

**2019 TRANSITION DEFINITIONS AS THE BASIS FOR TRANSITION
AGENDA**



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INTRODUCTION

For the critical objective of contributing to history making or participating in the process, a fair but right understanding of the characteristics is fundamental. There must be a beginning or starting point and a bus stop that must be the best reference for any generation. This will be the motor or driver for moving forward.

For the present generation, 1999 when we embraced civil rule is the most appropriate beginning because, it is the longest running, is still on and the chances are that it will not cease, in the coming century. Previous experiences were interrupted by non-civil rule. Of the thirty nine years before this time, less than a broken decade was the exposure. To have a running nineteen years is therefore the best basis to take off.

And the ripest or most fitting time is between 2015 and 2019. This is because leadership has changed from the hands of those who have become exposed as aimless, selfish and destructive to those who are believed to be caring and committed to general good. And the larger further entrustment of governance mandate to the same hands certifies that some things were wrong and need to be completely or further corrected or must not be given room to reappear.

What is therefore established for all is that, we are yet to be at our desired destination or track, for proper railing. The Peoples Democratic Party was evil and the All Progressives Party is making the effort to make a difference. The possible empowerment of the APC by effective breakers of the PDP who broke away again to the PDP is the best pointer to the difference between the PDP and the APC. The electorate who have given more and overwhelming support to the APC again have demonstrated the preference for care and commitment to general good over aimlessness, selfishness and destruction.

The logical and sensible fallouts from this right agreement is the lame voice of the devils, that APC is not totally clean and the firm defence by the APC that mending the damages taken over is a more critical challenge. The weight and scope of the injuries inflicted on the collective integrity of Nigerians for sixteen years requires such specialist surgery that no intelligent person will be diverted by the bruises. When the cuts are stitched bruises can become priorities. This means that, for the benefit of all of us, the leadership and government of the All Progressives

Congress needs as much guidance as the Peoples Democratic Party must be corrected.

The best time and circumstance is now.

AFTER 2015 ELECTIONS

Results of the elections were logically announced and the winners declared. And of all elections, the presidential election should continue to be the most attractive. The logic and sense in this is that it will continue to be the best means of expressing both our sense of unity and our measurement of the solution to our collective challenges. The candidate will ordinarily symbolize the characteristics the party and its leaders are willing to really submit to, irrespective of their campaign declarations. The personality of the leader is very critical. As a result, if the leaders of a party agree to sponsor a crook and the electorate decide by outweigh, to give him the mandate, which will be Nigeria at that time. The same will apply if the choice is an auditor. And this will be so if sustained by the judiciary. In the past it was common to refer the matter to the courts for a final seal. It had in some cases taken more than a year to assure the declared winner that he can commit his full attention to governance. The unity and strength of state polities or otherwise are similarly so expressed by the candidate in relation to the electorate.

In the case of 2015 elections, Goodluck Jonathan admitted defeat and congratulated Muhammadu Buhari before the results were finally added up. The accompanying stories of the advice of a phony band for peace, unverified international pressures or the lies against key members of his government that they pressed him to accept the results, are all inconsequential. Even the allegations against some heads of foreign governments to have supported Buhari are inconsequential. The internal regrets by the Peoples Democratic Party, explained by the indiscipline of the leadership in managing the funds for the elections or the careless handling of key players who deserted to the opposition or the refusal of Jonathan to sacrifice his constitutional right to contest or the risk of slighting those that Nigeria belongs to etc. are all inconsequential. His admission before the declaration will remain honourable. The same results were also adjudged to be the fairest since 1999. This credit is a practical build up on the admission of his

predecessor, Umaru Musa, that his election was coloured with wrongs and that they will improve on it.

Muhammadu Buhari therefore came on board with a freer breath of electoral results. And from outside, he led the party to promise attending to the menace of insurgents, corruption and poverty. On assumption of office, when he started discovering the challenges he has to overcome, independent of the promises he made from outside the government, he felt like regretting asking for the mandate or throwing in the towel. Yemi Osinbajo would have simply taken up the mantle. But this is now inconsequential.

