. The first is that the symbols of wrong who verily know that they are in the wrong are too cowardly to own up to the leader even in privacy. This kind of risky courage would have tested the milk of kindness in the Leader for comradeship. On the part of the leader, he shys away from personally confronting those records point at for questioning. This may be to save himself from being seen as selective or witch hunting. But when the anti-graft agencies do it, those insiders may feel that third parties have been involved. It is embarrassing and shameful to have to defend oneself before an operative. Thus, the next line of response is that of resistance by denying such in court and refusing to oblige legislative response to governance needs. This is how national matters get personalized by the elite for selfish reasons.

The second is that because not everyone will play the President, those who are his close aides have the personal discretion to partner with the same members that are not in smooth and sincere relationship with their principal. This is very feasible because not all wrongs are directly financial. For instance, they can partner on interfering with recruiting people into critical sectors. This for instance sends a spill over effect to others in positions of responsibility to do more. At the end of the day, all participants know that the President is on his own. And when the records are revealed, the opposition has the divine justification to report that the very wrong that cannot be defended has been committed to a higher level.

The third factor is that, the legislators who dare to toe his line should expect assignment to miserable committees, suspension or appearance before its hunting committee. The same committee will be able to clear qualification scandal and

personal assault but not budget padding allegations. A fourth factor is that only those who are already very comfortable either by right, by legalized special favours or are yet to be required for questioning will genuinely consider limited sincerity in their relationship.

For leadership it will have to be uneasy. One can then logically imagine the President standing his ground on budget. The legislature cannot hold unto the budget for the whole year. So, whenever they release it, implementation will start. And the legislature will keep for as long as it can be telling stories of logistics. At the end of the day, the electorate inevitably gets less than average dividends for the democratic arrangement. For example, for construction of infrastructure, authority to spend money, two months to rains does not help optimal activities. Given this kind of frustrating and stressful environment there was a genuine rascal proposal, to legally provide amnesty for certified thieves. But because of the power of truth, the public cried out and the legislature painfully closed the window for debating it. It is therefore not consequential for the legislature to swing into executive matters. The peak of this culture was for a running accused to request the legislature to stop an anti-graft agency from going after public resources. For record of shame, the same accused later asked for settlement outside the court.

It is consequently reasonable and sensible to recognize that whatever the ruling party and government has been able to achieve with its Leader, were opportune by the Truth that he stood by and Presidential powers entrusted to him that cannot be easily humiliated. The personal integrity of Muhammadu Buhari and his age have helped a lot. He expects ordinary respect from most members because he is older and has recognized competitive knowledge and experience. These embodiments of disciplinary attributes that sum up as positive and powerful maturity reveal that the requirements to deal with the political challenges are more. If these factors were less, the achievements would have been less. If the resistance were less, the achievements would have been more.

But if the Leader and government could only build forty percent of the expected infrastructure because of the weak leadership capacity between the leader and the legislature, what is the hindrance on making timely appointments? There is no close to sufficient justification to spend more than two months before constituting a cabinet. It is also most unacceptable to constitute Boards after six months. The

basis for this is that they all have key roles to play in enabling an efficient and effective realization of leadership and governance goals. The provision for them is to have exactly equal time like the leader to make optimal input in the governance mandate. This is because the elected leader cannot possibly and feasibly carry out the mandate alone. That is why the platform of the political party is a pooling ground for like minds that should make it easy to pick supporting hands or to reach out to required suitable hands through those from inside. The present experience is questionable after admitting the financial challenge of providing for the Boards that was the initial excuse. But after giving the personal word that it will follow after six months, the following personal health challenge was not sufficient. And the basis is that state affairs did not come to a standstill. After full recovery, the challenges of collecting money for appointments and for grass cutting by a confident appointee had nothing to do with the national responsibility. And to come up with the promise that it will be done soon only to whisper quick inauguration three months after is not soon by any standard. Coming up with majority of further appointments after three years but actually effecting those of many key economic and financial bodies only gives credence to the submission of Ghali of Kano, that the leader is afraid of losing resources through political corruption.

