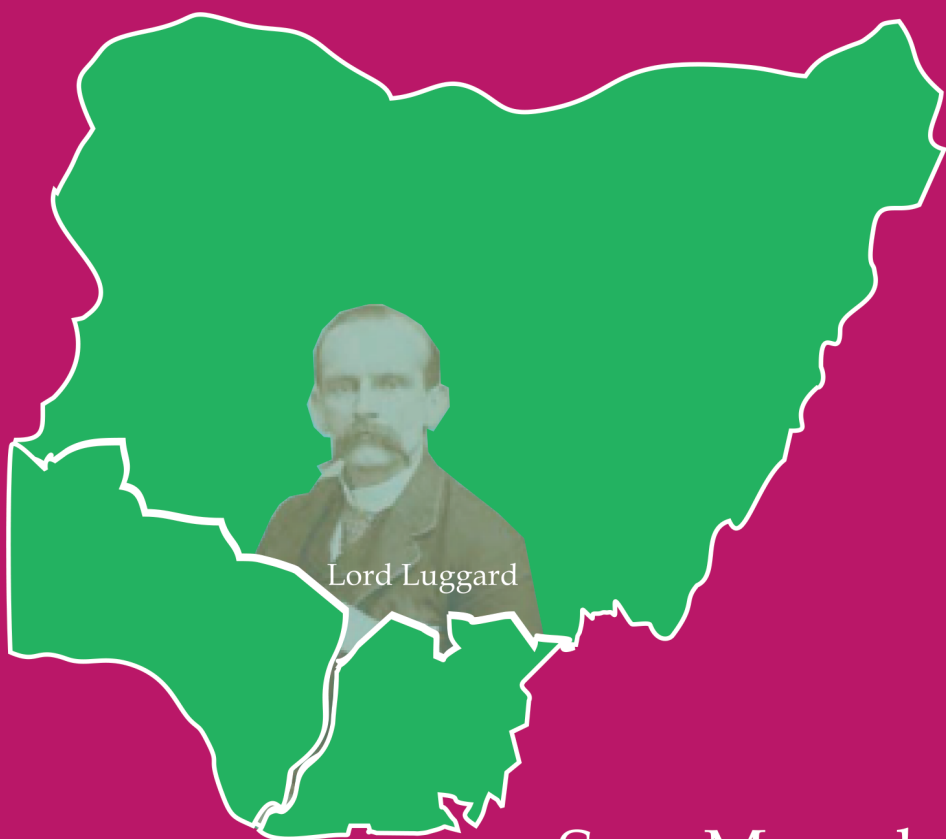


NIGERIA BEYOND DIVORCE

AMALGAMATION IN PERSPECTIVE



Sam Momah

NIGERIA
BEYOND DIVORCE
(Amalgamation in Perspective)

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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to all those who lost their lives in our civil war, coups d'état, or had to bear the barbaric trauma of terrorism, kidnapping, and so on.

It is also dedicated to all those who are willing to stand and counter all such ills in defence of Nigeria of our dream, our hope and our home eternal.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFV	–	Armoured Fighting Vehicle
AG	–	Action Group
CIA	–	Central Intelligence Agency
CMD	–	Chief Medical Director
CRC	–	Constitutional Review Committee
DESOPADEC	–	Delta State Oil Producing Area Development Commission
EFCC	–	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
FCT	–	Federal Capital Territory
FESTAC	–	Festival of Arts and Culture
GDP	–	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	–	Human Development Index
IED	–	Improvised Explosive Device
ICT	–	Information Communication and Technology
ICPC	–	Independent Corrupt Practices and Related Offences Commission

INEC	–	Independent National Electoral Commission
ING	–	Interim National Government
IGP	–	Inspector General of Police
IYC	–	Ijaw Youth Council
JFK	–	John Fitzgerald Kennedy
JRC	–	Joint Revolutionary Council
JTF	–	Joint Task Force
LGA	–	Local Government Area
MASSOB	–	Movement for the Actualisation of Sovereign State of Biafra
MEND	–	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MDA	–	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MOSIEN	–	Movement for the Survival of Ijaw Ethnic Nationality
MOSOP	–	Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People
NCNC	–	National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NDV	–	Niger Delta Vigilantes
NDVF	–	Niger Delta Volunteer Force
NRC	–	Nigeria Railway Corporation
NPC	–	Northern People’s Congress
NSA	–	National Security Adviser
NIDAN	–	Nigeria Diaspora Alumni Network

NYSC	–	National Youth Service Corps
OBJ's OFN	–	Obasanjo's Operation Feed the Nation
OPC	–	Oodua People's Congress
OIC	–	Organisation of Islamic Countries
PHCN	–	Power Holding Company of Nigeria
PTF	–	Petroleum Trust Fund
RNC	–	Royal Niger Company
SGM Estate	–	Stolen Government Money Estate
SIEC	–	States Independent Electoral Commission
SURE-P	–	Subsidy Re-investment and Empowerment Programme
UPGA	–	United Parties Grand Alliance
UPN	–	United Party of Nigeria
VIP	–	Very Important Personality
WAI	–	War Against Indiscipline
YOUWIN	–	Youth Enterprises with Innovation in Nigeria

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Realising that Nigeria will be 100 years old on 1st January 2014, it then became obvious that an appraisal on Nigeria from Amalgamation to date will be worth the effort and so that was how *Nigeria Beyond Divorce* was born.

I thank immensely my siblings and their better halves, (Mrs) F C Anazodo, Mr & Mrs BB Achusim, Mr & Mrs Nath Momah, Mr & Dr (Mrs) Ify Obidigbo and Mr & Mrs Ezim Ulasi for their encouragement and their concern on how I could cope with my fledging health.

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Last but not the least, I thank my publishers, Chief Joop Berkhout, OON, and his team at Safari Books Ltd, for turning my writing into an excellent book.

FOREWORD

As we prepare for Nigeria's centenary celebrations, in commemoration of the amalgamation of the North and South of Nigeria, a discourse on Nigeria could not have come at a better time. This book therefore captures the mood of the nation. Its diagnosis of the problems of Nigeria is broad-based, instructive and skillfully presented. The proffered solution using a re-structured polity is rich in concept and a masterly road-map for future leaders and all those concerned with charting Nigeria's future.

This is certainly a prodigious work of meticulous and illuminating scholarship adorned in simple but elegant style which will surely promote its mass appeal. The clarity of focus, coupled with up-to-date data plus in-depth analysis will make the book very useful to inquisitive students of Nigerian development. It is a trail blazing book in the best of tradition from a seasoned administrator, a practising strategist, and an engineer of words and materials.

For the youth, the book is handy and will rekindle the spirit of never-say-die to the country of their dream. The book delved indepth on the past but focused more on the future thus, emboldens its readers' confidence that all is not lost and that from the decayed seed of today, Nigeria will emerge the Giant of Africa and the first Black Power of the world.

General Abdulsalami Alhaji Abubakar, GCFR

Former Head of State, C-in-C

Federal Republic of Nigeria

PREFACE

This book is the latest in a series I authored. The first three books are of international dimension but this fourth book is to honour my 70th birthday and it rightly focuses on my beloved country, Nigeria.

I wish to use this book to appreciate what Nigeria has done for me. It is also an opportunity for me to plead with all concerned to bury the hatchet and let bygone be bygone. It is never too late to start rebuilding a nation and there cannot be a better time to start than now. The state of the nation as it is now is very disturbing and leaves much to be desired.

The book opens up with an appetiser in form of prologue, followed in Part I with major developmental stages of Nigeria. Part II gives an indepth diagnosis of the major problems besetting Nigeria; Part III gives examples of nations and leadership traits Nigeria should emulate. Finally, Part IV gives the possible solutions to the problem, and then skillfully summarises the entire discourse with an Epilogue.

Nigeria Beyond Divorce is definitely an affirmation that the bond or “marriage” between the North and the South, having lasted a hundred years (1914 to 2014) has come to stay. However, this must not be taken for granted because for divorce to be kept at bay, both partners must deliberately

work at the marriage. And so, fellow Nigerians, as we make the Nigerian bed, so we will lie on it. *Long Live Nigeria!*

Maj-Gen Sam Momah (Rtd) *mni, FNSE, CFR*

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PROLOGUE

NIGERIA AT A GLANCE

No country in recent history has fought two civil wars and survived it, and none has fought a religious war and survived it.

- Gen T Y Danjuma.

Most Nigerians, when they talk about Nigeria, will always refer to her with bubbling jingoism as “giant of Africa” or “our great nation, Nigeria”.

Most times we get so carried away by the euphoria of being big and fail to ask ourselves “giant of what?” Goodness or Evil? Productivity or Consumption? Success or Failure? Meritocracy or Mediocrity? Hollowness or Substance? Obviously, our giant status has so far tended to emphasise more on quantity at the expense of quality thereby making quantity a disastrous liability. This is not the case with populous countries such as China and India. Definitely, the amalgamation (the marriage) made Nigeria very large in size but we failed as a people to capitalise on

that hugeness in a continent where most countries are relatively smaller. And so in reality, the potentials for Nigeria being great are manifest but we must stop deceiving ourselves because we are still very far from being great. Indeed, Nigeria should first be a nation before aspiring to be great. How can Nigeria claim to be great when in West Africa's Human Development Index (HDI) for 2013, Nigeria, instead of leading, is second to the last in the ranking. In other words, with the exception of Sierra-Leone which came last, every other country in West Africa is better than Nigeria. Yes, it is as bad as that! Ghana, for many years, has been leading West African countries in HDI ranking. It's therefore not surprising that President Barack Obama during his African tour in his first term, stopped over in Accra instead of Abuja. Also, the new President Xi Jinping of China during his African tour in 2013 omitted Nigeria. He visited Tanzania, South Africa and Republic of Congo. Nigeria is therefore losing grip of not only the continent but the region also. All Nigeria has going for her now is crude oil. Without it, Nigeria could become the last in global HDI ranking. To avoid that, Nigeria must utilise the oil boom of today to prepare for the oil doom of tomorrow. Nigeria must realise that being great demands achieving great and spectacular feat in all fields of human endeavours. For instance, Britain became Great Britain because she pioneered the First Industrial Revolution (1760 – 1840) on which the entire world has revolved ever since. Consequently, for Nigeria to be great, she must start today to lay the foundation of that greatness by giving more and taking less from Mother Nigeria.

It is very important for us, as Nigerians to take note of the fact that we are not yet a nation, let alone being great.

This realisation will sober us down and then make us work deliberately towards true nationhood where state of residence will be given equal relevance as the state of origin.

So far, we have collectively failed in making a start towards true nationhood. Today, Nigerians are more divided than they were in 1960, 53 years ago, and every year it tends to get worse. The clamour for more states and the cry of marginalisation are clear signs of the intensive divisions which have negatively affected our national psyche and development. It is therefore not surprising that Nigeria is one of the three countries (others are Afghanistan and Pakistan) that are yet to eradicate polio. Today, countries such as South Korea, Brazil, Malaysia, and Singapore who were in the same historical time with us during the struggle for independence are now far ahead of us. Life expectancy vividly illustrates this: Life expectancy for Nigeria is 47 years, South Korea is 79 years, Brazil is 72 years, Malaysia is 73 years and Singapore is 82 years. Also, in the early 1960s, Nigeria was the largest producer of palm oil and thus gave Malaysia some nurseries for trial. Today, Nigeria imports palm oil from Malaysia. Our Defence Industries in Kaduna started when its counterpart started in Brazil. Today, Brazil is producing planes and Armoured Fighting Vehicles (AFVs) and we can't still make a toy! It's a shame that in the first 100 years since the amalgamation, "the marriage has not been fruitful". In other words, Nigeria has not manufactured anything substantial. We love pounded yam, and it's disgraceful we allowed a foreign company to manufacture the yam pounder for us.

Recent release from US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) purporting that Nigeria will disintegrate by 2015

has put a red alert on Nigeria. Our country, till date is still being wantonly terrorised by the Boko Haram sect whose latent agenda is to make Nigeria ungovernable for those who reneged on North-South rotation of Presidency within the PDP. Meanwhile, the publicised outward agenda of Boko Haram is to establish Sharia Law in the North and hopefully Islamise Nigeria, a country that is constitutionally secular. This has brought to the fore the timely caution of Gen T Y Danjuma. Our revered statesman, Dr Nelson Mandela has continued to remind Africa that “education is the greatest weapon for acquiring cutting-edge technology and hence for acquiring the freest freedom”. It’s therefore bewildering why Boko Haram sect should regard education as an anathema! Northern leaders should continue to speak up stridently against Boko Haram for worsening an already educationally handicapped North and discouraging foreign investors from Nigeria. The initial refusal of Mr President to dialogue with ghosts was reversed and now there are moves to possibly consider some form of amnesty for the Boko Haram sect. In the same breath, serious reconsideration should be given to the collapsed rotation of the Presidency between the North and the South, thereby denying the North its own turn at the Presidency. In all fairness, the North should have been allowed to complete its turn in 2011 but since that couldn’t be, 2015 is therefore the last golden opportunity to right the wrong for peace to reign once again. If that is not done, Nigeria will be toying with perpetual vicious-circle of crises in which if a southerner is at the helm of affairs, in the country, the southern militants will pipe down while Boko Haram will go on the rampage. And if a northerner is at the helm of affairs in Nigeria, Boko Haram may lay down arms and

the Niger Delta militants who are now paid about ₦6bn per annum to secure the pipelines will start blowing them up.

At the end of the day, who loses? Nigeria loses and posterity will not forgive this generation of leaders.

Other militarist groups destabilising Nigeria include: the Movement for the Actualisation of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), the Oodua People's Congress (OPC), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Joint Revolutionary Council (JRC), Movement for the Survival of Ijaw Ethnic Nationality (MOSIEN), Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), and Niger Delta Vigilantes (NDV). Again, as if the above woes are not enough, the increasing wave of kidnapping, ritual killings, cyber crime/419, money-laundering, porous borders, armed robbery, monumental corruption, 'cash-n-carry' politics, do-or-die elections, drug peddling, illegal bunkering, vandalisation of oil pipelines, the ticking unemployment time-bomb, etc are but a few of the current debilitating malaise yearning for solution. These atrocities are now so common that they are no longer reported in newspapers except when it affects some bourgeoisie and VIPs in the society.

Nigeria is therefore degenerating into a country in which the poor cannot sleep because of hunger, and the rich cannot sleep because the poor is awake. Most Nigerians are therefore sleepless, edgy and stressed up. In the ensuing tension, Nigeria becomes a mixed bag of complex personalities that are at best, ambivalent in principle and paradoxical in action.

It is therefore not surprising that today, Nigeria is the only country in the world that has crude oil but has made importation of finished products the norm, rather than the exception; Nigeria is the only country to spend 16 billion dollars on power and the end result is more darkness; a country in which you can plunder her “Central Bank” and all you do is simply plead guilty and you smile home free!; a country full of so many egg-heads and yet celebrates mediocrity rather than excellence; a country that pays militants for peace of the graveyard instead of picketing them for permanent peace with honour; a country that is watching helplessly in horror as kidnappers take hostage the soul of the nation; that has half trillion naira security vote but remains one of the most insecure countries of the world; that has the manpower, land and climate for food production but 40% or 70million of her population go to bed hungry; that has “beautiful” green parks in Abuja for tourists but uses them as “bukas” for Boko Haram agents and night marauders; that has her ₦640 billion textile industries in coma with 776,000 jobs tied down and yet she is contemplating a year-long centenarian jamboree; that has some of its religious leaders junketing in private jets while their gullible flock pine away in abject poverty; that has a fast-growing aviation industry but no functional maintenance hangar; that has brick-making laterite for affordable housing but prefers sandcrete blocks; that has vehicle assembly plants but massively imports vehicles. All these have made Nigeria an island of wealth in an ocean of poverty.

To make matters worse, Nigeria in 2011 with all her oil wealth was in the world’s alert list of failed states. No wonder therefore that Forbes Magazine which has always

listed Nigeria among the world's happiest people, has in 2012, for the first time, listed her among the world's saddest people. The rising trends in which hotels, elite schools, malls, plazas and supermarkets demand dollar instead of naira in domestic transactions is also a bad omen. In a globalised world, the strength of a nation is measured not by the strength of its army but by the strength of her currency. We must therefore defend our about-to-be-battered naira. We now have markets where dirty naira notes are being exchanged with mint notes of 20% less monetary value. In other words, for ₦10,000 dirty notes, one can get ₦8,000 mint notes. The above ugly situations coupled with the shocking assertion in some quarters that Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan will be the last President of Nigeria sounds the alarm that indeed, Nigeria is sliding towards the precipice and should be rescued through well-thought-out strategies. The US Think Tank-(Fund For Peace) reports that the "ship of the Nigeria state definitely is sinking, and that even though Nigeria is not yet a failed state, her failed state index is alarmingly high and that is why she has remained in failing states alert list since 2007". Basic characteristics of failed states include:

- Weak and ineffective Central/Federal Government unable to control its organs, states etc
- Widespread corruption, mass unemployment and criminality
- Serious economic decline; poor salaries, paid late or none at all
- Violence, killing, kidnapping, "419", insecurity and refugees from unsafe zones to safer areas.

- Weak and unable to enforce the law uniformly to all parts of the country.
- Ineffective judiciary and bureaucracy.

Nigeria should not and must not be allowed to fall into the abyss. All hands (only clean hands for that matter) must therefore be on deck to salvage her. The call in January 2013 by a group of eminent Nigerians under the aegis of The Patriot led by Prof Ben Nwabueze asking President Jonathan “to take revolutionary action towards re-tracking Nigeria from “Failed State Status” should be taken seriously by Mr. President.

Nigeria disintegrating is simply unthinkable. It will be an unmitigated disaster. The mayhem, carnage and ethnic cleansing amongst the 170 million Nigerians will be unimaginable. The refugee problem, the fratricidal blood bath, the burning, looting, the ripple effect, raping and such horrors will cripple the once acclaimed giant of Africa. There will be no place to hide in the ensuing anarchy fueled by unrecognised fluid boundaries. Indeed, the massacre will be so horrendous that it will make the Nigeria/Biafra Civil War look like a picnic. Such a war, will, according to analysts, last over 50 years, just like the Sudanese civil war which started in 1955 and is still on, after 58 years! And even when the war ultimately ends, the menace of land mines will remain for decades. Another civil war in Nigeria will therefore be worse than the combined effect of civil wars in Sudan, Darfur, Somalia, Eritrea, plus the mayhem of Arab Spring.

Definitely, the above gory picture conjures up a negative impression of Nigeria. However, Nigeria having survived

the first 100 years of amalgamation as a united country is on its own a major achievement, and all that is required is to henceforth build on that achievement. The means to do so are not lacking considering Nigeria's size, population and endowment in human and material resources. Nigeria, after South Africa, is the second largest economic power in Africa and has a total land area of 923768km² most of which are arable throughout the year. Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa, the most populous black country in the world, the seventh most populous in the world, and so, the market is there. However, to energise that market, the economy needs to replace conspicuous consumption with proficient productivity. Nigeria is sixth in production of crude oil. She has immense untapped natural gas, coal, bauxite, tantalite, gold, tin, iron ore, limestone, niobium, lead, zinc, etc, and is listed among the "Next Eleven". Nigeria is therefore the hope of the black race. Her survival, unity and development are therefore crucial, not only to her, but more so to the black race. The journey may be tough, rough and rugged but the choice of leadership is not ours but Divine.

Furthermore, considering the anti-Divine embrace of same-sex marriage by the West, it is obvious that the occurrence could be the beginning of the decline of Western civilisation. This will surely create a global leadership vacuum, which naturally will be filled by a global rainbow power mix of China, India, Nigeria etc. Nigeria thus, has a major global role to play in future.

And so, as Nigerians, let us eschew ethnicism, tribalism, and political bitterness. Let us avoid religious bigotry and social debauchery. Let us take less and give more to Mother Nigeria. Let us bury the hatchet and pick

up the gauntlet; Let us labour without counting the cost. Let us be our brothers' keeper. Let us move forward without looking back because according to President Barack Obama, (for Humanity) "the best is yet to come".

We must therefore not give up because out of this decayed seed will blossom Nigeria, the *Iroko* of Africa. Indeed, we must not give up for according to Alexander Crummel (who was one of the freed slaves in Sierra Leone), "Africa is the crippled arm of humanity and the civility of the world would remain incomplete until that withered arm of humanity gets healthy and, defiantly stretches out a clenched fist, signifying the emergence of a Black Power from Africa". Actualising the emergence of that Black Power in form of United States of Nigeria (USN) is the primary purpose of this book.

PART I:

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES OF NIGERIA

CHAPTER 1

THE BIRTH OF NIGERIA

Africa is at once the most romantic and the most tragic of continents. ...There are those, nevertheless, who would want to write universal history and leave out Africa.

- W.E.B. DuBois

The birth of Nigeria as a tripod structure, started with British annexation of Lagos as a royal colony in 1861 through gun-boat diplomacy. Britain needed Lagos primarily to protect her commercial interest. Consequently, Lagos and adjacent Yoruba land became the first of the building tripod of colonial Nigeria to make contact with the “white” man. The second tripod became necessary because it was imperative to protect the palm oil trade which was essential for greasing the machineries in use for the First Industrial Revolution and hence the Igbo and minorities of Oil River area became the second tripod of colonial Nigeria. By 1865, the report of a parliamentary select committee of the British

House of Commons had advised against any further acquisition of colonial territory in West Africa. Consequently, Britain was no longer keen to acquire additional territories in West Africa and would have stopped with the acquisition of Lagos colony and Southern protectorate but invariably Britain had to move Northwards for two main reasons viz: In tune with the British-French rivalry at that time, Britain wanted to checkmate the French grand design in the Sahel region which included Northernmost parts of Nigeria and lastly, to suppress the slave trade since at that time, Sultanate of Sokoto was among the few slave holding empires in the world still defying the international ban on slavery.

In retrospect, before the coming of the colonialists to Nigeria, some form of well-organised kingdoms and empires such as Borno Empire, Sokoto Empire, Nok Empire, Ife Empire, Benin Empire, the Nri Kingdom and Oyo Kingdom were already in existence. Of particular significance were the Ife bronze, Nok culture and the Igbo-Ukwu iron works.

The British effort to secure this third tripod met with stiff resistance from the Sultan of Sokoto and his forces. The colonialists immediately requested for military support from Britain. That was how Frederick Lugard, an army officer, was deployed as Governor of the Northern Protectorate and he chose Lokoja as the capital and Mr. Moore, an ex-police officer was deployed as Governor to Southern Protectorate with capital in Calabar while Dr William Macgregor was deployed as Governor to Lagos area.

The deployment of these officers was indeed a case of having square pegs in square holes which has always been

the hallmark of British colonial administration. (Unfortunately, the post-colonial Nigeria failed woefully through federal character to keep alive this administrative wisdom of putting square peg in square hole). Lugard, a tough army officer, was sent to the toughest resistance which was coming from the Hausa-Fulani Emirates of the North. To counter the unpredictability and intrigues of the Southern chiefs, a rugged ex-police officer, Mr Moore was used while to help control the health problems of Lagos port area, a medical doctor, Dr. William Macgregor was deployed.

By early 1898, the Royal Niger Company (RNC) faced stiff opposition in the hinterland from the Northern emirs. In the South, some of the chiefs who were very good were formally recognised as warrant chiefs and were used as interpreters by the colonial masters in communicating with the natives and so the colonial master dealt directly with his Southern subjects unlike in the North, where indirect rule prevailed because Lugard had to keep to the agreement of not interfering in the social and religious life of the North. He therefore kept out Christianity and Western education from the North. It was not until 1946 when Ahmadu Bello visited Lagos for the pre-independence talks that the North realised the tremendous development the South had made. Bridging that self-inflicted gap has been the bane of Nigeria via the Federal Character Policy. The fight in the North against the colonialists was quite fierce and Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Premier of Northern Nigeria in his book – *My Life* reported the conflict thus: “*the British drove out the Sultan Atahiru from his own capital, chased him across Nigeria and eventually caught up with him and his devoted followers on the borders of Bornu. Here he made*

a last stand, on a deserted hillside, and died fighting, far from his people and his home”.

Sokoto, the seat of the caliphate, was the last Northern territory conquered by the British in 1903. Lugard's military campaign in Northern Nigeria including his famous march to Borgu and the race to Nikki formed the basis of British claims to Northern Nigeria. It was as a result of his successful military campaign in the North that on January 1, 1900, he was appointed the first British High Commissioner for Northern Nigeria, thus bringing to an end the administration of the area by the RNC and also marking the beginning of Northern Protectorate of Great Britain. This was some 15 years after a separate and distinct British protectorate had been established in Southern Nigeria by 1885.

Nigeria's independence was therefore not given on a platter of gold as is erroneously believed. Nigerians fought for it with their lives and “the blood of our heroes past must never be in vain”. We must therefore guard our independence and unity jealously.

The name Nigeria first appeared in January 1892 as a title to an article written by Miss Flora Shaw, a London Times correspondent. Flora was the daughter of a British Army General and was very influential within the British colonial circles. She coined the name Nigeria as a shorter title for a conglomeration of three separate land masses in West Africa which have been under the control of a trading group, the RNC, under the leadership of Sir George Goldie. Previously, names such as Central Sudan or Niger Sudan were used for the area now known as NIGERIA until eventually, Flora, in recognition of the dominance of River Niger in the export of raw materials

(palm kernel, palm oil, rubber, groundnut, etc) to Britain dropped all other names and chose NIGERIA. The three separate land masses were the Northern Protectorate, Southern Protectorate and the Lagos Colony, and the three separate British dependencies, were separately administered within the territory called Nigeria. The name received official recognition on 1st January 1900 by the order of the Royal Colonial Council of Great Britain. Consequently, but for the amalgamation in 1914, the three separate entities (Lagos Colony, Southern Protectorate and Northern Protectorate) would have become three separate countries. Lagos as a country would have been like the present day Singapore.

It was during Lugard's first tour of duty as Governor of the Northern Protectorate from 1900 to 1907 that he met and eventually married Miss Flora Shaw. From 1908 to 1911, Lugard was in Singapore as Governor, and by 1912 he was posted back to Nigeria but this time not as Governor of Northern Protectorate but as Governor of Lagos Colony and Southern Protectorate. He therefore utilised his previous knowledge of Northern Protectorate and his current knowledge of Southern Protectorate to effect with the help of his wife, the amalgamation (marriage) of Northern and Southern Protectorates on 1st January 1914. However, for unspecified reason, the amalgamation was given a life span of 100 years in the first instance. But that is now inconsequential, because a marriage that has lasted 100 years has definitely come to stay. Some other analysts believe that Lugard's sudden option for amalgamation on a trial basis was because some of his colleagues were vehemently against it particularly as the colonial office was not too keen to acquire more colonial territory.

However, on detailed research, it was obvious that Lugard went ahead with the amalgamation because of:

- (a) The administrative convenience that will eliminate the duplication of effort since already he had a very good knowledge of both protectorates.
- (b) Obviously too, the wife's personal interest on the issue was a main propeller of the amalgamation.
- (c) The cost effectiveness of managing the two protectorates from one headquarters instead of two made the amalgamation quite an attractive option.
- (d) The need arose to use the surplus from exports from the Southern Protectorate (the breadwinner) to augment the less favourable export earnings from the North at that time. Unfortunately, this handicap with the present oil-and-gas dominance of the Nigerian economy has continued to haunt Nigeria 100 years after the amalgamation.

Sir Frederick Lugard was amply rewarded and was made the first Governor General of Nigeria by Her Majesty's government covering the Niger Coast Protectorate and the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria. Thereafter, Lugard and his wife played very significant roles in a country whose name they invented.

From 1914 to 1945, nationalists and freed slaves from Freetown galvanised West Africa with freedom movement just like India was doing through Mahatma Ghandi. In Nigeria, leaders such as Dr. Africanus Horton, Dr. Edward Blyden, F W Dore, Herbert Macaulay, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Sir Ahmadu Bello, etc, were jostling for independence. Even the women were not left

out. There were fierce Aba women strikes for months in 1929 protesting against the heavy taxation on their husbands. The colonial masters were very hopeful that these emerging Nigerian leaders will learn from the mistakes of European leaders who engaged in futile wars for centuries before settling down for peace and thus hoped that the new Nigerian leaders will avoid issues that will fuel instability in Nigeria. Unfortunately, history is always repeating itself, and thus, our leaders got blinded by ethnic nationalism and hence, got enmeshed in political gangstarisms, tribalism, unholy alliances, thuggery, etc. Consequently, the quantum leap they were supposed to make never saw the light of the day as it did with the Asian Tigers.

Analysts are therefore profoundly surprised that Nigeria, which is a product of love between Lugard and Flora, did not see that love flourish among Nigerians. Reversing that trend is all that this book is out to achieve by stimulating a virile debate on the way forward.

CHAPTER 2

PRE AND POST-INDEPENDENCE GOVERNANCE

Pre-Independence Governance

The greatest danger that military government poses... lies in its failure to break the vicious cycle of succeeding itself.

– Gen Olusegun Obasanjo

Obviously, the colonial masters were at their best in administration but when it came to their own self-interest they were terribly over-enlightened. It was obvious that even a Briton, F Nicholson traced the root causes of Nigeria's persistent problems to policy decisions by Lugard and he listed some of them as shown below:

- (a) Conquest of the North by force of arms rather than peaceful penetrations as was predominantly the case in the South where he applied the twin gifts of commerce and christianity.

- (b) The unnecessary mood swing in the application of military force and *laissez faire* attitude by Lugard in the North.
- (c) Preservation of the institution of Fulani rule while others were destroyed. This was a heinous policy of divide and rule.
- (d) The imposition of direct taxation in the South and indirect taxation in the North.
- (e) The prolonged insulation of the North from christian missionaries, lawyers, traders and civil administrators.
- (f) Sir Hugh Clifford committed his own error in that he introduced a Nigerian Constitution in 1920 with forty six members of Council of which only four were Nigerians (three from Lagos and one from Calabar) and none from the North.
- (g) Even after the amalgamation, the North on social and religious issues acted separately. For instance, Northern Region did not outlaw slavery till 1936.
- (h) Lord Lugard and his successors failed to practicalise the inner spirit of the amalgamation by not allowing the South to make contact with the North. And so, the two protectorates never really interacted effectively as one country till 1946, with the result that by the time they met they were more like strange bed fellows because the South was unequivocal about independence while the North was in a wait-and-see mood.

Also, Sir Arthur Richard at the peak of the protest from the South, (particularly from Herbert Macaluary and

Nnamdi Azikiwe) arbitrarily split the country into three regions (North, East and West) without consultation. Analysts believe that since the agitation for immediate independence from Britain came from the South, the South incurred the wrath of Sir Arthur Richard hence in demarcating boundaries for the regions, instead of doing so naturally using the River Niger and River Benue as advised by some experts, he did the unexpected by drawing the boundary in the midst of nowhere, far below the River Niger and River Benue thereby giving Northern Nigeria 79% of the land mass while the Eastern and Western regions shared the remaining 21% (See Table 2.1).

Analysts believe that the imbalance in the Nigerian tripod political equation started with the preponderance (79%) of Nigerian land mass to the Northern Region, and since democracy is a game of numbers, the Northern People Congress must have felt that it can still have majority votes from the North and hence, did not bother to campaign in the South and refused to change the name of the party from Northern Peoples Congress to Nigerian Peoples Congress.

Analysts contend that if Middle-Belt Region had been created *ab initio*, the issue of one region lording it over the rest will not have arisen and Nigeria would have from the beginning started the journey to independence with a good measure of stability. In other words, the imbalance sowed the seed of endemic drift in the Nigerian political equation, which even the subsequent creation of states has not totally solved.

States in Nigeria, their Origins and Land Areas

S/N	States	Years Created	Capitals	Origin	Land Area
1	Abia State	27 Aug. 1991	Umuahia	Imo State	6,320
2	Adamawa State	27 Aug. 1991	Yola	Gongola State	36,917
3	Akwa Ibom State	23 Sept 1987	Uyo	Cross River State	7,081
4	Anambra State	27 Aug 1991	Awka	(old) Anambra State	4,844
5	Bauchi State	3 Feb 1976	Bauchi	North-Eastern State	45,837
6	Bayelsa State	1 Oct 1996	Yenagoa	Rivers State	10,773
7	Benue State	3 Feb 1976	Makurdi	Benue-Plateau State	34,059
8	Borno State	3 Feb 1976	Maiduguri	North-Eastern State	70,898
9	Cross River State	27 May 1976	Calabar	Eastern Region; Previously known as South-Eastern State	20,156
10	Delta State	27 Aug 1991	Asaba	Bendel State	17,698
11	Ebonyi State	1 Oct 1996	Abakaliki	Enugu State & Abia State	5,670
12	Edo State	27 Aug 1991	Benin City	Bendel State	17,802
13	Ekiti State	1 Oct 1996	Ado Ekiti	Ondo State	6,353
14	Enugu State	27 Aug 1991	Enugu	(old) Anambra State	7,161
15	Gombe State	1 oct 1996	Gombe	Bauchi State	18,768
16	Imo State	3 Feb 1976	Owerri	East Central State	5,100
17	Jigawa State	27 Aug 1991	Dutse	Kano State	23,154
18	Kaduna	27 May 1967	Kaduna	Northern Region; previously known as North-Central State	46,053

19	Kano State	27 May 1967	Kano	Northern Region	20,131
20	Katsina State	23 Sept 1987	Katsina	Kaduna State	24,192
21	Kebbi State	27 Aug 1991	Birnin Kebbi	Sokoto State	36,800
22	Kogi State	27 Aug 1991	Lokoja	Kwara State, Benue State	29,833
23	Kwara State	27 May 1967	Ilorin	Northern Region, previously known as West Central State	36,825
24	Lagos State	27 May 1967	Ikeja	Province of Lagos + Colony	3,345
25	Nasarawa State	1 Oct 1996	Lafia	Plateau State	27,117
26	Niger State	3 Feb 1976	Minna	North-Western State	76,363
27	Ogun State	3 Feb 1976	Abeokuta	Western State	16,762
28	Ondo State	3 Feb 1976	Akure	Western State	15,500
29	Osun State	27 Aug. 1991	Oshogbo	Oyo State	9,251
30	Oyo State	3 Feb 1976	Ibadan	Western State	28,454
31	Plateau State	3 Feb 1976	Jos	Benue- Plateau State	30,913
32	Rivers State	27 May 1967	Port - Harcourt	Eastern Region	11,077
33	Sokoto State	3 Feb 1976	Sokoto	North-Western State	25,973
34	Taraba State	27 Aug 1991	Jalingo	Gongola State	54,473
35	Yobe State	27 Aug 1991	Damaturu	Borno State	45,502
36	Zamfara State	1 Oct 1996	Gusau	Sokoto	39,762
37	Abuja Federal Capital Territory	3 Feb 1976	Abuja	Benue-Plateau, North-Central, and North- Western States	7,315

Southern States 193,347km², Northern States 730,885km² Total=924,768m²

Post-Independence Turbulent Governance (1960 to 1965)

Most of our post-independence politicians believed in the dictum: “Seek ye first political independence and every other thing shall be added onto it”. By that, our politicians wrongly assumed that once independence was attained, it will be life more abundant for all Nigerians. They forgot that independence meant more hardwork, cooperation amongst themselves, coordinated educational system, granite unity, seamless organisation, jointly tackled economic growth, symbiosis in political issues and a synergy in their industrial policies. As lawyers often argue “you cannot put something on nothing!” Consequently our pre-independence politicians failed to prepare themselves psychologically, socially, organisationally, administratively and politically for the attainment of independence which they erroneously believed “was won on a platter of gold”.

Also, the “fight” or rather the conferences for Nigerian independence were not done from a give-and-take angle, rather it was from “a winner takes all” approach and this set Nigeria marching backwards from pre-independence till date.

Invariably many lapses occurred some of which are as listed below:

- (a) The lack of wisdom in having two dates for self-government – 1957 for Eastern and Western Regions and 1959 for Northern Region was a major strategic error. In other words, our political leaders underrated the importance of acting in unison particularly at that take-off point. It was unfortunate that the motion for Nigeria self-government by Chief Anthony Enahoro which should bring joy was received with

skepticism thus making the Sardauna of Sokoto and leader of the North to say that “the mistake of 1914 has come to light” and from then on, it was a repeated scenario of the centre not holding and things kept falling apart.

- (b) Besides, the pre-independence politicians ignored crucial domestic issues and got unduly involved with international issues such as nuclear test in the Sahara, the Congo crisis, the Defence pact with Britain and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by Ian Smith of Rhodesia.
- (c) Besides, our leaders were not united enough to realise the crucial need to erase colonial mentality by re-naming Nigeria just like Gold Coast changed to Ghana. That would have psychologically been a mighty boost to most Nigerians desirous to identify with our Africanness.
- (d) Again, in 1964, Israel gave millions of dollars as foreign aid to Nigeria and even though foreign policy was in the exclusive list, the then Northern Regional Government with Sir Ahmadu Bello as Premier refused having anything to do with the funds. And so only the Eastern and Western regions shared the funds.
- (e) As far back as 1958, the lavish lifestyle of the Nigerian politicians has already started manifesting itself. Our colonial masters were shocked to realise that in 1958, the import of the three regional governments at that time exceeded export by £31 million! On investigation by the colonial governor, it was found that the Western and Eastern regional governments were spending frivolously from the funds of their marketing

companies. This struggle for control of marketing funds was at the bottom of the Western regional crises which eventually culminated in the split in the Action Group party. In the East, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, the leader of the NCNC had to face Foster-Sutton Commission of Inquiry to investigate his source of shares in promoting the African Continental Bank.

- (f) In getting deeply involved with the above, they failed to defuse the burning problems at home which included: Chief Awolowo's treasonable trial and the ensuing 1962 crisis in Western Region House of Assembly. The haste with which NPC – NCNC wanted to dislocate AG by creating Mid-Western region in the midst of crises (similar to creation of 12 states by Gowon in 1967), the 1962/63 national census crises, the crisis of 1964 federal election, the Tiv riots of 1960 and 1964, and then the 1965 Western region post-election crisis which resulted in the greatest shock – the military take-over of government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in a pre-dawn coups d'état, details of which is summarised in chapter four.

CHAPTER 3

NIGERIAN POLITICAL LEADERS AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AT A GLANCE

*Live as if you will die tomorrow
Learn as if you will live forever.*

– Mahatma Gandhi

In simple terms, the constitution of a country is the system of laws and basic principles on which that country is governed. Constitution is usually written but some are not. The British Constitution is unwritten because it is based on the Magna Carta of 1215 which ostensibly is limited to the crown and over centuries the unwritten constitution has become part-and-parcel of the British citizenry. However, in Nigeria's case, her constitutional journey started from pre-independence era with the following colonial constitutions:

- a. Sir Hugh Clifford Constitution in 1922
- b. Sir Arthur Richard Constitution in 1945
- c. Sir John Macpherson Constitution in 1951
- d. Sir Lyttleton Constitution in 1954
- e. Sir John Macpherson Constitution in 1957
- f. Independence (Sir John Macpherson/Sir James Robertson) Constitution of 1959/1960

The 1979 constitution is a masterpiece and was supposed to see Nigeria through the 21st century but, rather than mend the provisions of the constitution as authorised by the constitution, Nigeria has often jettisoned the old constitution and embarks on wholesome review of the constitution merely to satisfy the selfish motives of some individuals. This is very dangerous and could tear the country apart. This happened in 1989, 1999 and in 2006 with its third term controversy and is now happening with the on-going Constitutional Review Committee of the National Assembly. Consequently, the problem is not the Constitution per se but the fault of the manipulators and operators. Furthermore, the 1979, 1989 and 1999 constitutions have been jinxed as military concoction in which the people were never consulted through conference or referendum or otherwise. Consequently, there seems to be no end to overhauling our constitution. Even Zik got confused in 1978 and suggested diarchy or power sharing between the political class and the Military. Also, late Chief Sam Mbakwe, the former Governor of Imo State, once suggested sarcastically, on the need to bring back the colonialists to re-train us on how to govern ourselves. Chief

Mbakwe may be justified because till date, Nigeria is still using 1953 colonial census figures for planning purposes because all our post-independence census figures are unreliable.

