

**FOR NOTING BY THE YOUTHS, THE OPPOSITION PARTIES  
AND THE ELECTORATE AGAINST BUHARI AND THE APC**



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## INTRODUCTION

It is interesting to note that some consciousness are rebuilding up in our polity. The lucky basis for these is defined by two historical factors. The first was the overriding decision to vote out the Peoples Democratic Party, to be replaced by the All Progressives Congress in the 2015 elections. The second historical factor is the declaration by Muhammadu Buhari that he will re-contest for presentation by his party as its presidential candidate.

This second resent factor has scared some of those who have ceased to be satisfied with the fitness of Buhari in the leadership of this country. In consequence, they have not hesitated or failed to criticize the person of Buhari and the government he is leading. The initial snake-crawling step was to advise Buhari NOT to seek for a second term. And the logical follow up to this is pooling citizens of like minds together. The best actionable development is the formation of a political platform to deal with Buhari and his party.

The complexity of this positive development is that the political platform is a fresh one – less than the take-off point of the merger by existing political parties and ‘miscreants’ of other political parties, fusing into All Progressives Congress. While the present APC had existing political structures to rest on, the fresh party will need to create them or submit to those who already have them, with all the consequences.

But that is not all the colours of interest. The new colour is the specific colour of using the concept of the youths to achieve the objective of driving Buhari and APC out of power from May, 2019.

The underlying assumption here is that, Buhari will almost assuredly be given the presidential ticket by the APC. And this is rational because the APC party chieftains have either been giving Buhari above credit score or have at worst admitted that, beyond the much that have been achieved, more remain pending for attention. The difficulty of getting any effective competitor is very clear because most of the APC governors have indicated support for the continuation of Buhari. Although governors are individuals, the platform for the springing up will be weak for anyone who is free to differ and any competitor should be ready for stiff resistance, if not opposition. The fact that by law Buhari is entitled to seek for another mandate, when this is combined with whatever achievements he may not be denied, a common interest will easily flow with governors also serving their first term and interested in running again. In this circumstance, only a full fool or

drug swayed ambitious politician will feel confident to give more than a challenge of formality to Buhari. But in a large society like ours where insanity cannot be ruled out completely, even a questionable politician can be lured by his Masters that will have nothing to lose, when reality begins to unfold. He will be left with increasing demands for hand-outs to keep the fainting noise by foot soldiers in employment while he manages his qualifications for questioning and sanctioning.

But as with every perception of historical situation, the consciousness of the problem and consequently the solution may be true or false, IN THE FACE OF RELEVANCE TO OUR GENERAL GOOD LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE. The challenge we have again, is that of understanding the problem or problems that Buhari and the All Progressives Congress pose and the rightly connecting solution or solutions.

### **THE RELEVANT FOCUS**

Irrespective of what stand anyone may take, it will become relevant only if it will serve or benefit all of us without discrimination. This is a most important take off point because we have been having engagements by different leaders from the same political party background, and now we are complaining about yet another leader from a different political background. The ordinary double discredit of the sponsors of our solutions who have deep roots in the PDP is that, in addition to having failed us severally, their guidance will inevitably require our starting all over again. This is because at their best, they will accept to abandon their former path and identity. And this is a big credit to the APC that has firmly established the notorious discredit of the PDP. Thus tearing of membership card or outright condemnation of the same party will not make any quality difference to their capacity to see clearer.

This is why a good number of such followership now grief regret for taking the advice of simple Replacement. It was personalized and framed: Anything But Jonathan. The degree of foolhardiness in the followership that submits to further refer and depend on the same source for leadership can be very high. This is because the risk is too obvious, since guidance is a matter of capacity. And those with wrong capacity are often worse than those with little experience.

As for those with the present ruling party and government, the reasonable credit no intelligent person can deny them is that, the combination of the time they have spent along with the resources and circumstances they are still operating in makes easy comparisons difficult and any of its little achievements a stronger question for

the PDP. Beyond this, it will amount to self-deceit and a slight on any intelligent person, to suggest or accept that ALL we have gotten from APC is the best that is possible.

APC has its own problems. And the more we support APC by believing and stopping at accepting APC the way we have so far experienced, the closer we shall be to replicating the development dilemma perspective of the PDP.

To be sure, Nigeria belongs to all of us, beyond each and all political parties and their registered members. Therefore WHOEVER will venture into giving us any guide MUST cover the interests of all Nigerians. This is often underplayed deliberately, which makes matters appear as if Nigeria is made up of only the parties that have candidates to contest for offices. While politicians can selfishly have such dangerous disposition that may be structurally inevitable, it will be NAIVE of those being courted to be careless. Before political truth, common or absolute truth must be established. Before we begin to consider Who is Available for party presentation to be entrusted with the power of building our collective good, we will need to settle the subjects of our priorities, how they can be attended to and our pooled capacities to realize them.

Very often, the definitions of our priorities are fairly AGREEABLE between the parties, their members and most citizens. However, the so called manifestos rarely go beyond outlining these, in the form of items that are physical structures or services for welfare. This may not be out of ignorance. It may either be undervalued for the purpose of mobilizing support or REALLY because there is the lack of capacity to do so. Therefore parties talk about making money available, employment openings, infrastructure development, education and health services etc. These and more are things we will continue to need. Anybody who listens will easily understand.

But the subject of the pooled capacities to realize them is reasonably assumed to be assured, given constitutional provisions and responsibilities of a functioning political party. For example, if the legislators and the executive have post primary school education and all states and local government council areas are to be represented, it is most likely that a chunk of the leadership will be right, at both the local, state and federal levels.