The challenge of the Leader is therefore close to pitiable. Unfortunately, there is no room for pity here. He asked for the mandate with key inviting promises and was given. But it will be worse or more irresponsible if we deliberately fail or refuse to recognize this difficulty or challenge as it is. Bad as the total challenges are the ones between the leader and the legislature is not excusable and the responsibility for making appointments is more unacceptable. The challenges at the party management front that have degenerated to indiscipline have cost the party avoidable immaturity, madness and crisis.

## **DEDUCTIONS FROM THE 2015 TO 2018 POLITICS FOR THE ELECTORATE**

The Leader as Muhammadu Buhari is the first point of reference. The most modest submission has been that, on him rests the decision to seek re-election or decline. This is superior to selfish and lousy propositions that he has failed and must leave

or like party functionaries and governors who prefer that he continues with the good things that have started showing up.

But Buhari personally knows that he is not indispensable. He also knows more than any other official in the ruling party and government, the pain of getting to 2018. Thus, he is free to consider that if what he wished and tried to get for Nigeria is so difficult as to give him the pains that he is not sharing with anybody and the electorate he is fighting for are approaching the brim of giving up, it will be more sensible to leave. Specifically painful to Buhari will be that his strong point of handling security matters has been questioned. The challenge of abducting Chibok girls was trivialized by Bring Back Our Girls politics, as if the shout outs were not due before him or if it was the requirement for getting them back. Indeed, the shouts after the regaining of some of girls were as incomprehensible as the objection to exchange more girls for some of the commanders of boko haram by another leader of the desperate elite against Nigerians. Although the menace of herdsmen and farmers is gradually unfolding to reveal that the identities of those involved were more than herdsmen and farmers because of varied objectives, it was goodly politicized against his person, as a Fulani man. And the further abduction of girls from Yobe is a greater embarrassment. All of these are apart from targeting his very person. The Ilorin experience against his convoy, the security restraint against continuing to attend the National Mosque on Fridays and personally launching the environmental cleansing of Ogoni land were unpleasant. And to wish and conclude that he will die from mortal ailment was extremely wicked. Beyond this, all the cries and evident effort against him under the cover of preference for the young is unfortunately gaining ground. This option will have all the resisters jump up for winning the war. The insiders of APC can then claim their superiority over the bandwagon elite in the opposition. Indeed, some will be tempted to return and the fighting will cease to be over governance dividends for the electorate to competing in sharing the resources yet to be disbursed and improving public plunder schemes.

Unfortunately for Muhammadu Buhari, for him, more than any other person, there is a personal moral and conscience question. After presenting himself in a very difficult time, to help out, he was recognized for his capability, given his personal discipline that cover honesty and determination to do the right thing. The hypocritical and inevitable support of some of the elite was impressive but was not

the meaningful. The meaningful support was and reasonably remains the faithful, total and almost cult like support by majority of the electorate. They casted their votes and protected the votes to the points of declaration. He came on board and was faced by the institution-cum-culture of raping public resources from the source through fuel subsidy. Because it was well institutionalized, the availability of fuel that is key to economic activities was made dependent upon fuel subsidy. This factor that can be rationalized was in application made senseless because bills piled up for no supply of fuel. Late President Umaru was confronted with the bills and was prompted to know the business bodies behind them. If they could withstand such credit against the government and still remain afloat, they need to be known. The extreme pain or sacrifice required to deal with it by removing the subsidy, was supported by the electorate for only Buhari. The Niger Delta Avengers that symbolized a highly sensible and determined resistance to further degradation of the environment and declining governance responsibility gradually admitted understanding and exercised restraint for Buhari. This was a commendable benefit of the doubt. It has not been uncommon to have the electorate through their constituencies to check legislators they believe were making governance difficult for Buhari. The President of the Senate wriggled out of political call back. The speaker of the House was being awaited, but he openly adjusted. Many others were not as lucky because some narrowly escaped, lost property or had to be saved by security operatives. So what else does Buhari expect from the electorate? And after doing their best, is the best reward, abandoning the masses on the way, or have the problems been sorted out? Given this circumstance, genuine followers of Buhari may not find it easy to forgive him. Indeed any wrongdoings that may follow up can be logically and sensibly loaded on Buhari, because he left. As a man of conscience it will be uselessly regretful to feel bad after leaving.