Also, confederation or the unwieldy modified presidential system in which there will be president and six vice-presidents, one from each zone was also suggested. The six vice-presidents option is not practicable in Nigeria if we recall the confusion that engulfed Nigeria when President Yar'Adua died in office. If that maze of confusion could happen with only one vice-president, then the anarchy that will ensue with six vice-presidents struggling to succeed the late President will be unimaginable.

The on-going Constitutional Review Committee at the National Assembly is once again a repetition of past mistakes. It will be very insulting to Nigerians if the National Assembly will collate within hours the views of a handful of Nigerians and assume that the views of those few Nigerians are the views of 170 million Nigerians. Also, we must not copy American Constitution verbatim particularly on issues such as state police or fiscal federalism, because we have not attained their level of development. Furthermore, if the military could not discuss with the people because governance was through decrees, what reason do politicians who were voted to offices have for not allowing the people to decide through an internationally accepted constitutional conference the best constitution that suits them? Right now, most legal luminaries believe that Nigeria has no constitution, let alone amending or reviewing it. One of such activists, Barrister Mike Ozekhome, recently claimed that the 1999 Constitution told a lie by affirming in the opening schedule

that “we the people of Federal Republic of Nigeria have decided to give ourselves the following constitution” when in actual fact the constitution is a product of Decree 47 and the people of Nigeria never met at a constituent assembly to give to themselves the constitution. Also renowned constitutional lawyer and a senior member of the Bar, Mr James Ezike, opined that current efforts to amend the Constitution is an exercise in futility because the National Assembly is not sovereign and that only the people of Nigeria are sovereign as stipulated in Section 14(2) of the amended 1999 Constitution. Also, the fact that the National Assembly members represent the people does not confer sovereignty on them and therefore they cannot legally preside over the constitution.

National Assembly keep making the mistake that since the British parliament is sovereign therefore our National Assembly should also be sovereign. This is wrong. The British Parliament became sovereign because in the medieval history, the parliament fought and defeated the king, and the judiciary at that time being corrupt could not defend the king. And so, this was how the parliament lords it over the British Judiciary and Monarch with unquestionable sovereignty. This is not the case with USA where the sovereignty does not reside with the US Congress but fully with the people of USA.

Our Supreme Court has made it abundantly clear that only the people of Nigeria are sovereign. This was clearly brought out during Shehu Shagari era in the various cases such as the case of the *Attorney General of Bendel State v Uwaifo*. Consequently, we must go to the people particularly as the amalgamation completes the colonial specified 100 years life span on 1st January 2014. Nigeria therefore has

the golden opportunity to use the experience of the last 100 years to put in place a well-thought-out, masterpiece constitution that will see Nigeria through to a timeless future. It should be a People's Constitution that is so well-visionsed, so all-embracing and so-down-to-earth that it will touch the lives of all nationalities in Nigeria.

In effect, the critical issues to be discussed in that People's Constitutional Conference are many and below are some of them:

- (1) Constitutional recognition of the six geo-political zones as regions and to give a future take-off date. The zones can be designated as regions or states, so that the states will become provinces.
- (2) Devolution of powers to the regions.
- (3) Creation of six more states to ensure each zone has seven states. This gives Nigeria a 42-state structure.
- (4) Local government system to be made optional to states/region.
- (5) Fiscal federalism – It should be a guided fiscal federalism because Nigeria is truly not a federation in practice. The present sharing ratio of 58.5%, 31.5% and 10% for federal, state and LGAs respectively should be 58.5% and 41.5% for federal and the states. LGAs should be optional and no more a federal tier of government.
- (6) Residency and state of origin should be automatic after paying tax for a given number of years.
- (7) The police system – Regional police is advocated when regions take effect and stabilise.
- (8) Rotation of offices between North and South is important for the unity of Nigeria and when the regions

take off, the rotation will then be among the six regions in a 6-year single term rotation and after 36 years, presidency should be purely on merit.

- (9) Immunity clause for executives – This should be expunged because an executive who commits an offence elsewhere comes to Nigeria to take refuge such as Governor Alamieyeseigha did during the money laundry saga in 2005 in London. It was reported that he disguised as a woman and escaped from London to Nigeria where he had immunity. Also, the case of Governor James Ibori immunity saga is well known.
- (10) Judicial reforms.
- (11) Mayoral status for the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). Eventually, the regional capitals and the state/provincial headquarters could have mayoral status.
- (12) Gender and special interest matters.
- (13) Roles for traditional rulers which should dovetail into a policy that will make them fathers of the nation, apolitical and to remain purely traditional. As our Republicanism waxes stronger, the traditional role will naturally wane out of existence.
- (14) The review of the Land Use Act, National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) the Code of Conduct from the 1999 Constitution.
- (15) *Review of Federal Character clause in the constitution by spelling out the political offices it should apply to and giving it a definite life span of 10 to 20 years maximum.
- (16) *Revamp Nigeria's secularity with the aim of making it unambiguous because by Nigeria joining the OIC

and some states becoming Sharia states have threatened the secularity of Nigeria.

- (17) Independent candidates in election should be allowed but no government sponsor/funding.
- (18) Resource control issues should continue as it is being handled now.
- (19) Unicameral National Assembly – not advisable. Bicameral to be retained but sitting allowance only and no salaries.
- (20) Presidential or Parliamentary system? Presidential is most favourable.
- (21) Abolition of States Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC) – Giving CEO power to INEC Chairman and holding all elections electronically in one day.
- (22) Abolition of indigeneship and having citizenship by residency.
- (23) Amending Section 308 to limit executive immunity to civil offence. In other words, no immunity to criminal offences.
- (24) Rotation of Governor to the 3 senatorial districts.
- (25) Reservation of some elective offices for women.
- (26) Lowering qualification age for contesting various offices.
- (27) All rotational offices should be given the expiration date after which that office will be electable on merit only.
- (28) Organise through a referendum an accepted Nigerian language as our *lingua franca* for Nigeria and to be effective at least 20 years from the year of approval in a national referendum.

All Nigerian leaders are listed below for record purpose and indicating in whose tenure a new or amended constitution was made:

S/No	Governors	Dates	Main Features
1	Sir Hugh Clifford Constitution	1922	The Assembly was called Nigerian Council consisting of 46 members, 42 of which were expatriates and only 4 were Nigerians (3 from Lagos and 1 from Calabar). Note that there are none from the North because Sir Lugard as demanded by the North ensured he did not interfere in the affairs of the North. The Council was purely advisory.
2	Sir Authur Richard Constitution	1945	Created the 3 Regions – North, East and West. With provinces in a Unitary System of Government, NCNC protested vehemently and sent delegates under Herbert Macaulay to Colonial Office in London to table their objection, which emphasised the fact that there wasn't any consultation with the people before effecting such a far-reaching decision. To the contrary, Awo and his AG party and Ahmadu Bello and his NPC party accepted the regionalisation because according to them they needed to first consolidate their home base before gunning for the centre.

S/No	Governors	Dates	Main Features
3	Sir John Macpherson Constitution	1951	Conducted 3 years consultation to appease the NCNC but still went ahead retaining the 3 regions though he now proposed a weak centre and strong regions. The regions were self-sustaining and simply paid royalties to the centre in the Federal arrangement.
4	Sir Lyttleton Constitution	1954	Nigeria was divided into 5 components: North, East, West, Lagos as capital and Southern Cameroons.
5	Sir John Macpherson Constitution (This was his second coming)	1954-58	In his 1957 Constitution, he formed the First Bicameral Legislature of House of the Senate and House of Representatives. Also, the three regions North, East and West had their own Houses of Assembly. The Eastern and Western regions asked for and were granted self-government in 1957 while the North delayed her own self-government till 1957. This occurrence of lack of uniformity of purpose was the beginning of our post-independence problems.

S/No	Governors	Dates	Main Features
6	Sir James Robertson Independence Constitution	1959 to 1960	<p>Independence Constitution tele-guided by the colonial masters but with inputs from Nigeria’s founding fathers.</p> <p>Curiously and unexpectedly he was posted from Sudan in 1959 and took over from Sir Macpherson who was alleged to be pro-South. Sir Robertson was alleged to be pro-North and he allegedly came during the election of 1959, and stayed beyond 1st October up to 16th November 1960 to ensure Tafawa Balewa was Prime Minister, allegedly, the British choice.</p>
POST INDEPENDENCE LEADERS			
7	Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe. He received the Independence Constitution from the British on 1st October 1960. (1st Republic)		<p>He was the first and only Nigerian Governor-General from 16th November 1960 to 1st October 1963. When Nigeria became a Republic on 1st October 1963, the Queen was replaced as head of state by a ceremonial President in person of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. He was overseas for medical treatment when the coups of 15th January 1966 took place. He had a very turbulent tenure.</p>
8	Gen Aguiyi Ironsi	15th Jan 1966 to 28th July 1966	<p>He crushed the coup of 15th January 1966. Promulgated the replacement of Federal system with Unitary System through Decree 34 in his bid to unify the nation. He was killed with his host, Col Adekunle Fajuyi, the Military Governor of Western Region during the 29th July 1966 coup d’état.</p>

S/No	Governors	Dates	Main Features
9	Gen Yakubu Gowon	29th July 1966 to 29th July 1975	He is Nigeria's Abraham Lincoln. Created the 12 states structure from the 4 regions. Led Nigeria victoriously through the civil war. Wisely declared "No Victor, No Vanquished" on Biafra's unconditional surrender and also put in place the 3Rs – Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Rehabilitation.
10	Gen Murtala Mohammed	July 1975 to Feb 1976	Championed the overthrow of Gowon, massively retired civil servants "with immediate effect" and since then civil servants in the bid to prepare for the future inculcated a culture of corruption. He was assassinated in the abortive coup of Col Dimka on 13th February 1976.
11	Gen Olusegun Obasanjo handed over 1979 Constitution to Alhaji Shehu Shagari	Feb 1976 to 1st Oct 1979	Set up Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) in his bid for Nigeria to be self sufficient in food. Effected government takeover of schools from private individuals and religious bodies and since then educational standard has continued to fall. He handed over to democratically elected government on 1st October 1979.
12	Alhaji Shehu Shagari (2nd Republic)	1979-83	Cardinal programmes were – Mass Housing and the Green revolution but negated this with massive importation of rice.

S/No	Governors	Dates	Main Features
13	Gen Muhammadu Buhari	Dec. 1983 to Aug. 1984	Dealt with corrupt officials with long jail terms. Instantly brought discipline into national life through War Against Indiscipline (WAI). Opted for barter in liquidating Nigeria's foreign debt.
14	Gen Ibrahim Babangida	1984 to Aug 1993	Moved the capital and seat of Government from Lagos to Abuja in December 1991. Built and made Abuja a reality. Built two party offices nationwide. Annulled the best election so far and introduced SAP. Before SAP was introduced, the Naira was exchanging at ₦1.00 to US\$1.00 and ₦3.00 to £1.00 but immediately SAP was introduced, it became ₦75.00 to US\$1.00 and ₦120.00 to £1.00. Since then Naira has continued to fall such that this year (2012) it hovered at ₦165.00 to US\$1.00 and ₦268.00 to £1.00. How are the mighty falling!
15	Chief Ernest Shonekan (3rd Republic)	Aug-Nov 1993	Had set a date in February 1994 for Presidential election when he was overthrown in November 1993.
16	Gen Sani Abacha	17 Nov. 1993 to 8 June 1998	Also, he was Presidential candidate of all the five registered political parties and was slated for presidential election in September 1998. The speculation was that he would amend the Presidential System to the type that will have six vice presidents when he suddenly died on 8th June 1998.

S/No	Governors	Dates	Main Features
17	Gen Abdulsalami Abubakar	8 June 1998 to	Handed over to elected president on 29th May 1999. Kept the economy going even when oil price went down to the lowest ever – US\$9 per barrel. He did the military proud by handing over as early as he did.
18	Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (His second coming) 4th Republic	1999 to 2007 4th Republic	Set up anti-corruption agencies, EFCC, ICPC etc. Dealt a blow to “419” kingpins. Jacked-up fuel price, sold off vital national assets such as refineries, ministerial residences introduced monetisation in which civil servants were given cash instead of official car, quarters etc. Got Nigeria’s US\$30bn debt to Paris Club written off.
19	Alhaji Umaru Yar’Adua	2007 to 10th May 2010	Had a 6-point Agenda. Admitted that the election that brought him to power was badly flawed. Struck a Peace Deal with Niger Delta militants. Declared his asset when the law did not require him to do that. Reduced fuel price, revoke massive sale of national assets, anchored his tenure on rule of law.
20	Dr. Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan	11th May 2010 to date	He has put forward his Transformation Agenda with glimpse of hope in the cassava bread and rail revival.

CHAPTER 4

NIGERIAN MILITARY IN GOVERNANCE

A few times the civilian politicians have pushed the country to the precipice. Therefore, no matter the merits of a democratically elected civilian government, military intervention has had its blessing, at least in the survival of Nigeria as a single entity. The prospects of one united Nigeria are too bright, beneficial and tempting to be sacrificed on the altar of any 'tribal' democracy.

**- Senator 'Lar Joseph in his book,
Nigeria - Shadow of A Great Nation.**

Post-independent Nigeria (1st October 1960 to 14th January 1966) was very vibrant, peaceful and held a lot of hopes as Africa's economic giant and political colossus. At that time, South Africa was in bondage and the rest of Southern and East Africa were economically gagged. Nigeria, then with a population of sixty million people was the power to behold in South Saharan Africa and she had virtually everything going for her.

Then suddenly, in the early morning hours of 15th January 1966, all the hopes that Nigeria once held

evaporised and the democracy that was intensely cherished got defied by an early morning broadcast by Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu in which he declared amongst others that:

We seized power to stamp out tribalism, nepotism and corruption... There were five of us in the inner circle and we planned the details... it was truly Nigerian gathering and only in the Nigerian Army can you find true Nigerianism... We did this for the good of this country... Our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand 10 percent... Those that make the country look big for nothing before international circles, those that have corrupt our society etc.

And so, this was how Nigeria started the long journey of thirty three years through a military wilderness of coups and countercoups from 1966 to 1999. Till date, Nigeria has had nine military coups of which four were abortive and five were sustained. It should be noted that the word “succeed” is not used for *coup d'état*. Instead, the word “sustained” is used because *coup d'état* being an illegality can only be sustained and not otherwise.

The first coup so shocked and overwhelmed the civilian government that it had to invite the military. The next three coups were counter-coups in which military overthrew itself while the last coup was a case of coarsed peaceful relinquishing of power by a civilian puppet regime to the military. The full details of the nine coups are as summarised below:

Record of Military Coups d'état in Nigeria

S/No	Coup Date	Abortive Coups Leaders	Heads of State that emerged from a Coup or a Change in Situation	Comment
1a	15 Jan. 1966 The Overthrow of First Republic	Major Kaduna Nzeogwu plus five other Majors. Some books indicate that there were six other Majors.		Abortive Coup. It was the First Nigerian Coup. The Majors tried to overthrow the Civil Government of Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafewa Balewa, but failed. According to some authors they failed for 2 main reasons: Gen Aguiyi Ironsi, GOC Nigerian Army who was to be eliminated escaped and also, Major Obieniu who was to support the coup in Lagos with his Recce Vehicles chickened out at the last minute. If the Recce vehicles were available they may have resisted and defeated Ironsi's forces.

S/No	Coup Date	Abortive Coups Leaders	Heads of State that emerged from a Coup or a Change in Situation	Comment
1b		N/A	Gen Aguiyi Ironsi was Head of State from 15 January 1966 to 29 July 1966.	Gen Ironsi crushed the coup in Lagos. Remnant of the bartered civilian government handed over power to him. He announced Decree 34 for Unitary Government with Unified Civil Service. Riots started in the North. Ironsi visited the North to douse the "fire" and returned safely. He now visited Ibadan and got killed there in a coup.
2	29 July 1966	N/A	Gen Yakubu Gowon was Head of State from 29 July 1966 to 29 July 1975	Created the 12 states out of 4 regions. Crushed the Biafran secession. Declared "No Victor No Vanquished". Launched the 3R-Reconciliation, Rehabilitation, and Reconstruction. Declared on 1st October 1974 that the original date of 1976 to handover to civilian government was no longer feasible.

S/No	Coup Date	Abortive Coups Leaders	Heads of State that emerged from a Coup or a Change in Situation	Comment
3	29th July 1975	N/A	Gen Murtala Mohammed, Head of State from 29 July 1975 to 13 February 1976.	Gen Gowon was overthrown while on African Heads-of-State Conference at Adis Ababa by Gen Murtala Mohammed who massively retired civil servants “with immediate effect”. He started the free-for-all creation of states. He created 19 states out of 12 and announced movement of capital from Lagos to Abuja.
4a	13 Feb 1976	Col B S Dimka	N/A	Abortive Coup: Gen Murtala Mohammed was assassinated at an artificial road block. Gen Obasanjo who was Second-in-Command to Murtala escaped being killed and became the Head of State.

S/No	Coup Date	Abortive Coups Leaders	Heads of State that emerged from a Coup or a Change in Situation	Comment
4b	N/A	N/A	Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, received Biafra's unconditional surrender. He was Head of State from 13 February 1976 to 1st October 1979.	During his tenure, he launched OFN on 21 May 1976 and UPE on 2 September 1976. He also organised FESTAC '77 and then handed over on 1st October 1979 to a democratically elected president, Alhaji Shehu Shagari after a controversial 2/3 of 19 legal drama and the UPN opposition party accused the president that the 2/3 of 19 court ruling in his favour was a "stolen" Presidency.
5	31 Dec 1983 The overthrow of Second Republic		Gen Muhammadu Buhari was Head of State from 31 December 1983 to 27 August 1984.	Even though the Civilian Government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari launched Green Revolution, the importation of rice nullified the effect. He also had mass housing in which UPN party refused to release land. In the confusion, Shagari was overthrown. There was the trial of political office holders and many had long jail terms. WAI was launched and Nigerians for the first time learnt to queue and behave responsibly.

S/No	Coup Date	Abortive Coups Leaders	Heads of State that emerged from a Coup or a Change in Situation	Comment
6	27 August 1984		Gen Ibrahim Babangida was Military President from 27 August 1984 to 27 August 1993.	Gen Buhari was overthrown on 27 August 1984. His successor, Gen Babangida, introduced SAP that plunged the economy to the abyss. He created 9 states, built Abuja to reality and moved seat of government from Lagos to Abuja. He had epileptic transition programme and set up Centre For Democratic Studies to brush up politicians. During his rule, Nigeria joined the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) and at the same time established diplomatic relation with Israel. He annulled the 12 June 1993 election that was said to be the freest and fairest; it was unique that a Muslim – Muslim Presidential ticket for Abiola and Kingibe won the election proving that Nigerians are not as religiously unreasonable as are being labelled. Gen Babangida formed an Interim National Government (ING) and made Chief Ernest Shonekan the Head of ING. He then stepped aside on 27th August 1993 after 8 years of turbulence occasioned by Vatsa and Orkar Coups.

S/No	Coup Date	Abortive Coups Leaders	Heads of State that emerged from a Coup or a Change in Situation	Comment
7	December 1985	Gen Mammam Vatsa	N/A	<p>Abortive Coups: Those executed on 3rd March 1986 for coup were Gen Vatsa and 9 other officers (including Lt-Col Musa Bitiyong, who, some claim, was the L/cpl who pulled the trigger that killed Ironsi and Fajuyi on 29th July 1966).</p>
8	22 April 1996	Major Gideon Orkar	N/A	<p>Abortive Coup: Executed were 22 soldiers including Major Orkar who in his broadcast excised out of Nigeria the six Northern-most States that have border with Chad and Niger.</p>
9	17 November 1993. Overthrow of 3rd Republic		Gen Sani Abacha	Chief Ernest Shonekan had planned to hold election in March 1994 but was overthrown by Gen Abacha on 17 November 1993.

S/No	Coup Date	Abortive Coups Leaders	Heads of State that emerged from a Coup or a Change in Situation	Comment
10	N/A	N/A	Gen Alhaji Abdulsalami Abubakar handed over to Chief Olusegun Obasanjo to usher in the 4th Republic.	Abacha died suddenly on 6 June 1998 and Gen A A Abubakar became the Head of State. He gave Nigeria a short but resourcefully managed economy because even though oil was selling at US\$9.00 per barrel, Nigerians never felt the down-turn. As a gentleman soldier, he was expected to hand over on 1st October 1999 but he did it earlier on 29 May 1999 by handing over to democratically elected civilian government of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. Unfortunately, the election was so rigged that former President Jimmy Carter left Nigeria quietly rather than endorse it as leader of National Democratic Institute Election Observation Team. Obasanjo's major achievement was his use of Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala in getting Nigeria's US\$30bn debt written off by US\$12bn bulk payment by Nigeria to Paris Club.

It is a strongly held view that military intervention in national politics is an aberration. But then the military in Nigerian politics was not really an intervention because the civilian authority invited them and handed over power to the military in accordance to Sections 197 – 200 of 1979/1999 Constitutions Sub-section (c) which states that the duties of the military will include:

Suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called upon to do so.

In Nigeria's case it was the Acting President, Dr. A.A. Nwafor – Orizu on approval of the Council of Ministers who invited Gen Aguiyi Ironsi to take over (see the detailed statement below) as a result of the confusion caused by the coup of 15th January 1966. In short, the military did not seize power per se but were invited. Definitely, if the military had remained united, against all odds under Gen Ironsi, it would have given the military the synergy and wholesome acceptance avidly needed to fast-track Nigeria's development and Nigeria may have today been as successful as Singapore or any of the three other Asian Tigers. The invitation in writing of the acting President was as follows:

I have tonight been advised by the Council of Ministers that they had come to the unanimous decision voluntarily to hand over the administration of the country to the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic with immediate effect. All ministers are assured of their personal safety by the new administration. I will now call upon the General Officer Commanding, Major-General

Aguiyi Ironsi, to make a statement to the nation on the policy of the new administration. It is my fervent hope that the new administration will ensure the peace and stability of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and that all citizens will give them their full cooperation.

This was how the military got into politics with the notion that it will be a brief interregnum of about nine months but that was not to be as a result of the counter-coup of 29th July 1966.

However, the military in government has not been all about coups and counter-coups. The military being a disciplined force left enduring legacies such as: The culture of War Against Indiscipline (WAI), the military remains the bastion of Nigerian unity because it is only in the military that there are no divisions (social, tribal or religious), their loyalty and allegiance are always to the nation, not to an individual. The military therefore is the bedrock of Nigerian unity and hence, guarantees the unity of Nigeria. Like Major Kaduna Nzeogwu did affirm that ‘it is only in the military that you find true Nigerianism’. Indeed, Nzeogwu will recoil in his grave for labeling a coup he led as “Ibo coups”. That’s far from it, because being a true Nigerian, he abhorred tribalism.

Gladly, Nigerians have matured and that was why when Orkar excised the six Northern states with the hope of steering confusion that will enable him gain time and thus have a firmer grip on power, Nigerians refused to be confused. They remained calm and ultimately, the excision failed to ignite. It was sheer madness because in the military, it is always heterogeneously organised with troops from various religions, tribes, etc. For instance, I am of

Southern extraction but my driver and batsman were from the North and so in the circumstance, Orkar excision didn't work because the bond between officers and their troops, though of different tribes and religions cannot be broken because of unlawful pronouncements via radio. Most officers were in the same predicament as myself because in the military you pick your aides based on professional competence and not on tribal or religious basis. This is so because an officer cannot effectively command his troops in battle if he is tribalistic or a religious bigot. Consequently, officers pick loyal soldiers as aides who in battle or in critical situation like Orkar's coup will be the one to save their lives. And that's why the January 1966 and the counter-coup of 29th July 1966 were bad omen for Nigeria because in both cases, soldiers and officers betrayed the sacred trust of their seniors.

In retrospect, Orkar's action in excising some states was not surprising because his coup was not a military coup but a civilian inspired putsch and this was obvious from the fact that majority of troops that took part in that putsch were retired other ranks. Consequently, the military is the nation's last bastion of hope in Nigeria's effort at remaining one indivisible entity.

Other cardinal stabilising achievements of the military are: the peace-keeping in local and oversea environments; movement of capital of Nigeria from Lagos to Abuja, the creation of states and the Local Government reforms. It is worthy of note that apart from the creation of Mid-West region in 1962, the civil governments have not been able to even adjust controversial boundaries of states and local government let alone create a state or a LGA. During the Second Republic of 1979 to 1983, there were requests for

50 states but none was created because of the inability of our politicians to bury their differences, be non-partisan and act in concert on crucial national issues. The military may have its faults but overall, the states created have given minorities a voice and given majorities strength to keep the country ticking.

Nigeria post-military era started off with Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, a retired General and former Head of State. He was supposed to have used his military bearing to stabilise the polity. Unfortunately the confusion that trailed his effort to dig too much into the past concerning Gen Abacha and family, compounded his first term and his feud with his Vice-President plus the third term saga blotted the cutting edge of his second term. Overall, the fact that Nigeria is still an entity is an achievement which the military contributed substantially through creation of states. Unfortunately, the military over-created the states and today, the financial burden is killing the Federation thereby necessitating the need to collapse the 36 states into six states/regions. Fortunately, we have today, the Senate President, Gen David Mark (rtd) who is a major stabilising personality at the National Assembly. He has handled the Senate with such maturity, sagacity and dynamism that the Senate is no longer a rocking chair in which leadership was changing hands per second per second. The military is very proud of his effort and he should spearhead the successful restructuring of the polity because that's the masterstroke that will save Nigeria.

Undoubtedly, the coups phenomenon sowed so much bad blood in the Army, because most times, it was a game of blatant betrayal of sacred trust. However, it was gladdening to note that twenty-eight years after the painful

overthrow of Gen Muhammadu Buhari by his friend, brother and colleague, Gen Ibrahim Babangida (IBB) on 27th August 1994, Gen Buhari in 2012, declared that he has forgiven IBB. In the same breath, Gen Buhari pleaded that Alhaji Shehu Shagari should please forgive him for his (Shagari's) overthrow. Then in January 2013, the most dramatic reunion between the four principal characters of the Orkar coup happened. The four personalities are: Gen Ibrahim Babangida, Brig-Gen Haliru Akilu, Col Tony Nyiam and Chief Great Ogboru. They all met at the book launch of Professor Akinyemi in Lagos. They shook hands, exchanged pleasantries and decided to bury the misgivings of the 1990 attempt by Tony and Great to unseat IBB. That's how it should be. We must bury the hatchet in order to move forward, because in all circumstances, Nigeria is greater than any individual or group of individuals.



General Ibrahim Babangida exchanging pleasantries with Col Tony Nyiam at Prof Bolaji Akinyemi's book presentation in Lagos, January 2013

PART II:

THE MAIN PROBLEMS OF NIGERIA

CHAPTER 5

THE PROBLEM WITH NIGERIA – OVERBLOATED BUREAUCRACY CAUSED BY UNDUE CREATION OF STATES

The dreams of Nigeria's founding fathers were shattered by the cumbersome and unworkable governance architecture which fuels corruption, political instability, and ethnic incoherence. 2015 worries me...let's return to Regional Structure...

– Chief Eleazar Anyaoku

(On 18th January 2013, his 80th Birthday)

Everything in life has its optimal limit. The four regions though unbalanced, were very close to the optimal limit, but Gowon hurriedly and punitively engineered the 12-states structure primarily to de-stabilise Biafra. Consequently the 12-states structure was a bit too far from the optimal point because in reality it should be six states from the existing six zones. If Gowon had given Nigeria six states from the existing six zones he would have single-handedly put Nigeria on the path to our dream greatness.

However, it's never too late. We will get there. Unfortunately, leaders after Gowon exacerbated the problem. Gen Murtala Muhammed opened the gate wide for the creation of more states and it came in floods beyond what the economy could bear. With oil price on the verge of hitting an all-time low following the discovery of Shale gas in US, China, and UK, we must think fast, go back to the drawing board and put in place a less expensive structure which should be a six-states structure. This sounds inchoate, crazy, unreasonable, impracticable, and even impossible but ultimately it is the most rational way to go.

However, in retrospect, how did we get to where we are today? The journey started with the arbitrary creation of three regions (North, East and West) by Governor Sir Arthur Richard in 1945 without consulting the representative of the people or the 46-man Nigerian council that was put in place since 1920 by Sir Hugh Clifford. The massive land area of the Northern Region sowed the seed of perpetual imbalance in Nigeria and hence a perpetual discord within the Nigerian polity.

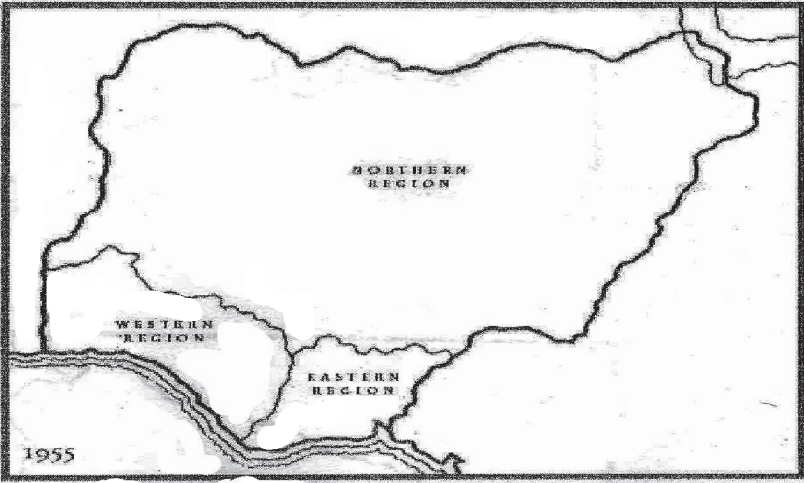
Unfortunately, on getting our independence, rather than our political leaders reviewing this imbalance objectively, they compounded it by hastily creating a region and then followed by more states with no recourse to what the economy can sustain.

The Mid-West region was created on 9th August 1963 after a hurried constitutional process and in the midst of political crises involving Chief Obafemi Awolowo of the Action Group and twenty six of his party members on charges of treasonable felony. Also, Western Region was suspended and in an emergency under the administration of Federal Minister of Health, Dr. Moses Majekodunmi.

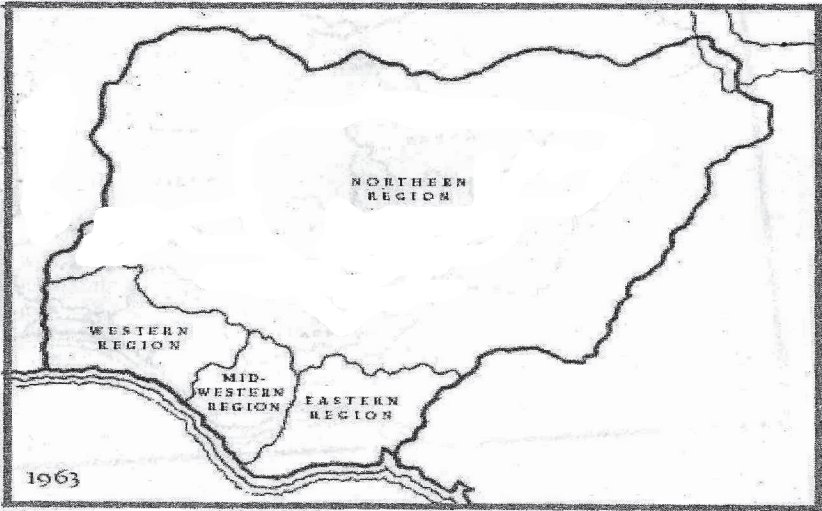
Furthermore, the census controversies were brewing and therefore, creating another region in that chaos and before becoming a republic was not very appropriate.

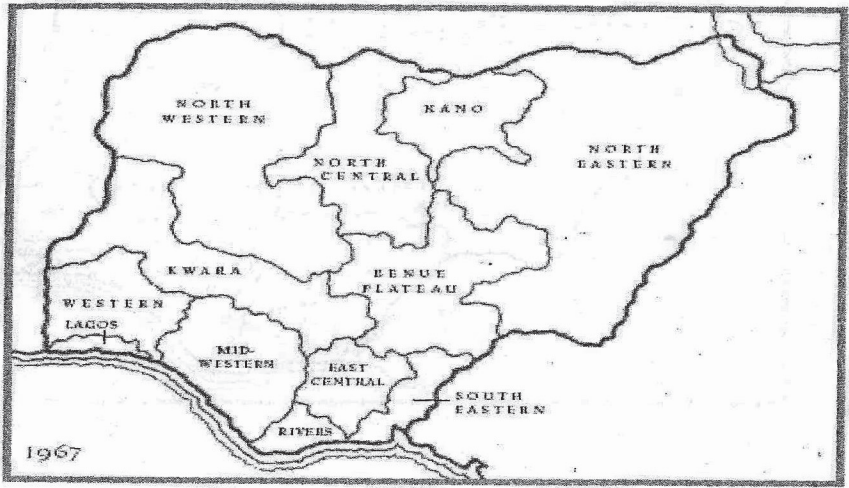
Then, barely four years later, on 27th May 1967 under the same political crises and the apparent mobilisation for war, Gen Gowon, in order to stop Ojukwu's secession, did the first geo-political vivisection of Nigeria and created twelve states structure out of the four regions. However, it was wise of him to endeavour to strike a balance between the North and the South in that he created six states in the North and six states in the South. Obviously, if state creation had stopped at these twelve states the unbearable financial burden of these thirty six states wouldn't have been there. On 3rd February 1976, Gen Murtala Mohammed created nineteen states structure and upset the balance by creating ten states for the North and nine states in the South. Then by September 1989, Gen Ibrahim Babangida created two additional states (Katsina and Akwa-Ibom States) thus bringing the total number of states to twenty one. This was followed on 27th August 1991 (Gen IBB's 6th anniversary of coming to power) with creation of additional nine states bringing the total number of states from twenty one to thirty. Again, IBB worsened the imbalance by creating sixteen states in the North and fourteen in the South. Gen Sani Abacha on 1st October 1996 iced the cake by increasing the number of states from thirty to thirty six states with nineteen states in the North and seventeen in the South. Also, 138 additional local government areas were created by him bringing the total to 774 LGAs.

On the whole, this atomisation or morselisation of Nigeria through states creation has rendered Nigerian economy prostrate with a burdensome civil service wage bills.

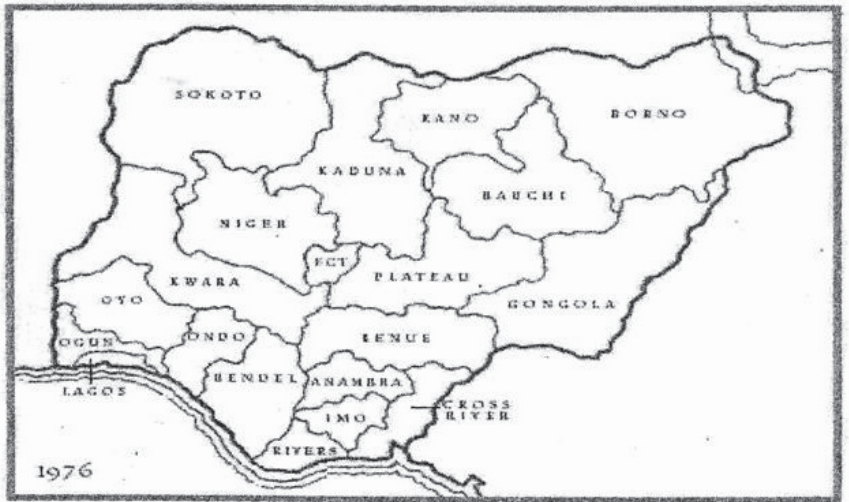


Three Regions, 1955

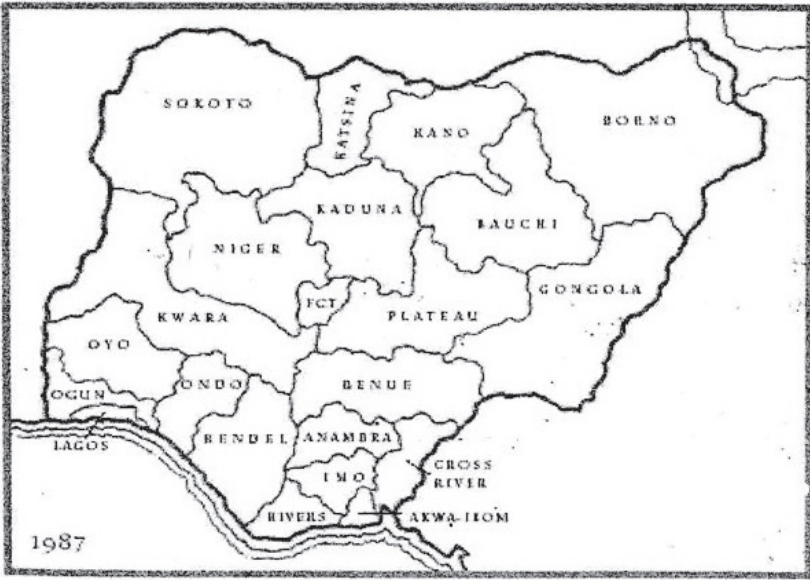




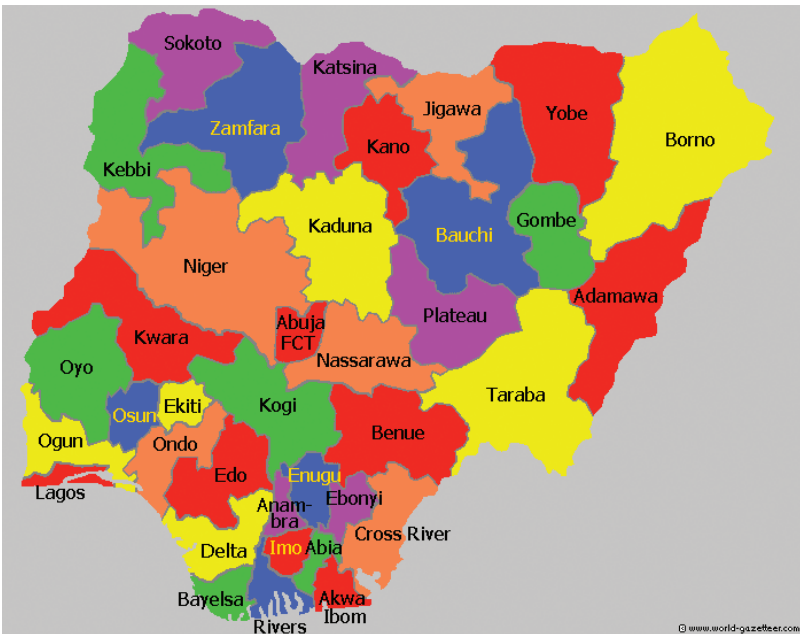
Nineteen States, 1976



Twenty-One States, 1987



Thirty States, 1991



Thirty-Six States, 1995

The Need to Re-structure the Polity

Obviously, Nigeria is doubly blest with the production of over 2.3 million barrel of oil per day. Nigeria's Strategic Reserve is 32.2 billion barrel of oil, bpd (the 10th largest in the world) plus 5400 billion cubic meters of natural gas, the 9th largest in the world. Consequently, with the oil boom that occurred as a result of the Arab-Israeli Yom Kippur war of 1973, there was an oil boom. From then on, agriculture, Nigeria's former primary source of income plummeted from 75% export in 1965 to 20% in 1985 and as low as 3% in 2010. Again, with this oil boom, there was an avalanche of contracts being awarded all over thereby fuelling rural-urban migration and agriculture suffered total neglect. With the rural populace movement to towns and cities, standard of living of the populace skyrocketed and has remained high because the nouveaux rich in cities think it is infra dig for them to go back to the village to farm.