However, our present status suggests that the problems or weaknesses outweigh our minimum or average expectations of solutions or strength. We are still poor or poorer. Our prosperity is still restrictive or skewed. The relevant focus is therefore

still reasonably beclouded. There is something wrong with our understanding of the problem and necessarily so, with the solution.

## **THE BUHARI FACTOR**

Regardless of our opinions that can differ and our real ambitions that will hang on the opinions we hold, there are a few things that we must attend to.

The first that stands tall is the comparatively strong double distinction of Buhari not officially questioned for abuse of public resources and his strong objection to such. Even Buhari has not claimed to be perfect. But his silence on such expression has been strengthened by Olusegun Obasanjo. In one respect, as the Commander of Buhari when they related as Head of State and Minister of Petroleum he cleared Buhari of financial misdeeds. In another respect, he admitted to have checked the Petroleum Trust (SPECIAL) Fund records as President of Nigeria, abolished the structure and found Buhari free of thievery. The junior of Buhari who overthrew him did not accuse him of stealing. The authorized biographer of Buhari has recorded that his successor sent him a gesture of a bag of the highest Nigerian denomination then, but Buhari rejected it. The living junior has not denied this. A now late companion of Buhari recorded through a newspaper interview HOW late Abacha got him to encourage Buhari to accept the PTF job. Buhari had expressed disenchantment with the way resources were managed and gave the condition that he will NOT welcome interference. Abacha kept his word to his death and Buhari was adjudged a very good performer by most Nigerians. This is strictly personal to him. And he has on a few occasions either said, he has not been found to touch the money that does not belong to him or, he assures that he can be trusted with not touching money that does not belong to him.

Against this, many people (not all) that Buhari has disagreed with have turned out to be either thieves, questionable or are in the real fear that it will soon be their turn to answer questions relating to privatizing public resources. This credit is best established with the revelations following the LETS FIND OUT where the collective Nigerians resources have disappeared into, by the Buhari government. This was compelled by the poor liquidity of the state resources and the absence of works and services of governance to explain the level of resources that were available to the PDP. Even loudspeakers that started moving into the political arena that is different from the home of missionary gradually dropped: you were voted in to FIX and not to complain. The intelligence is so lowly because it suggested that while in government you are free to do anything. The successor is to come and fix.

Another factor of Buhari is his security concern. He has made the positive record of association with dealing with serious civilian-turned armed security challenges during the presidency of Shehu Shagari, like the Maitastine group. With PDP out of the way, a responsive and clear level of appreciable difference has been established. The follow up challenges of security that are pitiable and appeared to be overcoming the government are gradually folding up or getting crushed. The disappointment levels have excused loose explanations like political sponsorship or racial protection and a suggestion like self-defence. However, crushes, arrests and voluntary submission records are giving a clearer picture of the real challenge characteristics.

With the above factors, combined with using public resources for what they are defined for, Buhari has proven his spirit of determination to achieve what he commits himself to. The yearly delays in the appropriation of resources plan for the country have revealed this most. The National Assembly has either hung on desirable constituency projects' funding or claiming that ministries and agencies fail to appear to defend their proposals. The polity has come to learn that the real problem with the agencies is in the level of invited collaboration with legislators for rip offs against the new standard of zero budgeting. And Buhari asked his Vice to heed the National Assembly strategy of immediate provisions for constituencies projects with the technical advice that supplementary budget can be considered to key projects deliberately defunded to allow for the constituencies projects. This was what made the difference between the first and second budget processing. It explains why the third has taken even longer time.

Thus, when you combine going after seemingly responsible people who are really the thieves that have created our miseries; tightening or shutting down 'safe' leaking pipes of public resources by re-evaluating licensing or contracts; acquiring more and better arms to enable superior engagement of dissidents; and challenging constituencies projects necessity, the discomfort and scope of those afflicted by standing and actions of Buhari leadership or in reasonable and sensible fears can only be imagined.

The consequential drawback or cost of Buhari is delay or waste of time in making his achievements. While this is inevitable, because he is against the tide with elements of the tide, Buhari does not appear to be vexed or in any hurry, because democracy has given each party a role to play. Whatever improvements may be possible are not getting the responsible attention of his die hard supporters or even the opposition. We are therefore at the pace of Buhari.

The summary effects of this pace of movement, loneliness and stand still praising of few real supporters has been building up in the polity. It has grown into a cloud, for the use of oppositions from within and outside as the spectacle for viewing and understanding Buhari and his APC. The only resistors to this feasible invitation are those who BELIEVE in Buhari. And there are millions of them. The opposition will need a chunk of this to Understand that Buhari is both evil or a misfortune and he is the ONLY problem that will need to be removed for a Solution to be found.

## **DEFINING THE BASIS OF THE NEW REDEFINITION**

Before Buhari, the summary of the problems was big brother Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. It was his person. PDP may not have been the real problem or it really was not the problem. If it was, it was because Jonathan was leading it. And this sold out well because insiders broke away. Some of those who did not break away seriously or bitterly complained. And the chieftains cut across the party machinery and those in government. The Chairman of the party, governors and even Uncle Clark expressed fears and reservations in privacy. Then, the party endorsed Jonathan to run again. It thus by definition became hopeless to save the situation. All the cry of his undertaking not to run again overlooked his legal choice to do so. The package became easy. Anything or Anybody But Jonathan. This was the clarion call to NIGERIANS. Replace him and we shall be flying.

Jonathan left. Buhari came. The dust against Buhari were, he is not a Ph.D., even though a Ph.D. has been discarded. He had been a dictator and cannot really change, even though he had submitted to rulings on his petitions when he contested and was reported to have lost. He will Islamize the country even though he is entitled to be a Muslim and the constitution of Nigeria is secular.

