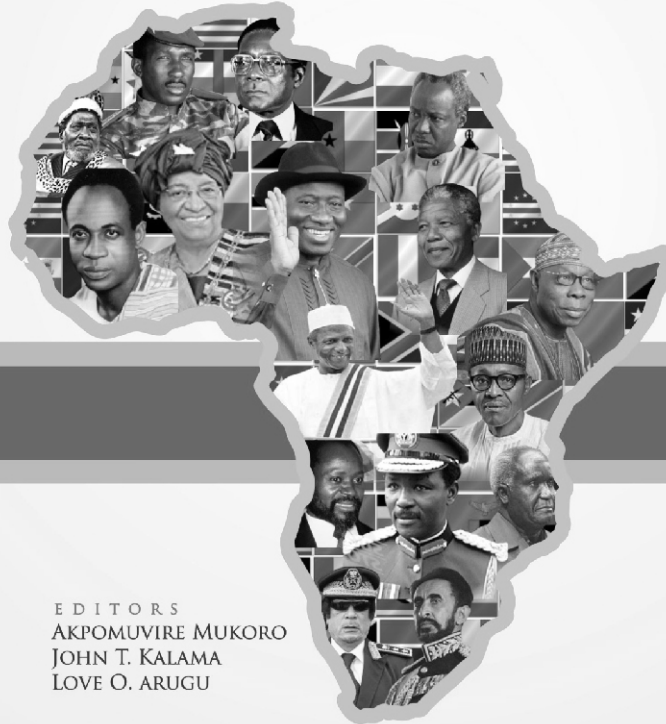


DEMOCRACY & LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA:

Nigeria & South Africa in Focus



EDITORS
AKPOMUVIRE MUKORO
JOHN T. KALAMA
LOVE O. ARUGU

**DEMOCRACY &
LEADERSHIP
IN AFRICA:**
Nigeria & South Africa in Focus

Akpomuvire Mukoro

Professor, Department of Political Science
Delta State University
Abraka, Nigeria,

John T. Kalama Ph.D,

Department of Political Science
Federal University Otuoke
Bayelsa State, Nigeria

And

Love Obiani Arugu Ph.D

Department of Political Science
Federal University Otuoke
Bayelsa State, Nigeria

© **A. Mukoro, J. T. Kalama & O. L. Arugu 2018**

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the copyright owners.

**DEMOCRACY AND LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA:
Nigeria and South Africa in Focus**

Published and indexed by



INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR POLICY REVIEW AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES, NIGERIA
+234 8174380445, +234 767021763
admin@internationalpolicybrief.org.
www.internationalpolicybrief.org

ISBN
978-016-751-0

DEDICATION

The issue of patriotic, committed and selfless leadership remains a major challenge confronting most African states. Hence, this work is dedicated to all men and women who have by their actions and character contributed to peace building and sustainable development in their respective countries and the world in general. Specifically, this volume is dedicated to Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, Nelson Mandela and other leaders who have demystified political power by embracing nonviolence and democratic values and principles while in office.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks to our technical partners, directors and members of the International Institute for Policy Review and Development Strategies for graciously accepting to scrutinize and publish this work. We are equally grateful to Professor Seiyefa Brisibe, Supervising Professor of this project for his tireless efforts in ensuring that this work meets international standard. In the same vein, we wish to sincerely appreciate the contributors who worked assiduously to effect the corrections pointed out in their individual contribution. We admire their dedication to thoroughness and detail hence, we are happy to affirm that this book has passed through the scrutiny of our eyes and brain as the editors and to the best of our knowledge meets the high standard expected of it. Each author has been allowed to use the referencing style of his/her choice. Thus, each chapter is therefore both distinct and continuous with other chapters. We are presenting this volume to students, researchers, policy makers at all levels as well as the general public especially those that are interested in political engineering and development administration. Its multi-disciplinary approach and contents should endear it to many in all fields of human endeavour.

The philosophy behind this work is to provide for students, youths, young and aspiring leaders a fairly comprehensive text that will launch them into the mainstream of leadership at the macro level and social sciences in particular. For colleagues in the social sciences, humanities, development studies, public policy analysis and public administration, this book will be a useful teaching and referencing material for their lectures. This work, therefore, traverses the labyrinth of political science, public administration, international relations, comparative politics, including the challenges of leadership, democracy and the democratization process in Africa.

Every reader is sure to find this book a useful companion in their journey into the world of development studies, public policy analysis and leadership in particular. It is our belief and hope that this work will add to existing knowledge and also aid further research in related and other fields of study.

**Akpomuvire Mukoro,
John T. Kalama &
Love Obiani Arugu.**

FOREWORD

Leadership is not a mythical wand, neither is it an esoteric epoch. It is rather a conscious course built on vision, wisdom and a purpose to achieve set goals and objectives. Its goal over a people must be for good, which in itself is a clarion call for emancipation, service and nobility. A good leader sees tomorrow because his time is short. He does not have forever because he is inside a tidal wave. And because there is a lifespan to his call, history will always lay in judgment for him. Therefore, what will the story be concerning you in and out of office? This must be food for thought for every leader whether at home, in the industry, or in the community and in the comity of nations. By hindsight, what legacy and picture will emanate from your person and character as a leader, will it be for edification or it will be for reproach? The cloud of today is always heavy over the heads of men. This inadvertently blurs their vision from the realities of tomorrow.

The bane of leadership has over the years become the scourge of underdevelopment in many African countries. Very few African leaders are adjudged exception to this malevolence. The seeds they sow do not always bring forth good fruits. It is therefore very rare to see one of them who will become a shining star. For this reason, the drums must be rolled out in celebration if an exception to the rule can be identified. This is the very big task before contributors to this volume, bothering on how to be able to find a needle in a haystack.

Chapter one of this book alludes to the fact that leadership is service. It is a challenge and a responsibility built on trust and contract. Being able to respect this contract itself is a burden which leaders must bear. Flowing from this point of understanding, Chapter Two selected two political icons from Africa (Mandela and Jonathan) as epitomes of good leadership that respect the tenets of democracy.

Chapter Three talked about the restoration of democracy in the Nigerian Nation and the journey that this phenomenon has so far undergone. Specifically, Chapter Four bemoaned the attitude of many African leaders who will want to remain in power for life even though they have long out

lived their usefulness in office. Chapter Five stretched the concept of democracy to cover governance amongst nations in Africa, in such a way that the democratization process is put to test. Chapter Six is focused on elections and electoral reforms in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015. This is to enable readers understand how well, transition from regime to regime has been managed in Nigeria.

Chapter Seven examines the foreign policy posture of the Nigeria Nation since the birth of the Fourth Republic and highlighted the impacts that have been achieved over the years. The fight against corruption has become an unending war in the Nigerian Nation. This was what Chapter Eight is mainly focused on. It examined how this battle has been fought, won or lost over the years.

Chapter Nine tried to show what remarkable difference has been made in matters of policy over the years. This chapter enables readers to have a clear view of policy direction at the Federal Level between 1999 and 2015. Chapter Ten was very explicit in trying to make readers know the very onerous task that civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations play side by side a legitimate government in place. For governments to succeed and be seen to operate within a broad spectrum of ideas and competence, then she has to work hand in hand with professionals and technocrats. This is the task which Chapter Eleven strived to achieve. The Twelfth and final Chapter looked at democratic governance in Africa. It went further to educate both the leadership and the followership on the milestones covered in the journey of democratization in Africa.

Succinctly put, all the chapters in this volume are relevant and timely. It can only be hoped that they become relevant compass in the hands of our leaders. This is to avoid mistakes of the past so that the path to democratic consolidation in Nigeria can be paved and nurtured without hiccups, without strife and within the rubric of acceptable standards.

Prof. A. Mukoro

December, 2018.

CONTENTS	PAGE
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Foreword	v
CHAPTER ONE	
The Burden of Leadership in Nigeria – <i>Professor Akpomuvire Mukoro</i>	1
CHAPTER TWO	
Advancing the Course of Democracy in Africa: The Mandela-Jonathan Experience – <i>John T. Kalama Ph.D & Arugu Obiani Love Ph.D</i> -	24
CHAPTER THREE	
Restoration of Democracy in Nigeria, 1999- 2018 <i>Chilaka Francis Chigozie Ph.D</i> - - - - -	56
CHAPTER FOUR	
Overcoming the Attitude of Sit-tight Leadership in African Politics – <i>Jacob Ogedi Ph.D</i> - - - - -	76
CHAPTER FIVE	
Democracy and Democratization in Africa: Issues and Challenges – <i>Okoye Anthony Chukwuebuka Ph.D</i> - - - - -	92
CHAPTER SIX	
Elections and Electoral Reforms in Nigeria, 1999 – 2015 <i>Okoye Anthony Chukwuebuka Ph.D</i> - - - - -	106
CHAPTER SEVEN	
Nigeria’s Foreign Policy Outlook in the Post-Military Era, 1999-2018 <i>Chilaka Francis Chigozie Ph.D</i> - - - - -	129
CHAPTER EIGHT	
Anti-Corruption War in Nigeria: Reflections on Present and Past Administrations (1999-2018) – <i>John T. Kalama Ph.D</i> - - - - -	153

CHAPTER NINE

Major Policy Actions of the Federal Government in Nigeria
(1999-2018) – *Jacob Ogedi* Ph.D - - - - - 181

CHAPTER TEN

The Role of Civil Society Groups and Non-Governmental
Organizations in National Development in Nigeria
Arugu, Obiani Love Ph.D - - - - - 205

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Role of Technocrats in Democratic and Economic Development:
An Analysis of Key Members of President GoodluckEbele Jonathan’s
Economic Team – *Okereka Onofere Princewill* Ph.D - - 233

CHAPTER TWELVE

Leadership and the Challenges of Democracy and the Democratization
Process in Africa: The Nigeria Experience – *John T. Kalama* Ph.D - 251

INDEX - - - - - 277

CHAPTER ONE

THE BURDEN OF LEADERSHIP IN NIGERIA

Professor Akpomuvire Mukoro

Department of Political Science,
Delta State University, Abraka.
cammukoro@gmail.com



Abstract

This paper strived to unburden the leader of the pitfalls strew on his path. It went ahead to advise him on how to navigate through the dark terrain of the political space by cultivating the spirit of positivism towards achievements. The paper used some cogent political philosophers to plot a roadmap for what good governance and an effective leadership should be. It established what the obligation of a leader should be to the people and challenged that if leadership is genuine, the tendency of its failing becomes very remote. The paper evaluated Nigeria's politics, especially between 1999 to the present, and gave an open cheque for future leaders to sign into so that mistakes of the past would not be repeated in the process of governance. The paper recommended some basic tenets of what democratic governance should be. It went ahead to advocate for a major restructuring of the Nigerian polity in line with acceptable global practices.

Introduction

Bad leadership has consistently become the refrain whenever Nigeria's political history is being interrogated. From regime to regime and from one leadership to the other, the verdict has often remained the same. Is it then in our stars, or what really is the problem? The book of Proverbs Chapter 29, Verse 2 says “*when the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice: but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn*”.

From the above Bible message, it is made clear that the trouble is not with our stars, getting it right has been the bane. Every single factor that stands Nigeria out as a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious, diverse resources nation etc., have been capitalized on to reign havoc, rather than being used as a pillar and as a building block. The sources of our strength have been made to become the harbinger of our weakness. Good have become bad. Even nationalism is now being put to question. Are the majority of Nigerians rejoicing? The answer is a capital NO. What we experience is lamentations, sorrows, tears and blood. I will have to re-echo Carson (2005) in his reference to Martin Luther King, when he said that “we must have to rediscover the redemptive power of love”. If this maxim can be imbibed by our leaders, then they may not necessarily become the heroes at home, but they will definitely become the bridge builder that will make majority of the people to rejoice. This is where the challenges of good leadership have to be critically looked into. Some of the requirements which will make our leaders to become better in governance are;

- Selflessness
- Sacrifice
- Vision
- Courage/Honesty
- Confidence/Contentment
- Intelligence/Wisdom
- Patience/Tact
- Humility
- Justice and Confidentiality

Leaders in Nigeria have to know that public service is like going into “ablution”. You deny yourself of so many things that are likely to become hindrances on the way. Public service is a call to duty, a contractual obligation between followers and leaders. Public service is not a license for personal aggrandizement. It does not place you above the law. It challenges you of your responsibility to the people to make life bearable because you are in charge of their common wealth. The good people of any nation are seriously affected by the morality of their leaders. That is why everybody in the position of leadership must be just, fair, honest and accountable for the example and rejoicing of their subjects. You should care about the verdict that will flow from your exit from office. Will it be worth the time, energy and

resources or will it become like William Shakespeare's summation of the "tale told by an idiot full of sound and fury, signifying nothing"?

Reanimation and Reminiscences

Let me begin with this very ordinary but real analogy about leadership. There is this argument that if you put a small man (not by stature now but through competence in this case) in an office, he/she will do one of two things: He will either shrink the office to match his size, or he will build himself up to be able to handle the challenges and expectations of the office. Experience has shown that it is easier to shrink the office to your size than to develop yourself into being able to surmount the problems and challenges of the office. The danger here is that the leader that reduces the office to his size is a very dangerous specimen. He will surround himself with like minds who will be sycophants, ill-equipped, praise singers, dishonest, treacherous, myopic, intolerant and vicious. They view every contrary voice as saboteurs that must be crushed and silenced. They dwell on vain glory because they are beneficiaries of the skewed system. It takes brain and brawn for a leader to accept his shortcomings and be prepared to renovate. Life is a school that never ends. It is a continuous process of learning that leads to constant growth, development and refinement. A leader that is patient, humble and innovative records more milestones at the end of his journey.

Leadership is the acceptance of responsibility to properly manage, to properly build, to be accountable and to understand that pressing for the mark is the ultimate goal to be attained. A good and an effective leadership are essential for the survival and success of any enterprise. According to Ugwuegbu (1992), "leadership in organization is the process of influencing the activities of an organized group in its efforts towards target achievement". He went further to explain that leadership means influencing followership to participate actively in the group's activities because the position of leadership carries authority and power with it. In politics, that authority and power is the sovereignty which the masses have surrounded to the leader either through elections or by appointment, for the use of the good of the people. It is a trust that must not be betrayed. In the contention of Selznick (1984), "...much failure of leadership results from an inadequate understanding of its true nature and tasks".

In Nigeria, there is this observed distention between the leader and the people. Once a leader gets into office, he suddenly becomes a demi-god, untouchable, all knowing and worst of all; he lives above the law. A critical survey of political philosophy and theories sufficiently bears witness to the fact that these ideas have over the years become vicariously useful to justifying why leaders must intrinsically remain pious. The Social Contract idealism, for example, came into being as a result of reaction against the vagaries of divine origin, autocracy and authoritarianism. The Social Contract Theory/ideal, explains the relationship between those who govern and those who are governed. The theory believes that the people constitute the bastion of sovereignty.

The social contract process of governance was largely fertilized by Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau. These three philosophers believed that when man could not bear natural state, he entered into a contract (Agarwal, 2012). Hobbes (1962) argued that the social contract maxim is recommended for man to avoid the state of nature and then enter into civil governance. People surrendered all their powers to be made use of for the benefit of all. On the other hand, Locke (1960) viewed the leader as a 'trustee'. In his opinion, men freely consent to enter into contract under a political leadership to avoid inconveniences of the state of nature. By so doing they form a single body politic; a commonwealth, by which the people put themselves under a political power (Nwoko, 2006). Pointedly, Rousseau (1974) explained that "man is born free, and is everywhere in chains", which implies that the social order and the rights of man should be founded on agreements and not on nature. Rousseau regarded the real or true will of society as the general will (Rousseau, 1913). His philosophy considered general will as sovereign. Alluding to him, it can be argued that it is this general wills that forms the government because a government is the agent of the general will. Therefore, government is regarded as a body functioning under the general will of the people. Rousseau can be said to have contributed immensely to the ideas of direct democracy and popular sovereignty with everything considered.

In all of these, the argument can be made that the state is the brain child of some contract because Locke emphasized that the consent of the people gives impetus to the existence of a democracy, in the sense that the

government in this respect is in place as a trustee that can be depended on. A government is put in place for the basic reasons of protection (security) freedom (liberty), the right to property and egalitarianism. These are the reasons that these basic requirements are enshrined in nations' constitutions; (such as U.S.A., India, France, and Nigeria, etc.) to show that the people are the source of sovereignty. By implication, any leader who fails to shoulder these responsibilities will incur the revolt of the people and changes become inevitable through several processes (through the ballot, through revolution, through military intervention or any other means).

Floing from the social contract ideals, Tom Paine (1982) made man understand the meaning of democracy through human common sense. According to Jackson (1984), Tom Paine wrote for "ordinary men in the belief that the ordinary man could master the science of politics. That science, Paine taught, was just a matter of common sense". Paine's argument was such that man should know and understand that government is nothing more than the management of the affairs of nations and that sovereignty is a matter of right that is inalienable to all men. He therefore advocated for what is today recognized as universal suffrage because man of his free will surrendered his sovereignty to be made use of by leaders for the good of all. Apart from Aristotle, Socrates and the philosophers of old, it is to Tom Paine in his book *The Right of Man* that the ideas which we now connect with the word democracy gained popular currency in North America, in Britain, in France, and in Latin America (Jackson, 1984). In fact, Paine's work can be considered as the backbone to the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizens. This largely can be summarized into four major political considerations. These are: that all men are born equal in rights and that each man's liberty must not injure or harm another man's freedom; that every man has right to property, liberty, security, and resist oppression and, lastly, that the state/nation is ultimately the source of our sovereignty (Aldridge, 1960).

The relationship between the individual and the state in terms of rights has properly been broken down by Agarwal (2012), when he categorized the rights of man in a society as:

(a) Natural (Fundamental) Rights

Those rights which form the essential conditions of good life and which constitute the essentials of human progress are usually enshrined in the constitutions of democratic countries.

(b) Political Rights

1. Right to vote
2. Right to contest elections
3. Right to hold public office
4. Right to petition
5. Right to criticize the government

(c) Social (Civil) Rights

1. Right to life and security
2. Right to property
3. Right to work
4. Right to contract
5. Right to speech
6. Right to religion
7. Right to liberty and free movement
8. Right to association
9. Right to equality
10. Right to education, etc.

You can see from the categorization of these rights amongst others and as enshrined in the constitution of states that all citizens have no choice than to be subject to the constitution. This implies that the constitution is supreme, far and above all else (whether in leadership or in followership). The important question that all well-meaning citizens of Nigeria should ask themselves is: how will the pendulum swing when the performance of our leaders is measured on the scale of good governance, respect for the law and the recognition of the inalienable right of the citizens. The results of the swing obviously will be abysmally woeful.

The Pitfalls and the Albatross

Edmund Burke, the 18th Century Irish political philosopher, politician and statesman once said that "the only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing" (See <https://w.w.w.brainyquote.com>). Burke also explained that the greater the power, the more dangerous the abuse. This is

not any different from the popular maxim about absolute power corrupting absolutely and the view that a deviation from the path of good governance will degenerate into bad leadership, tyranny and authoritarianism.

It has to be realized that leadership involves a lot of sacrifice, because for the period that a leader is in power, he has automatically become a servant of the people. He must lead by example, he must be trusted, he must not become the kind of leaders Raila Odinga had in mind when he stated that “our leaders are often so removed from the people that they end up looking like foreigners to the very people they purport to lead” (Odinga, 2015).

A wise counsel that leaders must always bear in mind is that success has many friends, but failure is an orphan. Once a leader gets into the position of authority, people will be falling over themselves to be identified with the leader. At most times, these fellows are just opportunists looking for a piece of the cake. They can do anything to curry the leader's favour. They tell lies, they slander others, they build castles in the air, they become treacherous and worst of all, truth has become a very scarce commodity in whatever they do. At the long run, this group of persons will become the leader's greatest undoing. The book of Proverbs Chapter 29, Verse 2 admonished us that “flatterers put men off their guard, which betrays them into foolish conduct”. Leaders also have to know that doing the wrong thing is a sin. Repeated sin becomes a habit and bad habit destroys a man. A leader can definitely not think constructively in the absence of truth. He has to understand that praise singing corrupts both the recipient and the giver. What the political leader needs most are people who can tell them the truth and that are very knowledgeable.

The economist, Adam Smith, wrote about the wealth of nations. What I will want to add to this very timeless book is to let leaders know that knowledge is the true wealth of nations. No matter the amount of sycophants a leader may surround himself with, if he fails to recognize the virtues of truth and education, he will only end up moving round in circles. There is nothing as beneficial as a leader who is honest enough to identify honest and knowledgeable allies who will be like a gold mine to him that never runs out of gold. Winnie Mandel was once quoted by Odinga (2015), who said that “you do not tighten screws with a harmer, or dig trenches with a spoon”.

What can be adduced from this simple quote is that we do not need strong or famous men who will in the long run cause a lot of infamy. What a polity needs are brave, forthright and knowledgeable leaders who can break the chains of dependency, outgrow the blame game, overcome dishonesty, identify with the people and foreclose self-interest. These may appear difficult and daunting; however, leaders have to understand that slavery is a weed that grows on every soil" (Burke, in brainyquote.com, 2018).

Wherein Lay the Effigies

Certain philosophical roadmaps have been embraced because their streams of thought have represented several facets of the evolution of government, and ideas of how nations and governance matters in modern history and in human community are settled. Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau, Paine, Montesquieu, etc. were concerned with the issues of good governance that developed into the reality of the constitutional tradition of government. This tradition was "concerned to humanise the operations of political power by principles of the rule of law, of basing government on the consent of the governed, of systems of checks and balances designed to safeguard the freedom and rights of the individual" (Thomson, 1984:p.62). The ultimate harvest of all these postulations are that the community of the governed finds succor, fulfillment, salvation and hope in the sovereign (state or nation), driven by trusted leadership. Nobody is advocating for political leaders to become philosophers, but they can learn from the fountains of these philosophers by taking their works as handbooks of advice. That is why the saying goes that wisdom is the proper application of knowledge and all leaders must get wisdom.

I will venture to state that leaders do not necessarily have to apprentice themselves to great thinkers before they can become better governors. The ideas of great thinkers are only fully imbibed and appreciated when we relate the actions of leaders to the philosophical learning of scholars against the backdrop of the context of space and time. Great minds create works of genius as they concern themselves with solving complex human problems. According to Thomson (1984), ignoring these works of genius "would be like neglecting the ideas of Newton and Einstein when we are trying to grapple with problems of modern physics". It is based on this understanding that the subtle interconnections and varied debate of Nigeria's political leadership will be interrogated, especially concerning the dawn of the Fourth Republic.

1999-2007 (The Obasanjo – Atiku Era)

1999 signified the season when Nigeria came out from the cold, after a long period of military interregnum. Prior to this date, an adjudged free and fair election was annulled in 1993 by the ruling junta, led by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida. This was a major catastrophic event that took the nation to the precipice. Unfortunately, a brutal regime under the leadership of General Sani Abacha emerged from the imbroglio and Nigeria was placed under siege. Such was the state of the nation before liberation was given birth to in 1999.

As a result of the political turmoil in the land during this period, South-West Nigeria, from whence the acclaimed Winner (Moshood K. Abiola) of the June 12 Presidential Election came from, appeared offended. Therefore all efforts had to be made to assuage the impasse. That was how through political manoeuvring and adroitness, Olusegun Obasanjo emerged as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, under the banner of the People's Democratic Party (PDP).

Olusegun Obasanjo has always been a lucky man and a beneficiary of circumstances. This omen earlier worked for him as a military Head of State, when he succeeded Murtala Mohammed who was assassinated after about only six months in power. He again reaped this fortune in 1999 as a fallout of political uncertainty generated by the annulment of the June 12 Presidential election purported to have been won by M.K.O. Abiola; a Yoruba man from the same ethnic background as Obasanjo. Unfortunately, Obasanjo could not cultivate the Nelson Mandela spirit of selflessness, history and judgment or the Lee Kuan-Yew zeal for transformation, innovation and prosperity. As a leader, he was brave and because of experience he was able to garner international goodwill that worked wonders for him. His international connections gave him that statesman like image which he could not muster at home. To Obasanjo's credit, and essentially due to the precarious nature of Nigeria as of the time, he was able to create laudable state institutions that could have written his name in gold if he had not been too overbearing. Patriotic Nigerians, foreign friends and commentators on Nigeria have forever advocated for strong, independent and workable institutions and not necessarily strong or famous men.

To Obasanjo's credit, he revolutionized the information and communication technology sector. The only snag however was the apparent poor performance of the service providers in the face of infrastructural deficiencies, high cost of internet subscription, generally poor network services by GSM providers as well as very exorbitant tariffs (Magbagbeola, 2004).

The Obasanjo's policy on the privatization of public enterprises was good, at least as a strategy for promoting private sector driven economy and encouraging economic transformation. Government instead concentrated its energy on the revenue she would reap at the expense of operating a transparent process that was corruption free. Local entrepreneurs were virtually excluded, labour unions were not dialogued with and the proceeds from the privation exercise were not properly accounted for.

A novel objective which the Obasanjo government took was the establishment of the following bodies;

- a. Bureau of Public Service Reforms (BPSR)
- b. Steering Committee on reform (SCR)
- c. National Council on Reforms (NCR)

These bodies were to bring in global challenges such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD), and the National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDs) etc. Other areas that the government hoped to strengthen itself were the Service Compact with all Nigerians (SERVICOM), Monetization of fringe benefits, the Contributory pension scheme, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission (ICPC) and the re-energizing of the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) and Tribunal (Mukoro, 2017).

Energy development, industrialization, water resources and solid minerals development saw a lot of state funds being pumped into oil and gas sector, but very little was there to be shown for the colossal sum expended. The virus of corruption again has been seen to be endemic in these and other sectors. Quoting Ribadu in a revelation he made in 2006, Oluwatula and

Odesola (2013) summarized that "...leaders, in spite of the enormous resources, could not develop effective development plans. Where such plans exist, they were rarely consistent with the government's ability to fund them. The projects that emanated out of such defective plans even when funded became the conduit pipes to siphon Nigeria's money into foreign accounts and personal projects of the leaders".

In the area of macro-economic policies and debt management some progress was made. Most impressive was Obasanjo's ability to persuade the International Monetary community to write-off Nigeria's foreign debt. At the end of his tenure in office, Obasanjo left impressive reserve in Nigeria's external credit rating. The major weakness which haunted Obasanjo as a leader was his attitude of knowing it all. His cabinet and advisers had too many old brigades with very little or no record of excellence in their previous engagements.

2007-2015 (The Yar'Adua - Jonathan Regime)

In the history of Nigeria's politics, the piety that is expected of a leader was found deposited in the duo of late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua and his deputy Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. These were men that providence located for the sake of creating a clean slate that was a clear departure from the old order. Umaru Yar'Adua was honest enough to acknowledge the flawed process that brought them to power. This was unprecedented and out of character of a typical Nigerian leader. They both set out to work with a bang and with a clear vision of how to get Nigeria out of the woods. To begin with, young intellectuals were brought into government. Again, government became less deaf and dumb as the yearnings of the people began to receive attention from government.

As at the time Yar'Adua and Jonathan emerged as President and Vice, Nigeria was being threatened by militancy in the Niger Delta region. This internal insurrection saw the economic life blood of the country being suffocated. There was a lot of sabotage being carried out against oil exploration, exportation and installations. Rather than unleash the Nigeria military on the Niger Delta people as Obasanjo did in the case of Odi community in Bayelsa state, Jonathan and his team of intellectuals came up with a master-stroke that saved Nigeria from disintegrating. The

government of Yar'Adua and Jonathan decided to become democratic, open and sensitive to the problems plaguing the Niger Delta by "... granting amnesty to the militant which saw the militants surrendering their weapon in exchange for a presidential pardon, rehabilitation programme and education" (Benson, 2013).

With hindsight, it has to be stated that the coming of Yar'Adua and Jonathan into the saddle of leadership was like a breath of fresh air. They were both recruited from the classroom and were not fabulously rich. They were a compatible pair that got sworn into office on the 20th of May 2007. According to Imokhai (2015), President Yar'Adua understood that if his administration was going to be successful, he had to solve the crises of the Niger Delta. He was equally aware that the Vice President was more qualified to do this than himself. Therefore, he delegated the responsibility of solving the crises to Jonathan. In going about this assignment, rather than going for the military option, Jonathan "advocated the peaceful, painstaking, equitable, and infinitely more rewarding option of addressing the compelling grievances of the youths; winning their trust, enhancing their capacity for skills acquisition and employments and ultimately integrating them into the economic process from which they had for so long been alienated". As an outcome of pursuing peace in the crises ridden Niger Delta region, the Ministry of the Niger Delta Affairs was created. This was followed not too long after by the comprehensive amnesty programme. Also of importance to note was Yar'Adua's promise to overhaul the electoral system that would guarantee a free and fair election in Nigeria.

Unfortunately, President Yar'Adua's illness that had been protracted became even worse and he had to be flown to Saudi Arabia on 23rd November, 2009. Because the president stayed too long away from office and because he did not formally notify the National Assembly of his medical leave or constitutionally hand over the reigns of governance to the Vice President, the Nigerian polity became embroiled in uncertainty and possible restiveness. Sections 144, 145 and 146 of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution (as amended) stipulates that the President should have transmitted a written notice to the National Assembly about his long stay out from office and handed over power to his Vice on acting capacity. Despite the vacuum created politically, the Vice President remained loyal to the President. This

made a commentator to posit that “Vice President Jonathan appears to be genuinely loyal to the President and has never had the profile of a power hungry deputy seeking to topple the President” (Peterside, 2010). Invoking the Doctrine of Necessity, the National Assembly had to empower Vice President Jonathan to serve as Acting President on Tuesday February 9, 2010. The Doctrine of Necessity is the platform on which extralegal actions are taken by state actors to constitutionally restore order in a nation or state, faced with both political and constitutional uncertainty. President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua died on 5th May, 2010 and was buried on the 6th May, 2010 according to Muslim rites in Katsina State. After a worthy funeral befitting of a President, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was sworn in as the fourteenth leader and head of government in Nigeria.

On becoming President, Jonathan focused mainly on electoral reforms and whatever will bring confidence to the Nigerian citizen. For example, President Jonathan made revamping of the power sector one of his utmost priorities. This was followed by signing of the Nigerian Content Act; which brought into the mainstream, indigenous oil servicing companies in Nigeria. Overall, President Jonathan did not deviate from the policy direction of his principal. Instead, he improved on them and came up with other very remarkable ideas. Jonathan had about a year and a half to end the tenure of Yar'Adua and his presidency by the time he became President of Nigeria. There was therefore very little time left actualizing the goals of their first tenure. This reason together with the fact that Jonathan had that avid desire to serve well and achieve results, made him to indicate his intentions to continue as President by opting to contest in the 2011 Presidential Election.

This honest, legitimate and purposeful intentions expressed by Jonathan became a major albatross over his neck. Political gladiators of the Northern Nigeria extraction in the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and other parties, together with some disgruntled elements in Southern, Eastern and Western Nigeria felt offended and some form of conspiracy emerged. Inadvertently, Jonathan won the PDP primary to become its presidential candidate. He vigorously campaigned and won a free and fair election in 2011. An example of the grand conspiracy against Jonathan can be gleaned from Alhaji Lawal Kaita statement on October 2010 when he said: “The North is determined, to make the country ungovernable for President Jonathan or any other

Southerner who finds his way to the seat of power on the platform of the PDP against the principle of party zoning policy” (Omokri, 2017). Do not forget that Kaita is a prominent member of the Northern Elder's Forum from Katsina State.

For the period that Jonathan spent in the presidency, he suffered from a welter of conspiracy and sabotage. This showed itself more prominently during the buildup to the 2015 general elections. Whether Jonathan was too gentlemanly or too trusting to know of these conspiracies that lead to his losing the election in 2015, is another subject for future research. It is however instructive to note that the essence of power is the ability to use it even if certain hiccups may arise in the process. Certain major achievements stood themselves out like sore thumb during the Jonathan administration years. These are the Nigerian Content Act, the You-Win programme that gave employment and empowerment to the youths. Others are the vigorous pursuit of revamping the power sector, a re-engineering of the railways, and introduction of modern railway system all around the country. Agriculture was given a major attention and data on farmers became available; so was the availability and affordability of fertilizers to all categories of farmers. The Freedom of Information Bill was signed into law, so did the legislature and the judiciary enjoy a very high degree of independence. During this period, it can be argued that the nation enjoyed an adherence to the rule of law and an improvement in the conduct of elections. A comprehensive compendium of the economic transformation of Nigeria under Jonathan's leadership is captured in chapter three of Reno Omokri's (2015) book titled *Facts Verses Fiction*.

A major achievement that must be pointed out is Jonathan's convocation of a National Conference in 2014. That Conference came up with very far reaching recommendations for the proper restructuring of the Nation, Nigeria. Why the government of Jonathan did not initiate full or partial execution of the outcome of the Conference still remains a mystery. May be, his much expected memoirs will help to unravel this seeming inaction. This is where concerned Nigerians will have to re-evaluate the actions and inactions of the Nigerian legislature because they contributed to the non-implementation of the report of the National Conference.

Being that as it may, two major short-comings stood on the path of Jonathan. One was the scourge of the Boko Haram insurgency and their virulence, savagery and carnage which really acted as a spoiler for the Jonathan government. The other refrain that cannot be wished away so easily was the scandalously high corruption index against the Jonathan Government. This malpractice has become the usual characteristics common amongst regimes, politicians and the leadership in Nigeria. The onus really lies with the ability of every leadership to cleanse itself, purge itself, become accountable and take responsibility for its every action.

Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan has always maintained: “my political ambition is not worth the blood of any Nigerian”. This political position which Jonathan defined about himself before the 2011 election was taken further on December 11th 2014 before the 2015 Presidential Election when he said, “nobody's political ambition is worth the blood of any Nigerian”. Jonathan proved to doubting Thomases that he is a man of his words and a purveyor of peace. He showed this by conceding defeat in an election he contested as a sitting president and went ahead to congratulate his opponent–President Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress (APC).

2015-2018 (The Buhari-Osinbajo Regime)

President Muhammadu Buhari ascended into office on eagle's wings. He enjoyed the total support of his incumbent who called to congratulate him while INEC had not totally and finally announced all results. By 29th May 2015, Jonathan handed over the reigns of power to Buhari as President, without court cases and without bloodletting. Good enough, the APC Government under Buhari saw the wisdom to continue with most of the development programmes initiated by the previous government. While some of the programmes have now been completed and commissioned, some others are still on-going. While the scourge of the Boko haram pandemic has not been totally decimated, a lot of efforts have been put in place by the APC-led government to reclaim a lot of the territories over-ran by Boko Haram. As the Boko haram epidemic is gradually being put under control, a different scourge in the same mould has reared its head to compete for prominence. Agreed that there have always been farmers and herdsmen clashes over time, but the dimension it has taken and the brazenness of the attacks and killings have assumed a very dangerous proportion. It is posited

in this Chapter that the Fulani herdsmen/cattle rearers are purely private businessmen. Both the Federal and the State governments should only make laws to check their excesses. It is certainly not in the position of government to start creating ranches, colonies or taking lands from the states and local governments for Fulani herdsmen to use as settlements. Cattle ranching and animal husbandry should totally be left for the control of states and local governments, otherwise fishermen and farmers will soon start causing mayhem so that portions of land and water ways can be apportioned to them too.

The APC government came with a lot of promises anchored on the mantra of change. Unfortunately, a lot of gaps have opened up between what was promised and what has been delivered. The poverty level is growing every day and the middle class has almost been obliterated. The government of the day seems to be short on ideas and the dividend of democratic governance only comes in trickles. The Buhari-led government has not failed to let whoever wants to listen to know that the present administration met an almost empty treasury which has largely been responsible for their slowness to action. But with reservations to the truth or falsity of this claim, the fact has to be made that the future does not belong to the town crier; it belongs to the visionary, the brave and the conqueror. It is the responsibility of leadership to face challenges head-on and tackle them dispassionately. That is one of the hallmarks of a good leader.

The government of the day has been fair in matters of workers' salaries, specifically at the state level. Because there were really no cases of salary arrears in any of the federal establishments as at the time Jonathan left office. The idea of the Treasury Single Account which began during Obasanjo era is novel as it has helped to block leakages even in Buhari's regime. But the businesses of government have become slower and undynamic. Maybe, the policy of the Treasury Single Account has to be re-examined, such that while leakages are being blocked, avenues for more efficient cash flow and a re-invigoration of the economy is introduced. It is the existence of Small and Medium Enterprises that keeps the economy of a nation healthy. A healthy economy can only grow from an honest leadership that fights infrastructural decay, reflate the economy, create jobs and make the environment conducive enough for businesses to thrive. There is still corruption in government and

the cost of governance has still not come down. The legislature is stupendously overfed, while political office holders and their appointees drain the Nation's treasury. Over 70% of the budget is spent on recurrent expenditure, leaving very little for capital expenditure. This has, however, been the recurring decimal with all regimes in Nigeria, a game of patronage and rent seeking by a predatory leadership.

Free and fair election has to be guaranteed in a nation that professes to practice democratic governance. This is a major challenge before the APC-led government as elections will soon be conducted in virtually all the different levels of government for the Executive and the Legislature. Also, the security of lives and properties has to be properly pursued and guaranteed to every citizen of the nation, as that is the only way citizens will know and appreciate that there is a government in place.

Leadership and Pragmatic Democracy

The democratic ideas that have so far been discussed, serve as threads woven together to enrich the political firmament of governance. They instruct leaders to have respect for the dignity of man, for the liberty of man and recognise that every man should have a say in how he is governed and by whom he is governed. It re-echoes the UN Declaration of Human Rights that emphasizes freedom of speech, of assembly, of conscience and of human dignity. The right to vote and be voted for is also being spoken about because democracy is a game of numbers that relies on the system of choosing leaders. Pluralistic societies like Nigeria are even the better for it because of the inherent nature of constituting of different religion, different ethnic settings and different associations since democracy is based on government by consent (Busia, 2007). A valid point that has also been raised is that democratic nations should have the stomach for a healthy opposition. Essentially, the existence of opposition in a democracy is a basic and required ingredient in a polity. This is followed by recognition of the rule of law that holds the constitution of a nation supreme. Where the dignity of man is respected and where nobody whether politician, military, clergy, traditional chieftaincy, etc. is above the law. This is the reason why workable institutions must be put in place and given the freehand to operate and be accountable to the people.

To the contention of John Dewey as interpreted by Ratner (1939), the existence of democracy in any country "is faith in the capacities of human nature, faith in human intelligence and in the power of pooled and cooperative experience". Nigeria's democratic experience has come a long way. It has become a search for a way of doing things voluntarily, without compulsion and coercion and it has become a belief that such attitude is the best way for all citizens to keep the faith, renew the contract and give the consent.

Conclusion

This is certainly not the first excursion into examining the political journey of Nigerian leaders. It will obviously not be the last. In fact, it should be a regular exercise carried out by scholars and researchers to situate the performance of leaders and their regimes in proper perspective so that their history can properly be written without bias and without tempering. This volume has attempted to create a systematic profiling of Nigeria leaders against the backdrop of existing streams of thought and philosophical inclinations.

Nigeria has experienced several regimes, but none ironically can be used as a model in the sense of an Abraham Lincoln of U.S.A, Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore and Nelson Mandela of South Africa. No Nigeria leader was unfortunately able to transit from being a tribal leader, an opportunist, a determined but hindered leader to a virulent and aggressive nationalist leader, except perhaps the few months of Murtala Muhammed. Murtala Muhammed did not spend more than six months in power. A period considered too short for a holistic evaluation. He however brought a lot of vibrancy into governance. This is the reason why this exercise strives to situate the life and times of Nigeria leaders against the backdrop of world philosophical prescriptions that could and would possibly generate an order for the future of Nigeria's democracy. Nations do not become great as a result of their religion, the number of tribes and ethnic configuration, the number of militia or frictions; but through a determined zest for unity, cooperation, aspiration for self-pride and a willingness to project (move) as one indivisible entity. Freedom would make no meaning if there is no love and justice. The penchant of a good leader towards the actualization of positive results would always invariably heighten the loyalty of the people

as well as inject nationalism, patriotism and sacrifice. A contrary spirit to this dictum would degenerate into disenchantment, disloyalty and disillusionment. For a good leader to engender good followership and thus build good citizenship, he has to have the fortitude of knowledge (education) justice (law) and egalitarianism. It is in this light that leaders should consider the position of Maxey (2010), very seriously. He said: "in the forum of conscience, therefore, no man who has the good of humanity at heart can support the state in war and other measures of violence".

Recommendations

Many commentators have described Nigeria's democracy as tortuous, nascent, wobbling, etc., because the nation has not yet arrived at its destination in the democratic journey. Ojo (2008) for example, recommended for a consolidation of Nigeria's democracy. In his analysis, he described democratic consolidation as the process by which democracy becomes so broadly and profoundly legitimate among its citizens that it is very unlikely to break down. Ojo went further to quote Whitehead who said "Democracy can best be said to be sustained or consolidated only when we have good reason to believe that it is capable of withstanding pressure or shocks without abandoning the electoral process or the political freedom on which it depends, including those of dissent and the opposition". Ojo also cited the conditions given by the UNDP in 1997 for democratic sustenance. These are:

1. Popular participation;
2. Democratic sustenance;
3. Governmental legitimacy and acceptance by the people;
4. Transparency;
5. Promotion of equity and equality;
6. Ability to develop the resources and method of governance;
7. Promotion of gender balance;
8. Tolerance and acceptance of diverse perspective;
9. Ability to mobilize resources for social purpose;
10. Strengthening of indigenous mechanism;
11. Observance of the rule of law;
12. Efficiency and effectiveness in the use of resources;
13. Ability to engender and command respect and trust;
14. Accountability;

15. Ability to define and take ownership of national solutions;
16. Enabling and facilitative governance;
17. A regulation rather than controlling governance;
18. Ability to deal with temporary issues and;
19. A service oriented governance.

Flowing from the above points of view, it is recommended that leaders should be able to set their priorities right to avoid wastage and bad blood.

The entire Nigerian political and economic system needs to be restructured. In this respect, both the 2005 and 2014 Constitutional Conferences should be revisited. These two national documents cannot just be locked up while Nigerians groan in pain. These two conferences gave far reaching recommendations on how Nigeria would be able to come out of the woods. This is where the executive and legislature has to wake up. A lot of work has to be done in this regard.

In addition, it is recommended that mechanisms for checks and balances should be built into the system. Where it already exists, then the instrument should be overhauled for better sustenance. Following this, strong institutions that will be able to function independently should be put in place to compliment the policy objectives of government. Public officers (political elective, or appointed) and career public servants must be accountable and have respect for the rule of law and the right of man. This is where the offices of the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offenses Commission (ICPC), the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Public Complaints Commission (PCC), etc., have to be revisited. Specifically, both the CCB and the PCC can be restructured to come out as a very strong ombudsman instrument. The new office of the ombudsman will now be responsible to fight maladministration, misconduct and corruption in public offices. The office of the ombudsman will act as the vanguard to protect the citizens against bad government and bad governance.

Since we are concerned about democracy here, the leadership should embark on thorough electoral reforms that will at all times be able to guarantee a free and fair election and a smooth process of transition from one government to the other.

The legislature, the way it stands today, is too big for the nation. A single legislative house is just good enough for this nation. This uni-cameral legislature should be of equal representation per state, just as the senate stands today. In addition to this, government at all levels should reduce the number of political appointees, the appointees own appointees and the perquisites attached to every public office. Public officers should not be allowed to disengage from office with government vehicles and properties disengaging with them. These are not personal properties; they are the people's properties held in trust by government. In the same light, the State Houses of Assembly should be revisited and restructured to a manageable size.

If the resources of states can be well managed for the benefit of the people, then it is recommended that Nigeria deserves the creation of more states and local governments. The same goes for community policing. It should be brought on-board as it will help to efficiently police our communities. The secret of success in government is openness and the involvement of the people. Leaders should adopt the bottom up approach, rather than the top down approach in governance.

Freedom of the press is an invaluable ingredient for the sustenance of democracy. The press not only educates the populace, it acts as a watch-dog and exposes the wrongdoings of government. Its freedom must be maintained if democracy must thrive. The same goes for the toleration of civil societies. Civil societies are like alternative to bad governance. They kind of fill the gap and challenge governments about its mal-administration and seek redress through legitimate means. They usually work as partners in progress with the press and put government on its toes.

Education has been described as a goldmine. It is a veritable instrument or tool for overall development of the individual, the family, the state and the nation. It should be supported and funded massively. Developed societies are thriving today because of their uncompromising investments in the education sector. The story is the same in most of the Asian countries like China, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, etc. The leadership in Nigeria has no choice than to follow this trend.

The caliber of persons that should participate in politics or appointed into leadership positions matters a lot. People with proven cases of corruption whether in private or public spheres must be prohibited from getting involved in politics or the management of public affairs. Also, no group of person should be considered as too young or too old. What matters is proven integrity and the ability to deliver the goods.

If we go back to 1993 during the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC) days, it will be discovered that there was not much rancor in electioneering. The two parties did not know ethnic and religious colouration. No single individual or group of persons could hijack any of the parties. That was a much healthier scenario then, than the present case where Mega parties and Mushroom parties are now all involved in the struggle for political space. The two-party system is an option that the leadership should focus its attention on in order to bring sanity into political party formation and existence in Nigeria.

References

- Agarywal, R.C. (2012). *Political theory: Principles of political science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company Ltd.
- Aldridge, A.C. (1960) *Man of Reason*. London: Oxford.
- Benson, K.S. (2013). Niger Delta crises and Nigerian democracy in Obiyan, A. Sat and Kunle Amuwo (Eds) *Nigeria democratic experience in the Fourth Republic since 1999*. Maryland: University Press of America.
- Busia, K.A. (2007). The ingredients of democracy, in Mutiso, G.C.M. and Rohio, S.W. (Eds) *Readings in African political thought*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.
- Carson, C. (2005). *The autobiography of Martin Luther King Jr.* New York: Harchette Book group.
- Good reads <https://w.w.w.goodreads.com>. A testament of hope.
- Hobbes, T. (1962). *Leviathan*. Edited by Oakeschott, M. New York: Collier Macmillan.
- <https://w.w.w.brainyquote.com> Retrieved June 17, 2018.
- Imokhai, A.C. (2010). *The people's choice* U.K: Author House.
- Jackson, H.J. (1984). Tom Paine and the rights of man in Thomson David (Ed) *Political ideas*. Middlesex England: Penguin Books.
- Locke, J. (1952). Two treatise of government in R.M. Hutchins (ed) *Great books of Western world*. London: William Benton and Encyclopedia

Britannica.

- Locke, J. (1960). *Two treatises of government*. Edited by Laglett Petters. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Magbagbeola, N.O. (2004). Information and communication in I.B. Bello-Imam and Mike I. Obadan (Eds) *Democratic governance and development management in Nigeria's Fourth Republic*. Ibadan: Centre for Local Government and Rural Development (CLGARDS).
- Maxey, C.C. (2010). *Political philosophies*. Delhi: Surject Publications.
- Mukoro, A. (2017). Democracy and administration in Nigeria: An examination of the fourth branch of government. *FUO Journal of Political Science* Vol. 1 No. 1 December.
- Nwoko, M.I. (2006). *Basic world political theories*. Enugu: Snapp Press Nig. Ltd.
- Odinga, R. (2015). Africa leadership failure. <https://w.w.w.herald.co.zw>. Retrieved 01/2/2015.
- Ojo, O.E. (2008). Imperatives of sustaining democratic values. In Emmanuel, O. Ojo (Ed) *Challenges of sustainable democracy in Nigeria*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Ltd.
- Oluwatula, O.O. and Odesola, S.N. (2013). Personality, corruption and the leadership question in Nigeria, in Obiyan, A. Sat and Kunle Amuwo (Eds) *Nigeria Democratic Experience in the Fourth Republic Since 1999*. Maryland: University Press of America.
- Omokri, R. (2015). *Facts versus fiction*. Kings wood Texas: Revmedia Publishing.
- Peterside, A. (2010). The Guardian Newspaper, January 13th.
- Ratner, J. (1939). *Intelligence in the modern world: John Dewey's Philosophy*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Rousseau, J.J. (1948). *Social contract*. Henry J. Tober (ed.) London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Rousseau, J.J. (1913). *The social contract and discourse*. Translated with introduction by G.D. H. Cole. England: Everyman's Library.
- Selznick, P. (1984). *Leadership in administration*, Berkeley Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Thomsom, D. (1984). *Introductory: The nature of political ideas' in Political Ideas*. England: Penguin Books.
- Ugwegbu, D.C. (1992) Effective leadership in the civil service in Yahaya, A.D and Akinyele C.I. (Eds) *Effective leadership*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.

CHAPTER TWO

ADVANCING THE COURSE OF DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA: THE MANDELA-JONATHAN EXPERIENCE

John T. Kalama Ph.D

Department of Political Science,
Federal University Otuoke
Bayelsa State, Nigeria

kalamajj@fuotuo.ke.edu.ng/doctorkalama@gmail.com
08035432407/08054844026

And

Arugu Obiani Love Ph.D

Department of Political Science,
Federal University Otuoke
Bayelsa State, Nigeria

mummylovearugu@yahoo.com
07061508100



Abstract

This chapter examined the contributions of Nelson Mandela and Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to the advancement of democracy and the democratization process in Africa. It traced the origin and background of both leaders and observed that they both have similar backgrounds and ideology which reflected in their policy actions and programmes while serving as president of their respective countries. With relevant data and examples, the chapter illustrated how good leadership qualities displayed by Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and Nelson Mandela translated into good governance and freedom for their people and nations, thus, affirming the fact that there is a nexus between effective leadership and good governance. The Chapter, however, concluded with admonition to successive governments to emulate the good examples demonstrated by Presidents Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and Nelson Mandela by providing honest, disciplined and patriotic leadership at all levels.

Introduction

Scholars have traced the classical notion of democracy as well as its practice to ancient Greece. Others believe that democracy emanated from the attempts in the Greek City-State of Athens to reform, organize and manage its political community (*polis*) about two thousand five hundred years ago. Democracy, when it emerged in Athens during the time of Kleisthenes (508/507 BC), was such a simple but powerful and appealing idea. Toyo (1994) also defined democracy as the extent to which actual political power to determine the social destiny of a people belongs to the vast majority of citizens who constitute the people distinct from a ruling oligarchy or class. Akinyanju (2000) therefore gave the following as the features of democracy:

1. Acknowledgement of the equality of men;
2. Provision and respect for individual freedoms and rights (freedom of speech, association, right to life, property etc);
3. Sovereignty of the people: (The state and law must receive the consent of the majority of the people validating and revalidating at regular intervals);
4. Accountability to the people by government; and
5. Rule of law and equality before the law (existence of independent Judiciary and impartial administration of justice).

These features are essential characteristics of liberal democracy which are lacking in most democratic states in Africa. The actions of leaders in most African states where the constitution of the state has been manipulated by leaders for personal and selfish reasons have threatened the democratic process. In most cases, power tussles among individuals, groups and political parties have led to violence and insecurity. Hence, François Bayart has described politics in Africa as politics of the belly in which access to political power is seen and perceived as access to wealth and accumulation of resources. Zartman (2009) also added that the inordinate ambition and struggle for power among African leaders explains why most African countries are described as failed states. Thus, this chapter examined policy actions and programmes put in place by the administrations of Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of Nigeria to strengthen democracy and the democratization process in Africa.

Historical Background of Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela was born on the 18th July, 1918 at Mvezo, a tiny village on the banks of the Mbashe River in the District of Umtata, the capital of the Trankei which is about eight hundred miles east of Cape Town and five hundred and fifty miles south of Johannesburg. From childhood, Mandela relocated to the village of Qunu near Umtata where he spent the happiest years of boyhood. The generosity of his parents no doubt made the home of the Mandelas a home for all children. In his words:

My mother presided over three huts at Qunu which, as I remember, were always filled with the babies and children of my relations. In fact, I hardly recall any occasion as a child when I was alone. In African culture, the sons and daughters of one's aunts or uncles are considered brothers and sisters, not cousins. We do not make the same distinctions among relations practiced by whites. We have no half-brothers or half-sisters. My mother's sister is my mother; my uncle's son is my brother (Mandela, 1994: p.8).

This is a clear indication that in Africa the family institution is viewed beyond the immediate nuclear family structure, hence, the usual discrimination and sentiments associated with the family system in Western societies is completely absent in any typical African society. As a youth, Mandela attended several town hall and political meetings unofficially until 1947 when he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Transvaal branch of African National Congress (ANC) under C.S. Ramohano, president of the Transvaal region. This no doubt marked the beginning of human rights activism and struggle for the liberation of the oppressed in South Africa. Thus, for calling and demanding for justice and equity in South Africa, Mandela and one hundred and fifty five (155) members of the Africa National Congress (ANC) were arrested and charged for High Treason on December 5, 1956. While commenting on the way he was arrested he stated thus: I walked with them into the car. It is not pleasant to be arrested in front of one's children, even though one knows that what one is doing is right. But children do not comprehend the complexity of the situation: They simply see their father being taken away by the white authorities without an explanation. The implication of the above statement is that while sacrificing to enthrone democracy and good governance in South Africa, prices were

paid and in this case, the children and members of the Mandela family suffered in the hands of the authorities. After several harassments and arrests by the police, Mandela and other members of African National Congress (ANC) were forced to proceed on self-exile (go underground) for months while the struggle continued. After two years, Mandela was re-arrested by the authorities and transferred to Pretoria where visitors were allowed to see him only twice a week. The strength of the African woman was demonstrated by Winnie Mandela who visited the prison always despite the distance. The role of Winnie Mandela was appreciated by Nelson Mandela when he stated thus:

I was now permitted visitors only twice a week. Despite the distance, Winnie came regularly and always brought clean cloths and delicious food. This was another way of showing her support, and every time I put on a fresh shirt I felt her love and devotion. I am aware of how difficult it must have been to get to Pretoria in the middle of the day in the middle of the week with two small children at home. I was visited by many others who brought food, including the ever-faithful Mrs. Pillay who supplied me with a spicy-lunch every day. Because of the generosity of my visitors I had an embarrassment of riches and wanted to share my food with the other prisoners on my floor. This was strictly forbidden. In order to circumvent the restrictions, I offered food to the warders, who might relent with this in mind I presented a shiny apple to an African warder who looked at it and stonily rebuffed me with the phrases *Angiyifuni* (meaning: I don't want it). African warders tend to be either much more sympathetic than white warders, or even more severe, as though to outdo their masters. But a short while later, the black warder saw a white warder take the apple he had rejected, and changed his mind. Soon I was supplying all my fellow prisoners with food (Mandela, 1994: p.320-332).

This again revealed that the politics of betrayal and back stabbing, which is the case in many African countries was not the case in the Mandela-era in South Africa. Thus, the goodwill and solidarity displayed by the Mandela family, the ANC and other Comrades turned Nelson Mandela into a

goodwill ambassador to other prisoners in detention. The lessons to be learnt from the travails of Nelson Mandela are quite enormous and challenging. The entire travail of Mandela showed a man who had courage and respect for African culture and tradition as reflected in the statement below:

I entered the court that Monday morning wearing a traditional Xhosa Leopard-skin kaross instead of a suit and tie. The crowd of supporters rose as one and with raised, clenched fists shouted “Amandla” and “Ngawethu”.

The kaross electrified the spectators, many of whom were friends and family, some of whom had come all the way from the Trenskei. Winnie also wore a traditional beaded headdress and an ankle – length Xhosa skirt. I had chosen traditional dress to emphasize the symbolism that I was a black African walking into a white man's court. I was literally carrying on my back the history, culture, and heritage of my people that day, I felt myself to be the embodiment of African nationalism... look, here, just tell your commanding officer that it is Mandela speaking, not you, a short while later Colonel Jacobs himself appeared and ordered me to turn over what he referred to as my “blanket” I told him that he had no jurisdiction over the attire I choose to wear in court and if he tried to confiscate my Kaross I would take the matter all the way to the supreme court. The Colonel never again tried to take my blanket, but the authorities would permit me to wear it only in court, not on my way to or from court for fear it would “incite” other prisoners (Mandela, 1994:p.324-325).