In effect, Nigerian economy remains mono-cultural and undiversified. This was the situation when the military heads of state from Gen Murtala Mohammed to Gen Abacha kept on creating states up to a total of twenty-four states plus 774 LGAs without planning pari-pasu the funds to sustain them. Till date (2013), the macroeconomic environment is very much unstable, and the economy is still characterised by low foreign reserve, (US\$37.0 billion), volatile exchange rates, double-digit inflation, though now shifting to single digit, unemployment, high fiscal deficit of 3.6% GDP, low GDP growth of 2.5% on the average and per capita of less than US\$3000 plus the fact that official monthly minimum wage for workers was pegged by government at ₦18,000 or US\$120 in a country where a

legislator in the National Assembly, on the average, earns ₦15m or US\$100,000 per month!

In 1997, the Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission revealed that on the average per annum, the total wage bill for the three-tiers of political office holders alone was ₦1.3 trillion. This amount is double Nigeria's capital vote for one year. Recently, the Governor of Central Bank indicated that the National Assembly alone consumes 25% of Nigeria's overhead budget. This could even be an understatement considering that Nigeria has thirty-six states, FCT, 774 LGAs, forty-two ministries, 469 National Assembly members, 541 MDAs, twenty special advisers for the Presidency alone, fifty-four committees in the Senate, and eighty-nine in the House of Reps. These are all standing committees and are well-oiled with funds. It is therefore not surprising that Nigeria spends about 80% of her earnings on wage bills. Definitely, the government paraphernalia with the milling "maggots" must therefore be washed-clean, and then re-structured downwards if Nigeria is to survive.

Obviously, this cannot continue because doing so will mean Nigeria cannot undertake sustainably capital intensive projects such as the building of new modular refineries, increasing our power output to 10,000 MW, construction of new rail lines, engage in agrarian-cum-industrial revolutions that will offer employment to the teeming population. Nigeria must seize the opportunity of the present relative windfall in oil price to initiate some major structural changes such as effecting the regional and provincial concept for Nigeria's two tiers of government.

Demand for More States

In the current constitutional review, it has been reported that additional fifty-six states are being requested. This is absurd, because virtually all the thirty six-states in the Federation are not viable except Lagos State which has remained intact since Gen Gowon's twelve -state structure, and that is why, it has remained viable.

Definitely, creating states to balance the geo-political equation is necessary if states continue to be the basis of allocation of funds from Federation Account. However the proposal here is that allocation of funds to regions and states should be on the basis of equality. This means the regions will each get the same amount, just like each state will get the same amount thus making the falsification of population data and such other data irrelevant. Thereafter, the regions and states will get special additional allocations that are peculiar to that region/state. For instance, the oil producing states in 2012 received the following additional funding:

- (i) 13% derivation
- (ii) Funds through Ministry of Niger Delta was ₦500 billion
- (iii) Funds through Niger Delta Development was ₦600 billion
- (iv) Funds through the Presidential Amnesty Programme was ₦450 billion
- (iv) Funds through other Federal Government and the oil companies.

Indeed, creating more states will not holistically solve Nigeria's economic, political and social problems. Instead, it will compound it. For instance, the states have failed to competently and responsibly handle the Independent States Electoral Commission (ISEC). Consequently, they have not been able to conduct the required Local Government Elections as mandated by the constitution with the result that Nigeria today has only seventeen states with elected councillors while the remaining nineteen states have a total of 511 illegal LGAs. By law, they are not supposed to exist but they are because in all probability, the governors enjoy appointing their cronies to the caretakers posts in the LGAs.

Now, if states can harbour such illegality against the constitution, it shows it has no capacity to exist. This failure coupled with the fact that the 774 LGAs have been a terrible drain pipe for federal allocations, demand a thorough review of the third tier of governance.

State Creation is Virtually an Impossible Process

The desire to create new states in Nigeria through constitutional process is like the proverbial camel passing through the eye of a needle. In other words, it is virtually impossible going by the 1979/1999 Constitution which stipulates in Section 8 – (1), (a), (i), (ii), (iii), (b), (c), (d), and Section 9 – (1), (3), and (4) that the following processes be adopted:

- (a) A request should be made supported by at least two-thirds of the people from the area demanding the creation of the new state. It should be forwarded to the Senate, House of Representatives, State House of Assembly, and the Local Government Councils.

- (b) A proposal for the creation of the new state should then be approved in a referendum by at least two-thirds majority of the people of the area where the demand for the creation of state originated.
- (c) The result of the referendum is then approved by a simple majority of all the states of the federation.
- (d) The proposal is then approved by a resolution passed by two-thirds majority of members of each house of the National Assembly and also approved by a simple majority from the thirty-six states Assemblies in the country.
- (e) Chapter IV of the constitution dealing with fundamental human rights understandably requires 4/5 of members of each house of the National Assembly and if the resolution for a new state must be approved by 4/5 of 109 members of the Senate, what then is this number because 4/5 of 109 is 87.2. Definitely 87.2 is not a whole number and since there cannot be 87.2 senators, it will be difficult to determine.

The State Electoral Commission

In normal situation, the Independent State Electoral Commission should be abolished but it will not because it is serving the interest of the governors. The recent (November 2012) elections into offices of local government councils in Gombe State proves the hopelessness of trying to entrench some semblance of democratic values at the lowest levels of governance in this country. The Gombe election was chaotic and anything but free and fair. On the whole, “elections” took place in only two out of the eleven LGAs in Gombe State, and the ruling party coasted home, as it

does everywhere, with a bagful of victories, leaving behind few councillorship positions for the opposition. What was unique about Gombe was that in seventy-nine electoral wards, the PDP had no opposition at all, and the manner the winners emerged was blatantly fraudulent. Also, in Kaduna State, PDP won most fraudulently twenty-two of twenty-three LGA chairmanship positions.

No one should be surprised that our democracy is badly shaken. Governors amass powers because they determine who becomes chairman and councillor, and they control the use of the funds of local councils. They also control, through such dominance, party structures from ward to state levels. Even LGA elected officials from opposing parties are powerless against governors because the latter control their purse strings. So people do not contest for positions of chairman and councillor to serve the people, but to become errand boys of governors.

Definitely a constitutional move to proscribe State Electoral Commission SIECS is on, but this will not succeed with the governors. They will exercise their control over state legislatures to frustrate any attempted amendment. The National Assembly cannot proscribe State Electoral Commission. The courts cannot do so. Yet, without allowing some genuine democracy at the grassroots it is then not democracy. It is therefore useless attempting to reform and improve the electoral process. Governors and presidents emerge as candidates, and are elected through flawed grassroot processes. Party delegates from ward and local government levels are determined by governors, overseen by chairmen and councillors whose elections are rigged. Delegates are bought and paid for, and they do the bidding of governors, not their constituents. It goes all the way up.

Control of political power and funds of LGAs is therefore a vital necessity for all state governors, and the single most destructive source of subversion of our democratic process. Presidents owe their positions to the whims and caprices of governors. Yet, the LGAs cannot be left on their own because they are generally very irresponsible. Governors garner massive powers to protect their positions, determine who becomes president, and other positions because they have unhindered access to pervert the will of the people at the levels which most intimately connects the citizen with the state.

Consequently, there should be radical improvement in the accountability of elected local government officials or they should be scrapped.

The current attempts to amend the constitution is likely to produce nothing but waste of scarce funds. The nation would have wasted billions, as is the tradition, in chasing shadows. But constitutional amendments are too important to leave to law makers and governors. Nigerians must raise their voices in demanding for reforms and constitutional changes that will use the lessons of the last 100 years of amalgamation to forge a new path for us as a nation destined for greatness from 2015 to eternity.

CHAPTER 6

THE PROBLEM WITH NIGERIA – POOR INFRASTRUCTURE

Failure to Repair the Refineries

Few days after Gen Abdulsalami Alhaji Abubakar became Head of State C-in-C in June 1998, he summoned me immediately to his office at the Presidential Villa, Abuja. As the Honourable Minister of Science and Technology in his cabinet, my mind hovered around a few possibilities for summoning me and I felt the issue must have to do with urgent national issue. Consequently, as my official car sped to the villa, I prepared my mind accordingly.

As soon as I walked in and saluted, he looked up and straight to the point he went, “Sam, what date at the earliest should we hand over?”

Wow! My mind raced up and down for few seconds and realising Nigeria’s pariah status, we needed to hand over soonest to end the pariah status. Also, handing over should normally be on Nigeria’s Independence Anniversary

date of 1st October, and since 1st October 1998 was four months away, I ruled that out, and so, I quickly replied:

“Sir, the earliest we should hand over is 1st October 1999”.

“Good,” he acquiesced and straight away he moved to the second question. “Now Sam, what is the most important task you believe we should complete before handing over?”

My mind again raced through three crucial issues bogging Nigeria:

- The repair of refineries;
- The need to improve our power capacity from 3MW then to at least 6MW
- The urgency to re-structure and re-vamp the Nigerian Police for enhanced security nationwide.

The last two options will definitely take time, and since the administration was racing against time, I replied with all humility, “Sir, let’s repair the refineries and halt the disgrace of buying what God gave us free.”

“That’s good,” he nodded affirmatively and with that, I saluted and returned to my office.

The following morning, I got to my office at the Secretariat by 7.30 a.m and no sooner I got in, than the telephone rang (those days land lines were working efficiently and were very affordable until the introduction of money-guzzling mobile phone which has ruined the economy as far as I’m concerned. Definitely, mobile phones are not being used in production of goods and services but in producing all sorts of debauchery mischiefs). I picked up the phone and all I heard was, “Sam, be in office by 8.30 a.m”. It was His Excellency, the Head of State, Gen Abdulsalami Abubakar talking!

I quickly raced to the Villa and I was there by 8.18 a.m. and was promptly briefed by Presidential staff that His Excellency and myself would be making an unscheduled, surprise visit to Kaduna refinery to find out directly from the Management details concerning the repair of the refinery.

In less than two hours, we were at the refinery and what we saw was shocking. The refinery was completely abandoned and in total dis-repair! It was overgrown with weeds and bushes. The staff were not at work, not even the security staff. All we saw were animals – cows, goats, rams, dogs, etc, milling around in the overgrown bushes and having a field day. It was a sorry sight. His Excellency and all of us were utterly dumbfounded.

We drove back to Abuja with the resolve to salvage the refinery. His Excellency tried his utmost but when he now finally decided to hand over in May 1999 as against 1st October 1999, time became a major constrain in achieving a complete turn-around repair of the refineries and so the task was passed on to the in-coming administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo. It is very sad that till date all the refineries with a production capacity of 445,000 bpd, are producing less than 50% that capacity because of deficient refinery and inadequate supply of crude to refine. The logic therefore is to build new refineries and even that is also jinxed.

The Problem of Building New Refineries

The Federal Government has between 2002 and 2007 granted licenses plus revalidated licenses for the establishment of private refineries to address fuel importation problem in Nigeria, but none of them has yet taken off. The problems include: DPR delay in renewing or

revalidating expired licenses, lack of funding, technical incompetence and most importantly, sabotage by vested interest particularly, the fuel importation cabal.

The time frame for the construction of refinery, experts say, depends on the type of refinery. For instance, a skid refinery with about 30,000 bpd capacity could be constructed in less than 12 months, while a mega refinery with about 100,000 bpd capacity and above takes between three and four years, with an estimated cost of about \$3.5 billion.

As at date, nine private refineries, have been proposed to be established in seven states across the southern part of the country, with a combined capacity of 454,000 bpd and their details are as follows:

- **Amakpe International Refinery Incorporated**, located at Eket, Akwa Ibom State. It is designed to be a topping (hydro-skimming) plant, with total capacity of 12,000 bpd.
- **Rehoboth Natural Resources Limited, in Immingiri, Bayelsa State**, designed to be topping (hydro-skimming) plant, and has 12,000 bpd capacity.
- **Amexium Corporation, Iking, Cross River State**, designed as a complex conversion (cracking) refinery and to be constructed in four phases (each with 25,000 bpd capacity) giving a total 100,000 bpd capacity.
- **Niger Delta Petroleum Resources, Ogbelle, Rivers State**, a modularised portable topping (diesel-extraction) plant, and has commenced installation though without much progress.

- **Antonio Oil, located in Iwopin, Ogun State**, a conversion refinery (mini) plant with 27,000 bpd capacity. The civil/structural works commenced on site in 2010.
- **Gasoline Associates International Limited Refinery, at Ipokia, Ogun State**, a complex conversion (cracking) refinery, and has 100,000 bpd capacity.
- **Resource Petroleum & Petrochemicals International Incorporated, Ikot Abasi, Akwa Ibom State**, a complex conversion (cracking) refinery, with 100,000 bpd capacity.
- **Sapele Petroleum Limited, Okpe-Sobo, Sapele, Delta State**, a complex conversion (cracking) refinery, with 100,000 bpd capacity.
- **Ologbo Refinery Company Nigeria Limited, Ologbo, Edo State**, a topping (hydro-skimming) plant, with its capacity to be expanded to 18,000 bpd from 12,000.

These nine projects are not the only refinery proposals that are facing difficulties in the country. The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) had in 2010 announced Federal Government's plans to build three new refineries in the country. They are to be sited in Kogi, Lagos and Bayelsa States.

Similarly, there was an unsuccessful move to construct six modular refineries at a total cost of \$4.5bn or ₦697 billion, with a combined capacity of refining 180,000 barrels of crude oil per day by two private firms, Vulcan Petroleum Resources Ltd US-based and Abuja-based

Petroleum Refining and Strategic Reserve Ltd. They both signed Memoranda of Understanding with the Ministry of Trade and Investment. Agreement has stalled because of apparent disagreement between the ministry and its petroleum resources counterpart.

The most shocking is that now that we can't build new refineries, why must we fail to effect efficient Turn-Around Maintenance (TAM) of refineries? The 210,000 bpd twin Port-Harcourt refinery was last maintained in 1999 nearly fourteen years ago. The 125,000 bpd capacity refinery in Warri was last maintained in 2004 or 9 years ago, while the 110,000 bpd capacity refinery in Kaduna had its last TAM in 2008.

By normal standards, the four refineries are due for TAM because functional refineries should undergo TAM every two years at the most. Unfortunately, plans to install new refineries since 2002 (for over 10 years) are also failing. Undoubtedly, this is disgraceful. A country that is aspiring to be a member of UN Security Council cannot refine God-given crude oil for the sake of her down-trodden citizens but will instead export it and re-import it at a higher cost!

It is a shame and indeed, so revolting that if I were Mr. President I will make the immediate repair of our four refineries plus the building of the new refineries the main campaign promise I will make to the people of Nigeria to seek re-election or rejection in 2015. Our leaders should henceforth learn to leave at least one legacy per tenure. That's leadership.

Problem of Power Holding Company of Nigeria

Nigeria has in the last eight years invested over US\$16 billion but unfortunately the power capacity which should

be over 7 mega watts has remained the same 4.3 mega watts. For a population of 170 million, is it not surprising why Nigeria is de-industrialising compared to South Africa that has 40MW capacity for a population of 51.8 million. However, Federal Government is promising that by 2014, power will be stabilised through improved power supply based on the multi-billion-dollar National Integrated Power Project (NIPP). President Goodluck Jonathan made the promise at Our Saviour's Church, Tafawa Balewa Square, Lagos during his Easter worship. He lamented: "We have challenges as a nation but we must go where we want to go. As a president, I promise I will do my best. We promise that we will stabilise power in this country. God willing, next year, they will not take light again". But as he stepped down from the pulpit, there was power outage, and this generated snide remarks from the congregation implying that the President needs to walk his talk to convince Nigerians that 2014 target of providing uninterrupted power supply will be a reality.

The NIPP was conceived in 2004 to fast-track government-funded initiative to add significant new generation capacity to the country's electricity supply system as well as expand the transmission and distribution infrastructure on a scale never before contemplated in the nation-building process. Originally designed around seven medium-sized gas fired power stations in the oil producing states.

In 2005, the Federal Government incorporated the Niger Delta Power Holding Company Limited (NDPHC) as a limited liability company to serve as the legal vehicle to hold and manage the NIPP assets using private sector-oriented internationally accepted best business practices.

Funded by the three tiers of government, the NIPP currently consists of engineering, procurement and construction (EPC) of:

- ten new gas-fired power plants;
- Gas pipelines, gas metering and regulating stations grouped into seven lots for the delivery of natural gas to the power plants;
- 125 high voltage transmission network projects for evacuation of electricity from the new power plants and the reinforcement of various segments of the national grid network;
- Provision and integration of grid-wide telecommunication and Tele-protection infrastructure; and
- 250 electricity distribution network projects at 11kV and 33kV voltage levels with injection substations and HVDS transformers. These projects are grouped into forty-three lots spread over every state of the Federation.

Despite intensive legal, political and funding hiccups leading to a two-year suspension, the NDPHC has so far completed the commissioning of 14 GTS in power generation projects located at Olorunsogo in Ogun State, Sapele in Delta State, Alaoji in Abia State and Omotosho in Ondo State.

Also, the NDPHC has added 274km of transmission lines to the national carrying capacity through the completion of six transmission projects namely, the 330KV DC Ajaokuta-Lokoja-Gwagwalada lines, 222km; 330KV DC

Ihovbor-Benin Main-Oshogbo Line A, 17km; 330KV DC Papalanto-IkejaWest-Ayede line, 16km; 330KV DC Ganmo-Jebba-Oshogbo SC-Turn In/Turn Out Line, 12km; 330KV DC Omotosho-Ikeja West Line, 5km; and the 2km, 132KV DC Ganmo-Ilorin-Oshogbo Turn In/Turn Out line.

Furthermore, the NDPHC has strengthened the transmission capacity of twelve substations, built three new ones from the scratch and rehabilitated two across the country, with a cumulative capacity of 2,370MVA.

In putting up the third leg of the power tripod – Distribution – the NDPHC also has an impressive haul of thirty completed projects in zones as follows: Abuja Zone, 2; Benin Zone,2; Eko Zone,9; Ibadan Zone,6; Ikeja Zone 6; Kaduna Zone, 3; and Jos/Yola Zone, 2.

In a presentation of the NIPP Status Report to the 4th Quarter Power Summit last December in Lagos, Mr. Olotu outlined the 6-point NDPHC 2013 Plan thus:

- Completion of all Gas Turbine Projects to add a massive 4,264MVA to the national grid; Follow up the outstanding combined cycle for the 510MW Alaoji Power Station;
- Follow up the completion of Transmission Projects to deliver 2,194km of 330 KVA lines; 5,64MVA 330/132KV SS and 809km 132KV lines, and 3.433MVA 132/33KV SS;
- Follow up the completion of Distribution Projects of 3,540MVA substations plus 2,600km of 11KV lines and 1,700km of 33KV lines;
- Complete gas projects and conclude all Gas Sales Aggregator Agreements (GSAA) and Gas Transmission Agreements (GTA); and

- Receive and commence the implementation of the Transaction Adviser's recommendation.

Major Problems of NIPP

- Apart from the nearly three-year suspension of work on the projects, resulting in delay and extra cost, the NIPP has been bogged down by a number of problems and these include: gas supply to the power stations, security and community issues, wayleave acquisition problems and attendant costs, port clearing coordination problems and contractor performance problems.

Privatisation of Power Holding Company

Very disturbing inconsistency has been noted concerning the strategic issue of privatising Nigeria's Power Holding Company. It is unfortunate that an issue as strategic as power is being handled without a well-thought-out procedure. No African country has risked what Nigeria is now doing. Worse still, privatising PHCN in an insecure environment is not advisable. What happens if the PHCN installations are vandalised now that they are no longer under government control? Would Army and Police work for private companies? These are questions yearning for answers. It is therefore the wrongest time to privatise! Definitely, power is at the very heart of a nation and should therefore be the last and not the first strategic structure to be privatised. It should not be done in a hurry. It is a mighty gamble and may heaven help us make sure it succeeds otherwise the disaster will be immeasurable.

In spite of the risk, the Federal Government is going ahead to ask the fifteen firms who won the concessional privatisation deal to come forth and pay at least 25% of the total sum of USD\$304.25 billion within fifteen days or by 8th March 2013. Discos will pay USD\$187.25bn and Gencos will pay USD\$107bn. Fortunately, the payment was completed as scheduled.

The Generation and Distribution aspects are privatised while Federal Government is still controlling the Transmission aspect and is using a Canadian firm – Manitoba Hydro International (MHI) to manage it on its behalf. Initially, Federal Government was to privatise 51% and keep 49% but later it released 70% for privatisation and kept 30%. This attracted investors. The hurdles the investors will confront will include:

1. Pay off the existing 50,000 or more PHCN staff. Labour Union claims the staff to be paid are 67000.
2. Funds to pay the balance of 75% because the banks are reluctant until they raise equity to match the loan being requested.
3. Their foreign partners are purely technical and therefore seem not to have the desired equity.
4. Some governors bidded for PHCN in their states but got none and so, it is being watched how issues will play themselves out.
5. Controversial issues such as pre-paid meter should be sorted out by making it free or to be at a reasonable sum.

So far, ten Distribution Power Companies (Discos) and five Generating Companies (Gencos) have been shortlisted and details are as tabulated below:

S/No	The Generating Companies (Gencos)	Power Station Concessioned	Total Amount or Annual Fees USD\$	Commencement Fees USD\$
1	Amperion Power Distribution Company Ltd	Geregun Plc	132,000,000	–
2	Mainstream Energy Solution Ltd	Kainji Hydro Power Plc	50,700,665.18	257,000,000
3	North-South Power Ltd	Shiroro Hydro Power Plc	23,602,484.87	111,654,534
4	Transcorp/Wordrock/Sumbion/Medea/PSL/Thomassen	Ughelli Plc	300,000,000	–
5	C,ES/EURAFRIC Energy JV Consortium	Sapele Power Plc	201,000,000	–
The Distribution Companies (Discos)				
1	Kano Consortium	Abuja	164m	–
2	Vigeo Power Consortium	Benin	126m	–
3	West Power Consortium	Edo	135m	–
4	Interotate Eletrics	Enugu	126m	–
5	Integrated Energy	Ibadan	169m	–
6	NEDC/KEPCO	Ikeja	131m	–
7	Aura Energy	Jos	82m	–
8	Sahelian Power	Kano	137m	–
9	4power Consortium	Port Harcourt	124m	–
10	Integrated Energy	Yola	59m	–
11	70% of Egbin Power Plant in Lagos was sold hurriedly to Korea firm, KEPCO for \$407.3m without due bidding process.			

The Acting Director General of Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE), Benjamin Dikki, said electricity users must prepare to pay more as tariffs may be jerked up by the new buyers of PHCN. He said that the increase would be for just a little time as “I assure you that the tariffs are bound to fall in the not-too-distant future”. Federal Government should ensure the tariff *ab initio* is manageable otherwise the entire scheme will take off on the wrong foot and may leap to death but God forbid.

Renewable Energy

Furthermore, the government should encourage investment in Renewable Energy. The source could be solar, wind, rain, tidal waves, biomass, biofuel, geothermas etc. The main advantage to the poor is that it is affordable and inexhaustible.

The government in 1979, established the Energy Commission of Nigeria (ECN) with the primary responsibility for the strategic planning and coordination of the nation’s policies in the field of energy.

In 2003, the commission came up with a National Energy Policy (NEP) draft, which encourages the optimum development of all energy resources in the country including renewable energy sources in an environmentally friendly manner with active participation of the private sector for enhanced national energy security. The NEP gave birth to the Renewable Energy Master Plan (REMP) in 2005.

Speaking at the opening ceremony of the public presentation of the 2nd Renewable Energy Master Plan (REMP) organised by the Energy Commission of Nigeria (ECN) in Abuja, the Minister of Science and Technology, Prof. Ita Ewa, said there is a nexus between adequate energy

supply and national development and that Nigeria is endowed with renewable energy sources of solar, wind, hydro, biomass, which are the most viable and inexhaustible, because of the capacity to replenish within a relatively short period through natural process.

It also generates lesser green house gas emission, thereby creating environmental and social benefits. Consequently, renewable energy sources, will not only reduce sole dependence on depletable fossil fuels but will improve on security of energy supply through enhanced supply mix so that the nation's oil and gas may last longer.

Tackling Pipeline Vandalism

With four refineries, 5,000km of pipeline networks and twenty-one petroleum products storage depots, Nigeria has the largest petroleum infrastructure in sub-Saharan Africa. These infrastructure, if it had operated perfectly, not only feed Nigeria with petroleum products but could have catered for the needs of some neighbouring countries. Unfortunately, this ambition is not possible due to serious damages on the 5000km pipelines and the twenty-one depots by vandals, sabotage and mismanagement. The alternative would be the use of a minimum of 10,000 trucks to carry the product on daily basis to consumers in the interior.

The converse of using trucking as alternative means of moving products result in massive cost with the attendant operational hazards. Records indicate that with the incessant attacks on the nation's vast artery of pipelines, about 70 percent products distribution is through trucking or what is known in the industry parlance as bridging into the hinterland. This requires massive fleets of petroleum

product trucks of up to 1,212 truck-load out from the depots every day to meet the daily estimated national consumption.

On pipeline vandalism, billions of dollars or trillions of Naira in cost are recorded annually. The vandalisation is massive and includes the following:

- (a) 774 break points from Atlas Cove to Ilorin depot
- (b) 181 break points between Atlas Cove and Mosimi depot
- (c) 421 rupture points between Mosimi and Ibadan
- (d) 50 vandalised points between Mosimi and Ore
- (e) 122 break points between Ibadan and Ilorin

The Minister of Petroleum Resources, Mrs Diezani Allison-Madueke has been very effective in the rehabilitation of all the twenty-one depots and the re-burying of the repaired pipelines to a greater depth to forestall easy vandalisation in future. Nigerian Army Engineers have been contracted some of the job and they have performed excellently.

Revival of Nigeria's Rail Transport

After more than 50 years of neglect, the federal government seems to have realised the importance of efficient rail transport system in solving the country's transportation and economic problems.

President Goodluck Jonathan was obviously in ecstatic mood recently when among other top government officials, he rode in one of the new locomotives labelled 'Dame Patience Jonathan' from Ebute-Metta, Lagos through the

98km rail track to Abeokuta. The president's commissioning of the newly revitalised Lagos-Jebba rail lines which cost ₦12.13 billion was awarded to China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation.

The upper section is 640km Jebba-Kano phase of the rehabilitation exercise awarded to Costain West Africa Plc in December 2009 at the cost of ₦12.2 billion and when completed, the dream of offering long distance, cost-effective and efficient train services in the country would be fully realised.

However, as part of plans to revitalise and modernise rail transport in the country, the federal government recently signed a ₦67 billion contract for the rehabilitation of 2,119km three Eastern rail lines, comprising 463km rail line from Port Harcourt to Makurdi; 1,016 km rail line from Makurdi to Kuru including spur line to Jos and Kafanchan; and 640km rail line from Kuru to Maiduguri respectively.

The project contracted to three construction firms: China Gezhouba Group Corporation (CGGC), Esser Contracting and Industry Ltd and Lingo Nigeria Ltd, is expected to be completed before the end of the year (2013). According to sources within the corporation, the NRC would soon begin to operate long distance express passenger train services from Port-Harcourt to Kano, Lagos to Kano; Lagos to Jos and Maiduguri, as well as Port-Harcourt to Jos and Maiduguri. These services will include offer of full air conditioning to the first class seater or sleeper luxury saloons, with restaurant cars equipped with conveniences.

The aim of government is that by the end of 2015, the railway system will be contributing significantly to the

transport industry in six major cities – Lagos, Port Harcourt, Enugu, Maiduguri, Jos and Kano.

On the prospect of recouping over ₦200 billion already spent in reviving the railway system in the country, the latest business stratagem is to turn the system into money-spinning venture. In the business plan, all traditional customers of the railway will be brought back to patronise the railway. Customers such as the flour mills, the cement companies, the cattle traders, kolanut traders, the farm produce merchants, the various food industries, the Nigerian breweries, and the Nigerian Bottling Company will all come back.

Many have queried the inability of the federal government to consider the urgency in constructing a rail line connecting the South-West and South-East from Lagos, through Benin, Onitsha, Nnewi to Calabar, or linking Abuja to the ports and other parts of the country.

Albeit, the federal government has conducted feasibility studies on the rail lines to connect Lagos through Benin to the eastern part of the country, and it should be the first truly Nigerian rail line because the North-South rails are sad reminders of our colonial past. Definitely the West-East line should be given the urgency it deserves because it will give the fastest returns on investment.

It is noteworthy that the Lagos State government has embarked on an expansive rail project to link the Lagos Island with Badagry, a popular route that has endured decades of traffic gridlock. Enugu State government is reportedly on the verge of embarking on a mono-rail project in the capital city to enhance transportation system in the state. Reports also have it that Bayelsa and Rivers states are still exploring the possibility of constructing a high-

speed rail line to connect the two states via their capitals, Yenagoa and Port Harcourt. This plan has been in the pipeline since July 2007. With the other states also indicating interest in establishing rail systems in their shores through partnership agreements, and the federal government already making moves to open the sector to private investment, many believe that a new dawn has arrived. The challenge, however, remains how committed is the government towards facilitating the removal of all barriers to encourage private sector participation in the huge project. Currently, prospective investors are lamenting the cost of doing business in Nigeria, which obviously is still high, and it requires more than mere promises to attract investors into a sector that has remained comatose for years.

Federal Government begins work on ten new rail lines

The federal government has announced plans to construct ten new rail lines to cover other parts of the country currently not linked by rail. The Rail Management stressed that all the new rail lines would be constructed as standard gauge track for the movement of fast trains covering a total distance of 3421km.

Accordingly the new lines will cover Lagos-Sagamu-Ijebu Ode-Ore-Benin (300km); Benin-Agbor-Onitsha-Nnewi-Owerri-Aba, with additional line from Onitsha-Enugu-Abakaliki (500km). It also included a 615km high speed rail track from Lagos to Abuja, passing through Lagos, Oshogbo and Baro.

The Minister listed Ajaokuta (Eganyi) – Obajana – Jakura – Baro – Abuja, with additional line from Ajaokuta to Otukpo (533km); Zaria – Kaura Namoda – Sokoto –

Illela – Birnin Koni (520km) as other areas to be covered.

Others are costal rail line linking Benin- Sapele-Warri-Yenagoa-Port Harcourt-Aba-Uyo-Akampa-Ikom-Obudu Cattle Ranch (673km); and Ajaokuta-Eganyi- Lokoja-Abaji-Abuja line (280km).

The other three lines, whose feasibility contracts would be awarded next year, are Port Harcourt-Umuahia-Enugu-Makurdi-Lafia-Kaduna-Bauchi-Gombe-Biu-Maiduguri; Ikom-Ogoja-Katsina Ala-Wukari-Jalingo-Yola-Maiduguri and Kani-Nguru-Gashua-Damaturu-Maiduguri-Gamborun-Ngala.

With all these, a revolutionary chapter in rail transportation industry has begun and must be sustained since the world is more for mass movement on rails than leisure movement in cars.

Prospects and problems of roads in Nigeria

For nearly four decades, the federal government has had it on paper the need to set up a National Roads Authority to be adequately funded by a Roads Fund. Effort is still being made to actualise that concept.

Nigeria has the longest network of roads in Africa and offer 90% of the means of people moving from A to B. The road network consists of over 35,000km of federal paved roads linking every part of the country. Also, there are 30,000km of states' paved roads, 60,000km of local council unpaved roads and 135000km paved private roads. Consequently, total paved road in Nigeria is 200,000km compared to 12000km at Independence in 1960. This extensive length of roads poses challenges for funding, maintenance and management. All the same, Nigeria was the only country to meet her own target of constructing the three Trans African Highways within her own borders.

President Obasanjo tried and eventually established the authority in form of Federal Roads Maintenance Agency (FERMA), since rehabilitation was the first priority of the Federal Highways Authority. Unfortunately, it was a case of a child without a father since at the onset funding of FERMA's activities was a problem, and for this, an aspect of the proposed road fund through contribution of a percentage of the sales from premium motor spirit and diesel was pursued.

In the meantime, Nigeria had embraced the idea of concessioning of infrastructure including roads. However, development economists have pointed to the fact that developed nations used public funds to develop their basic infrastructure before they adopted the option of concessioning and that Nigeria should do the same. We are still watching the outcome of the first road concession, the Lagos-Ibadan expressway, since it was handed to a private company in April 2009. The experience is likely to serve as a reference for future concessions in Nigeria and other countries of Africa. We are witnessing the wrangling over the Lekki concession by the Lagos State government, even after the concessionaire had sunk in funds and built toll plazas. However, concessionaires support the establishment of a Federal Roads Authority in Nigeria, because of the confidence arising from the fact that such a corporate entity can raise funds from financial institutions based on the assured regular flow from road user sources.

In a bid to have good road network across the six geopolitical zones, the Federal Government reportedly spent a whopping ₦1.4 trillion on roads within the last thirteen years. Between 1999 and 2012, the National Assembly appropriated about ₦1.414 trillion for the road sector with

little or nothing to show for the huge investments in this sector.

The revelation shows that on the average, about ₦110 billion was allocated to the road sector yearly. In an apparent reaction to what many Nigerians have tagged whooping budget for the roads sector, Works Minister, Mike Onolememen, an architect, stated that about ₦500 billion would be required annually for the next four years to fix Nigeria's ailing roads. Buttressing this allegation, he explained that in 2012, only ₦110 billion was released out of a total budgetary provision of ₦143 billion.

Conservative estimate predict that it would take almost one trillion Naira to fix the over thirty federal roads in Nigeria. It will cost this much because of endless review of the contracts. Review is caused by late payment and also by the contractors deliberately slowing down the work so that once there are changes in those managing the contract at the MDAs, the contractor will come up with a massive review of the contract. I personally had an experience where a contractor told me that if I play ball, a road job secured for my village will keep me financially buoyant for life because he, (the contractor) will ensure the contract is never completed and hence, any new management team that comes will be glad to review the contract sum and so, the merry-go-round continues indefinitely. Of course, the criminal contractor was handed over to EFCC and the project in my village has long been completed. But, it was amazing to see this same contractor vying to be a governor but to no avail.

In effect, the only option to nullify this contract review syndrome is to have constructions executed by DIRECT LABOUR. It is very easy. Materials and equipment will be

provided and Nigerian engineers should be employed and will be paid super-scale salary and additional bonus based on length of road constructed. That way employment will be created and review of contract will be irrelevant.

The direct labour is very feasible because I personally worked it out when I was informed that I will be Minister of Works in 1997 cabinet reshuffle. Consequently, I planned on how I will criss-cross Nigeria overnight with roads through direct labour but somehow, at the last minute, I was retained in Ministry of Science and Technology and that was how Nigeria missed the 100 days road construction wonder I had planned for her!

If this is done, the cost of road construction in Nigeria will be reduced by 75%. In other words, only 25% of what we spend on road today will be budgeted. The end result is that more roads will be constructed and in no time Nigeria will be a network of paved roads like we see overseas because maintenance will be very effective. The beauty of direct labour is that it cuts out contract review for delayed payment. It's recommended to any President and Minister of Works who want their names written in letters of gold in the sand of time.

CHAPTER 7

THE PROBLEM WITH NIGERIA – UNITARY CONTENT BUT FEDERAL LABEL

*Success is not final, failure is not fatal. It is the
courage to continue where you stopped that counts.*

– Winston Churchill

A visitor driving from Abuja Airport to the city will be impressed to see bill boards brandishing “Welcome to Abuja, the Centre of Unity”. Unfortunately, Abuja since inception has not practicalised that unity because the Ministers of Federal Capital Territory have overly been from a particular section of the country. This shouldn’t be so. Consequently, Nigerians love to talk of unity but when it comes to practicalising that unity they debunk in self-deceit. This must stop if we are sincerely wishing to be one indivisible country called Nigeria. If we took all the pains and committed huge capital cost to build and move to a

new capital city for Nigeria, let's make it a melting pot for all Nigerians including the agitating original owners of the land. Regionalising or "religiousing" it will so defeat its purpose that with the speed Lagos is improving some analysts are wondering the rationale in moving the capital to Abuja. This has become apparent because the problems that necessitated the movement are now getting more in Abuja than Lagos! It is hoped the situation shouldn't be so bad in future as to conjecture moving back the capital wholly or partially to Lagos! Nigeria would again be the first country in the world to do that. To avoid that happening, the Government should be honourable enough to practicalise its preaching that "Abuja is the centre of unity". It is only by so doing that all Nigerians will believe firmly in one Nigeria, and be convinced that indeed the "marriage" is **beyond divorce**.

As is well known in a unitary system of government, the centre controls the resources and shares out as stipulated by the constitution to states and local government areas. This is exactly what Nigeria does now and it is being "erroneously" called Federal System of Government. The Federal System of Government empowers the states to control the resources within their jurisdiction and pay royalties to the Centre. This is exactly what we are not doing now. In effect, what we have is Unitary Government in practice but Federal Government in theory. Being unitary in practice cannot be helped because of the mono-cultural dependence of the economy in oil and gas. Until the economy gets diversified or the oil gets exhausted in about forty years it will continue to be that way. Consequently, this calls for an urgent solution.

The disbursement from Federation Account is shared approximately in the ratio of 58%, 32% and 10% to federal, states and LGAs respectively. Now, the President has no control of the 42% to states and LGAs plus all other large chunks of funds for which Mr President cannot control the governors because the states and LGAs constitutionally are not accountable to him. Unfortunately, Nigerians focus only on Mr President once things get offhand, oblivious that the means of production (land, and manpower) are in the states and LGAs. In other words, the states and LGAs should do more to absorb the unemployed through intensive agricultural programme to be coordinated from the centre.

This coordination from the centre would have been very successful if we had a unitary system of government, because whatever plans federal may bring forth, a state has the right in a federal system to ignore and even challenge the federal government. It is for this reason that most programmes such as Agric and Housing projects are not succeeding. The federal government keeps on going round in circles until the programme dies. For how long do we continue like that? Consequently, with the structures as they are now, the Transformation Agenda is in jeopardy. And so, Nigeria must stop this policy of eating her cake and still wanting to have it. We must learn to call a spade a spade. Period.

Some analysts believe that Nigeria was sent into deep slumber with the coup of 15 January 1966. They further contend that Nigeria was finally sent from slumber to coma by the coup of 29 July 1967. Since then, successive military or civilian governments have not bothered to wheel Nigeria to an Intensive Care Unit for a thorough diagnosis and treatment of a complex case of coma.