With Buhari, the details of the rot Jonathan had no idea of were brought into the open. The magnitude and scope of these temporarily sealed any achievements of Jonathan until modest chieftains like Rotimi Amaechi revealed that there are credits Jonathan must not be denied. Rail transport from Abuja to Kaduna is one. Creation of Treasury Single Account is another. In this modest acknowledgment was lost, the credit of the principle and practice of governance by responsible continuity, of the Buhari and APC government.

Now the Buhari heat has generated another opposition. This time, he is not good in economics and international relations. He is okay in security and in fighting corruption. But he has performed abysmally low and too old to be right. The ordinary citizens on the streets are afraid of being killed or kidnapped even as they



have no means of livelihood and living is expensive. The most honourable thing is to step out. Unlike in the experience of the PDP, it is not insiders that are muting this solution or buying it from FREELANCE CONSULTANTS.

The generator and foremost leader in this case, is Obasanjo who submitted and is accepted to KNOW Buhari. He got the faithful following that he knows by implication WHERE he was taking us to. And he has been foremost in visible association with Buhari since he became the President. The new song is the YOUTH.

There is nothing historically necessarily wrong or unexpected about this. However, when such happens, it should be subjected to evaluation, especially if as faithfuls, we know that he is not always right and must avoid being taken by the same person to WHERE he does not KNOW. It is rewarding enough, to be guided by a criminal to someone who is not one of them in their environment. But it will be questionable for the same thief to guide to another clean person who shares little, uncritical or no credentials with him. The two of them (Obasanjo and Buhari) have been soldiers; the two of them have been head of Nigerian government. The two of them can claim to have been unjustifiably detained, feared to be executed and regained freedom. And he is the senior who evaluated Buhari to be above board in two critical respects.

The beauty of democracy is the encouragement to go along with the person you know and can vouch for. If you do not, you are left with weighing between what the person submits and any references volunteered or sought for. The risk is always in having volunteer references that may not be credible. This is why in referencing for civil service employment the candidate is expressly instructed to avoid people in political positions because they may be inclined not to be plain and straight even when they are uncertain. In the present situation, where we have had three years exposure to the recommended Buhari, it will be insufficient and arrogant to assume the position of knowing Buhari best. Buhari has come for the second time, at least longer than the first time. And Buhari has come under a political umbrella. At least we have learnt that his political platform is not as smooth as the experience of Obasanjo and he has consistently refused to give ghana-must-go in his unfriendly circumstance. And this will be the take-off point of any reasonable and sensible understanding.

The present setting must admit not JUST what those who knew him most and have a right to redefine, it must allow for those that have had a taste of the claims by the

initial proposers. Indeed we cannot just listen to Buhari to tell us his own definitions; we are feelers that will help in the new definition.

## **THE DESPERATE CHALLENGE OF THE NEW DEFINITION**

In the case of big brother Jonathan, his exercising his legal right to re-contest affected his party. The two were thrown away, inside and out. The next step was NOT a party. And there were tens of parties. The answer was BUHARI. Whoever gets Buhari has gotten the solution. Then the mergers that resulted into APC took formation. While this formation was going on, Buhari factor was not lost. From outside the party, not much was said beyond: if you want the mess to be cleared, vote Buhari. I know him very well. Inside the party, all Buhari said in his speech to the delegates was to the effect: I have no dollars to give you. I have service to give. And I will not touch your money. It was enough for dollar recipients of refreshed desperate contestants to flow with the more organized evaluators and make him the flag bearer. Those who knew him were provided with the necessary political VEHICLE to Recover the goods and services that were lost.

This time around, the OFFER is that Buhari should leave or must leave. His performance is NEGATIVE.

Only the agents of Buhari have impressed or even satisfied many that care that, some achievements may not be denied and more still remain to be attended to. This group and those who hang onto the current disturbing security challenges are likely to eventually see the little achievements as Buhari is OVERCOMING the challenges and revealing the real characteristics of the sources. The pure fulani herdsmen theory is getting better adjusted.

The disadvantage of this setting for BUHARI MUST GO train is that his determined efforts to deal with the security that he is certified as good in, will lift the curtain covering his little achievements. And the train passengers will be on the same level with the NOT FEW that insist on being rational and sensible.

There is also the handicap of the political vehicle to ride on. As if to make a positive impression, the two main political parties have been written off. They are UNFIT.

A more rational and sensible option would have been to urge the APC to replace Buhari or the PDP to sacrifice EVERYTHING and come up with a NEW candidate. This may not be very practicable because the APC is not likely to accept

the suggestion without evaluating it. And the PDP cannot take instructions from a runaway who critically contributed to their downfall and has condemned them.

This has led to the lousy option of having an apolitical movement that will shape proper understanding of our history. The lousiness was hung on the preferred ambition to take over or at least replace Buhari when it provided that: Obasanjo will withdraw IF the movement transforms into a political party. Thus, when the group was formalized he registered. When the faithfuls who may misbelieve that the King Maker will pronounce THE REPLACEMENT FOR BUHARI, they strived to transform into a new party. For the king the further he has logically gone is to announce his personal membership withdrawal (as initially promised) and encourage EVEN the PDP to join hands to remove his Buhari. If the faithfuls were expecting more than this it will be unfair to Obasanjo. However, they will be more losers IF Obasanjo does not proceed to anoint one of them. And if he does so it will have a negative telling on him BECAUSE he cannot POSSIBLY vouch for the person as he did for Buhari.