As for the All Progressives Congress, the question of seeking for another mandate is undoubtedly unquestionable. But it needs to field candidates and the leader will be the most critical. It has the liberty to field Buhari again or any other interested candidate. However, the challenges before the party include the discipline of the members, both in government and outside. And the most critical is at the level of the polity. The tricky nature of this challenge is that Buhari is the leader of the party and partly to blame for the weaknesses of the party. This is why the most

responsible thing for him to do is to institute the reconciliation machinery and process. It is better late than never.

Between the leader, leadership and the party is the challenge of access to the President. No amount or duration of denials will be useful, so long as it comes from the President himself or official of the President. It was not there in the beginning. So, it is for those outside who have complained to withdraw. This naughty status got dirty with fingering a non-official or a non-appointee of the ruling party and government as a dabbler or meddler in the affairs of public responsibility and accountability. That the spouse of the President got gripped into this allegation gave weight to this possible reality. Beyond denial, the President must be seen to depersonalize the presidency. If formal documents can be delayed or thwarted from reaching the President, it is abusive. If neither persons nor documents can easily reach the president, he can confirm these from the persons and date of the records. Party officials have special entitlement to access the President without publicity or fanfare. Party Chieftains do not deserve restricted access. It will be irresponsible to hinder or redefine interactions between cabinet members and the President. Party members in particular deserve the practical reassurance of the leader that it IS NO MORE AND WILL NEVER RESURRECT. This is of absolute necessity if the party will sincerely present Buhari again. In this case, Buhari has no right to dictate his term. It is the superior right of the party that will assist him in ruling to agree with his terms. His leadership includes the party at a superior level over any support he may ask for or be offered. And an informal interference will be a nuisance.

Between especially the All Progressives Congress and the electorate, there is high need for political education after educating itself on the realities on its hand. This is because governance cannot be sustained with faith or blind followership. For instance, those who have expressed willingness to ‘force’ Buhari to contest again can be doing so with the best intentions but it is better based on education because more than them will be required to produce another President in Buhari.

### **LAST WARNING BETWEEN THE ELECTORATE AND THE ELITE**

The challenges of governance go far beyond all the rascality between the anti-people elite and Buhari or his slim supporters. Indeed it is superior to the common

list of products and services achievements or failures. This is because the ultimate goods and services will continue to be in requirement and the variety of them in quantity and quality.

What we need is the development of systems and culture in and through institutions to serve all of us as every one of us, regardless of our belonging to the ruling party and government or opposition or none. Nigeria and those manning what join us together must serve and protect everyone and all of us regardless of region, tribe, religion or gender. This is not anti the elite and does not contradict the prosperity of the elite. Rather, it protects the non-elite against wilful, deliberate or wanton oppression.

Above this, governance should make an opening for innovation. It is the only proof of human and societal development. This is a logical historicity. Men are potent enough to live for more than just eating, drinking and sleeping. But this level of political livelihood is not approachable before establishing a consistent and working leadership system. That is the superior challenge of the ruling party and government as it prepares to continue to ask for another mandate. It is also the challenge of the opposition who had destroyed the basis for developing the systems and plundered the resources for the ultimate direct benefits to the society.

The educational basis for appropriate electoral actions for good leadership and governance will rest on identifying and holding on to the political party that will consistently present a keeper of the starling values that have enabled Buhari to achieve SO MUCH, against some of the outlined selfish, oppressive and irresponsible forces – less or with the adjustment of the Buhari drawbacks. The most honourable, intelligent, responsive, responsible, reasonable and sensible actions to ENABLE THIS is the competitive challenge for the ruling party and government, the formal opposition parties and every individual or group of citizens and interest groups along with the media.

The clubs of the Bench and the Bar that have the capacity to change or adjust real commitment to national conscience and orientation will need to be watched closely, encouraged or gagged into the right course. This is because the institution in which they make their living is ordinarily required to be conservative and transforms as the leaders at every point in time develop in conscience, morality and



discipline. The size and complexity of their challenge can only be imagined in a democratic setting that pretends or is really neutral to values. For instance, what do we make of a political bigwig who had hand in the death of his father, holds honorary spiritual leadership status and is arraigned before the court for theft of public resources and his counsel is a senior member of the partner club? If God and blessings are part of our real life, what can the laws enable and by what judge?