Other analysts contend that had Ironsi's regime been allowed to briefly try the unitary system of government, after persuading him not to include the unification of civil service, the developmental landscape of Nigeria would have been such a success story that by now we would have been like Singapore which within fifteen years got transformed from Third to First World and every Nigerian would have been happy for it. Also, by now, Nigerians would have started enjoying the benefit of being so united that there will be no cry for resource control, state creation or Governor's Forum taking federal government to court for revenue sharing since these are not relevant in unitary system of government. Indeed the unitary system was necessary at the take-off stage of Nigeria because as a young democracy, Nigeria needed a capital-intensive infrastructure on which the economy can grow. Unitary system being centrally in control of the funds will prioritise projects and fund capital-intensive projects such as high-speed rail lines, dredged waterways, electric power stations, install functional Iron/Steel plants, fertilizer plants, petrochemical plants, refineries, automobile industries, food processing factories, in order of priority. Obviously, with that consolidated central planning, the time-bomb of unemployed 70 million Nigerians will not have been the case as it is today.

Again, as a result of our Federal System, and lack of standardised regulatory control, we now have too many universities churning out half-baked graduates into a jobless market! Most times, universities are being set up not to support and improve the economy but because of "catching-up syndrome" or "making money euphoria" or "lets-have-our-share of national cake mentality". Consequently, the courses offered by these universities are

not geared towards providing critical manpower required by some aspects of the economy yearning for graduates in relevant fields. Worse still, some of these universities were upgraded polytechnic or technical colleges thereby depriving the economy of the much needed middle level manpower particularly of artisans and technicians. Unfortunately, these university graduates crave for white-collar jobs with the result that middle-level manpower to maintain and sustain the economy is lacking. And this is simply one of the main reasons why our economy has refused to take off.

The government educational system can be likened to a system where the citizens are given fish to eat instead of teaching them how to grow fish. The end result is that what we have in Nigeria is import-oriented economy with the latest of everything, be it cars, household items, choice wines, TV, etc, with no capacity to maintain or sustain them. In a nutshell, what we have is growth without development and indeed, an economy that has defied renown economic theories from Adam Smith to John Keynes, because Nigeria has myriads of variables and barely any constant.

Obviously, with a sincere unitary system of government, the national developments will be prioritised and sequential. Projects will also be qualitative unlike under the federal system which as a result of weaker funding, the projects may be large in quantity but poor in quality. Besides, there are inherent duplication and replication of projects in adjoining states, and so to correct the situation there is the urgent need to revert to unitary system of government without unifying the civil service, and that done, we will then have a container that is labelled according to its content. Anything short of that is “419”.

CHAPTER 8

THE PROBLEM WITH NIGERIA – ENDEMIC INSECURITY

Nigeria must be a powerhouse for food in which we must produce what we eat and eat what we produce... in which the most important democracy is democracy of the stomach...

- Dr Akinwumi Adesina

Civil wars are bad because their aftermaths afflict endemic pain and fear on the populace. United States of America (USA) is still battling with serial killings on daily basis and no one is spared including the kindergartens. Here in Nigeria since the end of our 30-month civil war, we have had our own scourge of the aftermaths of civil war starting with armed robbery in the 1970s. The Arab-Israeli war of 1973 led to Arab oil embargo resulting in oil scarcity. Consequently, Nigeria enjoyed an oil boom and with so much money in few pockets, armed

robbery had an added impetus. The military government at that time, quickly declared public execution through firing squad of all those found guilty of armed robbery.

At that time, every weekend, large crowd surged to Lagos Bar Beach to watch the firing to death of condemned armed robbers. It was like a theatre show. The aim of fixing the execution on weekends was to enable Lagosians come out en masse and watch the execution and hopefully spread the gory news and thus achieve a deterrence effect. But did the deterrence succeed? It did not because till date (forty-two years later), dare-devil specialised armed robberies have become more sophisticated in that they not only attack individuals but now attack banks. The armed robbers come into banks in three-piece suits looking debonair and gentlemanly until they pop out their machine gun. Most of them are not only graduates but postgraduates looking fresh, confident and intelligent proving that they were top-flight First-Class students probably pushed into armed robbery by the indefinite joblessness now affecting the country. It is painful that a percentage of the joblessness is self-afflicted by states that employ foreigners in preference to fellow Nigerians. Where then is the unity we all talk about? Definitely, there is no justifiable excuse for armed robbery, kidnapping or breaking of the law but the point to be noted is that government should hasten with job creation to stop what Gen T Y Danjuma recently aptly described as the “Somalialisation of Nigeria”.

Then in 1977, with the introduction of SAP, during the Gen Ibrahim Babangida regime, inflation sky-rocketed, Naira lost its value and became very unstable. The instability in the currency persisted for so long thereby destabilising the Nigerian society and institutionalising corruption since

people needed to make-up for the wide gap between their salary and the new huge-SAP amount it now took them to survive the month. In other words, people felt they must do something to “make ends meet”. That something was nothing else than the hydra-headed monster called corruption. Soon, the society, particularly the middle class, got eroded and the society was widely divided into two: the super rich and the super poor.

Nature abhors vacuum and so, to bridge the gap, the mangled middle class sought for survival by engaging in the biggest fraud of all time – the “419”. They did not stop in Nigeria but soon went international, making Nigeria a pariah nation.

General Obasanjo’s administration came to the scene in 1999 and gave impetus to the mobile phone business which unwittingly energised the “419” fraud. The mobile phone many thought was a blessing, soon became a curse because Nigerians used it for everything crooked and the most disturbing is that Nigeria now spends about ₦100 billion monthly on mobile phones and since the franchise is abroad, this huge amount is fuelling capital flight, thus the mobile phone is not helping the economy, instead, it is killing it. In any case, General Obasanjo was equal to the task. He dealt a blow on the “419” fraudsters by arresting most of them and confiscating their fraudulent assets. Consequently, the 419 arch criminals having been deprived of their source of living now converged and are now terrorising Nigeria with the greatest scourge of all – kidnapping!

They started in Niger Delta because they felt the oil money is infinite. And when they found kidnapping difficult to execute, they indulge in pipeline vandalism

and illegal bunkering. Nigeria loses over ₦105 billion annually to vandalisation. With the coming of Umaru Yar'Adua administration in 2007, oil production dwindled from 2 million bpd to 700,000 bpd because of vandalisation of pipelines and this negatively affected the economy. There was the urgency to stem the damage of pipelines by the militarists, halt the kidnapping of white oil men and thence, energise the power sector. Yar'Adua therefore packaged the Peace Deal with the militarists. The kidnapping now shifted from attacking the oil company workers to Nigerians from all walks of life. Nobody seems spared – few months old children, pregnant women, housewives, chiefs, even the octogenarians, actresses, politicians, bankers, wealthy individuals, academics including Vice Chancellors. Most government officials were heavily protected by the police at unbelievable price and so, the kidnapers kept off most highly placed government officials. (See Appendix 1 for the few kidnap cases recorded in 2012).

Kidnapping is now a very embarrassing menace in Nigeria. It is a “business”, because according to frivolous individuals, it is simply a financial transaction in which money is exchanged for an unfortunate victim called commodity.

Indeed, it is so devilishly and criminally organised that they have their hierarchies. There are kidnap agents who kidnap and take the victims to the depot, where he (the kidnap agent) is paid some fees by the kingpin depending on how wealthy the victim is and then, it is left for the kingpin to arm-twist the relations of the victim for an incredulous ransom ranging from ₦10m to ₦1bn and is usually, haggled downward to a painful sum. The victims

go through harrowing and dehumanising experiences such as being forced to remain with their defecation throughout their captivity! They are chained hands and legs, blindfolded eyes and mouth sealed with customised rubber band, they are left in the jungle naked and bare-footed with no food to eat and water to drink. There was this incident, where a victim was taken to the depot and as soon as the kingpin saw the victim he asked him, “What do you do for a living?” The victim said “Teaching”.

The kingpin went wild and shouted “T-what”?

“Teaching,” the victim repeated. The kingpin yelled on the kidnap agent, “You must be stupid. What do you want me to do with a poor teacher? I asked you to bring a politician or a rich businessman and you are bringing a wretched teacher... let him go.” That was how the victim survived and lived to tell the story.

Recently, in December 2012, Prof Kaname Okonjo, the mother of the Coordinating Minister and Minister of Finance, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, was kidnapped from her husband’s palace at Ogwashi-Uku, in Delta State and kept incommunicado for five days without food and water. The kidnappers harassed this 83-year-old mum and was forcing her to get her daughter to go on radio and TV and announce her resignation. The Mum asked them “why all that?” They blurted that “it’s because your daughter, the minister, has refused paying us the oil subsidy money.”

The oil subsidy money was a scam in which top oil marketing companies in Nigeria faked papers to collect billions of Naira for oil supposed to have been supplied but not supplied. Of course, the Minister, a renowned economist, former MD and Vice-President of World Bank, and an incorruptible Nigerian of high esteem refused to be

part of the heinous deal. Years back when the Nigerian economy was riddled with high debt service ratio, decline in oil revenue, profligacy in spending, wanton capital flight, and no foreign investment, she was instrumental to getting Nigeria's external debt of over 30 billion dollars written off by Paris Club, etc, in November 2005. Currently, she is helping out with the following initiatives in the Nigerian economy: Anti-corruption war against fuel subsidy scam, improving Nigerian economic buoyancy with Sovereign Wealth Fund, Port Reforms, Youth Enterprises with Innovation in Nigeria (YOUWIN) by which thousands of youth are empowered with ₦1.0m to ₦10m for viable enterprises. Also, her leadership has resulted in rising external reserves, external ratings, and resuscitation of the capital market and in sustainable mortgage system.

And for all these, instead of appreciating her sacrifices and contributions, these criminals are here tormenting her. The world stood still and breathless during the five days ordeal and thanks to Chief of Army Staff, Lt-Gen Azubuike Ihejirika and his men whose additional help did hasten the release of Mama. Most Nigerians appreciated and prayed for divine protection of Mama, her family and all well-meaning Nigerians henceforth and forever.

Illegal inflow of Arms – By far the greatest source of threat to Nigeria as a country is the illegal inflow of arms. Gun running is now a very lucrative business. All sorts of guns including Kalashnikov AK47 rifles, Beretta Pistols, etc, are hidden in bales of clothes, car engines, bags of rice, kegs of oil and other such wares and smuggled through Owode and Badagry border posts in South West Nigeria to Lagos and from there to the rest of Nigeria. On the days

these weapons are moved into the hinterland, the custom check points are well paid and so they either abandon the check points or look the other way as the arms smugglers drive past in trailers of arms. In Niger Delta, the arms in some cases are sold like recharge cards at the following prices: Ak 47 – ₦100,000; Rocket Propelled Grenade (RPG) – ₦800,000 to ₦1.0m; Pump Action rifle – ₦250,000; Beretta and other foreign pistols – ₦50,000 and the Awka-made and other locally made pistols – ₦25,000. However, weapons from Somalia sell for just 5% of the above prices. Nigeria's borders on land, sea and air are so porous making it easy for arms merchants to operate with ease. Beretta pistols are mainly from US, G3 Calibre is from Germany, while AK47 rifles have the Russian, Chinese and South African brands. The easiest source for these weapons are embryonic militia, groups armouries of Armed Forces and Police, well-connected individuals and then, the legitimate arms dealers who have license to import limited small arms but now use the opportunity to bring in all sorts of weapons.

In the East, Onitsha main market is illicit arms centre and they have code names for arms. Guns are known as “machine” or Igwe or Iron while bullets are known as “groundnuts”. In the North, they use camels and other beasts of burden to smuggle in the arms. It is instructive to note that the arms used in the Orkar coup were smuggled.

Definitely to enhance security, these illicit arms businesses must be checked and stopped, life jail sentence should be given to any illegal arms dealers as a deterrence. Unless this is done, criminals and terrorists such as Boko Haram, MEND, kidnappers, etc, will continue to make life hell on earth for fellow Nigerians.

Menace of MEND Terrorist Group

Apart from kidnapping, the other sore point in Nigeria's insecurity is the menace of Boko Haram and the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) which was responsible for the bombing of Abuja during the 2010 Independence Day celebration for which the master mind, Henry Okah, has been jailed for twenty-four years in South Africa. The speed and clarity with which Henry Okah was tried and jailed speaks volume unfavourably of Nigerian Judiciary, because some analysts believe that if the trial were in Nigeria, Henry Okah will by now be freed or at worse, be on bail causing more havoc.

Menace of Boko Haram terrorist Sect

The greatest and predominant security challenge in Nigeria today is terrorism or terrorism related. The Jarna'atu Ahlis Sunnah Ladda'awatih wal-Jihad, a religious based Islamic fundamentalist group, popularly known as Boko Haram is the harbinger of terrorism in Nigeria today. The sect, which is predominately based in the North Eastern part of the country, has an ideology that is averse to western education and anything it represents. The sect also seeks an enthronement of Islamic (Sharia) government in the whole of Northern Nigeria. Adherents of Boko Haram attack government institutions, such as the police and military through armed attacks, suicide bombing or IED.

The sect seeks to erode the credibility and legitimacy of the government by making it appear incapable of protecting lives and property of the citizenry.

Mr President's strategy for dealing with the Boko Haram threat is based on a multi-dimensional approach involving

all elements of national power. While security forces operations dominate the media headlines, government has also embarked on other activities spanning across legal reforms, de-radicalisation programme and strategic public communications. Additionally, the federal government, in conjunction with state governments, is making efforts to tackle the issue of unemployment in the affected states as joblessness has been identified as one of the problems fuelling terrorism in the country.

Boko Haram started in 2009 when the Islamic group first clashed publicly with the security agencies, leading to many deaths, including the controversial death of its founder, Mohammed Yusuf. Boko Haram is a serious threat to Nigeria because it has international links with other terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda in the Magherb (AQIM), Al-quaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and Al-Shabab in Somalia. Nigeria's participation in Mali has also widened Nigeria's challenge in the fight against terrorism. There were series of bombings by Boko Haram, including: 16th June 2011 bombing of the police headquarters in Abuja, which was Nigeria's first experience of suicide bombing, the 26th August 2011 bombing of the United Nations building in Abuja that killed about twenty-four persons, and the 25th December 2011 bombing of Saint Theresa's Catholic Church, Madalla, in Niger State.

Major attacks by Boko Haram last year (2012) included the 30th July bombing of the Nigeria Police zonal headquarters in Sokoto and two other police stations in the town, which killed about five persons, and the 25th November twin-car bomb attack on Saint Andrew's Military Protestant Church located at the Armed Forces Command and Staff College, Kaduna, in which about seventeen

persons died. By the last quarter of 2012, Boko Haram has turned into a clandestine serial killing gang, and in Kano alone over thirty nine serial killings took place in a month with Southerners taking the brunt of it. The climax in Kano was the attack on Emir of Kano, Ado Bayero's vehicle convoy on 19th November 2012, killing six, with the Emir and his two sons, the heirs apparent to the throne wounded. Also, on 28th December 2012, they attacked Musari village in the outskirts of Maiduguri metropolis and barbarically killed fifteen villagers like goats. They first tied their hands to their back before slitting their throats! They now avoid gun shots in order not to alert JTF or Police patrols. Also, the masterly way they invaded and killed General Shuwa in his house in Maiduguri in broad day light has left the JTF dumbfounded as to the flexible mixed-bag tactics of Boko Haram.

By January 2013, a section of the Boko Haram sect declared ceasefire unilaterally and the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Sa'ad Abubakar in his well-known wisdom had asked Federal Government to embrace it. It is hoped that that could be the beginning of the end of the turmoil. Luckily, our ever vigilant Chief of Army Staff, Lt-Gen Azubuike Ihejirika is not lowering his guard at all. Recently, in keeping with the doctrine that "he who wants peace, should prepare for war", a total of 2904 soldiers (1869 males and 225 females) have been trained on counter-terrorism at the Nigerian Army Training Centre (NATRAC) Kontagora, Niger State. It is therefore laudable that Jonathan's administration is getting ready to battle out the Boko Haram menace.

The Solution to Insecurity

The purchase/donation of vehicles and communication gadgets to beef up security is money down the drain because without re-structuring, re-orientating and reforming our police force, giving them vehicles, etc, is waste of funds. It was so heart-warming when the President made an unscheduled visit to Police College Ikeja in January 2013 and saw the squalor the Police live in, in spite of the ₦2bn voted in the budget for police colleges. Definitely, it is not possible to live like an animal and behave like a human being. Our Police Force requires a deliberate salvaging action including a thorough restructuring to make it perform. The President in concert with the governors should please make more unscheduled visits nationwide for the sole purpose of stamping out kidnapping and other malaise from Nigeria. Until a very close relation of mine got kidnapped, I didn't know that, kidnapping is growing like a wild fire and was regrettably a booming "business". In most towns and cities of Nigeria, at least five kidnappings take place each day and the victim's family are as always directed by the kidnappers not to report to police or else mayhem will descend on the family. And so, most families will instead quietly find or borrow money at cut-throat interest rate to pay the ransom and have their kidnapped relation freed. To stem kidnapping and other criminal activities it should therefore be handled in two phases: The short-term measures and the long-term measures.

Short-Term Solution

- (a) The government should make “Non-negotiation” a cardinal policy in the fight against terrorists, kidnapers etc. By this, it means that government or its agents and citizens should not and must not go into any form of negotiation with terrorists and kidnapers. The Israeli government has successfully adopted that stance for many years against all terrorists attacks or plane hijacking. It will be hard initially but ultimately it is the only way to defeat the terrorists like the Israelis have done. Negotiating with terrorists is dangerous because of the incessant blackmail of doing the terrorist wishes or he will start off a reign of terror. For how long, can a nation continue like that and be held hostage by a criminal gang! Negotiating is escapist and a temporary solution. What our nation deserves is a wholesome, permanent peace, not instability that is worse than war.
- (b) All offenders must be prosecuted and should face the full wrath of the law. Unless murderers face death penalty they will continue to kill. It is long overdue for the federal government to have an operational law which makes kidnapping punishable by death through firing squad as is done for armed robbery which is less in gravity than kidnapping. However, on Wednesday, 20 February 2013, the Senate passed the bill prescribing death penalty for terrorism and also, vesting in the NSA the sole responsibility for fighting terrorism using necessary agencies. So far, only Rivers, Ebonyi and Enugu States have death

penalty for kidnapping but even then, the governors are at times reluctant to sign the death warrant. Governor of Anambra, Mr. Peter Obi, recently bulldozed the homes of kidnapping kingpin in the state. This is very laudable and other states should emulate that. Overall, for any infringement of the law, the offender must be brought to book. Be it “Boko Haram” (meaning Western Education is Bad), Movement for the Actualisation of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Movement for The Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), Oodua People’s Congress (OPC) etc.

- (c) In addition to death penalty, all kidnappers should have their homes burnt down in their village or town because of the inhuman treatment they subject their victims such as locking them up in the car boot, and for days/weeks/months, the victims are blindfolded, chained hands and legs, dumped naked and bare-footed in the jungle with mosquitoes and other pests feasting on the victims who are starved of water and food. In some cases, if the victim is female, she is raped in turns by the kidnappers!
- (d) Existing Criminal Code and Penal Code can be used to try murder and kidnap cases until the new law is out.
- (e) Special courts should be instituted to expeditiously try all kidnap cases.
- (f) NBA should resolve not to be involved with any kidnap case.

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- (g) A new Inspector General of Police (IGP), Mohammed Abubakar, was appointed on 29 January 2012 after public outcry for a change. He came and swung into action immediately by collapsing the road block nationwide and it was noticed that crime rate rather than increase diminished making analysts to believe that there must be a nexus between the criminals and the Nigerian Police. Consequently, even though the present IGP is trying, it is still important for the President to give the IGP targets he must achieve within a given period or be relieved of his job. Targets should include that Police should with immediate effect stop collecting bribes on the highway and elsewhere. All future presidents should follow this approach until we get the messiah to lead the Nigerian Police to the promised land.
 - (h) Serious offences or accusation of murder, kidnapping or armed robbery should not be bailable. Nigerian laws should emulate those of China where at the slightest offence by any individual, the defaulter is executed or gets minimum of life jail.
 - (i) Nigerian judiciary needs an overhaul. The conviction of James Ibori in London in 2012 and the conviction of Henry Okah in South Africa are all clear indications of the lapses in our judiciary because the speedy trial of these two cases are lessons to our judiciary. Had the case been tried in Nigeria they would have gotten off the hook on want of evidence or the case could drag on, over one technicality or the other. Definitely if all those bombing in the churches, schools, Police Headquarters, military installations, mobile phone

masts, or UN head office in Abuja had been executed or at least jailed for life, the bombing would have stopped. The federal government should therefore get the judiciary to live up to its responsibility or have those selling justice for a mesh of portage, to be disgraced out of service. The axiom, justice delayed is justice denied, must be practicalised by our judiciary.

Long-Term Solution

- (j) Employment must be created by all means. Not necessarily white collar jobs, but work in the farms particularly poultry and fish farming. Land should be cleared and allocated free within the Local Government Area of NYSC graduands. With necessary farm inputs the graduands will engage in farming as a national assignment for two or more years until he or she finds a job of his or her own choice. In this wise, NYSC should finance itself forever after a ten-year moratorium.
- (k) Corruption is in the DNA of the corporate body of the existing Police Force and so, for a thorough solution, the Force should be re-structured by disbanding the with full benefit to all retirees. A new compact, effective and professional Police Force whose headship should have the strength of character of Mallam Nuhu Ribadu in order to successfully build a New Nigerian Police Force from scratch. State police is not the solution. Even if we go down to LGA Police Force, the situation will be worse because corruption is already systemic in the Police.

- (l) The new Police Force will be qualitative and must be carefully selected from graduates with second class upper and above. They should be well paid, quartered and kitted. The Force must have as creed zero tolerance for corruption and must be seen to be transparently honest, dedicated, selfless and committed.
- (m) National ID has lingered for too long and riddled with monumental corruption. The process should be concluded immediately because that is the only way every individual in Nigeria can be identified and the record of those not working can be gotten. Also, our borders should not be a haven for illegal immigrants. Those custom personnel on our border post should not be indigenes of that border post.
- (n) The ID card should be followed with a Social Insurance system that will guarantee token salary or allowance for all qualified individuals.
- (o) The wage structure of Nigerian workers must be reviewed and harmonised. The situation where a legislator is earning ₦15m a month and minimum pay in the same country is ₦18,000 is unfair and will breed rebellion.
- (p) Our prisons must be re-built, modernised and re-organised. There are insinuations that some dare-devil criminals pay their way out of prisons.
- (q) Also, Special Courts should be established to fast-track the trial of criminal cases because justice delayed is justice denied. Today, there are cases that have lingered for over ten years in court with the

accused incarcerated for that long. The prison must be decongested speedily. A survey in January 2013 at the Kuje prison in Abuja revealed that out of 497 prison inmates, only 104 are convicted while 393 are awaiting trial!

CHAPTER 9

THE PROBLEM WITH NIGERIA – ENDEMIC CORRUPTION

Stamp out corruption and at least 50% of our problems are solved. If you take corruption out, you will address insecurity and infrastructure; Take corruption out, you will get good justice and with that, orderly and disciplined society...

If you are going to fight corruption, make sure you are not corrupt yourself. The reason the fight failed before is that corrupt people were fighting corruption.

- Nuhu Ribadu (2012)

For many years according to Transparency International, Nigeria has always been at the list of most corrupt countries of the world. This is primarily so, because the badly governed citizens now regard Nigeria as a sinking ship in which they should individually or collectively take out whatever they deem fit by hook or crook before the

ship sinks. The situation is so bad that even within the ECOWAS where Nigeria should be a respected “Super Power”, most West African countries were embarrassingly doing better than her in the corruption index ranking! Indeed it is so bad that Bishop Matthew Kukah in his usual forthrightness regretted that “corruption, sad as it may sound, is the only thing that works in Nigeria. It is what gets you into the university, it is what gets you into elective office. It is what gets you to pass your examination and it is what gets you a job...” Today it is no longer secret that gatemen, clerks to move files, policemen at checkpoints, security men in banks, officials at our international airports etc demand some greasing of the palm. Consequently, the cancer is already endemic and no effort should be spared to ensure it does not get systemic and the time to strike it a deadly blow is now!

It was therefore not surprising that immediately Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was sworn in as President of Nigeria on 29 May 1999, the first bill he sent to National Assembly was the Anti-Corruption Bill, even though the bills were watered down by the National Assembly because if passed as presented by the president, many political office holders including legislators, governors and ministers would have landed in jail. The watering down was unfortunate but all the same, the bills were passed into laws to reinforce all the anti-corruption organisations such as: Code of Conduct bureau, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) etc.

It is a pity that in spite of all these anti-corruption institutions, corruption being hydra-headed is proving intractable. During the courageous era of Mallam Nuhu

Ribadu as Chairman of EFCC, fraudulent dignitaries such as DG, Perm Secs, Ministers, Governors and even the Speaker of House of Representatives were paraded for various offences but surprisingly during late Umaru Yar'Adua's administration, Ribadu was suddenly removed and even humiliated when international community hailed and eulogised him. This goes to show how ambivalent our leaders and government can be. Today, not one of all those paraded has been prosecuted to its logical conclusion. The ex-governor, James Ibori who is now serving a jail term in London was prosecuted because he crossed the path of the presidency and his case was transferred to UK. And so, with this kind of situation, how sovereign is Nigeria? Quo Vadis Nigerian Judiciary?

Also, the accusation that the EFCC is being used by government to witchhunt political opponents should be seriously investigated. All anti-corruption agencies should be sacrosanct and should never be hand in glove with government agencies whom the anti-corruption institutions were supposed to be watching.

Nigeria today is replete with all sorts of scams, including the ₦160 billion scam at the Delta State Oil Producing Area Development Commission (DESOPADEC), ₦100 billion guzzled by the 450,000 ghost workers in 215 MDAs; 32.8 billion Police Pension Fund and then the ₦195 billion pension fraud involving the Chairman of the Pension Reform Task Force Team, Abdulrasheed Maina. If a "reformer" can get sordid, where then is the hope? Also, Mallam Nuhu Ribadu while addressing the Summit of Northern Development Focus Initiative in Kaduna on 26th January 2013 lamented that the state governors of the 19 northern states and the 414 LGAs cannot account in terms

of performance on the ground of the total sum of ₦8.3 trillions released from the Federation Account to the 19 states and 414 LGAs from 1999 to 2010. He accused the Nigerian politicians of looting the treasury in spite of the generous allowances and constituency vote. He wondered what Major Nzeogwu who hated the ten percenters, would have done now that our politicians have graduated from the modest 10% of the contract sum to the chop-and-quench ninety percenters (90%) of the contract sum.

Nigeria spends over ₦2.0 trillion annually in subsidising petroleum – a subsidy that the common man never benefits from because the oil marketing companies fake papers for products not supplied and disappear with the subsidy funds. On 23 August 2012, the Coordinating Minister for the Economy and Minister of Finance, Mrs Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala provided graphic details on how 25 oil marketers ruthlessly siphoned over 40 billion Naira from subsidy funds without supplying a litre of fuel to Nigerians! The gravity of the ₦40 billion swindle is mind-boggling if it is realised that according to the Managing Director of Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC), Mr. Adeseyi Sijuade, it costs only ₦24.3 billion to rehabilitate NRC track from Lagos to Kano a distance of about 1126 km.

In effect, ₦40 billion could double that feat, and so the theft is denying the nation and posterity our dream East-West rail line. It was therefore very surprising, that after spending ₦888.1 billion, the President still sent a bill to National Assembly in December 2012, asking for another ₦161.1 billion subsidy to be assented to otherwise “Christmas would not be happily spent by Nigerians”. The Assembly, it was learnt, absorbed the blackmail and reluctantly assented to the bill. The government should

watch it. If OBJ could warn on the need to avoid a revolution, then there is need to learn from the Arab Spring and avoid the African Spring. The scam around the oil marketers is a test case the masses are watching closely to see if they will again go scotfree! The President needs a firm action on this to enable him transform from “the most criticised President in the world” to the most praised President in the world. It is also, regrettable that the recommendation by the legislators on oversight functions of most government agencies and some officials never saw the light of the day.

There is always hullabaloo during the investigative stage, but once the reports are submitted to the Executive, they “die” a natural death. Why? The reason is probably not unconnected to the fact that the legislators’ oversight functions are most times reduced to mere visits to ministries and the agencies to collect packages. And so, once integrity is compromised, reports from the legislators will be treated with levity. And so, the stench continues.

General Abacha has been accused in various ways, but at least he was wise and fore-sighted enough to set up the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) and eventually convinced a reluctant General Buhari, the highly principled, honest, patriotic and spartan former head of state to head the PTF. At least throughout the duration of PTF, Nigerians could attest to myriad of roads that were constructed with the subsidy funds. Subsidy Re-investment and Empowerment Programme (SURE-P) has been set up but it seems to have limited impact, and its operation is eclipsed by bureaucracy. At the time of PTF, it criss-crossed Nigerian roads with numerous bill boards and sign posts indicating all the activities it was engaged in for public enlightenment.

In the case of SURE-P, the subsidy funds roughly ₦15bn per month is being shared between the federal that gets 42% while the states and LGAs share the balance of 48%. Definitely, the mutilation does not allow for great impact. To worsen the mutilation issue, SURE-P has eight main intervention components, namely:

- a. Social Safety Network (SSN)
- b. Niger Delta Development
- c. Road Infrastructure
- d. Water and Agriculture
- e. Selected Power Projects
- f. Petroleum and NNPC Projects
- g. Information and Communication Technology
- h. Community Service, Women, Youth and Empowerment (CSWYE) Project.

These components are too multifarious and do not seem to complement each other. The impact is therefore very low. Participants of SURE-P will be paid ₦10,000 monthly allowance and political opponents are accusing the ruling party of using SURE-P to empower its party members in preparation for 2015 selection. SURE-P has financed the East-West Road, the Maternal and Child Healthcare Projects and the much talked about Lagos – Kano rail rehabilitation which is a very laudable achievement. However, the 1126km rail journey from Lagos to Kano which normally should take less than 24 hours, now takes over 36 hours because the rail engine at times breaks down in the midst of nowhere. Besides, the train's

low speed of 45km/h caused by the old tracks, makes the rail journey an agony rather than a pleasure. And so, the rail revival is yet to be fully on track. The masses are expecting the actualisation of the 2119km three Eastern rail lines awarded at a cost of ₦67.3 billion to two Chinese companies and one local company the Lingo Nig Ltd. Contract was awarded by OBJ but was cancelled by Yar'Adua because of questionable due process and inflated high cost. Nonetheless, the masses are expecting massive road, East-West rail project, low-cost housing, water projects nationwide, the long-delayed construction of Onitsha Niger Bridge, and concessioning of river ports at Onitsha in Anambra State, Lokoja in Kogi State, and Obaro in Niger State. Also, of immediate concern to the workers is the need for mass transit system of buses in all the state capitals and Abuja to alleviate the high cost of transport to-and-from work which monthly takes away over 50% of their pay packet.

Besides, to stop civil servants from corruption, the pensioners must be paid as at when due because when workers see what is happening to retirees, they now get corrupt since “by all means” they must plan for a rainy day. In spite of public outcry that the cassava bread is not as tasty, smooth and fresh as the 100% wheat bread, the present laudable research effort in using 10% cassava to make bread plus the efforts at using the locally produced enzyme to make it rise should be intensified because it can save Nigeria over ₦252 billion annually. The new bread should be on the dining table of His Excellency, our President, His Excellency, the Vice President, all the Honourable Ministers, the Governors, distinguished Senators and honourable members of House of Reps. If

this can happen, it should be rest assured that every Nigerian will join in. There is no reason why Nigeria should spend about one trillion Naira on wheat flour and rice importation annually. We must produce abundant food so that the cost of beef, mutton, fish, chicken, yam, maize, potato, millet, beans, rice etc should be 10% the present prices. It is only when that happens that ₦18,000 minimum wage will stop being a huge joke!

The government must have zero tolerance for corruption and this must be transparently demonstrated. For instance, the US\$6 billion stolen and recovered from foreign banks should have been used in building low cost housing for the masses in Abuja and all the state capitals with each estate signboard reading **STOLEN GOVERNMENT MONEY (SGM) ESTATE**. Such a concept will be a deterrence to would-be funds looters and will so impress the masses that indeed the fight against corruption will be seen to be real.

The government should not privatise everything. We are a developing economy and government must set the tone before the private sector can then join. In other words, government should first get the system working and then gradually privatise to empower Nigerians not foreigners, who invariably will take the funds out of Nigeria and that will never solve our unemployment problem. Government parastatals like Ajaokuta Steel Company never worked in the past because of son-of-the-soil syndrome or federal character boogie. If a CEO is appointed on merit and challenged to produce to a given target or be fired, it's obvious that such CEO will be up and doing. This point is being made because it was reported that government expects private sector to handle the bus services from oil subsidy in our cities. This is not the best solution because

even in UK, the government still manages and subsidises the bus services in London and all other cities in the UK. It has not gone private! Also, the present system where a CEO even if he got the job on merit but is given list of workers by his bosses at the Presidency and below, will automatically negate the efficiency of that enterprise.

Undoubtedly our affable President Jonathan means well but translating that to food on the table, employment for the youth, paying the workers living wage, providing power to energise the economy, re-building/equipping the public schools and hospitals are the issues that really matter. And so, it's not always honourable for a president to promise and fail in his promise. A leader must walk his talk in order to avoid being "the most criticised president" or the government being nicknamed "Go-Slow Government".

It was nice to hear the President during the Christmas of 2012 promise that 2013 will be far better. How? Nigerians are still gasping for the promised "fresh air". 2013 was just six days away and the signs of what he is promising were nowhere noticeable because as long as kidnapping is still ravaging Nigeria, nothing will change for the better. Mr President should please note that kidnapping is the worst scourge that will destroy Nigeria. Every other issue should be secondary because with kidnapping, investors will not come, those around are withdrawing and businesses in Nigeria are collapsing.

Obviously to stem kidnapping, we must create jobs preferably in the Agric sector. And to sustain a kidnap free society, we must tackle squarely problems such as epileptic PHCN, fuel shortage, the fraudulent oil marketers, Boko Haram menace. The masses will remain convinced that

nothing will change unless Mr President is a magician. Also, if the truth should be told, it is obvious that with a minimum pay of ₦18,000 per month, no civil servant can survive on that salary without additional income from somewhere. Most times workers end up begging and prostituting if female. At times, they hope for tips or get outright corrupt. The wild ones get greedy and go into monumental fraud, and in extreme cases steal or loot.

Example of looting is the stealing of ₦32.8 billion police pension funds by the director of police pension funds and the anti-climax of the case was reached when an Abuja High Court on 28th January 2013, asked the director who pleaded guilty to pay a fine of ₦750,000 for stealing ₦32.8 billion! Also, within the same period a female director who was caught “selling” employment to distressed Nigerian graduates for as much as ₦500,000 per employment was simply retired by government with a send-off party! What a travesty of justice in Nigeria. And so the rampant cases of bribe-for-job; sex-for-job (if female) and the disgraceful extortion of money from prisoners by prison officials continue unabated. Unfortunately, for the job seekers, only very few really get the job after all the bribes or sex because the job corridor is replete with “419” kingpins. Consequently, iniquitous criminality continues because it is only in Nigeria that one can steal billions of Naira and the punishment one gets is only tweak of the nose and a playful twist of the ear. Definitely, this does not help the fight against corruption, instead it is fuelling it. A life jail is the minimum dose if the deterrence effect is required.

Indeed, the lust for tips has gotten so aggressive and senseless that, there was this case of a man who lost his

only son and was weeping as they carried the corpse away to the mortuary. Instantly, the head of the nurses approached the weeping father and said “*Oga please find us something...O*”. This goes to show how hardened the Nigerian mind has become. Human feeling and emotions have gone with the winds!

This hardening started with the introduction of SAP by General Babangida’s administration in 1986, thus exposing Nigerian economy to market forces. Naira got so badly devalued and prices of goods went off the roof. That was how “Okada” came into use because even bus fare was unaffordable.

The solution therefore is not to increase salaries of workers but to assist talented youths like the President did in March 2013 by floating a ₦3 billion grant for Nollywood movie industry. FG should keep it up by bringing down the cost of food, by encouraging everybody to go farming in his or her backyard like was practised during OBJ’s OFN. Government should provide transport for workers, clear land and allocate it free for the masses to gradually build their own houses by themselves with red bricks as is done in China. Government should re-organise and put in place qualitative government fair-fees-paying primary and secondary schools to save parents from the cut-throat school fees of private schools. Government should revive the craft schools, and the technical colleges, for the grooming of middle-level technicians and artisans without which power stations, refineries, lifts, water treatment plants, factories and industries will remain in jeopardy. There should be pipe-borne water, free/affordable drugs and steady electricity to stop noise-cum-irritating expenditure from “my generator is bigger than yours”.

For the private sector, government should stop over-taxation and the multiple-taxation of businesses. Government says the Private Sector is the engine of growth, and yet, it is same government that is heavily taxing the private sector out of business. Most businesses are collapsing under the sledge hammer of FIRS. It is absurd to give FIRS target, thus giving them license to kill businesses that are offering sizeable employment that government itself cannot offer. Must we cut our nose to spite our face? Haba! Government should show more interest in the survival of businesses because some of us who have been in government and are now retired and in business are seeing the hell private sector is going through. As it is only those who indulge in criminalities and cutting corners are making it and are never taxed. Those of us doing honest business just to help employ the restive youth are not being encouraged with tax incentives etc as is done in developed countries, instead the government officials are always invading us asking that their palms be greased. From where? With what? From the losses we are making? It is just unbelievable what happens in Nigerian business environment. Over 50% of monthly income goes into fueling and servicing the generators cum vehicles. Thereafter, it is High-Blood-Pressure agony paying staff salaries and in that horrible mood, the CEO is being irritated with demand for bribe and inflated tax demands. Businesses need to be encouraged by banks, relevant ministries, FIRS, Police etc, not destroy them with over twenty taxes and levies including: PHCN, Water Board, Pension, Ground Rent, Education Tax, Technology Tax, Value Added Tax, Withholding Tax, Personal Income Tax, Liquor License, Abuja Environmental Protection Agency, Impact Assessment

Levy, Health Inspection Levy, Nigeria Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC) Tax, Company Income Tax (CIT), Area Council Motorist Tickets/Emblem Fees, Nigerian Social Insurance Trust Fund (NSITF), Industrial Training Fund (ITF) and so on.

We live in a country where a young man graduates with Second Class-Upper, and after staying for 3 or more years he still finds it difficult to find a job. He now goes to do his Masters hoping that it will help him find a job. That's when he gets the rudest shock, because he could apply for job for 4 or more years and not a single reply. What next, he goes kidnapping! This is the scenario and it's spreading like wild fire. It was reported that kidnappers nationwide make over 2 billion Naira (blood money) monthly and these kidnappers should think over the immortal words of JFK at the beginning of this chapter, because they have no excuse at all for kidnapping a fellow human being. The blood of the innocent will haunt them for life and the kidnapper's soul will know no peace.

As a result of corruption, all attempts to build the proposed six modular refineries in Nigeria is still on the drawing board and today, it is embarrassing that Nigeria – “the giant of Africa” is importing refined petroleum from Niger. Our electric power generating capacity has remained abysmally low at 4500MW simply because a cabal that imports and sells generators in Nigeria has made sure Nigeria Power Holding Company performs below expectation and now that government is bent on privatising, it should be ensured that enough checks-and-balances are put in place to control the tariff that these private companies will charge poor Nigerians. It has been noted that anytime the generation of power picked up, it is frustrated by blowing

up the pipeline delivering gas to the thermal stations. Consequently, for things to work in Nigeria our leaders will need to step on the appropriate toes no matter whose Ox is gored. Our leaders must resist party's dinosaurs and should not only bark but should bite to save Nigeria from endemic corruption that could be systemic if not checked now.