Thus two years after the elections, Buhari and his All Progressives Congress was locked into demonstrating that it has been better against the indications by the Peoples Democratic Party that it has at best, not made any difference or that it has performed worse.

One meeting point between the two was the status of the resources of the state when Buhari assumed office. The government screamed and promised that it will not stop blaming its predecessor because of how incapacitated it has become, to deliver the dividends of democracy. The most irresponsible response to this was that he was elected to fix things and not to complain. The present cannot be isolated from the immediate past. The present is the foundation for tomorrow. This is an inevitable process. And in a civil setting where sharing is a typical characteristic of continuity, silence will depend upon the magnitude of damage. Connecting with the past for correction is a normal process through audit and inspections or visits. However, when a system is grounded the process of connection will be abnormal or extraordinary. But the complaint does not have to continue forever. And it did continue to reduce as time unfolded. This is positive because it amounts to responsiveness.

What enabled this was the regrowth and development of the resources with a reasonable flow from the recoveries of thefts. For the first time, billions were associated with non-businessmen who plundered public resources. In some cases that level of monies in different hard currencies were recovered from individuals who neither had two heads, mouths, stomachs nor walking on four or six legs. Top uniform and bureaucratic personnel, Governors, Ministers were part of it. Peoples

Democratic Party and its allies faulted the achievements in terms of decimal variation of fiscal readings or rating by some self-appointed bodies that busy themselves with the affairs of others. Furthermore, they cried out against witch-hunt as political targets. Those who are found to be thieves should be left alone if they happen to be PDP stalwarts. And better still, what is the statistical record of convictions? The ruling party and government did not however assure its members of safety. A former governor was jailed and the president of the Senate got relief on technical grounds. The evidences of corruption in the judiciary and top members of the bar weakened the possibility of relying on the judiciary and lawyers for fighting corruption effectively and efficiently. The recoveries were therefore star achievements.

However, this is not to suggest a good pass for the government. The ultimate target for governance dividends is the ordinary citizens. The entrepreneurship programs of the government targeted to the youths and market women, the skilled and unskilled across different trades and services have made presence across the states. But the rate of graduation from universities and polytechnics and the volume indicate the need to at least quadruple the efforts, to make the impact felt. This human side is more complex to manage when compared to the building of lifeless infrastructure facilities. Thus, it cannot be said to have been ignored, but a lot remains outstanding to be done. The explanation by the ruling party and government that is easier to create poverty than to heal it or to create prosperity is reasonable but needs to be sensible enough.

The challenge of insurgents was another. The insistence of the main opposition that it was still a worrisome concern is not disputable. But it had no witnesses to deny that physically captured territories have been effectively recovered. More students in captivity were gotten back. Indeed, even the president of the Senate managed the procedural excesses of the President in committing reserved resources for acquisition of war power equipment to strengthen sustenance of the technical successes. Niger Delta militancy started giving a benefit of the doubt with listening ears. Secession became more and more opportunistic for a new club isolated itself from the realities of the transformation process. The larger elite were only effectively divided between those who believe that the approach of the PDP was welcome to continue and those who believe that a different approach is superior in serving everybody. But Robberies, Kidnapping and maiming of innocent citizens

was on the rise. The herdsmen exploits in different parts of the country was embarrassing. The PDP cannot be dismissed in these observations.

To deal with these forms of insecurity, the ruling party and government evidently improved the level of policing. More hands were recruited, more relevant trainings were floated and the reward system was raised. The same applies to the military. To both, working tools and arms were made available. And it will be difficult to deny the difference of their impact in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and coverage. If the difference is yet to be enough, it is rightly on course. And in a civil setting, where straight crushing is not sensible, against the insurgents because of their holding many citizens that we insist on getting back, it is even trickier in the case of robbers and kidnappers. And it is to the credit of the government that thousands have been rescued while a good number of the criminals were killed.