Thus, the contributions of Nelson Rolihahia Mandela to the advancement of democracy and the democratization process in South Africa and indeed Africa was discussed from two perspectives, namely:

1. Pre-apartheid struggles in South Africa:
2. The post-apartheid era and the democratization process in South Africa

From a community youth leader, Nelson Mandela rose to become an active member of the African National Congress (ANC) which championed the course of the people in South Africa. The likes of Walter Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Billy Nair, Ahmed Kathrada, Mike Dingake, Eddie Daniels, Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo spent greater part of their lives agitating and defending the rights of the oppressed citizens in South Africa. Even when the white minority apartheid government offered to release some of them, Mandela and others refused to enjoy partial freedom without the liberation of majority of their people. In the words of Mandela:

When I walked out of prison, which was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor both. Some say that has now been achieved. But I know that that is not the case. The truth is that we are not yet free: we have merely achieved the freedom to be free, the right not to be oppressed. We have not taken the final step of our journey, but the first step on a longer and even more difficult road. For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others. The true test of our devotion to freedom is just beginning (Mandela, 1994:p. 624 - 625).

It will be recalled that the African National Congress which was formed in 1912 was the main opposition movement that championed the liberation struggle in South Africa through various platforms and alliances which were all coordinated by the ANC hence, even when its leaders were detained by the ruling apartheid government, demonstrations and protests continued on the streets of Johannesburg and Pretoria until February 1990 when the apartheid government led by F.W. de Klerk carried out reforms that restored hope to blacks and other oppressed South Africans.

While appreciating the new reforms and policy actions of the government Mandela stated thus:

On February 2, 1990, F.W. de klerk stood before parliament to make the traditional opening speech and did something no other South African head of state had ever done: he truly began to dismantle the apartheid system and lay the ground work for a democratic South Africa. In a dramatic fashion, Mr.

de Klerk announced the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the PAC, the South African Communist Party, and thirty-one other illegal organizations; the freeing of political prisoners incarcerated for nonviolent activities; the suspension of capital punishment and the lifting of various restrictions imposed by the state of emergency. It was a breath taking moment, for in one sweeping action he had virtually normalized the situation in South Africa. Our world had changed overnight. After forty years of persecution and banishment, the ANC was now a legal organization. I and all my Comrades could no longer be arrested for being a member of the ANC, for carrying its green, yellow and black banner, for speaking its name. For the first time in almost thirty years, my picture and my words, and those of all my banned Comrades, could freely appear in South African news papers. The international community applauded de Klerk's bold action... (Mandela, 1994:p.556-557).

The above developments culminated into Mandela's historic release on the 10th of February, 1990. However, prior to his release from the Robben Island detention facility Mandela displayed courage and resilience when he confronted the then head of state, Mr. F.W. de Klerk when he requested for at least seven days' notice before his release to enable the ANC and other progressive forces make adequate preparation for his reception back home. In his words:

I deeply wanted to leave prison as soon as I could, but to do so on such short notice would not be wise. I thanked Mr. de Klerk, and then said that at the risk of appearing ungrateful I would prefer to have a week's notice in order that my family and my organization could be prepared for my release. Simply to work out tomorrow, I said, would cause chaos. I asked Mr. de Klerk to release me a week from that day. After waiting twenty-seven years, I could certainly wait another seven days... after ten minutes he returned with a rather long face and said, Mr. Mandela, it is too late to change the plan now. I replied that the plan was unacceptable and that I would to be released a week hence and at Victor Verster, not Johannesburg.

It was a tense moment and, at the time, neither of us saw any irony in a prisoner asking not to be released and his jailer attempting to release him... In the end, we agreed on the compromise, and Mr. de Klerk poured a tumbler of whisky for each of us to drink in celebration. I raised the glass in a toast, but only pretended to drink; such spirits are too strong for me. (Mandela, 1994: p.558).

In today's Africa, labour leaders and political prisoners would have negotiated their way out of detention quietly without the knowledge of their colleagues and Comrades. But, Mandela asked for seven days' notice to enable him consult with his political party, allies and Comrades before his release. No wonder he is referred to as Madiba (a strange being) His release, however, marked the beginning of a new struggle for the enthronement of democracy in a free and independent South Africa.

The Post-apartheid Era and Nelson Mandela's Contribution to the Democratization Process in South Africa

After his release, where to spend the first night of freedom became a source of debate to the ANC and other Comrades but the issue was later resolved in these words:

One of the first questions to be resolved was where I would spend my first night of freedom... but my colleagues and, later my wife, argued that for security reasons I should stay with Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Bishop's court, a plush residence in a white suburb... but members of the committee explained that Bishop's court had become multiracial under Tutu's tenure, and symbolized an open, generous non-racialism. (Mandela, 1994: p.559).

This no doubt affirms the fact that the church and the clergy in South Africa also participated actively in the democratization process in South Africa. The likes of Archbishop Anthony Okojie and Bishop Mathew Hassan Kukah are still very vocal on issues relating to peace and sustainable development in Nigeria and Africa. Political mobilization by all groups in South Africa culminated into general elections where the African National Congress (ANC) won majority of the seats in parliament including the

presidential elections of 2nd May, 1994. The road to freedom was not easy as several groups and organizations attempted to boycott the democratization process. Harmonizing all the groups and their positions was no doubt a major challenge to Mandela and other progressive forces. According to Mandela, Inkatha rejected participation in the election and gave itself over to the politics of resistance. In his words:

King Zwelithini, supported by Chief Buthelezi, called for an autonomous and sovereign Kwazulu, and discouraged everyone in his province from voting... February 12, 1994 was the deadline for registration of all parties, and on that day, Inkatha, the conservative party and the Africaner Volksfront failed to sign...I arranged to meet Chief Buthelezi in Durban on March 1. I will go down to my knees to beg those who want to drag our country into bloodshed (Mandela, 1994:p.615).

This again revealed that even the black majority in South Africa were not ready for democratic rule hence, Mandela had to involve international mediators and diplomacy to bring all groups on board via series of agreements and memorandum of understanding (MOU) which led to the formation of a government of national unity. The humility and patriotism of Mandela was further expressed few days to his inauguration as the first democratically elected president of South Africa when he stated thus:

From the moment the results were in and it was apparent that the ANC was to form the government, I saw my mission as one of preaching reconciliation, of binding the wounds of the country, of engendering trust and confidence. I knew that many people, particularly the minorities, whites, colored and Indians would be feeling anxious about the future and I wanted them to feel secure. I reminded people again and again that the liberation struggle was not a battle against any one group or colour, but a fight against a system of repression at every opportunity, I said all South Africans must now unite and join hands and say we are one country, one nation, one people, marching together into the future...It was during those long and lonely years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and black. I knew as well as I knew anything that the

oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed. We have not taken the step of our journey, but the first step on a longer and even more different road. For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others. The true test of our devotion to freedom is just the beginning (Mandela, 1994:p.623 – 625).

With these words, Mandela set the stage for sustainable peace and development in South Africa through his National Truth and Reconciliation Commission headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a highly respected, vocal and fearless priest of the Catholic Church. Apart from the national truth and reconciliation commission, Mandela also integrated all the major stakeholders in his government to the surprise of all including members of the ANC who were not comfortable with his patriotic zeal and ideology.

Historical Background of Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan

Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, Grand Commander of the Order of the Niger (GCON), Grand Commander of the Federal Republic (GCFR) and former President, Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, was born in November 20, 1957 to a humble Niger Delta family of Canoe makers in Otuoke, Ogbia local government area of Bayelsa State, South-South Nigeria. Dr. Jonathan, as the third child of his parents, Lawrence Ebele Jonathan and Eunice Aye Jonathan, was born like any other child. However, some incidents and events around his life later showed that Dr. Jonathan was not an ordinary child. By deciding to name their son Goodluck, his parents were hopeful that, although life was hard for them before his birth, their young boy would bring them good luck and change their fortune for the better. Sarah, Goodluck's paternal grand-mother, also saw something remarkable and special about the boy and nicknamed him 'Azikiwe' after Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, one of Nigeria's founding fathers who, at the time of Goodluck's birth, was one of the country's patriarchs leading the campaign for independence from the British. Azikiwe who later became Nigeria's first President, was a celebrated figure as far as Sarah was concerned. She predicted that her grandson would one day attain the status of a great man like Azikiwe.

Young Jonathan attended St. Stephen's lower primary school (now state school), Otuoke, and St. Michael's Primary School Oloibiri, finishing in 1969. There was, however, a reason that Jonathan had to attend two schools for his elementary education. As was common with other primary schools at the time, St. Stephen's only had classes up to class three. In essence, he could not complete his elementary education there. He thus moved to Oloibiri, a village several kilometers from Otuoke, where he attended St. Michaels which was established by the Anglican Church. His primary school years at St. Michaels were tough. It was while there that Dr. Jonathan, as a teenager, walked long distances to school bare-footed. He made a reference to that difficult phase of his life about four decades later when he declared his interest to contest for Nigeria's presidency at the Eagle Square, Abuja in September 2010. Dr Jonathan having no shoes to walk to school became a touching story that inspired hope in many citizens who watched the event live on TV within and outside the country.

For his secondary education, Jonathan proceeded to Mater Dei High School, Imiringi in the Emeyal district of Ogbia, where he passed his West African School Certificate with flying colours in 1975. At the school, he earned a reputation of being a humble, disciplined, hardworking and brilliant student. He made a distinction in such subjects as Chemistry, Economics, Geography, Biology, and Bible Knowledge with credit passes in Physics, English literature and English language. While affirming the humble character of Jonathan, his mother, Madam Eunice Ebele Jonathan stated thus:

Only God knows how he created Azikiwe (referring to her son, Jonathan). In her words: He is unique. He was an exceptional child when he was growing up. Azikiwe never said no to any errand. He was so merciful to us his parents. Before he went to primary school and whenever he was on holidays, he accompanied me to the farm, and followed his father to carve canoes. We always impress the virtues of a good and disciplined life on Azikiwe but he seemed to be born with uncommon wisdom... Even in childhood, he was the one that more often than not taught and advised me (Alagoa, 2010: p.28).

After his secondary education, he worked for two years at the Nigeria Customs Service (NCS) where he was posted to several beats like guard duty, station writer, the radio room, rummaging and baggage, and land and water patrols at the Nigeria Ports Authority (NPA) in Port-Harcourt and eventually becoming preventive officer before putting in his resignation. Jonathan later proceeded to the University of Port-Harcourt where he made history as one of the pioneer students admitted into the University to study zoology in the school of Biological Sciences. By 1981, Jonathan graduated with Second Class (upper) Honours at the age of 24 years. Hence, he proceeded for the National Youth's Service Scheme in 1981 and was posted to Iresi Secondary Commercial Grammar School in present day Osun State. After the National Service in 1982, Jonathan applied to the Rivers State Civil Service Commission for employment as a teacher. He impressed the interview panel and was offered a job at the State's Ministry of Education and was deployed to the Secondary School Department as a science inspector of education. He later resigned and joined the Rivers State College of Education in 1983 as an Assistant Lecturer. As a lecturer in the River State College of Education, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was strict, hardworking, disciplined, conscientious and dutiful. It was in the Institution that he was first called GEJ (his initials) by friends and colleagues. It was also at the same institution that Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan met his wife and first Lady, Patience Ebifaka Oba, a robust light-skinned young woman from Okirika in Rivers state. Again, he resigned after ten years and was appointed Assistant Director of Ecology in the Defunct Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC) in charge of environmental protection. By 1995, at the age of 38 years old, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan got his Ph.D in Zoology from the University of Port-Harcourt.

Politics, Leadership and Service

As events began to unfold, it became clear that the name Azikiwe given to young Jonathan by his parents no doubt made him a child of destiny. Thus, through his honesty, humility, simplicity, charisma, quiet strength and determination, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was selected as an ideal running mate to Chief D.S.P. Alamiyeseigh, the gubernatorial candidate of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in Bayelsa state. They won the election and got sworn-in on May 29, 1999 hence, making history as the first civilian administration of the state since its creation in 1996.

With his humble background, it was not difficult for him to survive the rigors, currents and under-currents involved in Bayelsa and Nigerian politics. Thus, an outstanding quality which Jonathan displayed while he served as Bayelsa State's Deputy Governor was total loyalty to his boss. Jonathan served as deputy governor until December 11, 2005 when he replaced his former boss as the substantive Governor of Bayelsa State on December 12, 2005 following Alamiyeseigha's travails and subsequent impeachment by the Bayelsa State House of Assembly in December 2005. Jonathan came face to face with the dark side of Nigerian politics during the trying moments of his principal and boss, Chief DSP Alamiyeseigha from 2003 and 2005. That Jonathan didn't carry out any overt or covert action or exhibit undue ambition to exploit the situation for his personal political benefits in the turbulence of the political crisis that engulfed the state won him commendation from many admirers in Bayelsa State and others across the country.

It will be recalled that as he (Jonathan) was busy preparing for election to his first full term as substantive governor of Bayelsa State in 2007, fate once again beckoned on Jonathan when the People's Democratic Party (PDP), nominated him as running mate to the then Presidential Candidate, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua. His elevation no doubt paved the way for Chief Timipre Sylva to emerge as the PDP gubernatorial candidate for Bayelsa state in 2007. The Yar'Adua/Jonathan ticket, with the political strength and support of the party eventually won the 2007 presidential elections. In his inaugural address, Yar'Adua admitted that the electoral process that brought him to power was not a perfect one hence; he set up a committee on electoral reforms and also introduced a seven-point agenda to drive the policy framework and actions of his administration. The quiet, humble and gentle nature of Jonathan played out again at the national level as there was no recorded case of friction between him and his former principal, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua.

However, a memorable incident worthy of note and one with future implications happened during Jonathan's tenure as Governor of Bayelsa State. He had invited former Zambian president, Kenneth Kaunda, along with the then Senate president, Ken Nnamani, to participate in the Yenagoa 'Three Arms Road Walk' against HIV/AIDS which the State Government

organized. He was chief host. By the time Kaunda was about returning to his country, the former Zambian president looked at Jonathan and told him a profound statement: "Young man, you will rule this country one day". This prophesy, the vision of his parents who named him Azikiwe and indeed the divine grace of God moved Jonathan to occupy the number one political seat in Nigeria. On Tuesday February 9, 2010, Jonathan assumed office as Nigeria's acting President by virtue of a National Assembly resolution which the law makers called Doctrine of Necessity, empowering him as acting president, following President Yar'Adua's long absence for medical attention in Saudi Arabia. It is instructive to note that while the controversy that surrounded the health of former president Yar'Adua lasted, Jonathan kept a dignified silence by refraining from being drawn into the controversy. But, had he demanded for it, Jonathan would have been asking for a legitimate affirmation of Section 145 of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution (as amended). Again, that he maintained his composure was, in itself, a virtue. And, neither did Jonathan display unbridled ambition to take over the President's seat. It will also be recalled that during this period of power play in the presidency Jonathan suffered various forms of humiliation and verbal attacks; yet, he was not moved. No wonder he keeps repeating these words throughout his tenure as Governor, Vice President and President respectively: "My ambition is not worth the blood of any Nigerian".

In all his political campaigns and positions, Jonathan embarked on issue based campaigns and also carried out people oriented programmes which affected the lives of the citizens at the grass root level. He popularized the concept of one man one vote, one youth one vote, one woman one vote. This vision was further strengthened with the appointment of Prof. Attahiru Jega as the Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The unbiased nature of Jonathan was corroborated by Comrade Adams Oshiomhole, former governor of Edo State and current Chairman of the All Progressives Congress (APC) when he stated thus:

I want to appreciate Mr. President with his resolved and public pronouncement that he would provide adequate security for the people and the INEC staff before, during and after the election. I am glad that Mr. President kept to his words of assurance that there would be no thuggery, hooliganism and violence during the Edo governorship election. He is indeed a

statesman, a man of honour because there was adequate and effective presence of security agents on ground. I am impressed because the army actually played a neutral role in the election. (Isoken Omo (Forward), 2012: p.125).

The table below clearly shows major policy actions and contributions to democracy and the democratization process in Nigeria under Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan.

Table 1:
Travel Times on Nigeria Roads

Corridor	Before Jonathan	Under Jonathan
Abuja-Abaji-Lokoja Expressway	4 hours	2 hours
Onitsha-Owarri-Expressway	3 hours	1 hour
Benin-Ore-Shagamu-Lagos Expressway	9 hours	4 hours
Gombe-Numan-Yola Expressway	6 hours	3 hours
Enugu-Abakaliki-Ogoja-Mfum Highway	8 hours	3 hours
Lagos-Ibadan-Ilorin Highway	6 hours	3.5 hours
Otukpa-Ayangba-Ajaokuta-Lokoja Road	4 hours	1.5hours
Jobba – Lafiaji – Mokwa Road	2 hours	45 minutes

Source: Forward, a publication of one Nigeria coalition, 2012: p.10-11.

Available records also revealed that road infrastructure was very poor and nothing to write home about before Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan assumed duty as president hence, he constructed 35,000 kilometers of federal roads in the country. To further ease the movement of citizens, goods and services, the Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan-led administration also constructed and rehabilitated 25,000km roads between 2010 and 2014. Other contributions of Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to democracy and the democratization process in Nigeria are discussed under subheadings A – C below:

A. Promotion of Equity and Building Indigenous Capacity of Nigerians

Prior to 2010, Indigenous participation in economic activities in Nigeria, particularly oil and gas, was very limited primarily due to low levels of local capacity and competencies. To ensure equity and fundamental change in the landscape and also facilitate indigenous participation in economic development especially in the oil and gas, sector, the Local Content Development Act (2010) was enacted by the Jonathan-led administration. According to Jonathan, by building local capacity and competencies, the Act aims to increase indigenous participation in industry (particularly oil and gas), create linkages to other sectors of national economy and ultimately boost industry contributions to GDP growth. In his words: This reform has yielded benefits across board with increased indigenous participation in the oil and gas sector leading to the establishment of the Ebok Terminal. Current daily crude oil production is 7,000 bpd and a plateau production of 50,000 bpd is expected at full capacity (Okidegbe, 2015:p.16). The Local Content Act (2010) further enabled the Jonathan administration to establish the Nigeria Content Development and Monitoring Board which has its headquarters in Yenagoa, Bayelsa state. Thus, the active participation and engagement of youths and indigenous contractors and chiefs no doubt helped to restore peace and stability in the oil-rich Niger Delta. In the same vein, the Act also helped to check the excesses of multinational oil companies who engaged in unethical practices in the country.

B. Promotion of Human Rights and Public Accountability

This is another area where the background and humble disposition of Jonathan came into play. Realizing that he came from a quiet humble background, he never allowed fame and political power to influence his sense of judgment as a leader. For instance, under Jonathan as President politicians from other political parties won elections as governors, senators', etc. but in the past and even in recent times, the story was different. All the arms of government also functioned independently without any form of interference by the presidency or the federal government. The appointment of Prof. Attahiru Jega as INEC chairman by the Jonathan-led administration also brought

credibility to the electoral process in Nigeria. The culture of one man one vote was also made popular by the Jonathan-led administration which insisted that every vote must count in all elections and that after voting citizens must stay, observe and defend their votes. His body language no doubt opened the political space for citizens to participate actively in the political process without fear of harassment and intimidation.

Recognizing that transparency is central to building an accountable democratic society, which is necessary and fundamental for economic growth and stability, former president Jonathan went a step further to sign the Freedom of Information Act (FOI) in 2011. According to him, the Act is aimed at making public records and information more freely available, providing access to public records and information, protecting public records and information in line with the public interest, while protecting privacy and protecting serving public officers from any repercussions due to disclosure of certain official information without authorization. In his words: "By this Act, procedures for achieving these objectives were also put in place across MDAs. Backed by law, citizens can now access public records more easily with most applications received by MDAs being processed within two weeks" (Okidegbe, 2015:p.16).

Apart from promoting cordial relationship among the various arms of government in the country, the Jonathan-led Federal Government from 2010-2015 took deliberate measures to also guarantee the liberty and fundamental human rights of Nigerians. In a publication titled "forward" Isoken Omo (2011) argued that Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan as a true democrat allowed rule of law and respect for due process to prevail throughout his tenure as Vice President, and President respectively. According to her, prior to his assumption of office as President, governors, were illegally removed from office. Senate president and Speakers were impeached or removed with impunity. Court orders and judgments were disobeyed willingly. Contracts were terminated without recourse to the rule of law. All these happened even when Nigerians thought they had entered the era of democracy. In her words:

Since Jonathan was elected president of Nigeria, the country has made tremendous progress in its democratization agenda. He does not interfere in the affairs of the National Assembly, even when it is clear that some principal officers have been a fool in the hand of the opposition. While the Chairmen of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) were being removed at will in the past, he has refused to toe that path, preferring that things take their natural course. It is not uncommon to hear people say: if this affront had happened under a different President EFCC would have arrested his opponents by now... He has also helped to consolidate democracy through free and fair elections (Isoken Omo, 2011:p. 9).

Not even a councilor was arrested and detained without trial during the administration of former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. The story today (2018) is quite different because several politicians, especially those who disagree with the president or party leaders, have been harassed and intimidated through the instruments of the State. The case of Senators Dino Melaye, Enyinnaya Abaribe and other opposition politicians are clear examples of executive recklessness prevailing in Nigeria today. Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was very prophetic in 2014 when he said: "I am the most abused and insulted leader today but when I leave office you will realize the amount of freedom you enjoyed under my leadership."

C. Promotion of National and Regional Peace and Political Stability

Pre-2015 Era witnessed several threats to peace and security in Nigeria coupled with the political activities of the season. Rather than influence the pre-2015 electoral process and give undue advantage to his political party and friends, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan made the political space open and free for all political parties to the extent that most of his friends, cabinet members and special advisers that resigned their appointments to contest elective positions believing that the president would influence the political and electoral process in their favour all got it wrong as some lost. One man who also resigned as information minister under Jonathan but lost the governorship election in his state (Nassarawa) was Labaran Maku. Even in defeat, he commended Jonathan for being a patriot who refused to bow to ethnic and religious pressures at the expense of the Nigerian State. In his words:

Dr. Jonathan has a special gift of humility that he may have inherited from his upbringing. He is a genuine intellectual and a quiet person whose quietness is sometimes mistaken for weakness. He is not a weak person. He can tolerate a lot and that is a particular strength that enabled him to demystify power. He does not exhibit airs in spite of his elevation and he remains focused on the task of building a better nation through institutions rather than by showing off his personal power. Presidential power in Africa is very deceptive because it gives the individual the illusion of being able to order anything to be done; but for it to work for the good of the people the individual must be aware that all earthly power is temporary. Dr. Jonathan is one person who shows a profound understanding of the temporal nature of power, so he is more inclined to building and empowering institutions. This is exactly what Nigeria needs now and as God has helped him to maintain his modest and tolerant character, so has he helped Nigeria by putting such a person in the position to lead the nation today. The only previous leaders in Nigeria who showed such simple modesty were Shagari and to some extent Gowon under the military, but Dr. Jonathan is very different from either of them because he is much more focused on the task of demystifying power and building institutions that will sustain the people's expectations even after he is gone. An important element of Dr. Jonathan's administrative style and responsibility is revealed by some of his appointments. It was clear that these were made on the basis of his personal judgment of the character of the appointee rather than for political advantage. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the choice of the women whom he appointed to his cabinet. His retention of the outspoken Dora Akunyili was not surprising since they both share a penchant for intellectual discourse as well as principled adherence to truth... Ever since he

appointed me and outlined the things he wanted done by the ministry he has not interfered with our work in any way and has never tried to influence our decisions to favour anyone. Our nation will certainly benefit greatly from Dr. Jonathan's style of leadership, which is hinged on statesmanship, nationalism and patriotism (Alagoa, et al. 2010: p.197-198).

This position was corroborated by Joe Biden, former Vice President of the United States when he stated thus:

President Jonathan as ECOWAS chair and co-mediator stood courageously and firmly with other ECOWAS heads of state to resolve the crisis in Niger, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali and Guinea Bissau. None of the heads of states who have worked with president Jonathan will characterize him as weak, incompetent or confused when it comes to taking hard decisions (Isoken Omo, 2011:p.94).

However, in the midst of criticisms, President Jonathan had the courage to convoke a national conference aimed at repositioning Nigeria for robust economic growth and political stability. At end of the day, it was a success and the outcome refreshingly different. Jonathan's humility, dynamism and love for peace and stability was also affirmed by D.S.P. Alamieyeseigha when he said: "with a Deputy like Jonathan, I know I don't have to look behind me, because even when I am not around, the State will be in safe hands" (Imokhai, 2015:p.53). What could have threatened the peace and political stability of Nigeria was averted when President Jonathan put a call through to Muhammadu Buhari, the presidential flag bearer of the All Progressives Congress (APC) in 2015, congratulating him and conceding defeat while the election results were being collated. Even after the official release of results, Jonathan as the incumbent President then, did not challenge the results in the tribunal and the law court, hence, emerging as the only political leader in Nigeria and Africa who deliberately refused to contest the result of an election at both the tribunal and the courts. By his action, Jonathan demystified power and helped to build sustainable peace and stability in Nigeria.

The Table below further illustrates the contributions of former president, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to democracy and the democratization process in Nigeria.

Table 2:
Indices Used in Measuring the Leadership Style of
President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan

S/N	Selected Policies	Expected Outcomes
1	Convening of a National Conference	Encouraged popular participation by giving Nigerians from all walks of life the opportunity to come together and chart a new course for the nation.
2	Almajiri Education Programme in the North-East	A strategic long term plan t o curb child abuse and insurgency in the North by also deflate the ego of the ruling class.
3	Restructuring of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the judiciary.	Restored credibility in the electoral process in Nigeria through the sacking of some corrupt judges by the National Judicial Service Commission (NJC) and building trust in the Nation'sJudiciary.

Source: Kalama and Arugu 2014 p.9

However, the contributions of Mandela and Jonathan to the democratization process in Africa can be summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3:
Comparative Analysis of the Contributions of Nelson Mandela
and Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to the Democratization
Process in South Africa and Nigeria

Indices Used for Evaluation	Mandela	Jonathan
Period under Review	1940-2013	1990-2015
Upbringing/ family background	Grew up in a rural community called Mvezo, a tiny village on the banks of the Mbashe River in the district of Umtata, the capital of the Trenskei in Cape Town where he had his early education. Mother was a petty trader while the father, Gadla Henry Mphakanyiswa, was a community chief.	Was born in a rural community called Otuoke in the Ogbia Local Government Area of Bayelsa state, Nigeria. Parents were involved in farming and canoe carving
Life after school/ college	Joined the civil society movements and struggled for the emancipation of blacks in South Africa. All the progressive forces later merged to form the African National Congress (ANC) with Mandela as one of its youth leaders.	Continued his education and later worked in different government agencies and institutions in Rivers State, Bayelsa State etc. He later resigned and became an active politician.

<p>Life as an adult</p>	<p>Spent most of adult hood in the trenches defending the fundamental rights of his people from the oppressive regime of the apartheid government. He was eventually sentenced to life imprisonment and taken to Roben Island where he spent twenty seven (27) years.</p>	<p>Had a successful career as a school teacher, inspector of science education, officer with the Nigeria custom service and director in the defunct Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC)</p>
<p>Relationship with the people/ electorates</p>	<p>Maintained a strong link with the ordinary people of South Africa especially the black majority who lived in shanties. Thus, from National Youth Leader of the ANC, he was voted President of South Africa in 1994.</p>	<p>Also kept fate with the people at all levels hence, his elevation from Deputy Governor, Governor, Vice President and eventually, the President was not too difficult.</p>

Types of policies formulated to drive the vision of the government	Embarked on people centered programmes and policies which accommodated all parties and stake holders against the wish of his party, the ANC. To build peace and also promote national unity and cohesion, he set up a government of national unity against the wish of his political party and also carried out true forgiveness and reconciliation through the national truth and reconciliation commission headed by Arch. Bishop Desmond Tutu	Formulated policies that promoted national interest and cohesion hence, in the midst of opposition, he signed the Freedom of Information Bill into law in 2011 and enacted the Local Content Act 2010. In the same vein, the national political conference was also set up by his administration.
Expected policy out comes (feedback)	South Africans responded and voted massively for the African National Congress (ANC) in all South African elections even after his demise.	Nigerians reciprocated and voted massively for the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in 2011. Due to division and inability to manage its internal issues, the party lost to the All Progressives Congress (APC) in the 2015 elections.

<p>Personal commitment and sacrifice in leadership</p>	<p>Mandela spent greater part of his life fighting and defending the rights of his people. His actions got to an unprecedented level when he decided not to seek re-election despite his popularity and that of his party, the ANC.</p>	<p>Was not incarcerated but made very serious personal commitments and sacrifices to keep Nigeria united. After his first term as president, he sought re-election and when everybody thought that he would go the African way, he conceded defeat and went ahead to congratulate his opponent, President Muhammadu Buhari through a phone call before the results were announced officially. Even when his kinsmen accused the electoral body INEC of rigging and insisted on going to war, Jonathan persuaded them to accept the election results in the interest of peace. Again he remains the only politician who has not contested election results in the tribunal and in the court respectively.</p>
--	---	--

Political party affiliation	African National Congress (ANC)	People's Democratic Party (PDP)
Respect for party structure and ideology	Remained a loyal and committed party man who lived and died for the beliefs and ideology of the African National Congress (ANC).	Although not a radical but a quiet, loyal, humble and committed party man. Despite the challenges facing the party, he has remained the source of inspiration and national leader of the PDP.
Marriage and family life	Received tremendous support from his children and wife, Winnie, at the initial stages of the struggle but due to prolonged detention and other factors, the peace and unity in the family was threatened.	Despite his busy schedules and public life, he finds time to address issues at the home front. Thus, the marriage is intact and the family is together.
Educational background	Trained as a lawyer and obtained two more degrees while serving a life sentence at Robin Island prison. He never allowed the prevailing circumstances to lower his spirit. From local community where the father was a chief, he rose to become the president of South	Under very hostile economic conditions, he studied up to PhD level and rose from a rural community boy to become the acting President of Nigeria in 2010 and President in 2011.

<p>National and regional integration</p>	<p>Promoted national and regional cooperation and integration within African states and its leaders. Under his leadership South Africa overtook Egypt and became the largest economy in Africa. No African leader has been able to match his political records of deliberately refusing to seek a second term in office. He was indeed a shining light in Africa.</p>	<p>Re-defined power and politics in Africa by being the first political leader to accept election results before the official announcement by the electoral body in the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria. As ECOWAS chair and co-mediator, he stood courageously and firmly with other ECOWAS Heads of state to resolve the crisis in Niger, Cote d' Ivoire, Mali and Guinea Bissau. During his tenure (2014), Nigeria also overtook South Africa and became the largest economy in Africa. He is truly a democrat to the core.</p>
--	---	---

<p>Childhood experiences and the impact of names</p>	<p>Emerged from a humble but disciplined family that started life from the grass root (community) hence, lived a humble and unassuming life style. The parents were visionary and prophetic thus; they called him Maddiba (a strange being) and Rolihlahla (trouble maker) in addition to his name. The struggles and battles he fought were geared towards the emancipation of his people and country. The initial difficulties of life never discouraged him. Indeed, he was truly a courageous and brave personality.</p>	<p>Started life from a rural community and went to primary school without shoes and school bags. Parents were humble and disciplined canoe carvers and palm - front harvesters in the community. They saw something great in their son and named him Azikiwe, after Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Nigeria's first civilian President. Jonathan never allowed his circumstances to weigh him down but rather he became more resilient. He is indeed a destiny child who grew to the top by the divine grace of God Almighty.</p>
--	--	---

Source: Kalama, Fieldwork 2018.

Conclusion

Advancing the course of democracy in any society no doubt requires total commitment, dedication and sacrifice on the part of leaders and followers hence, the study examined the contributions of two notable African leaders (Nelson Mandela and Goodluck Ebele Jonathan) to the development and advancement of democracy and the democratization process in Africa. Through comparative analysis, the study also traced the historical background of both leaders and observed that they both have similar ideology and family background which reflected in their policy actions and programmes while they served as president of their respective countries. With relevant data and examples cited in the study, it was revealed that the good leadership qualities displayed by Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and Nelson Mandela greatly translated into good governance, liberty and freedom for their peoples and nation. Thus affirming the fact that there is indeed a nexus between effective leadership and good governance at any level. In the same vein, it was also observed that the policies and actions of some African leaders helped to threaten democracy and the democratic process in most African states hence, the study made some recommendations aimed at consolidating democracy and the democratic process in the Continent (Africa).

Recommendations

The task of consolidating democracy at any level requires resilience and commitment on the part of all citizens and stakeholders. The current culture of violence, tenure elongation and sit-tight leadership mentality in some parts of Africa is no doubt a threat to peace, political stability and sustainable development in the continent. The following recommendations will no doubt help to chart a new course for Africa's development and democratic experiment:

1. African parliaments and citizens should initiate a law that will limit the powers of sitting/incumbent presidents from tampering with the constitution on matters relating to tenure while they are still in office. This will help to end cases of fraudulent constitutional amendments as was the case in Gambia, Burkina Faso, and Egypt etc.
2. Democratic institutions such as the parliament, election management bodies, anti-corruption agencies and institutions should be strengthened and be allowed to function independently without

interference. The case of Nigeria where the heads of major democratic institutions are appointed by the president should be reviewed and re-examined in order to avoid undue influence and interference.

3. Political mobilization, education and sensitization of the people should also be intensified in order to raise the consciousness of the citizens. This is imperative and fundamental because parochial political culture according to Easton (1968) undermines democratic values and principles.
4. International respect, recognition and awards should be accorded to presidents and political leaders who adhere to democratic principles and the constitutions of their states. Such actions will serve as motivation to young and emerging leaders and at the same time serve as a deterrent to tyrannical and autocratic leaders and their cohorts.
5. Regional and international organizations and agencies should also be alive to their responsibilities through constant monitoring and sanctioning of erring leaders especially, leaders who engage in genocide, drug trafficking and human right violations. Thus, the gross violation of human rights of citizens across the world must not be sacrificed on the altar of sovereignty as argued by some overzealous leaders. It will be recalled that in early October 2018, President Mohammadu Buhari of Nigeria told the leaders of the Nigerian Bar Association in Abuja that rule of law will not be sacrificed on the altar of national interest and security. This statement was promptly challenged by the human rights community in Nigeria who maintained that personal interest and actions of leaders must not necessarily be described as the national interest of any state.

References

- Abide, S. (2014). Jonathan, Obasanjo & Boko Haram in The Punch Newspaper of 14 May.
- Achebe, C. (1984). *The trouble with Nigeria* London: Macmillan Press.
- Adeoye, S. (2013). Jonathan towing the path of Abacha–Obasanjo, in The Punch Newspaper of 11 December.
- Akin, Yanju, P. (2000). Democracy, democratization and the electoral process: The Nigeria experience being a paper presented at a conference organized by the committee for the defense of human rights CDHR at the University of Lagos.
- Alagoa, E.J. et al. (2010). *Wind of hope*. Wuse Zone 1, Abuja: Africa Agenda Publications.
- Ayo, O. (1993). *SDP and NRC: ideology, programmes and organization*, in Tunde Adeniran, Seven years of IBB. Daily Times of Nigeria PLC Lagos.
- Ebrahim, H. et al. (1999). *Promoting a culture of constitutionalism and democracy in commonwealth Africa*. India: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative.
- Etekepe, A. (2007). *Politics of resource allocation and control in Nigeria: The Niger Delta experience*. Port Harcourt: Havey Publications Coy.
- Gaya, B.S. (2009). *Introduction to peace and conflict studies in West Africa: A reader*, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Ikporukpo, C.O (2011). *Debating Petroleum and Environmental Justice in the Niger Delta, Nigeria: Stakeholders perspective*, in the centre for ethnic & conflict studies (CENTECS) Monograph Series No. 1, University of Port-Harcourt.
- Imokhai C.A (2015). *The people's choice* United Kingdom: Author House.
- Isoken, O. (2011). Jonathan: we shall never go back to the old ways in the Forward Magazine published by One Nigeria Coalition Area 7, Garki, Abuja.
- Jega, A.M. (2007). *Democracy, good governance & development in Nigeria*. Gombe: Spectrum books Ltd.
- Jibrin A. M. (2004). *Obasanjo and the new face of Nigeria's foreign policy*. Kaduna: MOD Press and Publishers.
- Kalama, J. T. & Arugu, O.L. (2014). Leadership and the challenges in Nigeria: An assessment of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan administrative style, in *International Journal of Advanced Research in Social Engineering*

- and Development Strategies* vol. 2, No. 1, p. 1-11 October.
- Kalama, J.T. (2008). *Public policy formulation and implementation in Nigeria: Problems and prospects* Port – Harcourt: Pearl publishers.
- Kalama, J.T. (2012). *Minority revolts, the Niger Delta conflict and the amnesty question*. Port Harcourt: Pearl publishers.
- Mandela, N.R. (1994). *Long walk to freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. London: Little Brown & Company.
- Nwankwo, P. (2017). *Goodluck Ebele Jonathan: The making of a statesman*. Garki 2, Abuja: Spotlight Images Limited.
- Okidegbe, N. (2015). *Innovative reforms of President Goodluck Jonathan's administration (2010 – 2015)*. Abuja, Office of the Chief Economic Adviser to the President.
- Sesay, A. (2003). *Civil wars, child soldiers and post–conflict peace building in West Africa*. Ibadan: College Press and Publishers.
- Toyoy, E. (1994). *Crisis and democracy in Nigeria* Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press.

CHAPTER THREE

RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA, 1999- 2018

Chilaka Francis Chigozie Ph.D

Department of Political Science
Federal University Otuoke,
Bayelsa State, Nigeria
chilakafc@fuotuo.ke.edu.ng
08030965149



Abstract

This Chapter was designed to examine the restoration of democracy in Nigeria from 1999 to 2018. It provided a brief overview of the chequered nature of Nigeria's democracy as a result of incessant military intervention before democracy was restored in 1999. It also interrogated democratic practices of various administrations since 1999. The chapter noted that despite the effort of President Obasanjo's civilian administration to enhance democracy in Nigeria, he did a disservice to it when he surreptitiously planned to elongate himself in power through the infamous "third term agenda" and the 2007 general election that was worrisomely flawed. President Yar'Adua tried his best to strengthen the institutions of democracy in Nigeria by reforming the electoral process but his ill-health and consequent death hampered him from implementing his ideas. Nevertheless, his successor President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, deepened democratic practices in Nigeria through the sanctity of the ballot box and respect for human rights. The way he handled his defeat in 2015 was unprecedented and showed that Nigeria's democracy has matured. Regrettably, Nigeria, under the civilian administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, has retrogressed democratically as human rights and credible elections have become a forlorn dream. It must be noted that no nation can make any headway democratically if the tenets of democracy are not observed.

Introduction

According to Tijani (1986) political democracy is simply the facilitation of dominance of the majority will in a given political community. He noted that in democracies conscious and meticulous effort is made to see that the majority will is prevailing in the way and manner by which the leadership cadre is selected. He also asserted that it is this prevalence of the majority will which distinguishes election from selection; election must always consciously go with the qualification of being free and fair. It is this universal principle of democracy that makes nations to embrace and to adopt this practice.

Hence, when Nigeria gained independence in 1960, Nigeria embraced the Westminster model of parliamentary system of government anchored on democratic principles in what was referred to as the First Republic. However, this democratic experience did not last long as the military made incursion into the political firmament of the country by toppling the government in a military coup in January, 1966. The military intervention in politics touched on other sour points which engendered a civil war that lasted from 1967 to 1970. After many years of military intervention, democracy was restored in 1979. Nevertheless, that period did not last too long and was overthrown in 1983 by a military junta led by General Muhammadu Buhari, ousting the democratically elected government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari. However, on August 27, 1985, General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida (IBB) took power through a palace coup and embarked on a very elaborate transition to civil rule. Following the lifting of ban on political activities on May 3, 1989, The National Electoral Commission was formed and mandated to release guidelines for the formation of political parties. About thirteen political parties that applied for registration were deemed not to have met the requirements for registration; hence in alliance with the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC), General Babangida announced the formation of Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC). To enhance the credibility of the elections that will follow-up after the formation of the two political parties, a voting system known as "Option A4" was adopted; a system of open balloting that vote counting and declaration of results starts from the polling centres.

Babangida's regime conducted its presidential election on 12th June 1993 and the winner was presumed to be Chief MKO Abiola, a southerner from South West. But the election unfortunately was annulled by the IBB-led government in what analysts believed was premised on vested interest. That singular annulment took general political discontent to a worrisome dimension. A group known as National Democratic Coalition (NADECO), was formed with majority of its members from the South-West rallying around MKO in what they believed was their mandate. The polity was heated to a boiling point, which made IBB to hurriedly relinquish power to Chief Ernest Shonekon, on 27 August, 1993, in what he called Interim National Government(ING). However, this did not stop the agitations for Abiola, the presumed winner of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election to be declared the winner, and to worsen it, a Lagos High Court had earlier declared Shonekon-led government illegal

On 17 November, 1993, General Sani Abacha used his vantage position as the only military officer and Secretary of Defence in the Interim National Government, ousted the Shonekon's Interim National Government and assumed duty as the Head of State. Abacha resorted to use of force in trying to intimidate the agitators of June 12 elections. Most of the NADECO and AFENIFERE Chieftains who were at the vanguard of the struggle, went into exiles, many of them were also subsequently incarcerated including the presumed winner Chief MKO Abiola. The very foundation of the Nigerian state was shaking to its base. Nigeria became a pariah state in the comity of nations; a lot of sanctions from the West were placed. It was at the peak of that tension that Gen. Sani Abacha died when he was planning to succeed himself as a civilian president.

General Abdulsalami Abubakar took over from Abacha and did not hesitate to start a transition programme. Though at that time, the presumed winner of June 12 was already dead. He died while in custody. The death of the presumed winner of June 12, election Chief M.K.O Abiola and the incumbent Head of State General Sani Abacha, opened a new vista to Nigeria political activities. Though the political situation of the country as at that time was that of hopelessness, however, the ruling class knew that the onus was on them to fashion a means of holding the country together by embracing democracy. Undoubtedly, the crux of the issue was on how to placate the

South Western part of the country whose agitations have reached a crescendo. It was against this background that democracy returned to the country in 1999 (Nwadike & Nwokodi, 2012).

Hence, after many years of despotic and authoritarian rule in Nigeria, the country witnessed a massive democratic rebirth in the 1999 during which she embraced electoral democracy. This was the period of the third wave of democracy in the continent arising from popular discontent, endogenous and exogenous pressure, accentuated by abuse of human rights, economic hardship and general political repression.

The Immediate Pre-1999 Efforts to Usher in Democracy in Nigeria

After the demise of General Sani Abacha on 8 June, 1998, the then highest decision making organ in Nigeria-the Provisional Ruling Council, met and appointed General Abdulsalami Abubakar, as the Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. His regime inherited a lot of political liability arising from the abuse of power by the late Sani Abacha. For instance, he had to resolve the problems of those who were detained as a result of various spurious and politically-motivated allegations levelled against them; enhance the country's international image and acceptability by her traditional allies and arrest a general economic downturn. The regime confronted the aforementioned problems headlong and promised to return power to a democratically elected government (Asia, 2001).

To match words with actions, the regime on September 11, 1998 released a transition time-table with the following timelines:

- i. Voters registration, October 5, 1998
- ii. Local government elections, December 5, 1998
- iii. State gubernatorial and House of Assembly elections, January 9, 1998
- iv. Federal House of Representatives and Senate elections, February 20, 1998
- v. Presidential election, February 27, 1999
- vi. Presidential Inauguration, May, 29, 1999 (Nwadike & Nwokodi, 2012).

General Abubakar, dissolved all the transitional committees put in place by the late Abacha including the electoral body that was to conduct election

under Abacha, that is, the National Electoral Commission headed by Justice Ephraim Akpata. In its place, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was established. One commendable aspect of General Abubakar's transition to civil rule was that the local government election was used as a yardstick to measure the political strength of most political parties in order to ensure that political parties enjoy popular support. Based on this, Asia (2001) noted that five political parties were provisionally registered with the condition that any political party that "scored" five percent of the votes cast in at least 24 states in the local government election of December 5, 1998, would receive final registration and thus would participate in subsequent elections. The five political parties that were provisionally registered to contest the December 5, 1998 local government elections were:

- i. Alliance for Democracy (AD)
- ii. All Peoples Party (APP)
- iii. Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
- iv. United Democratic Party (UDP)
- v. United Progressive Party (UPP)

Nwadike & Nwokodi (2012), observed that the local government election of December 5, 1998, from which the winning parties will gain their registration was adjudged by local and international observers as free and fair. The PDP and APP satisfied the condition of scoring five percent (5%) of the votes cast in at least 24 states, including Abuja respectively. The AD obtained 5% in only 14 states, but was nonetheless given a pass mark. Following their performance, INEC registered three political parties on December 14, 1998 as national parties without prejudice to other parties that aspired to register, insofar as it met the requirements for registration. The three national parties that got registered were:

- i. Peoples Democratic Party
- ii. All Peoples Party
- iii. Alliance for Democracy

However, analysts were of the view that the three political parties lacked significant ideological differences just as they did not have sufficiently convincing manifestos. According to Obi (2000) the parties were probably registered to merely pursue an unwritten agenda between the various

factions of the hegemonic elite, which were “to repossess power from the military, and a geopolitical power shift from the North to the South.” In fact, the logic of this assertion can further be established by referring to the fact that the AD, the only Southwestern Nigerian dominated party at that time, was hurriedly approved for registration on the last day of the exercise. Certainly, all of these were in line with the need to launder the military's battered image and, to redeem Nigeria's identity as a pariah nation as at that time. The self-inflicted image problem of the military was, however, different from another interest of its political arm. Essentially, this had to do with the protection of the fortunes acquired by many retired army generals, especially those who were in government or indirectly connected to government between 1985 and 1999, when participation in the governance of the country provided huge opportunities for illicit wealth acquisition (Dhikru, 2011).

The governorship and state House of Assembly election results contested by the three political parties were not markedly different from that of the local government elections. Similarly, the elections into the National Assembly also showed the political strength of the three political parties in which the PDP maintained their majority in all the elections culminating to the election of Olusegun Obasanjo of PDP as the winner of the Presidential election having secured 18.7 million of votes cast and approximately 63% and having met the required number of votes and 25% of votes cast in the 2/3 of the 36 states and the FCT, Abuja. INEC subsequently declared Olusegun Obasanjo of the PDP winner of the Presidential election and was inaugurated on May 29, 1999, (Nigeria's Democracy Day) with Atiku Abubakar as his vice (see Official INEC Report Sheets, 1999).

The emergence of Olusegun Obasanjo as the president of the country ushered in the Fourth Republic in Nigeria. Since then, Nigeria's Fourth Republic has witnessed five general elections (1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015); is yet to show profound evidence of the sustainability of democratic principles except under the administration of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan that tried to deepen democratic practices in Nigeria. We shall come to this later.

Nigeria's Democracy under Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999-2007

No doubt, when the mantle of leadership fell on Olusegun Obasanjo, who became the president of Nigeria, the country's democratic institutions had deteriorated and his stand against Abacha's dictatorship was commended coupled with the fact that he had the record of returning political power to civilian government in 1979. This was also accentuated by his prison experience which convinced Nigerians that his leadership experience would be enhanced. The government of Obasanjo, moved ferociously to retire hundreds of military officers, established a panel to investigate human rights violations, ordered the release of political prisoners. As it was a democratic government, many Nigerians were of the opinion that there was a marked improvement in human rights and democratic practice under Obasanjo as a result of greater freedom of speech, but this claim may be more apparent than real.

However, after eight years in power, the Obasanjo administration did more harm than good to democratic culture in Nigeria. For instance, in November 1999, in an obvious act of support for the military, the army destroyed the town of Odi in Bayelsa State and killed scores of civilians on the basis of retaliating for the murder of 12 policemen by local militias in the area and other related incidents (Nwajah, 1999). In 2003, Obasanjo was re-elected in a very violent-ridden, contentious and highly flawed general elections which saw election litigations lasting for over two years.

The greatest disservice Obasanjo did to Nigeria's democracy was the plan to surreptitiously prolong his stay in power with his "third term agenda". Millions of tax-payers' funds were frittered away in order to achieve this undemocratic position through a democratic means by using the National Assembly to vote in support of it. Expectedly, in May 2006, the National Assembly overwhelmingly defeated the attempt to amend the constitution by supporters of a third presidential term for President Obasanjo. This measure was packaged and inserted into a couple of non-controversial amendments in order for the tenure elongation agenda to free ride on whose back. Nigeria's citizens addressed this issue in a constitutional, democratic, and relatively peaceful process.

The third term agenda was a sour point that clouded some of the reforms that Obasanjo-led administration recorded. Despite the establishment of anti-corruption institutions such as Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), corruption continued to be the order of the day as vote buying and clientelistic politics became the way to elections. The EFCC turned into an instrument to hunt perceived political opponents.

In 2007, Obasanjo's administration missed an opportunity to strengthen its credentials on democracy as the presidential, legislative and gubernatorial elections held that year were worryingly flawed. The President employed the coercive instrument of the state to ensure that his preferred presidential candidate emerged victorious in the presidential election. He ensured that Yar' Adua succeeded him in what was the most flawed election in the history of Nigeria to the extent that President Yar'Adua, the benefactor of that process, recognised that the election that had brought him to power was marred by widespread irregularities. Hence, he constituted an Electoral Reform Committee for the review of the Electoral Act. President Yar'Adua inaugurated a 22-man Electoral Reform Committee on the 29th August 2007, with the mandate to undertake a review of the history of Nigeria's general elections and identify factors which affect the quality and credibility of the elections and their impact on the democratic process, among others. The Committee was headed by retired Justice Mohammed Uwais together with other eminent Nigerians.

Also, President Yar'Adua set up the Inter-Party Consultative Committee on Electoral Reform (2008) which was chaired by Vice President of Federal Republic of Nigeria, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, to complement the Uwais Committee. The Inter-Party Consultative Committee in its report identified the following as the key factors responsible for the problems of conducting free and fair elections in Nigeria (Babatunde, 2013):

- i. Conflict of law guiding the electoral process;
- ii. The use of the power of incumbency to the detriment of other political parties and interest;
- iii. Lack of real independence of electoral management bodies;
- iv. Electoral violence and recruitment of criminal gangs to terrorize the voters;
- v. Selfish interest of the politicians and high influence of money in politics.

The Inter-Party Consultative Committee submitted its report to the Electoral Reform Committee for consideration (Babatunde, 2013). The Electoral Reform Committee consulted widely with individuals, institutions and governments. Some of the recommendations of the committee are as follows:

- i. that independent National Electoral Commission should be unbundled and some of its functions transferred to a Political Parties Registration and Regulatory Commission;
- ii. The Board of the Electoral Management Body should be appointed by the Council of State on the recommendations of the National Judicial Council and subject to confirmation of the Senate;
- iii. Adoption of an open-secret ballot system for the conduct of elections, abolition of independent candidates to contest elections;
- iv. That the funding of INEC should be on the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Federation;
- v. That the number of judges at the tribunals should be reduced and that disqualification of candidates in elections should be made in accordance with the 1999 constitution and the Electoral Act; and
- vi. Only political parties that score up to 5% of total votes cast will be eligible to receive grants from the public purse (see Babatunde, 2103; *The Punch*, March 12, 2009).

Regrettably, political events in Nigeria during this period were hampered by the failing health of the President who could not implement his ideas as a result of his unwellness. The matter created a lot of challenges for the Nigerian state to the extent that a few individuals deliberately kept the country in the dark about the health condition of the President and preferred the country to be run in absentia of the president without empowering his Vice, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, to oversee the affairs of the country. However, after several months of the President being outside the country, in order to save the government, the National Assembly invoked the Doctrine of Necessity and appointed the Vice President, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, the country's acting President and Commander in-Chief-of the Armed Forces. On May 6, 2010, Yar'Adua's family officially announced the death of the President, and in keeping faith with the spirit of the constitution, Dr.

Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was sworn in as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Regrettably, political events in Nigeria during this period were hampered by the failing health of the President who could not implement his ideas as a result of his unwellness. The matter created a lot of challenges for the Nigerian state to the extent that a few individuals deliberately kept the country in the dark about the health condition of the President and preferred the country to be run in absentia of the president without empowering his Vice, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, to oversee the affairs of the country. However, after several months of the President being outside the country, in order to save the government, the National Assembly invoked the Doctrine of Necessity and appointed the Vice President, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, the country's acting President and Commander in-Chief-of the Armed Forces. On May 6, 2010, Yar'Adua's family officially announced the death of the President, and in keeping faith with the spirit of the constitution, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was sworn in as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Jonathan's Administration and the Deepening of Democratic Principles in Nigeria

In his inauguration speech, President Goodluck Jonathan promised, among others, to ensure that the votes of Nigerians count and are counted. "Our total commitment to good governance, electoral reform and the fight against corruption would be pursued with greater vigour," he said, adding: "We must enshrine the best standards in our democratic practice." The President explained that "one of the true tests would be to ensure that all votes count and are counted in the upcoming general election." (See a publication of the *Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Research, Documentation and Strategy*, 2012)

The President was not kidding. The Anambra State gubernatorial election held in 2010 under his watch provided President Jonathan, then acting president, a first-hand opportunity to not only articulate his vision for a transparent electoral process but to clearly demonstrate his sincerity of purpose. In his pre-election message to the people of the state titled *The votes must count and be counted*, he called on all the stakeholders to ensure that the

people's wish prevailed. "We must take the election seriously and insist that the votes and voices of the electorate remain the final arbiter as to who governs this state of commerce, industry, diplomacy and scholarship," he said. It must be noted that the President did not use his position to influence the outcome of the election as his party the PDP could not dislodge the ruling All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) whose candidate Governor Peter Obi won (*Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Research, Documentation and Strategy, 2012*)

From that moment the President took further steps to deepen democratic principles in Nigeria. The elections which eventually held in April 2011 were peaceful and were adjudged by both domestic and international observers as the fairest and freest election in the nation's recent electoral history. He was commended locally and internationally for the peaceful and credible conduct of the election. He made it clear that the electoral rights of the people must be paramount. The appointment of Professor Attahiru Jega, as INEC chairman, a man he had not met before, proved that the President was serious to reform the democratic process and space in Nigeria. According to Obi (2011):

Attahiru Jega, Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), came highly recommended. President Goodluck Jonathan whose job it was to appoint him never met him before. And never spoke with him. He appointed him based on what he had heard and read about him. Only a Jonathan can take such a risk. Others would have appointed their friends or those recommended to them by their very close friends and/or allies, especially if they would be part of that election process. But that is Jonathan. Clean heart. Confident and at times, too trusting. Jonathan refused to take interest in who occupies what post in INEC. So, aside from Jega, a (core) Northerner, both the INEC Secretary, and Director of Operations were also (core) Northerners.

It is a well-known fact that democracy is immensely contingent on the continuing independence of the electoral management bodies. And as a matter of fact, African leaders are not famous for permitting such independence for their states' electoral referees, but Jonathan will be

remembered as one who evidently did not interfere in the affairs of Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). If we take the ethnic bent in Nigerian politics, one would not believe that Jonathan would appoint a northerner to chair the INEC but as a detribalized person, he was more concerned about Nigeria than his personal political gains. According to Siollun (2015):

Previous Nigerian presidents were too cynical to expose themselves to the unpredictable risk of a fair election. The election victories of PDP presidents during the past 16 years have been partially "assisted" by electoral malpractice. That changed when Jonathan nominated Professor Attahiru Jega as the chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in 2010. Jega vowed to reform Nigeria's electoral process to ensure free and fair elections. The former university lecturer exuded calm authority and integrity. He painstakingly prepared for the task over the past four years by studying the rigging methods used in previous elections, implementing an elaborate system of voter registration, training thousands of electoral staff and introducing biometric readers to identify voters by reading their thumbprint. Jonathan created the environment for the emergence of these changes and gave Jega the freedom and authority to conduct reforms that led to a credible election. But by giving Jega a free hand to play fair, he allowed Jega to craft the weapons that were used to oust him from power.

When Governor Adams Oshiomhole of Edo State ran for second term in office in July 2012, there was unfounded fear that PDP was planning to dislodge him by unfair means. The President only campaigned for his party but allowed the electoral process to run its course. Edo people decided that it was Oshiomhole that they preferred to PDP's Maj. Gen. Charles Airhiavbere. Expectedly, President Jonathan congratulated Oshiomhole, notwithstanding the fact that his party was defeated by the candidate of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN).