Furthermore, Nigeria ought to be more frugal in spending. The centenary celebrations with numerous activities from 3rd February 2013 to 1st October 2014 are too lavish considering the unemployment time bomb, and the nation's debt burden which is again getting suffocative. In 2010 Nigeria's local and foreign debt burden was US\$29 billion. In 2012, the debt burden has risen to US\$41.67 billion and this excludes recent loan requests in the Pipeline: US\$77.9m for Ondo State, US\$148m for Enugu State, US\$124m for Niger State, US\$125m for Anambra State, US\$600m for Lagos State plus Federal Government pending loan of US\$600m from Islamic Development Bank for infrastructural development and US\$370m from same bank for health, education and agriculture.

The nation should be careful not to walk into another debt trap like we did from 2000 to 2005. Besides loans fuel corruption particularly where the executive who receives and implements the loan is not the executive who applied for the loan. In case of Anambra, for instance US\$75m is for erosion while US\$50m is for education. The out-going governor, Mr Peter Obi promised to handover the total loan of US\$125m to his successor. That will surely be a blunder because that loan particularly the US\$75m for erosion with Mr Obi not still being the governor, will get swept away by the "erosion of corruption!" Loan should therefore be limited

to projects that will immediately generate the funds with which to pay back the loan. Nigeria must avoid another Paris Club scenario in which Dr Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala used her position to clear Nigeria's US\$30bn debt with an US\$18bn bulk payment. Nigeria must not forget that as our international creditors forgave us our debt, they told us "Nigeria Go and Sin no more" why then are we still sinning by dabbling uncogently into loans again? Obviously if the loans are cogent, we won't be planning a one-year centenary celebration.

The centenary celebration should not therefore be too ostentatious. After all the pomp and pageantry of Nigeria Jubilee celebration have come and gone and the country is still no better. Consequently the plan to build diagnostic centres, libraries and Police Crime Lab in each zone, ICT centres in all universities, Unity Square in all the state capitals and City Gate in Abuja will not touch on the lives of downtrodden Nigerians and should be shelved and replaced with the building of at least 1000 Low Cost Housing in each state capital and Abuja. The estate should be named Nigerian Unity Centenary Estate (NUCE). The houses will be of red bricks and will offer jobs to over two million workers.

Finally, for Nigeria to stem corruption from its tap roots, three principal institutions must be incorruptible and they are the Police, the Judiciary and the national leadership, which of course starts with the President and then to his cabinet ministers, the state governors, the legislators and all those in leadership positions within the country. The President as leader of the pack, should not just be transparently incorruptible but must be seen to be so in practical terms. The incorruptibility must be reflected in

his life style, his vision, his family particularly First Lady, his policies, his associates and all those around him in the kitchen cabinet because it is from there that everything good or bad will trickle down. This is important because Global Financial Integrity (GFI) a Washington-based research and advocacy organisation in its February 2013 report, stated that Nigeria is 7th in money laundry index of the world and claimed that about \$19.66 billion or ₦3.047 trillion was stolen and transferred out of Nigeria by its leaders in ten years from 2000 to 2010.

It is painful to see the police that is supposed to enforce the law, stand by the road extorting money from motorists. I remember in 1983, I was travelling from Lagos to Ibadan in Army Landrover with a Corporal on the wheels. I was then a Colonel and as soon as we drove out of Lagos there was a long hold-up of vehicles. After sweating in the vehicle for twenty minutes and the vehicle was not moving because of the “Go-slow”, I was compelled by instinct to come out of the vehicle to find out what had gone wrong. I was so sure the delay was as a result of some terrible accident or a broken down trailer because those days, the Lagos – Ibadan road was a narrow, single-lane road. I was dumbfounded to see that the delay was caused by a policeman who was busy collecting money from drivers. Being in uniform I angrily walked up to the policeman and shouted at him, “What the hell are you doing?”

“Good day Sir,” he replied and as he saluted, the ₦50 note squeezed in his right palm came flying down.

“Where is that money from?” I yelled at him.

“Na driver dash me Sir”.

“For what?” I inquired.

“For garri,” he replied with guilt written all over him.

“You are a disgrace. “Shame on You”!

I collected his number frontally pinned to his shirt and sent it to Police HQ for necessary disciplinary action.

Along most of Nigeria’s highway this sordid menace tagged “toll gate” still goes on till today. This must be stopped and any IGP, who succeeds in stopping it will be the greatest hero of Nigeria. And so, IGP should get cracking. It is easy. Simply send detectives in plain clothes to pretend to be motorists and then give the police on road block the marked money and any police caught receiving it, gets life jail with no option of fine. It will work like magic. And the magic is urgently required because without it, true investors are no longer coming to Nigeria and as long as this persists the Nigerian economy is doomed.

The Judiciary is the last hope of the common man for justice. Consequently, if criminals commit heinous offences and go scotfree then crimes will continue and everybody including the judges will suffer. If a politician rigs an election and the judges pronounce him as the winner, that politician who rigged will never make a good leader and hence the nation will suffer from bad leadership.

So also, are “executive” sentences for corruption charges such as the cases of the former Edo State Governor getting just ₦3.5m fine for ₦9 billion fraud; a former IGP for ₦17 billion fraud got 6 months jail sentence plus a fine of ₦0.5m and now the most revealing are two cases delivered same week in two different courts, in January 2013. The first was on Monday, in Abuja High Court in which a former director of the Police Pension Board, Yakubu Yusuf for a ₦32.8 billion fraud was sentenced by Justice Abubakar Talba to 2 years in jail or pay fine of ₦750,000. The second case was on Wednesday in Abeokuta Magistrate Court in

which Idowu Olayinka sentenced Mustapha Adesina to two years imprisonment or ₦10,000 option of fine for stealing vegetable worth ₦5,000. In other words, the theft of ₦5,000 has 10,000 times more punishment than the theft of ₦32.8 billion. What a travesty of justice!

The Judiciary and the prosecuting agency, be it the Police, EFCC, etc, must ensure that everything is done to ensure justice is done and seen to be done, because taming the monster called corruption is a task that must be done for Nigeria to survive and this should start with a thorough reform of Nigerian criminal justice system.

CHAPTER 10

THE PROBLEM WITH NIGERIA – POPULATION EXPLOSION

Nigeria is a nation of 170 million people with lots of natural resources but paradoxically, lacks human resources.

– Phillip Emeagwali

Nigeria has fifty-four languages and 250 ethnic groups. The three main ethnic groups are Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. These three tribes make up 62% of the population. The next fairly large tribes are: Edo, Ijaw, Tiv, Kanuri, Ibibio, Ebira, Nupe, Gwari, Itsekiri, Jukun, Urhobo, Igala and Idoma. They make up 33% of the population while other very minor tribes make up the remaining 5%.

Population of Nigeria in 1950 was 31.7 million and today after sixty-two years, it is 170 million giving a walloping increase of 138.3 million! A study of the statistical data in Table 10.2 shows that Nigerian population doubled in thirty years, tripled in forty-two years and

quadrupled in fifty years. These are galloping increases at a time the populations of some countries of the world such as Latvia, Lithuania, Germany, Japan, Russia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Portugal, Italy, Ukraine, Croatia, Romania, Hungary, Moldova are decreasing by as much as 0.5% because couples decide not to have more than one child. Our population explosion explains why there aren't enough vacancies for admission in primary, secondary and tertiary institutions. Also, the unemployment menace is as a result of our fast growing population.

Family planning must therefore be taken seriously. Also, cross-border infiltration is the worst menace. Many Sahelian invasions of Nigeria are daily taking place across the Northern borders and must be checked or they will definitely ruin the economy. Population growth must be controlled through government policies otherwise no amount of Structural Adjustment Programme or austerity measures or Transformation Agenda will make the economy stable and grow. It is at times baffling that the Europeans are progressing faster than us in Africa. The reason is simple. They control their population, while we in Africa and Nigeria in particular, don't plan believing that God will take care of our problems. For instance, the Europeans plan to delay having any baby until they save enough money to take care of the baby's welfare, education, healthcare etc. The average Nigerian will just give birth to babies and then starts thinking how to borrow or steal to cater for those kids. We must develop a planning culture and a saving culture no matter how small for the rainy day.

Table 10.1: United Nations' Nigeria Demographic Indicators: 1998 and 2010

	1998	2010
Births per 1,000 population	42	37
Deaths per 1,000 population	13	16
Rate of natural increase (per cent)	2.9	2.1
Annual rate of growth (per cent)	3.0	2.1
Life expectancy at birth (years)	53.6	46.3
Infant deaths per 1,000 live births	71	57
Total fertility rate (per woman)	6.1	5.1

Table 10.2: Mid-year Population Estimates and Average Annual Period Growth

Rates: 1950 to 2050 (Population in thousands, rate in percent)

Year	Population	Year	Population	Period	Growth Rate
1980	65,699	1999	113,829	1980-1990	2.8
1990	86,530	2000	117,171	1990-2000	3.0
1991	89,263	2010	150,274	2000-2010	2.5
1992	92,057	2020	183,962	2010-2020	2.0
1993	94,934	2030	225,866	2020-2030	2.1
1994	97,900	2040	279,405	2030-2040	2.1
1995	100,959	2050	337,591	2040-2050	1.9

**Table 10.3: Mid-year Population, by Age and Sex:
1998 and 2010 (Population in thousands)**

AGE	-----1998-----			-----2010-----		
	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL	110,532	55,920	54,613	150,274	75,657	74,617
00-04	19,737	9,942	9,795	24,706	12,447	12,258
05-09	16,286	8,162	8,124	22,070	11,073	10,997
10-14	13,510	6,768	6,742	19,682	9,865	9,817
15-19	11,721	5,881	5,840	16,988	8,510	8,478
20-24	9,516	4,788	4,728	13,928	7,014	6,914
25-29	7,857	3,982	3,876	11,435	5,817	5,617
30-34	6,600	3,355	3,245	9,005	4,612	4,392
35-39	5,426	2,798	2,627	7,012	3,591	3,421
40-44	4,456	2,339	2,117	5,718	2,900	2,818
45-49	4,041	2,085	1,956	4,718	2,392	2,326
50-54	3,460	1,787	1,673	3,877	1,989	1,888
55-59	2,677	1,381	1,296	3,366	1,692	1,674
60-64	2,010	1,024	986	2,870	1,409	1,461
65-69	1,469	742	727	2,112	1,022	1,091
70-74	973	486	487	1,438	685	753
75-79	531	263	268	852	400	452
80+	262	136	126	499	240	259

Nigeria's infant mortality is 5.7%. Life expectancy is as low as 46.3% which indicates how bad our health facilities are. Nigeria is the only country in Africa yet to eradicate polio. To make matters worse, polio vaccine in some Northern cities has been rejected on the phantom

notion that the vaccine is a subtle play to de-populate the North. The Human Development Index (HDI) is 156th from a total of 174 countries in the world. On the average our economy by March 2013, picked up with single digit inflation of 9%, a growth rate of 6%, a current account surplus equivalent of about 8% GDP and debt-to-GDP ratio of less than 20% and an external reserve of \$47 billion. However, the high population growth rate of 2.5% nullifies all these hard-won economic achievements. With the Sahara desert advancing South wards at the rate of 0.6 km annually, the Nigerian economy is bound to get worse. Hence, the need to check desertification and thus open up Sahara desert for development and creation of millions of jobs as recently advocated by Gen T Y Danjuma using the Nigerian Society of Engineers Taming African Desert (NSE – TAD).

Table 10.4: Colonial Census of 1953 still our Most Authentic Census Result

Ethnic Group	Total
Hausa	11,652,745
Yoruba	11,320,509
Ibo	9,246,388
Fulani	4,784,366
Kanuri	2,259,091
Ibibio	2,006,486
Tiv	1,393,649
Ijaw	1,088,885
Edo	954,970

Annang	675,004
Nupe	656,296
Urhobo	639,251
Igala	581,551
Idoma	485,562
Igbirra	425,783
Gwari	378,168
Ekoi	344,514
Mumuye	294,208
Alago	249,537
Ogoni	202,567
Isoko	200,357
Higgi	176,969
Bura	171,875
Efik	166,297
Ghamba	162,330
Shua Arab	155,531
Kaje	146,983
Kambari	145,610
Eggon	143,028
Kobchi	141,224
Angas	138,224
Karakare	128,802
Birom	118,736
Yergam	116,235
Other Nigerians	3,654,165
Total	55,558,163

Table 10.5: Nigerian Population Data in Comparison with that of Nine Other Most Populous Countries of the World

S/N	Ten Most Populous Countries of the World	Life Expectancy		HDI	HDI Global Position	2012 POP in Million	POP Density per km ²	2012 POP Growth Rate	Projected most Populous by 2050 in Million	
		Years	Ranking In the World						Countries	POP
1	China	82	8 th	0.755	85 th	1350	141	0.5	India	1691
2	India	70	146 th	0.662	128 th	1250	368	1.5	China	1311
3	USA	78	51 st	0.944	10 th	214	32	0.5	USA	423
4	Indonesia	71	137 th	0.697	111 st	241	121	1.3	Nigeria	402
5	Brazil	72	121 st	0.792	63 rd	194	23	1.0	Pakistan	314
6	Pakistan	64	166 th	0.527	136 th	180	227	2.1	Indonesia	309
7	Nigeria	47	211 st	0.453	159 th	170	167	2.6*	Bangladesh	226
8	Bangladesh	60	182 nd	0.52	139 th	153	964	1.6	Brazil	213
9	Russia	70	142 nd	0.795	62 nd	143	8.3	-0.1	Congo Dem Rep	194
10	Japan	82	5 th	0.943	11 th	128	337	-0.2	Ethiopia	166
			Out of 223 countries		Out of 178 countries					

Deduction from above Population Data of the Ten Most Populous Countries in the World

- (1) Nigeria has the highest population growth rate of 2.6. Presently Nigeria is the 7th most populous country in the world. Consequently, by 2050 Nigeria will overtake 3 countries: Indonesia, Brazil and Pakistan and will become the 4th most populous country in the world and by then, except we start now to work against it, Nigeria will be at the bottom of the world in Life Expectancy, per capita income, HDI, and Transparency International Index.
- (2) Russia with minus population growth rate of -0.1 , will by 2050, have her population decrease from 143m to 127m. Same also with Japan the population will decrease from 128m in 2012 to 119m in 2050. This proves that if a country works on it, she could have negative population growth rate. Nigeria should seriously work on reducing her population growth rate otherwise the present situation where PhD holders, lawyers, doctors and engineers are applying for vehicle driving jobs, will continue and with that kidnapping and associated ills will be the order of the day.
- (3) United Nations (UN) 2013 HDI report released from United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) office in Mexico failed to list Nigeria in its report. This is very serious if we realise that HDI covers: life expediency, literacy, school enrolment and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita. Other countries not listed include Cameroun and Mali. The reason for not listing the countries was not stated but it is assumed that the countries concerned did not meet the criteria for listing them in the ranking.

The Federal Government needs to effect population control policy and vigorously pursue it and the control measures should include the following:

- (a) Encourage the civilised family concept of one man one wife.
- (b) Encourage a maximum of two to three kids per family.
- (c) Encourage the spacing of children to minimum of two years between the children.
- (d) Encouragement will be in form of movie/theatre shows depicting the advantage of having ideal family. Also, there should be tax incentives for those with ideal family set-up.
- (e) There should be additional tax burden for those who fail to keep to ideal family planning code.
- (f) Leaders should lead by example and it should be an advantage for leaders to have the above population control measures as some of the yardsticks for sailing through party nominations and elections.

CHAPTER 11

THE PROBLEM WITH NIGERIA – UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE FAILURE TO CONVERT BRAIN DRAIN TO BRAIN GAIN

Nigeria is the only country we have. We must stay here and salvage it together.

– Gen Muhammadu Buhari (1983)

With over 70 million Nigerians unemployed, it is definitely a ticking time bomb. Recently, the CBN Governor called for 50% cut of the nation's work force because with over 70% of the Nation's earning being consumed by wage bills, virtually nothing is available for putting in place infrastructure such as refineries, power stations, rail system, dams, etc. For instance, in 2013, ₦1.4 trillion was the budget for capital projects but only ₦794 billion was cash backed. In effect, the cut in the work force is inevitable, even though it should be done gradually in order to reduce the worsening of the unemployment crises.

One of the side effects of massive unemployment is the massive relocation of the nation's best brains for greener pastures abroad. Furthermore, the proliferation of universities and the lapse in not making university course-programmes relevant to the need of the economy, has created redundant workforce. The situation is so pathetic that apart from the very brilliant graduates leaving Nigeria, their lecturers are leaving in droves for greener pastures abroad. It is estimated that Nigeria loses over 3000 professionals annually to brain drain and the issue is worsened by the fact that some states of the federation rather than employ Nigerian lecturers will rather employ expatriates.

In 1997, as Minister of Science and Technology I made a deliberate effort to create a forum where all our scientists, engineers and technologists meet annually to rub minds, coordinate their R&D efforts and indeed, energise and even synergise Nigeria's technological development. The forum was named Science – Engineering – Technology (SET) Summit and the aim was to eliminate the unnecessary duplication/replication of effort in our R&D.

This was done by having SET DIGEST in which records were kept of all the latest, updated Scientific, Engineering and Technological Research and Development efforts nationwide. These records or dossiers were widely circulated and broadcast on TV for national update on SET.

The climax of this initiative, was the setting up of SET Summit in August 1997 in which notable Nigerians abroad were invited. The primary motive was to use that opportunity to start luring them home since for Nigeria to catch up with the developed world, she must be competitively superior in knowledge. Also, this was a

measure to convert brain drain to brain gain because by the time they come home repeatedly, the impact will start manifesting itself in our technological development at home.

To my greatest amazement most of the notable personalities including Phillip Emeagwali, the computer whiz-child in the US Space Centre, failed to turn up. Phillip's case was very painful because I personally got in touch with him on phone and he promised repeatedly that he would surely come. It was later, we found out that he was willing to come but at the last minute his employers refused because of the invaluable technological secrets he has.

India, South Korea, Malaysia and Indonesia today are forging ahead because their SET experts abroad are transferring back to their home-country the cutting-edge technological knowledge within their reach. Obviously, the Indian, South Korean, Malaysian and Indonesian environment and policies are very conducive to them. With that, many of them eventually resign and get established at home and that is brain gain. Apparently, Phillip cannot bluff his employers in US because he is not sure Nigerian environment will not frustrate him with undue primordial policies such as unnecessary bureaucracy, federal character, Nigerian factor, abandon property that sent many landlords to early graves, and quota system in allocating land in FCT etc. Other countries treasure investments and offer investors mouth-watering incentives, but the opposite is the case in Nigeria. It is estimated by World Bank that Nigerians in diaspora are over 20 million and generate close to \$45 billion annually and so, if the Nigerian environment is conducive, that huge sum can flow into Nigeria and the

impact will be electrifying. This is so if we realise that Nigeria's average foreign reserve is less than US\$40 billion. And so, if US\$45 billion can flow in every year then Nigeria will soon be like India where brain drain has been converted to brain gain. It should be noted that having a conducive environment means stamping out corruption, no kidnapping, no armed robbery, no police harassment on traffic, electricity will be without outages, availability of pipe-borne water, good roads, reliable air travel, etc.

Consequently, for Nigeria to develop sustainably, state of origin, or local government origin should be de-emphasised to encourage those in Diaspora to plough in their money back home. What should be uppermost is how Nigeria improves on her productive capacity in a pluralistic society and a diversified economy. Nigeria is indeed on the precipice because our dependence on oil is now so total that without it, the entire economy can crumple overnight like a pack of cards.

Definitely, oil price will not continue to sell at the present high rate of US\$110 per barrel. The countries of the developed world are researching actively for alternative to petroleum and within a decade or less the market will be flooded with the alternatives to oil. Besides, it is projected that in seven years time, US will be self-sufficient in her oil and gas and will cease to import from Nigeria. This is so because of the latest improved technology which involves using hydraulic fracking and horizontal drilling to extract trapped oil and gas at a much cheaper rate. Initially Nigeria was thinking that if she loses the US market, she can depend on China, India, Germany, UK, etc but it is now known that these oil and gas bearing shale rocks are available in most countries of the world.

In effect, our oil and gas will be worthless by about 2025. Nigeria must therefore use the boom of today to prepare for the doom of tomorrow. Nigeria must also initiate very special policies that will offer attractive incentives to our intellectuals abroad, to come back home, so that like Singapore, we can aspire in making Nigeria take a quantum leap from Third to First World.

NiDAN – Turning Brain Drain To Brain Gain

It is gladdening that NiDAN has risen to the occasion. NiDAN is Nigeria Diaspora Alumni Network and was formed on 1st October 2010 by Nigerians who are now back in the country for good. They have their Head Office in Abuja and the objective of NiDAN is “to promote, advance, and advocate the economic, political, social, and professional interest of Nigerians who have spent at least one year outside Nigeria and have now returned to contribute to national development”. It is a networking group helping to give soft-landing for Diaspora Nigerian returnees and make mild the labyrinth of reverse culture shock they go through.

In US alone, it is established that 3.25m Nigerian immigrants are there itching to come home. Of this number, 115,000 are of medical professionals, 174,000 are IT professionals, 87,000 are pharmacists, 49,500 are engineers, 250,000 are legal, financial, real estate and related business professionals. NiDAN is therefore contributing immensely in converting the brain drain to brain gain.

CHAPTER 12

THE PROBLEM WITH NIGERIA – POOR PRODUCTIVITY AGGRAVATED BY WRONG APPLICATION OF FEDERAL CHARACTER

*Ask not what your country can do for you; Ask what
you can do for your country.*

– John F Kennedy (1963)

Post-independent Nigeria had three regions – North, East and West. The quality of life was very promising and Nigerians were contented and happy pacesetters in Africa. The three regions made incredible progress through the healthy competition amongst them. They developed at their own respective sustainable pace. Overall, everybody was up-and-doing because you reap what you sow. In other words merit was the watchword, and it was guiding Nigeria onto greatness. Then, suddenly from the blues, the military struck on 15 January 1966 and as the nation was trying to absorb that shock, a more deadly blow came on 29 July 1966. Then the 30-months civil war ensued in

July 1967. Luckily Nigeria had a God-fearing leader in Gen Yakubu Gowon who at the end of the war in January 1970 declared “No Victor No Vanquished”, the federal victory notwithstanding.

However, in re-writing the Nigerian constitution for the Second Republic, the constitutional conference by a single vote margin decided to insert the federal character clause in our constitution. Since then, Nigeria has never been the same. Nigeria was automatically turned into a booty to be divided, zoned and shared as the spoils of war through a mechanism called federal character. Mediocrity submerged meritocracy and the twin engine of development: patriotism and productivity started nose-diving into the abyss.

Indeed, the issue of federal character is the only singular factor that will determine what becomes of Nigeria now and in future. It is at the heart of our national problem and being of such importance, let's first have informed knowledge of what 1999 Nigerian Constitution postulates on federal character:

Section 14 Sub-Section 3 of 1999 Nigerian Constitution directs that:

The composition of the **Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs** shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few States or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that **Government or in any of its agencies.**

It should be noted from the above that the emphasises is on Federal Government and its agencies. The reference it made in “the conduct of its affairs” means “in the conduct of government’s affair”. Also, agencies in this case are limited to political positions in the Ministries and their Parastatals and not in seeking admission to Secondary Schools, Polytechnic, and Universities. Indeed, Federal Character as spelt in our Constitution was referring to critical political, representative and administrative appointments such as Perm Sec, Ministers and Ambassadors which should naturally reflect Federal Character if feasible, because it should not be rigidly applied. In effect, all technical appointments in which professionalism is required, such appointments that has to do with health, education, technology and all other means of research and production must be on merit.

Also, the opening section of the constitution declares as follows:

We the people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, having firmly and solemnly resolved: **TO LIVE** in unity and harmony as one indivisible and indissoluble Sovereign Nation under God dedicated to the promotion of inter-African solidarity, world peace, international co-operation and understanding, and **TO PROVIDE** for a Constitution for the purpose of promoting the good government and **welfare of all persons** in our country on the principles of **Freedom, Equality** and **Justice**, and for the purpose of consolidating the unity of our people.

These are very weighty declarations. The “principles of Freedom, Equality and Justice” are definitely being trampled upon the way and manner federal character is being applied. It has been badly politicised, and is being selfishly, inconsistently, punitively and subjectively applied. Indeed, federal character at a stage was applied in selecting players for the Green Eagles football team. The end result was that we lost all our matches!

Federal character is also being applied to such levels as admission to federal colleges, polytechnics and universities. At times too, the employments to all cadres of jobs in the country and zoned to indigenes where the office is located including critical professional appointments such as Vice Chancellor of Federal Universities, CMD of National Hospitals/Teaching Hospitals, DG/MD of federal parastatals and Industrial complexes such as Ajaokuta Steel Plant etc. The end result is that those CEOs appointed based on the son-of-the-soil sentiment will then flood the establishments with their own unqualified folks and eventually the establishment will collapse as a result of incompetence and gross mismanagement. No wonder Ajaokuta Steel Plant is a typical example, and in spite of over US\$5 billion invested, it has remained comatose. The Department for International Development (DFID) on a report sponsored by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) has stated categorically that Ajaokuta Steel Company whose foundation was laid by President Shehu Shagari on 18th June 1981 is today after 32 years of federal character battering, a shadow of itself and therefore not economically viable. The Steel Company was over-stretched with branches to Onitsha (Training School) and Steel Mills at Jos, Oshogbo and Katsina. These steel mills should have come in Phase

II, to enable the main Steel Company to take off buoyantly. And so, while steel plants started same time in India and Malaysia consolidated and replicated themselves in four other plants in India, and two other plants in Malaysia, Nigeria Ajaokuta played politics with her own development. Today Nigeria is paying dearly for it.

Freedom means unfettered and unrestricted access to one's aspiration for the good of the nation. In other words with freedom, all citizens will enjoy equal opportunity and the sky is the limit of their aspiration. Also, "Equality and Justice" means that all citizens should be rewarded according to what they deserve. In other words, "you reap as you sow". Unfortunately, Federal Character is not complying to that dictum because it makes Nigerians reap where they did not sow. Overall, Nigeria should take the advice from the wise saying of Milton Friedman, viz: "A society that puts equality before freedom, will get neither but a society that puts freedom before equality will get a high degree of both".

In contemporal human history, Freedom, Equality and Justice are responsible for liberating and igniting the populace for action such as happened during the French Revolutions and till today, it has been applied through peaceful means. Typical examples are the Nordic/Scandinavian countries (Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland). These are relatively small countries with no tangible material resources but because they have used healthy competition to extract the best from their citizens they are today, first in the world in life expectancy; they are the least corrupt in the world and have the highest Human Development Index (HDI) in the world.

Federal character was introduced to give all Nigerians a sense of belonging and this is understandable but to use it to undermine merit is wantonly counter-productive. Indeed federal character is just a guide and should not be followed rigidly. In short, the country should not eclipse available stars and super-stars because of dogmatic application of federal character. This is true if one considers what Nigeria would have lost if we didn't have Nuhu Ribadu the pioneer Chairman of EFCC who brought EFCC to prominence with his policy of zero tolerance for corruption; Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala master-stroke in relieving Nigeria of the US\$30bn international debt; Oby Ezekwesili the anti-corruption Czarina whose Due Process saved US\$1.5 billion for Nigeria; Dora Akunyili of NAFDAC fame, and Akinwumi Adeshina of Agric Business paradigm shift. Nature is so kind that it gives every individual some talents, and those talents should be allowed to flourish and blossom because God knows why individuals are endowed with those talents. To obscure or barricade those talents with policies such as federal character is an act against Nature, and will, of course, not stand. Most reflective analysts visualise Nigerian problems as man-made and a simple case of eating one's cake and still wanting to have it. A lot of ambivalences and paradoxes keep recurring in frightening proportions in Nigeria because of so many double standards.

It is obvious that the federal character or quota system or geographical spread principle is perpetuating a cheating culture on our society thereby destroying the spirit of excellence, productivity and patriotism in Nigerians. For instance, a very brilliant 12 year old girl once asked the Mum after being told that she failed to gain admission to a Federal College: "Mummy, how come Mati who scored

35% was given admission to Queens College while myself with 97% was not?”. She was told it is as a result of Federal Character. Invariably when such a brilliant child gets repeatedly denied admission to a college she indeed merits, she may start trying extra judicial means to succeed. Also, there was a Teaching Hospital in which there was the need to send six doctors out of the twenty-two doctors in the hospital for specialist training abroad. A test was therefore conducted and the six highest scores were from doctors from two geopolitical zones and thus, the Teaching Hospital Management decided to discard the result of the test and instead selected one doctor per geopolitical zone for the training. After 6 months, 4 doctors were sent back to Nigeria for woeful performance. That was how Nigeria lost those four vacancies and only the two doctors sent on merit remained and successfully completed the course in flying colours. Millions of Nigerian brains have been ruined perpetually and their competitive spirit dampened forever. How then can the nation’s standard of education improve if *ab initio* the bulk of our students are mediocre and below. Today, most countries such as Japan, South Korea; Singapore, Netherland, Germany, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmak do not have any major raw material but through the development of their human capital, they are leading the world economically. Unfortunately, in Nigeria, we are destroying our human capital through the federal character policy and hence politicising education. Education is power and should therefore be first amongst equals in funding, sensitivity, quality control and application. Also, absorbing the graduands through immediate employment is even more important. This should be solved by ensuring the courses in the tertiary institutions are relevant to the needs of our

economy that is infrastructurally strong and is private-sector driven.

The worst is the cheating culture in our schools, colleges and universities. Parents now aid their children in cheating because if Government policy perpetuates cheating and all sorts of constitutionalised corruption called federal character, etc, who are they not to follow? In some of our universities it is now the order of the day for the students not only bribe to graduate without completing the courses but to even get the class of degree they desire depending on how much they pay. In other words, if you pay for First Class degree you get First Class, and if you pay for Second Class Upper, you get it. Education that determines what a nation becomes is now a *cash 'n carry* affair! And for the ladies, sex is often preferred by their lecturers than cash. And so, the battle against these ills demands Ethical Revolution. The worst is in the medical faculties of some universities, where some lecturers sell or engage in “expo” – (the secret sell of questions to students before the exam) and so why shouldn't our hospitals remain at best consulting clinics and at worse glorified mortuaries. Consequently, Nigerians now massively troop to India to solve their medical problems as if they have no country. It is disturbing that over 5000 Nigerians spend annually over US\$500 billions on medical tourism in countries such as UK, France, Germany, Egypt and even Ghana next door. Nigerians therefore congratulated His Excellency, Idris Wada, the Governor of Kogi State for being exemplary in opting to use Cedar Crest Hospital Abuja for the treatment of his fractured femur which he sustained from a ghastly car accident in December 2012. He was finally discharged in February 2013 with the fractured femur well in place.

Nigeria needs many of such success stories to help restore the self-confidence of our medical expertise.

In a globalised world, the efficiency of any product will depend on how far it outshines products elsewhere. Competition is therefore no longer between Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria or between tribe A and tribe B or religion C and religion D. The competition is now global between one region of the world with the other or at best, between a country and the other. It's a shame that today, parents are sending their children to schools, colleges and universities in Ghana. Also, most school owners in Nigeria are ready to pay any amount to have a Ghanaian teacher to head the school rather than a Nigerian teacher. What a shame! How are the mighty falling. For Heaven's sake let us stop playing politics with education, health, and production because for Nigeria to get her own share of the global market, she must be ready to compete with other countries of the world. The IMD Competiveness Year Book has the yearly creativity index of every country published based on the country's index factors which are TALENT, TECHNOLOGY and TOLERANCE. Nigeria's rating for many years has continued to be in the last ten in the world!

Federal character is the bane of our society, and for as long as it remains, for so long will Nigeria continue to grope in the dark and be submerged in the abyss. Federal character has dethroned meritocracy and enthroned mediocrity thereby neutralising the competitive spirit which drives and sustains efficiency and excellence. We will only improve our gradings in international assessment if competition through merit is recognised and allowed to take its natural course.

Federal character promotes sharing of cake syndrome as against baking the cake. It should therefore be instantly looked into in our on-going constitutional review. The idea of giving every Nigerian a sense of belonging is laudable but not at the expense of merit. Consequently, what should be done is to have a Special Education Trust Fund from which scholarships can be given to Nigerians from disadvantaged areas to accelerate their human capital development. The handover in September 2012 of 100 Almajiri schools to the nineteen Northern States by the President, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan is the right step in the right direction. So also is the Amnesty Deal on the retraining package for ex-militants of Niger Delta. However, time limit of about ten to twenty years should be given, after which, such special fund will cease to apply and everything no matter how inconsequential must be based on merit.

American Affirmative Action is working successfully because it still recognises merit, otherwise US wouldn't be leading the world in cutting edge technology and thus going to the moon and outer space. The Affirmative Action even encourages talents and intellectuals from other parts of the world and that is why US is a beehive of intellectuals the world over, and they are fast tracking their technological development. But in Nigeria, the opposite is the case. Talents are frustrated simply because of who he is. Obviously, there is no way Nigeria will develop in that kind of environment. Abroad, Nigerians in all spheres of human endeavours, be it in Engineering, ICT, Production Lines, Medicine, Football etc are performing excellently. Most of them are so good that they are placed to head their organisations. Those of them in sensitive positions like Aero/Space centres are so highly treasured by their

various organisations that they monitor and control their movement outside their place of work. Recently in December 2012, a Nigerian, Mr Collin Nweke, a member of Belgian Green Party was for the second time elected as a councillor in West Flanders Constituency in Belgium. It is unfortunate that if these talented Nigerians come home they will dim instantly like expired twilight because of extraneous barriers such as Nigerian factor, the federal character, quotatised land allocation, the threat on secularity of Nigeria; and the alienation of Nigerians through extreme statism that prefer foreign workers to Nigerians.

It is encouraging that one of our national leaders and statesman, Gen Ibrahim Babangida has repeatedly called for a review of the federal character policy. It is hoped that more leaders will add their voices otherwise our country Nigeria, no matter the economic or political re-structuring will continue to stagnate.

On the 10th February 2013, Nigeria was agog with joy for winning the Africa Cup of Nations (AFCON). It was a resurgence of the Nigerian spirit. Nigeria is always at her best in crisis. She resurrects once pushed to the wall and will excel if square pegs are put in square holes. Watching them play, it was obvious that they won for three main reasons. Firstly, they were mostly local players and so they practised as a team for reasonable length of time. Unlike before when by the time all the foreign players assembled, it was often too late to practise as a team. Secondly, Stephen Keshi had confidence in himself and his team and hence, ignored the pressure to invite foreign coach and our foreign-based players. As a people we must have confidence in ourselves. The practice of inviting or employing foreigners for vacancies Nigerians can competently fill is unpatriotic

in its worst form and should stop if our dream of true nationhood is to be achieved. Thirdly, the players individually were selected on merit and they therefore played with determination to justify that merit. It is unimaginable to conjecture what would have happened if the players were selected on the basis of federal character. It would have been a terrible fiasco! This is so because nine of the eleven players came from two zones of Nigeria's six zones. Consequently by federal character policy, no zone should have more than two players and since Sunday Mba came from the zone that had five players, he would have been sieved out thus depriving Nigeria of the player destiny had ordained to rescue Nigeria. It is therefore obvious from above analysis that federal character works against divine ordained destiny.

Consequently, for Nigeria to be salvaged, we must review the federal character policy by limiting it to purely political offices in government and use merit in other aspects of national development where competitive skills and intelligence are required. This is necessary because we need to catch up with other countries of the world, such as Malaysia, Singapore, Brazil, India, South Korea, South Africa, and even Ghana that have embarrassingly left us behind. That crucial journey should start now!

CHAPTER 13

THE PROBLEM WITH NIGERIA – THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP WITH PROVEN TRACK RECORD

The wise will lead and rule... and the ignorant will follow.

- Plato

The most complicated problem of Nigeria since independence has been the problem of leadership. Definitely, Nigeria has had leaders who tried passionately to do their best, to make their mark and even carve a niche here and there but somehow Nigerians have penchant for dragging their leaders down to their own level and that is why it is said that a nation deserves the leader she gets. Also, Nigeria being 170 million people – the largest concentration of the black race with 250 tribes/ethnic groupings – is indeed, a mini continent too large and complex to control. Furthermore, considering that the

population is so heterogeneous with each group still basking in the residual powers of their past empires and kingdoms makes it difficult to get every citizen to stay in line under one single political leadership.

Unfortunately, our founding fathers: Sir Ahmadu Bello, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, started off the struggle for independence in which individually each one of them was an excellent player but unfortunately, amongst them there was no team spirit and with time, issues got worse, when they failed to have an acceptable “team captain” and no formidable “goal-keeper”. It is no wonder that since then Nigeria has continued to lose all its “matches” even to perceived weak contemporaries!

Sir Herbert Macaulay, the wizard of Kerston Hall and the father of Nigerian Nationalism displayed early signs of proving that he is first among equals by forming a broad-based non-tribal political party embracing all Nigerians. Unfortunately, he died suddenly leaving behind the Secretary-General of his party (the Nigerian Youth Movement) Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe to step into his shoes. Zik again rose to the occasion and against the tribal jingoism of the time, won seat to Western House of Assembly but when overnight his party members crossed carpet and left him in the cold, under Awo’s purview, he then realised disappointingly the tribal handicap of Nigerian politics. He thus relocated to the East in answer to the unfortunate slogan of “North for Northerners”, East for Easterners” and “West for Westerners”. That was how Nigeria lost its path to leadership at home and thus to Africa.

What Nigeria needs now is leadership that is from the heart. Leadership with zeal and purpose; Leadership that is selfless (100% service and zero percent self). Leadership

that is groomed, tested and proven; leadership that has zero percent tolerance for corruption; leadership that can rise far and above the normal trend; leadership whose vision can see the nation's tomorrow, today. It is not leadership that is prompted by a cabal, mafia, god fatherism or some interested parties. It is not leadership "in answer to my people's call". It is not a zoned leadership nor based on federal character, geographical spread or quota system. It is not leadership reluctantly accepted. It is not leadership "in sympathy of my dear country". It is not chop-I-chop and turn-by-turn leadership; it is not leadership to have one's "own share of the national cake"! It should be leadership of the people, for the people and by the people. It should be leadership by merit. It should be Obama Leadership. It should be Mandela Leadership. Period.

Unfortunately, leadership since independence has always been "reluctantly accepted leadership". Consequently, our leadership has remained lack-lustre and has never been planned, groomed and proven. Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, the statesman with the golden voice was a very capable, dynamic, humane, honest and humble Prime Minister but unfortunately he was badly handicapped because he wasn't the leader of his party – the Northern People's Congress. He was a puppet of Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Premier of the Northern Region who preferred to actively preside over the Caliphate, and at the same time govern Northern Region directly and control Nigeria indirectly from Kaduna. It was therefore no wonder that while I was abroad in the early 1960s, strange questions such as "is Nigeria in Ghana?" were thrown at me by expatriates because the popularity of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana made waves round the world while our own Prime Minister Alhaji

Tafawa Balewa was eclipsed by his subordinate and servile role in Nigeria.

With the recent revelation that OBJ said that “whoever wins, I will run Aso Rock from my farm”, it means that even after Tafawa Balewa, leadership through stooges has continued. It therefore beats my imagination why African leaders, Nigeria in particular, do not accept that life could have a sudden end, and therefore, in all situations, a successor should be groomed. And because life is transient, any leader no matter how good should not perpetuate himself because he cannot outlive his country. It is his country that will outlive him. In retrospect, therefore, if third term had worked, Nigeria would have ended up with its own Mugabe!