Another facet relates to the personality of the leader, Muhammadu Buhari. He has been accused of either non accessibility or that he does not take advice. This is grievous for good governance. The effect of this was not said to be oppression or autocracy or highhandedness. It was rather that, he was not personally in control. In his place is a cabal. No matter the amount of denials the President put up, the challenge appeared to be finer than presented. This is because it is impossible to dismiss the very same expression by his bosom wife, just as the express dismissal of the same by Asiwaju Tinubu needs to be taken seriously. At the center of it, the President is personally accountable. And the disappearance of the arrowhead of the suspected or fingered cabal from the cameras speaks volumes of regret. The value of responsiveness lies in its timeliness.

As critical and disturbing as this drawback can be to governance, it became clear that the worry or quarrel with Buhari or whatever cabal, had nothing to do with the collective interests of Nigerians. Rather, it was their personal interests. This was personally stated by the president of the Senate in his home state before he returned to their traditional party. He submitted that he spent a lot to make Buhari and the party win the 2015 elections but has not been patronized with appointments slots. He even mentioned key economic institutions he expected to be granted the slots to provide the leaders. And the embarrassing part of the submission was that he deliberately championed difficult relationship with the President to make his point. This is the kind of material the president or the cabal had, to work with. The

volunteered case of Atiku was not different. He alleged the same thing and appeared to be speaking for the nation. But when he became the flag bearer of his party, the economic blueprint was not available. The leaders of the resistors in the APC were really only for themselves. And their moving to their most fitting party proved that they were not part of those genuinely critical of the personality of the leader.

The ruling party and government had similarly faced the criticism of abuse of time. And the window of justifiable reference was the time it took, to constitute the leadership team of the government. The submission of the national budget was not different. Appointments to Councils and Boards were embarrassing. It did not require any legislative approval and at the end dead persons were on the approved list. This was painful even for stalwarts of the All Progressives Congress, after a direct word that it would be done in a month from the day of his appeal meeting. The chieftains of Buhari Support Organization had to scream with laced threats because they were not attended to. The declaration of the President that, he was not for anybody but for everybody who beginning not to be clear. This was because a pattern of being for some bodies was thickening. The opposition topped it up with the definition of nepotism. This compelled the government to publish the details and analysis of appointments in self-defence.

The consciousness of time for responsible governance is however always related to the character of the variables at play. Like, the President submitted to his political colleagues, the restraint of resources to service the political appointments was an obstacle. This is not a challenge to wish away by any responsible leader. The outright immature disposition of the leadership of the legislature worsened whatever grade of insensitivity can be attached to the executive. The structure of going on recess in relation to processing the National Budget was beyond bearing for any reason and sense. The eventual admission by the president of the Senate that it was deliberate, for personal reasons, settled it. All the stories of a Budget properly arriving to the legislature dead; that the legislature is not a rubber stamp; and that the agencies were not responsive or logistics for oversight functions were inadequate, were wools over the eyes of the electorate. They were smokescreens to cover the deliberate collective mischief of the president of the Senate and his team. It was sealed by the partisan posture of the leadership when they met and declared that they were fully in support of their leader. But the effect was against the

electorate and not Mr. President. It is the most irresponsible posture to act, for members of the same leadership. No leadership will expect or deserves such.

Over and above this, came the hand that compelled Obasanjo to adopt invisible or unpredictable method of shopping for food items he was fed with; the hand that was associated with contributory hit on Umaru; the very hand that appeared in daylight and made Jonathan to 'run' for his life. This hand sneaked in and got Buhari out of stability. But beyond chance, because medication and good nursing were the best available **WITH NO CERTAINTY**, Buhari crossed over. Osinbajo even faced the real wild ambitions of the aides that were constitutionally entrusted to him for continuity of governance. The romance with agents of the dark hand and the opposition gave them the confidence that, Buhari will either not return or it was a matter of a short time. When he returned and indicated that he will return, reaffirmed the confidence. He did return and even passed by to see his doctors on his way from meeting Trump. But he has overcome whatever. The Bishop of the Church of England said it was a proof, of the miracle of God. That prayers are capable of achieving the unbelievable. Thus, whatever Buhari was able to achieve in this circumstances is truly appreciable and commendable.