His administration was very concerned about strengthening institutions of democracy especially the judiciary and legislature which are the bastions of

democracy. For instance, it is on record that the rancour or conflict between the executive and the legislature became a thing of the past under his government. In terms of cordiality, available evidence indicates that there was cordiality in the relationship between the Legislature and the Executive under the Jonathan administration when compared to the administrations before it. The legislature at the federal level, under his watch witnessed stability in its leadership owing to the non-interference of the Executive in the affairs of the National Assembly. This had not been the case before he came on board. A comparative survey of this fact is captured in the table below:

Table 1A:

Relative Stability in Executive -Legislative Leadership in Nigeria 1999 - 2015

President	Tenure	Senate President	Term
Olusegun Obasanjo	1999-2007	Evan Enwerem	June, 1999 - Nov. 1999
		Chuba Okadigbo	Nov. 1999 - August, 2000
		Anyim Pius Anyim	August, 2000 - May, 2003
		Adolphus Nwabara	2003 - 2005
		Ken Nnamani	April, 2005 - May, 2007
Umaru Yar'adua	2007-2010	David Mark	2007 - 2010
Goodluck Jonathan	2010-2015	David Mark	2010-2015
Muhammad Buhari	2015-till date	Bukola Saraki	2015-till date

Source: Chilaka (2016)

Table 1B:
House of Representatives

President	Tenure	Speaker House of Representatives	Term
Olusegun Obasanjo	1999 – 2007	Salisu Buhari	1999 – 2000
		Ghali Umar Na'Abba	2000 – 2003
		Aminu Masari	2003 – 2007
Umaru Yar'adua	2007 – 2010	Patricia Etteh	2007 – 2007
		Oladimeji Bankole	2007 – 2011
Goodluck Jonathan	2010 – 2015	Aminu Tambuwal	2011-2015
Muhammad Buhari	2015-till date	Dogara	2015-till date

Source: Chilaka (2016)

Tables 1A and B above show a high degree of instability in the leadership of the National Assembly between 1999 and 2007. This leadership instability in the Legislature had obvious support of the executive arm of government. However, there was relative stability in the leadership of the Legislature between 2010 and 2015. What accounted for this stability was the cordial relationship that existed between the Legislature and the Executive. Even when the former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Aminu Tambuwal, decamped to All Peoples Congress (APC), from the ruling PDP, he was allowed to see off his tenure. This is in contrast to what is happening to Bukola Saraki, who APC through the threat of fire and brimstone insist must resign haven decamped to PDP from APC.

Nigeria, under President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration was one in which human life was valued. Political assassinations did not feature as part of his political culture. By contrast, under Obasanjo administration, there were a number of such crimes, suspected to be usually politically motivated. During Jonathan's presidency, he repeatedly declared that his presidential ambition and indeed the political ambition of any other politician in the country, was not worth the blood of any Nigerian. Jonathan did not only preach this political philosophy but by freely accepting defeat at

the 2015 presidential election and quietly leaving office, he dutifully practised what he preached (Okeke, 2017).

There was massive freedom of expression to the extent that President Jonathan, in August 2012, described himself as the most criticized president in the world and prophetically added that by the time he left office he would have become the most praised president (Chiedozie, 2012). As it was predicted, Jonathan left office as a very popular man, not in any case because of his commendable performance in office but by the fact of his conceding defeat as a sitting president in Nigeria—the first time in the history of West Africa that such an electoral incident was recorded. He refused to allow the sit-tight syndrome to creep into his political cap and displayed an attitude uncommon among African leaders who usually refuse to vacate presidential positions when defeated in competitive elections. They stay put knowing that their supporters will feed into their recalcitrant stand to foment and engender widespread violence for the struggle for power.

The way Jonathan handled his electoral defeat in 2015 was unprecedented and showed that Nigeria's democracy had matured. Before the completion of collation of results, President Jonathan called the opposition candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, who was about to emerge victorious, and congratulated him on his yet-to-be-announced election victory. Indeed, according to the President-elect (as at then), Muhammadu Buhari, the telephone call put across to him by President Goodluck Jonathan, congratulating him even before the final result of the presidential election was announced, changed the course of the nation's political history. Buhari acknowledged that the incumbent president was capable of using the power of incumbency to make things difficult on the outcome of the presidential election, at the expense of the lives of poor Nigerians. But he chose to tow the path of selflessness (Andrews *et. el*, 2015, Okeke, 2017). Addressing Jonathan at the handing-over ceremony, preceding the inauguration of the new president, Muhammadu Buhari further declared:

For that (by that call), you have earned yourself a place in our history, for stabilizing this system of multi-party democracy and you have earned the respect of not only Nigerians but world leaders. All the leaders that spoke to me and congratulated us for arriving at the point we arrived,

mentioned this and I could understand a lot of relief in their voices that Nigeria has made it after all, and this is largely owed to a situation you made possible. If you (Jonathan) had attempted to make things difficult, you could have made things difficult and that would have been at the expense of lives of poor Nigerians, but you chose the part of honour and may God help all of us. Thank you very much your Excellency (Buhari cited in Andrews et.al, 2015).

President Buhari also took the opportunity of his first appearance on the regional level at an African Summit (upon his election) to heap more praises and acknowledged the statesmanlike role of former president Jonathan in the peaceful handover of power in Nigeria, as he declared to the body of African leaders: I cannot fail to acknowledge the very positive role played by my predecessor, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, in averting the feared crisis in our country, and in facilitating the peaceful transition of power between the two parties (Vanguard, 2015; Okeke, 2017).

Although the administration had its shortcomings ranging from alleged mismanagement of resources and insecurity especially in the North-East, at the democratic front the performance of the administration was unmatched in the annals of the country. Jonathan brought his simple, unassuming and humble style to bear on our democracy. Jonathan's administration was one that had respect for the rule of law as seen by the encomiums poured on him by President Muhammadu Buhari, who defeated Jonathan in the 2015 presidential election and became the president of Nigeria.

The question is what has become of Nigeria's democracy and rule of law since Jonathan left office? The answer is that of gloom despite assurances to Nigerians. For instance, after assuming office, President Muhammadu Buhari reiterated his commitment to ensure compliance to the rule of law by all agencies of government under his administration. "Let me reiterate this administration's commitment to due process, merit and total observance of the rule of law as central pillars of a prosperous and democratic society," the president said. Again, on May, 2016, during an address delivered at the Commonwealth meeting, Mr. Buhari restated his government's commitment to comply with the rule of law and respect for human rights. "I

am committed to applying the rule of law and to respecting human rights," the President had said. Similarly, Vice President Yemi Osinbajo in an interview with some journalists restated the administration's commitment to the rule of law including obedience of court orders. "I very strongly believe that we must obey the law. It is our duty as government to respect the orders of the court." Despite the verbal assurances of the president and his deputy, the administration has consistently violated court orders, by going against the rule of law (Okakwu, 2017).

For instance, the former National Security Adviser, Sambo Dasuki who is facing multiple charges for alleged diversion of \$2.1 billion and illegal possession of fire arms was granted bail on at least six different occasions by various courts, the Nigerian government persistently refused to comply with the court orders. In the same vein, the most absurd of violation of human rights by the Buhari administration is its treatment of Ibraheem El-Zakzaky, a leader of a Shiite group, IMN. Mr. El-Zakzaky had been in detention without any trial for over 17 months. On December 2, 2016 the Abuja Division of the Federal High Court ordered for his release all to no avail. In fact, during his arrest on 14 December, 2015, the Nigerian military killed about 347 members of his group and till now nobody has been prosecuted for the killings.

Regrettably, the disregard for human rights may continue unabated going by what the President said on Sunday 26, August, 2018 while addressing the opening ceremony of a conference of the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA). President Buhari told a gathering of lawyers that the "Rule of Law must be subject to the supremacy of the nation's security and national interest." He further observed that "Our apex court has had cause to adopt a position on this issue in this regard and it is now a matter of judicial recognition that where national security and public interest are threatened or there is a likelihood of their being threatened, the individual rights of those allegedly responsible must take second place, in favour of the greater good of society" (Buhari, cited in Okakwu, 2018). This is what Nigeria's democracy has become under Buhari's administration. It must be stated that the respect for the rule of law is very essential for any democracy to work.

Without the observance of the rule of law by the Jonathan's administration one wonders what could have been the fate of Buhari's administration. Democracy is now in its 19th year in Nigeria because of the observance of rule of law which the present government is a beneficiary but prefers to work against the progress the country has made on this path. According to Nwakanma (2018:21), the Buhari administration:

Prefers the route of the rule of man where the government can declare white as black or change the gender of citizens. Across the land, officials of the state, at federal and state levels but mainly in the ruling party, have worked hard at turning back the clock of progress. There is a growing impunity and observance of rule of law in breach rather than in compliance. The Federal Government has carried out these wrong actions under cover of state security, deploying the Department of State Security, or in the name of anti-corruption, using the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission. While Nigerians sympathise with a President who in earlier times was used to command and control and the rule of force, it is imperative that he abides by his promise to observe due process and the rule of law. The rule of law is foundational to democracy. It is the pillar that holds this system of government in place and ensures that the systems and processes work together for the common good.

Such is the weight that rule of law carries in any democratic setting that its observance in breach is an invitation to crisis and political instability which the country cannot afford having consolidated democracy thus far.

Conclusion

From our analysis, Nigeria's democratic practice has been a mixed-bag of blessings since 1999. It is to the credit of the ruling class that the military has not seized political power since the return to democratic rule in 1999. However, the polity had been bedevilled with a lot of problems, ranging from injustice, unequal distribution of wealth, favouritism, nepotism, poor leadership, and regrettably, the manipulation of the electoral process, among others. It must be noted that democracy cannot be sustained if the

electoral process is constantly compromised as we have seen since the return to democratic rule in Nigeria. For democracy to be seen as the best form of government, the rules and procedures involved in the electoral process must be sacrosanct. It is on this ground that one would commend President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan for promoting the sanctity of the ballot box in Africa and Nigeria in particular.

Even the most ardent critic would agree that during the six years of the Jonathan's administration, the practice of democratic principles improved considerably. Hence, the tendency by African leaders to lean towards the old-fashioned "sittightism", has to be jettisoned. The examples of some African leaders such as Nigeria's Jonathan, shows that Africa and Nigeria in particular can get it right. Politicians should learn to willingly accept defeat at the polls. By doing so, the building blocks for our emergent democracy will be firm.

References

- Asia, G.O. (2001). *Nigeria: In search of balance*. Ibadan: Vantage Publishers.
- Andrews, J. Onyebuchi E., & Gboyega, A. (2015). Buhari: Jonathan's phone call changed Nigeria's political history. *Thisday*. Retrieved from [http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/buharijonathan...nigeria-s-political-history/210558/\(12/8/2018\)](http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/buharijonathan...nigeria-s-political-history/210558/(12/8/2018)).
- Babatunde O.O., (2013). The politics of electoral reform in Nigeria. *Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs (CUJPIA)*, Vol. 1, No. 2
- Chiedozie, I. (2012). I am the world's most criticized president – Jonathan. *The Punch*. Retrieved from [http://www.punchng.com/news/i-am-the-worlds-most-criticised-president-jonathan/\(12/8/2018\)](http://www.punchng.com/news/i-am-the-worlds-most-criticised-president-jonathan/(12/8/2018)).
- Chilaka, F.C. (2016) Legislative-Executive relations and stability of the National Assembly under Jonathan's Administration. *Journal of Social Sciences and Interdisciplinary Research*, Vol. 1. No. 1. Pp 133-146
- Dhikru, A. Y., (2011). Nigeria's Fourth Republic and the challenge of a faltering democratization. *African Studies Quarterly*, Vol.12, Issue 3
- Nwadike, J. & Nwokodi, E. (2012). Elections and political development in Nigeria, 1999-2009. In A.A. Aja & A.N. Ibe (Eds.), *Repositioning the state for development in Africa: Issues, challenges and prospects*. Enugu:

Rhyce Kerex Publishers.

- Nwakanma, C. (2018). Mr. President, rule of law is sacrosanct. *The Punch*. p. 21. August 30th.
- Nwaja, o. (1999). A tale of military massacres: from ogoniland to Odi town: Obasanjo condemned for the situation in Nigeria. Retrieved from: http://www.waado.org/environment/fedgovt_nigerdelta/bayelsainvasion/FederalGovtInvadesBayelsa/MilitaryInOdi/MilitaryMassacres.html (12/8/2018).
- Obi, C. (2000). Last card: Can Nigeria Survive Another Transition? *African Journal of Political Science*, 5.2: 67-86.
- Obi, C. (2011). Jega: Jonathan's Statesmanship. *The Source Magazine*. Retrieved from thesourceng.com/MeridianApril182011.htm (12/8/2018).
- Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Research, Documentation and Strategy (2012). Sure and Steady Transformation: Progress Report of President Goodluck Jonathan's Administration. Lagos: GDP Associates Ltd
- Okakwu, E. (2017). Special report: How Buhari Administration serially disobeys court orders. *Premium Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/233665-special-report-how-buhari-administration-serially-disobeys-court-orders.html> (12/8/2018).
- Okakwu, E. (2018) When rule of law may be jettisoned – Buhari. *Premium Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/281433-when-rule-of-law-may-be-jettisoned-buhari.html>(12/8/2018).
- Okeke, R. (2017). The Jonathan administration in Nigeria: A post-mortem study and lessons for dictators in Africa, *World Scientific News* 70(2) 285-303
- Siollun, M. (2015). How Goodluck Jonathan lost the Nigerian election. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/01/nigeria-election-goodluck-jonathan-lost>.
- The Punch, Thursday, March 12, 2009, p.2
- Tijani, K. (1986). Democracy instability and the state of the nation. In S. Mohammed & T. Edo (Eds.), *Nigeria: A republic in ruins*. Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Ltd.
- Vanguard. (2015). Buhari hails Jonathan at AU Summit. *Vanguard Newspaper*. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/06/buhari-hails-jonathan-at-au-summit/>.

CHAPTER FOUR

OVERCOMING THE ATTITUDE OF SIT-TIGHT LEADERSHIP IN AFRICAN POLITICS

Jacob Ogedi Ph.D

Department of Political Science
Federal University Otuoke,
Bayelsa State, Nigeria
jacobogedi@gmail.com
08035440671



Abstract

Sit-tight leadership mentality amongst African leaders is a common but worrisome trend in African democracy. It makes elections in Africa, a process which presents little or no risk of defeat to the incumbent, even when such a leader is unpopular with the electorates. Consequently, the ballot box is reduced to a mere instrument to legalize illegality and therefore renders participatory democracy ineffective. This paper is aimed at proffering solution on how to overcome the attitude of sit-tight leadership in African politics. It observed that only very few African presidents showed commitment to their oath of office by not being swayed by the pecks of office and the aura of power. Others exhibited power arrogance to a point where every resistance was crushed in order to remain in power. The paper recommends inter-alia: The creation of strong and stable institutions as well as the assistance of the international community to sustain pressure that will counter sit-tight leadership syndrome of African leaders in African politics.

Introduction

Sit-tight leadership mentality is gradually becoming a norm in African democracy. African history is rife with Presidents/Heads of States who are obsessed with power. Even those who gained power through democratic process, sometimes manipulate the vital democratic institutions such as the judiciary, electoral commission, legislature, police to enable them suppress opposition in a bid to hang on to power unduly. This negative approach to politics may have influenced Ihonvbere to submit that “politics is practiced in Africa with the intent of ending politics that is to gain power and use it to bar all others to power and even to rights (Ihonvbere, 1989).

Although the emergence of political leaders through elections does not necessarily translate into genuine democracy for any country, it has nonetheless become one of the vital indexes to measure the success or failure of representative democracy. Huntington (1991) and Maltz (2007) are of the opinion that the transfer of power from one national leader to another based on the votes of the citizenry remains the most defining element of competitive democracy. However, the narrative of elections in Africa is gradually turning to a process which presents little or no risk of defeat to an incumbent President, even when such an incumbent has performed abysmally in office and so, may be very unpopular with the electorate. In line with this claim, Anyanwu (1998) asserts that most leaders in Africa are intoxicated by power to a point of madness where every person, every object and every resistance must be crushed if only to remain in power. With a cycle of elections in Africa that merely serve as vehicles to legitimize the status quo, and the ballot box becoming a mere instrument to legalize illegality and therefore renders participatory democracy ineffective due to sit-tight leadership syndrome, there is a compelling need to chart a way forward on how to overcome this negative thematics as to save African democracy from total collapse.

It is on account of the foregoing that this study embarked on this intellectual “voyage” aimed at proffering solutions that can nip in the bud, the attitude of sit-tight leadership in African politics. So, this paper is divided into sections. The first section is the introduction which has just been done while the second section is dedicated to conceptual linkages. The third section deals with some practical evidence of sit-tight leadership syndrome in

Africa while the fourth highlights some heroes of democracy in Africa. The fifth section features the way forward, while the last section is the conclusion.

Conceptual Linkages

Politics has been variedly defined from different perspectives. It has been defined as the authoritative allocation of values for a society (Easton, 1965); the determination of who gets what, when and how (Laswell, 1930); system of behaviour by which a society expresses its self-determination by choosing its leaders, holding them to account and evolving and pursuing collective goals (Ake, cited by Nna, 2004); and the resolution of the problems and contradictions, which arise from the struggle to satisfy the economic needs of people (Ndu, 1998). Political science literature agrees that group life is the basis of politics. Although men are created individually, they have interests that are only actualized in association with other men. Politics is also referred to as those activities usually associated with politicians in the whole process of politicking and attempt at outsmarting themselves over electoral victory. Politics in this regard includes such activities like elections, speeches by political leaders, formulation and implementation of government policies. Other activities may also include political attitudinal dispositions such as struggle for political power among individuals and groups, attempts at influencing or lobbying government policies to reflect a particular interest etc. On each of these occasions, the elements of power and ambition are usually at play.

The concept of power goes straight to the question of who is strong and who is weak in political life. Power is as central in the world of politics as money is in economics. In a general sense, power is the capacity to influence outcomes, to effect means and cause or bring about changes. Outcomes are actions or results. Power is therefore the capacity to cause or bring about actions or results. Political power means the ability to determine or influence the decisions or behaviour of government officials (Sodaro, 2008).

The nature of colonial politics in Africa set in motion the concomitant structure on which a dependent super structure is erected and nurtured. The consequence is political authoritarianism which has become the order of the day due to the application of force to administer an arbitrarily seized territory and resources. The outcomes are alien political institutions, faulty

economic programmes and priorities and the emergence of comprado elements who at independence incidentally found their way into political authority as the new political elites on which political leadership was entrusted. The emerging leadership having perfected the antics of the colonial masters resorted to the use of all manners of political manipulations including repression of oppositions, massive electoral malpractices, political authoritarianism etc. to achieve their ambitions. Political power has therefore become highly appreciated and the struggle for it gets singularly intense. Politics suddenly became a zero sum game in which winner takes all. As observed by Ihonvbere (1989), while making reference to Ake, politics is practiced with the intention of ending politics that is to gain power and use it to bar all others to power and even to rights. The struggle for power "became so intense and so absorbing that it has overshadowed everything else including the pursuit of development" (Ake 2001). Under these circumstances, the military was unconsciously invited into African politics and the process of underdevelopment set in.

The changing face of African politics arising from the "overvaluing" of political power and the intense struggle to obtain and keep it created room for politics of ambition (sit-tight leadership syndrome) in Africa. This ugly scenario led to a contradiction between the pursuit of development and the quest for survival by the political leaders both under the military and the civilian regimes. The fear of the unknown and lack of security outside political office made the political leaders embark on sit-tight leadership syndrome to the detriment of every other thing.

For a country to develop, the political leadership must be committed, selfless, competent and always willing to make sacrifices even at personal displeasure. On the contrary, most African political leaders both in the past and present have failed to show genuine commitment to development strategies and programmes. This is owing to the fact that development runs counter to a leadership whose preoccupation is to survive and maintain power. This survival strategy assumes any form as long as the leadership is kept in office and accumulation of wealth through dubious means is guaranteed. While citing Ake, Ihonvbere (1989) pointed out the relationship between intense struggles for political power in Nigeria often lead to the dubious accumulation of wealth. In his words:

Because the political struggle is so intense and so absorbing, politics becomes for the political leadership and entire political class, the means for appropriation and accumulation... The use of state power for accumulation means of course the abuse of state power: above all, it means corrupt practices, the award of contracts to those who will pay the highest kickbacks... These practices have contributed in no small measure to the impoverishment of the state and the failure of development programmes.

The Sit-tight Syndrome of African Political Leaders

The post-colonial African countries have witnessed a fair share of sit-tight political leadership especially among presidents. The sit-tight phenomenon and tenure elongation can be traced to the history of leadership in Africa right from the era of independence till date. African leaders have been known as very autocratic even when they are elected through the ballot box. In some cases, the president interferes with the legislative and judicial processes thereby reducing the institutions to mere governmental tools to express opposition and to enable the president remain in power for as long as he desires (Abdulateef and Modestus, 2017).

Although African democracy has shown some improvements with elections becoming a regular refrain in some parts of the continent, but some incumbent presidents still devise ways to cow the opposition and exploit the power of the state to skew the electoral process in their favour. In some other climes especially in Eastern and Central Africa, Constitutional coups appear to be the new tools which incumbents employ to side step term limits. This they do by amending the provisions of the national constitution to achieve tenure elongation (Abdulateef and Modeshus, 2017).

Given this scenario, it is not a surprise that many Africans resort to electoral apathy due to lack of faith in the electoral process (Ofuebe and Anierobi, 2005). The general assumption is that an incumbent president cannot lose election. The power of incumbency includes diversion of state material wealth into a campaign, use of security forces, electoral bodies and the judiciary etc. to a structured rigging of an election. This makes voting in African elections mere window dressing. However, it is important to

emphasize that the above negative perception with regards to realizing change in the state house through elections is gradually improving. Some sit-tight incumbents are being dislodged in Africa. There have been celebrated cases in which incumbents were defeated and the result accepted in good faith.

A critical look at the past decade shows that more than 30 African countries have witnessed a direct or indirect presidential election that resulted in change of leadership. Through elections, leaders of 14 countries have remained the same over the past 10 years. They are Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Cameroon, Uganda, Chad, Sudan, Eritrea, Republic of Congo, Algeria, Djibouti, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Togo. Details are clearly noted in Badejo (2017) and Ayodeji (2014) as follows:

1. **Angola:** Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, a 76 years old president of Angola took over power in the country after the death of the country's first post-independence president, Agostinho Neto in 1979. After a peace pact was signed in 1991, Angola had its first presidential election in 1992. In that election Mr. Dos Santos contested with UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi and won. However, Savimbi rejected the result and resumed guerrilla warfare. Dos Santos has so far ruled for 39 years.
2. **Equatorial Guinea**
Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo a 76 years old man seized power from his uncle Francisco Macias Nguema in 1979. Obiang won presidential elections in the country in 2002 and also got re-elected in 2009. He has ruled for 39 years now amid persistent accusations of corruption and electoral fraud.
3. **Cameroon:**
Paul Biya now 85 years old has been the president of Cameroon since 1982. Before then, he was the Prime Minister of Cameroon from 1975 when Ahmadou Ahidjo was the president. The resignation of president Ahidjo in 1982 made Biya to assume the position of president. In 1983, Paul Biya accused Ahmadou Ahidjo of plotting a coup against him forcing the latter to flee the country.

In April 2008, the country's parliament passed a controversial amendment to the constitution which enabled Biya to run for a 3rd term which he won a seven-year term in October 2011. Observers described the election as marred by irregularities. He also won the 2018 presidential election and was sworn in on November 6, 2018 for another seven year-term. Akpan (2015) reported as follows: at present, what Paul Biya of the Cameroons is doing to the Cameroonians is disheartening. According to a Cameroonian journalist, any person critical of Biya's government is given the beating of his life and thereafter allowed to go home and nurse his wound while having a rethink on his initial position. This new "policy" is adopted because the government does not have money to feed thousands of political detainees in various prisons in the country.

4. Uganda:

President Yoweri Museveni, a 74 year old became the president of Uganda in 1986. He was involved in the coup that toppled Idi Amin and Milton Obote. He has so far served five presidential terms in office. In 2005, the constitution was amended to allow him extend his tenure in office. He was re-elected in 2016 in an election characterized by arrests of politicians and electoral irregularities. The police carried out multiple arrests of opposition activists including his closest rival, Kizza Besigye during the election, (Wikipedia, 2018).

5. Chad

Idriss Deby a 66 year old became the president of Chad in 1990 through a coup. He won a 5th term in the presidential election conducted in April 2016. The election was marred by irregularities according to the opposition parties. Deby won the country's first post-independence presidential election in 1996 and was re-elected in 2001. In 2005 he won a referendum allowing him to stand for a 3rd term. He survived a coup in April 2006 and February 2008. He has so far ruled for 28 years, (Wikipedia, 2018).

6. Sudan

Omar Al-Bashir, 74 years old is the 7th president of Sudan. He became the president in 1989 through a coup during the country's 21 year civil war. He won presidential elections in 2010 and 2015. He has remained the president despite an arrest warrant on him issued by

the International Criminal Court (ICC). He has ruled for 29 years, (Wikipedia, 2018).

7. **Eritrea**

Isaias Afewerki, 72 years old, has been the president of Eritrea since the country gained independence in 1993. The country is yet to conduct an election. The presidential poll billed for 1997 never held. Eritrea is a one-party state with only the ruling People's Front for Democracy and Justice in existence. Mr. Afewerki has been criticized for failing to implement democratic reforms. The government is described as autocratic by its critics. He has ruled for 25 years, (Wikipedia, 2018).

8. **Republic of Congo**

Denis Sasson Nguesso, 75 years old became president in 1997. He was previously president from 1979 to 1992 and was defeated in 1992 presidential election. Nguesso became president again in 1997. He won the 2002 presidential election and was re-elected in the 2009 presidential election. The introduction of a new constitution, passed by referendum in 2015 enabled Nguesso to stand for another term. He was re-elected in 2016 presidential poll (...).

9. **Algeria**

Abdelaziz Bouteflika, 81 years old, is the 5th president of Algeria. He won a 4th term as Algeria's president in 2014 election which was boycotted by opposition parties. He has ruled for 19 years, (Wikipedia, 2018).

10. **Djibouti**

Ismail Omar Guelleh, 72 years old, became the president of Djibouti in 1999. He secured a 4th term in office after becoming victorious in the presidential election of April 2016. He has ruled for 19 years, (Wikipedia, 2018).

11. **Rwanda**

Paul Kagame, 61 years old, became president in 2000 after the resignation of his predecessor, Pasteur Bizimungu Kagame

previously commanded the rebel force that ended the 1994 Rwandan genocide. The country's constitution was amended in 2015 referendum to allow him run for a third term of seven years at the end of 2017. The newly amended constitution reduced a presidential term from 7 to 5 years but this was to take effect after Kagama's third term tenure of 7 years. This will enable him to run for another 2 terms of 5 years each under the amended constitution, making it possible for him to rule until 2034 (www.archive.auint). He has ruled for 18 years, (Wikipedia, 2018).

12. Democratic Republic of Congo

Jeseph Kabila, a 47 year old man, became president in 2001 ten days after the assassination of his father, President Laurent Desire Kabila. He exhausted his constitutional two-term limit in 2016, but refused to step down. He has so far ruled for 24 years, (Wikipedia, 2018).

13. Burundi

Pierre Nkurunziza, a 54 year old man, became the first president of Burundi having won the presidential election in 1994. His election by parliamentarians in 2005 was one of the final steps in a peace process intended to end years of fighting between Hutu rebels and the Tutsi controlled army. His re-election in 2015 for a third term was highly controversial as the opposition boycotted it.

Burundi's constitution limits president to a maximum of two terms in office, but the constitutional court ruled in favour of Nkurunziza's argument that his first term does not count as he was elected by parliament and not by the entire electorate and was therefore eligible to stand again (Wikipedia, 2018).

14. Togo

Faure Gnassingbe, 52 years old, became president in 2005 after the death of his father, Gnassingbe Eyadema who died in office after 38 years rule. The 2005 elections which brought Mr. Faure Gnassingbe to power were characterized by fraudulent practices and violent protests which left at least 400 people dead (Wikipedia, 2018).

In the face of this trend in some African States, there is yet another palpable evidence of sit-tight mentality in Africa. This involves some

presidents who were forced out of power despite their manipulation to remain in power. This group is tagged forceful and conflictual handover of power.

Forceful and Conflictual Handover of Power

Badejo (2017) noted that in Cote d'Ivoire, a West African country with a French colonial legacy, Laurent Gbagbo gained political power after a victorious contest with incumbent military ruler General Robert Guei who had wanted to transform himself into a civilian ruler. General Robert Guei in the buildup to the election disqualified Henri Konan Bedie and Alassane Ouattara, the more popular candidates with the hope that Laurent Gbagbo would be easily defeated by him in the October 22, 2000 presidential election. But Gbagbo won. Although, Guei tried to alter the result but street protests sent him packing. However, when it was the turn of Gbagbo to go, he was also consumed by sit-tight mentality. On November 28, 2010, Gbagbo lost in a second round of presidential election between him and his long-time rival, Alassane Ouattara. Gbagbo's plan to use the Constitutional Council to change the election result was opposed by the international observers, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU) and the United Nations Organisation (UNO) who agreed to ensure that the election result stood. The Ivorian crises that ensued resulted in the loss of many lives and wanton destruction of properties. In the end, Laurent Gbagbo and his wife were arrested on April 11, 2011. Gbagbo was taken to the Hague for trial at the International Criminal Court (ICC) while his wife was tried locally. Alassane Ouattara consequently took over the reign of power, (Badejo, 2017).

In a related development, in the Gambia, Yahya Jammeh, followed a similar path to that of Laurent Gbagbo. After 22 years in office, Jammeh lost his 5th re-election bid to an opposition leader Adama Barrow. He had earlier conceded defeat even as the results were still being announced but later changed his mind and refused to leave office, citing "serious and unacceptable abnormalities" in the electoral process. The head of the Gambian Electoral body maintained that the election was won by Adama Barrow and so went into hiding to avoid arrest. ECOWAS with the support of the African Union (AU) and the United Nations Security Council insisted on the need for Jammeh to vacate office. After fruitless diplomatic efforts,

ECOWAS started deploying its troops into Gambia for a show down which consequently made Yahya Jammeh to proceed on exile. So, Barrow who had hitherto been sworn into office at the Gambian Embassy in Senegal on January 19, 2017 triumphantly returned to Banjul as the new President amidst celebration, (Wikipedia, 2018).

President Blaise Compaore who came to power in a 1987 coup, left the country on October 31, 2014 after being ousted in a revolt sparked off by his efforts to extend his 27-year hold on power, (Wikipedia, 2018). In Tunisia, after 23 years in power and under massive popular pressure, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia with his family on January 14, 2011.

In Egypt, Hosni Mubarak resigned on February 11, 2011 after widespread protests, ending his 30-year reign and handing over power to the army, (Wikipedia, 2018). In Libya, Moamer Gadaffi was captured and killed on October 20, 2011 after nearly 42 years in power. This was 9 months after NATO-backed rebels rose up against his regime. In Niger, on February 18, 2010, President Mamadou Tandja was overthrown in a military coup after changing the constitution in order to remain in power beyond two terms. He was voted into office in 1999. In Zimbabwe, the 94 year old Robert Mugabe was forced out of office through a coup and popular uprising. His forceful resignation marked the end of his 37-year rule characterized by brutality and economic collapse.

The above negative narrative, notwithstanding, there are cases of peaceful handover of power by incumbents who occupied the office of President but down-played sit-tight mentality and clearly displayed that personal ambition should not in any way over-ride collective interest. They conceded defeat even when they had the power to do otherwise. These cases are classified below as heroes of democracy in Africa.

Heroes of Democracy in Africa

Aden Abdullah Daar of Somalia was the first incumbent in the history of Africa to concede power. In the 1967 presidential election in Somalia, the second election after Somali independence on July 1, 1960, President Aden Abdullah Daar of the Somali Youth League was defeated by his former Prime Minister who became a major opposition in the same party, Abdirashid Ali Shermake. He peacefully accepted the result and the newly

elected president was sworn in on July 10, 1967 (Badejo, 2017).

Secondly, in Benin Republic, the multiparty election contested by the incumbent President Mathieu Kerekou and Nicephore Soglo (acting Prime Minister) was won by Soglo. The incumbent ceded power and Nicephore Soglo was sworn into a five year term on April 4, 1991. This marked the first time an opposition leader took over power from an incumbent in Francophone Africa. In a similar ballgame, Mathieu Kerekou returned to power on April 4, 1996 after winning the next presidential election conducted that year between him and the incumbent Nicephore Soglo. Soglo also respected the electoral verdict without qualms, (Wikipedia, 2018). The next in this category was Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. Kaunda assumed power on 24th October 1964 as the country gained political independence. Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) became the only party in Zambia after he consolidated his hold on power after winning a multiparty election in 1968. He was however defeated in a presidential election held on October 31, 1991, by a Trade Union leader Frederick Chiluba after 27 years in office. It was a mark of great courage when Kaunda ceded power without cacophony.

In Senegal, President Abdou Diouf who succeeded President Leopold Sedar Senghor on January 1, 1981 after the resignation of the latter is also in this group. He was defeated by Macky Sall who led a united opposition in a general election of March 25, 2012 and ceded power in line with the constitutional requirements, (Wikipedia, 2018). In Madagascar, President Didier Ratsiraka was defeated by Albert Zafy in March 1993 general election after 18 years in power. He ceded power to Albert Zafy in March 27, 1993. Zafy was later defeated by Ratsiraka who contested again in the 1996 Presidential election with him and won. Zafy also accepted the result in good faith. In Malawi, Joyce Banda, as incumbent president had gone a bit further than Zafy in Madagascar. She had been vice president of Bingu Wa Mutharika and when Bingu died untimely, the efforts to prevent her from assuming office failed. However, she left the ruling party and formed another political party through which she contested the 2014 presidential elections. She lost the elections to Peter Mutharika, Bingu's brother. She accepted the result even if she alleged that she was robbed of victory, (Wikipedia, 2018).

Nigeria through the humble and democratic mien of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan has also shown positive example on the avoidance of the sit-tight syndrome in Africa. On March 28, 2015, presidential and legislative elections were held in Nigeria. The incumbent President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of PDP contested against Muhammadu Buhari of APC. As the counting and announcement of votes progressed on March 31, 2015, President Jonathan shocked his supporters and the world when he called his opponent and conceded defeat. This venture was obviously against the interest of his hardcore supporters who were not bothered if lives and properties were lost once they could sit-tight in power. This was the first time an incumbent president lost presidential election in Nigeria because the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was given free hand to perform its functional responsibilities (Wikipedia, 2018).

A similar situation was experienced in Ghana in December 7, 2016 presidential and parliamentary election. In the presidential election, the incumbent president John Dramani Mahama of the National Democratic Congress lost to Nana Akufo-Addo of the National Patriotic Party. About an hour before the electoral commission could confirm the outcome of the elections, President Mahama accepted defeat (Wikipedia, 2018).

The Way Forward

Going by the ugly experience of most African countries vis-à-vis' sit-tight leadership syndrome of presidents, this study recommends the following:

1. Creation of strong and stable institutions. This will limit the powers of individuals and prevent misuse of public trust. Citizens can work through institutions to magnify their influence and checkmate selfish tendencies. In a country where the institutions are strong, it will be difficult for a president to manipulate the electoral commission, legislature and the judiciary for power/tenure elongation.
2. Strong civil society organizations also have important role to play in check-mating sit-tight syndrome. A strong civil society is usually autonomous and able to resist manipulation by the state for parochial interests. They create necessary awareness that will make the people understand the power they have in democratic governance. Power belongs to the people. A proper alignment and synergy between the

people and civil society will certainly chase away bad leaders.

3. The necessary institutions for socio-political orientation and consciousness should engage in confidence building on the people. The people should be made to appreciate the fact that power belongs to them. Resistance by the people to allow the antics of the politicians to sway their conscience will serve as a red card for sit-tight leadership mentality.
4. The attractive nature of African states due to overbearing influence on everything should be nipped in the bud. A reduction in the level at which the states get involved in activities of the people will reduce state power and influence on the people. This will make the states less attractive and hence curtail sit-tight leadership syndrome.
5. The International community should help to sustain pressure that will counter sit-tight leadership mentality in African countries. In the event of refusal of a president to obey constitutionalism as it applies to transfer of power, the international community should impose sanctions on such country(s).
6. Men of proven integrity should be voted into power. Such men would on the basis of principle respect the letters of the constitution and remain faithful to their oath of office. They will not be swayed by the pecks of office and the aura of power.
7. The electoral commissions should be made up of principled, great, independent minded men and women of history who cannot be influenced by any president.

Conclusion

For the people of African descent to enjoy the benefits of democracy and good governance, politics of power and ambition anchored on sit-tight leadership mentality must be nipped in the bud. The foregoing narrative has showed that not all African leaders have been caught by the bug of sit-tight leadership syndrome because there are leaders who remained faithful to their oath of office and are not swayed by the pecks of office and the aura of

power. In addition to the already mentioned men of history like Aden Abdullah Daar of Somalia, Mathiew Kerekou and Nicephore Soglo of Benin Republic; Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia; Abdou Diouf of Senegal, Didier Ratsiraka and Albert Zafy of Madagascar, Joyce Banda of Malawi, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of Nigeria and John Dramani Mahama of Ghana who conceded power without cacophony, great men of history like Nelson Mandela and Julius Nyerere of South Africa and Tanzania respectively deserve special recognition. Dr. Nelson Mandela of South Africa had all the opportunities to remain in power but chose to leave after just one term. He quit the scene and today he is celebrated as a hero even in death. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania is also another leader who demonstrated statesmanship in and out of office.

References

- Abdullateef, S. & Modestus, U. (2017). Sit-tight syndrome and tenure elongation in African politics: Implication for regional development and security. *Daily Trust*, July 26.
- Ake, C. (2001). *Democracy and development in Africa*. Washington DC: Brookings Institutions.
- Akpan, F. (2015). Leadership pathology, political process and democratic experience in Africa. In Bassey C. O. and Agbor, U. J. (eds). *Public policy and politics in Nigeria: A critical discourse*. Lagos: Concept Publications Limited.
- Anyanwu, A. (1998). *Governance and politics*. African politics (eds). Emezi C. E. etal. Owerri: Achusu Publications.
- Ayodeji, O. (2014). Sit-tight syndrome and tenure elongation in African politics in African Journals online (AJOC) Vol. 14. <https://www.ajol.info/index.php>. Assessed 19/07/2018. 21:20:30.
- Badejo, B. (2017). Sit-tight presidents syndrome: A changing African past. <https://medium.com/integrity-online/sit-tight-presidents-syndrome-a-changing-african-past>. Assessed 19/07/2018. 21:20:31.
- Easton, D. (1965). *Framework for political analysis* Englewood Cliffs: M. Prentice-Hall.
- Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Ihonvbere, J. (ed.) (1989). *The political economy of crisis and underdevelopment in*

- Africa: Selected works of Claude Ake*, Lagos: JAD Publishers Ltd.
- Laswell, H. (1930). *Politics: Who gets what, when and how*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Maltizi, G. (2007). The case for presidential time limit. *Journal of democracy* 18, (1) pp.128-142.
- Ndu, E. (1998). *Ancient and medieval political theory: An introduction*. Owerri: Springfield Publishers.
- Nna, N. J. (2004). *Contemporary political analysis* (2nd Edition). Owerri: Springfield Publishers.
- Ofuebe C. & Anierobi K. (2005). Political transitions in emergent democracies: A comparative analysis of electoral process in Nigeria and Ghana (1999-2004) in *University of Nigeria Journal of Political Economy*. 1, (1).
- Sodaro, M. J. (2008). *Comparative politics: A global introduction* 3rd Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
- Wikipedia, (2018). The free encyclopedia [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isaias Afwerki](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isaias_Afwerki).
- Wikipedia, (2018). The free encyclopedia [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/History of Egypt under Hosni Mubarak](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Egypt_under_Hosni_Mubarak). Assessed 17/07/2018 17:37:58.

CHAPTER FIVE

DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN AFRICA: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Okoye Anthony Chukwuebuka Ph.D

Department of Political Science,
Federal University Otuoke,
Bayelsa State, Nigeria
anthonybcokoye@gmail.com



Abstract

Democracy has been accepted all over the world as the best form of political governance due to its values, such as rule of law, fundamental human rights, accountability, transparency and predictability among others. Some are of the view that there is a correlation between democracy and development noting that its peaceful and stable character guarantees this. It is on this note that countries on both right and left sides of political ideological divide subscribe to democracy. It was in light of this that Nigerians under the aegis of pro-democracy groups, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs), Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), Labour and Trade Unions among others struggled at the risk of their lives, prison terms and even exiles for the restoration of democratic rules in the country. However, even as the country is currently undergoing its longest spell of the democratic experimentation that started in 1999 to date; it is sad to note that after close to two decades of democratic restoration in the country as was the case in most parts of Africa, that the country's political system is yet to be fully democratized as a result of the attitude, character and actions of political leaders in the continent (Africa). Hence, this chapter examines democracy and democratization in Africa: issues and challenges.

Introduction

To the surprise of many observers, Africa has experienced recent waves of democratic transitions and popular movements in support of open government (Butts and Metz, 1996). Democracy has been accepted the world over as the most rational form of political governance. This is because it offers the people the right to choose their leaders, participate in political activities of the state, and hold the leaders accountable for their actions and inactions as well as periodic revalidation of the political mandate of leaders to rule through holding of multiparty competitive elections. The beauty of these democratic tenets and values is such that it locates popular sovereignty in the people while at the same time limits arbitrary and repressive rule on the part of the government. By insisting that the business of governance must be conducted in an atmosphere that is characterized by rule of law, separation of powers, checks and balances, respect for human rights, periodic free, fair and credible elections, independent electoral management body among others. These democratic precepts were meant to insulate the people from the evils of autocratic rule by ensuring, liberty, equality, fraternity and responsiveness. These values are the pillars that shoot it into global consciousness that even known despots and autocrats have both in the past and present laid claim to it. Corroborating this viewpoint, Gbenga (2004) observes:

At the close of the 20th century Democracy was the most canvassed global concern. It remains the critical subject even at the beginning of this millennium. Kicking off with the momentum of a hurricane around the late eighties, by the close of the last century it has become a typhoon leaving fire and rubbles in its trail as it pulled down strong holds and iron curtains. The year 1989 appeared to have been the turning point in the democratization wave that swept the entire globe from Tianamen square in China where the students revolted, to the massive rebellion against military dictatorship on the streets of Lagos, Kano and the length and breadth of Nigeria; from the strident advocacy of Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost, to the crusade and campaigns of Vacev in Prague; from the uprising in Port novo -Benin, to the strikes and marches in Gdansk-Poland the battle cry was

Democracy. Since then the democratic wave has refused to abate – sweeping the pariah regimes of apartheid in South Africa and semi dictatorship in Indonesia in the 90's. So profound was the wind of democracy that Omar Bongo the strong man of Congo explained “the wind of the east are shaking the coconut trees! (Gbenga, 2004: p.1).

In Africa, the practice of the libertarian version of democracy that appears to be the contemporary global political regime following the collapse of the Soviet Union had been on and off until late 1990s when most African countries returned to the democratic path by replacing authoritarian regimes and military rulers with popularly elected civilian government after many year of autocratic rule. However, Africa's experience with electoral democracy proves that the mere conduct of (un)periodic multiparty elections does not necessarily translate to democratic rule. As politicians tactically subvert the democratic rules of the game to service their parochial interests against popular will as was evidenced in the numerous cases of tenure elongation through sponsored constitutional manipulations and amendments, sit tight syndrome, electoral malfeasance and violence, human right violation, state privatization, repression, political exclusion, ethnic politics, prebendalism (patronage politics), incumbency factor among others. These situations fundamentally scuttle the democratic projects in Africa and as a result make democratization an elusive concept in the minds of the people. Decrying the situation, Burchard (2014) notes:

Even though over the past two decades virtually every country in Africa has held repeated multiparty elections, democratic development is progressing at an uneven pace across the continent. In some countries there seems to be a deepening commitment to democratic norms and practices, but in others, this commitment, both by political elites and the public, has proven shallow. Based on analysis of various definitions and measures of democracy it seems the adoption of democratic institutions in the 1990s initially led to a liberalization of the political realm; however, the gains of the previous decade were short-lived as substantive democracy-free, fair elections with protection of civil liberties - stagnated and in some cases degraded in the 2000s.

Accordingly, most Africans, no longer believe in their ability to influence or change the system through their votes; as they are now of the opinion that their votes do not count just as their opinions do not matter. This is demonstrated in the dearth of viable opposition parties, vibrant civil society and nongovernmental organizations in most parts of the continent. Actually, the ruling party does not only dominate and emasculate the entire political space, but uses the coercive apparatus of the state to threaten, silence and humble all voices of dissent. It is against this background that this chapter examines the challenges of democratization in Africa.

Understanding Democracy and Democratization

The concept of democracy has become one of the most often used in social science and everyday discourse. Classical forms of democracy as was practised in the Athenian Greek city state permit the active involvement of every male citizen in the process of decision-making due to the smallness of the state (polis) and its population. Conversely, such is quite impractical in the present times due to the large size of modern states territorially and population wise. Instead, the people elect, select or nominate from among themselves those that represent them in government. These representatives, as a rule are accountable and responsible to the people that elect them. This paradigm shift culminated in emphasis of modern democracy on personal liberty, popular sovereignty and representative government, with institutionalized system of checks and balances aimed at preventing arbitrariness and abuse of political power (Jega, 2007 p.11). Indeed, modern notion of democracy evolved from the attempt to address the question of absolutism and the assumption of sovereign powers of monarchs over their people and societies (Jega, 2007).

Conceptually, democracy, just as most concepts in social sciences and political science in particular, is not just amenable but has been subjected to differing conceptions. For instance, some see it as people rule while others view it in terms of institutional arrangements. In this light, democracy has been conceived as “the involvement of the people in the running of the political, socio-economic and cultural affairs of their society” (Chafe, 1994), “government of the people by the people and for the people” (Abraham Lincoln). Alternately, it has also been seen as “institutional arrangement in which individuals acquire power by means of competitive struggle for people's vote (Schumpeter, 1975). This conception highlight the two

attribute of democracy: participation and accountability that the people (citizens) of a given community (polity) determine who governs, and that those who govern “give account of their stewardship through periodic submission to “the people” to assess their performance (Aderonmu, 2010). On the other hand, democratization is seen as “the transition from authoritarian or semi-authoritarian system to democratic political systems, in which there is universal suffrage, regular elections, civil society, the rule of law and an independent judiciary; “process of political institutional reform (or evolution) that moves in either direction, between the two utopian poles that may be termed 'absolute democracy' and 'total authoritarianism” (Dinneya, 2007); a process through which the institutional infrastructure germane to the construction of a democratic polity is established (e.g. parliament, impartial judiciary, electoral institutions and police, independent media etc), civil liberties are codified and guaranteed, the rule of law suffices and a process of constitutionalism evolved” (Adejumobi, 2004 p.12) involves the creation and expansion of the political space for multiple actors to interact, negotiate, compete, and seek self-realisation, within the set and permissible rules (Adejumobi 2000)the process of moving authoritarian system to democratic political system (Abdullahi, 2014). These suggest that the most important institutional framework for sustainable democratization includes:

- a. Politically educated electorate that is willing to participate in the political process and capable of discerning the real motives of political power seekers;
- b. Regular democratic elections that present the electorate with the opportunity to express its support for or dissent to the current political order;
- c. An elected legislature, functionally separated from the executive and whose members are able to harmonize their dual legislative and representative roles;
- d. Independent judiciary to ensure the rule of law, and the protection of human and minority rights;
- e. A constructive opposition with the ultimate objective of replacing the current political order with a superior alternative;
- f. Limited government involvement in direct economic activities;
- g. Politically independent (neutral) central monetary authority and a reliable database; and
- h. Military subordination to civil authority to ensure political neutrality

of the national army and prevent the misuse of the brute force at its disposal for sectional and narrow political gains (Dinneya, 2007 p.59-60).

In Africa, democratization evolves out of the process by which the military and authoritarian regime, gradually disengage from governance in order to make way for a popularly elected civilian government by means of a transition program (Esew, 2003), which is popularly known as democratic transition. Broadly speaking, democratization process is a means of achieving the supposed desired ends, that is, good government or human happiness. Democratization is an exercise in putting conception into reality. In the light of this, democratization as an all-encompassing process must be seen in essence and substance, as how an autochthonous and ethnocentric process of societal values, ethics, norms and nuances are organized (Abdullahi, 2014).

Democratization in Africa

People in all societies always yearn for a better situation than the one they find themselves in. They want to improve their material conditions of life and have more freedom to pursue their economic, social and cultural interests. In situations of political bondage such as colonialism, military or one party dictatorship, this need becomes a necessity and may lead to political demand for a new social project (Ntalaja, 2000). The worldwide wind of democratic change that blew across the entire universe starting from the late 1980s was in the specific case of Africa tagged second independence movement (Osaghae, 1992). The first was independence from former colonial masters, while the second involved liberation from autocratic and repressive regimes that took roots across Africa almost immediately after independence and the concomitant drive for democratization (Egwemi, 2010 p.1).

At the time of independence, most African states embraced various versions of democracy (social democracy, liberal democracy, communist democracy etc.) based on the ideological inclinations and social realities of those that were engaged in the liberation of these various nations. It, however, did not take long for these democratic experimentations to fall under the yolk of different undemocratic regimes such as one party state, authoritarian rule,

or military regimes. True to their nature, these regimes closed the space for citizen's political participation, and thus, alienated the people in the process of decision-making. In most cases, the leader appears as the state such that instead of being subject of the law were flagrantly seen as above the law. Under this situation, constitutionalism, rule of law and political accountability that are the real bastion of democratic governance are utterly relegated to the background. Expectedly, there exist mindless violation of human rights, abuse of power and systemic tenure elongation through the manipulation and incessant amendment of sections of the constitutions to pave way for the continued stay in power of the big man and possibly life presidents. In some cases, military leaders do attempt to (as in the case of Gen. Sani Abacha of Nigeria) or successfully transmute from military to civilian president while retaining all the features of authoritarian and dictatorial regime. The only change is the removal of Khaki and wearing of agbada, kaftan or coat as the case may be. The point is that under both military and civilian dictatorial regimes Africans were subjected to various forms of repressions, suppressions, oppressions and dehumanization. This suggests that much of what has been touted as transition to democracy in the African continent can best be described as mere transition to civil rule as against democratic rule. It was at the face of these hardships and inhuman conditions that the struggle for democratization kick started in Africa as the people sought to free themselves from these autocratic regimes. These were not without sacrifices, martyrs and prisoners, specifically:

In Nigeria it was ignited by the student's movement, human right groups, the media and even a section of the billionaires in dollars class. In fact it claimed the lives of the late business mogul Bashorun M.KO. Abiola, and his wife Alhaja Kudirat Abiola and a septugenarian businessman Pa Alfred Rewane. In Malawi the struggle involved the clergy, led by Archbishop James ChionnG who issued his pastoral letter in 1992 against the government of Hasting Kamuzu Banda. In Ghana the opposition led by the current President Khufour were exemplary, in Zambia the congress of trade unions were unique. To these continental wide struggles for democracy must we add the struggle for abolition of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia. South Africa was a peculiar theatre of mass struggle for the establishment of multi-racial democracy

whose vision and features has long been in the freedom charter drawn up in 1955 at the congress of people (Gbenga, 2004, p.9).

Coincidentally, the end of the cold war, the demise of the Soviet Union and Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the acclaimed triumphed of Western capitalism with its economic and political liberalization (democratization) as the undisputed global regimes dramatically opened up the African political space for acceleration of the third and fourth wave of democratization. And it resulted in the situation that many military and civilian authoritarian regimes collapsed and were replaced with caricatures of market-driven and International Monetary Fund (IMF) inspired and sponsored democratic transition that unfortunately are mostly illiberal, not just desirably participatory, and barely representative and constrained by lack of accountability and good governance (Jega, 2007 p.19-20).

Evidently, the exportation, importation and arrival of liberal democracy in Africa is but a calculative strategic move, packaged and delivered by the United States and its Western European allies in addition to international organizations, institutions and agencies in the guise of supporting Civil Societies Organizations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The west did not promote or support the democratic enterprise in Africa for the heck of it or for the direct benefit of Africans. Rather, it is a means of advancing the frontiers of economic and political liberalism as dictated by capitalism. It, therefore, hardly surprises one why the same Western government, international organizations and multilateral agencies continues to support, launch and rehabilitate a number of undemocratic regimes across Africa by financing and cheerleading their lethargic hold on power, which they wish to relinquish only in death through either endless transition or actual conduct of shambolic elections. Decrying the situation, Ake (1997 p.284) observes that the practice of liberal democracy in Africa: has been reduced to the crude simplicity of multiparty elections to the benefits of some of the world's most notorious autocrats such as Arap Moi of Kenya, Paul Biya of Cameroon and Campaore of Burkina Faso who are able to parade democratic credentials without reforming their repressive regimes.

Accordingly, the democratization of Africa is but the mere extension of liberal and neoliberal economic reforms and policies that serve the economic interest of western capitalist nations and their multinational corporations. This explains why any regime that appears not to be favourably disposed to capitalist ideological tendencies must be pulled down at all cost with the possible assassination (death) of the leader where possible, not minding his impacts to the socio-economic and political conditions of the country. This captures the fate of such leaders as Patrice Lumumba among others.

Post-colonial State and Challenges of Democratization in Africa

The contemporary states in Africa are colonial creations that were decided and perfected upon through the 1884-85 Berlin conference that was chaired by Ottoman Von Bismarck, the Chancellor of Germany at the time. Colonialism, which is the direct political domination of a country by another that, is propelled by economic factors made use of force and repression in pacifying the local population. Colonialism was authoritarian both in nature and in character as it did not consult or pay attention to the yearnings and complaints of the locals. Its primary aim is to extract and appropriate as many economic resources in the colonized territory as possible without rendering commensurate services to the locals. In the process, colonial authorities had no regards to the rule of law and human rights, as it incorporated forced labour as one its primal instruments. Again, colonial rule, which was privatized in the interest of the imperial government, was not responsible for and accountable for the colonized people whose resources it pillaged. The point is that colonial administration was accountable to their government as against the people it governed. This explained why it habitually initiated and implemented policies (that were in most cases anti-people) that were of little benefit to the people.

Regrettably, by the time of independence, not only did the departing colonial masters handed over power to the class of its apologists; rather the African political elites that took over power from them inherited not just the character of the departing colonial masters but they added to it due to their lack of economic base. The first casualty of this state of affair is the rule of law. The leaders choose when to obey and when not to obey the law, which they perceive is a hindrance on their path to the use of the state as an instrument of capital accumulation. Indeed, the democratic notion of

constitutional supremacy is almost none existent. Besides, the principles of separation of powers and functions are observed more in the breach. The executive, due its preponderance habitually undermine the jurisdiction of the other arms of the state either by by-passing the legislature or insisting that its bills must be passed without due process or by disobeying courts orders. In extreme cases, it will resort to intimidation game, whereby the police are used to seal off legislative chambers, arrest and dismissal of judicial officers or the incarceration.

With regards to leadership recruitment, it has been observed that the conduct of multiparty elections in most parts of Africa is but a charade and mere ritual that are used to rubber stamp the preferred candidate of the local comprador bourgeoisies and their international allies irrespective of popular choice. Most often, politicians resort to intimidation, malpractices, vote buying, vote theft, hate speech and outright rigging to ensure they win elections, which violates the rights of the people in determining who that governs them. The truth is that election in much of Africa is everything but democratic. Expectedly, failed governments in the continent often resort to authoritarian means to stay put in power. Using the mix bag of prebendalism and ethnic politics (both in terms of party formation, political affiliation and voters behaviour), that appeal to the sensibilities of diverse unconscious or false conscious groups: be they ethnic, religious, economic and socio-cultural, that continue to support the leader and his illiberal administration irrespective of whether democratic processes were observed.