Alhaji Shagari is an excellent statesman, but had to be appealed to in 1979 by his old political associates to make himself available to contest the Presidency. He did not put himself forward like Awo for whom it was his innermost desire to lead Nigeria. No wonder the late Ikemba aptly described him as “the best President Nigeria never had”. This is typical because Nigeria is the only country that progresses backwards or in reverse gear and therefore appreciates the late and not the living. Zik too was very eager to lead Nigeria. He compromised and even looked beyond Nigeria for leadership but he never had an executive power. He had to make do with a frustrating, toothless and ceremonial Governor-General and Presidency. Unfortunately, his personal feud with Awo which started with the carpet crossing of 1954 was a sore point Zik never really forgave Awo. It was not surprising that twice in 1979 and 1983, Zik contested those Presidential elections principally to narrow down Awo’s chances of winning. This

was really unfortunate and myopic, demonstrating how our leaders personalise leadership. They forget that politics is a game of lose today and win tomorrow. And that democracy thrives on pragmatism, compromise, vision, strategic foresight, patriotism and nationalism as against ethnic nationalism. The same scenario was evident during the election of 1959 and 1964 in which the Action Group party could have either joined the coalition of the main parties (NPC and NCNC) in forming a broad-based government of national unity or form alliances with NCNC and put forward for the first time a progressive government. Unfortunately, neither of these two pragmatic options were taken. Later in 1965, when a faction of AG under the leadership of Awo's wife (since Awo himself was still in jail) joined the NCNC to form UPGA, it was the long awaited alliance but unfortunately it came too late and too impotent to make the desired impact. The remnant faction of AG joined NPC to form the NNA alliance.

It is baffling how on earth it did not occur to Zik, Awo and Aminu Kano of the "talakawas" to have formed a formidable tripod on which to stabilise Nigeria and move her forward forever. At a stage, Zik's NCNC and Aminu Kano's NEPU did form an alliance but then again, Awo was the strategic missing leg. Contemporary politicians should learn a strategic lesson from that because had the three leaders pulled together in one direction, Nigeria will not be in the mess she is today because military incursion would never have been and today, we would have been like India, South Korea, Malaysia or even Singapore of the First World status. And so, the strategic solution to Nigeria's political problem is for all the progressives from all parts of Nigeria to pull together within a party and provide the

leadership that will set the pace for the conservatives to learn from and some day provide a better alternative leadership.

The confusion that trailed these personalised and selfish political intrigues precipitated the coup d'état of 15th January 1966 and thus plunged Nigeria into thirty-three years of military coups and counter-coups. This long spell of thirty-three years would have been reduced to twelve years if the politicians of the Second Republic, (1979 to 1983) had learnt their lesson from the First Republic (1960 to 1966) but that was not to be. For instance, the Green Revolution became a farce following the massive importation of rice popularly tagged the Rice Armada. Also, it was unfortunate that President Shehu Shagari's laudable programme of mass housing for Nigerians was thwarted by the refusal of Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) to allocate land for the housing programme in all UPN controlled states. Again, depicting the myopic, personalised and non-strategic vision of our leaders. With many of such impasse, the military struck again in 1983 and remained in power till 1999.

Before then however, the appearance of Chief Ernest Shonekan on the scene was typical of the unpreparedness of Nigerian leadership. Here was a business guru who was a former Chairman of UAC. A gentleman extraordinaire but politically a neophyte. Like thunder from the blues, he was suddenly hoisted with the leadership of Interim National Government (ING) overnight without in-depth briefing and detailed handover documents. Of course, in such a situation, confusion was rife and no sooner a court in Lagos declared ING illegal than a well-positioned General Sani Abacha gave a conqueror's salute and firmly collected Shonekan's "resignation" and mounted the saddle of leadership on 17th November 1993 with Nigerians watching in disbelief.

Then again, leadership will never be a success without a ready successor. Consequently, the absence of any grooming was a major handicap for the military heads of state. From Gen Yakubu Gowon who became head of state at the age of 31 years to Gen Murtala Mohammed to Gen Muhammadu Buhari, to Gen Ibrahim Babangida, to Gen Sani Abacha, to Gen A. A Abubakar, to Gen Olusegun Obasanjo's first and second coming. In all these, change of baton was deadly intrigues of midnight plots, treacheries, stab in the back, coups and counter-coups. Of course, there was no proper handing over let alone grooming a successor. And so, what we have always had were emergency or accidental leaders. Then finally was the dramatic installation of Umaru Yar'Adua and Dr. Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan. It is a well known fact that they were the sole machination of President Olusegun Obasanjo to enable him if not be on the throne, to effectively remain behind. Umaru Yar'Adua despite his serious ailment was "drafted" to become President of Nigeria while his successor Dr Goodluck Jonathan had a meteoric rise from being deputy Governor of Bayelsa State to becoming President of Federal Republic of Nigeria, and so, grappling with national problems at such dizzy speed has not been easy. It's no wonder that some ill-digested decisions cum action have left a sour taste with the public, such as: renaming of University of Lagos (This has been reversed), the fuel subsidy removal on a New Year Day; the President's inquiry on who granted Channels Television access to Police College Ikeja, the hasty pardon granted to Alamieyeseigha and Bulama, and the ₦6 billion donation for a church project in his village, in which an individual donated ₦1.8bn. The last two cases were definitely thwarting anti corruption

stance of the government. This may not be unconnected with Dr Jonathan's coming to power at lightning speed! He was sworn in as Acting President on 9th February 2010, and through unprecedented Senate's Doctrine of Necessity, and following President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's ill health, he became substantive President on 6th May 2010. Finally against strong opposition from the North, which felt that the North hadn't exhausted eight years of presidency zoned to it, Jonathan contested and won the 2011 Presidential election in which his closest rival, General Buhari contested the electoral verdict in court. Jonathan therefore was totally not groomed in depth and hence had his own share of turbulence in governance.

Problem of Unfocused Leadership

One of the biggest problems with the performance of Nigerian leaders is their inability to be specific on what they want to achieve and to have them prioritised. Our leaders generally come into office with an all-conquering aura to solve all Nigerian problems "in one go" and they end up doing everything but completing nothing. And that's why we are always back to square one or even worse than we started.

Barack Obama while campaigning for democratic nomination was asked what he would do about Osama Bin Laden. His answer was simple and straight. "I will kill him", and as soon as he won the election he quietly and meticulously planned the killing of Osama Bin Laden. Eventually, he succeeded in killing Osama Bin Laden for daring to attack American homeland. That was leadership extraordinaire. You say it, you do it. Obviously, Obama's re-election was principally because of his fulfilling his

promise on Osama Bin Laden. Nigerian electorates must learn to extract cardinal promises from their would-be leaders so that when they fail to deliver no one should vote for a failure.

Nigerian leaders should be more categorical on issues and learn to seek election based on a few but crucial national issues. In the Nigerian context, we have since 1999, been privileged to have three presidents – Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, Alhaji Umaru Yar'Adua and Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. If OBJ while tackling all other problems had taken the repair of refineries and the building of new ones as a must-do-mission (MDM) statement, by now, Nigeria will not be disgracing herself importing refined fuel at a prodigal price.

Umaru Yar'Adua battled ceaselessly with his health but for admitting that his “own election was badly flawed” plus his Rule of Law stance and the Amnesty Deal, it's the view of most strategists that history will judge him favourably.

For Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, if he must seek a second term, then he should make his 2015 election promise to be: the repair of Nigeria's four refineries, the building of at least six new refineries, (one in each zone) plus the provision of buses for workers in FCT. Based on these campaign promises he should be re-elected or be rejected in the 2015 election. That's the way democracy works, not on intrigues, ganging-up, zoning and re-zoning or wrangling between Nigerian Governors' Forum with PDP Governors' Forum!

Overall however, all the noticeable lapses in the Nigerian leadership are not all the making of the leaders. The followership has large chunks of the blame. For

instance, the President is blamed for worsening unemployment, when the blame should actually go to the state governments and LGAs who preside over 99% of the Nigerian populace and land mass. They should use farming and cottage industries in absorbing over 90% of the unemployed. Also, incidences of ghost-workers must be checked. Nigeria loses conservatively over ₦500 billion to ghost workers across the three tiers of government. Checking this will help improve on the chances of employing some workers. Besides, the Nigerian work force is very corrupt, lazy, selfish, unserious, unpatriotic, dishonest, undisciplined, unproductive and therefore coming late or absenting from work is now the norm rather than the exception. Yet they have incredibly high taste for the good things of life. My experience as a minister for five years (1994 – 1999) has convinced me that Nigerians don't give their leaders breathing space to do their work both at home and in the office. They harass them either through visits or endless phone calls. Many will keep on phoning or visiting daily until they are seen and heard and it is most irritating when the issue involved is so irrelevant.

Some will insist, the minister should physically honour their invitation to all sorts of functions particularly from NGOs because the success of every function is based on how many VIPs attended and not on how the purpose of that function was achieved. Nigerians must therefore leave their leaders alone to enable them pay quality attention to their official responsibilities.

Again, most Nigerians complain of constant power failure, when in actual fact they contribute to it by illegally connecting power to their home in such a way that they don't pay for electricity and when they do pay, it will be far

less than the normal bill. And so, if users don't pay electricity bills how on earth can the PHCN efficiently maintain and fund the power plants? Also, some Nigerians engage in the criminal business of vandalising PHCN parts and sell them to enrich themselves. These parts are very costly and include parts such as transformer components, electrical conductors, dressed poles, fiber-cross arms, port insulators etc.

Vandalisation makes it virtually impossible to solve our power outage problem. The vandalisation of oil pipeline is even worse. It is reported that the nation loses over ₦500 billion to oil bunkering and pipeline vandalisation – thereby worsening the queue in our filling stations from time to time. Nigerians should therefore be told that they are their own enemies. The people of Nigeria must therefore personally guard all PHCN and oil installations in their localities and report anybody trying to tamper with them. Nigerians should note that good leadership starts with everyone first doing his or her own part of the social contract. The various governments should continuously remind Nigerians on the need to fulfill their own part of the social contract before criticising their leaders. The masses can be mobilised and enlightened through drama, bill boards, radio/TV jingles, etc.

It is therefore imperative that a Cultural Adjustment Programme (CAP) should have been put in place to re-orientate Nigerians before foisting Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) on them. Obviously, the absence of a cultural foundation on which SAP would have rested was the singular reason why it failed and I hinted IBB of this lapse and when CAP came in form of MAMSER it was too late in the day. Nigeria should have taken a cue from

Mao Tse Tung Cultural Revolution which was a harbinger of modern China.

And so, in retrospect, the other lapses in our leadership spectrum is the lack of innovative leadership or what President Clinton of USA called re-invention of leadership. It was therefore very inspiring that recently Governor Babatunde Fashola of Lagos State exhibited a novelty in leadership when on 2nd August 2012, he signed into law, the new, but controversial Lagos State Traffic Laws, section 1(g) which stipulates that there will be demand for a psychiatric evaluation of anyone who drives against the normal flow of traffic or who fails to comply with any provisions of the statute. The new traffic law is taming the “crazy” Lagos drivers and since they hate being tested for “madness” they are now complying with road traffic rules. Also recently (2012), Governor Isa Yuguda of Bauchi State blazed the trail and made a new policy that any Nigerian who stays at least seven years in Bauchi State and paid the required taxes automatically becomes an indigene/citizen of Bauchi State with full rights and responsibilities. This has opened up Bauchi State for investors and the economy is picking up.

The other issue that has aggravated bad leadership in Nigeria since independence, is the lack of continuity. The continuing policy somersaults have not allowed policy consolidation and hence the requisite impact is not being made. A few examples are as follows:

- Our former efficient educational system has been turned into a quagmire and so, instead of educating our children, it's now miss-educating them. We should therefore go back to the old system and abandon the new system until we are strong enough

to equip the schools with necessary equipment and tools.

- It is ridiculous that Lagos State government has a War Against Indiscipline (WAI) programme but rather than call it WAI, which has gained so much acceptability and popularity, they named theirs KAI – (Kick Against Indiscipline) and today, the difference is clear. The Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) of General Olusegun Obasanjo was changed to Green Revolution by President Shehu Shagari and now President Jonathan talks of Agricultural Transformation Agenda. Definitely, impact would have been more if they all stuck to one Agric slogan/name.
- The Vision 2010 of the Abacha era was an excellent way of focusing on the future and should be sustained with Vision 2020.
- Again, President Umaru Yar'Adua's "Six-point Agenda" has become President Jonathan's "Transformation Agenda". The content of the latest Agenda is foggy and needs to be spelt out in details.
- Presently, nothing much is heard of the popular National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS); Same also are SEEDS, LEEDS and "Due Process" which was ably handled by Dr Oby Ezekwesili during OBJ's administration.
- Also, SURE-P is now used instead of reputable PTF and today, the masses are not too sure of SURE-P and if it had remained PTF there won't be need to waste funds trying to enlighten Nigerians on what

SURE-P is all about. Besides, these policy changes in name or substance, lead to loss of momentum in our quest for national development.

- Same also, can be said of the abolition of the two party offices in Nigeria; the scrapping of Toll Gate and the plans now to re-build them, the trimming down of the large number of banks during Dr Soludo's era at CBN and now CBN is registering new banks; if care is not taken, we may someday go back to square one.
- The worst is the banning and un-banning of items such as fertilizer, rice etc in our national budgets thereby distorting the economy beyond redemption. The above strategic national issues which if well managed should outlive their founders should not be personalised.
- The ill-advised sale of ministers quarters and other federal government property nationwide for which there is hue and cry to reverse the sales because of its ill-digested motive.

The Need for Leaders with Strategic Vision

Consequently, to avoid future somersaults, strategic policies should be well discussed, debated and digested so that once taken, it should stand the test of time in the overall interest of the nation. Indeed, such strategic policies should be cardinal components of a compiled strategic vision of a leader. We don't need leaders whose sole ambition is to complete and enjoy his/her two terms. We need leaders who will lay in 2013 the foundation of Nigeria of his or her dream 2025 and beyond. It is said that "a nation without

vision perishes”. For instance, we now have Transformation Agenda of Mr President but the content in detail of that Transformation Agenda is not known. The targets to be achieved, by who and time-frame for achieving them should be put in posters and billboards for every Nigerian to play his or her own role. Leaders should be creative and therefore should be great thinkers. They should have their own philosophy about life, governance, the economy etc. They must be honest, wise, visionary, principled, statesmanlike, patriotic and above all exemplary. Nigeria will therefore continue to pray for the coming of her long awaited visionary leaders such as Mahatma Ghandi, Nelson Mandela, Sir Winston Churchill, Abraham Lincoln, Margaret Thatcher, and Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore who moved his country from Third World to First World in less than two decades! Margaret Thatcher foresaw the commercial gold mine in the Premier League and hence she removed it from government control and commercialised it. She got banks and private sector to invest £200 million and that was how the Premier League is now the richest league in the world and it has also contributed to the economic buoyancy of Great Britain.

Furthermore, Nigeria needs exemplary leaders like President Jose Mujica of Uruguay who drives in the Uruguan assembled Volkswagen beetle car to work. What stops our leaders insisting on Peugeot cars being the authorised official car from Presidency and below. If this is done Peugeot will in no time open more assembly lines and will soon offer jobs to additional 50,000 Nigerians.

Also, Nigeria wishes she has a leader like Joyce Banda of Malawi who drew global applause when as soon as she became President of Malawi sold off the former president’s

US\$12m dollar executive jet, sixty luxurious Mercedes Limousines and slashed the presidential salary by 60% and used the money to build low cost housing for the poor.

Nigeria needs an exemplary leader who will deny himself the constitutional loot called security vote and make the conscience of Nigerians his or her own security. Trillions of naira are wasted through security vote and yet Nigerians are most insecure today. The Governor of Imo State has been populist enough to publicly forgo ₦4 billion from his annual security vote and is using the fund in improving the standard of education, etc, in Imo State. This goes to prove that the security votes are unnecessarily massive and there is need to plough 90% of it nationwide into agricultural programme that will crash the price of basic food items in two years and hence stem kidnapping, and other criminalities in Nigeria. And when that is done, it will mark Nigeria's first step in elevating herself from being perpetually potentially great to being perpetually potent and great. This is not impossible. There is a beacon of hope from our vibrant youth. A typical example is Mallam Nuhu Ribadu – the courageous, committed, and anti-corruption czar. With leaders like him, all hopes are not lost. As pioneer Chairman of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), he did what Napoleon could not do. He blazed the trail. He exposed and prosecuted the high and mighty, and came out from that assignment with clean hands and clear conscience. Overall, during his four years at EFCC, over 300 convictions were made and over USD\$5 billion were recovered from '419' fraudsters and corrupt individuals to the treasury. Nigeria's image, then, became highly respectable in the comity of nations. Indeed, these are significant signs of greater things to come.

CHAPTER 14

THE PROBLEM WITH NIGERIA – GROWING RELIGIOUS TENSION

From the dawn of civilisation, religion has always played an indispensable role both in private lives of individuals and in the realm of the society. Throughout the ages human beings have always felt like invoking some supernatural being or agency to help solve problems beyond them. Religion therefore provides answer to men's quest for issues beyond his realm. Example are such fundamental issues as creation of the world, human existence, source of life, happiness and finally death to the great beyond.

The religions of the world include: Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Sikhism, Jainism, Confucianism, Daoism and Shinto of Japan. In Nigeria, there are two main religions – Christianity and Islam. Nigerians vigorously pursue their religions which most often are the religion they were born into. Outwardly, Nigerians are deeply religious. However,

inwardly practicalising the tenets of their religions is disappointingly low considering the avalanche of ills plaguing the society.

In public places, prayers begin and end both official and private functions. Indeed, Nigerians are at their best in trying to dialogue with God instead of worshiping Him. Unfortunately, the endless prayers from most Nigerians bounce back to them because the heart and minds reeling off those so-called power-packed prayers are unclean. They stink to high heaven. In most cases, particularly in the Christian religion, Nigerians call on God as if the Almighty Father is only for them and them alone. Rightly, they ascribe everything good to Him and everything bad is not of their making but of the devil, forgetting that devils are human beings. Consequently, the average Nigerian fails to do his or her bit before seeking divine help. And when they fail, they will not extra task themselves or search their conscience for solution but will straight away blame the devil or someone else for their failure. For instance, a young lady took her car to church on a Sunday. When the church was over, she now tried to start her car for the journey home. The car refused to start after so many attempts. The lady was mad to frenzy. People around were therefore not surprised to hear her murmuring in annoyance “O God, I have come to worship you, how can you allow the devil punish me this way?” It was eventually found that the car failed to start because of loss of contact, but that did not stop the young lady from fasting that week “to avoid such devilish embarrassments in future”. That’s a typical attitude of a Nigerian. They commonise their relationship with their Supreme Being as if they are talking to a human boss!

It's no wonder that the Christian pentecostal churches are making waves. Normally, pastoral work is a calling for God's work and only those blessed by God like my late father of blessed memory engaged in such jobs. But these days, in an era of massive unemployment, genuine pastors are there but fake ones are on the increase because what we have are the bread 'n' butter pastors and not the spirit filled ones.

And so, as Nigeria's production factories are closing down, the churches are buying up the buildings and converting them to churches. Unfortunately not church for God but church for goodies – money, fun, leisure etc. This is now the trend and Nigerians unfortunately, instead of learning to work and pray, will rather pray, and pray and pray – thus ignoring their talents and asking God to do the work for them. That's not life, and unless this is checked, our youth are doomed because they will continue to regard the church as a bath tub where the prostitutes, armed robbers, kidnappers, etc, commit atrocities outside the church, and then walk in every Sunday to cleanse themselves by simply praying for God's forgiveness. They forget that by so doing they are making fun of the Holy Spirit and sin against the Holy Spirit will never be forgiven.

As a people, we enjoyed peaceful religious atmosphere until 1980 when Maitatsine religious uprising killed over 5,000 and destroyed properties worth millions of naira. The Kano inferno was followed by more riots in Kafanchan and Kaduna from 10th to 11th of March 1987. About 128 hotels, eighty-four churches and twenty-three private homes were burnt down.

Very few Nigerians take time to actually understand their religions. What obligation it imposes on them, their

relationship with adherents of the other faith and the fact that the mutual recognition of each other's religion is the surest way to peace and harmony. It is in this light, that it becomes imperative for us as a people to forge a bridge of understanding between adherents of all religions. We must endeavour to understand the true meaning of the two religions. We must try and appreciate each other's religions, since we cannot all be Muslims or Christians. It is not by accident but by divine arrangement that we were put together in the same country (Nigeria) irrespective of our religious persuasions. And most times, we have remained in the religion we were born into except in some cases when marriage makes it inevitable for spouses to change in conformity with the desire of either of the partners.

Religion is a personal relationship between man and his Creator, and for enhanced religious purity, we should leave it at that realm. Religion is also a regulator of human behaviour and conduct. It emphasises man's total dependence on God, and that man is accountable to God for his deeds and misdeeds. We, either as Christians or Muslims must understand the fact that no man can change the religion of another man. It is only our conduct in private and public that can convince the other person to follow our faith.

There is need to have adequate knowledge of the holy books – the Holy Qur'an and the Holy Bible. No religion preaches violence. Islam and Christianity encourages peaceful co-existence amongst all peoples. Religious leaders who preach violence only capitalise on the ignorance of their followers. We must be careful not to be tossed around by wrong interpretations of the holy books.

Religion is a very potent instrument for national peace and unity. It is also the opium that can destroy. Christianity

and Islam agree mutually that power comes from God Almighty and that we should pray for our leaders. Charlatans and exploiters of human insecurities in the name of religion only thrive in an atmosphere of ignorance and spiritual laziness. We must understand that we cannot fight for God; He is Almighty, capable of fighting His battles.

Interfaith collaboration platforms should be encouraged and assisted by all to create the right atmosphere for peace and unity. These platforms must focus their attention on the youth segment and women groups who tend to be vulnerable to the manipulations by religious bigots whose main objective is to exploit them for their pockets cum pleasure.

The Transformation Agenda of this Administration will become a ruse if we fail to transform from decline to surplus, from mismanaging to manufacturing, from poverty to prosperity, from abandonment to abundance, and from mediocrity to meritocracy. Finally, religion should be transformed into a platform that will engender a synergy for greater understanding, love and unity between the two religions.

We must encourage our leaders to live in the fear of God, and govern righteously according to God's command. We must not use religion to fan embers of disunity, or as platform to vent anger against Government. We must respect whosoever it has pleased God Almighty to place at the helm of affairs at any given time.

It is in the light of the above that the havoc being perpetuated by Boko Haram is mind boggling. Their abhorrence for Western education is even more baffling. For instance, they enjoy electricity, drive cars, use mobile phones, watch TV, listen to radio, etc, which are products

of Western education vide the First Industrial Revolution in Britain, yet they detest Western education. Of course, Western education may have its flaws and it's a matter of choice to accept or avoid them. It should not and must not be by force.

It is therefore important not to treat Boko Haram with kid gloves. The government must have its hands thoroughly cleaned from corruption. Thereafter, the government can then infiltrate the ranks of Boko Haram and decipher their ring leaders, sources of funding and armament and then deal a dead blow on them from within. Negotiating with them must be ruled out except as a decoy to gain access, time and information. Boko Haram actions are criminal and should attract death penalty. Local populace must be mobilised to fish the terrorists out and anybody harbouring them should have minimum sentence of life jail.

Finally, to avoid "Sudanisation" of Nigeria, the government should hands off religious affairs such as organising pilgrimages for both Muslims and Christians. Religion is a private issue between individuals and their Creator and it should be left to NGO to organise pilgrimages. The government will thus concentrate more in governance and development for which according to 2013 HDI Nigeria is lagging behind all West African countries except Sierra Leone.

PART III:

EXAMPLES FOR NIGERIA TO EMULATE

CHAPTER 15

OBAMA'S VICTORY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO NIGERIA

*Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.
We are caught in an inescapable network of
mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny.
Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly...*

– Martin Luther King

Obama took the world by surprise when he won the 2008 presidential election and so in 2012 election, there was a desperate “stop-him” campaign. The business community did not want him, the arms merchants cum war mongers didn’t want him; the wealthy and almighty Wall Street and other business juggernauts didn’t want him. On the eve of 2012 election, Obama, according to the polls was trailing Romney by 2% and most pundits didn’t give Obama a chance because an incumbent has never polled behind the challenger and won!!! “No way”

they concluded with a chuckle. To make matters worse, unemployment was 8%, thus he became the first president since Franklin Delano Roosevelt to win more than 50% of the vote cast in two straight elections; he was also the first president since 1940 to be re-elected despite an unemployment rate of 7.5%. But then, the US electorates saw through Romney's inconsistencies and voted for the man they can trust, and a politician whose stratagem they could decipher. Mother Nature came to Obama's rescue by sending the Superstorm Sandy which gave Obama the opportunity to act presidential and monopolise public attention to the detriment of his opponent. It is noteworthy that he won in all the storm-affected states such as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Washington, DC and others. The storm was therefore a blessing in disguise.

Definitely, 6th November 2012 will remain a watershed in human history. That was the red-letter day, Obama an African-American won a second-term Presidential election in the US. It was victory for the US having re-established US at the primal position as the bastion of democracy. But then, the significance of the election was beyond the US.

It was victory for humility; victory for political sagacity; victory for modesty; victory for the colourless; victory for the voiceless minority; victory for the helpless majority; victory for the downtrodden; victory for the youth; victory for gender sensitiveness; victory for the insane and to be salvaged same-sex couple; victory for sanctity of family life; victory for patriotism; victory for selfless services; victory for productivity; victory for Obama – Michelle hug; victory for all the peace-loving people of the world. It is not surprising

he won the *Time Magazine* Man of The year in 2008 and 2012 and by this, has joined the select-band of two time winners.

That victory was a clarion call to all African leaders and would-be leaders reminding them that if he, Obama, in spite of all odds could do it in far-away United States of America, there is no reason they can't do more in Africa. Thus, African politicians and Nigerian politicians in particular should stop being inept, corrupt, wasteful, planless, uninspiring, clueless and unproductive. It is therefore a wake-up call to the Third World, to Africa and to Nigerians in particular, to rise from slumber and join the Global Train that is fast leaving and abandoning Africa.

The three presidential debates between Obama and Romney were great lessons to Nigerian politicians. Even though the debates were very nerve racking, and tension-soaked, they were all the same impartially conducted, skillfully moderated and very presidential in contents particularly with regards to Michelle Obama's first lady's speech. Her presentation was powerful and deeply motivating. Overall, the lessons are that elections should be free and fair and devoid of bitterness and mudslinging. It should not be based on personalities but on issues which in US case include: the withdrawal of American troops from Iraq and Afghanistan, Middle-East conflict, Al Qaeda and the killing of Osama Bin Laden; health particularly the Obama-Care, repealing same-sex Don't Ask, Don't Tell and most importantly, the economy covering unemployment, offshore investments, the US sixty trillion dollar debt burden and how to resurrect the Clinton era of budget surplus.

At the end of each debate, the contestants for the sake of niceties shook hands, smiled and gave each other a pat on the back. Thereafter, they show-cased their families on stage because a leader that cannot manage his family successfully, cannot successfully lead his country. This again is good lesson because a family is the smallest unit of a nation. And so, if parents do their job excellently there wouldn't be Boko Haram, kidnapping and armed robberies which are now done from moving motorcycles by teenagers.

Also, we should note that at the end of the voting, even before the final results were known, the obvious loser congratulated the obvious winner through a phone call. Also, during his acceptance speech, Obama did not downplay in victory euphoria, the long queues during the election, particularly, in Florida. He promised right away that "it will be fixed". That's how a leader should instantly react on issues.

All in all, the electronically-powered election was free and fair and of international standard. It was civilised, peaceful, dignifying and never a cash 'n' carry cum, do-or-die affair. Obama and Michelle may be olive in complexion but what the world is sure of is that they are re-entering the White House with colourless hearts and with olive branch in their hands for an era of peace in the world. Nigerian politicians and our INEC must borrow a leaf from all that. Enough of thuggery, enough of election-squandermania, enough of irritating siren-blasting convoy of escort cars, enough of Security Vote that neither secures nor votes in Peace, enough of rigging and enough of all sorts of inhuman atrocities on the holy altar of democracy.

Obama bared his heart out and he was so short of words that tears of joy just streamed down unconsciously in appreciation of the young volunteers who spent their time and resources, unsolicited, to make sure he won. And won he did, even in Romney's state of birth, Michigan, and Paul Ryan's town of Janesville, thereby disapproving of pre-mordial son-of-the-soil sentiments in politics. Furthermore, he unexpectedly won in the toughest battle grounds such as Virginia, Colarado, Florida and even the Lily White States of Iowa and New Hempshire. Again, we should learn from this. Individuals should be so good and have such impeccable track record that people will feel compelled to raise funds and vote for their favourites irrespective of where they came from. This makes unprogressive and self-destroying our rotation syndrome, lavish campaign funds, thuggery, and god-fatherism in politics. These must stop. Together, we can and should henceforth start building a new Nigeria, a better Nigeria, the United States of Nigeria (USN) in which all that matters is Nigeria and nothing else. That to my mind is the greatest lesson of Obama's victory.

CHAPTER 16

RWANDA'S DEVELOPMENTAL EXAMPLE AND LESSONS FOR NIGERIA

The day the African Lions will roar like the Asian Tigers, it's definite that Rwanda will be one of the African Lions.

– Nelson Mandela

Rwanda is today the greatest success story of Africa and the man responsible for that is President Kagame. Rwanda is a small, land-locked country of 11 million people who speak the same language but professionally are divided into two: the Hutu who are in majority and are generally farmers and the Tutsi who are cattle rearers but were more educationally inclined. The last group the Twa are less than 1% of the population. The Rwanda's colonial master, Belgium, used the principle of Divide-and-Rule and favoured the Tutsi minority to the chagrin of the Hutu majority.

As a little boy, Kagame fled with his Tutsi parents to Uganda during the unending Tutsi – Hutu clash. He joined

Yoweri Museveni rebel Army that fought Ugandan regular Army and eventually defeated the regular Army. Soon after, the aircraft of Juvenal Habyarimana, the Hutu born President of Rwanda was brought down by a missile from unknown forces and the Hutu then descended on the Tutsi and killed over a million of them in cold blood. The UN, AU and the entire world did nothing. However, Kagame has before now organised secretly the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) made up mainly by Tutsi in exile in Uganda. The RPF quickly waded in and over-ran Rwanda and thus stopped the genocide and then appealed to fellow Tutsi not to revenge but instead to forgive and reconcile with the Hutu. They agreed. Since then, he was able to unleash the energy of his countrymen and women in productive venture. *As a lesson therefore, our leaders from Ironsi, to Gowon to Murtala, Shagari, Buhari to Shonekan and the families whom their dear ones (civilian or military) became victims of the coup and aftermaths of the coup should please forgive and forget, so that Nigeria can make progress.*

Thereafter in 1994, Kagame even though he was the leader of RPF in his usual modesty decided to reward a patriot. He therefore declined the presidency of the country and appointed Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu civil servant under the previous government but had fled the government and joined Kagame's movement. Kagame to the surprise of everybody subordinated himself as vice president and minister of defence. Six years later, in 2000, Kagame became president after President Bizimungu had resigned. It was from that point that Rwanda started its current journey that has earned her the sobriquet, "Singapore of Africa".

Today, even though Rwanda does not enjoy the advantage of Ocean port like Singapore and is landlocked, with scattered and disorganised neighbours such as Congo, Burundi and Uganda, it is still making a breakthrough in its development.

No wonder, Kagame has declared that his country would leave its horrific history behind and pursue a rapid growth and modernisation based on a united Rwanda. He has openly declared that he intends to make “Rwanda the best in Africa”. He is succeeding because no African country takes the rule of law as seriously as Kagame’s Rwanda. There is zero tolerance for corruption as should be expected of any country that desires growth and development. No African country has done more to deal with the demon of corruption than in Rwanda where no matter how highly placed, once you are found corrupt, you go to jail. Foreign businessmen and investors have consistently attested to the fact that they have never had to give bribes for anything. This is an important lesson for Nigeria on zero tolerance to corruption.

Deliberately and quite remarkably, too, Kagame has never used the labels “Tutsi” and “Hutu” and has never self-identified himself as Tutsi. This is one lesson Nigerian leaders must learn from the Rwandan leader and underplay statism, quota system, federal character and geographical spread syndrome. Kagame has boosted agriculture to the extent that the country is now self-sufficient in food and even exports food. Kagame knows that unemployment and poverty are the root causes of communal conflicts so he pays attention to those “at the bottom of the pyramid” to the extent that, in the first five years of his government, one million of the country’s eleven

million people have been creatively raised out of poverty by giving them free land to build their low-income houses and also farm. This is unlike Nigeria where even in Abuja, the acclaimed centre of unity, land is quotalised. Also Kagame made sure there is no red tapisim and unnecessary bureaucracy. Because of his overriding desire to create jobs, Kagame is deliberately pro-business. It takes less than three days to register a business of any kind and it is very cheap to do so. According to the World Bank's 2010 "Doing Business Survey", Rwanda was the world's best reformer. In 2010, Rwanda registered 6,000 companies, about the same total number registered in the previous five years. Rwanda is also about to transform itself into a conferences' destination, just like Singapore. It is currently constructing a \$300 million (equivalent to ₦45 billion) conference centre. It is also building a modern airport and encouraging a privately-funded Marriot Hotel to boost the more than \$100 million it currently earns every year through business tourism. Rwanda unlike Nigeria encourages immigration and there is no son-of-the-soil or indigenes-and-settlers mentality. As long as you can contribute to their economy, you are welcome.

Experts have also dubbed Rwanda "the ultimate turnaround". Rwanda is building a knowledge-based economy via emphasis on information technology. The country has almost completed laying a fibre-optic broadband network across the country. Visa Inc has already established a presence there. Early this year, the Chairman of Visa Inc explained why they were in Rwanda and he said: "When we looked out for emerging economies around the world, Rwanda stood out as a clear choice for doing business".

In Rwanda, education is free and compulsory up to age 15. Up until recently, it was up to age 12. Ninety-two per cent of children up to 12 years are in school. A German firm is speeding up vocational skill training for millions of the people especially women. Universal healthcare is of great concern in Rwanda: 90 per cent of all Rwandans have health insurance.

Kagame is a determined, focused and purposeful leader. The West was initially cynical but are now applauding him. Kagame is probably the first and only national leader in history who has successfully changed his nation's official language from French to English because he believes that the English language is the international language for business to flourish. Only a purposeful and determined leader who has the confidence of his people and does things in the best interest of his country can achieve so much in such a short time.

Kagame's greatest achievement will remain the unity and reconciliation of his people after the genocide that led to the slaughter of 1,000,000 people in 100 days. Within this period, 75 per cent of the Tutsis were slaughtered but instead of revenging on the Hutu murderers, he advocated forgiveness and reconciliation.

Kagame is in his second and final term which ends in 2017. If he grooms a successor and then vacates the presidency like Nelson Mandela, then, he will most likely step into Mandela's big shoes. But if he becomes a stay-put president like Mobutu, Jean Bukasa, Idi Amin or Robert Mugabe, etc, the search for an African icon after Mandela will continue. So far, it is heartening that he has proved that without any major resource, a nation can aspire to a respectable position within the comity of nations. Nigeria

with all her abundant human and material resources has no business trailing the rear in all global indices and should with all that she has aspire to make a quantum leap to the First World. Nigeria therefore needs a leader like Kagame to take her there.

CHAPTER 17

EXAMPLE OF SINGAPORE DEVELOPING FROM THIRD WORLD TO FIRST WORLD (1965 – 2000)

Lee Kuan Yew was a great leader who did not just dream dreams but made them instant realities. His vision made the state not only to survive but to excel. He cleaned up the streets as he did the hearts and mind of the people. Superior intelligence, discipline and ingenuity substituted the lack of raw materials. All this coupled with his exemplary leadership enabled him to increase Singapore per capita income of 400 dollars in 1965 to 30,000 dollars by year 2000.

- Henry Kissinger

By the time Singapore gained self-government from Britain on 3rd June 1959 and became a Republic on 31st August 1963, she was a very poor country with polyglot population of over 1 million (today it is over 5 million) of which 76% are Chinese, 14% are Malayan, 7% Indian and others 3%.

Singapore is an island city-state made up of 63 islands covering an area of about 710 sq km but no hinterland. However, land is being reclaimed regularly from the sea for development. Singapore is the fourth leading financial centre in the world. She is also, the fifth busiest port in the world and is one of the four original Asian Tigers, the others being, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea. The economy depends heavily on exports and refining of imported goods especially in manufacturing which contributes 30 per cent of her GDP. According to Lee Kuan Yew, the founding father of modern Singapore and its first prime-minister in 1959, “Singapore is like a heart without a body” and they had to find her a body by making her to federate in 1963 with Malaya under the new name Malaysia. That union broke up 2 years later in 1965 when Malaya tried to lord it over Singapore and arrogantly voted 126 to 0 to expel Singapore from Malaysia, with the conviction that Singapore will collapse without Malaya. To their surprise, Singapore instead of collapsing waxed stronger and by 1982 had become a burgeoning nadel point, an entrepot, and had a world class harbour sited in the busiest strategic sea-lane in the world. How did it happen?

It was no other than the committed, consistent, exemplary, pragmatic and innovative leadership of one man – Lee Kuan Yew who laid the solid foundation on which the transformation of Singapore from a colonial trade post to an Asian metropolis, from poverty to prosperity, from illiteracy to cutting edge technology, from Third World to First World – all within three decades.

Strategically, he formed the Strategic Framework Agreement with the US to flex muscles through the intelligent use of the policy of Diplomacy and Deterrence.

Furthermore, Singapore is one of the five founding members of South East Asian Associations ASEAN, she hosts APEC Secretariat, is a member of East Asia Nation, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth.

His transformation was not only political and economic, but covered basic social norms as stopping Singaporeans from spitting like the Chinese who have the bad habit of spitting out and throwing the mucus to the public. For unity sake, he made English the main lingua franca to be spoken in public and encouraged Singaporeans to make their native tongue a second language. Being an exemplary leader he starts every innovative policy with himself. For instance, on this local language issue, he made it a rule in his house that he spoke always to their three children in English while his wife spoke to the children always in Chinese. Also, he made the entire Singapore green by making his country home super green with lawns and flowers. He did not hire labourers to work on the garden but was seen doing it himself. Also, it became an offence to drop a match stick on the ground. Today Singapore is acclaimed to be the cleanest tourist destination of the world with over twelve million tourists flocking in there annually.

Lee Kuan Yew was born in Singapore on 16th September 1923. His parents were Chinese immigrants. He read law at Cambridge University, England. In 1954 he formed the People's Action Party (PAP) which won the first Singapore general election five years later. He became the first Prime Minister at the age of thirty-five and from then on with good governance he crushed the opposing Communist Party in all elections. He built roads, infrastructure through savings, created a strong Defence Force with Israeli support, made Singapore an industrial beehive, built over thirty-five

refineries, united his multilingual, multicultural and multireligious society, stamped out corruption, provided mass housing and gave Singapore the best airline in the world, the busiest port of trade in the world and also, the world's third-highest per capita real income.

He was a visionary leader, who travelled widely not on a site-seeing jamboree but with eye-on-the-ground, to copy any innovation worth transplanting in Singapore.