And there was the allegation that Buhari and the ruling party were failing in strengthening the unity of Nigeria. The indicator for this was the secessionist traits in southeast of Nigeria with veiled but growing armed characteristics. This was available for fanning by the opposition. Part of the Niger Delta militants was wooed into it. The south east politicians had members who played neutrality to let them get a hearing. And most of the others were restive because they believe that they deserve more than constitutional equality for participating in the government they did not vote for. The opposition built on this by a quick constitution amendment process driven by objectives that are really selfish. Many naive compatriots fell for it. Sectional groups and the leaders started making pronouncements with implications that were both unreasonable and senseless. The media and the blindfolded citizens were taken on a disaster ride to no destination. This was most typical in the vomit of a priest who dabbled into politics. He was impressed by the following behind the notorious trend and misthought that democracy is **ANYTHING**. Then key legislators took up the sponsorship of the leader.

On the part of the ruling party and government were the revelations from the details of the source of arms discovered by the Customs Authority. This was followed up with international relations of interests with Turkey. Because the form of politics had become unconstitutional, the government had to eventually dis-ventilate the arms characteristics of the group. The judiciary was resorted to. The sponsors were failed by their sentiments. The sectional leaders started breaking up. The process of constitutional amendments proved to be fraudulent because there were no states electorate debates, the states houses of assemblies were not properly educated; the Speakers were cajoled or lured into resolutions, by the president of the Senate and Speaker. The time was too short for swallowing some of the resolutions even though some were attractive. The nursing of impeaching the President was not too popular. And both houses of the National Assembly were not mad enough to admit a ‘unity’ arrangement outside resources ownership and control. Only God can compel Satan and his agents to permit good. The unity of Nigeria survived across the valley of death.

BEFORE THE 2019 ELECTIONS

The period the opposition has been out of power, the failure of intriguing mischiefs to disorganize the ruling party and government and the real difference that has become possible to show by the ruling party and government, have not helped the reorientation of the Peoples Democratic Party. It has therefore proceeded to launch opposition and even led the same on terms that appeared to it to be the only available windows.

The takeoff point was the person of Muhammadu Buhari. He is old and has been seriously sick. So much effort and resources were invested into making this point. The level and duration began to inflict disorientation of common citizens that are ignorant or naive to evaluate the issue. The old age began to appear to be a crime or at least an index of a necessary minus in measuring the competence for leadership or governance. And ill health became more consequential or irrespective of recovery. Indeed some lousy analysts capped it up by defining his withdrawal as the path to having his name written in gold. He was further encouraged with the suggestion to groom younger politicians to succeed him. These opposition intellectuals even suggested names directed by their principals. The named later moved from the All Progressives Congress to where they properly belong, the

Peoples Democratic Party. The named were consistently touted by the Principals/Generals when Buhari returned from his sick leave and later contested for the presidency on the same platform. After the declaration by Buhari that he has decided to ask for the mandate again, it became necessary for the principals to give open value to the point.

In the All Progressives Congress, the first diplomatic response was that he has the constitutional right to ask for a second term. This melted the ambitions of those who had no respect for Osinbajo and compelled the earlier invisible pillars of the opposition in the party to show up. The group came up under the claim responsibility for enabling the party win the 2015 elections. Baraje and Galadima served as the zonal vehicles. And the doctor general with remnant credibility released the epistle of ANTI BUHARI with a democratic call to have a coalition. The voices that know that leadership does not isolate knowledge from discipline announced that only persons with integrity deserve attention for guidance. It will therefore be illogical for one who gives oil well license for sex to be reliable on the management of oil wells. It will be senseless to listen to one who is reputable for giving his word and eating it, for consistent guidance. It will be dangerous to flow along with a grand manipulator of religion or a notorious ambitious unethical intelligence professional. Then the Peoples Democratic Party real certified agents regrouped for a political ride.

The All Progressives Congress flaunted the corruption-free and performance records of Buhari, to make him the real candidate to beat. The opposition leading Party started with disrespect from within for the principals on the leadership of the party. Its culture of money is right eventually determined the flag bearer. The make-ups necessary were set in motion on the broad shoulders of the **WINNER** in their game. Critical reconciliation led to confusion between the real party and the mystery coalition. The attractions based on the age propaganda were left to form themselves. Key competitors became engaged in the services of the winner. And the collective credibility of the new team was a fog of thunderstorms if lighted. It was a combination of ingratitude, inordinate greed, obsessive ambition and criminality. This was the seeming personification that the leading opposition provided. Against the presentation of Buhari where morality of public resources is an issue, they symbolized at best, morality by their discretion.