Democracy and Democratization: The Nigerian Fourth Republic Experience

Nigeria returned to democratic rule in 1999 following the demise of authoritarian regime in the country. Military dictatorship was replaced by representative democracy with the hopes and aspirations of good governance much higher than what the seemingly collapsible democratic institutions could fulfill. The source and nature of transition in 1999 was later found to constitute threat to the foundation of democracy and obliterates the current efforts at consolidating democracy (Ajayi, 2015). Besides, between 1999 and 2015, the country witnessed four different civilian administrations with three successive transitions from one civilian government to another: Obasanjo Administration, 1999-2007; Yar'Adua/Jonathan Administration,

2007-2011; Jonathan Administration, 2011-2015; and the current Buhari Administration 2015-2018

Democratization in Nigeria is about the institutionalization of democracy of periodic elections, multipartism, periodic free, fair and credible elections, separation of powers, human rights, opening of political space for popular participation, rule of law, good governance, constitutional and responsible government among others. However, despite the fact that Nigeria has experienced about two decades of uninterrupted democracy there are various challenges confronting democratic consolidation and good governance in the country such that one is being tempted to question whether we are witnessing democratized Nigeria or Nigerianized democracy. Ideally, democratisation implies the enjoyment of democratic dividends by the members of a democratic state as against governance dividends. It was however, sad to note that elections in Nigeria's fourth republic were anything but democratic. Although, citizens register and vote at periodic elections whether the contest is free, fair and credible is a different story as counting of vote and making the vote count convey different messages and ideas. This is because at every election period, a handful of political elites operating within the fiefdom like entity called Nigeria will at their various locations (states or manor) determine who emerges from the contest as against the choice made by the people at the poll. This accounts for the malpractices, malfeasance and violence that have become emblematic of electoral contest in the country within the period. The worst example is the 2007 general elections, which domestic and foreign observers described as the worst manifestation of electoral brigandage and brinkmanship in the history of the country. Accordingly, the final report of the European Union Election Observer Mission (EU EOM) led by Mr. Max Van den Berg (Netherlands) noted that the team undertook observation of 33 of the 36 states plus the Federal Capital Territory (FCT)... The 2007 states and federal elections fell far short of basic international and regional standards for democratic elections. They were marred by poor organization, lack of essential transparency, widespread procedural irregularities, substantial evidence of fraud, and widespread voter disenfranchisement at all different stages of the process, lack of equal conditions for political parties and conditions and numerous incidents of violence. As a result, the process cannot be said to be credible. Given the lack of transparency and evidence of

fraud, particularly in the result collation process, there can be no confidence in the result of these elections.

With respect to opposition politics, the Nigerian civilian governments are in most cases intolerant of any form of opposition and voice of dissent. The ruling party usually deploys the states coercive apparatus to muscle down any individual, group or corporate body that appear to hold contrary opinion on issues with it. This suggests that under the Nigerian styled democracy popular participation exists at the mercy of the all-powerful central government and its party that often dominate the political space within the period they are in power. Added to the list was the attempt for tenure elongation by President Obasanjo and the ever present incidence of prebendal politics that habitually lay the foundation for official corruption in the country. As every party, region, geopolitical zone or ethnic group that captures the power of the state personalizes and privatizes as well as use same as if it is their private property with utter disregard and exclusion of the rest most especially in areas of political appointments, citing of industries and awarding of strategic contracts. Decrying the ugly trend, Ajayi (2015) observes:

It can be argued that elections and democratic practice in fourth republic characterized by electoral malpractices, political intolerance, economic mismanagement, using political office as gateway to personal enrichment, political thuggery, lack of intra party democracy, insecurity, manipulation of religion and ethnicity to achieve selfish political ambitions and other countless misdemeanors were order of the day.

Again, the country continues to witness absolutism and repressiveness in handling matters of civil nature. The unwarranted use of force in quelling demonstrations, civil disobedience, protest for minority rights and political inclusion by groups still feature heavily in the present day Nigeria. Consequently, there appear to have been cases of state sponsored terrorism as were evidenced in the military or government forces invasion of Odi community Bayelsa State and Zaki-biam in Benue state that resulted in loss of property, population displacement, homelessness, injuries and death.

Conclusion

Available evidence indicates that almost all the countries in Africa now live under liberal democracy with its ritual of electoral contest between alternative viewpoints since democracy is built on political equality, accommodation and rights. Conversely, a number of socio-political realities have demonstrated that what obtains in much of the continent can best be described as transition to civil rule as against democratic transition. This is because the same practices that were symptomatic of the authoritarian and military regimes that they replaced still exist if not in a worse form. This suggests that the even though African states have embraced democracy as the preferred mode of political government to live under, democratization (observance of democratic precepts, values, cultures and ethos) as evidenced in the conduct of free, fair and credible elections, rule of law, separation of powers, constitutional government, popular sovereignty, accountability, human rights, transparency, viable opposition, vibrant civil society, political inclusion among others are but far cry. The point is that democracy in Africa, which is supposed to serve as an instrument that enhances the welfare; dignity and development of the people's living conditions have been hijacked by the political elites as well as the public towards satisfying selfish ends. This explains the ever presence of electoral violence, malpractice, rigging, state privatization, high rate of poverty, unemployment and visible underdevelopment in the continent. This in effect has successfully slowed down the process of socio-economic and political development of the continent.

References

- Abdullahi M. (2014). An overview of democratic rule and democratization process in Nigeria: 1999 – 2013. *Review of Public Administration and Management*, 3 (5): 176-186
- Adejumobi, S. (2000). "Demilitarisation, and democratic reorientation in Nigeria: Issues, problems and prospects", *Verfassung Und Recht in Uebersee. Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, 33(1):26-42.
- Adejumobi, S. (2004). "Democracy, good governance and constitutionalism in Africa" in S. Odion-Akhaine (ed). *Governance: Nigeria and the world*. Lagos: Centre for Constitutionalism and Demilitarisation.
- Aderonmu, J. A. (2010). "Civil society and democratic consolidation in Nigeria in V. Egwemi (ed). *A decade of democracy in Nigeria, 1999 –*

- 2009: *Issues, challenges and prospects of consolidation*. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers.
- Ajayi, A. K. (2015). Analysing the democracy and democratic practice in Nigeria Fourth Republic. Available at: <https://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/181010/analysing-the-democracy-and-democratic-practise-in-nigeria-f.html> accessed on 10/3/2018].
- Ake, C. (1997). "Dangerous liaisons: The interface of globalisation and democracy" in A. Hadenius (ed). Pp282-296.
- Beverly, L. P. (2003). The challenges of democracy and democratisation in Southern Africa. *SA Yearbook of International Affairs*, 2002/03.
- Butts, K. H. and Metz, S. (1996). Armies and democracy in the new Africa: Lessons from Nigeria and South Africa, *Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) Monographs*. Available at: <http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usassi/>. [Accessed on 7/13/2018].
- Dinneya, G. (2007). *Political economy of democratization in Nigeria*. Lagos: Concept Publications Limited.
- Gbenga, O. (2004). Africa and the challenges of democratization. Available at: <https://dawodu.com/olawepo2.htm> [accessed on 7/13/2018].
- Jega, A. (2007). *Democracy, good governance and development in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Larok, A. (2011). Democratizing or Africanising democracy: Which way Africa? Reflections by Arthor Larok for a Seminar on electoral democracy by MSTCDC.
- Stephanie M. Burchard (2014). Democracy trends in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1990 to 2014. Institute for Defense Analyses. *IDA Document NS D-5393*.

CHAPTER SIX

ELECTIONS AND ELECTORAL REFORMS IN NIGERIA, 1999 - 2015

Okoye Anthony Chukwuebuka Ph.D

Department of Political Science,
Federal University Otuoke,
Bayelsa State, Nigeria
anthonybcokoye@gmail.com



Abstract

One of the cardinal features of contemporary liberal democratic order is the conduct of regular and genuine elections that offer people the opportunity to exercise their popular sovereignty in determining their representatives and leaders. This suggests that for electoral contest to be seen as credible it must be conducted in a free and fair atmosphere. Besides, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR) established that the authority to govern shall be based on the will of the people as expressed in periodic and genuine elections. Be that as it may, the conduct of multi-party elections in Nigeria over the decades especially in the fourth republic had been marked by high level irregularities and malpractices, vote theft, vote buying, electoral violence, assassinations, intimidation, molestation and victimization on the part of all the actors participating in the process. The situation undermines the political rights of the people to assess and choose their leaders in addition to holding them accountable. In response to this anomaly individuals and groups operating within the Nigerian political system clamoured for the reform of the electoral process to guarantee that the outcome of the electoral contest in the country can serve as a true reflection of the choice made by the electorates at the poll. This chapter therefore examined elections and electoral reforms in Nigeria, 1999 - 2015 with a view to correcting the anomalies in Nigeria's political and electoral system.

Introduction

Elections the world over are seen as the most acceptable means of leadership recruitment and change in liberal democratic societies. However, for an election to be seen as a foundational process that enhances democratic consolidation in a society, the electoral contest has to be transparent, free, fair and credible. This is to ensure that the outcome of the process truly reflects the choice made by people and as such legitimizes whatever government that is formed on the basis of the election. The premium placed on democratic electoral contest lies on the fact that through campaigns, political parties and candidates vying for public offices submit their programmes and credentials to the voters; and through voting, voters make their choice among contesting interests (political parties and candidates). This prompted Hounkpe & Gueye (2010) to assert that:

..., the quality of elections is part of the criteria for assessing the level of consolidation of new democracies. Elections are therefore considered as vital and indispensable for determining the democratic nature of a political system. When election is not managed quite satisfactorily, it can pave the way for deeper ethnic and regional divisions, lost of legitimacy of elected authorities, protest, violent contestation, social explosion, and doubt about institutions, violence, and instability or even threaten the entire democratization process. In fact, poor management of elections is a real and prolific source of conflicts, violence, insecurity and instability.

Despite these lofty ideas and mechanisms that make election an instrument of conflict management and resolution, it had been observed that the practice of electoral democracy in Nigeria just as elsewhere in the African continent has continually manifested in the formation of governments that suffer from crisis of legitimacy, which further divides the people along the various fault lines that exist in these countries. Hence, it is argued that:

In the 1990s more or less competitive elections were held in dozens of African countries. Often they were preceded by a 'national conference' of the various stakeholders (incumbent regimes, civil society and opposition groups, or parties). In a number of cases, this opening up of democratic

space proved durable, as for example in Ghana, Zambia, Senegal, and the exceptional case of South Africa (which not only held its first successful democratic elections in 1994, but also abolished an entire political system). In other countries, the first elections were a successful exercise in democratic change (such as in Benin), only to revert again to more autocratic tendencies later. In some countries, meaningful elections did not come until much later, in the early 2000s (Kenya 2002 and especially 2007), and while they led to a change of regime, the costs were high in terms of political division and violence. Several post-conflict countries, such as Mozambique and Angola, went through precarious elections, and in the absence of a developed multiparty system the ruling parties were re-elected by a big majority. In ethnically and religiously divided countries such as Nigeria, elections were continuously fraught with problems, such as corruption and vote-rigging, even if the end results more or less reflected majority opinion. In a few countries elections were not held at all, despite earlier promises, and autocratic governance was reinvented (Eritrea)

(<http://www.ascleiden.nl/content/webdossiers/elections-africa-between-hope-and-reality#Elections%20in%20Ethiopia>).

In the case of Nigeria, attempts at conducting multiparty elections in the country that can be adjudged free, fair and credible by all have always resulted in one crisis or another. In fact, the fall of both the First and Second Republics as well as the annulment of the incipient Third Republic were all made at the altar of electoral contest and the issues surrounding it. Similiar symptoms have been witnessed in the present 4th Republic. This prompted Okoye (2012) to opine that “the Nigerian electoral and political landscape as manifested in the 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 general elections have fallen below par (of democratic elections) and have moved from violence to greater violence” as the parties, and candidates in addition to the voters contest the validity of the announced results for not being a true representation of the choice they made as well as their systematic disenfranchisement in extreme cases.

Specifically, election environment in the country is usually tensed and as such represents a hotspot of contest for both the ruling and opposition parties. The atmosphere is often charged with brigandage that manifests in inter-party clashes during campaigns, engagement of cult groups by political parties and hate speeches, electoral violence, vote buying, vote theft, primitive accumulation of votes, etc. The implication of this is that the winner of the contest appears to be determined more through the logic of bullet as against the logic of ballot, which undermines the right of the people to choose and determine their leader as well as erode their confidence in the outcome of the process. This creates a social distance between the ruler and the ruled. And as such, make such democratic cultures like accountability, transparency, rule of law and government as trust a forgone alternative.

It is in order to address these anomalies that states normally draft, pass and amend laws that govern elections and other sundry electoral processes that midwife the emergence of leaders. Accordingly, the Fourth Republic governments of Nigeria have since 1999 to date been enacting, implementing and amending law which control and regulate the conduct and behaviour of the political parties, candidates, groups and even the Electoral Management Body (EMB) – the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), by stipulating the electoral rules of the game as well as punishment for their breach. Thus, this Chapter interrogates the history of elections, its manifestations and the various electoral reforms that have been introduced to attenuate these identified ugly trend in the practice of electoral democracy in the country.

Perspectives on Election

Election has variously been described as “the cornerstone of the democratic process” particularly in the emerging democracies of the world” (Olaitan, 2005:43); “the heart of modern conceptions of democracy following from the inability of the modern society to accommodate the classical democratic notion of involving every citizen in decision-making” (Joseph, 1987); “a way of making choice that is fair to all – one that leaves each member of the electorate reasonable hope of having his alternative elected” (Wanyande, 1987:77); “a device for filling an office or post through choices made by a designated body of people: the electorate” (Heywood, 2007:229), “when the citizens get to choose and guide the government” (Roskin, Cord, Medeiros &

Jones, 2003:230); and “the process by which the members of a community or organisation choose one or more persons to exercise authority on their behalf” (Gaubu, 2007:433).

The central idea in these conceptions is that they all conceived election as the process through which people determine who becomes their leader. Although the theoretical and philosophical foundations of election presuppose that it should be conducted in an atmosphere that is devoid of all manners of intimidation, victimization, molestation and coercion, experience over time has come to show that these codes of conduct tend to be observed more in the breach. Hence, the denial and violation of fundamental rights of citizens to freely choose their leaders especially in emerging democracies has been observed. It is in an attempt to protect, promote and establish the fundamental rights and sovereignty of the people over government. That emphasis was first placed on “free and fair elections” from where the global electoral regime proceeded to the contemporary “international standards for election” for ease of measurement and appreciation of levels of democratization.

By international standards for election, we mean those sets of universal regimes, instruments, treaties, resolutions and declarations that are by virtue of their acceptance and accession by a wide range of inter-governmental and international non-governmental bodies, are applicable the world over and are seen as the yardstick for measuring the credibility of the outcome of electoral contests. Besides, Caecilia Van Peski, Hans Schmeets & Shyrovkov (2011:19) in more concrete terms state that:

International standards for elections stem from political rights and fundamental freedoms enshrined in universal and regional treaties and political commitments. These principally include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966). Such universal treaties as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006) provide standards for the conduct of

elections. Furthermore, standards for the conduct of international election observation have been established through the declaration of principles for international election observation, commemorated at the United Nations in 2005 and endorsed by a broad range of intergovernmental and international non governmental organizations involved in election observation.

Perspectives on Electoral Reforms

Electoral reform is a broad term that covers, among other things, improving the responsiveness of electoral processes to public desires and expectations. However, not all electoral change can be considered electoral reforms. An electoral change can only be referred to as a reform if its primary goal is to improve electoral processes, for example, through fostering enhanced impartiality, inclusiveness, transparency, integrity or accuracy (Ace project, 2018). There are three distinct areas of electoral reforms:

1. **Legal:** involving the amendment of the constitution, electoral law, and/ or related rules and regulations to enhance the integrity, relevance and adequacy of the legal framework within which the Election Management Body (EMB) delivers its services. This may include institutional reform of the EMB itself.
2. **Administrative:** the introduction within an EMB of new strategies, structures, policies, procedures and technical innovations to enable it to implement its legal responsibilities and deliver its services more efficiently, effectively and sustainably. These could include policies and practices on issues such as procurement, financial integrity or employment (such as gender balance in the recruitment of EMB staff); making informed voting accessible to groups such as women, those living in remote areas and the physically impaired; or introducing new technology for services such as voting, voter registration or electoral logistics.
3. **Political:** changes that take place in the political environment within which an EMB operates, such as giving it more autonomy or creating a more effective and transparent framework for its funding and accountability (Ace project, 2018).

Hence, electoral reform is changes in electoral systems to improve public desires as expressed in election results. This can include reforms of:

- a. Voting system, such as proportional representation, a two-round system (runoff voting), instant-runoff voting, Instant Round Robin Voting called Condorcet Voting, range voting, approval voting, citizen initiatives and referendums and recall elections.
- b. Vote-counting procedures
- c. Rules about political parties, typically changes to election laws
- d. Eligibility to vote
- e. How candidates and political parties are able to stand (nomination rules) and how they are able to get their names onto ballots (ballot access)
- f. Electoral constituencies and election district borders
- g. Ballot design and voting equipment
- h. Scrutinizing (election monitoring by candidates, political parties, etc.)
- i. Safety of voters and election workers
- j. Measures against bribery, coercion, and conflicts of interest
- k. Financing of candidates' and referendum campaigns
- l. Factors which affect the rate of voter participation (voter turnout)(Wikipedia, 2018).

The point is that electoral reforms are targeted at enhancing the transparency, credibility and integrity of elections that will in turn boost the confidence of the people that the officially announced results are the true representation of the choices they made at the poll. By giving the people a sense of belonging and proprietary right in the process, it ultimately, confers legitimacy on the government that emerges from the contest as people will identify with the regime, obey its laws, participate in its programmes and policies, performs their civic duties without coercion, and equally contribute in the process of decision-making. This suggests that electoral reform has the capacity of making governments responsible and accountable to the people they govern knowing that they will need the people to renew the legitimacy of their office at periodic intervals.

Elections and the Rationale for Electoral Reforms in Nigeria

As a rule, democracy demands that leadership succession and legitimization have to be done through election. Elections in themselves do not indicate the democratic nature of a polity; rather, it is the manner in which the elections are conducted. Hence, for elections to be deemed democratic they must be seen as free, fair and credible. The history of elections in Nigeria dates back to colonial era precisely with the introduction of elective principles under the 1922 Sir Hugh Clifford constitution as a means of filling the legislative seats allocated to Lagos and Calabar. Categorically, elections in Nigeria can be grouped into three major phases. Elections during the colonial era (1923, 1951, and 1959), during military era (1979, 1991, 1993 and 1999) and under civilian dispensations (1964/5, 1983, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015). It needs to be stated that in between these dates under civil general elections there were series of rescheduled, rerun, bye-elections (for local governments) and those conducted to fill vacant seats in the legislature. Elections that were organized in Nigeria by colonial administrators or the military were more peaceful than those organized under civilian administrations. Actually, the practice of electoral democracy in post-independence Nigeria has been fraught with manipulations, malpractices and violence. Ditto to the fact that the country's previous attempts at democratic experimentations in the First, Second and botched Third Republics all ended at the altar of electoral contests.

Since the advent of the fourth republic in 1999, successive elections (1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015) have been marred by countless irregularities ranging from voter intimidation, harassment, disenfranchisement, stuffing of ballot boxes, hijacking of electoral materials, use of fake ballot papers and result sheets, fraudulent accreditation, kidnapping and assassination of political rival, torching of campaign offices of rival candidates, molestation of electoral officials, burning of INEC office(s), arming and deploying of cult groups, clashes between supporter of different parties, vote buying, vote theft, imposition of candidate, lack of internal party democracy and crass violation of political rights of the people to determine their leaders through the logic of the ballot. It would be recalled that the 1999, 2003 and 2007 general elections were reported to have been heavily marred by irregularities. In April 2007 specifically, when Nigerians went into the third successive general elections in its chequered history of political development, the process was characterized by unprecedented electoral

malfeasance which led to wide condemnation from local and international observers (Falana, 2009). Decrying the state of affairs, which some commentators have referred to as electoral robbery, Animashaun (2010) observes:

The 2007 elections, in a profound manner, deepened electoral crisis in Nigeria. This is underscored by the huge size of election petitions that greeted the elections. Indeed, the elections will go down in history as the one that attracted the highest number of post-election litigations in Nigeria. Official results of the elections were contested at the three levels of governance: local, state and federal. Several results declared by Nigeria's election management body, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), have so far been reversed by the election tribunals and the courts while the dispute that arose from the presidential election was only settled in December 2008, nineteen months after the formal conclusion of the election. The poor conduct of the 2007 polls and how this provided the context for renewed public pressures for electoral reforms in Nigeria (Animashaun 2010: p.8).

In all honesty and sense of modesty, the 2007 polls significantly reversed democratic gains that appear to have been achieved so far, and provided the context for the renewed public pressures for electoral reforms that would protect the integrity of the ballot (Animashaun, 2010). Besides, the political system appears to be privatized in the interest of the party in control of the centre. In this wise, the results of electoral contest are usually written and declared in favour of the ruling party irrespective of the popularity of contesting candidates. However, the lack of autonomy of the state rules out politics of moderation and savors politics of desperation in such a way that while the ruling party manipulates anti-graft agencies to intimidate and undo members of opposition parties as well as in silencing any dissenting voice among its membership. Besides, it practically, encourages and supports its candidates to come out victorious by every means necessary. At times, the EMB were compelled to exclude the name(s) of certain parties and candidates from the ballot papers. On the other hand, the opposition mobilize themselves both legally and illegally in their quest to unseat the

ruling party at all cost knowing that nothing is more rewarding as winning and tragic as loosing. Consequently, most of the elections that were conducted within the period ended in litigations up to the Supreme Court as parties and candidates dispute the validity of the officially announced result as not being a true representation of the people's choice.

Consequently, these anomalies in the electoral process created the necessary openings for individuals, groups and bodies to clamour for the reform of the country's electoral system in order to ensure that the people enjoy the electoral dividends of democracy. Besides, globalization and the consequent internationalization of liberal democratic values for electoral framework and administration compel nations to undertake electoral reforms as electoral contest an individual country is judged against international standards. Again, donor agencies that provide financial assistance often give conditions that must be met for them to contribute towards election. Also, the reports of foreign observer missions that indict and expose the illiberal nature of elections in the country in addition to the activities of pro-democracy groups, civil societies, and non-governmental organizations that operate within the country directly and indirectly impress the government to undertake electoral reform. According to the former United States Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Thomas Pickering, the struggle to achieve credible elections in Nigeria is two-sided: first is how to design and ensure an efficient, effective, and politically non-partisan election management body; and second is on how to re-orient the country's political culture, so that the political elite and general public will show a genuine commitment to the rules and regulations governing the electoral process, in order to ensure free, fair, credible, and competitive elections (Mordi, 2016). This suggests that any meaningful electoral reform exercise that is to worth its salt in the country must first address the operational lapses and logistical deficiencies of INEC, and secondly introduce a fundamental change in the way voters, politicians and political parties behave in the electoral process.

Accordingly, some of the key areas for reforms revolve round the independence and capacity of INEC to conduct free and fair elections without being encumbered. Among other things, this relates to appointment of officials and budget autonomy. Other areas due for reforms include: campaign funding regulations, electronic voting, Diaspora voting,

punishment for electoral offenders and guidelines to endorse internal democracy within political parties (Mordi, 2016).

Reforming the Nigerian Electoral System under the Fourth Republic

Since the transition from military dictatorship to the current civil dispensation on May 29, 1999, Nigeria's quest for effective democratic governance has been confronted by many challenges. The integrity of the electoral system is a major issue facing Nigeria's democracy. It is known from past history that turbulent elections have been a source of political crisis that consumed previous democratic experiences in Nigeria. Controversies surrounding elections have seriously undermined the legitimacy and stability of democracy in the country (Falana, 2009).

The post-1998 local governments and 1999 general elections realities indicated that there is the need for a legislation that will guide the conduct of the future elections both at the federal, state and local government levels in the country. Responding to this, the Obasanjo civilian administration drafted and passed into law the 2001 Electoral Act, which was challenged at court by the Abia state Attorney General on the grounds that it infringes on the rights of the SIECs by conferring on INEC the power to conduct local government elections, which was the statutory responsibility of the former. This led to its repeal and consequent passage as 2002 Electoral Act. This time it was the turn of INEC to institute a legal case against the Electoral Act, questioning the legality of the National Assembly in determining the order of elections; which resulted in the 2003 Electoral Act Amendment. Observing the irregularities that trailed the conduct of the 2003 general elections and the public outcry against same; an electoral reform bill was introduced in 2005 as part of the preparation for the 2007 general elections. The bill was later passed as 2006 Electoral Act, which granted INEC, the power to appoint the Secretary to the commission, limit the campaign expenses of political parties, stiffer penalties for electoral offenders among others.

Interestingly, following the massive electoral irregularities, malpractice, violence and malfeasance witnessed during the conduct of the 2007 general elections, which local and international observers as well as even the contending parties themselves admitted was the worst in terms of electoral brigandage in the country's history of electoral democracy, President Musa

Yar'Adua, the primary beneficiary of the flawed election publicly admitted during his inauguration that the election that brought him to office was everything but democratic. In light of this, he set up an electoral reform committee headed by Mohammed Uwais, a former Chief Justice of Nigeria that went round the country, where they collected and collated memoranda from a wide segment of the society (Falana, 2009), which they considered and submitted their report to the Federal government in 2008. The committee in its report made far-reaching recommendations among which the prominent ones are:

1. The introduction of independent candidacy;
2. Introduction of proportional representation;
3. Appointment of INEC chairman by the National Judicial Council subject to senate ratification;
4. The resolution of election petitions within a timeline of 6 months: 4 months at the tribunals and 2 months at the Appeal court; the non-assumption of office by the candidate declared as winner until the petition challenging his/her victory is finally decided; and
5. The imposition of a 10- year ban, from elective office, on any politician convicted of election malpractices.

However, the Yar'Adua administration rejected and modified many of the commission's recommendations as was contained in the white paper it issued to that effect. Following the lapses identified during the conduct of the 2007 general elections, re-run election and some other technical and operational lapses in the country's election management, the Jonathan administration on assumption of office carried out a number of reforms in the country's electoral system that were passed as 2010 Electoral Act, and were subsequently amended before the 2011 general elections. The major contributions of the reforms (2010 Electoral Act) into the country's electoral system were: it instituted financial autonomy of INEC; permitted timelines for elections; constituted new quorum for electoral tribunal; introduced a time limit for determination of electoral appeal; mandated INEC to monitor party primaries, among others. Highlights of these major contributions are shown in the table below:

Table 1:
Overview of Electoral Reforms in Nigeria 2005-2010

Period	Circumstances or rationale for reforms	Legal instruments	Content of proposed reforms	Outcome of reforms
Post 1999 elections	There was no electoral legislation in place at the time. It was therefore necessary for electoral laws to be passed.	The 2001 Electoral Bill	- The Act was the first legal framework governing the conduct of national, state level and local elections.	The 2001 Electoral Act was passed by the National Assembly.
Post 1999 elections	A court case brought by Abia State Attorney General questioning the constitutionality of the 2001 Act because it had bearing on the conduct of local elections.	The 2002 Electoral Bill	- To repeal the 2001 Act. - Delete sections that referred to the conduct of local elections by INEC as this was constitutionally the mandate of the State Independent Electoral Commissions (SIECs).	The 2002 Electoral Act was passed by the National Assembly.

Post 1999 elections	A court case brought by INEC challenging the powers of the National Assembly to determine the order of elections.	A Bill to amend the 2002 Electoral Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To reduce number of days required for publication of notice of elections. - Guarantee INEC's powers to determine the date and order of elections. - Reduce number of days required for parties to submit list of nominated candidates 	Electoral Act Amendment Act 2003 was passed.
---------------------	---	--	---	--

<p>Post 2003 elections</p>		<p>The 2005 Electoral Reform Bill</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Grant INEC powers to appoint the Secretary to the Commission. - Establishment of an INEC fund to contribute to the Commission's fiscal independence. - Provide higher ceilings on campaign expenses. - Provide stiffer penalties for electoral offences. - Provide for continuous voter registration. - Restrained serving government officials from voting as delegates in party primaries. - Provide time limits to make changes to party nominees. - Changes to election petition processes. 	<p>2006 Electoral Act was passed with some provisions of the Bill not taken into account.</p>
----------------------------	--	---------------------------------------	--	---

Post 2007 elections		The Electoral Reform Committee Report (2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of four different institutions to share the responsibilities of managing elections. - Abolish State Independent Electoral Commissions. - Judicial Council should be responsible for the appointment of the INEC Chairperson. - Appointment of an INEC Deputy Chairperson who should be of a different gender from the Chairperson. - Independent candidates should be allowed to run in elections. - Prohibit carpet crossing in the National Assembly. - New ceilings on individual donations to candidates. 	The Committee's report was submitted and this formed the basis for the white paper that included proposals for constitutional reforms.
---------------------	--	--	---	--

<p>Post 2007 elections</p>		<p>Constitution Amendment Bills (2009 & 2010)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Financial independence of INEC through the national consolidated fund. - Members of INEC not to be partisan. - INEC not subject to control in its administration and operations. - Change in timelines for elections. - Powers of National Assembly to make laws that enforce intra-party democracy and INEC to oversee party primaries. - New quorum for election tribunals. - Avoidance of tenure elongation as a result of re-run elections. 	<p>The 1999 constitution was amended twice before the 2011 elections.</p>
----------------------------	--	---	---	---

Post 2007 elections		Electoral Act Amendment Bill 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provisions to speed up appeal processes by providing time limits for determination of appeals. - INEC empowered to de-register dormant political parties. - INEC empowered to monitor party primaries which are mandatory. - Outcome of party primaries can be appealed before the courts. - Proposal to bar political appointees from voting as delegates in party conventions. 	The 2010 Electoral Act was passed and amended once before the 2011 elections.
---------------------	--	-----------------------------------	--	---

Sources: Extracted from LeVan and Amarachi (2010), Nigeria's Electoral Law as harmonized by the National Assembly 2006 and 2010; and EUEOM (2012), Nigerian Final Report General Elections April 2012

A critical analysis of the reforms that were carried out in the country's electoral process under the present fourth republic indicates that there have been substantial structural and procedural changes in the way elections are conducted in the country with the aim of making the process transparent and credible. It attempted to resolve the logistical deficiencies and procedural inconsistencies within the country's EMB. This is demonstrated in the financial independence and power to appoint the secretary of the commission granted to INEC. As a way of restoring the integrity and sanctity of the EMB – INEC, the Jonathan administration appointed persons of unquestionable characters starting with its Chairman in the person of Prof. Attahiru Jega in order to cleanse the institution of all the negative tendencies that have given it a sordid image. Acclaiming the reformation in the country's system of electoral administration and management, Udumebraye (2014, p.1) observes:

Understandably, President Jonathan has taken electoral reforms as a priority in his administration transformation agenda. His main goals are to evolve an electoral system that is manned by qualified, competent and efficient personnel, enact electoral laws and guidelines that are beyond manipulation and conduct elections that are free, fair and credible. By so doing, the President hopes to create in Nigerians confidence in the nation electoral system. When, in acting capacity, President Jonathan appointed Professor Attahiru Jega as Chairman of the INEC, he knew where he was going. Since then, he has, through the National Assembly, effected necessary amendments to the 2010 Electoral Act to seal up loopholes and take care of areas that were subject to abuse.

Apart from improving the financial lot of INEC and its human resources, there was an insistence over time that political parties must respect the rule of the law in their conducts, compliance with internal democracy (Momodu, 2014). Although electioneering in the country is still far from ideal, the 2010 reform of the Electoral Act gave INEC the kind of independence it never enjoyed in the history of Nigeria's democratic governance. This permitted INEC to revolutionize the country's method of voter registration and accreditation by introducing the innovative electoral fraud detecting

technology such as the card reader and bio-metric identification of voters (Ibekwe, 2015). In order to cater for those who may be wrongfully omitted in the voter register or failed to be captured by the biometric card reading machine, INEC also introduced the incidence form, for such persons to fill out their details and cast their vote. These reform measures have raised the citizen's confidence in the capacity of the electoral umpire (INEC) which was nothing but an instrument in hand of the ruling class and party before these reforms. As a result, at the end of the 2011 general elections, international and local observers attested that the country was on its path to democratic growth. Specifically, Mariya Nedelcheva, head of the European Parliament delegation to the elections, was quoted as saying: "Saturday's elections are a convincing proof that the Nigerian authorities, institution and electorate are determined to remain owners of their destiny and to run even better elections in the future." Expectedly, mid-term elections in Edo, Anambra, Ondo, Ekiti and Osun states between 2011 and 2015 demonstrated significant improvement which aggregated in the phenomenal 2015 elections that saw an incumbent voted out of office for the first time in Nigeria (Adedokun, 2016). The peaceful and democratic atmosphere under which the 2015 general elections were conducted compelled the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General for West Africa and the Sahel, and Chairman of the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission (CNMC), Ambassador Mohammed Ibn Chambas, to observe:

What we noticed in 2015 was that there was a display of maturity in the way the elections were handled. There was hardly any major incident between the then ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC). The problems were mostly internal to parties (Vanguard, November 7, 2017).

In extolling Jonathan's achievements, the UN prayed that the institutions he built and the high standards he established in organizing credible and peaceful elections are maintained and sustained in Nigeria (Vanguard news, November 7th 2017).

Concluding Remarks

Election and electoral processes are core elements of representative democracy. Without mincing words the success or failure of elections are central to the success or failure of democratization in any country. Be that as it may, electoral contest in post-independent Nigeria have been characterized by the tortuous stories of brinkmanship and electoral malfeasance that often manifest in various forms of malpractices, rigging, vote theft, falsification of results, vote buying, snatching of ballot boxes and electoral materials (both sensitive and non-sensitive), use of fake ballot papers, boxes and results sheets, kidnapping and assassination of political opponents, hate speeches and campaign, arming of cult groups and gangs, voter intimidation, manhandling of electoral officers among others that smear the integrity of the country's electoral process. Besides, the practice has not only alienated the people from the electoral system, violated their rights but ultimately created legitimacy crisis for governments that were formed on the basis of such faulty process. The situation appears to have gone from bad to worse with every successive election that has been conducted since the country's return to the democratic path on May 29th 1999. The worst in the series being the 2007 general elections, which both domestic and foreign observer missions described as the worst in the annals of the country's experience with electoral democracy.

It was in response to these electoral anomalies that the individuals, CSOs, NGOs and pro-democratic movements, students unions, Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs), professional bodies and labour unions among others clamoured, struggled and engaged the Nigerian state for the reformation of the electoral process. Flowing from these, the Nigerian state has been drafting and amending necessary sections of the electoral act since 2001 to date based on observable realities witnessed after every general election in the country. These reforms were both procedural and institutional and were targeted at improving on the efficient service delivery by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) as well as the behaviour and finance of the political parties.

References

- Ace project (2018). What is electoral reforms? Available at: <http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/eml/default> [accessed on 21/8/2018].
- Adedokun, N. (December 15, 2016). Crimes Buhari shouldn't commit with Nigeria again. Available at: <https://punchng.com/crime-buhari-shouldnt-commit-nigeria/> [accessed on 21/8/2018].
- Animashaun, K. (2010). Regime character, electoral crisis and prospects of electoral reform in Nigeria. *Journal of Nigeria Studies*, 1(1):1-33.
- EUEOM, Nigerian Final report general elections April 2012. Available at: http://eeas.europa.eu/eueom/pdf/missions/final-report-nigeria2011_en.pdf
- European Union Election Observation Mission (2007); NIGERIA: Final Report: Gubernatorial and State Houses of Assembly Elections and Presidential and National Assembly Elections. Abuja. August 21.
- Falana, F. (2009). The limit of electoral reforms being the speech delivered by Femi Falana on "Democracy Day" at the London Metropolitan University, Holloway Road, London, United Kingdom on Friday May 29 2009. Available at: <http://saharareporters.com/2009/06/03/limit-electoral-reforms> [accessed on 26/8/2018].
- Gaub, O.P. (2007). *An introduction to political theory*(4th ed). Delhi: Macmillan Indian Ltd.
- Heywood, A. (2005). *Politics* (2nd ed). New York: Palgrave.
- Ibekwe, Nicholas (2015). Nigeria 2015 Transition: Jonathan's failures, achievements in five years. Available at: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/features-and-interviews/183866-nigeria2015-transition-jonathans-failures-achievements-in-five-years.html> [accessed on 21/8/2018].
- Joseph, R. A. (1987). *Democracy and prebendal politics in Nigeria: The rise and fall of the second republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LeVan, C. and Amarachi U, (2010), Nigeria's electoral law as harmonised by the National Assembly 2006 and 2010. Available at: <http://carllewan.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/Electoral-Law-Comparison-2010-final.pdf>
- Mordi, Raymond (2016). Electoral reform: How far will Buhari go? Available at: <http://thenationonlineng.net/electoral-reform-far-will-buhari-go/> October 7, [accessed on 21/8/2018].
- Okoye, A. C. (2015). "Elections observation and post-2015 electoral peace in

- Nigeria” A two-day national conference on the “2015 General Elections in Nigeria: The real issues” at The Electoral Institute Complex, Abuja between July 27th – July 29th.
- Okoye, A.C. (2012). “Nigerian police and management of the electoral process: Problems and challenges, 1999 – 2011” *Journal of International Politics & Development Studies*. Vol. 8. Nos 1&2 pp 74-95.
- Roskin, M. G., et al (2003). *Political science: An introduction* (8th ed). New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- The Oracle News. UN commends Jonathan for electoral reforms. Available at: <https://oraclenews.ng/un-commends-jonathan-electoral-reforms/> [accessed on 21/8/2018].
- Udumebraye, J. (2014). Jonathan electoral reform, APC gains. Available at: <http://pointblanknews.com/pbn/articles-opinions/jonathan-electoral-reform-apc-gains/> [accessed on 21/8/2018].
- Vanguard (November 7, 2017). UN lauds Jonathan for electoral reforms, role in promoting peace in Africa. Available at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/11/un-lauds-jonathan-electoral-reforms-role-promoting-peace-africa/> [accessed on 21/8/2018].
- Wanyande, P. (1987). “Democracy and one-party state: The African experience”, in W. O. Oyugi & A.Gitonga (eds), *Democratic Theory Practice in Africa*. Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya.
- Wikipedia (2018). Electoral reform. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electoral_reform (accessed on 21/8/2018).

CHAPTER SEVEN

NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY OUTLOOK IN THE POST-MILITARY ERA, 1999-2018

Chilaka Francis Chigozie Ph.D

Department of Political Science
Federal University Otuoke,
Bayelsa State, Nigeria
chilakafc@fuotuoke.edu.ng
08030965149



Abstract

This chapter is designed to beam the searchlight on Nigeria's foreign policy in the post-military era. In the process of analysis, it chronicled and assessed the achievements recorded by regimes before democratic rebirth in 1999. It was very appropriate to examine the various episodic trajectories in Nigeria's foreign policy for a better appreciation of it in a democratic setting. It highlighted the various bold steps taken on Nigeria's foreign policy by different administrations since 1999. The chapter observed that in an era of globalization, Nigeria's foreign policy needed to be investment driven and this was practically pursued during the Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's Administration. This is because the increasing interdependence of countries in the area of trade and commerce, Nigeria needed not to be left behind. Hence, economic diplomacy became the key to match Nigeria's national interest to contemporary realities of international politics. For the first time under a civilian administration in Nigeria, the economic needs of the country were intertwined with the foreign policy goals of the Nigerian state. No nation can succeed in the international community without matching its foreign policy needs to the economic wellbeing of its citizens.

Introduction

States as actors in global politics are known to be guided by consistent and persistent behavioural pattern that is well organized. Their actions and inactions are systematically tailored to define their behavioural pattern. Implied in this orderly behaviour are their foreign policies. Foreign policy consists of different methods, strategies and values chosen by a state to safeguard its national interest in relations with states and non-state actors conditioned by both domestic and external events in international politics. These methods, strategies and values are consistent in the actions and inactions of states in their interactions with one another. Expectedly, not many would agree with this definition of foreign policy, however, none would disagree about its existence in the life of any state whether authoritarian or democratic. Thus, a state must have a foreign policy (Nwaorgu & Chilaka, 2016). Hence, with Nigeria's independence that was said to be won on a platter of gold, Nigeria pursued a moderate foreign policy that maintained ties with her erstwhile colonial masters, especially Britain. Hence, Nigeria's foreign policy in the First Republic was conservative, Afrocentric and un-implicated in the East-West ideological rivalry popularly known as Cold War.

With the military coup of 1966, which ushered in General Aguiyi Ironsi, Nigeria's foreign policy witnessed no fundamental shift with the still-born government of Ironsi. When General Yakubu Gowon took over as Head of State, profound internal conflict ensued which enthroned a foreign policy of war diplomacy which saw government aids shuttling from one country to the other to rationalize and explain the circumstances behind the war. This was done to get Nigeria's traditional allies support to prosecute the war by way of supply of arms, ammunitions and war propaganda. This was not to be the case as both Britain and United States of America disappointed the country. Consequently, the pro-West posture of Nigeria's foreign policy was reviewed giving rise to more cordial relations with the East typified by the Soviet Union. This move helped Nigeria to get the support of the Soviet Union to effectively prosecute the war. The end of the war, coincided with the oil boom which accrued a lot of petro-dollar to the Nigerian state to reassert her leadership role in Africa.

In July, 1975, the Gowon regime was deposed and brought into being the General Murtala/Obasanjo regime which brought dynamism and activism

to Nigeria's external affairs. The regime overhauled the foreign policy machinery of the state, redefined and re-prioritized the aims and objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy, and made profound impact in Nigeria's foreign affairs. The regime deepened Nigeria's Afrocentric posture and was unwavering in its fight against Apartheid and decolonization (Chilaka & Odoh, 2011). Very fundamental, the regime's handling of the Angolan crises was applauded by Nigerians to the extent that the action became the flagship of Nigeria's foreign policy and launched Nigeria into international limelight.

After the assassination of Murtala Mohammed, General Obasanjo who automatically stepped in, did not neutralize this dynamism and radicalism in Nigeria's foreign policy. He went as far as nationalizing the Barclays Bank and the British Petroleum as a practical demonstration of the country's decolonization and Afrocentric posture.

The Obasanjo, military regime, handed over power to a civilian government headed by Alhaji Shehu Shagari. The seeds of what would later germinate as a conservative foreign policy were conceived in the womb of this civilian administration. Dynamism gave way for conservatism while radicalism for pro-West. Apart from this, dynamism of Nigeria's foreign policy was seriously periled by harsh economic climate that the administration witnessed. Shagari's foreign policy was seen as weak, pro-West and generally lacklustre (Chilaka & Odoh, 2011).

Amidst the harsh economic situation, coupled with simmering corruption and mismanagement, the Shagari's government was cashiered out of power by the military in December 1983. The reins of power fell on General Muhammadu Buhari. The regime pursued a foreign policy that was reminiscent of the Murtala/Obasanjo regime. The regime was guided by ultra-nationalist zeal, which made it reject anything, especially from the West; it perceived would not be in the nation's interest.

The life of the regime was terminated in August 1985 by another military regime headed by General Ibrahim Babangida. The succeeding regime relaxed the ultra-radical posture of Buhari's regime foreign policy. The Babangida regime adopted economic diplomacy as the thrust of its foreign policy ostensibly to arrest the country's dwindling economic fortunes.

However, with the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the regime battered the economy and Nigeria's economy has not recovered from it till date. However, the regime championed the establishment of ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which became the flagship and instrumentality of conflict resolution in West African region. This helped to restore peace to war-ravaged African states such as Liberia and Sierra Leone and reinforced Nigeria's sub-regional hegemony.

Following the June 12, 1993 political turmoil, the regime handed over power to a jerry-built Interim National Government that was immediately chased out of power by another military regime headed by General Sani Abacha. The regime pursued a reactive foreign policy and practically destroyed the goodwill of the country internationally through crass human rights abuse and draconian policies such as the execution of late Ogoni leader, Ken Saro-wiwa, despite overwhelming international outcry mounted against the execution.

Abacha died on June 8, 1998, giving way for a military regime headed by General Abdulsalami Abubakar. The regime was concerned with returning power to a civilian government and kept its word by transiting power to a civilian elected government in May 29, 1999. This was the background against which the current democratization process came on board. Therefore, the peaceful and successful conduct of elections and inauguration of the civilian government headed by Chief Olusegun Obasanjo in May 29, 1999, was not only historical but also an opening for retooling and revamping both domestic and foreign affairs of the country.

Nigeria and the Immediate Pre-1999 World

The downward slope in Nigeria's positive image in Africa and the world at large started mainly with the military leadership and its handling of democracy in Nigeria. This was made manifest in the presidential elections conducted on June 12, 1993 after several postponements to hand over power to an elected civilian government. To worsen the situation, the regime cancelled the election which was adjudged the freest and fairest election conducted in Nigeria presumed to have been won by the Social Democratic Party's candidate, Chief MKO Abiola.

The annulment of the election plunged the country into serious riots and conflicts in various parts of the country particularly in the South West leading to what is popularly known in Nigerian parlance as "June 12 Crisis". This particular behaviour by the Babangida's regime to annul the election began Nigeria's descent from its high point of being African leader, to a caricature tool of failed democratization and governance.

This downward turn was further exacerbated by the Abacha regime which seized power from the jerry-built Interim National Government the Babangida regime hurriedly set up and handed over power to. The reactive and gross human rights violations of the regime especially the hanging on November 10, 1995, of Ken Sarowiwa and eight of his Ogoni kinsmen were implicated in all these. This drew the ire of the international community. Many reacted through the recall of ambassadors, a diplomatic demonstration of displeasure, imposition of visa and travel restrictions on military personnel and government officials. The United Nations also sent a fact-finding team whose comprehensive report severely indicted the regime (Obi, 2006).

The South African government did not spare the regime in its criticism. Chief Tom Ikimi, the then foreign affairs minister, and Abacha also launched verbal attacks on the South African government. Abacha was quoted to have said "I don't blame Mandela because having spent 27 years in detention, he has lost touch with global socio-political trend in the world" (*Tempo Newspaper*, December 7, 1995). Subsequent events between Nigeria and South Africa considerably damaged the two countries' relations to the extent that Nigeria boycotted the 1996 African Cup of Nations hosted by South Africa. During the Abacha period, Nigeria's position within the international community and the country's relations with some of its allies became sour to the extent that her membership of the Commonwealth was suspended by the heads of government at their meeting in November 1995. Nigeria indeed became a pariah nation, that even the world football governing body, Federation of International Football Association (FIFA), stripped her of the right to host the 1995 edition of the World Youth soccer championship.

Apart from human rights and political problems, Nigeria under Abacha, witnessed massive economic decline. The country could not meet its external debt repayment obligations while external debt stock continued to soar as a result of pervasive corruption and gross mismanagement. Hence, Nigeria was under pressure from its creditors while facing severe criticisms for its human rights violations at the same time.

Unfortunately, the Abacha government remained unapologetic by ignoring the international community or attacking any person, organization or country that criticized the government. Consequently, Nigeria's relations with the West, and in various multilateral organizations was seriously damaged. The result was practical isolation of the country from mainstream international politics. Thus, by the time the government of Obasanjo came on board in May, 1999, Nigeria's relations with the outside world was in serious and urgent need for retooling, revamping, and re-setting.

Successes and Setbacks in Nigeria's Foreign Policy From 1999 to 2007

By the time Obasanjo came on board in 1999, Nigeria's foreign policy needed urgent revamping. Nigeria's poor image before the coming to power by the Obasanjo Administration resulted in divestment from the country, alienation of Nigeria by her traditional allies, as well as suspension from the Commonwealth and other international bodies and harassment of its citizens. The immediate priority of the administration was to reintegrate Nigeria fully into the committee of nations. This made the President to show an incurable knack for traveling in order to create rapprochement with the big powers and other states of the world with a view to gaining their confidence. The administration undertook a wide range of high level diplomatic engagements by shuttling around the world; this made Nigeria visible in world politics.

Nigeria's return to active international politics during this period, impacted positively on the activities of ECOWAS. This was also enhanced by the personality of Obasanjo. During this period, ECOWAS effectively addressed some of the problems confronting the country as a result of Nigeria's resources and leadership in the sub-region. For instance, conflicts in Liberia, Cote d' Ivoire, Senegal and Guinea were effectively handled. The successful resolution of key conflicts such as the Liberian and Sierra Leonean

is still fresh in our memories. For instance, Charles Taylor was granted political asylum in Nigeria as a way of dousing the tension in Liberia.

At the regional level, the country in concert with South Africa, Senegal, Algeria and Ghana midwifed the transformation of OAU to AU in 2000. Nigeria also championed within the context of AU leadership, drive that helped some African countries secure help in some functional areas like business, poverty, water, HIV/AIDS, malaria among others. For instance, in July 2004, the Obasanjo government made out a loan of \$40 million to Ghana to finance Ghana's share of the jointly owned West Africa Gas Pipeline. Similarly, a loan of \$5 million was given to Sao Tome to boost the take-off of the Nigeria-Sao Tome Joint Development Zone (Ifesinachi, 2009). It is therefore not surprising that President Obasanjo was elected the chairman of AU by Heads of State and Government Authority consecutively in 2004 and 2005.

With the recognition of poverty as a common problem in Africa, the administration which in conjunction with other African countries, established the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) to provide a framework for African leaders to alleviate poverty. NEPAD is a pledge by African leaders based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and, at the same time, to participate actively in the world economy and body politic. The Programme is anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalising world (NEPAD, 2001).

NEPAD is a road map for accelerated economic growth and sustainable development with a view to eradicating widespread poverty and halting the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process. In its implementation, President Obasanjo, was the chairman of the Heads of Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) and championed the implementation of the peer review component of NEPAD, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). Similarly, former Commonwealth Secretary-General, Emeka Anyaoku, was made the Chairman of the UN Secretary General's

Panel on International Support for NEPAD, while another Nigerian, Fola Adeola, was selected to serve on the United Kingdom Commission for Africa, an initiative of the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair (Anyaoku, 2013). Although, NEPAD like other previous poverty alleviation efforts in Africa and Nigeria in particular was pursued through the application of orthodox capitalist strategies which limited its impacts. For instance, for Nigeria to attain target one of the MDG, poverty was supposed to have been reduced from 42% in 1999 to 21% in 2015. But by 2010, poverty had increased to 69%.

In the Commonwealth, Nigeria's suspension was lifted on 29 May, 1999 and Nigeria returned to its position as a vital member of the organization. Nigeria was unanimously adopted to host the biannual Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Abuja in 2003. Consequently, President Obasanjo became the chairperson-in-office of the Commonwealth from December 2003 to November 2005.

In the UN, Nigeria, regained its dynamism that had remained silent as a result of long years of neglect by the world body. As a result, Nigeria's representatives served in many organs of the organization. For instance, Professor Joy Ogwu was appointed the Chairman of the United Nations Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters in December, 2005. Hence, in the wake of the much touted reforms of the body, Nigeria is being tipped to occupy a permanent seat in the Security Council.

During this period, Nigeria led new initiatives for the formation of new south-south grouping such as Group of 15 (G15) D8, and the strengthening of old ones such as the Group of 77 plus China (G77). Other frameworks such as Africa-China Forum and the Africa-South America Summit were held in 2006 to cement relations with the developing countries. Again, within traditional frameworks like the G77 and Non Aligned Movement (NAM) Nigeria resumed its leadership duties. For instance, Nigeria featured prominently in the first ever South Summit held in Havana, Cuba, in April 2000 which was chaired by President Obasanjo. In addition, notable Nigerian personalities and technocrats also assumed various responsibilities in these third world organizations. Among them, Emeka Anyaoku was appointed the vice chairman of the Geneva-based South

Centre, the inter-governmental think-tank of the developing countries (Anyako, 2013).

At the economic front, the administration championed economic diplomacy. This was in a bid to attract foreign investment, exit Nigeria from its indebtedness to international creditors and reintegrate the country effectively into international financial institutions like the IMF and World Bank.

On the eve of the inauguration of the Obasanjo administration, the economic situation was helpless. For instance, there was rampant fuel scarcity, declining capacity utilization, poor performance of infrastructural facilities, low investment, lean foreign reserve, high debt burden among others. Under Obasanjo, the Nigerian economy grew rapidly. The size of the economy, measured by nominal GDP grew 5-fold from USD35 billion to USD179 billion. The economy grew in real terms at an average of 5.69% per annum between 2003 and 2007, with much of the growth driven by the non-oil sector. Average income per head increased from USD290 in 1999 to USD1100 in 2007. Within eight years, Nigeria moved effectively from a low income to middle income economy (Bello, 2013).

Again, under the administration, Nigeria, witnessed massive inflow of foreign direct investment. For instance, reforms in the telephone communication sector, led to the introduction of General Service Mobile (GSM) phones which has revolutionized telephone communication in Nigeria. There was also evidence of growth in the country's trade relations with its old allies as well as with emerging economies like China and India. By 2004-2005 China had succeeded in displacing other countries such as the US, United Kingdom and the Netherlands as Nigeria's biggest trading partner.

The icing on the cake which the administration's economic diplomacy was the ability to convince the Paris and London Clubs, the IMF, World Bank and G8 countries to grant Nigeria debt relief. The administration went into serious negotiations with the country's creditors, and paid some agreed amount which led to Nigeria's release from the external debt trap in 2007. Again, to launder Nigeria's battered image abroad as a result of Advance Fee

Fraud (419) or OBT (Obtained by Tricks), many anti-corruption institutions were set up. There was war against corruption, fraudulent practices such as 419 and trafficking in persons. For instance, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) between May 2003 and June 2004 recovered money and assets derived from crime worth over \$700 million (Bello, 2013). It equally arrested many notorious advance fee fraud kingpins operating in Nigeria and outside. The institution enjoyed collaborative assistance from international law enforcement agencies across the world.

From the foregoing, we can conveniently say that the administration's foreign policy during this period centred on three issue areas:

- a. Reintegration and strengthening Nigeria's relations with states, agencies and international organizations;
- b. Economic diplomacy which led to verifiable inward flow of foreign direct investment; and
- c. Laundering of Nigeria's image abroad.

However, in order not to be accused of giving President Obasanjo a foreign policy festschrift, it must be noted that the administration recorded some limited success in some areas. For instance, the administration began its own charity abroad because not only did the administration engaged in excessive shuttle diplomacy abroad, it also reacted and responded to external disputes at higher speed as compared to domestic disputes. The administration preferred to be eulogized abroad than at home. Again, the failure of the administration to effectively handle the Niger Delta conflict remained a source of diplomatic concern to foreign nationals and companies doing business in the Niger Delta region. Many of them were exposed to danger such as abduction and violence which portrayed Nigeria as a country not safe to do business in.

Furthermore, despite the administration's massive intervention in conflict-ridden countries in the West African sub-region and other parts of Africa, armed conflicts continued to rear their ugly heads thereby questioning Nigeria's capacity to effectively resolve conflicts as an important regional player in Africa.

In the same vein, Nigeria's influence and ability to mobilize her resources and convince African countries to secure her interest severally ran into troubled waters. For instance, Nigerian candidate had been defeated for the position of President of the African Development Bank (ADB), before she won it in 2015. Similarly, during this period, Nigeria failed to secure representation in the Commission of the African Union.

Finally, the debt relief granted to Nigeria was seen as a pyrrhic victory. For instance, the former Special Adviser to the UN Secretary General on Millennium Development Goals, Professor Jeffrey Sachs reacted angrily on the conditions given Nigeria to extricate herself from the debt trap. The \$18 billion debt cancellation for Nigeria is good but is less than good than it should be. The creditors are nasty and stingy. To extract \$12 billion from a country with annual budget of between \$3 and \$4 billion is callous. Why would they be demanding so much from a country where children are dying, millions are not in school and hunger and diseases pervades. They don't need the money but Nigeria needs it (*Daily Independent*, September 29, 2005). These are essentially but not exclusively some of the areas the administration neglected in its foreign policy drive.

Successes and Setbacks in Nigeria's Foreign Policy From 2007 to 2015

There is a general belief that Yar'Adua's administration through his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ojo Maduekwe, did the unusual by titling Nigeria's foreign policy to a new direction with the idea of citizens' diplomacy which purports that the government will be ready to defend Nigerians anywhere in the world and engage considerably states that threatens the national interests of the country by undermining her citizens. However, President Yar'Adua did not live long to stamp his foreign policy footprints on the sands of time. Nevertheless, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, who succeeded Yar'Adua, after the demise of the latter continued with the idea of citizenship diplomacy. The Administration was committed to ensuring that the welfare and wellbeing of her citizens abroad was highly protected. According to the foreign Affairs Minister, Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru, "...past of policy thrust is fair and decent treatment of Nigerians wherever they may be. We will continue to insist that Nigeria be accorded respect and treated with dignity. Our charge to the Ambassadors and High Commissioners is that the welfare of Nigerians in Diaspora must be taken

seriously. However, as we strive to protect and promote the interests of our compatriots abroad. We also reiterate to them the imperative to be law abiding in their places of abode” (Blessing, 2015).