He was a pragmatic politician extraordinaire. He converted foe to friend, and stood for the "truth not the political truth". Even though he was a Third World leader he stood shoulders high with powers-that-be of First World such as Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan, Jiang Zemin, George Bush (Jnr) and Deng Xiaoping because he was confidently taking Singapore to the First World. On welfare issue, he believes in teaching people how to fish rather than giving them fish to eat.

CHAPTER 18

JAPANESE DEVELOPMENTAL EXPERIENCE AND LESSONS FOR NIGERIA

Japan, the land of the Rising Sun, is an archipelago of 6,852 islands. The four largest islands are Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu and Shikoku. They make up 97% of Japanese main land. Japan with 127 million people is the world's 10th largest country of which 98% are the same linguistic and cultural group. Tokyo is its capital and is the world's largest metropolis with population of over 30 million.

Japan's past is rich in history and is characterised by numerous successive feudal military dictatorships known as *Shogunates*. For these dictatorships to maintain control, they went into long periods of isolation.

The longest was (Sakoku) for two and half century from 1603 to 31 March 1854 when Commodore Matthew Perry and the "Black Ships" of US Navy forced Japan to partially open to outside world. Japan eventually opened fully by 1868.

Perry's action was the beginning of modern Japan, but having opened up, Japan became too eager to expand. This led to numerous military adventures, such as the Boshin war, Sino-Japanese war, Russian-Japanese war, and the most costly mistake she did was Japan's attack on US naval base at Pearl harbour on 7th December 1941, thus dragging US into the Second World War on the side of the allies. The dropping of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 15 August 1945 forced Japan to surrender unconditionally and thus helped bring the Second World War to an end. However, the occupation of Japan by US forces up to 1952 following the San Francisco Treaty helped develop Japan.

Japanese Constitution

Japan's constitution provides for Unitary Parliamentary democracy. It has constitutional monarchy, the Emperor and even though he is for ceremonial function alone, he is highly respected and is proclaimed as a "divine symbol of the nation" and in broader terms he is "the symbol of the state and unity of the people".

Japan's legislative house called the Diet is bicameral with 480 seats in the House of Reps (Lower House) with a four-year tenure while House of Councilor (Upper House) has 242 seats with six-year tenure. Power is held mainly by the Prime Minister and is appointed by the Emperor on the recommendation of the Diet. The Prime Minister heads the cabinet and can hire and fire his ministers as deemed fit.

Administrative Divisions

Japan has 47 prefectures each being managed by an elected governor, legislative and administrative bureaucracy. Each prefecture is divided into a number of cities, towns and

villages. To cut down administrative cost, the number of cities, towns and villages are now being merged.

Environmental and Economic Development

The fast industrial development of Japan resulted in intense pollution since no provision was made for its control. To survive it, Japan, during the oil crises of 1973, evolved efficient control of energy and eventually became a global leader in waste management, water eutrophication, nature conservation, climate change, etc, and in 1997 hosted Kyoto Protocol Conference to reduce carbon dioxide emission in an effort to curb global climate change.

Economically, Japan remains the miracle of Asia because in spite of lack of raw materials she has as from mid-20th century became the world's largest producer of motor vehicles, electronics, machine tools, steel and nonferrous metals, ships, chemical substances, textiles and processed food. The initial products were not as good as their Western rivals but with persistent hardwork, after a decade of sustained innovation, they overtook the West in some technological products. Japan's GDP in terms of PPP is \$4,444 trillion, her GDP (nominal) is \$5866 trillion and is the 3rd highest in the world. At \$34748, her per capita income is 25th in the world.

Japan's nuclear power produces over 25% of its electricity but with the Fukushima disaster, all the nuclear plants have been laid off because of massive protest nationwide against nuclear plants. Japan is now spending so much on petroleum and is researching intensively on alternatives to petroleum. Nigeria should therefore take note. Japan has 173 airports and 250 high-speed trains connecting major cities, towns and villages in Japan. Also, Japan's life

expectancy of 83.5 years is the highest in the world, which confirms Japan's efficient health support to all citizens free of charge through government paid insurance companies.

Demographically, Japan is amongst the few countries of the world in which population is decreasing by 250,000 yearly instead of increasing because the youth are not interested in raising families and also, youth suicide is about 30,000 per year. Situation is so bad that it is projected that by 2050 Japanese population would have reduced from 127 million to about 95 million!

In summary therefore, below are ten hardcore lessons that Nigeria can learn from Japan – a country without any major mineral resources but which has maximally utilised her human intellectual capacity.

Very United and Patriotic

The era of Taisho and Showa infused the Japanese Confucianism with Buddhism thereby using religion to promote unity. To further consolidate that unity, she has a Unitary system of government. Japanese are therefore very united in religion, politics, language, culture, aspiration, national consciousness and character. This has empowered them to be the first to break through the myth of Western education. Consequently, Japan was the first to audaciously acquired Western Technology before all other Asian countries joined in.

Beyond Being Patriotic – They Love Their Country

Japan succeeded and indeed is the Miracles of the world because her citizens are committed and patriotic but more importantly they love their country and hence seek what to do for her and not what their country can do for them.

This is the direct opposite of Nigeria where some people feel they are destined to share the cake and not to bake it, where religion which should be a personal issue between oneself and his or her Creator is being made to be a state affair. Nigerians should, like the Japanese, love their country and collectively pay unflinching loyalty to her while at the same time handle their various religions dearly as a personal relationship with them and their Creator.

Easy Cultural Assimilation

The Japanese are very receptive of other favourable cultures so long as it will help them improve their global status. Example is the Japanese alphabets which are Chinese in origin. This is at variance to Nigeria where we segregate by having “*Sabon Gari*” in the Northern towns and *Hausa Quarters* in Southern towns. Cultural assimilation should therefore be worked upon. It may not be overnight but we need to make a start today. Definitely if we had done that fifty years ago, Nigeria would not be witnessing the horrors of Boko Haram, or criminal acts such as kidnapping and armed robbery plus the gross injustice of abandoned property in some parts of the country and meanwhile, we pay lip service to unity as enshrined in our constitution.

Self-Sustenance

For Japan to give her fledgling industrial enterprise enough gestation leverage, she went into isolation (*Sakoku*) from the rest of the world for 200 years. The longest isolation was the *Jakugawa Shogunta* from 1668 to 1868. A lot of reforms took place from within. For instance, their caste system which stratified the society into four groups viz, the farmer, warrior, trader and artisan was abolished.

Consequently, by 1868 her factories and other production enterprises were ready to compete with the Western world. Nigeria should learn from Japan. Nigeria therefore needs to effectively control her borders and stop the dumping strategy of industrialised countries thereby giving our factories breathing space to develop through self-sustaining efforts.

Importance of Family Unit

Japan brought to the fore, the positive aspects of their religion – Confucianism (philosophy which emphasises that family unit is crucial and critical of any nation. Clearly Japan's philosophy is that children of the family are the future hope of the country. Again, Nigeria has a lot to learn from this, considering the child slavery problems in the South and the *almajiris* menace in the North.

Merit and Progress Through Healthy Competition

Japan lays the highest importance on Education, and most importantly technological aspect of education and this was depicted during the Meiji Restoration (1866 – 1912) or the period of accelerated modernisation in which education was uplifted to the highest level through the *Terakoya System*. They deliberately subsumed some aspects of cultural dogmatism such as over-blown spiritual bliss, philosophical circularity and static stoicisms in order to ensure they acquired cutting-edge technology in a record time. Nigeria should therefore stop playing politics with education because competition in Nigeria is no longer between Northern and Southern Nigeria. In a globalised world, we have competition between countries and even between continents. Unless we rid ourselves of this myopic

mentality, of federal character, all countries of Africa will soon over take Nigeria.

No Need to Re-invent the Wheel

Japan didn't want to reinvent the wheel and hence to be self-sufficient within a short-time, they dispatched their best intellectuals to Europe and America to copy the best products of the industrial revolutions of that time. They had to be multilingual in such languages as English, Dutch, French and German before they were launched to these western countries to copy their technology. Japan today, has 173 airports and 250 high speed trains. Nigeria should do the same and avoid our present concept of trying to re-invent the wheel within the various states with no coordination of research effort.

Use of Eco Green Economy with Renewable Sources of Energy

As a result of the series of nuclear disasters, Japan is now shifting from nuclear energy to liquefied natural gas imported mainly from Nigeria. Unfortunately, some Nigerian policy makers are still bent on Nigeria solving her low electrical power capacity through the nuclear sources. This should not be. It is unnecessary risk. We should learn from Japan and limit ourselves to energy from liquefied natural gas. In other words, toe the Eco Green Economy in accordance to Kyoto protocols.

Population Control

The population of Japan is decreasing by as much as 250,000 per year while for Nigeria our population is increasing by over 1,000,000 per year. And so, while in

Japan they can plan for improved facilities because they have less people to cater for, in Nigeria, we are forced to offer inferior facility because of upsurge in quantities we are to cater for. Nigeria should therefore control her population.

PART IV:

STRATEGIC SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS

CHAPTER 19

THE CRUCIAL STRATEGIC NEED TO REMAIN UNITED

Nigeria's breakup is too frightening to contemplate... our interwovenness and complementarity makes a breakup totally undesirable... since it will create many Bosnias.

- Gen Olusegun Obasanjo (1994)

Some critics may feel that if so many other countries could split and go their separate ways, why not Nigeria? It's not as simple as that because "divorce" they say "is a broken egg that produces nothing but stench". Besides, no other country has as many blacks as Nigeria. Also, of all Black African countries none is as large and rich in human and material resources as Nigeria. Indeed nature has so made it that what a part of the country lacks, the other has it. Mother Nature is therefore, telling us that we shouldn't do without each other. Consequently, to achieve

this Divine-ordained mission, Nigeria should in spite of all odds remain united.

A detailed study of those countries that have split will indicate that the wounds are always hard to heal and generally leaves in its wake, tension, instability, dysfunctional economic growth, border skirmishes and outright border wars like between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. Thus, funds that could have been used to develop these countries will be wasted in fueling the ambers of war.

Various methods of splitting are as given below with examples:

- (a) Partition of former Indian sub-continent into India and Pakistan.
- (b) Breakaway of USSR satellite states.
- (c) Peaceful demarcation of Czechoslovakia into Czechs and Slovakia.
- (d) Negotiated breakup of Central African Republic and West Indian Federation.
- (e) Forceful secession in Cyprus, Yugoslavia and Bosnia Herzegovina.
- (f) Separation through Referendum between Sudan and South Sudan and till date, they are still fighting.

Details of Some Breakups

- Central African Federation which by 1953 consisted of Northern Rhodesia (present Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (present Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (present Malawi) split and went their separate ways.

- The West Indian Federation was established in 1957 and by 1962 they split to various countries.
- Pakistan split from India in 1947 while Bangladesh (previously East Pakistan) split from Pakistan (previously, West Pakistan). A total of 1.3 million souls were lost in the wars that ensued between India and Pakistan while 0.7 million were killed in the civil war between Pakistan and Bangladesh.
- The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) was dissolved without any fighting in 1991 and they allowed the following satellite states to go: Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Estonia, Moldavia, Armenia, Azerbazan, Turkemena and Tajikistan.
- Yugoslavia, which the famous statesman, Tito founded broke up forcefully into Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia plus its satellite principalities of Macedonia, Montenegro, Kosovo and Vojrodina. Over 0.9 million souls perished in the ethnic cleansing that characterised the civil war.
- Bosnia-Herzegovina eventually, after protracted war with 1.1 million casualties split into Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia.
- Cyprus since 1974 has been split into Turkish Cyprus and Greek-Cyprus. The tension is very high across the border.
- Czechoslovak split in 1991 quietly without fighting into Slovaks (mainly Catholics) and Czech (mainly Protestants).

- Korea broke-up in 1950 into South Korea (capitalist) and North Korea (communists) and they are still in confrontation with North Korea being accused of planning to wipe out South Korea with its ‘nuclear’ weapon.
- Southern Sudan’s break away from Sudan through Referendum and they are still fighting each other.

Cases of Countries that Have Gained Immensely by Staying Together

- (1) United States of America (USA) would not have been a world super power today if the South had succeeded in seceding. The rivalry that would have existed between the North and South would have dissipated their energy and made concentration on development difficult. Why can’t Nigeria be like USA that has put their civil war behind them and are forging so well ahead that today an African-American is enjoying a second term as President. This is a serious food for thought for Nigeria which unfortunately is sitting on the fence between being united and pulling apart, even after the no victor, no vanquished declaration.
- (2) North Vietnam and South Vietnam fought a bitter ideological war between Capitalist South and Communist North, in which 2.2 million souls were lost. Fortunately the Viet Congs of the North fought the US, the strong ally of South Vietnam and defeated the US in the guerrilla war that ended the war. Today, the North and South Vietnam are united and their economy is booming.
- (3) The capitalist West Germany and the Communist East Germany were ideologically separated from each other

from the end of Second World War in 1945 to the collapse of communism in Soviet Union in 1989. The two Germany are today united into one strong German nation that remains the power house of Europe and one of the leading economies of the world.

- (4) Canada – The fact that French Quebec is still part of Canada is a plus to her international stature.
- (5) Sri Lanka – is now enjoying higher economic boom since it crushed the Tamil Tigers and re-absorbed them effectively into their economy.
- (6) Other cases: The Hungarian minorities in Bulgaria, and the Slovaks, Armenia with Azeris, the restive Oromo and Tijrayan minorities in Ethiopia, Tuaregs rebels in Mali and Niger.
- (7) Finally Scotland is going to have a referendum in Autumn of 2014 in the bid of some Scottish politicians who have been agitating for Britain to grant independence to Scotland and allow her to be a sovereign state. However, the polls indicate that the Scots are wise enough and are likely going to vote for remaining in Great Britain. Consequently, the world is beginning to see the wisdom of remaining united in order to compete more effectively in the global market. That indeed, is the future and Nigeria should read the handwriting on the wall.

Analysis

It will be noted that the countries that have broken up have border clashes and are perpetually having cross border tension. Most times, one part of a disintegrated country

becomes a haven for criminals from the other side and thus, tension between the two is perpetually high.

Consequently, falling apart is not the best option because there is so much to lose in falling apart and so much to gain by staying together. United States of America (USA) is today the only Super Power because it is a large country in landmass, population, resources etc. Nigeria by African standard is the same. All we need is for the progressive forces from the North and South of Nigeria to come together and produce the right leadership that will galvanise Nigerians and ensure rule of law, fairness, honesty, productivity and exemplary leadership are practised.

Obviously, the question will be asked: “Is Nigeria indeed beyond divorce?” Definitely, in life anything can happen. However, the affirmation that Nigeria is beyond divorce should be the standpoint of every patriotic Nigerian because the alternative will be fifty years of Sudan-cum-Somalia gory wars without end. Furthermore, once there is a will, there will be a way to flush out the fear and indeed, nightmare Nigerians harbour on Nigeria remaining together come 2015 and beyond.

Nigeria should, like United States of America, learn from its past and therefore must stop repeating its ugly past. As we make the bed so we lie on it. We cannot eat our cake and have it. Double standards must stop. The “No Victor No Vanquished” slogan should not only be in words but in spirit. It must be practicalised. Not doing so, is the reason why there is no day our newspapers don’t carry the ugly news of killings of Nigerians by Nigerians. It’s a shame. It’s so embarrassing. And this must stop. Killers must be brought to justice by hanging, not by granting amnesty and that’s the only way to stop the madness and restore law and order on a firm footing forever.

CHAPTER 20

RESTRUCTURING THE POLITY

Those who make peaceful change impossible, make violent change possible.

– John F Kennedy (1962)

Nigeria has unfortunately been described as the “stunted giant” of Africa because in comparison with her potentials in human and materials resources, Nigeria’s developmental pattern has remained embarrassingly static and even retrogressive in some cases. The main reason for this, is the skewed and overbloated structure the economy has been saddled with. Consequently, re-structuring is the most important political factor that should be tackled in order to enable every aspect of national development move in the right direction. The Nigerian Polity should be re-structured in a way that will make it as painless as possible. Consequently, all the re-structurings should be handled in two phases in which all the contending interest

groups will have their wishes assuaged. Phasing has become necessary because it is doubtful if the on-going Constitutional Review Committee (CRC) of the National Assembly can achieve the in-depth changes that our constitution really needs in one sweep. Consequently, instead of losing out completely, it is best to take the simple achievable issues in Phase-1 and then tackle the harder ones in Phase-2 when irredentist proclivity of some Nigerians would have abated and hopefully the bitter lesson of the realities of life may have dawned on them to realise that Nigeria does not have to die to be born again.

The fact remains that the present members of the National Assembly were elected on the authority of existing constitution to make laws. They cannot turn round and tamper with that same authority, because if they do, such action will be null and void. Definitely, being a beneficiary of the new constitution, the Assembly members are naturally bound to be subjective in their decisions. Hence, the need for a Constitutional Conference of the People of Nigeria in which individuals elected solely for the constitutional conference will assemble to “jaw-jaw” in order to avoid future “war-war”. If the CRC fails to achieve the required objective then, the existing constitution will continue to be used until something better and unanimously agreed upon is available. However, if the CRC succeeds in giving Nigeria a new constitution, acceptable to all Nigerians in spite of the obvious constitutional technicalities, then, so be it. Below therefore are the main contents of Phase-1 and Phase-2 in the re-structured polity.

PHASE – 1

1. Recognise the six geopolitical zones as the official bases of sharing benefits which cannot go round all the states of the Federation.
2. Creating states is near impossible as earlier analysed. However, if it becomes miraculously feasible then create six additional states in order to give each zone seven states.
3. The 774 LGAs are too unwieldy for the nation. They are at best expensive cost centres and not development centres they are being branded now. They are indeed, a cesspool of graft, corruption and dereliction of duty. Very few citizens know they have LG offices because the council officials are hardly in their offices. At best some come at the end of the month to collect their own booty (salary) while in normal cases, the booty is given to them at home.
4. In a Federal System of government there should be only two tiers – Federal and State. Consequently, our 774 LGAs should be scrapped and states that need them for whatever reason can institute and fund them accordingly.

PHASE – 2

Phase-2 re-structuring should include the following:

1. The six geopolitical zones will become the six new federating regions of Nigeria (By the time the existing states are collapsed, the regions can then be called states). The six regions will be more realistic and viable just like US that has fifty states out of a total area of 9.4m square kilometers. Consequently, Nigeria that has

a total area of 923,768 square kilometer or one-tenth of US land areas should proportionately have of ($\frac{1}{10}$ fifty states) or five viable states or regions. However, for North-South balance, it should be six regions, so that North can have three regions and South three regions.

2. The six new regions will be the basis of allocating funds from the Federation Account. The principle of equality of all regions will be used in allocating funds from federation account. Consequently, same amount will be given to all regions. This principle of equality will apply at all levels of government. It will help stop the falsification of census and will help stem our population explosion because presently the higher the population, the higher the revenue from federation account.
3. Definitely, it will be near impossible to get the states to surrender their autonomy to the regions and so, the states will continue to be the operational second tier of government, while the regions will be for the time being administrative dark horse until hopefully economic downturn or such other measures make untenable the large number of states and hence compels contracting the number of states to maximum of six states or regions.
4. When the regions are fully established and become operational, they will be the second and last tier of government and will have the regional House of Assembly to legislate for the region and the provinces.
5. Provinces, considering the large size of the region, will definitely be required by the regions but the number and other details will be optional to the region because the region will locally fund its provinces.

6. Consequently this new structure will have electable offices: President and Vice President at the federal level, Premier or Governor and Deputy Premier or Deputy Governor at the regional level and then Provincial Administrator and Deputy Administrator at the provinces.
7. The National Assembly will remain bicameral with the Senate and House of Representatives.
8. The federal cabinet will have ministers chosen mainly on regional basis while there will be commissioners at the regional level, and councillors at Provincial level.
9. The ministers as usual will be nominated by the president and confirmed by the joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives.
10. The commissioners and provincial councillors will be nominated by Premier or Governor and to be confirmed by regional House of Assembly.
11. In the regional set-up, once one of the state capitals is chosen as the Regional Capital, the remaining former state capitals should each have a mayor managing the rich assets in the capital.
12. Provinces will be strictly the responsibility of the Regional Government and to be funded based on equality of all provinces within the region. For any further decentralisation of power below the provincial level, to district level, the region can have the districts but it will be funded by the region through the provinces. The new structure based on Phase-2 is diagrammatically shown below:

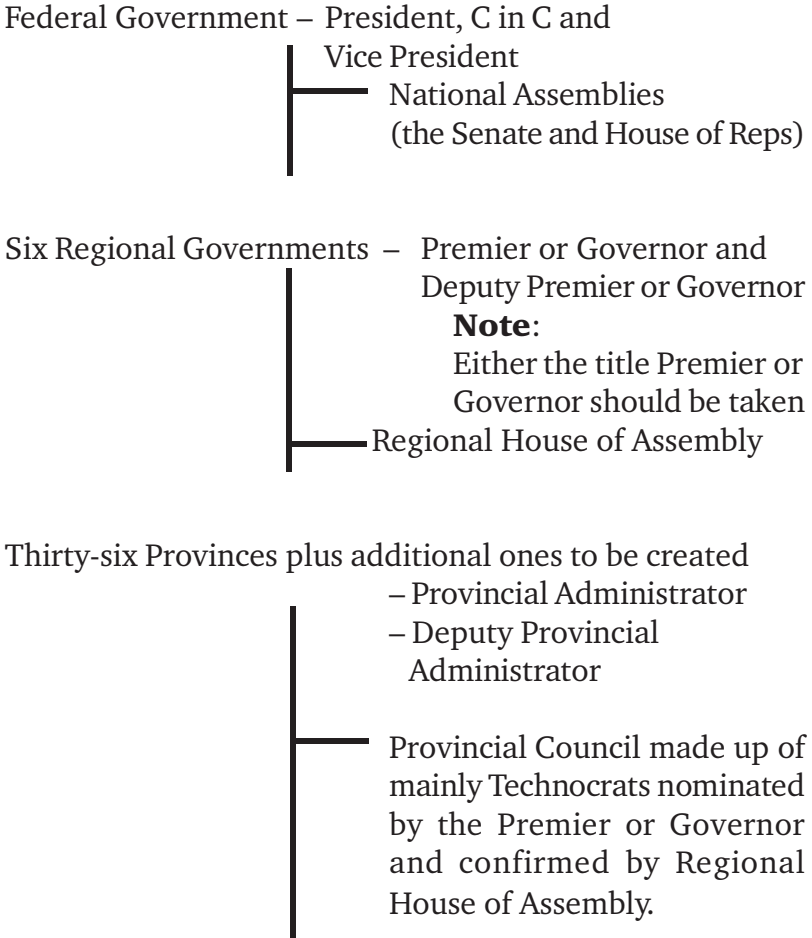


Fig. 20.1: Re-structured Organisation of Federal Republic of Nigeria

Regions have become imperative because of the need to cut down cost of governance, and then use the funds saved to create jobs and generate employment that will stem kidnapping etc. Also, the regions will stop the unnecessary duplication and replication of sub-standard facilities which are replete within the states. It is a common knowledge that all the states want to have their own universities,

polytechnics, airport, teaching hospital, power stations, refineries, etc and because these facilities are capital intensive, the states end up having sub-standard facilities and even when they are of good standard they are underutilised. Regions will now ensure prioritised coordination within the zone/region. With the recent discovery of Shale gas which is an alternative energy source, the US importation of Nigerian crude oil has gone down from over 1 million barrel per day in December 2009 to 580,000 bpd in September 2011; then to 352,000 bpd in February 2012, which is 70% less than the original quantity. Oil may not continue to sell at the present high rate of US\$110 per barrel. Indeed, it is predicted that in the next decade, the value of our crude oil is likely to diminish significantly as the big buyers – the United States, China, Germany and the United kingdom – would be taking full advantage of hydraulic fracking and horizontal drilling to free oil and gas from shale rocks in their own countries. This is in addition to the fact that, by 2015, fourteen other African countries would have effectively joined Nigeria as oil producers, thus lowering the value of our main revenue earner. Nigeria should therefore plan ahead with a regional structure that could help manage resources and save for a rainy day.

Presently, the six zones are being utilised in filling limited federal vacancies particularly when available vacancies cannot go round the thirty six states. Recently, the Federal Ministry of Agriculture has appointed one Agricultural Director to each of the thirty six states and one Senior Agricultural Director to each of the six zones to coordinate Agricultural activities in the field, thus emphasising on the need for Regional coordination. Also,

many parastatals and private companies are using zones to organise their establishments.

President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan has a cabinet of forty-seven ministers and invariably the number is that high in the bid to ensure Federal Character by ensuring that each of the thirty-six states is adequately represented. The number forty seven is much higher than thirty-six because Mr. President may have to appoint two ministers from one state – one will surely be on political basis while the other will most likely be a technocrat the nation needs badly. Consequently, if more states are created it will surely aggravate such situations. For instance, three federal universities were approved for Yobe, Zamfara and Birnin-Kebbi in December 2012. By this, every state now has at least one federal university. Consequently, Nigeria has thirty-six federal universities out of which less than ten are of acceptable quality standard while the remaining twenty-six or more are caricature of what they should be. Definitely, we can't go on like this. Creating sub-standard facilities just to balance political equations while our educational standard plummets. The solution therefore lies in having regions which will be the basis of fixing federal facilities and for financial allocation cum appointment of ministers, ambassadors, Perm Sec, DG etc. Within the region, the provinces will be reflected and within the states/province it will be strictly on merit, otherwise the issue could ridiculously be dragged to the level of reflecting families.

Overall therefore, to help reduce drastically the cost of governance, only the regions will have houses of assembly to make laws for the region and its provinces. The proposed six regions are as follows:

Eastern Region

To be made up of Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi and Imo states together with the Igbo-speaking people of Delta and Rivers states;

Western Region

To be made up of Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Ekiti and Oyo States together with the Yoruba-speaking areas of Kwara and Kogi states;

Southern Region

To be made up of Akwa-Ibom, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Bayelsa and Rivers states excluding the Igbo-speaking areas of Delta and Rivers states;

Central Region

To be made up of Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Niger, Plateau, Nasarawa and Taraba states together with the old Jema'a, Kachia and Saminaka local governments of Kaduna State, but excluding the Yoruba-speaking areas of Kwara and Kogi states;

North Eastern Region

To be made up of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe and Yobe states.

North Western Region

To be made up of Jigawa, Kaduna (excluding Jema'a Kachia and Saminaka local governments), Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Zamfara and Sokoto states.

- It should be noted that North West Region has seven states, North East Region has five states, North Central Region has seven states, South East Region has five states, South West Region has six states and Southern Region has six states. (See fig. 20.2).

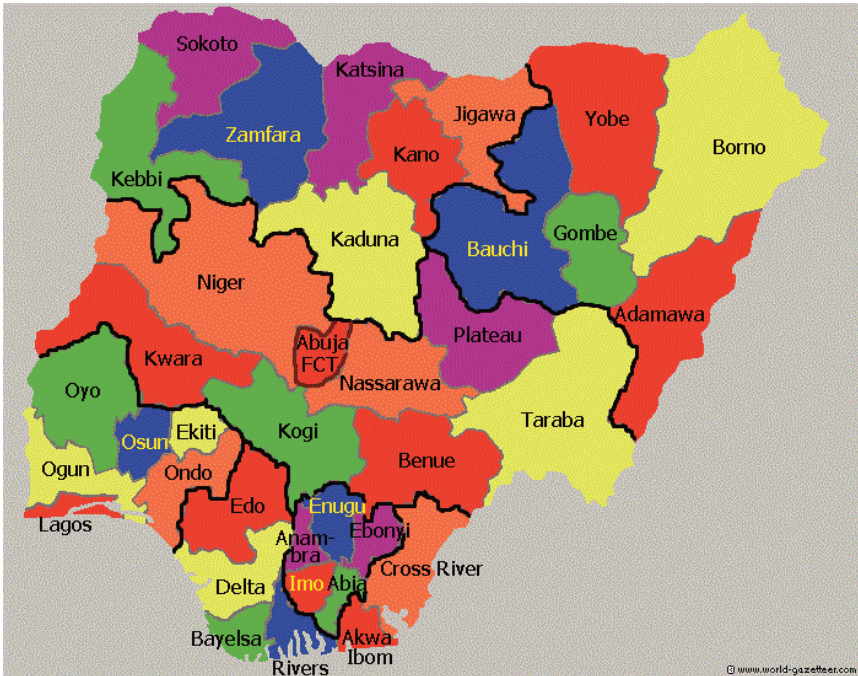


Fig. 20.2: The Proposed Regional Structure

Criteria for Regional Capital: The city should have:

- a. International Airport
- b. A major railway station
- c. A standard university preferably a federal university
- d. A teaching hospital
- e. Have most of the federal establishments in the region
- f. Virgin area for expansion
- g. Available replenishable source of water.
- h. Stadium of international standard
- i. Should be as central as possible within the region

These six regions will be the federating units in the new Federal Republic of Nigeria. In future they will choose their own cognate names instead of these geographical names. Each region will be headed by a Premier or Governor and will adopt its own Constitution to suit its own peculiarities. The region with the moderation of Federal Government will determine how many provinces the region should have.

*In order to depoliticise census and make authentic that important index of development, the region will be the basis for federal allocation of funds in the budget. Again, to de-politicise issues, the allocation of revenue from federal to the regions, it should be on the basis of equality of regions since the population is approximately the same in all the regions. The present situation where a state gets less than ₦2.0bn in the monthly allocation and few oil producing states get as much as ₦16.0bn, is too wide a difference. A difference of maximum ₦4.0bn would have

been fair enough but to be as much as ₦14.0bn definitely will lead to agitation by the underpaid states and wastage and profligacy by states that were given more than they need.

For now, the other restructured changes that are necessary to help reduce overhead expenses without disrupting the present system drastically are as follows:

(1) Convert states to provinces

Convert states to provinces with a strong administration by technocrat and a provincial administrator to head the government with a DG and as few directors as possible.

(2) There will be no provincial House of Assembly

There will be no provincial House of Assembly because the Regional Assembly will cater for the laws for their provinces and districts under its jurisdiction.

(3) The number of provinces

For a start, only the present thirty-six states will be the new thirty-six provinces pending when a People's Constitution based on referendum is agreed upon. Nigeria has about 250 languages and the aim will be to give each linguistic groupings a sense of belonging by giving it one or more provinces depending on their population and land mass. Consequently, the number of provinces in any region will depend on the wishes of the people and the much their finances can shoulder. For sure, the number will be more realistic because regions will be the basis of all federal allocation. With the provincial structure, the fifty-six states being

requested for now for CRC considerations have ample chances of passing through.

(4) **LGAs to be optional**

The LGAs which should be re-named districts should be optional to the provinces and regions. Consequently, as far as the Constitution is concerned, there will be two tiers of government: the federal and regional. The provinces and districts are therefore optional.

This is in tune with the US system whose details are discussed below:

The US counties

The US from which Nigeria has tailored its own federalism has its own form of LGAs and are called: Counties, Municipals, Townships, Specials, Boroughs, Parishes, etc. Just as Nigeria has ALGON, the US has its own “National Association of Counties”. However, while Nigeria LGA concept is entrenched in the Constitution as a third tier of government, in the US, the counties etc are not in the US constitution and they depend entirely on wishes of the federating states.

Consequently, the names they bear and how many to have, etc, depends on the federating states. For instance, the State of Delaware has only three Counties, but State of Texas has 254 counties. Also, while the Loving County of Texas has only 45 residents, the Los Angeles County of the State of California has 9,848,011 residents. The most important factor of note, is that the US County System are entirely self-sustaining and hence can take any shape, size, nomenclature, etc, it desires.

Adopting this US system will entail deleting Part I of the First Schedule of the 1999 Constitution which listed all the LGAs and thus allow the states to determine the structure, nomenclature, functions, finance, etc, of the LGAs, or whichever name they may wish to call them, ranging from districts to development centres. The LGAs should therefore cease to exist as the third tier of government and should no longer be funded from federation account. This will eliminate the cry of marginalisation and will save the federation, enormous revenue that can be saved and ploughed into capital development, thus solving unemployment problems and the attendant kidnapping plus other menace in the society.

(5) **National Assembly**

The National Assembly at the federal level should remain bicameral with the Senate and House of Representatives. This is mandatory so that the Executive will find it very difficult to manipulate the two Houses of National Assembly, which he could easily do if it is just one house. The role played by House of Reps in January 2012 when the President gave the nation a New Year surprise “gift” of raising the price of petrol from ₦65 per litre to between ₦150 to ₦250 depending on locations justifies this concept. The Speaker of House Reps, Hon Aminu Tambuwal summoned his members from recess and they gave the Executive stiff resistance and eventually forced him in concert with the Senate to come down to ₦97 per litre. A year after (January 2013), the dividends of the removal of subsidy is yet to reach the traumatised

masses. Fuel queue is still prevalent and cost per litre in the black market can be as high as ₦300 per litre! It's hell on earth for most Nigerians in running their generators at that price.

Also, just as the two chambers of National Assembly need protection so also, is the Presidency. Under section 143 of the Constitution, to impeach the President requires two-third of all the members in the two houses voting for an impeachment. Definitely, the impeachment will be easier if it is only one house and very difficult but rational if there are two houses. Consequently, the two houses are necessary to ensure excellent check and balance by the two chambers.

(6) **Sitting Allowances for Legislators and No More Salaries and Constituency Vote**

To make political offices less attractive but responsible, the legislators should be professionals or gainfully employed individuals and therefore they should be paid sitting allowance and not salary. The Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission should fix payment of allowance and benefits for the legislators. The situation where the legislators fix their own salary and earn as much as ₦15m per month in a Third World country is immoral and wrong.

(7) **System of Government – Presidential or Parliamentary System**

The parliamentary system is a form of government in which the populace vote individual legislators who then, will pick one amongst them to be the Prime Minister (PM). The PM in turn will identify some

members of parliament to be ministers thus forming the cabinet. It is therefore a form of government which consists of Legislative branch (Parliament) and the Executive branch consisting of the PM and his or her cabinet. Consequently, the Executive function is not clear-cut, because the PM is perpetually at the mercy of the parliament since he is chosen on the floor of the house and therefore ceases to be PM if a vote of “No Confidence” is passed on him. This is generally the case when government is formed by two or more parties in a coalition. The tenure system is therefore not guaranteed and this leads to instability. Parliamentary system, is also based on institutionalised opposition and winners-take-all government.

In the presidential system the opposite is the case – There is no physical opposition, but opposition of ideas or approach. Also, the president and legislators are elected directly by the people, the tenure is guaranteed except if impeached and the process of doing so has adequate checks and balances. Analysts contend that the legislature remains the permanent boss of the president and this is not hard to see if one watched the CNN televised programme when the US Congress cross-examined President Bill Clinton on the Monica Lewinsky’s sex scandal. The president or governor in a presidential system primarily executes policies in exercise of the power conferred on him by the people, while the legislators check the action of president or governor and could as a last resort invoke the impeachment process. The added advantage of presidential system is that unlike the parliamentary system, the president can bring in as many technocrats

as possible from outside the party to help give teeth to vital sectors.

Indeed, Nigeria opted for presidential system in the 1979 Constitution because of the sad experience of deadlocked confrontation between the then ceremonial President (Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe) and the Prime Minister (Alhaji Tafawa Balewa) during the 1962 census exercise and the 1964 elections. It took the President, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe after the 1964 election, over 48 hours to give his nod to Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, whose alliance of NPC and a faction of Action Group (AG) won the election, to come forward and form a cabinet. Those 48 hours were the longest Nigerians have ever waited. The silence was pin-drop, the tension was so high and the nation's anticipation so edgy that most people thought that it was the end of Nigeria but somehow, like the beetle, Nigeria will always survive miraculously. And so, it was such a relief when at last the President after much pressure from internal and external sources, invited the Prime Minister to form the government. But even then, the harm had been done because two years later, the harvest was the 15th January 1966 coup!

(8) **Recommendation**

The presidential system should be retained because Nigerians by temperament are not good in coalition and alliances which is a sine qua non in the parliamentary system of government. Most people feel too that the presidential system is expensive because of the pervasive corruption in the system now. It all depends on who is at the helm of the affairs of Nigeria. In fact, if we decide to change to parliamentary system,

it is likely to be more expensive because the threat of using ‘vote of no confidence’ to bring down the Prime Minister or crosscarpeting will lead to huge sums changing hands, thereby fuelling corruption in the name of lobby. It should never be tried because Nigeria is not like other countries where modesty and contentment are still held supreme. Besides, we need to develop fast, in order to cover lost grounds and that is the major advantage of presidential system.

(9) **The Need for two-party System**

The two-party offices built by General Ibrahim Babangida nationwide was the best achievement of his Administration. It is unfortunate the offices have been converted to other uses. This is an unfortunate waste because Nigeria needs two parties to help bury the divisiveness of the three major tribes and thus obliterate tribal politics which is one of the major problems hindering Nigeria’s smooth development. Obviously, if the Abiola-Kingibe election was done in a multi-party situation, it would have been impossible for a Moslem-Moslem ticket to win. But because there were only two parties – Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republic Convention (NRC), Nigerians were compelled to choose the best of two “evils” without going into the complications of run-off election. Invariably, Nigerians for the first time, had to look at the quality and experience of the front runners, how hard they have campaigned by putting forward their manifesto, and finally which presidential candidates plus the running mate have well-known antecedents and therefore will deliver. Surely the Abiola-Kingibe ticket had the answer and that was how they won.

This won't have been the case if the choice is from our present existing pack of fifty-eight registered parties which on election day will get the voters confused as to who to vote for.

Usually when parties are newly formed, they don't have party offices because the parties may not be financial buoyant enough to build its own office. In effect, the party will therefore ask any party member who has a building to donate for the use of the party and once he does that, the landlord automatically becomes one of the godfathers of the party and thus, manipulates the party to his advantage.

Consequently, it is strongly recommended that for a better control of the party, it was very wise for the government to build party offices from which the parties can start off until they are strong enough to build their own office. The two party offices should therefore be revived soonest. Fortunately, INEC has started the ball rolling on December 2012 by de-registering thirty-one of the fifty-eight registered parties. It's hoped the exercise will continue until the last two with effective coverage nationwide are left to give Nigeria the long desired political re-engineering. It was very inspiring when the opposition parties in February 2013 merged to form All Progressive Congress (APC). The masses already believe that this is the APC "tablet" to cure all the political ills of Nigeria. (Note: APC medically stand for Aspirin – Phenacetin – Caffeine). And once there is a formidable opposition to a ruling party and the neutrality of electoral commission is assured, then and only then, will our democracy bring forth the desired dividends of democracy.

(10) **Confederation, Federation and Unitary Forms of Government**

The three principal forms of government are: Confederation, Federation and Unitary systems. A federation is a middle course system between confederation and unitary system. Consequently, in unitary system government is centralised. In a federation, government is decentralised, while in a confederation, it is over-decentralised. In a federation, political power is constitutionally shared between the centre (federal government) and the states which are generally self sustaining economically. This is the main problem with the Nigerian federation because very few states if any, are self-sustaining. Confederation is a loose federation in which the states making up that confederation have almost all the powers, and residual powers for coordination are left with the centre. On the other hand, in a unitary system, virtually all powers are with the centre since only the centre has necessary government machinery.

The system Nigeria had from Lord Selborne Niger Committee of 1898 to the amalgamation of Lagos colony to the southern protectorates in 1906 and finally the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 can be said to be a kind of confederation.

From 1914 till date, various attempts were made to nurture, restructure and sustain the Nigerian Federation through eight constitutions: Cliffords Constitution of 1922, the Richard's Constitution of

1946, Macpherson's Constitution of 1951, Lyttleton (London) Constitution of 1954, Independence Constitution of 1960, Republican (Parliamentary) Constitution of 1963 and the Presidential Constitution of 1979, 1989 and 1999.