Thus, the credibility of the leader became a point of competition. And it was for Peoples Democratic Party to defend itself and the candidate. It was gruesome. From visiting the United States through being proved to be a liar by finance and communication organizations said to have been reasonably taken over by the family members of Buhari, to open support by groups of questionable honour like witches, prostitutes, gays and lesbians. The clerics that associate with him quickly turned evil. The party had more new candidates to put up to contest because it has less than the ruling party holding states. And its candidates were only most fitting to work with the leader.

On the economy, the ‘blueprint’ and economist running mate package of the opposition was not impressive enough against the infrastructural performance of Buhari and the slim impact on humans that appeared promissory. This was worsened by the blunder of privatization of refineries to friends and associates. No master or student of liberal economics can understand replacing productivity and profit forces or objectives with friends and associates. It was easier to understand intended or planned Next Level from low performance.

On security, it was not tactical to offer or promise that insurgency will be curbed in weeks, as if the candidate is a co-sponsor of the evil. And the lie that he had personally called to sympathize with a widow of a fallen officer into the hands of the terrorists was rightly defined as callous.

On the promise to unite Nigeria that was falling into pieces, the groups that were front believers in this were declaring withdrawals from assumed declared support for the opposition or giving Buhari the benefit of the doubt. The sectional groups’ leaderships were breaking up. They were either declaring support for Buhari or were questioning any claimed support for Atiku or any candidate. It was a lone voice that announced support for the opposition leader.

On the health and stamina of Buhari, the prediction that he will fail was not witnessed. He was not flown out for treatment. He did not die. He attended to between two and three states on every outing. No candidate of any other political party achieved such.

The summary consequence of the opportunity to ask for the mandate of Nigerians again therefore revealed the poverty of the opposition and especially the leading

Peoples Democratic Party in weighty or uncompromisable facets. At the forefront is that of personal integrity of the individuals leading. What is right and who is right is measured by the amount of money and influence one can muster. The influence is often a combination of authority of the office occupied, the number of members one can pay for to act out his script and the amount of violence one can ignite. The poverty of sacrifice by the leaders was to permit the coming up of younger members. The principals/Generals were unable to guide only and the leaders continue to stick even as their credibility was dropping. In seeming cases where others were brought out, they were too weak and had to operate as stooges. This poverty is most applicable to the Peoples Democratic Party because it was in power for sixteen years. The worst poverty aspect is that of genuine patriotism. Its shabby but expensive performance for the period it was in power is the prove. The thieving, uncompleted projects, privatization of public assets etc. reveal this.

The screams and letters about the preference, superiority or deserve of the youth over the old, to govern Nigeria became demystified. As for chronological age, the flag bearer of the leading opposition, was in the same age bracket with Buhari. The fingered youth that ignited the probable reality of the coalition had to join an existing political structure to give teeth to his dream. Most of the parties that could muster a win were in the same class. Those that were adventurous in answering the call of the youths discovered that they were left to be on their own. A civil frontline protester who mistook political contest to be the same ended up withdrawing late and had to face the challenge of accountability or refunds. The reality of what is right became far ahead of overseas-comfort analysts perceptions or columnists grammar. Political foot soldiers were more real in determining the course of records.

AFTER THE 2019 ELECTIONS

The electorate went to the polls and the Independent National Electoral Commission evaluated the process. Buhari became the winner with a margin that only the sick will bother to challenge. The observers submitted that the process was peaceful and credible, above the pockets of violence and records of irregularities. Only a twisted mind of a foreign diplomat will rate the process as not credible, in expectation that the process needs to be perfect. Indeed, the quality of the process is higher than that of 2015. The percentage of voter participation is in

comparison to the outing of 2015 not poor. And the transparency was higher. Riggers were taken unawares to discover that the measure of votes was in relation to registered voters who had collected their cards.