However, in order to rejig the tone of Nigeria's foreign policy, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan constituted a Presidential Advisory Council on Foreign Affairs headed by Chief Emeka Anyaoku to review Nigeria's foreign policy. The recommendations of this committee made Nigeria's foreign policy investment and export driven while not being oblivious of the Nigeria's leadership role in West African region as a whole and the welfare of her citizens. Again, as Acting President, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan embarked on numerous diplomatic shuttles to reassure the world that Nigeria is secured despite the divisive politics of zoning that threatened to destroy the country.

According to the administration, “Nigeria's foreign policy would now be investment driven, defining a new driving force as different from the previous focus on Africa” (*The Sunday Punch*, 2011). This is very instructive because in an era of globalization, with increasing interdependence of countries in the area of trade and commerce, Nigeria needed not to be left behind. Hence, economic diplomacy became the key to match our national interest to contemporary realities of international politics. According to the former President,

...in the era of globalization at a time of grave challenges to national and international security such as we face from terrorism and transnational criminal networks; at a time of massive poverty and youth restiveness in our country, we have no choice but to adjust and adapt the way we conduct foreign policy. As we respond to the forces of globalization, our diplomacy must be put at the service of our domestic priorities (Jonathan 2011).

The Administration adopted the following strategies;

- Rationalizing Nigeria's diplomatic missions and personnel in order to enhance the strategic interests at bilateral and multilateral level, including the quest for permanent Seat at the UN Security Council;
- Pursuing the acquisition and transfer of technology, the promotion of

trade; investment and cultural relations to boost Nigeria's ailing industries;

- Domesticating and promoting compliance with bilateral and multilateral obligations, Treaties and trade agreements;
- Ensuring effective implementation of extant regulation on issuance of visas, within 48hours, especially for investors coming to Nigeria, and students;
- Harnessing the resources of Nigerian professionals abroad, through efficient management of Nigerians in Diaspora Organization (NIDO) and the New Nigeria Volunteer Service (NNVS) to be part of Nation building;
- Removal of multiple agencies, except Customs and Immigration from all the entry points into Nigeria and the improvement of port facilities at the airports and sea ports and the reduction of red---tape involved in clearing of goods would encourage prospective investors into the country.
- Ensuring private sector representatives accompany Nigeria's high level delegations and all high level foreign visitors interface with representatives of the private sector;
- Strengthening local international relations institutions to assist in bridging training Gap in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and complimenting this with foreign trainings; and
- Encouraging collaboration and liaison mdas on regular basis to ensure prompt and early implementation of all the subsisting Agreements (Transformation Agenda 2011-2015).

The key to these strategies was the administration's development blueprint known as *Transformation Agenda*. As a development blueprint, the Agenda tries to radically reform the inflexible Nigeria's foreign policy by tying it to domestic agenda-using foreign policy to enhance economic development for transformation of all the sectors. For the first time under a civilian administration in Nigeria, the economic needs of the country were intertwined with the foreign policy goals of the Nigerian state.

In the international scene, Nigeria's image which dimmed as a result of late President Yar'Adua's inability to attend international functions as a result of his ill health brightened. For instance, Nigeria was honoured in New York in

September, 2011 with invitation to become a member of the Governing Council of the Community of Democracies, an intergovernmental organisation with headquarters in Poland. More importantly, Nigeria-US relations and other world powers rejigged. The country was invited to the United States of America by the Obama Administration to participate in the Nuclear Security Summit where global safety and how to shield nuclear materials from terror groups were discussed and subsequently attended more nuclear security summits such as the one that held in South Korea in 2012. All his foreign travels were carefully selected to enhance Nigeria's national interest.

Table 1:

Visits by Nigerian President to the US between 2010 and 2015

Visitor	Description	Date
Acting President Goodluck Jonathan	Attended the Nuclear Security Summit	April 11-13, 2010
President Goodluck Jonathan	Working visit	June 8, 2011
President Goodluck Jonathan	Met with President Obama at the UN General Assembly in New York City	September 23, 2013
President Goodluck Jonathan	Attended the U.S.-Africa Leaders' Summit	August 5-6, 2014

Source: <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/visits/nigeria>

These visits showed how important Nigeria is to the United States. Conversely, the Jonathan administration played host to many Heads of State and Governments and delegations from around the world including high profile visits by US Secretary of State, Germany's Angela Merkel and Britain's David Cameron. During these visits, Nigeria's national interests were strategically positioned and promoted. Nigeria participated actively in international fora and engaged countries of the world meaning during this period. In the entire President's visit to the world, he was accompanied by members of the National Assembly, Governors and Ministers who attended relevant meetings and made important inputs to follow up action.

During the President's visit to Rio, Brazil, Nigeria signed an MOU with Electrobras to commit in investment the generation of 10, 000 MW. This followed with subsequent visits to Nigeria by Brazilian investors who were interested in infrastructure, food and beverages. In October 2011, when President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan met Australian investment community in Perth, on the sidelines of the CHOGM, the Australian-Nigeria Trade and Investment Council (ANTIC) was established to encourage the flow of investment into the country in mining, agriculture and petrochemicals. In April 2012, in the course of his visit to Germany, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan got Siemens to commit to invest in power generation, turbine maintenance and repair in Nigeria (Abati, 2012)

There was massive support from governments and investors for the administration policies to the extent that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) said that Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to Nigeria in 2014, stood at \$4.7 but fell 27 percent from \$4.7 billion recorded in 2014 to an estimated \$3.4 billion in 2015 (*Financial Nigeria*, January 21, 2016).



President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan welcomes US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton to the Presidential Villa, Abuja



President Jonathan with German Chancellor Angela Merkel in Germany

In order not to throw overboard the Yar'Adua citizen-centred foreign policy objective, the Jonathan Administration insisted that Foreign Embassies in Nigeria treat our citizens with respect. Ministers during this period paid unannounced visits to foreign embassies to see how Nigerians are treated, and relevant embassies were directed to construct adequate reception areas for Nigerians within 6 months, and they complied.

In fact, he engineered a purposeful mobilisation and instrumentalisation of Nigerians in Diaspora for national development. Not only has the regime encouraged the formation of the Nigerians in Diaspora Organisation (NIDO) in all countries where there are Nigerians, it has gone further to establish a Diaspora Commission to take charge of the affairs of Nigerians in Diasporas and ensure their effective instrumentalisation. His prompt response to the denigrating deportation of Nigerians by South Africa *quid pro quo* sent a very strong signal that Nigeria “has come of age” and that any attempt to denigrate her will have consequences. His diplomacy of consequences one with visible actions. The diplomatic way he was able to manage the said Nigeria-South Africa face-off was highly welcomed

by Nigerians. He was also quick to order the evacuation of Nigerians trapped in the crisis torn countries like Libya in 2011 and Egypt in January 2012. Infact Nigeria was the first to airlift her citizens from Egypt. In January 2012 Nigeria hosted the fifth Nigeria/EU dialogue aimed at streamlining migration in a globalizing world and in the interest of all parties. This affirmative action's projected vividly the citizen centred focus of Nigeria's Foreign Policy (Okechukwu, 2013).

The fifth Nigeria/EU dialogue on Migration and Development was held in Abuja in January 2012. The welfare of Nigerians in diaspora was discussed and given top priority. The government stood up to all countries in upholding the principle of reciprocity and insisted that Nigerians all over the world should be treated fairly.

The Ambassadors the administration appointed were treated to an Induction Course on March 2012, with a mandate to defend Nigeria's global interests and pursue the quest for Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs). This yielded immediate results. In 2012, Nigeria's foreign direct investment (FDI) hit 8 billion US Dollars, while Foreign Direct Remittances from Nigerians in Diaspora stood at 22 billion US dollars. That same year, 22 Nigerian secured appointments into different international positions among which are Commissioner for Political Affairs in African Union; Commissioner for Peace and Security in ECOWAS Commission (Ojeme, 2013). Nigerian was also elected into the Executive Board of UNESCO in Paris in November 2011, for a term of 4 years; to the Governing Board of UNEP in November 2011; to the ECOSOC on 24 October 2011; Honourable Minister of Justice to International Law Commission in November 2011; Dr. Chile Osuji to International Criminal Court (ICC) in November 2011, Dr. Bernard O. Aliu, was elected President of the Executive Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), based in Montreal Canada; Mrs. Theodora Oby Nwankwo, member UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), among others.

More importantly, during Jonathan's Administration, a high point in its foreign policy objectives was the election of Nigeria, twice (2010-2011; 2014-2015) into the United Nations Security Council, to occupy a seat as a non-permanent member. In the words of President Jonathan's spokesperson, Dr. Reuben Abati;

...the endorsement of Nigeria's candidature for the Security Council seat by the vast majority of member-countries is a growing expression of support and encouragement for Nigeria's active participation in the promotion of peace, security and political stability in Africa and other parts of the world. The President is particularly delighted by this historic victory and assures the global community that Nigeria, under his leadership, will continue to make very significant contributions towards the achievement and sustenance of global peace and security (*Vanguard*, October 17, 2013).

It must be noted that since Nigeria became independence in 1960, the country has been elected four times into the UN Security Council. Jonathan's Administration contributed two out of the four. The reality of international politics is that it requires a high level of savvy diplomacy and dexterity to secure the support of other countries to get required number of votes for your candidates. The administration executed and renegotiated bilateral agreements Binational Commission Agreements (BNC) and Joint Commissions with notable countries including Germany, South Africa, United Kingdom, Canada and the US. Under the BNC with the US, American investors invested massively in Nigeria's energy sector, and also trained ex-Niger Delta militants in skills acquisition and vocational trade; as well as assisted with environmental rehabilitation in the Delta. There was strong commitment to the promotion of democracy and democratic values in foreign policy exertions in Africa, as evident in Nigeria's position and efforts in Mali, Guinea Conakry, Libya, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Equatorial Guinea etc. For instance, the effective management of ECOWAS and commitment to democratic principles effectively led to the ouster of Laurent Gbagbo of Cote D'Ivoire when he refused to hand over power, after having been defeated in the 2010 Presidential elections in his country. Similar crisis of self-perpetuation in office in Niger Republic was also handled with diplomatic dexterity. In the same vein, the Jonathan's

administration's recognition of the National Transitional Council of Libya sent a clear message to Muammar Gaddafi to abdicate power. Although the move was criticised as pandering to Western imperialism and a betrayal of an AU member, for the Jonathan's administration it was in Nigeria's national interest. Before this event, Nigeria's relations with Libya had nosedived as a result of Gaddafi's unprovoked meddlesomeness in the internal affairs of Nigeria by stating that Nigeria should separate into a Muslim North State and a Christian South. This assertion by Late Gaddafi, led to the recalling of Nigeria's ambassador to Libya. Hence, there is no way the administration would not have supported and recognised the National Transitional Council in Libya. Nigeria's intervention in the crisis that rocked Mali and support for the democratic process there led to the conduct of election that ushered in a new Government in that country (Okechukwu, 2013).

In culture and sports, the administration recorded numerous achievements, but the highlight of it all was the wining of the African Cup of Nations for the first time in 19 years in South Africa in February, 2013. Jonathan was a leader respected by world leaders that the TIME international magazine named him as one of the most influential leaders of the world in 2012 a benefiting acknowledgment of his immediate impact on Nigerian domestic and foreign affairs.



Ghanaian Leader John Mahama; President Faure Gnassingbe of Togo; President Alpha Conde of Guinea-Conakry; President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria; President Boni Yayi of Benin Republic; President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia; President Ernest Koroma of Sierra Leone; And President Mahamadou Issoufou of Niger Republic, after an Ecowas summit in Abuja

Nigeria's Foreign Policy 2015 – Date

Nigeria's foreign policy under President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) since May 29, 2015 has been characterized more by unnecessary globe-trotting under the guise for recognition and relevance in global politics. This is not to talk of the six months it took the administration to appoint a minister of foreign affairs. This attitude crippled Nigeria's foreign policy and made it more personality-driven. Through the various travels of PMB, he has delivered some foreign policy statements which raised a lot of issues; however, this should not be confused with the needed agenda-setting foreign policy statement, which is usually articulated at the birth of an administration. There is nothing appealing to write home about as there is no direction regarding Nigeria's foreign policy.

As a result of this lack of direction, one can only appraise the administration's foreign policy in line with its domestic agenda of enhancing national insecurity, reviving the economy and fighting corruption. Regarding security, the fight against Boko Haram has been won more on the pages of newspaper than in reality as Boko Haram continues to cause havoc every passing day. In fact, the Boko Haram situation and ranging insecurity in the country only allowed foreign policy to thrive abroad in the area of seeking international help. At the economic front, the administration wants to create employment opportunities, and eliminate poverty and make the economy more vibrant. Economic growth has been on the decline since 2015. The President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) administration vowed to tackle the menace of corruption in Nigeria.

However, this has been done selectively with little or no impact no foreign policy. This is because domestically, the citizens know that the anti-corruption fight is rooted in insincerity while the international community feels that Nigeria cannot be trusted. For instance, Mr. Uwajeh, a member of the Special Investigation Panel on the Recovery of Public Property (SIPRPP), asserted, contrary to government claims of allegations against him in the court, that he was sacked from the panel because he was not ready to engage in anti-opposition investigation that was aimed at prosecuting only those who do not share the same views with the government or the ruling party.

Uwajeh, while making his position known to the public and the chairman of the panel, Okoi Obono Obla, said:

I told him that I would not be a party to one-sided investigation to muzzle the opposition and persecute them. I made my position known that I am ready to expose corruption and recover stolen assets as a professional but will not be involved in the politics of “pull them down” in Nigeria. My refusal to dance to the tune of the government and SIPRPP led to my disengagement' (*Daily Sun* Wednesday, May 23, 2018).

Despite the fight against corruption, recently, the United Kingdom informed the Nigerian government that what makes it difficult to return looted funds to the country is because the country cannot be trusted with the funds. That explains the poor asset return rate in the country and it has to be addressed. Mr. Philip Hackett, a Queen's Counsel stated this at the 2018 Annual General Conference of the Nigerian Bar Association while speaking on the theme *Institutionalising the War against Corruption: New Approaches to Assets Tracing and Recovery*. Hence, the international community is very interested in the conduct of Nigeria's anti-corruption fight and not the case of the pot accusing the kettle. At best the foreign policy of President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) Administration has been reactive because it is devoid of ideological focus.

Conclusion

The paper examined Nigeria's foreign policy in the post-military era. The investigation was limited to the democratic era to enhance systematization of knowledge. Nevertheless, it traced the history of Nigeria's foreign policy from independence to the inception of the Obasanjo's administration. The Balewa administration in the First Republic set the principles for Nigeria's foreign policy, but recorded minimal success as a result of his conservative approach. The Gowon regime's foreign policy was geared towards countering Biafran war propaganda. The regime to a large extent succeeded in this but was limited by challenges of war diplomacy. The Murtala/Obasanjo regime pursued a dynamic Afrocentric foreign policy but struggled to have a cordial relationship with the world powers such as the USA and Britain.

Shagari's commitment to Africa was not in doubt. However, this commitment was always vitiated by his desire not to offend the West. The Buhari/Idiagbon regime, pursued ultra-nationalist foreign policy which apparently portrayed the regime as being intransigent. Nigeria's foreign policy under Babangida's regime, launched the country as an African leader in both regional and sub-regional affairs, however, the regime forgot that the strength of a country does not derive from international visibility but from her socio-economic status. Unfortunately, Nigeria's foreign policy under Abacha, marked the end of an era, as Nigeria moved from being a leader in Africa to a pariah state as a result of draconian and "Area Boy" diplomacy of the regime. Quite unlike Abacha, General Abdulsalami Abubakar's regime, was open and introduced a transitional programme that encouraged democratic rebirth.

The above trajectory provided a logical coherence to understanding an overview of the country's foreign policy. Furthermore, the paper gave an immediate picture of pre-1999 Nigeria's foreign policy in order to appreciate the impact of Nigeria's foreign policy in the post-military era.

References

- Abati, R. (2012, September 9) The gains of Jonathan's Diplomacy. *Vanguard*. Retrieved from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/09/the-gains-of-jonathans-diplomacy/>
- Adeola, A. (2013). The political economy of the Obasanjo Regime. In O. Akinkugbe, J. Ahmed, O. Ibidapo-Obe, F. Okonofua & B. Idowo (Eds.), *Olusegun Obasanjo: The presidential legacy, 1999-2007*. Ibadan: Bookcraft.
- Akinterinwa, B. A., (2018). Issues in 1,096 days of Nigeria's foreign policy under President Muhammadu Buhari. *Thisday* June 3, Retrieved from <http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2018/06/03/issues-in-1096-days-of-nigerias-foreign-policy-under-president-muhammadu-buhari/>
- Anyaoku, E. (2013). Nigeria and the international community. In O. Akinkugbe, J. Ahmed, O. Ibidapo-Obe, F. Okonofua & B. Idowo (Eds.), *Olusegun Obasanjo: The presidential legacy, 1999-2007*. Ibadan: Bookcraft.

- Bello, I. (2013). Ant-corruption crusade. In O. Akinkugbe, J. Ahmed, O. Ibidapo-Obe, F. Okonofua & B. Idowo (Eds.) *Olusegun Obasanjo: The presidential legacy, 1999-2007*. Ibadan: Bookcraft.
- Blessing, E.N., (2015). President Goodluck Jonathan's transformation Agenda and Nigeria's foreign policy. *Social Science Review*, Vol. 1, Issue 1.
- Chilaka, F.C., & Odoh, S.I., (2011). Analysis of Nigeria's foreign policy under Yar'Adua/Jonathan Administration. In S.A. Ezeudu, E.O. Ezeani, J.O. Onuoha & S.C. Nwizu (Eds.) *Nigeria at fifty: issues, challenges and agenda*. Enugu: Timex Enterprise.
- Daily Independent*, September 29, 2005
- Fawole, W.A., (2003). *Nigeria's external relations and foreign policy under military rule, 1966-1999*. Ile Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press.
- Financial Nigeria (2016). FDI inflows to Nigeria declined to \$3.4 billion in 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.financialnigeria.com/fdi-inflows-to-nigeria-declined-to-3-4-billion-in-2015-news-315.html>
- Ifesinachi, K. (2009). *Foreign capital and monetarism in Nigeria's external economic relations*. Abakaliki: Willyrose and Appleaseed Publishing Company.
- Jonathan, G. E., (2011). Address by His Excellency, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at the Retreat on the Review of Nigeria's Foreign Monday, 1st August. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriavillagesquare.com/forum/mainsquare/64643-president-jonathan-review-nigerias-foreignpolicy.html>
- NEPAD The New Partnership for Africa's Development. Retrieved from Available at: <http://www.nepad.org/2005/files/documents/inbrief.pdf>.
- Obi, E.A. (2006). *Fundamentals of Nigerian foreign policy: A study on the role of national interest in foreign policy making*. Onitsha: Bookpoint Ltd
- Ojeme, V. (2013). I secured 22 international positions for Nigeria in 2 years-Amb. Ashiru. Retrieved from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/09/i-secured-22-international-positions-for-nigeria-in-2-years-amb-ashiru/>.
- Okechukwu B. C. N., (2013). Shifting the paradigm in Nigeria's foreign policy: Goodluck Jonathan and Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. *Social Sciences*. Vol. 2, No. 6, pp. 212-221. doi: 10.11648/j.ss.20130206.16

Omenihu, O. & Chilaka, F.C., (2016). Nigeria's foreign policy under Olusegun Obasanjo's civilian administration, 1999-2007, *South East Journal of Political Science*, Vol.2 No.1

Tempo Newspaper, December 7, 1995.

The Sunday Punch Newspaper, 2011 P. 3

The transformation agenda: key priority policies, programmes and projects of the federal government of Nigeria (2011-2015) Volume I

Vanguard (October 17, 2013) "Jonathan welcomes Nigeria's election to UN Security Council" Retrieved from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/10/jonathan-welcomes-nigerias-election-un-security-council/>

CHAPTER EIGHT

ANTI-CORRUPTION WAR IN NIGERIA: REFLECTIONS ON PRESENT AND PAST ADMINISTRATIONS (1999-2018)

John T. Kalama Ph.D

Department of Political Science,
Federal University Otuoke

Bayelsa State, Nigeria

lecturerkalama@yahoo.com/doctorkalama@gmail.com
08035432407/08054844026



Abstract

This chapter examined anti-corruption war in Nigeria with specific reference to the period between 1999 and 2018. It x-rayed the various methods and approaches used by present and past administrations and leaders in combating the menace and observed that anti-corruption war in Nigeria received legislative and institutional backing in 1999 through the establishment of the Economic and Financial and Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission (ICPC). The paper observed further that political interference coupled with lack of diligent prosecution affected the operations of anti-corruption agencies in the country from 2003–2007. Interestingly, anti-corruption war in Nigeria witnessed a dramatic change when due process, rule of law and respect for the fundamental human rights of citizens and suspects were entrenched as part of EFCC's principles and standard operation procedures from 2010–2015. The chapter concluded that there is urgent need to re-examine and review the laws and policies of anti-corruption agencies to guarantee transparency, neutrality and efficiency in their mode of investigation, prosecution and operations generally.

Introduction

Available records and statistics revealed that corruption is a major challenge facing most countries in the world. The situation is worst in Africa because corrupt practices by leaders have led to insecurity and instability which has equally promoted high level conflicts among individuals, communities and states. In the case of Nigeria, the problem of corruption received attention in 1999 when the Olusegun Obasanjo-led administration established the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent and Corruption Practices Commission (ICPC). These agencies have investigated several corruption cases and have also prosecuted and convicted several corrupt citizens at various levels in the country. Other countries have also devised different means and strategies to contain and check the menace. In Asian countries, corruption especially in the public service is viewed as a very serious crime against the state while the penalties ranges from life-imprisonment to death by hanging, etc. which, indicates that the strategies adopted in fighting corruption vary from country to country. Prior to 1999, corruption in Nigeria became a tradition to the extent that it was almost institutionalized in the civil service and other sectors of the economy. Combating the menace has also been difficult due to inadequate legislations and logistics required for effective crime investigation and prosecution. In the light of the above background, this chapter examined anti-corruption war in Nigeria: Reflections on the present and past administrations in Nigeria (1999-2018).

Theoretical and Conceptual Analysis

A theory is defined as a general proposition or statement that endeavours to explain and predict events or phenomena hence, a theory serves as a framework for analysis when it provides verifiable proposition for research. It is therefore imperative to understand the theoretical framework which guides research efforts. This study relied on the Marxian political approach and class analysis in order to explain the subject-matter under investigation. The basic tenet of political economy mode of analysis is derived from the interconnection between the economic, political and other facets of the substructure. In other words, political economy is the approach which recognizes the complimentary relationship between the economic and political spheres of human existence but in which the economy plays a determinant role. In the words of Ake (1981), the approach encourages

scholars to take account of the interactions of the different elements of social life especially the economic structure and belief system. Scholars in this school of thought see society as a unit for the protection and reproduction of social life in order to satisfy material needs and as a matter of fact, they see economic needs as man's most fundamental need and unless man is able to meet this need, he cannot exist in the first place. For instance, a man must eat before he can do anything else such as worship, pursue culture or become an economist or a politician. Furthermore, what informed the use of this theory is simply the fact that political attitudes and actions cannot be assessed in isolation from the above considerations hence, it is believed that the political economy approach and class analysis will better explain why people form groups and seek political power in any given state or society. In the case of Nigeria, the quests for materialism account for why politicians defect from one political party to another and in the process amass wealth at the expense of the state and citizens. This also accounts for the high level of corruption in the public and private sector in Nigeria and other parts of Africa.

Conceptual Analysis:- Conceptual formation and analysis no doubt provide the foundation for the empirical research exercise. According to Carl Hempel (1966), in scientific enquiry, concept formation and theory formation must go hand in hand since the quality of concept not only determines the quality of theory, but also the meaning and significance of key concepts can only be interpreted within the context of a theory. This clearly implies that concepts aid scientific investigation by helping us to make sense of the complexity of research by categorizing the things we encounter to some of their properties which are relevant to us. Thus, social science concepts serve the purpose of identifying or specifying the properties of objects (people, political systems, elections) which are relevant to particular inquiry. Concepts therefore help us to decide which of many attributes or traits are important to a given research (Bassy, O.C. & Ozumba, G.O. 2012).

The term corruption and the method of combating it vary from country to country, hence this aspect of the study examined the concept corruption and how it is perceived by individuals and states. While attributing Nigeria's under- development to corruption on the part of present and past leaders, Iniekio-Suboh (2006) posited that since independence, Nigeria has

stagnated in an institutionalized state of corruption which is widely recognized, both at home and abroad, as the root cause of our country's problems. In his words; it permeates every corner of society. It manifests in un-built schools, bridges, hospitals, roads, poor social care, pensions, access to water and healthcare, misappropriated oil revenues. The list goes on. Of course, corruption exists in all societies but the Nigerian brand is extreme (Iniekio-Suboh, 2006). He argued further that the vicious circle of corruption continues due to non-enforcement and implementation of laws which perpetuates bad governance which in turn perpetuates poverty which stimulates further corruption at all levels. He therefore defined political corruption as the looting of public treasury and the diversion of public funds for personal use. He added that colonialism, cultural practices and nepotism accounts for the high rate of corruption in Nigeria. He therefore cautioned that corruption can only be demystified only when leaders and states embrace, good governance, rule of law and democratic values. In the same vein, Adeniyi (2011) added that leaders and states act differently when it comes to combating the menace called corruption. According to him, former president Umaru Yar'Adua declared his assets in 2007 without being forced to do so. While corroborating the fact that the personal qualities of a leader play a major role in anti-corruption battles and leadership in general, Jibrin (2004) stated unequivocally that when Olusegun Obasanjo assumed office as Nigeria's president in 1999, he exhibited a sound element of charismatic leadership that held the nation (Nigeria) together. In his words:

President Olusegun Obasanjo is bold, fearless, courageous, principled and steadfast. His performance should be assessed from the battle against human rights abuses, fight against corruption, wide ranging reform policies towards economic recovery, and peaceful transition from civil to civil rule, creation of a peaceful and cordial atmosphere of relationship with other countries... (Jibrin, 2004: p.7 and 143).

Adeniyi (2011) also highlighted some of the external pressures states go through in its anti-corruption battles. Specifically, he cited the case of the United States which insisted that the leadership and management of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and Mallam Nuhu Ribadu should not be changed but maintained. In spite of its funding and

support for anti-corruption campaigns and trainings offered to EFCC officials, the Nigerian government described the United States posture in 2008 as excessive interference in the internal affairs of Nigeria. This no doubt revealed that fighting corruption in any part of the world has both internal and external dimensions which must be managed strategically if the right results are to be derived. However the way the Nigerian government handled the James Onanefe Ibori's case in 2008 attracted criticisms from the international community. The above analysis clearly shows that corruption is regarded as a global problem while the strategies adopted in combating it vary from state to state. It is also imperative to note that while some states and leaders take necessary steps to curb its spread, others encourage it indirectly through their actions and policies. Thus, the various approaches adopted by present and past administrations in Nigeria in its anti-corruption crusades form the major thrust of this study.

Nigeria's Anti-corruption War 1999-2007

Former president Olusegun Obasanjo made history and won the hearts of most Nigerians when he established the Independent and Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) initially headed by Justice Mustapher Akanbi, Justice Emmanuel Ayoola and Ekpo Nta, while the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was chaired by Mallam Nuhu Ribadu, Barr. (Mrs) Farida Waziri and Ibrahim Lamode. While commending the Obasanjo administration for this bold initiative, Remi Oyo, president Obasanjo's Senior Special Assistant on Media and Publicity, in a press statement captioned *Corruption War, Panic Grips Abuja* published in the *Tell Magazine* of 4th April, 2005, reacted to the soaring notion that the sudden spike in the intensity of the administration's war against graft was a direct consequence of the intense pressure being mounted on the president by the international community and Nigeria's creditors to do more in cleansing what some international commentators describe as one of the filthiest politics in the world. She reminded cynics of the administration that president Obasanjo is that singular head of state that has waged the most sincere, most intense and fiercest war against corruption in Nigerian history. This is not a matter of being nudged on by the international community, she stated. Also affirming that the establishment of the ICPC and EFCC by the Obasanjo-led administration was not as a result of any international pressure or threat, the senior special assistant added that ever before any major interaction with the

international community, and almost immediately after he was sworn-in as president (referring to Obasanjo), the first bill he took to the national assembly was on the ICPC and EFCC. And it was the most revolutionary in our time. It was the most far-reaching. And it took a lot of guts, and, a lot of efforts to get it passed in the first instance. It is on record that the activities/operations of the Independent and Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) led to the arrest and successful prosecution of several Nigerians including top politicians, civil servants, private individuals, groups and corporate organizations. Billions of naira has also been recovered from corrupt Nigerians and organizations.

Also commenting on the establishment of the ICPC and EFCC, Festus Okoye Executive Director, Human Rights Monitor, Kaduna state, that the action taken gives a glimpse of hope and array of light that people will henceforth be held accountable for their actions. While we are commending the president for going to this length, we want the anti-corruption war to be a national, comprehensive, holistic war and not selective, ethnic or have religious coloration. Every person who has dipped their hands into the treasury of this country must be held accountable, Okoye said. While corroborating the views of Festus Okoye, Abubakar Tsav, retired Lagos state Commissioner of police in page 30 of the *Tell Magazine* of 4th April 2005, declared that he was happy and pleased with what the president did by sacking the Minister of Education. However, he should go beyond this and go the whole hog. He should not be selective in his fight against corruption. Anyone found guilty of corrupt practices should be made to face the law. The police chief urged. In a swift reaction Buba Galadima, All Nigeria People's Party, ANPP, chieftain stated on page 30 of the same *Tell Magazine* that former president Obasanjo was only playing to the gallery. He is not serious in the fight against corruption. According to him, the current stand is just a smoke screen to fool Nigerians. "And I have my reasons", he said. In a rhetorical manner he asked what happened in the pent-scope deal to privatize the NITEL? What about the Ajaokuta Steel? What about the Asphalt deal? Besides, the budget 2005 Ajaokuta is drawn on \$32 per barrel but solid for \$57 per barrel in the international market, what happened to the excess? Nobody knows. Structurally, the anti-corruption agencies especially the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) under Mallam

Nuhu Ribadu was defective as its chairman was given presidential powers to sign international agreements, source for funds, import arms and recruitment of technical personnel etc. This development led to several frictions and clashes with the office of the Inspector General of Police which was detrimental to effective inter-governmental relations in the country.

Nigeria's Anti-Corruption War 2007-2010

It is important to state categorically clear that prior to 2007, ICPC under Justice Mustapha Akanbi and Emmanuel Ayoola maintained moderate positions in their fight against corruption in the country while the EFCC under Mallam Nuhu Ribadu preferred to be radical in its approach. This difference in ideology and methodology exposed officials of the EFCC to series of litigations bothering on violation of fundamental human rights and abuse of due process etc. In a press statement captioned *7 Bayelsa State Assembly Legislators Disown Impeachment Notice on Alams; We Acted under Duress* published in the Saturday Vanguard of 26th November 2005, Seven members of the Bayelsa state House of Assembly disowned the impeachment notice served on the former governor of Bayelsa state, saying that they were made to sign the document under duress by officials of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). While narrating their ordeal in the hands of the EFCC, one of the members, Nimibofa Ayaowei who had escaped to Yenagoa said they were held at Abuja for two weeks against their will. The law makers including the former speaker, Prince Boyelayefa Debekeme, Bright Agagaowei, Steve Ereboh, Wari-Pamowei Dudafa, Johnson Alalibo and Amakiri Etebu noted that the purported impeachment notice was signed under duress, thereby making it unconstitutional and unacceptable to them. Lamenting what they describe as the Gestapo styled operation of the Commission, Hon. Ayaowei who spoke on behalf of others, noted that he and two other colleagues were made to sign the impeachment notice after having been dumped in a cell and tortured. The Bayelsa law maker noted that It would interest you to note that the last visit was the second time the Bayelsa state House of Assembly have been invited by the EFCC. Being law abiding citizens, we did honour it but what we saw when we got there was a different ball game. From 2002-2007, the above ordeal replayed itself in Plateau state, Benue state and other parts of the country. This situation got to a dangerous dimension when political opponents and critics of tenure elongation became targets of the EFCC. The

case of Buba Marwa, former military administrator of Lagos state is a classic example. The Adamawa born Army General became a special guest of the EFCC for daring to declare his interest to run in the 2007 presidential elections in Nigeria. Confirming the politicization of the anti-corruption war in the country, Chris Ajaero of the Newswatch Magazine, in a cover page story titled tools of political vendetta published in the May 4th 2007 edition stated that through their partisan disposition to the 2007 elections, four key public officers in Nigeria wittingly or unwittingly proved that they are president Obasanjo's hatchet men. The public officers who were unable to detach themselves from partisan political fray according to Newswatch Magazine are Maurice Iwu, Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission, (INEC), Sunday Ehindero, Inspector-General of Police (former), Nuhu Ribadu, Chairman, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, (EFCC), and Bayo Ojo Attorney General and Minister of Justice (former). On page 20 of the above magazine, Chris Ajaero noted specifically that the major issue which diminished the credibility of the EFCC was the release of the controversial list of 135 politicians indicted by the Commission. The submission of the list to the presidency a few weeks before the deadline given to political parties by INEC kept Nigerians wondering whose battle the Commission was fighting in that phase of its crusade.

Although some members of the PDP had their names in the controversial list of corrupt politicians, leading figures in the opposition parties felt they were the actual targets. They include the vice president, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, Orji Uzor Kalu, Abia state Governor (former) and Presidential candidate of the progressive Peoples Alliance, PPA, and governor Bola Ahmed Tinubu of Lagos (former). The fear of the opposition that the EFCC's list was in pursuit of a dubious agenda was confirmed when some of the politicians loyal to the presidency whom it had pronounced guilty of corruption were cleared to contest the April 14 governorship polls. This created the impression that the commission wittingly or unwittingly applied double standards in dealing with the politicians who have had a date with it. Ken Nnamani, former Senate President is also one of the leading public figures who faulted the manner Ribadu executed his war against corrupt politicians. According to him, some politicians in the EFCC list were persecuted for the political interest and affiliation. He questioned the rationale for the submission of the list to the presidency for scrutiny and argued that the involvement of the

presidency created a moral challenge on the EFCC to justify its independent in indicting some politicians and not others who it has earlier declared to be corrupt. According to him, the allegation of double standards and political manipulation is, unfortunately, seemingly supported by the conspicuous omission on the list of some persons who EFCC and even the Code of Conduct Bureau had earlier charged to court and tribunal respectively for corrupt practices, Nnamani stated. As a result of external control of the EFCC by the presidency as a tool for political vendetta, the senate had to amend section 3(2) of the EFCC Act 2004. This was meant to strip the president of his power to appoint or sack the chairman or any official of the EFCC. The amendment was necessitated by the feeling among the senators that the direct control of the commission by the presidency could compromise the integrity of the agency. Like Ken Nnamani, most Nigerians have continued to wonder and ponder why out of all the state governors in Nigeria only Chief D.S.P Alamiyeseigha, former governor of Bayelsa state, was singled out for prosecution and conviction by the EFCC.

Change of Management and the Enthronement of Rule of Law in EFCC Operations

In order to improve his administrative capacity, the federal government directed Mallam Nuhu Ribadu, former chairman of the EFCC to proceed on a study leave at the Nigerian Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, NIPSS, Kuru, near Jos, Plateau state. While on study leave, Mallam Nuhu Ribadu along with 139 others was demoted by the police hierarchy for various reasons. Justifying the demotion of the former EFCC boss, Abubakar Tsav, former Lagos state commissioner of police in a press statement published in the *Tell Magazine* of 18th August 2008, hailed Ribadu's demotion and went further to argue that his promotion from the rank of deputy commissioner of police to the rank of assistant inspector general (AIG) within few years is a violation of the police act. The former police boss observed that the Police Act requires an officer to hold a rank for at least two years before he is promoted.

However, in a press statement issued by the police service commission (PSC) and signed by Comfort Obi, Commissioner and Chairman, Publicity Committee, published in page 26 of the *Tell Magazine* of 18th August, 2008, the commission pointed out that the Act establishing it grants it powers to

appoint, promote, dismiss or exercise disciplinary control over officers other than the Inspector General of Police (IGP). The statement noted further that section 6(1) of the Police Service Commission (Establishment) Act 2001, besides these, also empowers the Commission to formulate policies and guidelines for the appointment, promotion, discipline and dismissal of officers of the Nigerian Police. While the former EFCC boss resorted to verbal and legal confrontation with the federal government, Mrs. Farida Waziri was confirmed as the substantive head of the EFCC by the President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua-led administration. On assumption of office in 2008, the new EFCC chairperson promised to carry out her duties in line with the rule of law which is a major aspect of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's 7 point Agenda.

In spite of the fact that continuity is an essential aspect of governance anywhere in the world, Mrs. Farida Waziri wondered why no formal handing over was made to her after several months in office despite the official requests made. To convince Nigerians and critics who erroneously believed that the new EFCC chairperson was out to destroy the structure put in place by the former chairman, Mrs. Farida Waziri, a retired Assistant Inspector General of Police (AIG) stated in the same *Tell Magazine* of 18th August 2008, that the bulk of the principal investigators who handled the cases of ex-governors are still in the commission. For example, Umar Sanda, the person who took over from Magu as head of governance, was his deputy under Ribadu. Also, Muazo, the man who heads the Lagos office, is also from the Ribadu era. According to her, contrary to insinuations that the new EFCC leadership was dismantling the structure erected by Ribadu in order to achieve some ulterior motive, she noted that there was never any structure on the ground under Ribadu. It was further revealed that the commission under Nuhu Ribadu received huge funding from internal and external sources yet did not reflect such in its books thus, personalizing the activities of the commission. From its inception to 2007 the new leadership of EFCC also maintained that there was no administrative structure put in place by the former EFCC chairman as people were employed based on whom they knew and there was no structure as to entry point for freshly recruited staff. They were put on salary at some people's whims and caprices at the expense of established civil/public service rules and regulations. Nevertheless, in spite of the above short-comings, structural defects and other administrative

lapses that diminished the credibility of the EFCC in the past, the appointment and confirmation of Barr. Mrs. Farida Waziri as the chairman of the EFCC led to the enthronement of due process and sanity to the already battered image of the commission. Corruption related cases were investigated in a civilized and transparent manner. Public petitions are also subjected to open and not the usual close door investigations. Effective inter-governmental relations between the EFCC and other governmental agencies and institutions such as the Nigeria Police, Ministry Of Justice, the judiciary and the legislature etc. became a common feature of the new EFCC management. For example, the EFCC after the Nuhu Ribadu era waited patiently for the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) to complete their investigations on the Chief Executive Officers (CEO's) of Oceanic Bank, Afri Bank, Intercontinental Bank before commencing prosecution. Although, the case is ongoing, it should be noted that there was rapport and understanding between the CBN and the EFCC to ensure that the corrupt bank chiefs are brought to book without politicizing the issue. Confiscation and sale of property belonging to corrupt Nigerians are also advertised and conducted publicly and transparently, too.

In all, one can boldly say that self-aggrandizement, torture, political interference, long detention without trial, harassment and intimidation etc that characterized the EFCC in 1999 was alien to the EFCC of 2010. The above circumstances no doubt prompted Bamidele Aturu, a constitutional lawyer and human rights activist, to conclude when he told the press (*NewsWatch* of 14th May, 2007) that based on the roles Iwu, Ehindero, Ribadu and Bayo Ojo played before and during the 2007 general elections, they will definitely regret their actions in future. "Definitely, history will not be kind to them", he stated.

Nigeria's Anti-Corruption War, 2010–2018

The period, 2010–2015 witnessed a dramatic change from the usual commando style operations and media trial on the pages of newspapers where suspects are convicted and pronounced guilty without diligent investigation and prosecution by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). Although corrupt politicians tried hard to circumvent the process, anti-corruption agencies especially the EFCC recorded more convictions which earned Nigeria international respect from international

agencies and organizations across the world. By 2016, corruption in Nigeria became institutionalized especially among federal agencies, commissions and departments etc. thus, in a newspaper report captioned, "Unemployed Graduates to Osinbajo: Reverse All Secret Recruitments, Fight Corruption from within, and Punish Erring Agencies' Heads", unemployed graduates in Nigeria expressed anger and disappointment with the secret recruitments carried by government agencies since the All Progressives Congress came to power in 2015, asking the Acting President, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo to reverse them. In their words, the unemployed graduates of Nigeria and the Association of Nigerian Graduates against Unemployment and youths arise against unemployment and poverty stated that such recruitments are wrong and the actions have inflicted injury in the hearts of many Nigerian youths. Acting President Osinbajo has to reverse all the recruitments and let everyone that is interested apply afresh. He should also sanction the heads of agencies found to have carried out such recruitments because it is important to be accountable to Nigerians. The report which was published in the *SaturdayPunch newspaper* volume 7383 of May 27, 2017, revealed that the authorities of the National Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC) had enlisted about 100 candidates who were relatives, wards and protégés of politicians and influential personalities from the Northern part of the country into the service. The CBN similarly gave plum jobs to relatives or wards of people who are politically connected with the government. In the same vein, Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS) in 2016 also employed 349 new workers without any public advertisement of vacancies just as the Nigeria Police Service admitted to the House of Representatives Committee on Public Petitions during a public hearing that it had recruited 605 persons without placing any public advertisement. Thus, the youths added that today's political leaders are the ones taking corruption to another level. According to a graduate of accounting from Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ogun state, Adebimpe Olukayode, 26 years, who had been looking for job since 2013, the change should start from us, yet they are not walking their talk. Why should any of them fill those agencies with their children? Olukayode's thoughts were re-echoed by a Biochemistry graduate of the University of Lagos, Isaac Chibuike, 32 years, who also called on the federal government to quickly reverse the shoddy employment process. In his words:

It was unjust for the agencies to have filled their vacancies with the children of the political elite. They said the previous administration was corrupt. Is what they did righteousness? It is high time corruption was dealt with at every level. I think Acting President Osinbajo could play a major role here. He and Buhari said they would fight corruption to a standstill; they should not just stop at those who looted funds; they should continue from here (The Punch Newspaper volume 7383 of May 27 2017).

The words of the public relations officer, youths arise against unemployment and poverty, Mr. John Ovie, clearly show that the anti-corruption war in Nigeria under the present administration lacks commitment and sincerity. According to him "this government promised Nigerians change when it came in but it appears that it is worse than the previous ones. Even common recruitments, this government cannot make them transparent. With its mantra of change, we ought to have seen the change from day 1, but clearly, it was all lies" Sympathizers of the Muhammadu Buhari-led administration, however, argued that global trends such as rising customer expectations, budgeting constraints (leads to scrapping agencies who cannot justify expenditure), and global competition for investment, public sector reform programmes and changing demographics have transformed the environment in which the public sector operates. In the words of Daniella Aku (2018): Drive for competitiveness, attracting investment to fund economic growth is a priority for most countries including Nigeria hence, the presidential declaration of the Executive Orders in May, 2017 and 2018. She stated that the first four Executive Orders (EOs) were signed into law in 2017 and two more in 2018 respectively. In a paper titled "The Ease of doing business: Executive Orders 001 and Linkage with Service Charter", she listed the Executive Orders as follows:

- EO1:** On the promotion of transparency and efficiency in the business environment.
- EO2:** On support for local contents in public procurement by the Federal Government
- EO3:** On Budgets
- EO4:** On the voluntary assets and income declaration scheme

EO 5: On planning and execution of projects, promotion of Nigeria content in contracts and science, Engineering and Technology

EO 6: On the presentation of suspicious assets connected with corruption and other relevant offences

While President Muhammadu Buhari may have good intentions for signing and approving the above Executive Orders Nigerians especially, public affairs analysts and members of the civil society have criticized the president for ignoring the national assembly in the entire process. Femi Falan, a renowned lawyer and Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) in a public television programme recently described the action of President Muhammadu Buhari as a clear breach of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and principles of separation of powers. He stated categorically that there are enough laws in Nigeria's constitution and judicial system that can take care of the issues raised in the Executive Orders signed by the president and consequently described the president's action as "undemocratic".

However, Nigerians are still awaiting the outcome of investigations on the following corruption cases that occurred between 2016 and early part of 2018:

1. The Raid Carried out on the Homes of Judges and Supreme Court Justices by the Department of State Services (DSS) Officials

In public statement captioned EFCC investigating eight judges and two registrars published in *ThePunch Newspaper* of Friday, October 14, 2016, the head of media and publicity of the EFCC, Mr. Wilson Uwujaren confirmed that the investigation involving eight judges and two registrars had reached advanced stage. In the same vein, the DSS in what it called a sting operation, arrested Sylvester Nguta and Inyang Okoro, both of the Supreme Court: the suspended presiding justice of the Court of Appeal, Ilorin Division, Justice Mohammed Tsamiya; Justice Kabiru Auta of the Kano State High Court and Justice Adeniyi Ademola of the Federal High Court, Abuja. Others arrested in the sting operation include former Chief Judge of Enugu State, Justice I.A. Umezulike, and Muazu Pindiga of the Federal High Court, Gombe Division. However, Nigerians and professional groups have condemned the raid and arrest of the judicial officers. The Nigerian Bar Association through its President Mr. Abubakar Mahmud (SAN), while addressing a press

conference in Abuja, described the raid and the arrest of the senior judicial officers as unconstitutional and clearly outside the mandate of the DSS. In the words of the former NBA President:

The Supreme Court and indeed other superior courts in Nigeria are part of the judicial institutions of this country and we cannot denigrate them under the guise that we are fighting corruption. We must not destroy the institution or expose it to ridicule or disdain and humiliation both locally and internationally because of the allegations against them (The Punch Newspaper of Friday October 14 2016).

In a related development, the National Judicial Council (NJC) also condemned the raid on some judges' houses by the operatives of the Department of State Services (DSS) and the subsequent arrest of the senior judicial officers. In a statement issued by the Acting Director, Information, Mr. Soji Oye, the NJC described the treatment meted out to the arrested judicial officers as a threat to the independence of the judiciary.

2. The Trial of the Senate President, Dr. Bukola Saraki, by the Code of Conduct Tribunal (CCT)

The trial of the Senate President, Senator Bukola Saraki, which lasted for over six months, came to a close on 4th May, 2017, when the two-man panel of the CCT dismissed the weight of overwhelming evidence against Saraki, who had been tried for false asset declaration by the federal government. In the historical ruling, the two-man panel of the CCT, led by its Chairman, Danladi Umar, unanimously upheld the no-case submission, filed by Senator Bukola Saraki after the prosecution closed its case with 48 exhibits tendered. The CCT in Abuja discharged and acquitted the Senate President of all the 18 charges of false asset declaration and other related offences proffered against him. Most Nigerians have continued to wonder why the executive and the legislative arm of government will engage each other in such litigations and counter-litigations at the expense of public funds, time and resources. In a press statement captioned "Presidency Kicks as CCT Discharges, Acquits Saraki", published in *The Punch Newspaper* of Thursday, 15 June, 2017, Special Assistant to the President on Prosecution, Mr. Okoi, Obono-Obla, wondered why the CCT dismissed the weight of overwhelming evidence against Bukola Saraki. In his words, "there was

overwhelming evidence, cogent evidence, incontrovertible evidence, which cannot be dismissed by a no-case submission. The trial judge ought to have called on the defendant to enter his defense against the evidence adduced by the prosecution. And we will go on with this war against corruption despite the frustration, despite the setback". Reacting to the judgment, Ekiti state governor, Ayodele Fayose, hailed the victory of Bukola Saraki at the CCT as another victory for Nigerians over tyranny. In his words:

The judgment was another lesson for the President Muhammadu Buhari-led All Progressives Congress government that criminal cases were not won on the pages of newspapers. I have maintained that the government of President Muhammadu Buhari is not fighting any corruption. Rather, what is being done is hiding under anti-corruption fight to persecute, annihilate, harass and malign perceived political enemies (The Punch Newspaper of Thursday 15 June 2017).

Similarly, human rights activist and lawyer, Chief Mike Ozekhome (SAN) hailed the acquittal of Bukola Saraki by the CCT. In his words:

The ruling by the tribunal was evidenced that the anti-corruption war was nothing but a ruse to fool the feeble-minded. The CCT was bold, courageous, and right, in spite of visible executive interference and manipulation, to have discharged and acquitted Senate President, Dr. Bukola Saraki, on all the accounts of false declaration of assets leveled against him (The Punch Newspaper of Thursday 15th June 2017).

It is also on record that the Muhammadu Buhari-led government through the Attorney General of the Federation and the office of the Inspector General of Police has filed fresh charges of armed robbery against the Nigerian Senate President, Dr. Bukola Saraki. As at September, 2018 the case was yet to be filed in the law court but the Senate President was invited twice to the police headquarters for questioning. Most Nigerians however believed that the travails of the Senate President are as a result of political differences. Nevertheless, the opposition argued that the current anti-corruption war of the Buhari-led administration was selective and biased against perceived opponents and enemies.

3. Whistle Blowing Policy and The Discovery of Looted Funds in Public and Private Buildings

Nigerians have scored the present administration high for introducing the whistle blowing policy whereby incentives and protection is given to Nigerians who provide disclosures to the federal government and its agencies. Through this policy, several recoveries have been made across the country. Notable among them was the three billion naira found in the family home of the former Group Managing Director of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, Mr. Andrew Yakubu, and the sum of thirteen billion Naira found in a building belonging to the National intelligence Agency (NIA). It will be recalled that Justice Zainab B. Abubakar of the Federal High Court sitting in Kano had on February, 13 granted the interim forfeiture order for the money (which amounted to about N3bn) found in the secret safe belonging to Andrew Yakubu in Sabon Tasha, in Kaduna state. The order was sequel to an ex-parte application by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commissions (EFCC) seeking an interim forfeiture of the recovered money to the Federal Government of Nigeria. Securing forfeiture orders is good but Nigerians want to see diligent prosecution and conviction of suspects and judicious use of looted funds for national development.

4. Confirmation of Mr. Ibrahim Magu as Chairman of EFCC as Required by Law

This is one issue that has discredited and diminished the anti-corruption war of the present administration. In a newspaper report captioned "Magu's Confirmation Controversy: Sagay, Others Knock AGF", El-Rufai says Magu will remain EFCC Chairman. The Chairman, Presidential Advisory Committee against Corruption (PACAC). Prof. Itse Sagay (SAN), urged the Attorney General of the Federation, Mr. Abubakar Malami (SAN), not to take a different position from that of the Acting President, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo, who maintained that Ibrahim Magu will remain the Acting Chairman of EFCC even without the confirmation of the Senate and National Assembly. This development has no doubt generated debate among Nigerians, especially human right groups and organizations who believed that the federal government ought to respect the principles of rule of law and separation of powers even when it is not expressly stated in the constitution. The likes of El-Rufai and Femi Falana, however, argued that the President can appoint the Acting Chairman of EFCC without Senate approval and confirmation.

5. The Case of the Director-General, National Intelligence Agency, Amb. Ayo Oke and The Former Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Babachir David Lawal

In Newspaper report captioned “Wike, NIA Fight over Seized 13 BN”, published in the Saturday *Punch Newspaper* of 15th April 2017, NIA Boss, and Amb. Ayo Oke stated that the money found on the seventh floor of the building was approved by the former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan for covert operations and security projects covering a period of years. It will be recalled that EFCC operatives stormed the Ikoyi property and were informed that the said apartment was a safe house of the NIA from which discreet operations were carried out. The EFCC boss, however, rejected all entreaties from the NIA and entered the building, breaking the fire-proof safes and took custody of the money. In a strange but dramatic twist of events, the Governor of Rivers State, Barr. Ezebunwo Nyesom Wike, who described the claim that the money belonged to the NIA as balderdash, and stated:

The immediate past Governor of Rivers State and the current minister of transportation, Mr. Rotimi Amaechi, kept the money in the apartment. The \$43m was part of the proceeds from the sale of a gas turbine by the immediate past administration initially built by the Peter Odili administration. I want the president to set up a commission of inquiry. We don't want to fight anybody; they should set up a commission of inquiry or return our money within seven days. If they don't we will take all necessary legal actions and NIA will come and prove where they got the money from. (The Punch Newspaper, 15th April, 2017).

The actual owner of the said amount remains a mystery till date hence, Nigerians are wondering why diligent, sincere and committed prosecution cannot take place even when the facts are glaring. Could it be as a result of elite or ruling class conspiracy against the Nigerian masses and the state? Your guess is as good as mine. On the other hand the case of the Former Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Babachir David Lawal, who was indicated by the Senate Committee on the development of the North-East headed by Senator Shehu Sani from Kaduna State, is even more pathetic because the amount involved was meant for the development of war-ravaged North-East and internally displaced persons (IDPs). The Senate

Committee report revealed that the Former Secretary to the Government of the Federation awarded a contract worth over 200 Million Naira to a company where he had vested interest, for the cutting of grass in IDP camps in the North-East. In spite of the Senate Committee report and the call of justice by Nigerians, the federal government did nothing for about two months. Even when the former SGF was invited to state his case at a public hearing, he declined; hence, the call for his removal was intensified. Rather than suspend and prosecute the erring public servants (Babachir David Lawal, Former Secretary to the Government of the Federation and Amb. Ayo Oke, former Director General, National Intelligence Agency) as required by law, the federal government, set up a three man panel headed by the Vice President, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo to investigate the allegations leveled against them. It took another two months for the committee report to be submitted to the President who only pronounced the sack and suspension of the affected public servants. Thus, prompting Nigerians to ask if there are sacred cows in the ongoing anti-corruption war or if some people are now untouchable because of their religion and party affiliation. Several indices also point to the fact that no government in Nigeria has been able to go after the heavy weights in the corruption business in Nigeria.

6. The Mysterious Reinstatement of Alhaji Rasheed Maina.

The credibility, and the sincerity of the president Buhari-led administration in its anti-corruption crusade was again put to test in the controversial manner, Mr. Rasheed Maina was reinstated and made a Director in the Federal Civil Service. It will be recalled that between 2012 and 2014 Mr. Rasheed Maina was appointed Chairman of the Presidential Taskforce on the Recovery of Pension Funds. The way and manner the committee conducted its affairs was shredded in secrecy and controversy, prompting its chairman to flee the country in controversial circumstances for about three years. Revelations from Mr. Rasheed Maina also shows that about 222 choice houses and other properties recovered by the Presidential Pensions Task Force and handed over to the EFCC for further actions have been shared and resold by officials of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission without due process. Thus, in a recent newspaper report, the Senate vowed to open investigations into the above claim. Nigerians are not bothered about the return of Maina to the country but what is baffling Nigerians at home and abroad is the mysterious way and manner he was

reinstated into the Federal Civil Service and upgraded to the rank of director without the usual disciplinary processes enshrined in the Nigeria civil/public service rules and regulations. Despite public outcry, the federal government is yet to reverse its actions or set up any committee to examine the role of top officials of the government on the issue. Again, this explains why some Nigerians accuse the present administration of selective justice in its anti-corruption crusade. The tables below however show that the anti-corruption war in Nigeria is yet to catch up with the big boys who are deeply involved in high profile corruption cases in Nigeria and in the diasporas.