In consequence the present objection may remain at resistance level, at the great risk of losing power. This is because; the prospective groups that may come together will be COMPETING EQUALLY to field WHO will replace Buhari, INDEPENDENT of the dictation by any ambitious outsider. The credibility of the person that will compete with Buhari will have to matchup with either the singular or collective capacity to realize that candidacy at primary level. Then the capacity will face a coordinated competition from Buhari and the APC. Beyond this, the Restructuring of the groups and parties is a tricky challenge. PDP is unlikely to keep the name and have its chieftains become back benchers. It is not even easy to have its own back benchers takeover from the current clear leaders. The necessary take off party discipline that was defined by SUPPORT BUHARI and enabled a common front for APC may inevitably be very weak with those to merge. The reality of the needful use of more than MONEY for political success will reveal itself. And the PDP have a good experience of this, even though a good part of the resources provided were not used for the purpose. The lessons are two. Insiders need to really believe, to go for political interests funded. And outsiders have learnt to take gestures and behaving differently. The naive experience at the bottom of political crisis in Kaduna State is a good example. A winner was asking for accounting for the funds he gave out for his campaign. Only political fools behave that way.

The new definition is still searching for a unifying candidate and a common political machinery to RIDE against Buhari and his APC. Worse still, there will be

numerous members of the trains of this resistance that will still cast their votes for Buhari. Members of the PDP did it for the person of Buhari his last outing. Some parties OFFICIALLY adopted him in the 2015 presidential elections.

## **THE WOOL COVER OF THE YOUTHS**

The meeting point for all the efforts to realize another Anything But Buhari is focused on the youths. The youths are told or must know that they are Better, it is their Turn, it is their Right and they possess the numerical Power to do it. The youths must take up this challenge because they are those suffering, more than the old. And they have been insulted over and above not being cared for. The youths have never been in this condition. But the build-up of those in this trap does not appear to be of any quality relevance.

And many of the youths have not hesitated or failed to answer. Indeed many more may be willing to follow. The Coalition was a good platform. ‘Millions’ registered online. It is now a political party – African Democratic Congress. Willing Presidential candidates have come, from within the country and those in diaspora. All of these go to strengthen some existing thinking that had a spectacular outing, when some youths pushed for a legislative proposal that, the youths are not too young to lead. Good pointing was made at Obama when he became president and the recent experience in France.

But WHO are the youths?

The youths are humans within a given age bracket. They are the strongest pillar of any society because they are responsible for cruising its history or the history of that society. They are an inevitable group because; every and all persons who live long must naturally pass through the stage. It is an absolute truth because denying it is either impossible or both illogical and senseless. And relating to its relevance is inevitable even if we are unconscious of it. The members are Not children or adolescents and they are not the elderly. They are the best presentation of our physical and mental powers that are either positively directed or negatively engaged. The general society can therefore not always or easily ‘protect’ itself against the good or the evil of its youths.

Legally or constitutionally, the relevant youths take off or bear this identity from adulthood that is age eighteen. You can from this point, register to cast a vote to determine or influence representation. And such votes can be casted for you. For wrong doing, you can be made fully liable by any court of competent jurisdiction. Thus, if you are not, you qualify for a minor and will be helped by remand. And

any reported harm or engagement of such minor by any grade of adult, the adult will bear a double sanction. It will then be appreciated that all post-secondary and university students including those on National Service, qualify for entry. All of such graduates that are neither self nor other employed top up the size. Because, from the same age eighteen, one can be legally engaged in productive employment BUT must cease to be so from age sixty (except on non-regular or restrictive terms). ALL PERSONS WITHIN THE AGES OF EIGHTEEN AND FIFTY-NINE are the constituents of the youths of any society. They are the work force for its progress or regression. And we have experienced the leadership of this country under youths like Azikiwe, Balewa, Bello, Awolowo, Gowon, Mohammed, Obasanjo, etc. Majority of the members in the regular employment of the formal sector, whether public or private are in this group. And the much greater number of persons in the informal sector that fend for themselves or do so by hanging on others belong to the reference group of youths. The youths do not exclude deviants or criminals so long as they belong to this age bracket.

Thus, because of the critical value and role of this group members, the societies that observe that they are dropping in size make deliberate efforts to boost increases. This may be by rewards for having more children against the promotion of family planning. This is over and above health provisions for increasing life span of those that are brought in.

And because of the specific value of their reproductive potential, the youths can further be appreciated as forming two sub-classes. The first is the RED CLASS, which is best for training and retraining and for immediate and regular use. Those who fall in the sub-bracket of ages eighteen and thirty-nine fit this. From forty upward, those qualified for leadership can be picked, selected, chosen or whatever. The other bracket is the GREEN CLASS. While it is not impossible to have a leader material from the red class a green class member may never become a leader and those who live beyond may still make good or better leaders just as they may deteriorate to become non trainable.

This means that the status, role and relevance of the youths in any society or polity is a constant phenomenon. It was there, with big brother Jonathan as a member when NIGERIANS were called upon to vote him out. Indeed, the chunk of voters who enabled this were the youths. It was therefore right, when members of Buhari Supporters Organization protested against being abandoned after working for the success of the president to secure the mandate of Nigerians. It was the youths who removed one of their own to plant a preferred elder, who had in fact been commended for his records when he was a youth, either as Head of State or as

Chairman of Katsina Foundation. When the Buhari support group complained of abnormalities in the capacities of State House operations, they pointed at fellow non-youths of Buhari who have either nothing to offer for value addition to the leadership of their Buhari or were devaluing the capacity to do so. Thus, the business of leadership is not tied to Belonging or Not belonging to the group. There is no difference with the members of New Avengers in the Niger Delta. They are members of the youths pressing for the correction of long time disregard for the negative impact of oil and gas businesses. Those who saw the militants as necessarily evil were standing on the opinion that the predecessor youth leader failed and they never complained. They did not appreciate that IF one leader fails, the following one can be challenged. Thus, when the militants started communicating with elders in the environment and ceasing fire to allow for dialogue, the understanding adjusted. The challenge to focus on is the business of leadership and the expected benefits in Niger Delta. From these, it is indicative that those asking for leadership by a member of the youths may not necessarily mean evil. Leadership is critical for the prosperity of all of us and the youths serve as a good target of first reference.