The association of the Peoples Democratic Party with questionable gestures to referees of the process and technical head in the Independent National Electoral Commission was damaging. It gave credit to the decision of the Commission in rescheduling the presidential election. The follow up with reformatting electronic reading machines, the request by the All Progressives Congress to have the Resident Electoral Commissioners swapped and the association of the Peoples Democratic Party Director of campaign with a hacker all exposed its obsession for power. This agreed with the leaks that the Electoral Commission server was receiving results of elections that were rescheduled before its commencement. The competitive role in alleged vote buying only darkened the Peoples Democratic Party more. And Buhari covered all the irregularities his party can be accused of by not using government funds for the campaigns. This attracted international democrats to invite other leaders to do the same. This feat is as honourable as the phone call by Goodluck to Buhari in 2015, to accept defeat and congratulate Buhari.

Against numerous dissuasions, by PDP ordinarily members, a Principal, foreign voices, the loser flag bearer of the Peoples Democratic Party declared the option of overturning the win of Buhari and the All Progressives Congress, by the Judicial process. To his personal shock, the volume of votes cast in the north east region were neither for him nor possible. He expected that the bomb scare before the elections should have affected the turnout and insurgents had killed most of the voters. The elections of the governors and states houses of assemblies healed his misbelief. A strong woman stalwart of his, recorded her disappointment over the betrayal of Atiku after he had mobilized his trustees for the votes. She was specifically pissed off for the billions for Kano and hundreds of millions for Jigawa. For the Peoples Democratic Party, money pays to buy. It learnt that it may not be assuredly, disappointedly. And in law, the right or admissible status of both evidence and presenter are critical to determining what is just.

The ruling party and government therefore returned to governance matters including preparations for the transition ceremonies for its continuity with the

promised and approved Next Level. More members of the Peoples Democratic Party are joining the All Progressives Congress. And Atiku is in trial marriage with willing chieftains of the bar.

LESSONS FOR THE NEXT TRANSITION

The first is that the desirability and possibility of having youths, take over the governance of Nigeria is a more serious challenge than the combination of wishful thinking and constitutional provisions. The old generation has to be committed to grooming the youths. They will need to be involved in the process of leadership to grow to higher levels. Then, it may become meaningful and comfortable to make financial sacrifices to support the youths. This is because the cost of contesting for office is not the right target for first attention. Indeed it will either not get down or does not need to. What is now the high price PDP is paying even though it was in power for over a decade, the APC will need to start early. And it has a good reference potential in Asiwaju Tinubu. It can build on this. The quality of this effort showed up with the new concept of Abuja boys block in the drama of Ambode's bid for a second term. Tinubu had his way but with growing respect for others.

A second lesson is that, the electorate needs more political education on what is absolutely right in relation to what is transitional or has options. It will always help in political calculations. It is for instance foolhardy to adopt a political party for traditional belonging without actively participating in its promotion. This will almost always lead to political helplessness in the end. The best one can honourably fall back to will be the limits of discretion defined by constitutional provisions. You cannot politically abuse your opportunity or advantage and later scream of being sidelined. The structures and processes are not for fun. If they were, the laws would have provided them as such. A party with no spread of membership and enough wins cannot provide a President. Two-thirds of the States and at least twenty-five percent of the voters in those states is the standard. No reference or scream outside the members of the chambers of the National Assembly therefore is right to determine their leadership. Where the arrangement for participation is open, leadership cannot open to more than the winning participants. It will be immoral to ask for such. It will be backward in democracy. The most rational and sensible step to take will be to wake up to the common rules.

Thirdly, the amount of votes the leading opposition leader has gotten in spite of all real negative credentials he rode on, is a good alert for the ruling party and government. Even in Aso Villa the margin of win by the opposition that was slim is a serious political expression. The votes express the weight of those willing or who do not mind all the risks, disadvantages, negativities that Peoples Democratic Party is associated with to take over the governance burden. A fair proportion of them may be sure-beneficiaries should the PDP win. But most of them will be poorly educated and have given up for some relief. The All Progressives Congress and Government must therefore not assume that the rot of Peoples Democratic Party is absolutely lacking in all values.