Table 1:
Siemen Bribery Scandal: The Supects

S/N	NAME	TITLE	AMOUNT	SOURCE	DATE
1	Cornelius Adebayo	Minister of Telecom	500,000.00 Euros	Seidel/Gilbert	Unknown Time
2	Conelius Adebayo	Minister of Telecommunication	70,000.00 Euros	Seidel	22.05.2004
3	Mohammed	Project Manager NITEL	70,000.00 Euros	Seidel	03.09.2004
4	David Osakwe Osakwe Oyegun	State Secretary, Communication Ministry	50,000.00 Euros	Seidel	20.07.2004
5	David Osakwe Oyegun	✓	20,000.00 Euros	Seidel	18.02.2004
6	✓	✓	✓	✓	02.12.2003
7	Dr. Bello Mohammed	Minister of Telecommunications	150,000.00 Euros	Seidel	25.08.2003
8	Dr. Bello Mohammed	Minister of Telecommunication	550,000.00 Euros	Seidel	08.07.2003
9	Samson Olabiyi	Legal Adviser of NITEL	50,000.00 Euros	Seidel	18.06.2003
10	✓	✓	✓	✓	02.04.2003
11	Dr. Hamza	State Secretary in Nigeria Telecommunication	10,000.00 Euros	Seidel	15.10.2003
12	R. Olusanju	Secretary in tenders board in NITEL	130,000.00 Euros	✓	✓
13	Haruna Elewi	Minister for Telecommunication	5,000.00 Euros	✓	12.08.2002
14	✓	✓	✓	✓	12.08.2002
15	Tajuden Olarewaju	Telecommunication Minister	50,000.00 Euros	✓	08.08.2002
16	Chukka Nwizu	Head of Immigration	20,000.00 Euros	✓	13.5.2004
17	Aliyu Datti	Legal Adviser, NITEL	15,000.00 Euros	✓	18.03.2004

18	Several Decision Makers	Telecom and Ministry officials	1,000.00 Euros	Seidel	17.01.2002
19	Several Decision Makers	Telecom and Ministry officials	500,000.00 Euros	Seidel J.E Douglas steradium	22.01.2002
20	Several Decision Makers	Telecom and Ministry officials	2,250,000.00 Euros	Coy. Seidel	29.11.2001
21	Several Decision Makers	Political office holders	350,000.00 Euros	Seidel woe mann	23.06.2003
22	Several Decision Makers	Political office holders	750,000.00 Euros	Seidel woe mann	2003
23	Several Decision Makers	Political office holders	620,000.00 Euros	✓	25.08.2003
24	Several Decision Makers	Political office holders	380,000.00 Euros	✓	23.08.2003
25	Several Decision Makers	✓	1,064,000.00 Euros	✓	29.11.2003
26	Several Decision Makers	Minister for Telecom.	50,000.00 Euros	Seidel	10.11.2003
27	Several Decision makers	Senator of Govt. party	185,000.00 Euros	✓	11.04.2003

Source: The Source Magazine volume 22 No. 8, p.23 of 3rd December, 2007.

Table 2:
Summary of Alleged Payments in the Halliburton Bribery Scandal

S/N	Year of Payment	Alleged Amount	Suspected Beneficiary
1	1994 - 1995	\$40 million USD	Late Gen. Sani Abacha
2	1996 - 1998	\$2.5 million USD	Chief Dan Etete
3	1996 - 1998	\$75,000 USD	M.D. Yusufu
4	March/June 1998	\$1,120,000. USD	1. Greta Overseas UK 2. Riser Brothers
5	1998	\$1,887,000 USD	Abdulkadir Abacha
6	1999 - 2000	\$37,5 million USD	1. Gen. Abdulsalmi, Abubakar 2. Chief Don Etiebet
7	March 1999	\$600,000 USD	Prince N.A. Bayero Glosmer In't (Riser Brothers)
8	March 1999	\$290,000.00 USD	Edith Edeghoughon
9	March 1999	\$600,000.00 USD	Zertasha Malik Greta Overseas/Riser Brothers
10	1999 - 2000	\$195,000 USD	Messrs Shinkafi And Aliyu & Glosmer In't (Rivers Brother)
11	2001 - 2002	\$74 million USD	Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, Atiku Abubakar, Gaius Obaseki and Funsho Kupolokun
12	2001 - 2002	\$5 million USD	Bodunde Adeyanju Urban Shelter and Intercellular
13	2001 - 2002	\$11,700,000 USD	Ibrahim Aliyu, Urban Shelta and Intercellular
14	2001 - 2002	\$3,108,675 USD	M.G. Bakari
	Total	\$178,575,675 USD	

Source: The News Magazine Volume 34 No. 19 of 17th May, 2010, p. 41

The above data clearly revealed that several influential Nigerians that have corruption issues are yet to be arrested and prosecuted hence, the former National President, Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (CDHR), Olasupo Ojo, in a press statement titled "We Doubt EFCC's Performance and Expressed Lack of Confidence in the Performance of the EFCC". This disclosure was made when the former CDHR boss led a delegation to the office of EFCC and ICPC in Abuja to present the report of the House of Representatives investigation on the power sector and the non-remittance of received public revenue into the federation account by ministries, departments and agencies (MDA's). In his words:

Part of our fear is that the anti-corruption agencies are part of the executive body. Our concern is will the executive allow the agencies to investigate them? All the allegations are against the executive arm of government. The executive arm is the most corrupt in this country and they are the arm presiding over agencies that are supposed to battle corruption. It is like a dilemma. There is executive interference and the reports of most of the investigations they carry out, first get to the presidency before they prosecute. And if the presidency says don't prosecute then they won't do anything (The News Magazine Volume 34 No. 19 of 17th May, 2010).

This position was re-echoed by Dele Omotunde who described the rate of corruption in Nigeria as alarming. In an article titled "This is Treasonable Tsunami" published in the *Tell Magazine* of 17th January, 2005, he lamented that the real kidnappers in Nigeria are those in power. He said: our country's enemies are the abductors, kidnappers and those bloody criminals who are riding high on the crest of immunity, officialdom, legal incapacitation and constitutional booby traps (referring to the corrupt governors and senior government officials).

Conclusion

Corruption is indeed a major problem confronting states and, Nigeria is not an exception. Anti-corruption strategies and policies also vary from country to country depending on several variables including cultural and religious beliefs and practices etc. In the case of Nigeria, the study revealed that some

administrations fought corruption on the pages of newspapers (media trial) while others went beyond the periphery. Available records and statistics further revealed that from 2007 - 2014 frantic efforts were made to deepen democracy in Nigeria through various policy actions and reforms which led to the strengthening of anti-corruption agencies and institution in the country. It will be recalled that during this period diligent prosecution replaced media trial and conviction of suspects. Civil relations and rule of law replaced forceful arrests and intimidation of innocent suspects. In addition, fair and open trials also replaced selective arrests and prosecution of suspects throughout the country. Incidentally, the gains recorded from 2007 to 2014 are fast fading away through the activities of the government in power.

Furthermore, the study revealed that corruption is indeed a major challenge confronting nations across the world including Nigeria consequently, indicating that corruption in any form or shape affects the society adversely. This explains why sustainable development and growth is difficult to achieve in Nigeria and Africa as a whole. With specific reference to Nigeria, the study observed that various administrations in Nigeria adopted different strategies and policy actions in their war against corruption. For instance, the Olusegun Obasanjo-led administration laid the foundation for anti-corruption struggles by establishing anti-corruption agencies while subsequent administrations consolidated on the gains recorded. It is instructive to note that the Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan administration carried out several reforms and policy measures which helped in institutionalizing the war against corruption in the country. These measures no doubt opened the political space which enabled citizens' unfettered access to information and freedom. The study concludes that for the anti-corruption war to be successful in Nigeria, all hands must be on deck.

Recommendations

The following recommendations will no doubt help to strengthen the anti-corruption war in Nigeria and Africa:

1. Compulsory leadership training and retraining should be organized periodically for leaders and intending leaders in Nigeria and Africa in order to build and develop their capacity. This is imperative

because most leaders in Africa do not understand contemporary leadership styles and strategies.

2. There is need for partnership and cooperation between anti-corruption agencies, professional bodies and development/regulatory agencies within and outside Nigeria. It will be recalled that following the Central Bank of Nigeria's release of its 2009 audit report which indicted eight bank chief executives in Nigeria, the Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria (CIBN) removed its president, Mr Erastus Akingbola (former C.E.O. of Intercontinental Bank Plc) from office as president of the institute. Free flow of communication from internal and external sources will also help to locate and tract down fleeing suspects.
3. All forms of media trial of suspects should be discouraged in order to protect the rights of suspects. It will be recalled that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria from 1999 to 2007 lost several cases because diligent investigation and prosecution was not conducted.
4. Private investigation of cases especially high profile cases should be encouraged in order to facilitate and fast-track the process of investigation and prosecution. This will no doubt ensure the speedy trial of cases since justice delayed is justice denied.
5. The Act establishing anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria and Africa should be amended by parliament in order to ensure that executive interference is reduced to the barest minimum. It is on record that the Act establishing the EFCC and ICPC gives undue advantage to the Nigerian president and the executive arm of government in terms of appointment and removal of the management of such agencies and commissions especially, the chairman.
6. Leaders should promote good governance and the rule of law by adhering to democratic principles and values. It is believed that this is the only way corruption can be eradicated and demystified.

References

- Achebe, C. (1984). *The trouble with Nigeria*. London: Macmillan publishers.
- Achebe, C. (2012). *There was a country: A personal history of Biafra*. USA: Penguin Group Inc.
- Adamolekun, L. (1983). *Public administration: A Nigerian and comparative perspective*. London: Longman's Group Ltd.
- Adamolekun, L. et al. (1979). *Leading issues in Nigerian public service*. Oshogbo: University of Ife Press.
- Adebayo, A. (1984). *Principles and practice of public administration in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Adegbite, L. (2005). *We have failed as a nation* in Vanguard Newspaper of 1st October p.16.
- Adeniyi, O. (2011). *Power, politics and death: A front-row account of Nigeria under the late president Yar'Adua*. Nigeria: Kachifo limited.
- Adesomoju, A. (2017). *Corruption cases: FG to sack five SANs as prosecutors* in The Punch Newspaper vol. 41, No. 21,377, Monday, 20 February p.9.
- Adetayo, O & Akintuotu, E. (2017). *Presidency slams NJC, vows to arraign reinstated judges* in The Punch Newspaper vol. 41, No. 21, 452, Tuesday, 6 June, p.7.
- Adetayo, O. & Olorokor, F. (2017). *13bn recovery: Osinbajo panel quizzes Magu, as committee begins sittings* in The Saturday Punch vol. 7378, No. 1877 of 22 April, p.3.
- Ajaero, C. (2007). *Tools of political vendetta* in Newswatch Magazine of 14th May, pp. 14-23.
- Ake, C. (1981). *A political economy of Africa*. New York: Longman Inc.
- Akintuotu, E. et al. (2017). *Magu's confirmation controversy: Sagay, others knock AGF, El-Rufai says Magu will remain EFCC chairman* in The Punch Newspaper vol. 41, No. 21, 475, of Friday, 7 July, p.7 and 28.
- Akintuotu, E.F & Olorokor, C.A. & Aluko, O. (2017). *Wike, NIA fight over ownership of N13bn seized by EFCC* in The Saturday Punch Newspaper vol. 7377, No. 1876, 15 April, p.7.
- Aku, L.D. (2018). *The ease of doing business: Executive orders 001 and Linkage with service charter*. Being a paper presented at the 3rd Quarter National Universities Commission Parastatal Servicom Committee Meeting held at the Nigeria French Language Village (NFLV) Auditorium, Ajara – Badagry from 25 – 28 September, 2018.

- Alechenu, J. et al. (2017). *Presidency kicks as CCT discharges, acquits Saraki* in The Punch Newspaper vol. 41, No. 21, 459 Thursday, 15 June p.7.
- Awe, E.O. (1973). *Issues in Federalism*. Benin City: Ethiope publishing corporation.
- Beyart, J.F. (2009). *The state in Africa*. Cambridge: Polity press.
- Etekepe, A. (2007). *Politics of resource allocation and control in Nigeria: The Niger Delta experience*. Port-Harcourt: Harey Publications.
- Ezike, I. (2008). *Obasanjo mismanaged Nigeria* in The Source Magazine of 25 February, pp.18-19.
- Gambo, .M. (2005). *Obasanjo's government worse than Abacha's saysMRD* in Vanguard Newspaper of 29 November p.14.
- Iniekio-Suboh, T. (2006). *Political corruption: Causes, consequences and solutions, the case for Nigeria*. London: Criterion press.
- Jega, A.M. (2007). *Democracy, good governance and development in Nigeria*. Gombe: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Jibrin A. M. (2004). *Obasanjo and the new face of Nigeria's foreign policy*. Kaduna: MOD press and publishers.
- Kalama, J.T. (2012). *Conflict resolution without violence: Emerging trends in Nigeria's political development*. Port Harcourt: Pearl publishers.
- Kalama, T.J. (2008). *Public policy formulation and implementation in Nigeria: Problems and prospects*. Port-Harcourt: Pearl publishers.
- Nwaneri, V. (2008). *Obasanjo practiced contractor-crazy* in the Source Magazine of 25 February pp.16-17.
- Odebode, N. & Aborishade, S. (2015) *₦1tn petition: Senate rumbles, splits over Lamorde probe* in The Punch Newspaper vol. 39, No. 20, 993 of Tuesday 25 August p.2.
- Oketola, D.G & Adeoye, J.A. (2017). *Unemployed graduates angry, ask Osinbajo to reverse secret recruitments* in The Saturday Punch Newspaper vol. 7383, No. 1882, 27 May p.4.
- Okoro, J. (2006). *Foreign policy: Theories and Analysis*. Calabar: Clear lines publications.
- Olanipekun, W. (2004). *Obasanjo must call his men to order* in Tell Magazine No.4, 26 January p.24-26.
- Soriwei, F. (2016). *EFCC investigating eight judges, two registrars* in The Punch Newspaper vol. 40, No 21,288, Friday, 14 October p.9.
- Soyinka, W. (2005). *Obasanjo's government is lawless* in The Punch Newspaper of 16 December, p.2.
- Udokang, C.J. & Awofeso, O. (2012). *Political ideas: An introduction*. Lagos: MacGrace publishers

CHAPTER NINE

MAJOR POLICY ACTIONS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA (1999-2018)

Jacob Ogedi Ph.D

Department of Political Science
Federal University Otuoke,
Bayelsa State, Nigeria
jacobogedi@gmail.com
08035440671



Abstract

This paper explored the major policy actions of successive governments in Nigeria from 1999 to 2018. The objective is to look at the nature and character of the various policies of government in Nigeria and to identify why Nigeria has remained underdeveloped despite the formulation and implementation of these policies. The paper observes that the policies are regime-based and therefore usually discontinued once a new government takes over. This paper concludes that abandoning a policy midway is counterproductive to development. It recommends, among others, that policies and programmes which transcend regimes should be formulated and implemented by either the government that formulated it or subsequent governments. Also, the political leaders need to be more focused and committed to their development goals by formulating policies that will not be contradicted by their actions and inactions in government.

Introduction

Policy is viewed as a purposive course of actions taken or adopted by those in power in pursuit of certain goals or objectives (Sapru, 2011). It means that public policies are adopted and implemented by government bodies and officials as guide for socio-political engineering. So, national development of a country has direct relationship with the nature and character of policy actions a country adopts. It is on this basis that various administrations engage in policy actions that will challenge and contain obstacles to development. However, a good policy action must redirect a country along a new trajectory (Okigbo, 1986).

It is therefore worrisome to note that despite the huge resources and varieties of policy actions adopted by successive governments in Nigeria, the country has not been able to achieve meaningful development since its political independence in 1960. A poignant index to this claim is that unemployment, hunger, starvation, poverty and diseases are not only visible on the faces of most Nigerians, but have assumed unprecedented dimension (Sahara Reporters, 2018; Transparency International Reporter, 2018). It is on the basis of this ugly trend, that it has become imperative to analyse the major policy actions of past and present administrations in Nigeria between 1999 and 2018. The aim is to identify the flaws that made the policy actions incapable of lifting Nigeria out of socio-economic and political doldrums. However, a brief review of pre-1999 policy actions of governments in Nigeria shall constitute our point of departure.

The Pre-1999 Policy Actions of Government in Nigeria

The first and second republican governments in Nigeria as well as some of the military governments anchored their policy actions on development plans. The plans adopted series of development policies. From import substitution, industrialization in the 1960s to the policy of indigenization, Nationalization in the 70s and then the Shagari's Cliché of Austerity Measure early in the 80s (Okolie in Akpan (ed), 2003). While the First National Development Plan (1962–1968) focused on the development of basic social services (Egbuwalo, 2004), the second National Development Plan (1970–1974) was primarily aimed at solving the problems of resettlement, rehabilitation and reconstruction of war-torn projects and infrastructure (after the Nigeria civil war in 1970). The third National Development Plan

(1975–1980) focused on sectors which have direct impact on the lives of ordinary Nigerians like housing, health care delivery, water supply, education, agriculture etc. (Tamuno, 2009). The successive governments before 1999 also developed agricultural policies to actualize self-sufficiency and self-reliance in food production. Among them are the National Accelerated Food Production Programme (NAFPP) by Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon in 1975; The Operation Feed the Nation (OFN), The Agricultural Development Projects (ADP) and Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme (ACGS) by the Mohammed/Obasanjo Military Government; The Green Revolution Programme by the Second Republican Government headed by Alhaji Shehu Shagari. These agricultural policies failed because they merely paid lip service to the involvement of farmers in the production process (Tamuno, 2009). They led to the emergence of new classes (Nzimiro, 1985).

The Buhari/Idiagbon Military Government did not last long and can only be remembered for introducing War Against Indiscipline (WAI) in Nigeria. The Buhari Military Government was ousted in August 1985 by a military coup headed by Major General Ibrahim Babangida. With the colossal failures of the various policies to stimulate national development, the Babangida administration found solace in the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). By this decision, Nigeria became an appendage of the International division of labour. The regime therefore moved the direction of the nation's economy towards neo-liberal ideology (Anyanwu, 1993). With Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the Nigerian government sold publicly owned enterprises in the name of privatization and efficiency to some Nigerians and foreigners (Anyanwu, Oyefusi, Oaikhenan Dimowa, 1999).

To contain the anticipated hardship that SAP may have caused to Nigerians, the regime introduced such programmes as the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) to reduce unemployment, the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) to improve the delivery of goods and access of farmers to their farms and markets; provision of credit facilities for small commercial and manufacturing enterprises; the establishment of mass transit schemes and the People's Bank (Ake, 2001). Babangida's wife, Maryam Babangida, also came up with a policy action to combat rural underdevelopment christened Better Life for Rural Women (BLRW). The Better Life for Rural Women ended up making its officials and friends who

were mainly urban women millionaires (Jacob, 2012). In 1993, Abacha, and his wife, Mariam Abacha found a goldmine in the business of pretending to care for the rural poor. They set up the Family Support Programme (FSP) and the Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP). The Nigerian poor, again, were taken for a ride. According to *Tell Magazine* of August 3, 1998, the FSP gulped over N10 billion of taxpayers money at a time Abacha was retrenching hapless civil servants nation-wide. The crux of the matter is that development strategies in Nigeria have usually been victims of diversionary tendencies by the ruling class.

All the policy actions of successive governments before 1999 failed to bring Nigeria out of underdevelopment, dependency and squalor. The era was dominated by military oligarchy with its concomitant authoritarian postures. A return to democracy on May 29, 1999 was therefore seen as a good riddance that will usher in socio-economic and political development.

Post-1999 Major Policy Actions in Nigeria

1. National Economic and Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS)

Between 1999 and 2007, President Olusegun Obasanjo engaged in policy actions that supported competitive market economic philosophy. The economic policies focused on five key elements: improving the macro-economic environment; ensuring fiscal discipline; pursuing structural reforms; strengthening public expenditure management; and implementing institutional and governance reforms, including the stepping up of the fight against corruption (Joab-Peterside, 2013). The administration engaged in economic programmes and policies that will transform the Nigerian economy. These programmes were derived from the National Economic and Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS).

The NEEDS programme was essentially to address basic deficiencies such as lack of freshwater for household use and irrigation, unreliable power supply, decaying infrastructure, impediments to private enterprises and corruption. According to Joab-Peterside (2013), "The government had hoped that NEEDS would create 7 million new jobs, diversify the economy, boost non-energy exports, increase the industrial capacity utilization and improve agricultural productivity" but zero was the flipside of NEEDS. Ekpo (2013) describes the scenario thus:

At the end of the 2007, the Nigerian economy was still at the state of primary production with peasant agriculture contributing about 45% to GDP with increased production depending more on nature (rainfall) and expanded acreage. The contribution of manufacturing to GDP remained at about 5%. There were, of course, marginal gains but the structure of the economy remained the same. There were no visible signs of transformation from primary commodity production to the industrial stage; the economy still produced what it did not consume and consumed what it did not produce.

In the same vein, the various state governments that have implemented the State Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (SEEDS) had little to show for it.

Another economic programme named National Millennium Goals for Nigeria was sponsored by the United Nations and it covered the period of 15 years beginning from 2000 to 2015. The objectives of the programme were: poverty reduction, educational development, gender equality, health, environmental sustainability and international development cooperation. However, little was achieved in these areas. According to Joab-Peterside (2013):

It is interesting to note that Nigeria is making progress in terms of provision of universal primary education, protection of the environment, and developing a global development partnership. However, the country is lagging behind on the goals of eliminating extreme poverty and hunger, reducing child and maternal mortality, and combating diseases such as Human Immune Deficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) and malaria.

NEEDS had a unique feature such that the federal government in supporting it with a comprehensive reform in the banking sector consolidated Nigerian banks into twenty-five mega banks, each with a minimum capital base of N25 billion. For a private sector driven economy, it means that the banks would be strong enough to support private initiative and entrepreneurship.

Also, the Olusegun Obasanjo administration initiated and midwifed the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP). The programme was aimed at providing employment for quite a large number of Nigerians in order to reduce the level of poverty to a minimum level. The Obasanjo presidency also initiated the Vision 2020, a vision that would have made Nigeria one of the twenty strongest economies in the world by the year 2020. The vision had a package of national development programmes encapsulated in it. Its implementation had been on course before the tenure of the government elapsed in May 2007.

However, the Obasanjo administration recorded major contributions in the following areas:

- (a) It established the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and also strengthened the Code of Conduct Bureau to fight corruption in Nigeria. Highly placed citizens and top politicians like Tafa Balogun (former Inspector General of Police) to swindlers and internet fraudsters were successfully prosecuted and sent to jail by these agencies.
- (b) Foreign reserves when Obasanjo came into power were just \$2 billion in 1999. But when he was leaving office by 2007, the foreign reserve was a whopping \$43 billion.
- (c) The Obasanjo civilian government secured an \$18 billion debt relief from the Paris and London clubs and got Nigeria almost free of foreign debt.
- (d) The government brought in mobile telecommunication (GSM) into Nigeria in 2001 which no doubt was a great achievement in the country.
- (e) The Obasanjo government launched Nigeria's first satellite in space, Nigeria Satellite I which ensured good internet and mobile communication.
- (f) The government was also able to resolve the Bakassi Peninsula dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon with the Cameroonian President, Paul Biya, on the 12th June, 2006.

2. The Seven Point Agenda

On 29th May 2007, the mantle of leadership of Nigeria fell on Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua as President with Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan as Vice President. Like the administrations before it, it came up with its own policy action christened the Seven-Point Agenda. The administration was determined to keep Vision 2020 alive and use the Seven Point Agenda as the implementation strategy to achieve the goals of the vision.

The seven point agenda of the Yar'Adua government was declared on 1st August, 2007. The agenda aimed at keying into the objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The major policy thrust of the 7-point Agenda was as follows;

- (a) **Critical Infrastructure:** This involved paying serious attention to adequate power supply to facilitate industrialization; development of Rail, Road, Air and water transportation to facilitate the movement of persons, goods and services.
- (b) **Niger Delta:** This involved complete overhaul of the Niger Delta Region to ensure provision of physical infrastructure and empowerment of the people.
- (c) **Food Security:** This involved declaration of interest in enhancement of agriculture and water resources to ensure adequate food supply for local consumption and exports.
- (d) **Human Capital Development:** This involved reforms in education sector to improve skills and enhance standards.
- (e) **Land Tenure and Home Ownership:** This was aimed at reviewing the land use laws to facilitate proper use of the nation's land assets for socio-economic development as well as citizen's access to mortgage facilities.
- (f) **National Security and Intelligence:** This was aimed at giving adequate attention to the provision of security to lives and property.
- (g) **Wealth Creation:** This was focused on initiating the process of diversification of the nation's revenue base and increase in productivity to provide jobs for the jobless. (Federal Ministry of Information and Communications, 2007).

It was however observed that Nigeria suffered greatly as a result of the non-implementation of the critical issues raised in the 7-point agenda (Tell, February 23, 2009; Newswatch, February 16, 2009). From available record, the Yar'Adua government lacked the political and administrative will to implement the 7-point agenda with the zeal it deserved for the country to be the 20th largest economy by the year 2020. For instance, there was no improvement in power generation and distribution; threat to lives and property due to insecurity was palpable; most Federal Universities had to access loans from banks on a monthly basis to augment funds for salary payment. The public and private establishments also spent much on independent power generation because the public power source was largely unreliable. Also, the expected land tenure and home ownership part of the agenda suffered a serious setback as it took the government about two years to send a bill seeking for the amendment of relevant sections of the land use laws to the national assembly (Dode, 2010).

However, the Yar'Adua-led administration recorded some achievements. They include the following;

- (a) Yar'Adua initiated the Niger Delta Amnesty Programme which saw hundreds of militant youths from Niger Delta who took arms against the state going abroad for studies and professional training.
- (b) He reversed some of the decisions of ex-president Obasanjo that were considered to be against the national interest such as the sale of three refineries in Nigeria.
- (c) He released the N10 billion Lagos State Local Government Councils' Funds which were withheld by Obasanjo's government.
- (d) He deconstructed power because he was not intoxicated by it. He did not pay lip service to the rule of law and due process.
- (e) Under his watch, the courts regained their freedom. They handed down verdicts that cancelled political victories even though his party (PDP) was the victim.
- (f) He pioneered the policy of returning unspent funds to the national treasury at the end of the fiscal year. He is also the

first president in Nigeria to declare his assets before assuming office.

- (g) He initiated the dredging of the River Niger, Abuja metro line, Abuja-Kaduna rail and the Abuja-Kano rail.

However, the administration was short-lived as a result of the death of President Umaru Musa Yar' Adua and therefore, the administration could not achieve much.

3. The Transformation Agenda

By 9th February, 2010 the Goodluck Jonathan/Namadi Sambo administration came on board with its Transformation Agenda (TA). The agenda was a modification to the seven-point agenda but still pursuing the goals of vision 20:2020. According to the mid-term Report of the Transformation Agenda (TA) 2011-2013 published by the National Planning Commission, Ekpo (2013) submitted as follows:

In its efforts to address the challenges of growth and development in Nigeria, especially the infrastructural deficits, high rates of unemployment and poverty, widening disparity in income and rising recurrent expenditure, the administration at the outset, in May, 2011, developed the Transformation Agenda (TA) 2011-2015. The TA demonstrates our desire and capacity to transform our thinking, institutions, organization and human capital to support the aspirations of the Nigerian people.

The Transformation Agenda (TA), as Ekpo puts it, contains key policies, programmes and strategies in all sectors of the Nigerian economy. Beyond economic issue, however, it also featured governance issues that will transform the economy. The elements in the TA were not different from those found in similar blue-prints in countries that have leaped frogged from underdevelopment to knowledge-based modern economies such as the Asian Tigers.

The Transformation Agenda was a 5- year development plan from 2011 to 2015, driven by a world class team of 28 technocrats under the chairmanship of the President himself and coordinated by a renowned Economist Dr.

Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala. The Transformation Agenda itself was focused on three key areas (Jonathan, 2011):

- i) **Strong, inclusive and non-inflationary growth:** This includes efforts on the part of government to encourage large-scale industries and small and medium enterprises (SMES); revitalize ailing industries, promote agriculture and agribusinesses, encourage local content strategy and Information Communication and Technology (ICT) to be the major drivers of the agenda.
- ii) **Employment generation and poverty alleviation:** This includes efforts to expand tourism and entertainment industry, exploit private sector potentials for employment creation, focus investment in construction industry and public works, using labour intensive techniques and provide safety nets for vulnerable groups.
- iii) **Value re-orientation of the citizenry:** This includes re-organizing the National Orientation Agency (NOA); to develop campaigns aimed at fighting corruption, punishing acts of corruption and rewarding exemplary behaviour; support groups and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are involved in the fight against corruption. Efforts were also made to include moral instruction and civic education in school curricular, institute incentives that reward hard work and sanction poor performance. In addition, efforts were galvanized to engender a culture of leadership by example and ensure compliance by all citizens with the law, rules and regulations guiding their conduct.

In addition, the co-ordinating minister disclosed that the Transformation Agenda was aimed at addressing key areas such as good governance which includes security of lives and property, law and order, anti-corruption crusade, public service reform and the provision of enabling environment for all and sundry to realize their full potentials; the provision of infrastructure such as power, roads, railway, waterways and water for irrigation and industry; human capital development which includes education, healthcare delivery, skills acquisition, capacity building and achievement of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

In order to realize all of these efforts were made to fast-track constitutional and electoral reforms to provide the necessary legal framework for the policy packages; overcome security challenges, create the enabling environment for private sector participation; encourage coordination and collaboration of policies and not competition among sectors, Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) of government (National Planning Commission, 2011).

The Transformation Agenda proved to be a welcome development intended to spur the development drive of the Nigerian economy and move the nation towards the realization of the Vision 2020. The fact that the President and his team were able to put together a policy document of this nature, demonstrated some level of creativity that is required of any visionary and focused leadership. Consequent upon the Transformation agenda, major institutions of governance were made more mature in their structure and operation. For the first time in the life of a civilian regime, in the recent past, the National Assembly was able to successfully carry out constitutional amendments; the judiciary was able to deliver judgement on contested political offices in good enough time to allow such office holders enough time to focus on the business of governance. The judiciary also performed its constitutional roles without interference; the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was able to carry out a fairly credible election with international acceptability; the principle of federal character was strictly followed in government appointments and no geo-political entity dominated in any sector of government.

In line with the Transformation Agenda, the Jonathan administration recorded landmark achievements which were properly documented in the online *Premium Times* of Tuesday, November 13, 2018. They are as follows:

- (1) Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product rose to \$503 billion in 2013 and Nigeria became Africa's largest economy and 26th in the world.
- (2) Nigeria became the number one destination for Foreign Direct Investment in Africa under President Jonathan with the number of investment rising from \$24.9 million as at 2007 to over \$35 billion in 2014 (Scan News, 2015).
- (3) Jonathan government delivered over 25,000 kilometres of motorable federal roads from just a quarter of that number in 2011.

- (4) The Jonathan Administration resuscitated the railways in the country after about 30 years of hiatus.
- (5) Jonathan's Agricultural Transformation Agenda ended fertilizer racketeering, encouraged more young Nigerians to take to farming, boosted local food production and took the country closer to self-sufficiency in food production by recording more than 50% reduction in food imports. It was due to this that the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, for the first time, voted Nigeria the largest producer of cassava in the world.
- (6) Power generation under Jonathan was boosted to about 5,000 megawatts in 2014 up from 2,000 megawatts in 2011.
- (7) Prices of food and other household items remained stable and inflationary pressure was down to a single digit.
- (8) Under Jonathan, Nigeria controlled clinically Ebola outbreak to the admiration of the whole world and became Guinea-worm free and also eradicated polio, with United States billionaire and renowned philanthropist Bill Gates, praising Nigeria's successes against polio. Bill Gates described it as one of the greatest world achievements of 2014. Unfortunately, Polio returned to Nigeria after Jonathan era.
- (9) Just before Jonathan left office, CNN Money projected that Nigeria's economy in 2015 would become the third fastest growing economy in the world at 7% behind China at 7.3% and Qatar at 7.1% (CNN Money Archives).
- (10) Promotion and practice of true democracy by creating enabling environment where people from diverse backgrounds and with divergent views and opinions can be accommodated.
- (11) The institutions of government enjoyed uninterrupted latitude to perform their constitutionally assigned roles. The Judiciary, Legislature, Electoral Commissions, etc. performed their roles without the influence of the executive.
- (12) The Jonathan administration revived the dead automotive industry in Nigeria. Global auto giants like Peugeot, Nissan and Hyundai were assembling or wholly manufacturing small cars, sport utility vehicles, trucks and buses at various locations in Nigeria. In addition, Innoson Vehicle Manufacturing Company (IVM), Nigeria's flagship indigenous automaker, began the sale of their first made-in-Nigeria cars and SUVs in August 2014.

- (13) Under the Jonathan Presidency, Nigeria became the first country in West Africa to host the World Economic Forum (WEF) in 2014. It was also the most successful World Economic Forum for Africa (WEFA) in history, boasting of a global reach of 2.1 billion people according to estimates.
- (14) Africa's richest man Aliko Dangote's net worth increased from US \$2.1 billion at the beginning of Jonathan presidency to \$23 billion in 2014 making him Forbes' richest black person in the world and the overall 26th richest in the world. This is due to the favourable economic policies of Jonathan's administration.
- (15) Establishment of twelve conventional federal universities across the country in states which previously did not have federal universities. The government also established two specialized universities viz; Maritime University in Delta State and Police Academy, Kano, which was upgraded to a degree awarding institution.
- (16) Introduction of the Nigerian electronic identity card (e-ID card), one of the most secured in the world and the largest in Africa. The e-ID card serves as both an international identification module and an electronic payment solution.
- (17) Introduction of the cashless system which aims at encouraging the use of e-payment systems in the country and the reduction in the volume of physical cash in circulation.
- (18) For the first time in the life of a civilian regime, in the recent past, the National Assembly was able to successfully carry out constitutional amendments and its other functions without interruption; the judiciary was able to deliver judgement on contested political offices in good time to allow such office holders enough time to focus on the business of governance; the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was able to carry out a fairly credible election with international acceptability. More so, it has been said that "most Nigerians and the International community attest that Nigeria is on course" on the Transformation Agenda (Tell Special Edition, June, 2012).

Challenges to the Attainment of the Transformation Agenda

1. Important and strategic to the success of the agenda is the public service, which is the engine room of governance. Over the years, the

public service has been battered by corruption, undue bureaucratic bottlenecks leading to delays, leakages and inefficiency in accomplishing its purpose.

2. Lack of desired synergy between political office holders, whose terms of office are usually shorter, but are mainly the architects of government policies and public servants, whose term of office is much longer and are mainly the executors.
3. Corruption was also a great challenge: In the words of Gyong (2011) corruption in Nigeria cuts across religion, ethnic, class and geo-political boundaries. This observation was earlier raised by Human Rights Watch (2007) that Nigeria political elite, almost without exception, have insatiable capacity to steal from the commonwealth and live the people more impoverished.
4. The upsurge of insecurity of lives and properties across the country was another major challenge to the success of the Transformation Agenda. Even though democracy remains the most potent vehicle for the delivery of human rights, rule of law, justice and equity for all, its new wave in Nigeria introduced great changes that seem to challenge the security operatives. Human rights were largely misconstrued and exercised without restraint.
5. The uncompromising attitude of the state governors under the umbrella of governors' forum was also a challenge. This was grossly manifested in the governors resolve to share the excess crude amount against the position of the Federal Government that wanted the money to be invested in critical aspects of the economy. The sharing of this money amongst the three tiers of government was antithetical to national development.
6. The Boko Haram insurgency also posed a great challenge to the actualization of the Transformation Agenda. As if the past offensives by the Niger Delta Militants and other agitators were not enough, by 2011, Nigeria started having an unprecedented experience of Boko Haram insurgency through sporadic bombing of strategic locations and carnage in the country. This form of guerrilla warfare took the country unawares and required a change in tactics which could not be immediate. This kind of situation is counterproductive and negates national development efforts. No meaningful development can take place in an economy that is ridden with political instability and national insecurity.

The Policy Trust of Buhari Administration

Mohammadu Buhari who took over the reign of power in Nigeria in May 29, 2015 having won the presidential election of that year anchored his administration policy actions on nine fundamental areas with emphasis on change mantra. The policy trust is contained in *Daily Trust* online news published by Isiaka Wakili on May 30, 2017. They are as follows:

1. **Economic Diversification**

The government opted for economic diversification as a panacea to contain the unprecedented fall in the global oil prices that characterized the first two years of the government in power. Buhari stated unequivocally that it was time Nigeria moved away from an oil-dependent economy. The emphasis was on solid minerals and agriculture both of which in 2016, according to the presidency, grew by 7% and 4.11% respectively. Presidency officials have put the contribution of the ministry of solid minerals to the federation account at N2 billion in 2016 as against N700 million in 2015.

2. **Treasury Single Account (TSA)**

The Mohammadu Buhari's government declared in August 2015 to implement the Treasury Single Account (TSA) which was introduced but not implemented by his predecessor Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan in 2012. The Treasury Single Account (TSA) is based on the principle of unity of cash and the unity of treasury. It is a bank account through which the government transacts all its receipts and payments (Pattanayak and Fainboim, 2010). It is a unified structure of bank accounts enabling consolidation and optimal utilization of government's cash resources. The Buhari's administration believes that the Treasury Single Account (TSA) helped to block revenue leakages and therefore saved N5.244 trillion as at February 10, 2017.

3. **Social Investment Programme**

In his social investment programme, the Buhari's administration unveiled the N-power graduate scheme, the home grown school feeding programme, the government enterprise and empowerment scheme as well as the conditional cash transfer. The government believes that this programme would lift millions of Nigerians out of poverty and create opportunity for people to be independent. The

government targeted 500,000 job opportunities for Nigerians to work as teachers and recruit 100,000 artisans across the country. 5.5 million school children were targeted to be provided with nutritious meals through school feeding programme to improve learning outcomes as well as enrolment and completion rates. The conditional cash transfer scheme was to provide financial support for up to one million vulnerable beneficiaries and complement the enterprise programme which was to target up to one million market women, four hundred and sixty thousand artisans, and two hundred thousand agricultural workers nationwide. The president announced that over N40 billion, had already been released for the various branches of the social intervention programme.

4. **Ease of Doing Business**

In August 2016, the government inaugurated the Presidential Enabling Business Environment Council. The council is aimed at introducing a single form for company incorporation to save time and reduce cost, eliminate the need for small and medium enterprises to hire lawyers to prepare registration documents, integrating the Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS) e-payment solution with the Corporate Affairs Commission portal to facilitate e-stamping and simplifying visa on arrival process. To further facilitate the ease of doing business in Nigeria and also check corruption in the public sector, the President Muhammadu Buhari-led administration also signed Six Executive Orders to supplement existing policy guidelines and laws in the country.

5. **The National Economic Recovery and Growth Plan:**

The Buhari government in April 2017 unveiled the National Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (2017-2020). The vision is to restore economic growth, invest in Nigerians and to build a globally competitive economy. This plan hoped to stabilize the microeconomic environment; achieve agricultural and food security; ensure energy efficiency, improve transportation infrastructure and drive industrialization through small and medium enterprises.

6. **Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Clinics (MSMEC)**

The Vice President Yemi Osinbajo in January 2016 inaugurated the National Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) Clinics to find solutions to problems militating against the speedy growth of Micro, Small and Medium enterprises in the country. The Vice President described the Clinics as a strategic commitment of government to improve the business environment across the country. He also stated that the Clinics would serve as one stop shop for dealing with various business concerns and approval issues across Nigeria.

7. **Anti-Corruption War**

Very fundamental in the change mantra of the Buhari government is fight against corruption. As one of his top priorities, soon after his inauguration, President Buhari set up a Presidential Adversary Committee Against Corruption (PACAC) headed by Prof. Itse Sagey. The main mandate of the committee was to formulate a strategy and co-ordinate the anti-corruption war of the administration, ensuring that all sectors of the Nigerian society are involved (Igbuzor, 2016). The government also sent to the Senate the Money Laundering (Prevention and Prohibition) Bill 2016 and the Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Bill 2016 in order to lend credence to the anti-graft war.

The administration claimed that between 29th May, 2015 and 25th May, 2016 it recovered stolen money to the tune of N3.4trillion, including recoveries under interim forfeiture (Cash and Assets) (This Day, 2016).

In 2016 the government also set up the Inter-Agency Presidential Committee on Assets Recovery (PCAR) headed by Osinbajo (the Vice President) to bring together all law enforcement agencies involved in the recovery of assets, as part of efforts towards strengthening the fight against corruption. The committee has the mandate to coordinate the coalition and the categorization of recovery assets from 2015 to 2016, verify the records and status of physical assets such as buildings recovered under previous administration, set up the framework for management of recovered stolen assets to avoid re-looting and mismanagement of assets; create asset register

for recovered asset to avoid a situation where former or serving public officers carry away government assets.

To boost the fight against corruption, the Buhari government also unveiled the whistle-blower policy which provides 5% reward for whistle-blowers that expose fraud in both public and private sectors. The whistle-blower policy was aimed at encouraging anyone with useful information about a violation or misconduct that impacts negatively in Nigerians and government to report it; increasing exposure of financial or finance related crimes; improving the level of public confidence in public entities etc. The government claims that through the whistle-blower policy, about \$160 million and another N8 billion stolen government funds were recovered within its first two months of operation (Leadership, 2017). It was also claimed that through the whistle-blower policy, the EFCC discovered a \$9.8 million building owned by a former Group Managing Director of NNPC, Andrew Yakubu, as well as \$43.3 million and other currencies at Osborne Tower in Lagos which the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) had laid claim to.

Also as part of the measures to strengthen the anti-corruption war and improve service delivery in the Nigeria Public Service, the President Mohammadu Buhari-led government signed some Executive Orders into law in 2017 and 2018. They are aimed at;

1. Promotion of transparency and efficiency in the business environment;
2. Promoting support for local contents in public procurement by the Federal Government;
3. Promoting support for budgets implementation;
4. Promoting support for voluntary assets and income declaration scheme;
5. Planning and execution of projects, promotion of Nigeria Local content in contracts as well as the promotion of science, engineering and technology;
6. Proper presentation of suspicious assets connected with corruption and other related offences.

Although the Buhari-led administration recorded some achievements especially on its anti-corruption war, as already noted in this study, but some actions and inactions of the government appear to have plunged the country deeper into the doldrums. Contrary to the 'catechism' associated to the change mantra of the government, things appear to be falling apart. Today, pervasive poverty, massive unemployment and corruption as well as insecurity and impunity have reached the highest level in the history of Nigeria to the extent that the continued survival of an average Nigerian appears to be menaced with doubts and uncertainties.

According to National Bureau of Statistics, the unemployment rate in Nigeria which was 21.4% in 2010 reduced to 6.4% in 2014 under President Jonathan but rose mildly to 7.5% in 2015 at the twilight of Jonathan's regime. However, in 2016 it rose to 14.2% and later jumped to 18.8% in 2017 under Buhari's presidency (Vanguard, 2017).

Concerning poverty, the National Bureau of Statistics reported that the poverty rate in Nigeria was 74.2% in 2000 before a mild decline to 54.4% in 2004 and later increased to 69.0% in 2010. As at 2015, when Jonathan left office, the poverty rate stood at 60% but in 2016 under Buhari's presidency, the poverty rate jumped to 72%. Nigeria has even been declared as the poorest nation in the world in 2018 (Sahara Reporters, New York, and June 25, 2018).

In respect to corruption it must be noted that the only global body for monitoring it is Transparency International (TI) which releases annual corruption perception index yearly. The Transparency International reported that in 2014, under Jonathan administration, Nigeria moved from 144th to 136th position representing an improvement of 8 points. However, the latest release by this global body indicates that in 2018 under the watch of President Buhari, Nigerian corruption perception index has jumped to 148th position (Transparency International Report, 2018).

As for terrorism, a global body recognized to monitor terrorism is the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP). It announced that Nigeria in 2013 under Jonathan's presidency was the 4th most terrorized country in the world but as at November 5, 2017 under Buhari's presidency, Nigeria slipped backward to the 3rd most terrorized country in the world.

Despite the claim that Boko Haram has been weakened by the Nigerian Military Forces (Nigerian Bulletin, 2016), other violent crimes such as Herdsmen/Farmer crisis, kidnapping, armed robbery, cultism, domestic violence, rape, assassination and hooliganism have assumed more dangerous dimension. The unabated killings in Zamfara, Taraba, Adamawa, Kaduna, Benue, Kogi, Nasarawa, Plateau and across at least 8 other states led to a meeting of All Nigeria ethnic nationalities, self-determination group, civil society organizations, professional and youth associations in Lagos from 4th to 5th July 2018. In the joint statement issued after the meeting, it was concluded that the failure on the part of government to stop the unabated killing had given rise to speculations that the massacre is either deliberately orchestrated by those in power in order to service occultic demands or that government is manipulating the situation to split the nation along religious or ethnic fault lines so as to gain the sympathy of certain sections in the 2019 general election.

This claim is a precipitate of the seemingly unserious response by Mr. President towards the killing. For example, the president instead of fighting the menace headlong resorted to blame game. In some occasions, he blamed the opposition for the killing and in other occasions, he blamed foreign agents. He told foreign audience in both United States of America and Britain that the killers in Nigeria were Gaddafi trainees who dispersed across the Sahel after Gaddafi's death. Also, in a way that shows unseriousness of the government towards the killings, a close ally of the President, Governor Nasir El-rufai of Kaduna state described the number of deaths in the menace as insignificant for the nation to worry.

On the fight against corruption, there is evidence to show that the process is selective and partisan. The accusation that the former secretary to the federation Alhaji Babachar Lawal diverted the sum of N270 million which was allegedly earmarked to clear grass for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camp in Maiduguri has been left uninvestigated till today. It is also selective for a government that budgeted the sum of N180 million to facilitate appearances with social media influencers to send EFCC to arrest its political opponents for facilitating their own media associates (This Day, 2017). Also, Onya and Elemanya (2016) pointed out that the confessional statement made by APC member and former Chairman of House

Committee on Appropriation the Hon. Abdulmumin Jibrin in a press conference after having been relieved of his position by his colleagues, on budget padding by some principal officers of the house was never investigated and prosecuted.

The Buhari's government paid little regard to the principle of federal character and geo-political balancing. His appointment of the security and other important chiefs was highly lopsided. The following key positions as at August 2018 were occupied by NORTHERNERS: The Chief of Army staff; the National Security Adviser; the Director General of the Department of State Services; Chairman of EFCC; the Inspector General of Police; The Minister of Defence; The Minister of Interior; The Comptroller General of Immigration and his Civil Defence counterparts; The Director General National Intelligence Agency; The Comptroller General of Prisons; The Chief of Defence Intelligence, The Chairman Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC); the Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice and the Secretary to the Federal Government (SGF). It has never been so in the history of Nigeria.

The government has also displayed selective myopia and selective audition to constitutionalism. This is more noticeable in disobedience to court orders. For instance, in spite of subsisting court order to grant bail to former National Security Adviser, Alhaji Sambo Dasuki, the government refused to grant him bail. Also, before the Radio Biafra Director, Nnamdi Kanu was finally granted bail, the government had defiled series of bail conditions and kept him in detention. The raid of the homes of some judges (Justice Walter Onnoghen and Sylvanus Ngwuta of the Supreme Court as well as the homes of Justices Adebisi Ademola, Muazu Pindiga and Nnamdi Dimgba of the Federal High Courts) was described as a pointer, to the neglect for the rule of law and the principles of separation of powers by the Buhari government which has clearly displayed interest to use the apparatus of state to harass the real and perceived enemies (Adeyanju, 2017).

It was also in public domain that President Buhari sent the name of the acting chairman of the EFCC, Ibrahim Magu to the Senate for confirmation twice. The first time was in December, 2016 and later in March 2017. On both occasions, the Senate refused to confirm Magu's appointment, asking the

president to appoint someone else due to negative report against Magu, but the president paid deaf ears to this legislative directive as Ibrahim Magu continued in office as the acting chairman of EFCC. The government has also bluntly refused to release the leader of the Islamic movement of Nigeria Sheikh El-Zakzaky and his wife, despite the order of court.

Conclusion

The foregoing analysis shows that Nigerian policy actions are regime-based. Each regime initiates its own policies and programmes. Such policies and programmes are usually discontinued once a new government takes over. This situation has impacted negatively on the country's developmental efforts as good policy actions are not followed to a logical conclusion but abandoned midway. There is obvious need to formulate and design policies and programmes which would endure. Policies and programmes which transcend successive regimes need to be formulated and implemented. It has been clearly shown that the yearning to serve selfish and primordial sentiments drives people in authority to change policies and programmes of their predecessors. This negative attitude must change so as to create room for enduring public policies and programmes if Nigeria must come out of the doldrums.

Also, most of the regimes lack the sincerity and political will to implement the policies they have floated. There is therefore the need for the political leaders to be more focused and committed to their development goals instead of formulating policies which are heavily contradicted by their actions and inactions. Nigerian governments are obviously not short of good policy actions but what is lacking is the political will and consistency to implement them.

References

Adamu, A. (2006). "The challenges of Nigeria's economic development in the 21st century: Baking the nation cake". Being the text of a lecture delivered by his Excellency, Dr. Abdulahi Adamu, Executive Governor of Nasarawa State at a symposium organized by the Nigerian awareness Group, Switzerland at the Hilton Airport Hotel, Zurich Switzerland, Saturday, June 24.

- Adeyanju, D. (2017). Buhari's government has no respect for the rule of law. Retrieved January 10, 2017 from www.naija.ng.
- Ake, C. (2001). *Democracy and development in Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Anyanwu, J. C. (1993). *Monetary economics: Theory, policy and institution*. Onitsha: Hybrid Publishers Ltd.
- Anyanwu, J. C. Oyefusi, S. A., Oaikhenan, H. and Dimowa, F. A. (1999). *The structure of the Nigerian economy (1960 - 1997)*. Onitsha: Joanee Educational Publishers Ltd.
- Dode, R. O. (2010). Yar'Adua's Seven Point Agenda, The MDGs and sustainable Development in Nigeria. *Global Journal of Human Social Sciences* Vol.10. issue 4.
- Egbuwalo, M. O. (2014). The implementation of Nigeria's national development plans: Challenges and prospects. *Abuja Journal of Administration and Management* Vol.8, No.1. pp.30-53.
- Ekpo, A. A. (2013). A second look at Nigeria's economy and its transformation agenda, *Tell* Dec.16, p.17.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (2007). Yar'Adua's 7-point agenda: Federal Ministry of Information and Communication. <https://forefrontng.com//killings-in-nigeria-insignificant-says-el-rufai>.
- Igbuzor, O. (2016). The Buhari administration and war against corruption in Nigeria. *African Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development (CLDS)*. Abuja: Nigeria.
- Jacob, O. (2012). The dialectical relationship between rural underdevelopment and urban development in Nigeria. *Universal Journal on Sustainable Developmental Research* vol.9, No.1.
- Joab-Peterside, S. (2013). The economy, the rogues and the law: The development conundrum, being the 2013 annual Law and Social Development Lecture Organized by Bamidele Aturu and co. At Ikeja, Lagos State, Dec.2.
- Jonathan, G. (2011). Budget of transformation. Budget speech delivered by His Excellency, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, GCFR. President, Federal Republic of Nigeria Before: A Joint Session of the National Assembly, Abuja.
- NewsWatch Edition September 9, 1985.
- NewsWatch Weekly Magazine February 16, 2009.
- Nigerian Bulletin, 2016.

- Nzimiro, I. (1985). The green revolution in Nigeria or the modernization of hunger. Oguta: Zim Pan-African Publishers.
- Ogwumike, F. O. (1995). The effects of macro level government policies on rural development and poverty alleviation in Nigeria. Ibadan: Journal of Social Sciences 1(1) pp.85-101.
- Okigbo, P.N.C. (1986). New strategies for the future growth of the Nigerian economy. *Nigerian Journal of Policy and Strategy* pp.1-10.
- Okolie, A. M. (2003). Globalization and the challenges of development of Nigeria's political economy, in Akpan-Umana, O. (ed). The Art and Science of Politics. Port Harcourt: Footsteps Publications.
- Olajide, O. T. (2004). Theories of economic development and planning. Lagos: Pumark Nigeria Limited; Education Publishers.
- Onya, R. M. & Elemanya, A. V. (2016). Analysis of President Buhari's anti-corruption policy: A reality or an illusion. *International Journal of Advanced Academic Research of Social and Management Sciences* 2(II).
- Pattanayak, Fainboim, I. (2010). Treasury single account: Concept, design and implementation issues, International Monetary Fund Working Paper No. WP/10/143, Fiscal Affairs Dept.
- Sahara Reporters, New York. June 25, 2018.
- Sapru, R. K. (2011). Public policy: Art and craft of policy analysis. New Delhi: PHI Learning Private Limited.
- Tamuno, S. O. (2009). Rural development in Rivers State: An effective approach. Port Harcourt: Paragraphics.
- Tell Magazine February 23, 2009.
- Tell Special Edition, June, 2012:8.
- Transparency International Report, 2018.
- Vanguard, 2016.
- Wakili, I. (2017). Buhari's policies at a glance. Daily Trust online News. www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/buhari-s-policies/may30,2017.
www.premiumtimesng.com/tag/enmoney.

CHAPTER TEN

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY GROUPS AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

Arugu, Obiani Love Ph.D

Department of Political Science
Faculty of Humanities and Sciences
Federal University Otuoke
Bayelsa State, Nigeria
mummylovearugu@yahoo.com
07061508100



Abstract

This work examined the role of civil society groups and non-governmental organizations in national development in Nigeria. The study relied on qualitative method and secondary sources of data which include use of textbooks, published journal articles, government records, reports, materials from the internet and views of key stakeholders. Findings revealed that civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations play a vital role in national development but often deviate from their responsibilities by supporting some administrations to the detriment of the ordinary masses. The study also shows that the structure of the Nigerian state and its class configuration also hinder the activities of CSOs and NGOs hence, their role from 1999 to 2018 can be described as a paradox and full of inconsistencies based on data presented in the study. It is therefore imperative to state unequivocally clear that for civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations to make any meaningful impact in the development and democratization process in Nigeria and Africa, they must function independently and impartially without taking side with the government and political actors. In the same vein, the programmes and actions of CSOs and NGOs must not be influenced by religious or cultural sentiments but should be guided by acceptable international standards and best practices based on justice, equity, accountability and fairness.

Introduction:

Civil society groups and non-governmental organizations no doubt have profound roles to play in the maintenance of peace and sustainable development at the national, regional and global levels. Historically, civil society groups and non-governmental organizations have aided most countries to become mature democracies, as well as all societies which are striving to consolidate their fledging transition democracies. Thus, the role of civil society groups and non-governmental organizations are indispensable and cannot be over emphasized. With specific reference to Nigeria and Africa as a whole, civil society groups and non-governmental organizations have a responsibility of playing a positive role in meeting the enormous challenges affecting the development and advancement of the continent.

Prior to the attainment of independence, there have been efforts by civil society groups, individuals, nationalists movements, students movement etc. striving for better conditions of living, political freedom in the hope of achieving development. And with the attainment of political independence by the newly independent countries especially the developing countries, there were high hopes of striving to achieve a rapid political, social, and economic development. Governments of these newly independent countries therefore were expected to keep reality to these hopes through reorganization and reformation of their existing bureaucracies, administrative agencies, and governmental processes. Thus, in order that the hopes, aspirations and expectations of the people be translated into reality. In other words, for optimal development to be achieved, it requires the harnessing of its assets, capital, human and natural resources to meet the demands from its population. The public and private sectors which are traditional sectors expected to deliver the dividends may not be able or are unwilling to meet the demands of the people. Elliot (1987), Fernandez (1987), and Garilao (1987) cited in Uwhejevwa Togbolo (2005) argue that the voluntary sector may be better placed to articulate the needs of the poor people, to provide services and development in remote areas, to encourage the changes in attitudes and practices necessary to bring about the desired development.

It is this need to respond more effectively to the yearnings of development and the realization that neither government nor the private sector has the will, means or capacity to deal with all immediate and lingering problems of the vast majority of the people, that led to the formation and growth of non-governmental organization (NGOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) often being referred to as the “third sector”. Thus, the process of achieving higher levels of development and achieving stability in the polity, as well as supporting the market policies that are of benefit to the people, are among the traditional missions of NGOs and CSOs. The aim of this work therefore is to give a conceptual clarification of the “third sector” as well as development, and critically assess their roles in delivering basic services and involvement in the development sub-sector. An attempt is also made to compare their roles in different administrations (regimes) in Nigeria, especially that of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and President Mohammadu Buhari. The work looked at some major challenges facing NGOs and CSOs in Nigeria, as well their contributions to national development.