However, IF this effort and direction is ESSENTIALLY to necessarily get a member of the youths age bracket, the removal of big brother Jonathan and serial regrets of the spectacular opportunity and effects of Badamasi leadership make it questionable and suspect, for another covet objective. It is not the leadership of Nigeria that is the interest. And the followership is still sleeping but needs to wake up before the covet becomes overt. All individuals, groups or political organizations that are screaming love and affection for the youths must take note of this inadequacy and find improvements to it. And the youths must beware of the possible consequences of mislead by fellow members or those outside, who often have nothing to lose.

### **THE REAL STATUS OF THE YOUTHS IN LEADERSHIP**

It is grossly misleading to hang on only age as the criteria for solving the heaps of problems or challenges that elder Buhari symbolizes now. The problems have surely much less to do with age. We need not and must not be fooled by fools.

The carrot of making youths a good percentage of leadership is therefore both an intellectual slight and a possible opening for a selfish crave. If responsibilities will be mainly by age, love birds will best make a leading team. Not even in France, where love receives a lot of respect can adopt this. The requirements for leadership go far beyond age. That was why Obasanjo who is carrying a banner for youths

had expressed discomfort with some youths roaming in the State House during his presidency. And when Badamasi expressed the need to support what he called the NEW BREED, it was in Ibadan Obasanjo responded. He asked, if the new breed are not being found wanting all over, for dishonesty?

The members of the uniformed services in the Police, Prisons, Immigration, Navy, Air Force, Army, Civil Defence, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission that are doing Nigeria proud in the frontiers of Economy, Finance and Security are All Youths from their respective heads to toes. The overwhelming majority of the legislators in the National Assembly and States Houses of Assemblies are youths. The majority of our governors are youths. In fact this has been the status throughout our history. Members of the Boko Haram are youths. Members of the legally banned Islamic Movement in Kaduna State were youths. But has the factor of youthfulness driven the National Assembly under elder Buhari processed our National budget to make effective operations from January 1<sup>st</sup> a reasonable and sensible leadership achievement? After all the broken times of promises to pass the Petroleum Industry Governance Bill, even the transmission to the President was exposed as untrue after a month of passing the harmonized version. Is the delaying factor that of the few elder members in the National Assembly? The nominee for the leadership of the EFCC who was declined by the National Assembly was one of them in terms of age bracket. And the same leaders of the National Assembly have not differed in their evaluation of the EFCC when they went to its newly completed headquarters, from what elder Buhari expressed at its commissioning. Are the members of the leadership of both chambers not youths? The former questionable thieves or abusers of trust are almost completely made up of youths.

If one is to apply age as the singular or most important factor for leadership, the misfortunes of Niger State will compel the direct opposite to be a probable superior definition and approach to achieving prosperity. Niger State has in civil rule always enjoyed the governorship of youths. But the real misfortune of the State has been that the leaders have been SEEMING. They suffered from the identity of independent leadership.

This is why the much that Buhari missed in revealing that a chunk of sixty percent of our population that are youths are lazy, he was not as damaging as those who claim or submit that the youths are doing wonderfully well, without reference to the weight that requires attention and inhibitions to it. The drawback of Buhari's submission is that he did not top it up with the logical weight of responsibility because of the potentials of the youths. For the pretenders, deceivers and misleaders, the weight or magnitude of the challenge is not the focus. It is like: do

not even mention, put me there or put one of your own there and the problem will get solved. But if age were to be a universal solvent of leadership challenges Murtala will not need to have been killed, Buhari would not need to have been overthrown, Badamasi would not need to have stepped aside and Jonathan would not need to have been voted out. These mean that the youths have not just been involved and mostly responsible for both our problems and solutions BUT will inevitably continue to be so, as long as we ignore or do not care about the challenges of leadership and governance beyond AGE and even shamefully taking the irresponsible position of merely matching one age group (unclearly defined or assumed to be known) against another.

Any elder that assures that the youths will solve the challenges should be asked: What challenges and what did you do against allowing such magnitude of development? It will not be impressive to have failed more in checking the tide of unemployment while holding the first or highest trust of providing or making employment possible, when the pool was forty million and PERSONALLY absorbing three million after office, when the pool has grown to sixty million. To promise reasonable capacity to do so again may now not be dismissible BUT the WILL is questionable. And the person with questionable source of such capacity is better than the one with equally questionable capacity but has not done anything. The youths have the necessary responsibility to recognize those who have either stopped thinking, refused to think or lack the capacity to think for the benefit of all Nigerians. After the recognition, they must make efforts to educate them to become valuable members of our society or CHECK them But Not to Ignore them because they are an active source of our collective destruction.

### **THE DOUBLE MISFORTUNE OF THE PASSING YOUTHS**

Society is dynamic. The age of members is dynamic, indeed progressive because it cannot reduce. It can only increase except it is cut short or ceases. Therefore every and all elders have been green youths from being red youths after childhood and adolescence.

The Special peculiarity of the status and role of the youths is its potential and capacity to produce that enable prosperity for its members and others. For example, it has the highest potential and capacity to reproduce members of the society through active HETEROSEXUAL relationship, Conception, Pregnancy and Births. This is why, if you restrict members from getting married because of job definition, they can only adopt any discipline against conception in the case of women. The men may equally be controlled by some oath. But any time they break



these introduced barriers, they can co-complete the reproduction circle role. This is not to deny that the closer they move out of the bracket, the less the potential, capacity and ability to do so. It is also interesting to note that natural breastfeeding remains the best normal, standard nutritional source for the initial growth and development of the child. In a setting where marriage is not encouraged in this group because of carelessness about their optimal engagement, active sexual relationships can only be attended to with new disciplines. This may be use of contraceptives for 'safe' sex, homosexuality against pregnancy or 'indiscipline' like pregnancy by mistake, sexual harassment, single parenting, 'motherless' homes etc. will grow and develop. By implication, if the youths are well groomed there is a superior likelihood that the society will be safe, inspiring and progressive. If not, the very contrary will be the consequence.