A fourth deduction is that as a Nation, we run into the embarrassing risk of joining our nationhood with prejudices or secondary or even selfish interests. The worst that can happen to a polity is for politicians not know and keep to the limits that will protect our collective identity. Any individual, group, party or sections that attempt or thread this unholy path must be stopped immediately and punished for it. Our unity and oneness is the foundation for our prosperity. Any form of interference with it is backward and irresponsible. This bus stop must be lived by every citizen by education and orientation. It cannot be a part time, seasonal affair. It must be a permanent commitment and reference. Beyond our books, our policies, actions, culture and orientation must not mistake this. And the All Progressives Congress has to lead in this responsibility of making our nationhood nonnegotiable. There is no doubting the history that governments have since independence not fared well in this direction or responsibility. The military by virtue of its regimental culture did attempt this, but the leaders were not developed enough to realize it. The more grown civilians that operated the government machinery failed to develop the system and culture that will propagate nationalism. But it will be worse if we recognize this and build on the weaknesses the political elite has been feeding fat on. There is no iota of reason and sense in the belief that a common interest cannot be driven by any member, given the ground rules. The colors must therefore not be allowed to destroy the substance. We must start somewhere and that where is defined by the structures and processes on the ground.

A fifth lesson is the evident weak party discipline across all the parties. When in government, the party leadership may compete with those in government. It is even

clearer when not in power. The loyalty of the members to the party as a common reference point is often personalized. The lifeline of the party is therefore either a seasonal resort or the determination of those who fund it. This setting makes almost impossible for new competences to crop up. The dues of the party are rarely obliged. Indeed in addition to not treating such obligations as sacrosanct, the members seek for government patronage. And those who 'volunteered' to fund the party logically lead in this. In a setting where the party lacks independent financial power and discipline of organization, it will not serve as a neutral and protective platform for every member. And it cannot give what it does not have to the polity.

A sixth understanding is that both the ruling party and the opposition largely divert from the common course of national development, to differ in methods or approach. The opposition largely remains at the levels of personalizing leadership actions or physical projects execution. This is why in the experience of the Buhari governance; budget processing was always a problem. The consequence of this is that the ruling party and government spend a lot of time and resources on defence rather than responding to criticisms that will strengthen governance. Thus, government is more engaged in administration and management as against leadership.

The seventh realization is that personality is a critical count for the politics and leadership that will serve us for peace and prosperity. The power of his above average honesty and the evident fear of Allah that go with the identity of Buhari have been his strength. These are universal disciplinary attributes that assuredly provide security for everyone. The combination of this with training qualifications of any expertise makes a superb leadership competence. On the contrary, no sky level qualifications combined with the bankruptcy of universal disciplinary attributes will make a fair serving leader for any society. This is why the constitution has been allowing people with minimal schooling combined with some experiential exposition in public life. However, universal disciplinary attributes are for regular witnessing by people. No terminal certification is available for these. A doctor of theology or military marksman who is a thief or lacks moral limits as defined by the body of truths we believe in is certainly empty in the need power for motoring collective will. This is the only desirable unity term for competition between politicians and political parties. The absence or weakness of this common ground is responsible for the difficult to impossible relationships

between the ruling party and government against the opposition. It is impossible to either move ahead or without a serious hurt where rape of public resources is a crime to the government and the opposition is of the stand that it is anything less. This unacceptable term is responsible for the exceptional swearing by Buhari that he will never accept anybody's hand for cooperation to accommodate thieves. Consequently, universal disciplinary attributes like honesty, truthfulness, knowledge and fear of Allah, keeping to limits in family and social life, discriminating between what is prohibited and what is **permissible**.

Transition is a permanent process. History is dynamic. Movement is therefore inevitable. The ruling party and government must as a result accept to take up the responsibility of carrying us and leading us ahead; supporting us; and enabling us to support it for the peace and prosperity of all of us. This is not possible without opening up to criticisms from within and outside for evaluation. Rulership is not godness but a burden of trust that is best bore by humility, because the leader is expected not to be the worst among the members. And he is rarely the best. When and where he is, he will be succeeded by another that will certainly not be him.