Conceptual Clarification

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

The concept non-governmental organizations has been variously defined and conceptualized, thus it impossible to give one universal definition. This does not mean it cannot be defined or does not have some universal features, but it shows the broadness of its roles and functions performed in different environments. The World Bank (2015) defines NGOs as many groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and that have primarily humanitarian or co-operative rather than commercial objectives. They are private agencies in Western countries that support international development, indigenous groups organized nationally or regionally, and member groups in villages. World Bank further states that NGOs include charitable and religious associations that mobilize private funds for development, distribute food and family planning services and promote community associations, women groups, citizen groups that raise awareness and influence policy. NGOs have also been conceived as a non-profit citizen-based group that function independently of government, organized on local, national and international levels to serve specific social or political purposes. An NGO is also defined as an organization that is

neither a part of government nor funded by governments, foundations, schools, businesses, or private people. They are highly diverse groups of organizations engaged in a wide range of activities ranging from charitable services, political, religious or other interests (NGO Research Programme, 2009). The term NGO according to the United Nations (UN) is any kind of private organization that is independent from government control, provided it is not for profit, non-prevention and not simply an opposition party. From the literature search of NGOs above, it would be proper and concise to conceive it as a component of civil society which keep watch on the government as well as play complementary role by filling the gaps that are not addressed by the state. They are non-profit making, voluntary service-oriented/development-oriented organizations either for the benefit of members (a grass root organization) or of other members of the population (an agency).

According to the United Nations, the term NGO was first coined in 1945, when it (UN) was created. It was said to have spread rapidly after the Second World War and the gaining of independence by countries that were former colonies. Garilao cited in Uwejevwwe-Togbolo (2005) opined that the growth of NGOs especially in the developing nations is caused by societal conflict and tension, the need to respond more effectively to crisis situations in the face of breakdown of traditional structures, ideological differences with the powers-that-be in the planning and implementation of development work. There has also been a gradual shift in the activities of NGOs from a welfare orientation to a more development approach. Korten (1987) identified this shift in three generations: relief and welfare, local self-reliance, and system of development. Many of the international NGOs such as SAVE the children, CARE, and Catholic Relief Services began as charitable relief organizations to deliver welfare. However, as a development strategy, relief and welfare approaches offer just a temporary alleviation of the symptoms. This made the shift in strategy inevitable.

Basic Features of NGOs

Following the shift in orientation from relief and welfare to development strategy, Maslyukivska O.P. (1999) and Eldis, E. (2003) have identified some basic features of NGOs which they opine aggregate the universal acceptance as including the following amongst others:

1. It is an organization of private individuals who believe in certain basic social principles and who structure their activities to bring about development to communities that they are servicing.
2. Social development organization assisting in empowerment of people.
3. An organization or group of people working independent of an external control with specific objectives and aims to fulfil tasks that are oriented to bring about desirable change in a given community, area or situation.
4. Organization not affiliated to political parties generally engaged in working for aid, development, and welfare of the community.
5. Organization committed to the root causes of the problems trying to better the quality of life especially for the poor, the oppressed, the marginalized in urban and rural areas.
6. Organization established by and for the community with or without little intervention from the government. They are not only a charity organization, but work on socio-economic cultural activities.
7. An organization that is flexible and democratic in its organization and attempts to serve the people without profit for itself.

Some examples of Non-governmental Organizations in Nigeria

1. Access to Education for Children
2. Action Aid International Nigeria
3. Breast Cancer Association of Nigeria (BRECAN)
4. Centre for Law Enforcement Education
5. Enterprise Development Service (EDS)
6. Foundation for Skill Development
7. Global Technology Organization
8. Global Peace Development

International NGOs amongst others include: OXFAM, CARE, Ford Foundation, and Rockefeller Foundation.

Role of NGOs

The growth and development of any country is a function of the effectiveness of NGOs in balancing the power between the state, private sector, and civil society. In line with this thought, Uwhejevwe-Togbolo (2005), Garilao (1987), Don Eberly (2014) amongst others outlined the role of

NGOs in development engineering in modern world as stated below:

1. **Development Cooperation:** NGOs do not only complement the development effort, they also help to make the development process more accountable, transparent, and participatory. They do not only “fill in the gaps” but also act as a responses to failures in the public and private sectors in providing basic services. They do this by interaction of the formal private sector and with the government. Community-based organization and cooperatives can acquire, subdivide and develop land, construct housing infrastructure and operate and maintain infrastructures such as wells, public toilets, and solid waste collection services. They can also develop building materials supply centres and other community-based economic enterprises.
2. **Advocacy for and with the poor masses:** In some cases NGOs become spokespersons or ombudsman for the citizens and attempt to influence government policies and programs on their behalf. This may be done through a variety of means ranging from demonstration and pilot projects to participation in public fora and the formulation of government policy and plans, to publicizing research results and case studies for the poor.
3. **Research, Monitoring, and Evaluation:** Innovative activities need to be carefully documented and shared; effective participatory monitoring would permit the sharing of results with the people themselves as well as with the project staff.
4. **Technical Assistance and Training:** Training institutions and NGOs can develop a technical assistance and training capacity and use this to assist both community-based organizations (CBOs) and the government.
5. **Supporting Innovation, Demonstration, and Pilot Projects:** NGOs have the advantage of selecting particular places for innovative projects and specify in advance the length of time which they will be supporting the project.

6. **Globalizing the World:** NGOs are now essentially important actors before, during and increasingly after governmental decision-making sessions thus, helping and encouraging governments into taking actions to which they have given endorsement in international fora. Corroborating the UN Secretary-General in 1995 said, "Non-governmental organizations are a basic element in the representation of the modern world. And their participation in international organizations is in a way a guarantee of the latter's political legitimacy". NGOs are standpoint of global democratization, thus are needed in the participation of international public opinion and the mobilizing powers.

7. **Facilitating Communication:** NGOs use interpersonal method of communication and study the right entry points whereby they gain the trust of the community they seek to benefit. They would also have a good idea of the feasibility of the projects they take up. The significance of this role to the government is that the NGOs can communicate to the policy-making levels of government information about the lives, capabilities, attitudes, and cultural characteristics of people of the local level. NGOs can facilitate communication upward from the people to the government and downward from the government to the people.

Before looking at the application of the role of NGOs explained above, whether it has been practicable or existing in the realms of rhetoric, it will be pertinent to discuss the concept of civil society organizations and their role in contemporary Nigeria.

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

The term Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are used interchangeably to mean the same thing. While this thought cannot be dismissed with a wave of the hand, it would be correct and balanced to attempt a definition of CSOs so as to determine their similarities and differences. According to Idumange (2012) civil society organization is a sphere of social interaction between the household (family) and the state which is manifested in the norms of community cooperative, structures of voluntary association and networks of public communication.

It is composed of autonomous associations which develop a dense, diverse, and pluralistic network. He further stated that civil society organizations are formed by people who have common needs, interests and values like tolerance, inclusion, cooperation and equality; and development through a fundamentally endogenous and autonomous process which cannot be easily controlled from outside. It has thus been widely recognized as essential "Third Sector" whose strength can have positive influence on the state and market. Civil society organizations have been referred to as the formal or informal social and advocacy associations inhabiting the space between the individual and the state and/or market (McIlwaine, 1998; Mohan, 2002). They posit that civil society influences government by enhancing political responsiveness, by distilling the desires of the public through non-governmental associative groups and by protecting the public against arbitrary government abuse. Gang (1998) defines civil society as the collection of non-governmental organizations that protects and empowers the individual against the state and the majority. These include any association that fosters cooperation among members of society. It is this cooperation, he states, that leads to a better society and better government. Kukah (2011) posits civil society as alternative to political parties and can offer refuge to those who are shut from their right due to non-membership of political parties. Kukah also views it from the perspective of being a check on the excesses of government; especially in the area of violation of human rights and abuse of rule of law. Diamond (1994) describes civil society as the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, largely self-supporting, and autonomous from the state, and bound by a general legal order or set of rules. It is distinct from the society in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passions and ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state, and hold state officials accountable. In his definition, Diamond includes both formal and informal organizations, including groups that are economic, cultural, informational and educational, interest-based, developmental and issue-oriented, or civil in aim as constituents of civil society organizations.

White (2018) conceives civil society as comprised of groups or organizations working in the interest of the citizens but operating outside the governmental and for-profits sectors. It is therefore, non-governmental

organizations and association that people belong to for social and political reasons. Organizations and institutions that make up civil society in Nigeria include labour unions, non-profit organizations, churches and church groups, such as CAN, PFN, etc, the Save Nigeria Group (SNG), the Transition Monitoring Groups (TMG), community-based groups, service organizations, women awareness organization (WAO), agency for grassroots development (AGD), academic institutions or organizations, and centre for democracy and development (CDD), society for human development (SHD) and other service agencies that provide important services to society. From the definitional search above, it would be proper to view civil society organization as the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest the interest and will of citizens, and distinct from government and private sphere. The definitions of civil society organization stated above viewed NGOs as being subsumed within a broader category of civil society. This answers the question that was posed earlier in this work of the two notions/terms (CSOs and NGOs).

Features of Civil Society Organizations

The complexities of governance today make the importance of civil society more indispensable. In fact, civil society groups have it possible for a lot of persons to be abreast with the political happenings in the society (Oluwasaji, C.O. & Omodia, S.M., 2014). Following its importance to societal development, scholars such as Schmeiter (cited in Karsfi, 1998), Idumange (2012) amongst others have identified some significant characteristics of civil society to include the following:

1. Autonomy from both social interests and state;
2. Capacity for collective action promoting interests and passion;
3. Absence of intention to seize power from the state;
4. Agreement to act within civil rules conveying mutual respects;
5. Flexible, participatory and responsive to local needs of the poor;
6. Foster and support grassroots organization to become more numerous, sizeable, resourceful and self-reliant;
7. Provide critical information on potential crisis and then contribute to early warning systems;
8. Provide advocacy role in promoting effective governance; and
9. Contribute to local economic development and respond to the growing challenge of poverty in a number of ways.

Role of Civil Society Organizations

Civil society organization or group is considered one of the most important means of societal progress in contemporary world. This becomes more glaring in the face of the roles it plays not only in contributing to development but sustainable development and in providing citizens' needs by trying to bridge the widening gap between the state resources and citizens' necessities. Singh (2015) and Idumange (2012) amongst other scholars have outlined some basic roles of CSOs to include:

1. Promoting good governance like transparency and by policy analysis and advocacy;
2. Regulating and monitoring of state performance and the action and behaviour of public officials;
3. Building society and enabling citizens to identify and articulate their values, beliefs, civic norms, and democratic practices;
4. Mobilizing particular constituencies, particularly the vulnerable and marginalized section of masses, to participate more fully in politics and public affairs;
5. Promoting communication among citizens by spreading information to them;
6. Participate or encourage participation through the selection of the right representatives or leaders;
7. Advocate for a society that is civil because such society will be less likely to have civil conflict that destroys institutions that promote development;
8. Serve as training ground for youths by creating enabling environment for them to learn from the experienced leaders and to have good leaders as role models; and
9. Enrich a society and also foster a spirit of rationalism through arguments and debates that prevents dogma and encourages ideas and innovation.

The Concept of National Development

Available literatures on the concept of development revealed that development is yet to enjoy a catholic discourse. This seemingly disagreement on a universally acceptable definition does not in any way portend danger or render the search for further exposition on the subject meaningless (Nnaa, 2009). History however shows that there are three major

views on development which include: Classical (traditional orientation), Neo-classical and Marxists (political economy orientation or approach). The classical scholars which include early writers on development such as Adam Smith, David Richards, John Stuart Mills, and Jeremy Bentham amongst others viewed development as associated with the increase in the rate of growth in national income, gross domestic product (GDP), per capital income (PCI), level of living index, gross or net capital formation, and other measurable economic variables or indicators. Development mirrored in this perspective is seen as a rapid and sustained rise in real output per head, and the attendant shifts or growth in savings, investment and productivity. The conception of development by the classical economists as stated in Nnaa (2009) was criticized by scholars in the late 1960s and early 1970s. One of the criticisms was that economic indices identified as yardstick for development most often than not, do not tell us much about development. And this led to the surface of a new orientation, called the neo-classical school of thought. The neo-classical economists or liberal school of thought also fall in the category of the conventional or linear (Modernization) approach. Early founding fathers of this thought amongst others include Alfred Marshall, William Stanley Jevous, Carl Menger and John Maynard Keynes. The neo-classical scholars broadened the concept of development in addition to increase in growth, to include the equitable distribution of income, equitable distribution of the output generated in the system, and the distribution of political power and genuine participation in policy decisions, as well as the availability of the basic needs of food, shelter, education and health. In a nutshell, this school of thought suggested the use of multidisciplinary approach in the conception of development as against the narrow economic paradigm by classical scholars.

The Marxists (political economy approach) on the other hand, differs from the classical and neo-classical orientation. Marxists school of thought or radical school is made up of contributors on political and economic matters who follow the idea of Karl Marx, the German philosopher and the most influential critic of the capitalist system (Okowa, 1996 cited in Nnaa, 2011). In defining development, the school questioned the modernization, distributive and social justice elements adopted by the conventional scholars. Their argument is based on the fact that the shift from commodity to human approach factors could not still resolve independently the

mechanisms governing production and distribution in the system. They pointed that development can only be viewed essentially as a transformation or socialization of the mode of production (Anikpo, M. 1986).

In the context of this work, development was interpreted to mean a dialectical phenomenon in which the individual and society interact with the physical, biological, and inter-human environments transforming them for their own betterment and that of humanity (Nnoli, 1981). Corroborating Nnoli's position Nnaa (2011) prefers to conceive development as the pursuit of happiness of the vast majority of the people through a continuous process of generating and more efficiently allocating resources equitably for achieving greeter socially satisfying ends, participate in the decision process of production and distribution of wealth, and consequently, the transformation of society, and the contribution to our state of welfare and our prospect of improving and sustaining it. This study therefore looked at the significant relationship between the roles of NGOs and CSOs and the realization of the equitable distribution, of political power, participation in the decision-making process, and the contribution of the state to the welfare of the vastmajority (citizens) in Nigeria.

The Nigerian State, NGOs CSOs, and National Development

In this section, the study seeks to relate the performances of NGOs and CSOs to the role played by the institutional structure of the Nigerian state. According to Obaro (1980) cited in Nnaa andKia (2012) prior to British colonialism, what is today known as "Nigeria" had various ethno-national communities, with various forms of state formation process. The various ethnic groups were joined together in 1914 through the Lord Lugard Project, and ruled as imperial state which was organized and consolidated through ethnic-based policy of "regionalism", a political formation that post-colonial Nigeria found difficult to depart from it. Today, the politics of ethnicity or region has become an ideology creating and sustaining power structure in Nigeria as well as affecting the collective force of the citizens through the civil society groups and NGOs in their quest for equity, fairness, justice, equitable distribution of political power, regulating and monitoring of state performance, as well as advocating for a society that is civil amongst others. In same vein, Nigeria is a class society. Thus, in capitalist society such as Nigeria, there is the ruling elites who are distanced from the ruled; the vast

majority, oppressed and 'have nots'. And using the Marxist/Leninist political economy as our unit of analysis, Nigeria as a capitalist state is made up of the bourgeois and proletariats. And the bourgeois control the production and distribution of the nation's wealth and resources, while the proletariats are recipients of the crumbs that fall from the master's table. These proletariats that formed the bulk of the civil society groups are not in control of the economic power, nor political power and therefore are vulnerable. The radical scholars have posited in line with the above thought that in addition to the structure of the state, discriminating political institutions, intergroup politics, and ethnicity, those who control the means of production, state apparatus, revenue allocation and sharing of the resources, influence to a great deal the performance of CSOs and NGOs. The views of radical scholars espouses why ruling class (which constitute mostly people from the major ethnic groups) in Nigeria exercise the utmost control of power and resources, using all sorts of illegality and legally-backed schemes and tactics to retain power at all cost, and any attempt on the contrary by the minority groups and other oppressed Nigerians under the guise of civil society organizations is being met with resistance, including using the 'divide and rule' approach to polarize the hierarchy of civil society groups. In the next section, we shall look at the interplay of the structure of the Nigerian state and its class configuration and how it affects the performance of civil society organizations in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

Appraisal of the Role of CSOs and NGOs in Nigeria (1999 - 2018)

In the first part of this paper, scholars have appraised CSOs and NGOs as being of immense value in achieving a stable polity and actualizing development goals of any society especially in developing countries. According to Mohan (2002), Singh (2015) and Idumange (2012) amongst other scholars, CSOs and NGOs do not exist just to criticize and appose governments at all levels but in making the state at all levels more accountable, responsive, inclusive, effective and hence more legitimate. A vigorous civil society strengthens citizens' respect for the state and promotes their positive engagement with it. CSOs serve as a check, a monitor and also a partner in the quest for positive relationship between the democratic state and its citizens. It provides forum for debating public policies and disseminating information about issues that affect the interest of different groups, or society at large. It controls the power of the state, expose the

corrupt conduct of public officials and amongst other, lobby for good governance reforms. The catalogue of the perceived role of CSOs and NGOs to national development notwithstanding, it has been observed that the structure of the Nigerian state and its class configuration have affected adversely the performance of civil society organizations. Corroborating this view Musser (2014) opined that one of the major challenges facing CSOs in developing world is the growing backlash of draconian laws against civil society organization as neo-colonial state/governments increasingly view them with suspicion; funded by agents of opposition to upturn the status quo. In many developing countries including Nigeria, CSOs particularly those engaged in advocacy or human rights work, face significant and often vague restrictions on their operations as well as threat to life. Thus, this section of the paper examined the role of civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations under various administrations in Nigeria as listed below:

1. **President Olusegun Obasanjo:** The assumption of office of president Olusegun Obasanjo in May 29, 1999 marked the birth of Nigeria's fourth republic which was widely believed came as a result of the role of civil society groups. The administration was greeted with great hope and expectations of repositioning Nigeria on the part of good governance, democratic dividends, and a corruption free society which the people lacked for during the era of the military. To reassure the peoples' hope, former president Olusegun Obasanjo- led administration established and enacted the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) Act 2000 and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Act 2002 amongst other anti-graft agencies. Despite all these, it was noted that Obasanjo's regime lacked the political will to effectively fight corruption as the fight was viewed by many as "selective justice" and a tool against political opponents. During the Administration of former president Olusegun Obasanjo, Ukase and Audu (2015) stated that it offers a typical model of an organized conception of collective action and attests to the usefulness of the civil society activism. His administration witnessed critique from civil society organizations. For example, former secretary of NADECO accused the administration of former president Olusegun Obasanjo of corrupt acts during his regime between 1999 and 2007 and contended that the

leadership almost ruined the nation's economy through corruption and other vices associated with the regime. The leadership was accused of allocation of ₦300 billion to the Ministry of Works during the first tenure without the construction of any road to show. The same with the awful story of electricity. In spite of the huge petrodollar the government spent on power supply, the capacity was below 3,000 megawatts (MW) when they left office in 2007 (Ukase & Audu, 2015). In a related development, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) in a press statement titled *Obasanjo's government worse than Abacha's* says MRD published in the Tuesday Vanguard Newspaper of 29th November 2005, argued that the Obasanjo (1999-2007) led government was worse than the Abacha administration. Alhaji Mohammadu Gambo, former Inspector-General of police, and Coordinator of national security in the Abacha regime, told newsmen (reporters) in Abuja that the MRD had studied every aspect of the Obasanjo administration's policies and found non measured up to the standard under the Abacha government. Describing the regime's (Obasanjo) anticorruption war as a smokescreen the former police boss stated further that the level of human rights abuse is worse than that of Abacha. There were more killings in this government than it happened in Abacha's time. There is so much brazen wastage of public expenditure now and yet nothing is seen on ground. "Where is the water? Where are the roads? Where is the electricity on which billions of naira has been spent? Instead, what we have is insecurity", he concluded. Corroborating the views expressed by the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, the Nobel Laureate, Prof. Wole Soyinka in a cover page story captioned "Obasanjo's Government is Lawless" published in the *Punch Newspaper* of Friday the 16th of December, 2005, stated that by disobeying court orders and engaging in human rights abuses, the federal government could provoke civil unrest. He cited the unconstitutional removal of Chief Diepreye Solomon Peter Alamiyeseigha as Bayelsa state governor and the eviction of residents of federal government buildings in Lagos state as some of the latest instances of human rights abuses by the government.

During Obasanjo's regime, Nigeria witnessed increase in the pump price of fuel seven (7) times ranging from N20 to N75 per litre. These increases attracted thunderous welcome by civil society groups. The reaction of the leadership of former president Obasanjo-led administration to contrary opinion was seen as intolerable. Indeed as Kukah stated, the military background of the leadership and supreme feeling of confidence, ego, and some level of self-righteousness made the leadership not to cooperate with the rules of civil society organizations. The leadership was also described as group reluctant democrats at heart, and that the administration seemed obsessed with getting their way at all cost, as a result, they were widely accused of blackmail, arm-twisting, dictatorship, and being autocratic. The leadership military background was said to have influenced most of the actions which became a challenge to democracy. The intolerable attitude to public opinion made the leadership to miss many opportunities of collaboration and cooperation from the civil society groups and the masses. As Kukah pointed out, as far as civil society engagement was concerned, it was very difficult to give former president Obasanjo-led administration a pass mark. This lack of sensitivity to a very vocal and vital constituency meant that even with some of the good initiatives, the administration suffered a self-inflicted wound in the way the leadership handled the media and subversion of the civil society groups.

2. **Late President Umaru Yar'Adua:** The Late President Umaru Yar'Adua came into power on 29 May, 2017. Being armed with the perceptual reality in the country, he promised in his inaugural speech to take positive measures to curtail corruption in the country through reforms and continuation of the anti-corruption policy. The stance on anti-corruption was however watered down as the administration shelved or patronized former governors who played key roles in the elections that brought him to power. The leadership was also seen to have presided over the purge and persecution of popular anti-corruption crusaders especially Nuhu Ribadu, the former chairman of the EFCC. This actions in addition to the fact that the leadership was not forceful enough, made the general public express the view that the fight against corruption became increasingly inefficient during the Yar'Adua-led administration. Adding credence to the public view on the leadership fight against corruption, the U.S.

Secretary of state, Hillary Clinton on a state visit to Nigeria in August 2009, warned that "corruption was eroding the legitimacy of the Yar'Adua administration and contributing to the rise of militant groups in the country". It should be noted that it was during Yar'Adua's administration that the activities of militancy reached its peak. However, instead of the organized civil society to view the conflict from the systemic and Nigerian state perspectives, the blame was rather shifted to the youths of the Niger Delta region. The administration of Late President Yar'Adua also witnessed a lot of illegality and unconstitutional deviations in policy execution, especially during the protracted illness of the President. The cabal (Kitchen cabinet) of the "Aandookas" (former minister of justice and attorney general) assumed the responsibilities of the then vice president. It was following from this ugly political malfunctioning that the Save Nigeria Group (SNG) founded by Pastor Tunde Bakare of Latter Rain Assembly, helped to demand for strict adherence to constitutionalism in Nigeria. For instance, following the protracted illness and subsequent death of President Umaru Yar'Adua in 2009, the group through public demonstration in Lagos agitated for the immediate confirmation of the then Vice President, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan as acting president.

3. **President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan:** Following the death of President Yar'Adua, former vice president, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, was sworn-in as president to complete his (Yar'Adua's) tenure. And on May 29th, 2011 after winning the presidential election, he was sworn-in as substantive president. In his inaugural speech, he stated that his administration will be decidedly transformative. The transformation according to him will be achieved in all the critical sectors, by harnessing the creative energies of the people. In his words, "we must grow the economy, create jobs, and generate enduring happiness for our people". President Jonathan-led administration presented a transformation agenda on health, education, power generation (electricity), public transport system, and employment through job creation. During this period, the leadership recorded laudable achievements. Akinola (2015) states that, Jonathan's administration made Nigeria's Gross Domestic

Product (GDP) to rise to \$503 billion in 2013 and became Africa's largest economy and 26th in the world; Nigeria became the number one destination for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI); delivered over 25,000¹ kilometres of motorable federal roads from just a quarter; resuscitated the railways in the country after about 30 years of hiatus; Nigeria was voted by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations as the largest producer of cassava in the world; power generation was boosted to about 5,000 megawatts (MW) in 2014, up from 2,000 MW in 2011; Prices of food and other household items remained stable while inflationary pressure was down to a single digit; and he controlled clinically Ebola outbreak to the admiration of the whole world.

The activities of militants were curbed to a great extent during Jonathan's regime but witnessed high rate of insurgency by the Boko Haram sect in the North-Eastern Nigeria; a development that was widely believed by good meaning Nigerians to have been sponsored to make the country ungovernable. The insurgency attracted criticism from the civil society both at the home front and in the diaspora, with Bring Back Our Girls (BBOG), a civil society organization as the pioneering group of agitators. The leadership of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan-led administration was also accused of corruption. In line with this view, the United State of America dismissed Nigeria's anti- corruption efforts under Jonathan's administration as mere talk, and one in which the government is not implementing the law, and officials engage in corrupt practices with impunity. A civil society group, known as Socio-economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) even sent a freedom of information request to former President Jonathan asking him to provide information on his assets declaration details between May 2007 and May, 2012, and to publish widely the information on a dedicated website (Ukase & Audu, 2015). On January 1, 2012 the president Jonathan-led administration increased the pump price of fuel to N 141 per litre. Following from this new price regime, a coalition of civil society groups which comprised of Action Aid, United Action for Democracy (UAD), Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), Legislative Advocacy Centre amongst others embarked on a mass protest on the streets of Nigerian cities on 12th January, 2012: The NLC called on all its affiliates across the country to proceed on a nationwide strike. The pump price was consequently drop to

₦97 per litre and ₦87 per litre in 2015. In spite of the compromising or accommodative attitude of the administration, the leadership received several abusive words both from civil society organizations, individuals, and the citizens. Indeed it is on record that the leadership was widely abused by opponents and the civil society, yet the President kept mute in order to sustain democracy in Nigeria. What is being regarded today as hate speeches were used commonly during Jonathan's administration yet nobody was arrested or persecuted by the government. Critics even went beyond the purview of governance and attacked his personality including his wife, Dame Patience Jonathan, but in his remarks, the president conceived these abuses as 'the beauty of democracy'. He was so humble, and respected the rules of the game even to the extent that he humbled himself to the political coup that brought him out of power. This work is not intended to flatter the personality or administration of former president Jonathan but to extol the attributes or virtues of leadership that helped to sustain our democracy.

4. **President Muhammadu Buhari:** President Buhari came into power on the 29th May, 2015 with several campaign promises which included a war on corruption, improved social welfare, and the strengthening of the naira until it is equal to the dollar. In assessing the administration's mid-term performance, the public scorecard shows that the leadership is failing in ending youths and women unemployment, and in policy and governance; while the administration is merely displaying selective justice in most of its anti-corruption war as politicians widely adjudged by the people as corrupt under past administrations hide under the cover of the ruling party, All Progressive Congress (APC), are treated as sacred cows. In the words of Adeleke (2017), Buhari's initial hotness was replaced by languidness, with seeming apathy to the suffering of the very hands that carried him into power, and eventually, the deterioration of his health. The president Buhari-led administration came into power promising to make things better but so far things have become harder leading Nigeria into a deep recession. In his assessment, Ghali Na'Abba, the former speaker of the House of Representatives, described President Buhari as not being able to add even an inch of value to democracy. In May 2016, the administration increased the

pump price of fuel from ₦87 to ₦145 per litre. According to Jibrin Ibrahim in *Daily Trust* (2016), the response to the hike in fuel price would have been straight forward: demonstration organized by labour and civil society as it was in 2012 and had always been since General Ibrahim Babangida's regime. However, in the case of the President Buhari-led administration the almost routine strategy of demonstration by organized labour and civil society groups was not embarked upon. Chief Femi Falana also noted that the present administration acted contrary to its promises not to remove subsidy in order to inflict undue pains on Nigerians. Ordinary, this deviation by the leadership was supposed to attract mass protest, but it was not so. On the issue of Fulani herdsmen attack on law abiding Nigerians, the CSOs have expressed disappointment with the non-challant attitude of the federal government under Buhari's administration to the killings by Fulani herdsmen. The leadership was merely asked by civil society to handle herdsmen attacks like Boko Haram, but no organized social activity group to flood the streets of Abuja and Aso Rock with demonstration and protest on daily basis. It is in line with this thought that Moro (2017) in *Daily Post Nigeria* observed that several CSOs and NGOs that cropped up to agitate for good governance during Jonathan's administration have all lost their voices since President Buhari's administration came on board. According to him, even though things appear to have worsened than they were in the past, only very few groups and individuals have been vocal since 2015. Amidst hardship and acute hunger expressed in the faces of Nigerians, the various civil society organizations and agitators who promised to make Nigeria ungovernable during former President Jonathan's administration have waxed cold and are no longer being heard.

Despite the fact that most Nigerians are living below bread level a condition that deteriorated during the present administration, the President is off again on medical vacation to London, while innocent Nigerians are dying of malaria in the country. This incessant medical tour amounts to capital flight abroad. Some citizens of Nigeria in London reacted during his present tour that he (the President) should go back to Nigeria and resuscitate the hospitals and the economy. The London police who were invited by the

President to arrest them could not help the matter, rather they offered security to the protesting Nigerians. What the CSOs and NGOs would have done in Nigeria, was what few courageous individuals in London did. It was during the absence of the president from the country that the Director General, State Security Services (DSS), Mr. Lawal Daura invaded the National Assembly, an action that was desecrated as a coup against democracy. Following from this action, the Acting President Prof. Yemi Osinbajo on Tuesday 7th August, 2018 sacked the DSS boss. Nigerians reacting to this sack said that the DSS boss was long overdue for sack. They also expressed fear that the President on return from London may reinstate him. In his words, David Adeola in *Daily Post Nigeria* (2018) stated that, "we say Buhari has been condoning impunity. Hoping Buhari will not re-instate him". The issue the author wished to address on the issues above is that, why is it that these sensitive matters do not attract the condemnation of organized labour and civil society groups in Nigeria? That somebody (DSS boss) who was long identified as a threat to our democracy was retained by the leadership to carry out anti-democratic activities acting as a political wolf in a lamb's skin, yet the civil society never reacted.

The compromising attitude of CSOs in the present administration we think could be borne amongst other things by two major factors; (i) double standard operation strategy, and (ii) the leadership and the anti-citizens bill. In support of the case of the selective outrage approach or double standard operation, the Human Rights Lawyer and activist, Chief Femi Falana (SAN) stated in *Vanguard* (2016) that those reasons given for the mass protest and strike in 2012 under former President Jonathan's administration were still lingering in the country. This implies that the CSOs and NGOs were sponsored by opponents of Jonathan's administration otherwise, they would have still continue with their agitations in a more organized form since the standard of living of Nigerians has deteriorated even worse than before. It also explains the influence of the structure of the Nigerian state on the performance of CSOs and NGOs showing that the politics of ethnicity or region has become an ideology creating and sustaining power structure in Nigeria. On the other hand, the leadership and the anti-citizens bill is an anti-democratic pill. In the bid to clamp down on civil society critique, the present administration introduced the 'hate speech' bill. This bill is merely a way of curbing or nipping in the bud, the bulk of public opinion from the civil

society and opposition groups pointing to the fact that Nigeria is speedily sliding into a democratic dictatorship. This is because in a democratic dictatorship, public opinion is irrelevant. Adebayo (2018) has observed that "without this functioning social capital the society is susceptible to being impugned by a bunch of shallow, confused mortals. There is also a proposed bill known as "Bill to regulate NGOs and CSOs. This bill is to require NGOs and CSOs to re-register after 24 months and pay re-registration fees and the committee handpicked by the President may decide whether to re-approve or deny the certificate. This bill primary aims to sabotage accountability mechanism and continuously ensure that citizens are dispossessed of their constitutional rights to enjoy democratic dividends. Similar to this ill-fated bill was the "social media Bill" that was subsequently dropped for its irrelevance to the nation's progress and citizens' development. These mentioned bills constitute a deliberate violation of the guaranteed freedom of thought, opinion and expression, and freedom of association, as contained in the 1999 constitution of the federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) and various international conventions to which Nigeria is a signatory (Jimoh, 2017).

It is pertinent to note that it was the intolerable attitude of the present leadership towards the civil society groups that led to the arrest and detention of some leaders of OUR MUMU DON DO Group. The groups emerged as a reaction against the sufferings and hardship experienced by the Nigerian masses, the selective justice of the corruption war, as well as the incessant medical tour of the President to London. The group adopted the strategy of protest and demonstration like the Bring Back Our Girls (BBOG) group during President Jonathan's administration, but they were confronted with arrest and detention by the president Muhammadu Buhari-led administration a deliberate violation of the guaranteed freedom of opinion and expression, and freedom of association.

Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis of the role of CSOs and NGOs and the attitudinal judgment of past and present leadership in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, the widespread belief or impression that they (CSOs and NGOs) have most often deviated from their cardinal role in contributing to development in the country cannot be done away with, disputed or

dismissed completely. This is proven by the fact that most CSOs and NGOs have failed to transcend ethno-religious and regional cleavages and political leanings even though some have undermined their struggle to fight corruption in the country. A typical example was the case of 'selective justice' against the increase in fuel price during President Jonathan's administration in 2012 and that of the leadership of President Buhari in 2016. It is also evidenced that some CSOs, NGOs and social critics queued behind members of the ruling clique on tribal, partisan sentiments and are thus given blind or dormant attention to the socio-economic ills and anti-democratic policies they are supposed to fight against. This explains why many CSOs and NGOs during President Jonathan's administration have suddenly developed political soar-throat and miscarriage of sound judgement during the present administration under President Mohammadu Buhari such that their voices could not be heard any more.

It is also on record that the attitudinal postures of past and present leadership towards CSOs and NGOs have positive or negative impact on their performances. For example, the leadership of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo-led administration was not media friendly and intolerable to civil society group's opinion; the leadership of President Mohammadu Buhari-led administration is also exhibiting some anti-democratic principles as exemplified in the 'Hate Speech' bill. This autocratic leadership style is not in the interest of the people and hence, anti-democratic, anti-development and obsolete in the vocabulary of modern democracies. On the other hand, the leadership of late President Umaru Yar'Adua and former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan respected democratic principles and fundamental human right of citizens by creating enabling environment for objective criticisms which is the reason why the Fourth Republic did not experience political still-birth or collapse in 2015. The anti-democratic principles exhibited by some leaders in the Fourth Republic are observable political indices endemic in the polity of developing countries like ours a manifestation of the systemic problem in a neo-colonial states. It is on this basis that we can clearly say that a neo-colonial state like Nigeria cannot allow CSOs and NGOs to operate effectively as public officials also engage in acts of corruption, executive lawlessness, and violence. A predatory neo-colonial state run by a parasitic clique as opined by Falana (2010), cannot but project the development agenda of their international allies and political

godfathers. In a country where votes do not count and "federal might" is employed to select political office holders, government cannot be held accountable by the civil society. Transparency in government, an ingredient of development, cannot be viewed seriously by rulers who are imposed on the people through 'do or die' elections. It should be noted at this point that this work is not intended to disparage the personality or administration of past and present leaders in Nigeria. The aim is to identify and recommend the democratic virtues exhibited by leaders that help to sustain our democracy, as well as to suggest improvement in the identified negative attributes that are antithetical to the sustenance of democracy and overall development of the country (Nigeria).

Recommendations

The intellectual discourse on CSOs and NGOs as presented in this work and the practical experiences in Nigeria shows that they cannot independently contribute meaningfully to national development as overstretched by its aims and objectives. The performance of their role is therefore inhibited because of the nature of the Nigerian state and the character of the elites which tend to promote inequality, insecurity, and systemic corruption amongst others.

Following from the above observations, it has been recommended that CSOs can only achieve or performed their role effectively when all processes of development are driven with a good number of civil participation, meaning that there should be equitable participation of civil society and non-governmental organizations in all processes of development and policy formulation. It is also recommended that CSOs and NGOs should seek ways of working in partnership with the government at all levels, bringing their level of expertise to bear in the governance process for the good of all. In other words, there should be a symbiotic relationship between civil society, government and the private sector (Musser, 2014).

The people who are the greatest victims of maladministration and official corruption should be mobilized to fight for transparency and accountability in government. CSOs and NGOs involved in the fight for good governance and development should link the battle with the struggle for democracy, rule of law and human rights; and should demand for full compliance with

the provisions of the Appropriation Act, Public Procurement Act, Money Laundering Act and insist on the implementation of the Freedom of Information Act, rather than concentrating energies on selective arrest and prosecution of a few identified persons who are perceived enemies of the ruling administration (Falana, 2010). It is also suggested, that civil society organizations should not queue behind members of the ruling clique on tribal partisan sentiments as was evidenced or noticed in the double standard reaction against the increase in the pump price of fuel by the civil society during the leadership of former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan in 2012 and President Mohammadu Buhari in 2016. While this work acknowledges the value of the recommendations by scholars above, it posits that until Nigeria redefines its system by addressing the flaws in the structure of the Nigerian state through restructuring, reorder its priorities, pursue an indigenous development model based on its culture, as well as does away with plastic policy options and cosmetic implementation, civil society organizations will continue to experience still birth in their quest for equity, fairness, peace and development.

It is pertinent to state at this point that any policy change or paradigm by the civil society organizations within the context of the structure of the Nigerian state as it is presently constituted without addressing the various national questions and other issues that were re-echoed at the 2014 National Conference, is bound to experience '*policy rape*' which could lead to '*project and programme-abortion*' and consequent '*development barrenness*'. CSOs should therefore, advocate for a total over-hauling of the democratic institutions and the entire social system in Nigeria.

References

- Adebayo, R. (2018). *Hate speech bill: The law of boomerang respects on one* in Daily Post Nigeria. Retrieved: 4th June 2018 daily posting.
- Adeleke, D. I. (2017). *We asked people to rate Buhari's performance so far and these are the results*. Retrieved: 6th June 2018 venturesafrica.com
- Akinola, W. (2015). Jonathan lists 10 achievements as president, dares critics to show records of their achievements. Retrieved: 20th June 2015 <https://www.naija.org>
- Anikpo, M. (1986). *Theory of socialist transition in Africa, in unresolved issues in underdevelopment theory*. Port Harcourt; University of Port Harcourt.
- Diamond, L. (1994). *Rethinking civil society: Towards democratic consolidation*, in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 5.
- Eberly, D. (2014). *The rise of global civil society*. Retrieved: 20th November 2014 <https://www.cipe.org>
- Eldis, E. (2003). *Aid, NGOs and Civil Society*. Retrieved: 17th April 2014 <https://www.nigeriavillagesquare.com>
- Falana, F. (2010). *Civil society and the challenge of anti-corruption struggle in Nigeria*. Retrieved: Saharareporters.com/2010/05/1.
- Gang, G. (1998). *Civil society: Definitions, causes and functions*. Retrieved: 16th August 2014 <https://www.la.utexas.edu/csefs>
- Ibrahim, J. (2016). *Increased price of fuel and public response*. Daily Trust Nigeria: May 16.
- Idumange, J. (2012). *The role of civil society organizations in promoting good governance* being a paper presented at a one-day government/civil society interactive session organized by the Bayelsa state government, Government House, Yenagoa.
- Jimoh, A. (2017). Who is afraid of CS? in Vanguard Retrieved: 18th September 2017 <https://www.vanguardngr.com>
- Karsfi, N. (1990). *Civil society, the state and democracy in Africa* in N. Karsfi (Ed.) *Society and Democracy in Africa: Critical Perspective*. London: Frank Cass.
- Korten, P. (1987). *The role of NGOs: From relief and welfare to development approach*. Retrieved: <https://www.nigeriavillagesquare.com>
- Kukah, M.F. (2011). *Civil society under the Obasanjo regime, 1999 - 2007: An Assessment*. Retrieved: [run.edu.ng>media](http://run.edu.ng/media).

- Kukah, M.F. (2011). *Democracy and civil society in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Maslyukivska, O.P. (1999). Research Paper on UNDP/Yale Collaborate Programme. New Heaven: Research Clinic.
- Moro, P.A. (2017). Groups that fought Jonathan have lost their voice under Buhari, in Daily Post Nigeria. Retrieved: dailypost.ng
- Musser, R. (2014). The two main challenges facing African civil society organizations. Retrieved: 20th August 2015 <https://www.cipe.org>.
- NGO Research Programme (2001). NGO funding and policy: Interactive NGO Research Programme.
- Nnaa, B.G. & Kia, B. (2012). *The political economy of terrorism in Africa: The Nigeria experience* being a paper presented at the First Annual Conference 2012 Organized by the School of Management Sciences, Rivers State College of Arts and Science, Rumuola, Port Harcourt, May 9-12, 2012.
- Nnaa, B.G. (2009). *Conflictual issues in development administration in Nigeria: A political economy approach*, 2nd Edition. Bori: Fredsbary.
- Nnaa, B.G. (2011). *The political economy of oil and militancy in the Niger Delta: Implications for economic development in Nigeria (1999 - 2009)*, an unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of Calabar, Calabar Nigeria.
- Nnoli, O.(Ed) (1981). *Path to Nigerian development*. Dakar, Senegal: Codesria Book Series.
- Nwachukwu, O.J. (2018). *Nigerians react to sack of DSS boss, Lawal Daura by Osinbajo*. Daily Post Nigeria: August 7.
- Oketola, D.G. & Adeoye, J.A. (2017). Unemployed graduates angry, ask Osinbajo to reverse secret recruitments in the Saturday Punch Newspaper vol. 7383, No. 1882, 27 May p.4.
- Okojie, O. (2005). Let justice take its course in Vanguard Newspaper of 26 November, p.11.
- Olanipekun, W. (2004). Obasanjo must call his men to order in The Punch Newspaper of 16 December, p.2.
- Oluwasayi, C.O. & Omodia, S.M. (2014). Civil society and free and fair elections in Nigeria's Fourth Republic in University of Uyo Journal of Politics and Administration, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Omodia, S.M. (2013). Democracy and development in Africa: The Nigeria experience in Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences 4(1).

- Singh, P. (2015). What role does civil society play in economic development. Retrieved: <https://www.quora.com>
- Soriwei, F. (2016). EFCC investigating eight judges, two registrars in The Punch Newspaper vol. 40, No 21,288, Friday, 14 October p.9.
- Soyinka, W. (2005). Obasanjo's government is lawless in The Tell Magazine No.4, 26 January p.24-26.
- Ukase, P. & Audu, B. (2015). The role of civil society in the fight against corruption in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Problems, prospects, and the way out in European Scientific Journal, 2015, Vol. 11, No. 2.
- United Nations (2012). The meaning, explanation and pronunciation of non-governmental organizations. Retrieved: <http://www.wikipedia.com>
- Uwhejevwe-Togbolo, S. (2005). The role of non-governmental organizations in development. Retrieved: <https://www.nigeriavillagesquare.com>
- White, D. (2018). What is civil society? Definitions and examples. Retrieved: 21st November 2018 https://study.com/academy_

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE ROLE OF TECHNOCRATS IN DEMOCRATIC AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF KEY MEMBERS OF PRESIDENT GOODLUCK EBELE JONATHAN'S ECONOMIC TEAM

Okereka Onofere Princewill Ph.D

Department of Political Science
Faculty of the Social Sciences,
Delta State University,
Abraka, Nigeria

Tel: 08033362567, 08020509031

opokereka@delsu.edu.ng, onofereonline@gmail.com
onofereonline@yahoo.com



Abstract

This chapter examined the role of technocrats in democratic and economic development with specific emphasis on some key members of the former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's economic team. It also conceptualized technocracy and good governance, as well as the role of technocracy in democratic and good governance. It further discussed some specific and positive impacts made through the professional and innovative programmes introduced by the then Minister of Finance, Dr. (Mrs.) Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, Dr. Akinwunmi Adesina Dr. Samsuddeen Usman, Minister of National Planning, Dr. Omobola Olubusola Johnson, Minister of Communication Technology and Mr. Olusegun Olutoyin Aganga, Minister of Industry, Trade and Investments, among others. The chapter concluded with admonition of the extant and successive governments to emulate the good examples shown by President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration by appointing technocrats to help with required expertise to improve on the essence of democracy and good governance as well as economic development in Nigeria.

Introduction

Regimes across the world, whether military or democratic in nature, are synonymous with regime changes. This is because, the fundamental pursuit of any administration, both military and democratic, has been the notion of good governance. The Nigerian political history is characterized by epochs of regime changes, particularly, during the military era. The summary of reasons given for overthrow of regimes during the military era, is that they lack capacities to entrench good governance and by extension economic development and sustainability (Arowolo, 2010).

However, regime change in democracies, demonstrates marked variations from those of the military era. While democratic governments believe strongly in the role which bureaucracy and technocracy play in signposting professionalism, rules and regulations, to engender good governance and economic development; military regimes evade these critical tenets that aid economic progress that helped advanced democracies of the world. In the military regimes, regime change comes through overthrow and therefore severally described by democrats as *unconstitutional*. Democratic regime change has assumed popular acceptance because of its constitutionality. It allows for political party formation and participation, ideological cross fertilization by groupings, technocratic involvement and clear identification of lapses in extant regimes that exacerbates democratic clamour for change, based on constitutionally tenured government (Sharma, 2007). This is why former president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan bowed out of government honourably when he lost election in 2015. This singular act which has earned him accolades among lovers and practitioners of democracy both at home and abroad can lucidly be linked to his robust background as a technocrat and a democrat. He did not only believe in the place of technocracy in democratic governance, but he also clearly demonstrated that technocracy is critical to the genuine pursuit of entrenchment of democratic values and good governance (Imokhai 2015).

Thus, in his attempt to galvanize growth and socio economic development in Nigeria, he scouted for and appointed world renowned technocrats into his government. These technocrats helped his government by introducing professionalization and expertise into various aspects of his administration. Some of these technocrats have now been appointed into world bodies and

they are making positive impacts across the world. This chapter is an academic but clinical attempt to examine the role of technocrats in the pursuit of democratic and economic development. Although the views martialled here, are apolitical, it couldn't undermine the place of the former president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's admonition of technocracy, as critical to any genuine effort at using democracy to achieve good governance in Nigeria. Most critical infrastructural projects completed and commissioned by the President Muhammadu Buhari's administration have their roots in the Goodluck's administration, through the assistance of the professional articulation of technocrats, he appointed into his government (Ajelade, 2009).

The remaining parts of this chapter are dedicated to examining the idea of democracy, technocracy and good governance, the role of technocracy in democratic governance, and specific discussions on some key members of former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's economic team; which led us to conclusion and recommendations.

Democracy, Technocracy and Good Governance

Democracy and democratic practice is gradually taking root in Nigeria. Because its critical values are yet to be fully imbibed, and practiced as experienced in the advanced democracies, the Nigeria democracy has been severally described as *civilian rule at best nascent democracy*. The utility of the ideals of democracy has made it a subject of discussion and study among scholars and practitioners. Democracy and technocracy have assumed the centre stage in the search for good governance. For democracy to protect human values and dignity, its practice must combine technocracy to contribute the required expertise to manage the machinery of governance. The simplest definition of democracy in political science literature is the one provided by one-time American President, the famous Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865). He defined democracy as the "*government of the people, by the people, for the people, based in a nation*". This definition has been severally criticized as being conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal (Obasi, 2007). Despite this criticism, no other definition in the literature is simple and yet comprehensive, thus accepted to discuss the idea of democracy in this work.

Democracy is therefore a form of government that positions the people (sovereign) as holding the legal right to vote politicians or candidates of their choice into power. The government that emanate from their right of selection must provide meaningful life for them. It must be a political process capable of justly promoting all aspects of individual's political, social and economic life, enabling him to live peacefully and more or less equally with others in fulfilled existence (Idahosa, 2010). Thus, democracy offers the opportunity for politicians to affiliate and form political parties as vehicles of coordinated contestations to transport them into government thereby offering the opportunity to provide good life for the people. Idahosa (2010) explains further that:

When a government emerges through the process prescribed by democracy, which include peoples' acceptance, the elected has no option than to vigorously pursue the achievement of good governance and thereafter earn the acceptance and support of the people (sovereign)...

The preceding discussion portrays democracy as popular and simple to operate. This appears to be the reason why most politicians embrace it, yet very few understand its dynamism, and therefore, lack required professional skills to manage it. This is where technocracy comes to play. They are generalists. Even though some of them have some levels of intellectual height in their own rights, the type of democracy that produces good governance requires more than a generalist to fulfil its obligation to the people. Thus, it takes a politician with some knowledge of technocracy and its roles in the pursuit of good governance to succeed.

The concept of technocracy is severally used to denote a group of scientists, engineers, and other experts who have political powers as well as technical knowledge. One can also refer to a country or society that is controlled by scientists, engineers and other experts as technology (BBC English: 1992). A technocrat therefore is a scientist, engineer, or other experts who is one of a group of similar people who have political power as well as technical knowledge. Democracy needs professionalism, expertise, (technology) but not the rule of the thumb, which is much associated with most politicians (leaders). Technocrats are established known experts in their various callings through training and experience with corresponding processes that

simplify the tasks and hasten the solution to the problems of man. Their level and sophistication constitute part of the determinants of the society's prosperity and power (Obasi, 2007).

Many advanced democracies of the world like Britain, America, Canada and France, among others, have adopted and continued to rely on the injection of technocrats into the practice of their democracies. They understand clearly that after politicking, comes governance and governance requires the mitigation of partisanship and going a step further to pursue social and economic development. Thus, an elected leader in such clime is principally motivated by the desire to ensure the provision of good life to his people. This is why Epelle (2011) writes that:

An elected leader (president or governor) with genuine desire and focus to better the fortunes of his citizenry must demonstrate courage to look beyond mouthy politicians to appoint technocrats who will help him to pursue and achieve his objectives ... Rather, the reverse is the bane of Nigeria's socio-economic development ... Experts abounded and can be sourced from the private sector to beef up the few retired technocrats who are politicians.

Technocrats are trained professionals and experts in their various fields whose loyalty is conditioned by professional and ethical values of their profession. Thus, once they accept appointments, they strive to help the government to achieve the objectives of the government that appoint them. Therefore, democratic governments are admonished to ensure incremental pursuit of appointing technocrats into strategic positions to help in fulfilling the mandate of the government. The responsibility of any elected government is to provide good governance. Democracy and democratic governments ought to be synonymous with good governance. Good governance defines the satisfaction derivable from a government that prides itself as a liberal democracy. The understanding of the linkage between democracy and technocracy by elected leaders produces good governance. According to Ikelegbe (2013):

Good governance defines all the positive outcomes of democratic government which must be demonstrated in increased per-capita income, infrastructural growth, good

foreign exchange rate, job opportunity, portable water supply improved, medical facilities, electricity supply as well as improved educational system and above all, increased life expectancy ratio.

In a broad sense, it essentially refers to the mechanisms, processes and institutions for determining and managing public affairs and society. More specifically, it refers to how societal problems are identified and addressed, resources extracted, allocated and utilized, how policies are made and implemented, and how societal progress and development is managed (Wolmuth, 2000). Governance has character and attributes which determine the manner of exercise of authority in the management of societal affairs. There are attributes that facilitate good governance, which denotes effectiveness with which governance is conducted and the goals of the state achieved. Ikelegbe (2013) identified these attributes to include legality, acceptance and support, free press, efficient public service, substantial technocratic participation, independent judiciary, among others. Good governance further facilitates the effective delivery of government goods, social services, infrastructure and other responsibilities. Good governance brings into service delivery the essence of accessibility, promptness and timeliness, satisfactoriness, competitiveness, fairness, equity and impartiality, accountability and responsibility as well as sensitivity concerns for clients (the people) and quality. Democracy and democratic practice cannot develop its fullness without technocracy as its combining and operational ingredient which if not introduced in its right quantity, cannot engender good governance (Adamolekun, 2000).

The Role of Technocracy in Democratic Governance

The preceding sub-section of this chapter comprehensively discusses the concepts of democracy, technocracy and good governance together in order to express their linkage in the pursuance of good life for the people. Here, the sacrosanct role technocracy plays in democracy and economic development cannot be over-emphasized. Earlier in this chapter, the concept of technocracy was defined to mean *a group of scientists, engineers and other experts who have political power*. This definition therefore explains that technocracy as a concept is used to denote *a group of scientist. It further clarifies that the group may be engineers and other experts who have political powers*. Thus,

technocrats may be an engineers, accountants, geologists, lawyers, business administrators, retired bureaucrats that have attained the status of expert.

However, it is also important to note that those sets of experts can only be referred to as technocrats when they are called upon to hold political power and contribute their expertise to the pursuance of the goal of the state. Democracy has allowed every citizen of a society right of participation. This is without prejudice to the level of one's education and awareness. Hence, the right to vote and be voted for, is granted by the constitution to any interested citizen. But the constitution is basically silent about the skill that appointees must possess to help the political leader to achieve the goal of the state.

In the view of Makinde & Adesopo (2007) "*When a government fails to provide good roads, improve education quality, improved electricity supply, food security, provide jobs and reduce poverty, among others, blames, abuses and castigations are directed at the elected leader*". For example, we often hear of complaints of the Abacha's government being corrupt, the Babangida's regime or government being corrupt, but the head of the government may not be corrupt, but for bad lieutenants, he is held responsible for the failures. The success of any government is depended majorly on roles played by experts and professionals in the various aspects of governance. An elected leader must be aware and be prepared to appoint experts and allow them to operate, since their professional objectives are in tandem with the programmes of the government. Erero, (2000) noted that the understanding of the linkage between democracy and bureaucracy produces accountability and good governance.

This chapter is an eloquent testimony of the former president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's belief in the importance and critical role technocrats' play in any genuine effort of government to provide economic development. He understood the idea of the *New Public Management* and chose to retain and appoint some world renowned bureaucrats into his government. The efforts made by some of the bureaucrats appointed into his economic team shall be discussed in the succeeding section of this chapter. According to Makinde & Adesopo (2007), Technocracy facilitates good governance and engenders effective management of development through the following strategies:

1. Participative and efficient planning and policy making systems;
2. Accountable and transparent revenue and public expenditure systems;
3. Collective decision making;
4. Strong credible, reputable and effective institutions;
5. Skilled, professional and disciplined public officials;
6. Viable non state actors;
7. Popular restraints on the exercise of power; and
8. Responsive, responsible and accountable public agencies and officials.

It is the admonition of this chapter to advise leaders and heads of government to appreciate the critical role played by technocrats in supporting democracy and good governance. Thus, successive government must make genuine efforts to improve on the use of technocrats in their administrations, if they have good intentions to pursue the goal of the state and by extension good governance and economic development.

Specific Discussions on some key members of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's Economic Team

Experience has shown that when governments change, the citizens then appreciate the difference between the past and the present governments. The Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration was charged with the leadership of a large and diverse entity called Nigeria, like other presidents before him. In the four years that his administration stayed in power, there were flaws, successes and giant leaps. This is why Osioma & Osioma (2009) noted that "*when regime changes that citizens are able to assess performance of their past leaders...*" However, the media during Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration focused more on the setbacks. This informed the efforts in this work to bring to fore critical achievements made through the infusion of technocracy. The Goodluck Jonathan's administration was silently transforming Nigeria from its dark ages of crass underdevelopment to a 21st century economic and political force (Alao, 2011).

This section discusses some key members of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's economic team, who are renowned technocrats with impeccable and intellectual antecedents, who are still making waves across the world today. This discussion will culminate in mentioning some important

achievements of the then Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration as well as strategic recommendations to the extant and successive governments.

Dr. (Mrs) Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala

As a vice-president, and acting president before Goodluck Ebele Jonathan becoming elected substantive president in 2011, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan demonstrated his knowledge of bureaucracy and technocracy through his professionalism and humility in service. Thus, when he became president, he sustained the trajectory of appointing technocrats into his cabinet. President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan appointed Dr. (Mrs) Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, one of the most respected and influential economists, policy maker and thinker, on finance and economic development in the country. Okonjo-Iweala served as finance minister between 2003 and 2006 under former president Olusegun Obasanjo, before Goodluck Jonathan appointed her, and she served from 2011 to 2015. Before her appointment as Finance Minister in Nigeria, she had served in the capacities of Managing Director of the World Bank. As an astute financial manager, who possessed requisite experiences in finance and economic development, she was designated the head of the president Goodluck Jonathan administration's economic team, which she held with excellence till the end of the administration.