And for every and all societies the members of the group do most of it for the entire society. In other words the youths do the production and grooming. If you go to the hospitals or naming ceremonies, the youths are the majority in giving birth. If you check with parents teachers associations youths are in majority.

The very same process and burden or responsibility applies to leadership. The provision of leadership and training for successive leadership is majorly, the business of the group in all societies. It is often by the green members, of the red members.

The first failure by the post first republic youths, especially the green youths who were in positions of our collective political, economic and social controls is double sided. One consists of the failure of **DISTINCTION** between **ROUTINE** works and services against the **SYSTEM** that will enable the works and services to continually meet the changing needs, wants and fancies of all members, in their variety, quality, quantity and expansion. Sometimes, the elite brushes on this by approaching or attempting reviews, amendments or updating of laws. A heavily documented one is the local government reforms. When you hear of colonial laws, rules or regulations attended to, this is the brushing. When Obasanjo came up with public service reform, this was a brushing. The Ph.D. in charge, with a supporting international expertise was effectively enjoying downsizing Only. When you hear people figuratively talk of applying the digital capacity instead of the analogue to our operations, it is a brushing. Their fascination with technological development stops at its availability whereas it is the use it is put to that matters. To appreciate the difference, the second facet that is defined by the works and services machinery in the three tiers of government have been working all these years. There is no doubt about what to do with resources and a lot of things have been

introduced. We can therefore generate a performance report for every year. No party or government will campaign or push a major idea or principle against the defined one of what is on the ground. They are always talking about the same inevitable survival needs, wants and fancies. They will build infrastructure, provide, water, electricity, rail coaches, drugs, more policemen etc. In effect, the best logical definition of this is that, governance is muddled up with administration and management. Unfortunately, even Administration and Management is fast collapsing. The blame is on corruption. But corruption is systematically a more product of system fixation. But the consistent greater failure of the youths in the successive generations to distinguish between the two and developing the system has inevitably set us up against one another. The crop or generation of the youths that have failed and are responsible for our present predicament are the present old generation that expands with those that are continually discharged from the age bracket of youths. Thus, anyone that was born between 1955 and 1956, as of today (May 2018) AND ALL PERSONS born earlier have contributed to this. They have occupied the positions of red and green youths and passed into the older/elder stage.

The second failure of this train of passing youths is in the universal responsibility of reproducing itself. This means that it is not able to make things happen close to their own experiences. It is not uncommon to hear this unfortunate confession leaked by elders from time to time. A typical form is that, my schooling was free. In my or our days merit was the focus. Jibril Aminu qualified as a surgeon with excellence from University of Ibadan even though he is from the Adamawa of today. I have read a narration by a retired Commandant of Nigerian Defence Academy to the effect that cadets who jumped the law of PASS were directed to be dismissed by Buhari even though many of them were Muslims and Hausas.

Thus, when in 2017 an elder takes a microphone to express disapproval, disenchantment and shock, over claims that immediate aides of Buhari that are not in business have grown to be billionaires or that his political kitchen is made up of his kinsmen, it is not supposed to be impressive. It is even a shame on him because the inadequacies have only grown and expanded. Himself and his likes share the systemic incapacity of Buhari. A superior action would have been to define the root of this rot, educate Buhari on it and advise on what is appropriate. The shame of belonging to the same party only points at belonging to the class of either, I will not do such and should replace Buhari or some other person should replace Buhari. But, when he becomes the president he discovers that the mountains of challenges and risks can cover some surrounding shit. Indeed the billionaire only grows with

time. At the end of the day none of Buhari, the rogue billionaire, the party or Nigeria was helped.

Thus, the systematic collapse of the existing system comes on course, because history is not static. If a system cannot grow and is not maintained, it will get weaker and weaker and start collapsing. The singular pointer is that the exiting generation from the top echelon of the public service are consistently more qualified and of value compared to succeeding ones. The previous, the older is often better.

The responses to these double failures have been in two forms that are related. The resources in trust are plundered to secure oneself against uncertain future. And it has been developed to the scope of consultancy or expertise for the system that was raped. The same circle of aging humans therefore continues as ticks on the system. At best, services overwhelm the needed goods production for the society. The other form is to engage in runaway training or reproduction of the group. One way is by concentrating all training for the use of the system or organization on self and fellow seniors that will soon qualify to exit. This will qualify them for the consultancy collaboration for further raping of public resources after service. Smarter new thieves (out of respect and to avoid dragging with the senior thieves) engage different collaborators. The other informal form is by using stolen resources to give their children quality training and exposure. The schools that train them are no more suitable and are uncared for. Where you find a continuous chain between the exited and successors, the successors are often real agents or errand boys of the seniors. Their independence and initiatives are killed. The few that refuse to be TOTAL FOOLS make ways to help themselves. The regime or government or leader that provided such openings most is logically both the most irresponsible to our collective interests and most responsible for our rot. The indicator is in the turnovers.

The logical inevitable consequence of this is that the system is growing weaker; the operators are more and more less competent, less committed and less willing for the collective good purpose of the system entrusted to them. And more seriously, the forthcoming breed will helplessly grow and develop under this weak structure. We are then told that the structure is the problem and needs to be changed. At the unit level we are told that removal of Buhari is the solution.