Consequently, Nigeria having evolved from a Confederal structure to Federal, it is expected that the next logical step will be towards the ultimate – a unitary system. This is necessary if we must rise above premodial tendencies and thus accelerate the much desired unity that will usher in the long awaited “Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress”, that our motto highlighted.

Generally, federal system responsibilities are exclusive to either the center or the federating units (states) while the remaining responsibilities are made concurrent to both. This is the case with Nigeria and USA. For Nigeria, the Western region and Eastern region had their self government in 1957 while the Northern region reluctantly had its own in 1959. US too started with the thirteen original states on the Eastern coastline of the US and other states eventually joined the union much later on their own volition. Germany is another typical example of true federalism, where the regional government called Lander has total control over Education, Television and Radio while the central government has total control over Defence, Foreign Affairs, currency and Monetary Policies, the Postal Services, Copyright and Transportation. The remaining responsibilities are concurrent to the Central Government and the Lander. Overall, federal

system is a bundle of compromises of “strange” bed fellows, and is more complex to administer in comparison to the unitary system.

It is therefore not surprising that today, there are about 173 countries with unitary system of government while only 20 countries practise federal system amongst which are Nigeria, US, Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Pakistan, India, Russia, Malaysia, and Australia. Take note of the fact that Nigeria is the only African country still saddled with federal system even though her survival as a nation is mainly because she is in name a Federal Republic, but in practice a unitary government.

(11) **The Need for Hybrid of Federal and Unitary Systems of Government**

True federalism is not feasible as at now. At best what we are practising now is “feeding bottle” federalism in which the states and LGAs are sucking the federation dry. Unfortunately, the Ironsi Unitary System of Government was rejected in 1966, because of the “unified civil service”. And so, why not try the unitary system WITHOUT UNIFYING THE CIVIL SERVICE. In other words true unitary system is not acceptable either. Consequently, Nigeria should have a blend of federalism and unitarism that will be true to what is practicable for now. Also, the rejection of unitary government system was in 1966, and that was forty-seven years ago and as we know, issues have changed a lot since then. It is therefore obvious, that time has come for Nigerians to overcome their

fears of unitary government system and give it a fair trial.

Nigerians talk so much on the need for unity but get scared in practicalising it. That ambiguity needs to be overcome. If unity can be a major component of our national motto (Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress), then why should we be anathemaic about unitary system of government?

On the other hand, it is obvious Nigerians cannot part with their freedom, hence the penchant for federalism. Consequently, what we now practise and will continue to practice is not true federalism. Instead it is a federal system with a lot of unitary components. Hence, what we should formally approve is a hybrid of federal and unitary systems which could be re-named Unified Federal System or Uni-Federal for short. The constitution should retain the present policies concerning exclusive and concurrent responsibilities.

(12) **Judiciary**

Judiciary is the bastion of democracy and for it to be so, it must be autonomous financially, administratively, operationally and otherwise. The thinking in some judicial minds is to decentralise the judiciary to the states just like is done in the US where every state has magistrate court, high court, court of appeal and then finally, the supreme court. The organisation should remain as it is now until the regional structure matures, then issues such as regional police, de-centralisation of judiciary, etc, will become relevant.

(13) **The Need for a single six-year term for the Executives – Presidents, Governors, etc**

The six-year single-term presidential tenure proposed by our President, Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan is to my mind, the best policy change that he has made since he came to office. Most likely the President must have been alarmed by the huge sum of money (about ₦1.5 trillion) all the presidential candidates did spend in the last Presidential elections. We should therefore not lose the chances of having a single term executive and legislative six-year tenure in our constitution.

It was therefore very amazing that Nigerians and the CRC refused to consider this wise proposal. If this extension is done for governors and the National Assembly, then the amount saved will be over ₦6 trillion (this is more than one year budget for the entire country) which can be used to ensure steady electrical power and hence industries will be activated and employment will boom and thus help stem kidnapping nationwide.

Indeed, as the Honourable Minister of Science and Technology in Gen Abdulsalami Abubakar's cabinet, I was strongly in support of a single six-year tenure for the Executive but unfortunately my submission did not sail through in council. My reason for supporting a single term of six years is that the incumbent executives in a developing country like Nigeria, will always win a second-term election, because he/she will always use the state funds and machineries to ensure he/she wins. And so, why

waste time, money and energy that can be put to better use in the country's development in pursuing an election that will eventually turn out to be a charade?

Consequently, in summary, the six-year single term will therefore help achieve the following:

- a. INEC independence will be better guaranteed since the incumbent will not be a contestant.
- b. The huge sum spent by the incumbent which generally is from public funds can be used for development.
- c. The incumbent will have enough time to see through all initiated projects and this he can't do in four years of the first term because the incumbent will take at least one year to familiarise himself/herself in office and make the necessary appointments. Second year, he/she will try to complete old projects and plan for new ones. Third year, he/she initiates new projects. Fourth year is devoted to re-election campaign, thus leading to endless circle of abandoned projects nationwide. This situation became very clear to me when I was appointed Honourable Minister of Science and Technology in 1994.

For a country like Nigeria, in the Third World and realising how vast our country is, four-years is not okay to make an impact, and unless the single six-year term is adopted, the economy and the state of Nigeria will continue to wobble.

CHAPTER 21

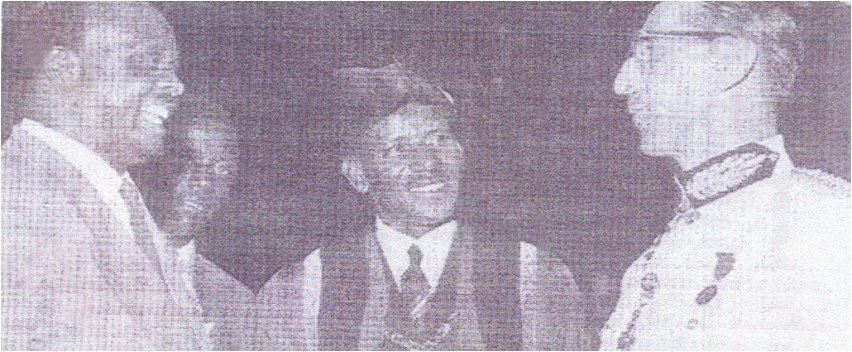
EPILOGUE

In all that you do, be the change you want the world to see.

– Mahatma Gandhi

Nigeria Shall Rise Again

Nigeria between the mid 1950s and mid 1960s had her problems just like any other country but then, there was hope, there was peace and there was progress in all major spheres of human endeavour. People at times left their doors open and went to work because stealing was uncommon. People travelled even at night because armed robbery was unheard of. At that time, the Minister of Lagos Affairs (Yar'Adua) was from the North. The Mayor of Enugu was also from the North.



Umoru Altine of Sokoto Caliphate in the middle in his Mayoral robe



Umoru Altine and his family



Umoru Altine as a young vibrant gentleman

Those good old days, the youths from various parts of the country converged in secondary schools and universities for education but more importantly in building the nation through the fusion of unity in diversity. Recently, it was very pleasing to see Chief Mike Adenuga (from the West) and former Senate President, Ken Nnamani (from the East) both old boys of Ibadan Grammar School marking the Centenary of their school. Those days, education was unadulterated because the headship – Principal or Vice Chancellors did not, generally, come from the environment unlike the son-of-the-soil syndrome of today.

Those days the students interacted naturally and adjusted to the environment unlike what the NYSC tries to artificially force on the participants. Nigeria is today being suffocated by so many artificialities. To live and blossom, Nigeria must imbibe the natural way of doing things.



L-R: Alake of Egbaland, Oba Adedotun Gbadebo; Chairman, Globacom, Chief Mike Adenuga; former Senate President, Ken Nnamani and Deputy Governor of Oyo State, Chief Moses Adeyemo, inaugurating an ICT centre donated by Chief Adenuga to mark Centenary of Ibadan Grammar School on 30th March 2013.

As kids in the 1950s, some of us of Southern extraction but born in the North did not know any other place except the town or village of residence. We spoke the local language and in our primary school, our teachers taught us songs in their respective native dialects/languages, with the result that most of us had a working knowledge of at least four Nigerian languages. This can't happen now because the pupils will say it is a ploy to dominate them. We intermingled and interacted freely. Religion was no barrier because there was mutual respect for each other's religion. Minna, one of the Northern towns where I grew up had a public pipe-borne water system from where we fetched water with our buckets. (Today, even Abuja our new capital has no reliable water system!)

Those days, there wasn't electricity, but most families used kerosene lamps and on special occasions, gas lamps

called “Telly Lamps” were used. My dad used to put it on Sunday night and as kids we hovered around it and marveled at its brightness. Radio only popped out BBC News at given hours of the day and having it was like having a hot line telephone with the Queen of England. The Boys Scout Master, Mr Mchoven, gave the radio to my dad who often summarised to his friends any time they came, all in the radio broadcast. At times too, being the Pastor of the biggest church in Minna, my dad downloaded the privileged information during his sermon. The gramophone played music and mostly love music in its purest form. Refrigerators and Television were fantasies we heard of from our Boy Scout Master, Mr Mchoven but never saw any. They were available only overseas. We imagined in awe what they looked like. Overall, money (the Pound) had value and Nigerians lived in peace with contentment of whatever they had. Everybody saved, planned and prioritised their needs in life. Today, fifty-three years later, Nigeria has unbelievably changed. The rat race is always at a dog-eat-dog tempo. The needs of life are no longer in priorities. It’s a wild goose chase with all the ills suffocating and strangling the society to death! And so, while we are de-industrialising, the Western world is doubly industrialising. What really went wrong? It all started with the coups of 15th January 1966, then, it got compounded by the counter-coups of 29th July 1966 and then finally it went catastrophically out of control with the civil war from 6 July 1967 to January 1970.

Today, the end result is that we now have a country that is totally messed up and disunited by coups, deranged by the civil war, ravaged by Boko Haram, suffocated by desertification, dehumanised by kidnapping, disvirgined

by annulled election, raped repeatedly by rigged elections, mangled by corruption, pummeled by robbers, deformed by “419”, disgraced by self-afflicted poverty, castrated by impotent leaders, zero-development worsened by decaying infrastructure, and stunted in the comity of nations by a strange penchant in celebrating mediocrity instead of excellence.

Worse still, Nigeria has on various occasions been described as a mere geographic expression, the stunted giant of Africa, toothless bull dog, the elephant with clay feet, dwarfed giant in the comity of nations, big for nothing entity, giant in the shadow of itself, etc. Nigeria therefore has a lot of work to do to redeem her image.

And like the beetle, Nigeria will never die. No matter how vilified and bartered, it will still be on the road, smoking, vibrating and yet plodding on. Like cat with nine lives, Nigeria will live on. She has that incredible resilience and a unique ability to pull back from the precipice each time misfortune or bad leadership catapults her to the precipice.

However, we must realise that for everything on earth including our beloved country Nigeria, there is an elastic limit. Nigeria’s continued survival should not therefore be taken for granted, otherwise Nigeria will be shocked like USSR, whose satellite states of Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Khazakhstan, Byelorussia, Geogie, Estonia, Moldvia, Armenia, Azerbazan, Turkemena, and Tajikson suddenly evaporised in 1989, leaving Russia naked and in the cold.

The World Bank has projected that Nigeria’s latest Global Economic Prospects, GEP, will have fresh foreign investments as the main drivers of the economic growth.

Accordingly, increased investment will be from 15.9 per cent of GDP to over 22 percent of GDP in 2012. The foreign direct investment is expected to remain strong over the medium term, with a forecast that it would increase to new record levels each year reaching a peak of about \$55.6 billion in 2015.

FDI inflows to the extractive industries sector, particularly oil and gas, petroleum and solid minerals as well as agriculture sector would be supported by spiraling commodity prices over the next two to three years. Oil prices at the international crude oil market are projected to average between \$102 per barrel by 2013, \$102.2 by 2014 and \$102.1 by 2015, while international capital as percentage of GDP would be about 4.7%, 4.8% and 4.9% by 2013, 2014 and 2015 respectively.

As is well known, the term BRIC was coined by Jim O'Neill, an economist and retiring Chairman of Goldman Sachs' Asset Management unit, to cover emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China of 21st century. Later, the term was amended to BRICS to include South Africa.

In recent times, the BRICS, with the exception of China, have been rather disappointing. Brazil, Russia, India and South Africa have recorded lower than expected economic growth, rising inflation, weak governance structures and have not been as competitive as the G7 economies. South Africa even suffered a rating downgrade in the last quarter of 2012.

The global Chairman of KPMG International, Michael Andrew, who was in Nigeria by end of February 2013, blamed failure of these other countries to inconsistent regulatory environment and poor returns on investment by companies that placed their bets on them. He said capital

and investors are now turning their focus on the next batch of emerging economies, which he termed the MINT as well as the ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) region. MINT stands for Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey.

Obviously, Nigeria fell into this category of major emerging global economies, because it has all that it takes to become one of the largest economies in the world in the foreseeable future. Indeed, Goldman Sachs, in 2012, predicted that Nigeria could surpass Britain and several other European countries to become the 12th largest economy in the world by 2050.

Nigeria therefore has very bright chances of becoming a regional, then continental and ultimately global powerhouse and those seeking to destroy her should realize how heinous their action is. Nigeria is bigger than any individual or a group no matter how highly placed or obscenely rich. Consequently, Nigeria deserves the best attention and the best of everything from everybody. For this generation, let's remember that the best legacy we can bequeath posterity is to leave Nigeria better than we met her – Not worse. As earlier highlighted in this book, the ten problems bedeviling Nigeria are: Poor Leadership, Corruption, Insecurity, Poor Infrastructure, Bloated Bureaucracy, Federal Label but Unitary Content; Population Explosion, Very Low Productivity Aggravated by Federal Character; Growing Religious Tension, Undiversified Economy and the Unemployment Time-bomb.

Definitely, these ten problems are all urgent but some are far more urgent than others. For instance, corruption is the most urgent and the easiest to tackle in terms of cost. Besides, corruption will help to solve associated problems. It is obvious that once corruption is tackled,

investments will flow in, economy will be diversified within the Agricultural and Solid Mineral spheres, infrastructure will improve, unemployment and insecurity will be checked, religious tension will ease, and the environment will then be calm enough to absorb reforms, restructuring and transformation agenda. In considering infrastructure, greater emphasis should be placed on Rail Transport and less emphasis should be given to Air travel. Virtually, all airlines in Nigeria are now bankrupt and in a developing economy, one appreciates the modernisation effort of the Minister of Aviation, Princess Stella Oduah but then, in terms of priority, emphasis should go to rail transport because of its durability and mass movement capabilities.

Besides, rail transport all over the world is growing annually at the rate of 20% particularly in Europe, and in no distant date, it is envisaged that even the long distance journeys will be taken away from air travel by high-speed rail transport.

The areas Nigeria must open include the following:

- The ploughing of idle pension trillions of Naira into mortgage banks to boost the housing need of the masses and thus create millions of job nationwide.
- Huge investment in infrastructure and entrenchment of sound corporate governance in the execution of Public Private Partnership (PPP) must be achieved for Nigeria's economy.
- In PPP, the government does not have any business in business, except by acting as a regulator to the system.
- PPP projects typically involve the delivery of infrastructure to the people and needs regular

budgetary allocations for repairs and maintenance after completion.

- Because political considerations outweigh economic considerations when planning and executing any projects, competitive users fees are not charged and used for the maintenance of these assets.
- The government should partner with the private sector because by so doing economic and social considerations will outweigh political considerations.
- The PPPs that work in Nigeria are usually modeled as ownership structure, the government does not own majority stake in the equity, but can be largest single shareholder.
- The four refineries should be repaired instantly.
- Six new refineries should be built, one in each zone for a start.
- The era of breaking law and getting away with it or getting amnesty is over. If offenders are punished for offences committed like was done for Henry Okah in South Africa or James Ibori in the UK, no one will dare take law in his or her hands as is the case now let alone discussing amnesty for them. It's unheard of except in Nigeria!
- Agriculture must be popularised and be well funded.
- Education should be restructured and made qualitative and not quantitative as it is now.
- Health is wealth. A sick populace is a dead nation. Efficient health insurance is inevitable.

- Nigerian police must be disbandly re-structured for higher efficiency and be given a crack leadership such as Mallam Nuhu Ribadu mould because once security is assured, every other issue will dove-tail in accordingly.
- There should be a workable grand master plan on how to provide potable water to all nooks and cranies of the country. Water is basic and the government owes it as a responsibility to provide it to every citizen at cost price.
- Nigerians should be made aware of the dangers of population explosion. Many are hoping the economy will improve. How can it with them marrying more wives? Having ten more kids? Economic improvement is impossible because with our productivity dwindling, the more we are, the less each individual will get. Nigerians need to know this.
- To enhance security, the National ID card should be expedited upon and be given topmost priority nationwide.

So far, Nigeria has improved slowly but steadily in Transparency International (TI) Corruption Perception Index. In 2003, Nigeria was 132nd amongst 133 countries. By 2007, Nigeria's position was 147th amongst 178 countries and by 2010, it was 134th amongst the 178 countries. Unfortunately, in 2012, Nigeria fell backwards by being 139th out of 174 countries assessed.

However, we should not lose hope. Tackling corruption requires a forthright leader that can mobilise Nigerians behind him or her and make Nigeria to be in the first 100

countries in the world's TI and HDI by 2015. A leader whose associates are in themselves role models, not fuel subsidy scammers. Nigerians by nature are very good followers. If the leader is bad, they will be at their worst. Also, if the leader is good, they will be unbelievably good. The impact of WAI during Buhari-Idiagbon era is a case in point. Nigerians became disciplined by queuing. They were also not dropping waste anywhere or having prolonged and lavish parties.



President Goodluck Jonathan (right) and former Head of State Gen Muhammadu Buhari at the Nigeria Centenary flag-off ceremony in Abuja. They seem to be saying: "We have no other country but Nigeria. We must stay here and salvage it together".

The fact that Nigeria survived the first 100 years of amalgamation as one country is a huge success on its own. We should now garner the experience of 100 years and use it to fast track our development ensuring that the mistakes of the past are not repeated. That done, and Nigeria votes in a visionary, honest and proactive leader in a free and fair election in 2015, then Nigeria's dream of transforming from Third World to First World would have a good start in 2015. *Long Live The Republic of Nigeria.*

PART V

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APPENDIX 1

LIST OF KIDNAPPINGS

A list of some kidnapping out of the thousands that took place in 2012. A situation where husband and wife now organise kidnapping. A situation where brothers and sisters now make kidnapping their business! It is shocking! It is unbelievable! It is heart rending! It deserves an emergency. The Presidency in concert with the Governors should roll their sleeves for action, now.

- (1) In January 2012 an eight-month pregnant medical doctor, Mrs Chinma Okwor, was kidnapped in front of her residence in Enugu.
- (2) In Asaba, it was confirmed that, a house wife aided her husband, to kidnap a traditional ruler in Bayelsa State and got ₦5 million ransom.
- (3) Also, in Asaba, Mrs. Josephine Eke was kidnapped on 10th February 2012.

- (4) In February 2012 German construction worker, Mr. Raupach Edgar, was kidnapped in Kano.
- (5) In March, a United Arab Emirate (UAE) national, Mohammed Ismael Al-Ali, was lured to Nigeria for a phantom business. Al-Ali was kidnapped in the process and kept for six years at Abonogun village. The kidnappers demand for \$5-million ransom.
- (6) Kidnappers, abducted Chris McManus and his Italian engineer, Francesco Molinara, for a one-million pounds ransom. Security forces tried to rescue them but failed and the victims got killed.
- (7) On March 6, four hefty men kidnapped the Head of Operations of Nigerian Aviation Handling Company (NAHCO), Mrs. Olajumoke Oyegbola, along Lagos – Ibadan Expressway, Lagos.
- (8) Mrs Okpa Omene, a 102-year-old woman who is the mother of the paramount ruler of Mosogar kingdom in Ethiopie Local Government Area was kidnapped and they demanded for ₦100 million ransom.
- (9) Asime, wife of Senator George Sekibo of Rivers State, was kidnapped alongside two others on March 24, 2012.
- (10) In April, three brothers kidnapped the Operations Manager of Guarantee Trust Bank, Oshogbo.
- (11) April 23, Chief Nzewi, was kidnapped and killed after ₦30 million ransom has been paid.
- (12) Ex-Speaker of Imo State House of Assembly, Chief Godfrey Dikeocha, was kidnapped on March 9 by armed men at his country home, Oke Ovuru in Aboh

Mbaise LGA Imo State. The kidnappers demanded ₦20 million ransom. For about one month, the family could not raise the money. The father-in-law of the kidnapped former Speaker, Justice Michael Eziri, died of shock as a result of the kidnap of his son-in-law.

- (13) Trigger-happy kidnappers shot dead Chisom Ezechinwoye, 15-year-old daughter of former member of Anambra State House of Assembly, Anthony Ezechinwoye. The kidnappers also wounded his wife, Veronica, who was later rushed to a hospital. The two victims were moving in a Mercedes Benz car when suddenly a five-man gang of kidnappers blocked them close to All Hallows Junction, Onitsha, in Anambra State. Veronica, resisted the attempt by the kidnappers to drag her into the boot of the vehicle. They fired her in the leg and she died on the spot.
- (14) A 34-year-old businessman, Stephen Orjiakor, who was about to do his traditional marriage in Anambra State on April 16 was kidnapped less than 24 hours to the occasion. His kidnap threw both families and friends into confusion. The kidnappers demanded ₦50 million from the family. Orjiakor pleaded that the family had no such money. He said his master could afford ₦2 million.
- (15) Kidnappers abducted Mr. Ottih John Ottih, presidential aide on petroleum matters on his way to St. Michael's Catholic Church at Awa, in Oguta LGA Imo State.
- (16) Reverend father Samuel Nwika was abducted on April 23 at about 2.30 a.m.

- (17) By 7.30 p.m on May 1, a Pharmaceutical Director, Chief Charles Uwakem, was abducted at gun point by kidnappers from his office at Douglas Road, Owerri.
- (18) On May 3, the Chief Executive Officer of Peder Down Nigeria Limited, Otunba Femi Ogunleye, was kidnapped in Port Harcourt.
- (19) On May 6, the traditional ruler of Awo Mbieri of Imo, Eze Oliver Nwozuzu, and his wife were kidnapped from the church where they went to worship. Worshippers in St. Peters Catholic Church scampered for safety as the kidnappers fired into the air before abducting the couple. They were bundled into a waiting car, which zoomed off immediately.
- (20) The sports world was not left out as Nigeria midfielder, Christian Obodo was kidnapped in June this year in front of a church at Effurun, Warri, in Delta State.
- (21) One of the editors of Imo Broadcasting Corporation (IBC), Chief Ndubuizu Ugorji, was kidnapped on 2nd June at the gate of the company.
- (22) A medical doctor, Frank Chukwudi, was abducted on Tuesday, 19th June in Port Harcourt. His captors demanded for ₦150 million ransom.
- (23) The traditional ruler of Ifakala, in Mbaitolu LGA of Imo State, Eze Michael Ekeruo, was kidnapped at about 1pm, in front of St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Ifakala. That was the second time the king would be kidnapped and an undisclosed ransom was paid.
- (24) Delta State recorded so many high profile kidnap cases, which included abduction of Tobechukwu

Ochei, the younger brother to the Speaker of Delta State House of Assembly, Victor Ochei.

- (25) The Minister of Niger Delta Affairs, G.Orubebe's sister, Mrs. Zokumor; Madam Suzanne Elumelu, 80, mother of former Group Managing Director of the United Bank for Africa (UBA), Mr. Tony Elumelu; wife of the Commissioner of Basic Education in Delta State, Prof. Patrick Muobaghare; Samuel Uduaghan aged 70, and cousin to Delta State Governor Emmanuel Uduaghan; former Chairman of Aniocha South Local Government, Emmanuel Sorokwu Markson; son of the Secretary to the State Government, Ovuozorie Macaulay were among the high profile victims of kidnap in Delta State. The kidnappers smiled to the bank with millions of Naira from the victims' families and in most cases still killed their victims.
- (26) Kidnappers abducted Governor Rotimi Amaechi's lawyer's wife in Port Harcourt, on June 19.
- (27) The dredging master and supervisor of Dredging and Marine Company Limited, Effurun, Delta State, were kidnapped at the project site and demanded for ₦30 million ransom.
- (28) The traditional ruler of Ikpor, in Dunukofia LGA of Anambra State, Igwe Robert Eze was kidnapped and ₦100 million ransom demanded on Sunday, July 29.
- (29) Diepreye Darego, the daughter of former Senator, Nimi Barigha-Amanga, was kidnapped on Friday, July 27 along the Port Harcourt International Airport Road, Port Harcourt while on her way to pick her sister from the airport. The hoodlums were said to have blocked

the vehicle she was driving and after shooting at it severally, forcefully dragged Darego into their vehicle and took her to an unknown destination.

- (30) On August 13, the Delta State High Court judge, Justice Marcel Okoh, was abducted and kept for eight days. The kidnappers demanded for ₦40 million ransom. Judges in Delta State boycotted courts because of the kidnap of Okoh.
- (31) A medical doctor, Dr. Blessing Obidike, was kidnapped at gunpoint by gunmen at Chobba, in Rivers State, on Sunday August 5.
- (32) The Vice Chancellor of the Enugu State University of Science and Technology (ESUT), Prof. Cyprian Onyeji was kidnapped in front of the institution at about 11.30 am. on Wednesday, August 15, 2012. The captors demanded for ₦200 million.
- (33) The traditional ruler of Okordia in Ikarama community, Yenagoa Local Government Area, Richard Seiba, 70, was kidnapped in his palace at about 2 a.m. His captors demanded for ₦30 million ransom from his wife.
- (34) The Deputy Registrar of the Federal University of Technology, Owerri (FUTO), Mrs. Rose Nwachukwu Agbado, was kidnapped on Wednesday 15, while entering her compound in Owerri, Imo State. The victim is the wife of a dean in the Abia State University, Uturu. Also kidnapped is a senior secretary of FUTO, Virginia.

- (35) Kidnappers abducted a branch manager of a new generation bank, Ukwu Orji, in Awka, Anambra State, on Wednesday, August 29.
- (36) Abductors of the Principal Secretary to Imo State Governor, Mr. Emenike Ihekwoaba did not open channels for negotiation until after four days of the kidnap.
- (37) Prof. Sunny Odoemena of University of Uyo was kidnapped on August 11 and the captors demanded ₦50 million ransom.
- (38) The Chief Press Secretary (CPS) to the Edo State Governor, Comrade Kelly Odaro, was kidnapped at Ikpoba Hill, Benin City.
- (39) A hotelier and a businessman, Chief Segun Oyebolu was abducted in front of his office in Ijebu Ode, Ogun State and they demanded ₦400 million ransom.
- (40) The traditional ruler of Igburu community Eze Okwu Osisan in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government area of Rivers State, was kidnapped along Egbada – Omoku Road, Rivers State. The captors demanded ₦10 million ransom.
- (41) Kidnappers abducted Commissioner for Higher Education in Delta State, Professor Hope Eghagha in September.
- (42) The Principal of Agulu Boys Secondary School in Anambra State, Mr. Felix Maduka, was kidnapped in October.
- (43) In November, three expatriates were kidnapped and a construction worker was shot dead in Ughelli area of Delta State.

- (44) Justice Flora Azinge of Udu High Court was kidnapped in October 2012.
- (45) Also in December, Wife of the Ogun State House of Assembly, Mrs Folasade Onademuren, was kidnapped in Ijebu Ode area of Ogun State.
- (46) Professor Kamene Okonjo, 82, mother of the Coordinating Minister of the Economy and Minister of Finance, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, was abducted by a 10-man gang in front of her husband's palace in Ogwasi-Uku Delta State on Sunday, December 10. The kidnappers first demanded 1 billion dollars ransom. They later reduced the amount to ₦200 million. She was released after 5 days.
- (47) On December 11, gunmen kidnapped Titilayo, wife of the former governor of Western Region, Gen. Oluwole Rotimi (Rtd). Titilayo was abducted in Ibadan, Oyo State capital at about 6.30 p.m and released after some days.
- (48) In December 30th, gun men kidnapped a French Engineer Mr Francis Colump working on a Wind Mill in Katsina. The gang of 30 divided themselves into two – while some of them attacked a nearby police station to divert attention, the other group went and abducted Mr Colump. Two security guards and one Police were shot by the armed gang. The Wind Mill was to generate 10MW of electricity to ensure electricity in Southern end of Katsina State to include: Suntua, Malumfashi, Danja, Musawa, Kafur, Kankara, Sabuwa, Matzu, Bakari, Dandume and Paskari LGAs. The ₦4.5bn contract was awarded to Vergnet Wind

Energy Company of France by President, Umaru Yar'Adua in 2010. With the kidnap, work has come to a complete stop and the Wind Mill has been vandalised. What a tragedy!

- (49) Four Italians and one Ukrainian were kidnapped on 23rd December 2012 off the coast of Bayelsa to unknown destination.
- (50) Children kidnapped in Abakaliki in December 2012.
- (50) Mr Martins Denedo a Chartered Accountant and a Senior Staff of Delta State University, Abraka, in Delta State was kidnapped at 1 a.m on New Year Day.
- (51) The Protocol Officer of Imo Deputy Governor, Chief Laz Anyanwu, was kidnapped and killed on 12th January 2013.
- (52) 71 year-old mother of Mr. Konbowei Friday Benson who is the Speaker of Bayelsa State House of Assembly around midnight on 14 January 2013 at Koro Korosei was kidnapped.
- (53) Vice Chancellor of Enugu State University of Technology kidnapped on 15 August 2012. ₦200m was demanded and later reduced to ₦100m.
- (54) Cynthia Osukogu was abducted in August 2012 and killed.
- (55) Abdulrasaq Aremu Gewat was kidnapped on 10th July 2012 and is still not seen.
- (56) Administrative Manager of Bornu Floor Mills, Mallam Umar Baba Mai Salan was abducted by gun men in Maiduguri at 6.15 p.m as he came out of his office. He was not seen ever since.

- (57) A high court judge was kidnapped in Asaba Delta State in September 2012
- (58) Dr Chuddy-Nwike, Ibolo Ogbunike, First Deputy Governor of Anambra State and National Vice President of the Action Congress of Nigeria (South East) was kidnapped on 19th March 2013 and has not been released after his captors collected ₦5m ransom from the family.

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF BOKO HARAM BOMB-BLAST DESTRUCTIONS

1. **July 27, 2009**
Attack on Potiskum, Yobe State Divisional Police Headquarters, three policemen and one fire service officer died.
2. **September 8, 2010**
Bauchi central prison was set ablaze and members of the sect freed.
3. **March 13, 2010**
Another sect operation in the Northern part of Jos, Plateau State, led to death of 300 people.
4. **October 1, 2010**
Explosions near the Eagle Square, Abuja, claimed 12 lives, leaving many injured.

5. **December 24, 2010**
A bomb attack in Barkin Ladi, Jos, Plateau State, killed eight people.
6. **December 31, 2010**
Explosions at Mogadishu Mammy Market, Abuja, claimed about 10 lives.
7. **January 21, 2011**
The Borno State governorship candidate of All Nigeria peoples party, ANPP, for the 2011 election, Alhaji Modu Gubio, brother to former governor of the state, Modu Sheriff killed by sect members alongside six others in Maiduguri, Borno State.
8. **March 2, 2011**
Boko Haram killed two policemen attached to the residence of the Divisional Police Officer, Mustapha Sandamu, at Rigasa area of Kaduna State.
9. **March 30, 2011**
Bomb planted by *Boko Karam* in Damaturu, Yobe State, exploded and injured a police officer.
10. **April 8, 2011**
Bomb at INEC office in Suleja, Niger State, claimed lives of eight corps members and a suicide bomber respectively.
11. **April 9, 2011**
Bomb explosion occurred at a polling unit in Ungwuar Doki, Maiduguri, Borno State, killing the suicide bomber.

12. **April 26, 2011**
Three people killed and scores injured in bomb attack.
13. **April 29, 2011**
Army barracks in Bauchi bombed.
14. **May 19, 2011**
Three policemen killed and two soldiers injured in bomb attack.
15. **May 29, 2011**
Explosion at Mammy market of Shandawanka barracks in Bauchi State claimed lives and left many injured.
16. **May 30, 2011**
Bombs exploded early morning on Baga road in Maiduguri, Borno State, thirteen dead and forty injured.
17. **June 7, 2011**
Series of bomb blasts occurred in Maiduguri, Borno State, claiming five lives and leaving several others injured.
18. **June 16, 2011**
Nigerian Police Headquarters, Abuja, bombed by a suspected suicide bomber, three killed and many vehicles damaged.
19. **June 16, 2011**
Four children killed in a bomb blast at Damboa town, Maiduguri, Borno State.
20. **June 20, 2011**
Seven policemen killed when *Boko Haram* stormed Kankara police station in Katsina State. Two of the

security men guarding a bank opposite the station were also killed.

21. **July 9, 2011**

A clash between *Boko Haram* and the military left about 31 people dead in Maiduguri, Borno State. Also in Suleja, Niger State, a bomb targeted at a church killed four and injured many others.

22. **July 11, 2011**

Tragic explosion at a relaxation joint in Fokados Street, Kaduna.

23. **July 12, 2011**

Boko Haram threw an explosive device on a moving military patrol vehicle, which claimed five lives.

24. **July 15, 2011**

Explosion in Maiduguri injured five people.

25. **July 23, 2011**

An explosion close to the palace of the Shehu of Borno, Abubakar Garbai Elkanem, injured three soldiers.

26. **July 25, 2011**

Bomb explosion near the palace of a traditional ruler in Maiduguri claimed eight lives.

27. **August 25, 2011**

Sect members killed four policemen, one soldier and seven civilians and carted away undisclosed sum of money in a bank robbery by the sect.

28. **August 26, 2011**

A suicide bomber drove into the United Nations building in Abuja, twenty-three killed and sixty injured.

29. **September 12, 2011**
Seven people, including four policemen, killed during a bomb attack on a police station in Misau, Bauchi State.
30. **September 13, 2011**
Sect members shot and injured four soldiers in an attack in Maiduguri, shortly after the arrest of 165 sect members, during military raids on *Boko Haram* hideouts in Bauchi State.
31. **September 17, 2011**
Brother-in-law of Mohammed Yusuf, the slain leader of *Boko Haram*, Babakura Fugu, shot dead in front of his house in Maiduguri by two members of the sect two days after he was visited by former president, Olusegun Obasanjo.
32. **October 3, 2011**
Boko Haram attacked Baga market in Maiduguri and killed three people.
33. **November 4, 2011**
About 150 people killed by *Boko Haram* in Damaturu, Yobe State.
34. **November 27, 2011**
Seven people killed in attacks in Geidam, Yobe State.
35. **December 18, 2011**
Three members of *Boko Haram* were killed when their bomb detonated in Shuwari, Maiduguri, Borno State.
36. **December 22, 2011**
Explosives and gunshots killed four people and left several others injured.

37. **December 24, 2011**
About 80 people killed in bombing in Jos, Plateau State.
38. **December 25, 2011**
About 50 people died in Christmas day bombing in Madalla, Niger State.
39. **December 30, 2011**
Seven people killed in Maiduguri Borno State.
40. **January 5, 2012**
About six people died in a church attack in Gombe State.
41. **January 6, 2012**
17 people died in a Christ Apostolic Church, Yola, Adamawa State, while twenty Igbo people were also killed in Mubi in the same state.
42. **January 20, 2012**
About 250 people killed in multiple attacks in Kano.
43. **January 22, 2012**
Two churches destroyed in Bauchi State. Two military personnel, a DPO and eight civilians, also killed by gunmen at the headquarters of Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area in the state.
44. **January 26, 2012**
The Sabon-Gari area of Kano State witnessed another explosion, which caused another pandemonium in the state. Many injured and some luxury buses were damaged in the explosion.

45. 8th February 2013

Three North Korean medical doctors were killed in Potiskum. The doctors are: Dr Kim Myong Hok, ear-and-nose specialist, Dr Jong Myonyzum who is acupuncture specialist, and Dr Pak Thee Jong. a consultant gynaecologist were all slaughtered like goats in front of their wives in rented apartment without security guards. The governor, deputy, the commissioners and members of the state house of assembly leave in Abuja or neighbouring states. Yobe indeed is a typical example of a failed state according to Last Word in *Leadership* Newspaper.

8th March 2013

A splinter group of *Boko Haram* known as *Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimina Fi Biladi's Sudan* (JAMBS) killed seven Setracto foreigner workers abducted on 16 February 2013 in Bauchi. They were three Lebanese, and one citizen each from Britain, Greece, Italy and Philippines. JAMBS specialises in killing foreigners such as the killing of a Briton, Chris McManus, Italian, Franco Lamolinara, and a German, Mr Raupach Fritz Egar.

About the Author

Major-General Sam Momah was for five years the Honourable Minister of Science and Technology (1995 to 1999). He then formally retired after the Military handed over power to elected Civilian President on 29th May 1999. On the whole, the General had a total of 36 years of meritorious service in the Army and to the Nation.

Earlier in his career he held numerous appointments including: Adjutant-General of the Army, Commander Training & Doctrine Command, council member of University of Jos and Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka; He was the Vice President Third World Academy of Science with headquarters in Italy, and later became a Pioneer Director of the National War College, Lagos. Indeed, it was during his training at Royal College of Defence Studies (RCDS), London in preparation for his lecturing career at the War College that he became a Research Fellow in Strategic Studies.

Consequently, he has a PhD in Strategic Studies and is a Fellow of the War College (fwc). He has also, First Class Honours degree in Civil Engineering and he is a Fellow of Nigerian Society of Engineer (FNSE). He is a Member of the National Institute, Mni and was conferred with national honour of CFR in 1998.

Major General is a strategic thinker, a voracious reader and prolific writer. He has to his credit three high profile books: *Global Strategy*, *Technology is Power*, and *Global Disorder* and *The New World Order*.

He is a patriot and believes strongly in One Nigeria that should be capable of using its endowment in salvaging the image of the country. He laments at the ugly turn of events but even then, he still believes that all hope is not lost.

He is retired but still action. He engages actively in reading, writing and national discourse. He is presenting this book in celebration of his 70th birthday which comes up on 6th July, 2013. He is happily married with five children, four of whom are medical doctors.

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Major-General Sam Momah was the Honourable Minister of Science and Technology (1995 to 1999). He formally retired after the Military handed over power to an elected civilian president on 29th May 1999. On the whole, the General had a total of 36 years of meritorious service in the army and to the nation.

Earlier in his career he held numerous appointments including: Adjutant-General of the Army, Commander Training and Doctrine Command, council member of University of Jos and Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka; He was the Vice President Third World Academy of Science with headquarters in Italy; and later became a pioneer Director of the National War College, Lagos. Indeed, it was during his training at Royal College of Defence Studies (RCDS), London in preparation for his lecturing career at the War College that he became a Research Fellow in Strategic Studies.

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Major General is a strategic thinker, a voracious reader and prolific writer. He has to his credit three high profile books: *Global Strategy, Technology is Power and Global Disorder* and *The New World Order*.

A patriot and believes strongly in One Nigeria that should be capable of using its endowment in salvaging the image of the country. He laments at the ugly turn of events but even then, he still believes that all hope is not lost.

He is retired, but still active. He is presenting this book in celebration of his 70th birthday on 6th July, 2013. He is happily married with five children, four of whom are medical doctors.



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