But WHO is free from the responsibility for the damages? It is the youths that are less competent, less trained and have been bred by the weak system. This is why the irregular Central Bank recruitment was really not illegal. And if an audit of

recruitments between 1999 and 2017 is to be conducted, the failure will impress a near hopeless future. If between GOWON and JONATHAN we are unable to build a national cultural orientation in and for public service EVEN AFTER THE DELIBERATE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR FEDERAL CHARACTER PRINCIPLES AND OPERATIONAL INSTITUTION SINCE 1999, any key participants in these scope of history should be ashamed to talk of restructuring or nationalism. This is why those who get very angry and helpless suggest that we re-engage (colonialists) as a solution. So, when anyone comes up to say “O YOUTHS!” what does he know and what does he mean and for what or for WHO?

### **THE REAL CHALLENGES OF GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA TODAY**

All the political parties and especially the ruling party and government must need to FIRST admit and recognize that there is a fundamental quality difference between Governance or Leadership and Administration or Management. And our situation is so bad that even the administration and management is poor. It is therefore lowly and even wicked to begin to harp on isolated administrative or management drawbacks. For instance no amount of replacement of service chiefs will make security challenges disappear. Take the case of the Boko Haram miscreants, without the children in their captivity; is it unthinkable that it will take the Nigerian Military more than two weeks to bring the hideouts down? If that complication applies to insurgents that are in a clearly OUTSIDE region, only madness will call for full military action WITHIN the jurisdiction of loyal citizens. The technical solution will hardly avoid unbearable costs. The thinking and suggestion that if Buhari cannot handle the herdsmen menace he should resign is therefore naive. And to add that all other achievements are inconsequential is academic, because it assumes that a time line for overcoming the problem has been established AFTER THE CERTIFICATION OF THE LOGISTIC CHALLENGES. A war is not like a ludo game where winning and losing are of no serious consequence. It can consequently be more foolish and borders on mischief or irresponsibility for one who should know to so express. There will be no difference between a former Scout, Prisons officer, Police officer, Customs officer, Immigration officer or Military chief.

We cannot comfortably now claim that we have started experiencing GOVERNANCE, which is our ultimate objective. We must avoid being bogged down on the level of Administration and Management. We have been replacing or switching at all levels. In fact we have heard a level of unimaginable daft expression from a fixed intelligence in the form of CHANGE THE CHANGE.

How can a reasonable and sensible person that has matured in historical experience excuse himself of mischief when tomorrow is asked to be reached by rubbing off today? In other words the ruling party and government must further admit and recognize that it has not significantly started to use the mandate given to it for the utmost needs of this country.

Unless and until attention is turned to our System development, no efforts can give us the optimal benefits that we deserve. Our institutions are weak, our Operators are less competent with dangerous UNWILLING orientations.

The greatest weakness or problem with the ousted PDP is stealing, abuse of trust, privatization of public resources. And the seeming carelessness of the leader was a booster to this dastardly tradition. Buhari is clearly and personally a much great positive difference. But we have discovered that it is NOT ENOUGH. We require more members of the leadership to be like Buhari. And we can fairly guess on the rate and level of positive difference IF his immediate aides, more members of the executive, legislature and judiciary are like him. The international community with its share of aiding us is necessarily based on the platform we provide. It will therefore be irrational and senseless to move FORWARD at any expense of honesty, for the safety of most of our resources. It will be easier AFTER Buhari if stealing becomes a wrong and not a culture. Then, MOST TRUSTEES will not be inclined to stealing. When thieves are discovered it will not be A GOOD NUMBER OF THE LEADERS.

Buhari cannot claim, has not claimed and will never claim that he is the only man with integrity. In the same fashion, there are at least hundreds of youths who can lead us out of the woods. BUT, which party is committed to breeding or has bred such? From the analysis above, it is a hopeful EXCEPTION. I have read laughable suggestions from highly schooled individuals with opportune platforms to be necessarily heard, that Buhari has tens of APC colleagues that can save him from the rattling burden of leadership. Some individuals even had the misfortune to be mentioned. The ACT of PRESIDENCY requires more and more than what to say or do to FIX Nigeria. The critical role and behaviour of the legislature in this dispensation is a good lesson. When PDP had that clear advantage, THE LATENT FACTORS THAT DISABLED it from Checking the Executive SHOULD BE OF GREATER INTEREST AND CONCERN. This is contrary to TAKING OVER, a desperation that is as backward or more backward than where we are because IT CLEARLY IGNORES the real challenges of needed governance even after sixteen years in power.

And the urgency for this refocusing by all the opposition parties and especially the ruling party and government lies in the absolute truth that Buhari is not indispensable. He could have declined interest to contest again. We could have lost him to non-recovery to his health challenge. But we will collectively not be worth mentioning if we ignore the quality difference he still represents. And it will be wicked to avoid it in the face of uncertainty for a substitute.

Those who are or have been close to the role of the LEADERSHIP of this country KNOW that it is not a fine signature or good grammar that gives the Leader his integrity. He has to EARN or COMMAND it. You earn it from those who willingly submit because they are not fools. They have the ability to evaluate things. And you have to command it from deviants and rascals who resist to insist on continuing to do what is wrong. This is how and what have made it possible to CHECK senatorial diarrhoea like: Nobody talks of elections when a country is at war. When this is seconded to the international community by a Chief Security Adviser, only a command can correct such levels of deviation from the reality of Nigeria in the last quarter of 2014.

As a result, it appears to me that the public machinery and services STILL REMAIN THE MOST CRITICAL FOR SUCH POSITIVE ATTENTION THAT WILL DEFINITELY SORT US OUT.

## **THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND HISTORICAL CHALLENGE**

We have been dragging to settle the modalities of operating our constitutional provision of mixed economy under the challenge of a crisis ridden public ownership and control of resources. By craze of inordinate selfishness or real daftness, we have abandoned or avoided the correction of formerly well working and serving public institutions and resources. And the excuse remains the covering by corrupt practices that did not exclude their being affected. We never considered the roots of the corruption. To date, we are yet to face that challenge.

The lousy option of what was going on where systems are working should be transplanted was adopted by the youths then in power. In the absence of a system, they (public assets) were sold to MONIED Nigerians who had no real capacities to do as well as the disbanded institutions. Public resources went to private hands and everybody has been suffering more. Electricity service is the most embarrassing and most irresponsible because of its key role in the chain of productivity conditions. The same key players as youths in this collective rape of our resources

are the champions of youth concerns or superiority. This is immoral of them. But do they have morality?

The oil and gas sector that escaped, continued to serve as AN EXCUSE FOR ELITE PROSTITUTION IN THE FORMS OF OFFICIAL SUBSIDIES OR INFORMAL REGULAR DROPS. Inside and outside thieves made it a meeting point for their turns in self-enrichment to compensate for not having shares in the privatization of public resources.

Now, it is being expanded through the sexy debate of restructuring. The thieves outside and those inside positions of public trust along with their agents in the media are in trio socialization of innocent and blank citizens for another wedding. And it is the most privileged former youths who have resoundingly failed in the greatest of their universal responsibilities that are again leading. And as in previous cases or circumstances, they will not end up losing out. But all others will lose out. The current youths in control of affairs will serve themselves but disserve our collectivity. The youths not in control will become even worse off.

The recognition of political identity in relation to our history is therefore important in choosing who or what to side with. If pre-colonial and colonial structures worked and post-colonial ones are said not to work, WHEN and HOW did they stop working? Those who wish to get closer to the wombs they came from lose sight of the fact that returning to the real YESTERDAY is a mirage and gone forever. You cannot destroy what you have and expect it to serve you. It is like taking people who are seeing for a laboratory test by a blind person, inside a tunnel.

Like with a currency coin, the head or tail can still be the same coin IF the tossing will not throw away the coin. All opposition parties and especially the ruling party and government must resist this wool covers that will disallow proper vision. This is why the partial or full privatization of the oil and gas sectors can be dumbly.

We are required to transit from a system failure status to the state of SYSTEM RECOVERY and connect with governance. Then our administration and management will begin to cover our number and varieties, of our needs, wants and fancies.

## **OUR IMMEDIATE REQUIRED NECESSARY EVALUATION**

For all citizens who must care, for the opposition parties that should strive to serve as alternative windows and especially the ruling party and government: WITH

ALL THE CREDENTIALS AND DETERMINATION OF BUHARI WHY HAS HE ACHIEVED MUCH LESS THAN EVEN HIS OWN EXPECTATIONS? If it is the legislature for instance, WHY did such difficulty develop? If the difficulty was covered what would have been the consequence? Without Buhari HOW are we likely to fare IF the leader is propped up by a similar arrangement and he sticks like Buhari? What if he has a rosy platform, can he venture this approach? These are the sort of questions and answers we should be discussing and Not the person of Buhari. Thus, if the judiciary is the real problem in terms of the speed at which we are moving, what should be done about it?

The electorate for instance are beginning to consciously weigh the benefit or harm that the DELEGATES can play in our political process. This is what the part of the press that is free in principle and commitment to our nationhood should hammer and champion.

The choice of party with ANY CANDIDATES is now showing its limitations with the majority of APC membership and leadership in the National Assembly against Buhari.

Between collecting unimaginable entitlements that can be shared through projects and sole commitment to the responsibility of making good laws is becoming clearer with both the electorate and the legislators. Some now fear to visit home; some have received the threat of recall. For a Distinguished Senator under legal custody to jump out of a moving vehicle or a Distinguished leader to be legally charged for lines of dishonesty are not impressive for our challenge of governance. It may add a fanciful credit to the executive but is not what should have happened in the first place. How the parties and electorate will avoid this in the future is an immediate challenge. This reorientation is a superior priority for political parties.

Therefore, especially the ruling party and government must keep its self-criticism and evaluation atop. The things suggested to be problems must be attended to immediately, early or quickly. If the party happens to get another mandate and is handed to its flag bearer, we expect superior association with timeliness. If the channels of political relationships can get blocked, this is the time to flush the debris out. For instance, just as it is uncomfortable to have fraud cases last forever without conviction or discharge, it is anti-Nigeria to mislead Nigerians that the PIGB harmonized and passed bill has been transmitted to the President, only to discover that the Legislature was still ‘working’ on it administratively after a month. And it cannot be impressive to have an official mail from the office of the Vice President to the table of the President getting stuck for three months, until the



official is opportune to hand a copy to the president personally. In fact it will be worse for a non-official to have ACCESS to the correspondence of the President by ANYBODY.

The appointment of Tinubu to encourage reconciliation of anti-party activities was perfect and could have been earlier. The condition of inevitability producing positive results is not good for history. We are not a cart subject to the pushing or drawing of any owner. The development of getting a new Chairman who is promising party discipline along with dialogue and consultations is wonderful. Enough of the credit of loyalty to the President.

The period between now and elections need to show the capacity to deal with strong disagreements, especially if they bear outright criminal credentials or insubordination of the system. More credit can be lost if it has to wait for a new term. The INTEREST of the Polity is superior to Any Age and Relationships in a formal or informal setting. It is ALWAYS for the Leader to bear positive pains like the discharge of Babachir and the unfitting bears the negative pains, like Babachir. COMFORT MUST ALWAYS BE FOR THE POLITY, FOR THE INSTITUTION, FOR THE SERVICE.