According to Imokhai (2015), Okonjo-Iweala demonstrated beyond measure her capability to manage the economic team which produced numerous fiscal and economic achievements in the two administrations that she served as finance minister. During her first term as finance minister under President Olusegun Obasanjo's Administration, she spearheaded negotiations with the Paris Club of creditors that led to the wiping out of 30 billion US dollars of Nigeria's debt, including the outright cancellation of 18 billion US dollars. In 2003, she also pushed for improvement of Nigeria's macroeconomic management including the implementation of an oil-price based on fiscal rule, where revenues accruing therein, a reference benchmark oil price were saved in a special account. This is what is referred to today, as *the excess crude account*, which helped to reduce economic volatility. Okonjo-Iweala was behind the introduction of a new practice whereby each state's monthly financial allocations from the federation accounts are published in the newspapers. This development went a long way to increase transparency in governance in Nigeria (Alao, 2011).

With collaborative efforts from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to the Federal Government of Nigeria, she set up an electronic financial management platform known as The Government Integrated Financial Management and Information System (GIFMIS), including the Treasury Single Account (TSA) and the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS), bringing corruption to its barest minimum.

These fundamental achievements recorded by the then administration, through her professional efforts made President Goodluck Jonathan re-appointed her in 2011 as a finance minister with expanded portfolio as the coordinating minister for the economy (Terfa & Tsegya, 2015). Okonjo-Iweala was well known and respected for strengthening Nigeria's public financial systems and stimulating the housing sector with the establishment of the Nigeria Mortgage Re-finance Corporation (NMRC). Other legacies of this finance management guru included the Growing Girls and Women in Nigeria Programme (GGWIN). This programme initiated by her was recognized as one of the most effective programmes of its kind globally (The Guardian UK, 2011). She was also instrumental in the effort of the National Bureau of Statistics on the exercise of rebasing of Nigeria's economy as the largest in Africa after 24 years. The idea of fuel subsidy removal being a supposed antidote to the hydra-headed fuel scarcity experienced hitherto by Nigerians was also her initiative as finance minister during President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's Administration. Her professionalism and hard work saw her beyond the shores of Nigeria even after 2015, when Goodluck Jonathan's Administration handed over reigns of governance.

President Goodluck Jonathan's Administration was accused repeatedly for some failures; however, it was renowned for critical achievements that positioned the country on a sound economic pedestal upon which succeeding governments celebrating as their major achievements today. This is no doubt the importance of technocracy in democratic governance, which is a characteristic of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. These novel achievements shall be highlighted in the concluding remarks of this chapter to further demonstrate his genuine effort to ensure solid foundation for economic development of the country.

Dr. Akinwumi Adesina

Dr. Akinwumi Adesina, who is currently serving as the President of Africa Development Bank (AFDB), is a distinguished agricultural development expert with marked experience in developing and managing agricultural programme across Africa. He is a first class honours graduate of Agricultural Economics from the University of Ife, Nigeria, and Ph.D in Agricultural Economics from the Purdue University, United State of America (U.S.A). Until his appointment as the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development in 2011 by the President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's Administration, he was the Vice President of Policy and Partnership Alliance for Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) Before then, he was Principal Economist and Social Science Coordinator for the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture, Ibadan (Ajelade, 2009).

Ban Kin-Moon, United Nations Secretary General appointed him among 17 other global leaders to spearhead the Millennium Development Goals. His passion to use agriculture to end hunger, create wealth and jobs and drive economic growth and lift millions of people out of poverty in Africa was brought to Nigeria as Agriculture Minister. Adesina initiated several agricultural policies and reforms in the sector. These reforms revolutionized Agriculture in Nigeria leading to unprecedented increase in output of Agricultural Produce. It was in Goodluck Jonathan's Administration that agriculture was given a boost and made a priority in the new democratic Nigeria. During his tenure as the Agriculture Minister, food importation was reduced by over 40 percent in 2013, while Nigeria became the world's largest producer of cassava, which is a staple food, which is also used in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages and flower based snacks. The food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO), commended Nigeria for producing at least 45 million metric tons of cassava in the year 2014. Before the Goodluck Jonathan Administration, Nigeria was said to be losing nearly ₦400 billion on a yearly basis due to Nigeria's unenviable status as the world's largest importer of rice. This was not unconnected with the endemic corruption that held down the Agricultural sub-sector. Politicians had turned themselves into white collar farmers. They created bottle-necks in the procurement and distribution of agricultural inputs, such as improved seedlings, fertilizer and its distribution chain, loan facilities as well as other inputs. Dr. Adesina revolutionized the sub-sector

by identifying the real farmers from political farmers who politicized and obstructed the swift supply and made distribution of fertilizer and other farm input to the real farmers at the grassroots direct and cheaper.

Dr. Shamsuddeen Usman

Dr. Shamsuddeen Usman, an indigene of Kano, is a renowned Nigerian economist and banker. He earned a B.Sc. Degree in Economics from Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and later with a National Scholarship, studied for M.Sc. and Ph.D at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Usman wrote his Doctoral Thesis on "Tax Incentives and Investment in the Nigerian Oil Industry". He was appointed Minister of Finance between June 2007 and January 2009 by late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua. And later, he was appointed the Minister National Planning from 2009 to 2013. As a Minister of National Planning, he was associated with the creation of the Nigeria vision 2020 document with a guided inputs from youth, states, women, engineers, people with disabilities, the national strategy for the development of statistics which is to generate data for national planning, a national framework or template which was to be used for the evaluation of ministries, departments and agencies performance (Imokhai, 2015).

He was responsible for Economic and Development Strategy of the Nation through the formulation for a Medium Term National Plan (Nigeria Vision 2020) and working with the Ministry of Finance to set the overall objectives of the Annual Budget (Short Term Plan). As the Minister of National Planning, he also oversees the national Bureau of Statistics, the Centre for Management and Development as well as the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER).

Dr. (Mrs.) Omobola Olubusola Johnson

Dr. Omobola Johnson, holds a Bachelor's Degree in Electrical and Electronics Engineering (B.Eng.) and (M.Sc. Digital Electronics) from Kings College, London. She also earned a Doctoral Degree (DBA) in Business Administration from Canfield University. She started her professional career with Accenture in 1985 when it was Anderson Consulting.

As part of the Transformation Agenda (TA) of the Nigerian government, under President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, appointed Omobola Johnson as a pioneer minister of the newly created Ministry of Communication Technology. Prior to her appointment as a first timer into government as a Minister, she was the Managing Director for Accenture, Nigeria (Alao, 2011). Profiling Omobola Johnson's tenure as Nigeria ICT minister, she was reputed for numerous achievements, notable among which, is the launch of the NigComSat – 1R satellite. This has helped to complement the country's efforts at fibre connectivity and the provision of greater bandwidth. She developed an Access Policy Programme (APP) which deployed more than 700 personal computers to secondary schools in the first phase; while about 193 tertiary institutions in the country now enjoy internet access in the Tertiary Institution Access Programme (TIAP) and 146 communities have access to community communication centres deployed across the country.

Other achievements included creating the enabling environment for local development of iPad – equivalent tablets, signing of an MoU with Nokia to establish a lab in Nigeria to support the domestic mobile software industry, the inauguration of National Council on Information Communication Technology with states and FCT Commissioner of ICT as members. In 2013, when President Goodluck Jonathan affected a minor cabinet reshuffle, Dr. Omobola Johnson was made to supervise the Federal Ministry of Science and Technology. She is currently a non-executive Director of Guinness Nigeria Plc and Chairperson of Custodian and Allied Insurance Limited.

Mr. Olusegun Olutoyin Aganga

Mr. Aganga is a chartered accountant who was educated with degrees from Oxford University and the University of Ibadan. He is the founder and Chairman of 3V Partners Ltd, an asset development and investment company focused on some identified sectors of the economy including infrastructure. It had a presence in the UK up to July, 2011. Aganga was the Minister of Finance where he made remarkable contributions to economic development through various policies. In July, 2011, he was redeployed by President Goodluck Jonathan to the new Ministry of Trade and Investment and was replaced with Dr. (Mrs.) Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala. In March, 2013, the Nigerian Government changed the name of the Ministry of Trade and Investment to Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment. Mr. Aganga has

been described severally as one of the most regarded investor influencers for Nigeria because of his extensive experience internationally and domestically, combined with his track record outside of government. Among other specific laudable achievements, Aganga was known for the completed transformation of the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) Ministry of Trade & Investment (MTI) into Nigeria's number one economic ministry. He operationalised Nigeria's debt resolution vehicle, the "Asset Management Corporation of Nigeria (AMCON) to improve the liquidity and bring stability into the banking industry after the global economic crisis, working closely with the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) (Epelle, 2011).

Aganga also initiated several policies to diversify the Nigerian economy towards making Nigeria less import dependent and creating jobs. Some of these policies included the auto policy, sugar policy, cotton textile, garment policy, among others. Significant among policies he initiated was the fully implemented cement policy which led to self-sufficiency in cement, the end of importation of cement into Nigeria, and for the first time in Nigerian history, companies began to export cement. He also introduced the visa-on-arrival policy for investors and also reduced business registration cost by 50% for SME's and 25% for large companies. This was possible with the establishment of a 24 hours registration service and on-line registration platform. Mr. Olusegun Aganga is a rare technocrat whose prowess in trade and investments made him stand out as a cabinet member during President Goodluck Jonathan's Administration; which earned him a unique mention in the discussion around the values of men and women of global recognition in the economic team. Little wonder was he appointed by President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to tap from his professional experience in the areas of trade and investment. President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan made significant achievements due to his uncommon vision as a technocrat, turned politician. Imokhai (2015) quoted Oghadomhe as extolling the technocratic virtue of President Goodluck Jonathan, when he writes that:

As soon as President Jonathan took up the mantle of office, he made it plain to his staff that his motto is discipline and hard work... his dedication to duty is optimal. He is a perfectionist. After only few weeks into his presidency, the entire cabinet knew the dedication to duty that he expects everyone around him to exhibit ... His focus was to alleviate the sufferings of the masses of Nigeria (Imokhai, 2015:p.107)

Apart from the Minister of Finance, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, Dr. Akinwummi Adesina, Dr. Samsuddeen Usman, Minister of National Planning, Dr. Omobola Olubusola Johnson, Minister of Commutation Technology and Mr. Olusegun Olutoyin Aganga, Minister of Industry, Trade and Investments whose startling performances as astute technocrats are selected as testimonial to discuss the role of technocracy in democratic governance, Goodluck Jonathan also appointed other experts and technocrats that helped his achievements in other critical ministries, departments and agencies of government. They included Dr. Bart Nnaji, a Professor of Robotic Engineering for the power sector, Professor Attahiru, Jega who was charged with the affairs of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Ms Aruma Oteh who headed the Nigeria Stock Exchange (NSE), among others. These crops of technocrats helped in no small measure in the kind of innovative policies and programmes that earned the Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's Administration a pride of place in the development trajectory of the country up to 2015, when the extant government of President Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress (APC) took over the reigns of governance.

Conclusion

The chapter examined the critical role of technocracy in democratic governance, with particular-reference to innovations brought into the President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's Administration. His humility, hard work and bureaucratic experiences earned him the technocratic value which made him to surround himself with world class technocrats as discussed in the preceding sections. This uncommon management trait, which he demonstrated by appointing these experts, raised the bar of commendations arising from some unprecedented achievements recorded by his administration. To drive home the philosophy of technocracy and its relevance in democratic governance, it is clinically discussed under five headings, for clearer understanding vis Introduction, Democracy, Technocracy and Good Governance, the Role of Technocracy in Democratic Governance and Specific Discussions of Some Key Members of the Economic Team of Former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's Administration. Although, his administration was also criticized and accused of corruption by the opposition, he recorded some fundamental

achievements which formed the foundation upon which the current Administration of President Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress (APC) Party is building on and shinning today. Some of his unbeatable achievements include the following:

1. Promotion and practice of true democracy by creating an enabling environment where people from diverse backgrounds and with divergent views and opinions can be accommodated. Under his watch the APC was registered by INEC as a mega opposition party to challenge the People's Democratic Party (PDP) both at the state and national levels. The conduct of free and fair elections in the country. Unlike in other administrations, the Goodluck Ebele Jonathan administration gave a free hand to the electoral umpire to perform its statutory duties (Imokhai, 2015)
2. It is on record that revival of the moribund railway system of transportation in the country happened under Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration.
3. Arresting the outbreak of the dreaded Ebola virus disease in goodtime, even though, it had claimed some lives.
4. The transformation of the agricultural sector, such that Nigeria reduced importation of food by over 40% as at 2013.
5. Establishment of twelve federal universities across the country in states which hitherto did not have degree awarding institution, including two specialized universities.
6. The introduction of the Almajiri system of education in the academically disadvantaged Northern parts of Nigeria.

This chapter concludes by portraying Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan as a shining example to subsequent leaders as one past president who understands technocracy as a critical operational component in democratic governance. This is because he was able to demonstrate that the cardinal objective of any government is the greatest happiness to the number of the citizenry. Hence, he appointed renowned technocrats who helped him to coordinate and manage his administration, which led to the achievements recorded. Thus, the chapter recommends that the place of technocracy in democratic governance is sacrosanct, such that present and future executive leaders both at the state and federal levels must imbibe the practice of appointing technocrats who possess the requisite expertise to give their

administration the impetus to achieve the goal of economic development and progress, thereby leaving office better than the way it was before.

References

- Ademolekun, L. (2006) *Politics, bureaucracy and development in Africa*, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Ajelade, A.Y.P. (2009) *Agricultural research and sustainable development in Nigeria: constraints threat to agricultural productivity and food security*; International Journal of development studies Vol. 4, No. 2.
- Alao, A (2011) *Nigeria and the global powers: continuity and change in policy and perceptions*, South African Foreign Policy and African Drivers Programme. Occasional Paper Series (SAIIA) No. 96
- Arowolo, D. (2010) *Democracy and good governance in Nigeria*, in International Journal of Political Science and Administration, Blackwell Books, Vol. 2. No.1.
- BBC English (1992) *BBC English Dictionary: A dictionary for the World*, BBC English and Harpercollins Publishers Ltd, London.
- Epelle, A. (2011) *Public enterprises management in Nigeria* in Nwachukwu, L. Lambert, C.O. Obinna, O. & Emeke, A. (eds) *The Nigerian Public Service*, Onitsha, Nigeria, Bookprint Education Ltd.
- Erero, J. (2000) *Accountability in the management of public institution in Nigeria*, in Mukoro, A. (ed) *Institutional administration: A contemporary local government perspective from Nigeria*; Ikeja Lagos, Malthouse Press Ltd.
- Idahosa, S.A. (2010) *Issues and problems in Nigeria Politics: Tribes ethnicity and religion in Ola*, R.F. & Imahanlahimi, J.E. (eds) Revised edition; *Nigeria Political System: Trends and perspectives*; Benin-City, Nigeria: Department of Political Science & Public Administration, University of Benin.
- Ikelegbe, A. (2013) *Politics and government in Nigeria: Perspectives, issues and cases*, centre for population and Environmental Development (CPED), Benin City, Nigeria.
- Imokai, C.A. (2015) *The people's choice*, Author House Publishers, United Kingdom.
- Makinde, T.J. & Adesopo, A. (2007) *Democratic governance in Nigeria: An excursion into the relationship between political functionaries and career*

- officers*. Journal of development alternatives and area studies; Vol. 26, No. 1 & 2.
- Obasi, I (2007) *Politics and globe dictionary*, new ediction, Eagle Publishers, Aba Nigeria.
- Osioma, C. & Osioma, H.E. (2009) *Restoring excellence and integrity in the Nigeria public service, in the Bureaucratic*; a bi-annual journal of the Delta State Public Service.
- Sharma, S.D. (2007) *Democracy, good governance and economic development*, Tauran Journal of democracy, Vol. 3, No1.
- Terfa, T.A. & Tsegura S.I. (2015) *Foreign Policy and global image: A critical assessment of Goodluck Jonathan's Administration*. online; Journal of J Mass Commnicant Journalism, 5.279. doi:10.4172/2165-7912.1000279.
- The Guardian UK Editorial (2011) *100 women in the world*, 2011, Vol. 10 N. 68.
- Wolmich, K. (2000) *Good governance and economic development in Africa: An introduction*. Wolmuth, K, Bass, H. & Messner, F. (eds) *African development perspectives*, year Book VI. Berlin: Lit. Verlag.

CHAPTER TWELVE

LEADERSHIP AND THE CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRACY AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN AFRICA: THE NIGERIA EXPERIENCE

John T. Kalama Ph.D

Department of Political Science,
Federal University Otuoke
Bayelsa State, Nigeria

lecturerkalama@yahoo.com/doctorkalama@gmail.com
08035432407/08054844026



Abstract

This Chapter strived to unravel the issue of leadership and the challenges of democracy and the democratization process in Africa with specific reference to Nigeria. The Chapter also examined key political and policy actions of selected African leaders and the impact of such actions on the people and economy of their respective countries. The study observed that failure of leadership in several African countries accounted for high level of insecurity, poverty, hunger, instability and underdevelopment in the continent. Anchoring its argument on the post-behavioural theory, the Chapter concluded that with commitment, dedication and patriotism on the part of political actors and elites, the issue of leadership and the challenges of democracy and the democratization process will be a thing of the past in Nigeria and Africa as a whole.

Introduction

Conflict arising from the struggle for political power accounts for most of the violence and insecurity in Africa today. Available records also show that early pan African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Felix Houphout Boigny of Cote d' Ivoire, Arab Moi of Kenya had good intentions but greed coupled with in ordinate ambition and desire to remain in power prompted

them not to lay solid democratic foundations for the future benefits of their people and governments. Thus, the lack of succession plan coupled with external interference and frequent military coups have also helped to promote political instability and inconsistency in post-independence Africa. Failure of leadership according to Achebe (1984) accounts for the myriads of problems facing Africa; hence several measures have been put in place to improve the quality of leadership in Africa. In Nigeria, for instance, several constitutional and political conferences have been organized by different administrations yet the challenges of leadership and governance remain unresolved. It is in the light of the above that this Chapter examines leadership and the challenges of democracy and the democratization process in Africa with specific reference to Nigeria.

Theoretical and Conceptual Issues

In terms of framework, this study was guided by the post-behavioural theory which is a protest against orthodox behaviouralism which was observed to be limited to mere formulation of theories and concepts. In the words of James John Guy cited in Ntete-Nna (2004), the post-behavioural approach looks at political science as having a public purpose; hence, it should not only strive for generalization and the verifiable understanding of the political process but that practitioners and political leaders should commit themselves to making the world a better place. This approach, therefore, posits that leaders and political scientists should be able to communicate with the victims of society and citizens to ensure that the choice of research projects and policies reflects the immediate concerns for the daily struggles of the mass of the people not just elites in business. Post behaviouralists, are concerned not just with techniques of study but also with the broader questions of values such as justice and morality all geared towards policy engineering. Contextually, the various policy actions of past and present administrations in Nigeria clearly represents a bold and pragmatic step aimed at resolving the leadership challenges confronting the Nigerian state in line with post-behavioural ideals and philosophy.

Conceptual Elucidation

Several scholars have defined leadership in different ways but leadership from a general perspective refers to an individual who provides direction, implement plans, and motivate people. There are also several leadership

styles that can be exhibited by leaders in the political, business or other fields; hence, leadership style includes the total pattern of explicit and implicit actions performed by the leader (Newstorm, 1993). It will be recalled that the first major study of leadership styles was performed in 1939 by Kurt Lewin who led a group of researchers to identify different styles of leadership (Lewin, et al 1939). This early study has remained quite influential as it established the following three major leadership styles:

- a. Authoritarian or Autocratic Leadership Style: according to the research, the authoritarian or autocratic leader tells his or her employees what to do and how to do it, without getting their advice.
- b. Participative or Democratic Leadership Style: in this case, include one or more employees in the decision making process but the leader normally maintains the final decision making authority.
- c. Delegated or Laissez-fair Leadership Style: the leader in this case allows the employees to make the decisions; however, the leader is still responsible for the decisions that are made.

Lippitt & White (1939) argue further that good leaders use all the three styles with one of them normally dominant. He added that bad leaders tend to stick with one style, normally the autocratic style of leadership, like the case in most African states.

In their contribution to the subject-matter, Tennenbaun & Schmidt (1973) expand on Lewin & White's three leadership styles by extending them to seven styles and placing them on a continuum indicating that as you go from left to right, it moves from manager-oriented decision making to team or subordinate-oriented decision making. Thus, the team's freedom increases while the managers' authority decreases. On their part, Howell and Costly (2001) maintain that there are seven behaviour patterns or styles of leaders and that such behaviour pattern of leaders often produces negative or positive actions. They added that positive and progressive minded leaders will use rewards such as education, independence etc. to motivate and command respect while negative or autocratic leaders will emphasize on penalties and sanctions (Newstorm, Davis, 1993). With specific reference to Nigeria and Africa, Achebe (1984) identifies leadership as the major problem facing Nigeria and indeed Africa. According to him, the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. While commenting on the concept democracy and democratic leadership, Akinyanju (2000) maintains

that since democracy emphasizes majority input, it is much deeper and it can be appreciated by its salient features which include:

1. Acknowledgement of the equality of men provision and respect for individual freedoms and rights (freedom of speech, association, right to life, property etc.);
2. Sovereignty of the people: the state and law must receive the consent of the people validating at regular intervals (regular elections);
3. Accountability to the people by government; and
4. Rule of law and equality before the law (existence of independent judiciary and impartial administration of justice).

Akinyanju (2000) therefore posits that genuine democracy implies equal material capacity to reach and mobilize the people. He contend that political democracy cannot be achieved without economic democracy and that democratization results as a reaction to monocratic authoritarian, personal regimes, and the perceived gains of democracy. He gives the following as the general features of monocratic centralized regimes: political exclusion and denials: resource concentration at the center, concentration of constitutional and extra-constitutional powers in the hands of a few persons or a person with the courts and other institutions of the state emasculated or rendered dependent on the power centre. In his words:

Monocratic regimes like we have run in Nigeria for the better part of the existence of country have produced disastrous effects; gross deprivation, pervasive corruption, economic decline, political violence and infrastructural decay. When it is then perceived that democratization fosters development and provides the basis for negotiations and bargaining in the polity, societies struggle to democratize. Democratization is very rarely voluntarily allowed. It is achieved as a result of pressure. The pressure could be internal or external but usually a combination of both. In Nigeria, the internal pressure to democratize had been against colonial or indigenous authoritarianism (Akinyanju, 2000:p.3).

Gurr (1994) corroborats the above position when he cautions that if the rights of minorities are not respected and their feelings taken into consideration in

the process of policy formulation and implementation, the rate of conflict and insecurity may increase in Africa in the 21st century. He reiterated that for effective consensus building process to translate into good governance and leadership in any political system, there must be territorial constitutional integration as well as minimum consensus. In the same vein, Jega (2007) maintains that for leaders and followers to experience good governance and effective leadership, there must be transparency and accountability by public office holders in discharging their duties. He claims that: "a democratic political culture developed over time creates the basis for sustainable processes of good governance in democratic countries including Nigeria" (Jega, 2007:p.158). In the words of Eskor Toyo, democracy refers to the extent to which actual political power to determine their social destiny belongs to the vast majority of citizens who constitute the people distinct from a ruling oligarchy or class. This definition of democracy is in agreement with Abraham Lincoln's popular definition: government of the people by the people and for the people. Thus, scholars have argued that no democracy can function without the people (citizens). Ola Oni (1999) reaffirms this position by stating that: democracy has been variously defined as a political and economic arrangement of society such that the interest of the majority of people determines the management and direction of society benefiting the majority of the people. Why democracy is yet to benefit the majority of citizens in Africa remains a paradox which this paper attempts to address. However, while appraising the impact of democratic leadership on development and good governance at any level, Awa (1973) argues that whether it is situational, traditional or charismatic styles of leadership, scholars and researchers are unanimous that good leadership is necessary and crucial for the survival, growth and development of any society.

Selected Case Studies of Leadership Failure in Africa

This aspect of the study examines the character and attitude of political elites in Africa and how their actions and behaviour affected democracy and the democratization process in Africa.

Raila Odinga Odinga–Mwai Kibaki Leadership Conflict in Kenya (2007-2008)

After official release of the 28th December, 2007 presidential election results in Kenya, the opposition leader, Mr. Raila Odinga Odinga, whose Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), the party with the highest number of seats in the parliament, stated in a press statement that the presidential elections in Kenya was rigged in favour of the then incumbent Mr. Mwai Kibaki. The hard line position of the key actors led to post-election violence which left about 1,500 people dead and over 600 people homeless. However, after the intervention by the United Nations through Mr. Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations, parties and their supporters agreed to form a government of national unity with Mwai Kibaki as President and Raila Odinga–Odinga as Prime Minister. This was followed by constitutional amendments and power sharing between the two groups. Post-election violence has remained a major challenge in Kenya due to the self-centered nature of the political class.

Tsvangirai – Mugabe Leadership Crisis in Zimbabwe 2007–2009

It will be recalled that after the presidential elections of 29th March, 2008, the Zimbabwe electoral commission refused to release the election results, arguing that it cannot release the results until it investigates anomalies which required a patient recount. The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by Morgan Tsvangirai also maintained that its leader and presidential candidate won the election and that the delay in releasing the result was to give the government time to rig and manipulate the results. In the same vein, Robert Mugabe and the Zanu – PF government through its spokesman and the then Justice Minister, Patrick Chinamasa, insisted that former President Robert Mugabe won the election and further alleged that the MDC and its leader was working with Britain to bring about regime change. The situation degenerated into an open instability which resulted in the death of over six thousand persons and several others rendered homeless. In a separate move, the international community through the G8 group of major industrialized countries also joined calls for the official results of the election to be published. Foreign ministers from G8 countries also issued statements urging a speedy, credible and genuinely democratic resolution of the crisis in Zimbabwe. After series of negotiations between the parties brokered by the United Nations, both forces agreed to form a national

coalition government with Robert Mugabe as President and Morgan Tsvangirai as Prime Minister. Both conflicts revealed that key actors had majority support from their ethnic base even when their political parties were regarded as opposition parties, hence, they narrowed the conflict to their native tribes through the use of ethnic militias. For instance, the election results in Kenya, pitched former President Mwai Kibaki from Kenya's largest tribe, Kikuyu, against opposition leader, Raila Odinga-Odinga, of the Luo tribe. This assertion was confirmed when Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations and UN's envoy to Kenya stated thus, "If recent events are anything to go by, than one cannot fault the agreement of some analysts who posit that the 28th December 2007 presidential elections in the East African country of Kenya has exposed it as a country where tribal bonds remain stronger than national identity" (The Pulse Weekly Magazine of April/May 2008).

Quattara-Gbagbo Leadership Crisis in Cote d' Ivoire 2010-2011

Available records indicate that the above leadership crisis started when the Cote d' Ivoire Electoral Commission declared Mr. Alassane Quattara, who is from the Northern part of Cote d' Ivoire as the winner of the 28th November 2010 presidential runoff election. On the other hand, the constitutional council charged with the responsibility of certifying the election results also declared the former incumbent President, Mr. Laurent Gbagbo, from the South, as winner of the same election. Thus, the declaration of multiple election results by two institutions in the country set the stage for the political crisis that rocked Cote d' Ivoire in 2010. In a newspaper report captioned "Gbagbo Must quit, Quattara Tells Mbeki", published in the *Daily Sun Newspaper* of Monday 6th December, 2010, Alassane Quattara urged the international community through African Union's (AUs) envoy to Cote d' Ivoire and former South African President, Thabo Mbeki, to prevail on the then incumbent President, Laurent Gbagbo to quit power immediately. In a related development, Choiyoung-Jin the then United Nations representative in Cote d' Ivoire on behalf of the United Nations Secretary General upheld the election results declared by the electoral commission and consequently urged Mr. Laurent Gbagbo to step down and hand over power to Quattara unconditionally. While referring to the election results, the UN envoy added that Alassane Quattara scored 54.1% of the total votes while Laurent Gbagbo scored 45.9%. In the same vein, the Economic

Community of West African States (ECOWAS) also expressed its displeasure over the conduct of the major actors in the Cote d' Ivoire leadership crisis and hence, relying on article 45 of the provisions and principles of its Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, suspended Cote d' Ivoire from the activities of the Commission. Available records and events revealed that the crisis degenerated and left at least 3,000 people killed and more than 150 women raped (Human Rights Watch, 2018). Further attempts by the former incumbent president to forcefully remain in power led to increased tension and violence which led to his arrest by the UN forces and subsequent trial at the International Criminal Court (ICC) which found him guilty of genocide in Cote d' Ivoire. Other leaders whose actions influenced the democratization process in Africa include:

Hosni Mubarak of Egypt

He became President of Egypt on the 14th October 1981 and emerged the fourth president of Egypt after the assassination of President Anwar-EL Sadat. He was born on the 4th of May, 1928, in Kafr-El-Meselha, Monnfia Governorate, Egypt where he joined the Egyptian military academy and rose to the rank of Chief of Staff for the Egyptian Air Force between 1972 and 1975. The 30 years old reign of Hosni Mubarak witnessed series of constitutional amendments which transferred political power and sovereignty from the people to the president and his family. Not satisfied with the sit-tight syndrome in the country, Egyptians from all walks of life gathered at the famous Tahrir Square in Cairo and called for Hosni Mubarak to step down or face unpleasant circumstances. Confrontations between anti-Mubarak protesters and supporters of the government left 836 persons injured, mostly as a result of stone-throwing and attacks with metal rods and sticks including petrol bombs. Rather than yield to local and international pressures, Mubarak who had previously sacked his cabinet, quickly named a new cabinet and appointed a Vice President for the first time in thirty years. This subterfuge did not go down well with Egyptian opposition leader, Mohammed El Elbaradei and the Muslim Brotherhood who rejected his proposals and called for his removal. However, the determination and resilience on the part of the Egyptian people coupled with sustained international pressure prompted Hosni Mubarak to bow out of office when he resigned and stepped aside as president on the 12th of February, 2011 after his 30-year's reign.

Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria

Born on the 2nd of March 1937, in Morocco. He was elected president in 1999 with 7 percent majority vote. His foray into politics began at the age of 19 when he joined Front de Liberation National (FLN) and rose through the ranks to become the Administrative Secretary of Houari Boume dienne. His day of glory came in 1999 when General Liamine Zeroual, who was picked to succeed Boudiaf, unexpectedly resigned and called for early elections. Boute Flika contested as an independent candidate and with the support of the Algerian military, he was declared winner of the election which was boycotted by other candidates on allegations of fraud and irregularities. By 2006, he started scheming for tenure extension despite the two-term tenure limit fixed by the constitution. Surprisingly on the 3rd November, 2008, the Council of Ministers announced the constitutional amendment would expunge Article 74, which fixed term limit for the president, and nine days later the People's National Assembly approved the proposal, thus, clearing the way for Boute Flika who on February 12th 2009 announced his decision to run for third term as an independent candidate. By 10th April 2009, he was announced winner of the election which was boycotted by the opposition due to wide spread irregularities.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, former president of Angola, was born in Luanda on the 28th of August, 1942. He started his political life as a freedom fighter in Luanda, the nation's capital, when Angola was considered a Portuguese territory. At the age of 14, he was bringing together clandestine groups in his neighbourhood to join the newly formed People's Movement of the Liberation of Angola-Labour Party (MPLA). He was on self-exile in Congo Brazzaville in 1961 when he became an official member of the MPLA. He later moved to the Soviet Union, where he earned a degree in Engineering from the Azerbaijan Oil and Chemistry Institute in Baku, Azerbaijan. On his return to Angola in 1970, he joined the MPLA's guerrilla forces and rose through the ranks to become an elected member of the Central Committee and Poliburo of the MPLA in 1974. After the death of Angola's first President, Agostinho Neto, in September 1979, Dos Santos emerged as the elected leader of the MPLA and Commander in Chief of the nation's armed forces. Available records indicate that human right abuses and lack of democratic ethos was a common feature of his administration. Although

Dos Santos announced in 2001 that he would not take part in the next presidential election, he reneged on this promise and in 2003, he was re-elected Head of the MPLA. After consolidating power, he introduced cajolery and subterfuge in the political process hence, rather than renew his mandate at the polls; Dos Santos caused his party to amend Angola's constitution such that the leader of the party with majority seats in the legislature automatically becomes the president. This and other unpopular actions no doubt threatened peace and stability in Angola throughout the reign of Jose Edward Dos Santos.

Blaise Campaore of Burkina Faso

Blaise Campaore treaded a familiar African path on his way to the presidency of Burkina Faso. Born on the 3rd of February 1951, he started life as a soldier and in 1983 led a crop of young military officers to oust Major Jean Baptiste Ouedraogo. The coup master minds named Thomas San Kara as President and by 15th October, 1987, Campaore staged another coup in which Sankara was killed under controversial circumstances, ostensibly for not keeping faith with the articles of the Burkinabe Revolution, the mantra of the coupists on assumption of office as president. Campaore ordered the arrest of captain Henri Zongo and Major Jean Baptiste Boukaary Lingani, two of the remaining officers with whom he plotted the 1983 coup. After summary trial, the duo were executed for allegedly plotting to upstage the government. He further engaged in parliamentary and constitutional amendments and manipulations to pave way for his transition from military to civil leadership when he founded the Congress for Democracy and Progress (CDP) on whose platform he was elected President in 1991. Several opposition parties and the electorates boy-cotted the election as only 25 percent of the electorates turned out for the election in protest against Blaise Campaore's presidency. Against the will of the people, he was declared winner in 1998 and given another seven year term but attempts to seek third term in 2005 was resisted by the people who argued that doing so would breach the new constitution that was only amended in 2000. While the disagreement was on, the Constitutional Council surprisingly ruled in favour of the then incumbent. Thus, on the 20th of December, 2005, Blaise Campaore began another term in office after forceful amendment of the constitution. The conflict in Burkina Faso got to its peak when Blaise Campaore attempted to amend the constitution in order to extend his tenure.

This was resisted by the people who staged rallies and demonstrations across the country, so, Blaise Compaore left the country on October 31st 2014 after being ousted in a revolt sparked by his attempt to extend his 27 years hold on power (Wikipedia, 2018). However, the intervention of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Constitutional Court in Burkina Faso peace and stability was restored in the country (Burkina Faso).

Paul Biya of Cameroon

Paul Barthélemy Biya' abi Mvondo, has been President of Cameroon since 6th November, 1982. Born in the Southern region of French Cameroon on the 13th of February, 1933, Paul Biya owed his political fortunes to Cameroon's first President, Ahmadou Ahidjo, who adopted him as a political godson and gave him key appointments in the government. It made him rise through the ranks and became a top member of the government and the ruling party. He was elevated to a ministerial status in 1968 and upon the creation of a unitary state in 1972 he became Prime Minister of Cameroon on the 30th of June, 1975. All forms of elections and constitutional reforms were banned while he remains the president of Cameroon till date (2018).

Yahya Jammeh of Gambia

Yahya Jammeh ruled Gambia first as a military officer and later carried out constitutional amendments that allowed him to contest elections in the country. He later became a civilian president and ruled Gambia for about twenty three years. In a well supervised election in 2016, Yahya Jammeh lost to Mr. Adama Barrow who was the leading opposition candidate in the election. The election result was upheld by the Gambia Electoral Commission and international observers. Surprisingly, Yahya Jammeh rejected the results and refused to hand over power to the president elect. The intervention of the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and other international organizations, Yahya Jammeh had no choice than to hand over power to Adama Barrow who was sworn-in as president of Gambia at the Gambian embassy in Dakar, Senegal on the 19th January, 2017. After the exit of Yahya Jammeh due to international pressure, Mr. Adama Barrow was sworn-in again on the 18th of February 2017, this time in Banjul, capital of Gambia. The above analysis clearly shows that over ambition and sit-tight leadership is a common

feature of African politics. This has no doubt slowed down the pace of development and economic growth in the continent (Africa).

Leadership and the Challenges of Democracy and the Democratization Process in Nigeria

Political instability and sit-tight leadership that characterized most African states in the post-independence era also played out in Nigeria. This section of the study examines leadership and the challenges of democracy and the democratization process in Nigeria. Prior to the enthronement of democracy on the 29th May, 1999, Nigeria witnessed several political and economic crisis which threatened peace and security in the country. A major crisis that threatened peace and national security in Nigeria was the events that preceded the 1993 presidential election in the country. The election witnessed the registration of two major political parties namely, the National Republican Convention (NRC) with Alhaji Bachir Tofa as its presidential candidate and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) with the late Aare Onakankanfo of Yoruba land, Chief M.K.O Abiola as the party's presidential candidate. Ironically, the election that was adjudged the freest and fairest in the annals of Nigeria's history was annulled by the military under General Ibrahim Babangida on grounds of what he called national interest and security. While reacting to the annulment, Professor Wole Soyinka challenged the legality of the annulment on the ground that the former Head of State had no power to interfere with the electoral process since relevant decrees and laws already give the National Electoral Commission (NEC) the powers to oversee the elections. This period witnessed the most trying moment for Nigeria as a nation. The period, between 1985 and 1995 also witnessed the deaths of Chief MKO Abiola and Sani Abacha, the major political actors in the country, and Ken Sarowiwa, the Ogoni human rights activist.

It will be recalled that the political transition time table in the country was manipulated and adjusted several times before the eventual annulment of the elections by the federal government under Ibrahim Babangida in 1993, hence, prompting the imposition of sanctions and suspension of Nigeria from major international organizations like the Commonwealth of Nations. However, the enthronement of democracy on May, 1999 and the swearing-in of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as President brought sanity, economic and

political stability to the system as reflected in the huge debt cancellation, re-admission of Nigeria into the Commonwealth of Nations and other international organizations, economic reforms coupled with several instances of international financial assistance which Nigeria enjoyed from 1999 to 2007. While commenting on Nigeria's foreign policy actions from 1999 to 2007, Jibrin (2004) states categorically that the nexus and connection between domestic and foreign policy explained why the Olusegun Obasanjo-led administration embarked on domestic restructuring and reforms which led to the establishment of anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) before pursuing an aggressive foreign policy which yielded positive results. He therefore argued that personal leadership qualities of leaders play a major role in the policy formulation and implementation process of any nation hence. He reiterates that when Obasanjo assumed office as Nigeria's president in 1999, he exhibited a sound element of charismatic leadership that held the nation together. In his words:

President Obasanjo is bold, fearless, courageous, principled, and steadfast. His performance should be assessed from the battle against human right abuses, fight against corruption, wide ranging reform policies towards economic recovery, peaceful transition from civil to civil rule, creation of a peaceful and cordial atmosphere of relationship with other countries, culminating into the hosting of major events and meetings such as the COJA games and the commonwealth games (CHOGM) among others. (Jibrin, 2004: p.7 and 143).

While outlining the contributions of the Olusegun Obasanjo-led administration to democracy and the democratization process in Nigeria, Jibrin (2004) reiterates that the Olusegun Obasanjo-led administration in 1999 appreciated early enough that to attract foreign investors, reschedule or cancel Nigeria's debt, stabilize the currency, attract foreign assistance, compete in the global market, accept and effectively exercise Nigeria's sovereignty and regain its prestige, position and status all over the world, popularly contribute to global and regional peace and security and improve Nigeria's image among others, can never be achieved by simply sitting back at home in a world that is fast becoming a global village. The role of political

actors especially that of the president in foreign policy formulation and implementation was also highlighted by Okoro (2002) who insists that the President's dominant position in policy issues and foreign policy in particular stems from the constitution as well as from real world necessities, formidable powers that make him commander-in-chief of the armed forces authorize him to negotiate treaties, and appoint and receive ambassadors. In the case of Nigeria, he adds that the Nigerian Supreme Court recognized these powers, and hence, it placed the president above other foreign policy actors and that in respect of foreign affairs, the president assumes responsibility for major foreign policy actions and decisions (James Okoro, 2002:p.66). While analyzing the techniques and strategies adopted by Nigeria from 1999 to 2007, James Okoro maintained that former president Olusegun Obasanjo entered the presidency with rather clear-cut ideas of how he wanted to run the foreign affairs of Nigeria. In his words: His administration differs sharply from his predecessors as far as foreign policy issues are concerned. The difference is discernible from their personal experiences, preferences, orientations, perception threshold and interpersonal relations (James Okoro, 2002: p.57).

He goes further to summarize Nigeria's foreign policy actions and goals from 1999–2007 to include:

- a. Re-integrating Nigeria into the world;
- b. Management of Nigeria's external debts;
- c. Renaissance Africa; and
- d. The recovery of looted funds.

On whether the above policy framework yielded fruits or not, Jibrin (2004) argues that in all Olusegun Obasanjo's diplomatic shuttles, his mission and interest were basically economic, political, peace, security, and socio-cultural. In his words:

Nigeria's foreign policy worked effectively during the period Obasanjo laid emphasis on personal contact with political leaders, business leaders, Nigerians residing in such countries, the press and any other as situation may demand. Thus, this leader to leader approach further gave direction to Nigeria's foreign policy actions within the period. The lifting of the suspension placed on Nigeria by the commonwealth, the recovery of looted funds, and the

reintegration of Nigeria into the comity of nations in the international. System and the signing of several bilateral and multilateral trade agreements which increased the volume of trade and foreign direct investment inflow are clear indicators to show that Nigeria's foreign policy actions from 1999 - 2007 witnessed tremendous success (Jibrin, 2004: p.7 - 143).

The above position affirms the fact that success in leadership to a large extent depends on the personal qualities and ability of the leader in authority. It is pertinent to add that the Olusegun Obasanjo-led administration was able to stabilize the democratization process by handing over power to the Umaru Musa Yar'Adua and Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan-led administration in 2007. The above analysis clearly revealed that strong political institutions, visionary leadership coupled with the practice of democratic values and principles greatly enhanced the policy formulation and implementation process in Nigeria from 1999-2007. The Yar'Adua-Jonathan administration further consolidated on the gains recorded by previous administrations with improvements in education, power, water resources, health etc.

The struggle to consolidate democracy in Nigeria continued with the elevation of Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan from vice president to president after the demise of Umaru Musa Yar'Adua in 2010. In his bid to live up to the expectations of Nigerians for a credible electoral umpire, Jonathan announced Attahiru Mohammed Jega, a renowned professor of political science, as the new INEC chairman. By May 2011, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan won the presidential elections and took the oath of office as President and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

New Trends in Political Leadership and Decision Making in Nigeria

The tenure of Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan as President of Nigeria witnessed a major paradigm shift from the usual sit-tight system to a more liberal and pragmatic leadership. In 2011, Jonathan launched the gas revolution to develop companies that will work on oil and gas derivatives in order to make gas available for both domestic and industrial use as well as for power generation across the country. After winning the 2011 presidential elections, the Jonathan-led administration returned the country back to the

path of honour by carrying out people oriented policies and programmes as reflected in the table below:

Table 1:
Major policy actions of the Jonathan administration

S/N	Policy Action	Expected Outcome
1	Establishment of a national conference	Encouraged popular participation by giving Nigerians from all walks of life the opportunity to come together and chart a new course for the nation.
2	Introduction of the Almajiri education programme in the North-East.	A strategic long term plan aimed at curbing child abuse and insurgency in the North by deflating the ego of the ruling northern elites.
3	Restructuring of INEC	Prior to the 2011 elections, the federal government appointed prof. Attahiru Mohammed Jega, as INEC chairman, which restored credibility in the electoral process and elections in Nigeria.
4	Judicial and executive reforms	The National Judicial Service Commission (NJC) was repositioned through the suspension of some erring judges and justices. In the same vein, the executive arm of government was repositioned through the appointment of new board chairmen and executive secretaries to head government boards and agencies such as the EFCC, ICPC etc.
5	Signing of the Freedom of Information Bill (FOI) Act of 2011.	Increased public participation, accountability and trust in the governance process and in public affairs in general.
6	Signing of the local content Act 2010.	Increased indigenous participation in economic activities, particularly in the oil and gas sector.
7	Moderation in the use of political power and authority.	The period 2010 –2015 witnessed high degree and respect for the fundamental human rights and liberty of citizens by the state and the President. It will be recalled that despite criticisms and opposition to government policies and programmes, nobody was intimidated, arrested or detained unlawfully.

8	Demystification of power and putting an end to sit-tight leadership in Nigeria and Africa.	Despite demands by members of the ruling People's Democratic Party on the then President to retain power by all means, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan conceded defeat and congratulated Muhammadu Buhari before the election results were officially announced.
---	--	--

Source: Kalama Fieldwork, 2018.

While placing national interest above his personal interest and political ambition Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan stated categorically clear that the stability and peace of Nigeria was paramount to him. According to him:

The essence of my campaign is to promote democracy and social justice which encompasses love, peace and togetherness. I did not preach hate... the security agents attached to me would have been justified if they had used deadly force, but I restraint them. Perhaps that is what those who instigated the attack wanted... I encouraged my supporters not to dwell on the issue. When I accepted the PDP nomination for the re-election, I had charged myself and my supporters to campaign in peace, with hope in our hearts, on the facts and truths, on issues and ideas, on our records of performance, not violence; ours was a campaign of ideas... (Jonathan, 2018: p.58-59).

In his analysis of the role of the election management body (INEC) in the 2015 elections Jonathan stated unequivocally that the leadership of INEC was yet to tell Nigerian electorates the whole truth. In his words:

It was clear that something was wrong somewhere. Tension was brewing in the country because the card readers were malfunctioning... I had every reason to contest the election results, starting from the educational qualification for election and electoral malpractices. These were the facts in my hands, but there was also the question of worth. Was it worth it? I reflected on some details... I thought deeply about the hand it had pleased God to deal me. My rise to the pinnacle of power in a country of 180 million people (as at 2010), most of who would give anything to be where I have

been, was already cause for eternal gratitude... (Jonathan, 2018.p.70-71).

Even when the actions of INEC affected his personal rights, interests and liberty, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan refused to allow his personal emotions and sentiments to influence the national interest of the entity called Nigeria. My hope is that African leaders must embrace the concept of democracy that delivers purposeful leadership that improves the lives of the people and envisions a secured future for their nations. The action and conversation below was a major step taken by Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan which averted violence and instability in 2015:

I reached for the telephone and placed a call through the State House Operators at about 4:45pm. A peace I had never felt since my political sojourn, descended on me. It showed me where I had been in the past sixteen years and where I was then. I smiled at the thought of what I was about to do. I waited calmly for the person at the other end of my call to answer:

Buhari: "Hellow Your Excellency"

Jonathan: "Your Excellency, how are you?"

Buhari: "I am alright Your Excellency"

Jonathan: "Congratulations"

Buhari: "Thank you very much Your Excellency..."

... after my conversation with Mohammadu Buhari, which lifted my spirit greatly, I felt better and lighter, it was time to break the news to my Ministers and aids. I wondered back into the living room. These are people I came to know over a period of time. I anticipated what their responses would be... I hung up the phone confident that my decision was right for Nigeria and would probably have a great impact on Africa. This may well be the beginning of a new perspective to power; a perspective which places national interest above personal preferences. It should not always be about winning... (Jonathan, 2018:p.77).

In the same vein, while trying to compare the contributions of leaders to democracy and the democratization process in Nigeria, Nwankwo (2017)

describes the period 2010–2015 as the golden age of Nigeria's democracy. According to him, the freedom and liberty Nigerians enjoyed within the period 2010–2015 cannot be compared to any other administration in Nigeria. In his words:

Jonathan is a man of apparent honesty, an astute and dependable politician cum public servant of high repute, a thought-provoking teacher of impeccable value, technocrat and peace lover/maker, and Jonathan remains very popular not just in Ogbia, Bayelsa state of Nigeria but across Africa and the world at large as the man who has re-written the history of Nigeria's democracy and shown the example of a statesman whom all leaders in Africa should copy. He is indeed a made-in-Nigeria world first class product. He will for-ever abide in the consciousness as a builder of national bridges of unity and one prosperous Nigeria (Nwankwo, 2017:p.8).

Sounding like a prophet who saw the future, Jonathan himself cautioned Nigerians to vote wisely during the 2015 presidential election with these words:

The choice before Nigerians in the coming election is simple: a choice between going forward or going backward; between new ways and the old ways; between freedom and repression; between a record of visible achievements and beneficial reforms and desperate power seekers with empty promises... I have never been driven by the love of power rather I am where I am today by the power of love (Nwankwo, 2017:p.35).

Post-2015 political events in Nigeria which later witnessed mass arrests and persecution of political opponents, especially members of the opposition including principal officers of the National Assembly proved that indeed Dr. Jonathan's pre-2015 vision and warning was taken for granted. Available records indicate that from August 2015 to July 2018, over 15 opposition leaders including Col. Sambo Dasuki Rtd, former National Security Adviser to Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (former President of Nigeria) were arrested and detained. The situation degenerated when a serving senator from Kogi

state and Ayodele Fayose former governor of Ekiti state were physically assaulted by officers of the Nigerian police and the department of state services (DSS). A critical analysis of pre-2015 political events in Nigeria clearly revealed that the policy actions and decisions taken by Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan before and after the 2015 presidential elections averted what could have been a major national disaster and threat to peace and security in Nigeria by calling his supporters and followers to order. According to Nwankwo (2017), Jonathan literally turned a paradox into a platitude. He made that which seems contrary to reason and even almost impossible. He restrained his supporters, stunned and sobered his everjoy opponents. He made good his earliest statement that his ambition was not worth the blood of any Nigerian. While expressing the need for all Nigerians to sacrifice and consolidate democracy in Nigerian he (Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan) maintained that in all elections under his leadership the votes of every Nigerian must count. He argued further that where there is no opportunity for one man one vote, there will be no accountability and no responsibility. In his words:

Democracy is a journey that every nation mindful of advancing the liberty of her citizens must undertake. Nobody's political ambition is worth the blood of any Nigerian. Our votes must count, one man, one vote, one woman, one vote, one youth vote, nobody should rig for me. I assure all Nigerians that though I am contesting, no body must manipulate votes in my favour. Our votes must count. I will congratulate the candidates of the other political parties for I regard them not as opponents but as partners. We must develop a democratic culture in which the will of the people will be treated as sacred and be immune to subversions and anti-democratic elements (Nwankwo, 2017:p.17).

However, the contributions of Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to democracy and the democratization process in Nigeria can be summarized in the opinion expressed by Labaran Maku, former Hon. Minister for Information and Orientation, who described Jonathan as a patient and humble man who sacrificed his personal ambition, life, and family for the growth and consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. He said,

Dr. Jonathan has a special gift of humility that he may have inherited from his upbringing. He is a genuine intellectual and a quiet person whose quietness is sometimes mistaken for weakness. He is not a weak person. He can tolerate a lot and that is a particular strength that enabled him to demystify power. He does not exhibit airs in spite of his elevation and he remains focused on the task of building a better nation through institutions rather than by showing off his personal power. Presidential power in Africa is very deceptive because it gives the individual the illusion of being able to order anything to be done, but for it to work for good of the people the individual must be aware that all earthly power is temporary. Dr. Jonathan is one person who shows a profound understanding of the temporal nature of power, so he is more inclined to building and empowering institutions. This is exactly what Nigeria needs now and as God has helped him to maintain his modest and tolerant character, so has He helped Nigeria by putting such a person in the position to lead the nation today. The only previous leaders in Nigeria who showed such simple modesty were Shagari and to some extent Gowon under the military, but Dr. Jonathan is very different from either of them because he is much more focused on the task of demystifying power and building institutions that will sustain the people's expectations even after he is gone. An important element of Dr. Jonathan's administrative style and responsibility is revealed by some of his appointments. Ever since he appointed me and outlined the things he wanted done by the ministry, he has not interfered with our work in any way and has never tried to influence our decisions to favour anyone. Our nation will certainly benefit greatly from Dr. Jonathan's style of leadership, which is hinged on statesmanship, nationalism and patriotism (Alagoa, 2010:p.197-198).

Apart from being a democrat to the core, the pictures below further reveal that Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan is also a good dancer and a disciplined family man which affirms the fact that democrats all over the world are men and women of many parts.

Figure 1:

Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan having a dance with his lovely wife



Source: Adapted from Forward, a publication of One Nigeria Coalition 2012:p.110.

Figure 2:
Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan with his family



Source: Adapted from *Forward*, a publication of One Nigeria Coalition 2012:p.119.

Conclusion

The study examined leadership, the challenges of democracy and the democratization process in Nigeria and Africa. In the course of the study, the researcher interrogated the nature, quality and leadership styles in Africa and observed that the leadership recruitment process greatly influenced democracy and the democratization process in Africa including the level of growth and development of the continent and its teeming population. In most African countries, the character and actions of leaders especially, the ruling elites have threatened the democratic process and promoted military rule, dictatorship and authoritarian tendencies which slowed down the pace of development and civil democratic leadership in such countries. In the same vein, new trends in leadership and decision making emerged in some African countries between 1990 and 2015. The study further observed that in some African countries such as Zimbabwe, Gambia, Burkina Faso etc. the citizens rejected sit-tight leadership and with the help of the African Union (AU) and other groups and organizations, the peoples' will prevailed while in South Africa under Nelson Mandela and Nigeria under Dr. Goodluck

Ebele Jonathan, leaders voluntarily relinquished power for the overall interest and good of their people and nation hence, proving that power can be demystified and absolute power cannot corrupt some leaders absolutely as it is widely believed. In the light of the above analysis, there is every need to consolidate on the gains recorded through commitment and resilience on the part of leaders and citizens in Africa. To address the leadership question and also surmount the challenges of democracy and the democratization process in Nigeria and Africa emerging leaders and members of the political class must lay down their personal interest for the collective interest of their people and nation. Above all, we must never be despaired but for those who still believe in the old ways these words from Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan should be a food for thought: In my early days in school, I had no shoes, no school bags. I carried my books in my hands but never despaired: no car to take me to school but I never despaired. There were days I had only one meal but I never despaired. I walk miles and crossed rivers to school every day but I never despaired. Didn't have generators, studied with lanterns but I never despaired. In spite of these, I finished secondary school, attended the University of Port-Harcourt, and now hold a doctorate degree (Jonathan 2010, cited in Isoken Omo, 2011:p.96).

Recommendations

The following recommendations will no doubt help to address the leadership challenges confronting Africa in the process of consolidating democracy, economic growth and development:

1. There is need for a review of the leadership recruitment process in most African states to ensure that persons who emerged through military and unconventional processes are compelled to embrace democracy and constitutional means approved by their people.
2. African states must develop indigenous leadership styles and development frameworks to avoid imperialism and interferences in the internal affairs of African states.
3. Erring leaders who have over stayed in power through military force or coercion should be sanctioned and removed from office without further delay to serve as a deterrent to others.
4. Leaders in power without the mandate of their people should be banned from participating in international organizations and meetings such as the United Nations, African Union, ECOWAS etc.

5. International grants and other forms of assistance should be extended to countries and leaders who adhere to democratic principles and ideals to serve as encouragement and motivation. Leaders of such countries should also be given international recognition and immunity as global citizens.

References

- Achebe, C. (1984). *The trouble with Nigeria*. London: Macmillan publishers.
- Adam, Roberts et al. (1993). *United Nations, divided world: The UN'S roles in international relations* New York: Oxford University press.
- Akiyemi, B. (2016). *Ode to joy: Tribute to Sankara*, in The Nation Newspaper of Wednesday, 19th October, Lagos.
- Anti-Mubarak protesters hit back in The Punch Newspaper vol. 17, No. 20, 812, 4th February, 2011.
- Ayandele, E.A. et al. (1971). *The growth of African civilization: The making of modern Africa*. London: Longman Group Ltd.
- ECOWAS Leaders recognize Quattara as Ivoirien president" in The Punch Newspaper vol. 17, No. 20756, 8 December, 2010.
- "Gbagbo Must Quit, Quattara Tells Mbeki", in the Daily Sun Newspaper vol. 6, No. 1938, 6 December, 2010.
- Hayford, L. (2016). *Jonathan: A colossus at 49* in The Source Magazine of 11 December, Lagos.
- Human Rights Watch (2018). Cote d'Ivoire: No amnesty for serious crimes of 2010 – 2011 crisis: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/08/07/cote-divoire-no-amnesty-serious-crimes-2010-11-crisis> Accessed 20/11/2018.
- Jonathan, E.G. (2018). *My transition hours*. Kingwood, USA: Ezekiel Books.
- Jonathan, G.E. (2015). *Jonathan's next four years: my vision for a Nigeria that works for all*, in The Guardian Newspaper of 25 March.
- Lessons from Cote d' Ivoire in the Sunday Punch Newspaper vol. 17, No. 19616 12 December, 2010.
- Nkrumah, K. (1965). *Neo-colonialism: the last state of imperialism* London: Panaf books.
- Nwankwo, P. (2017). *Goodluck Ebele Jonathan: The making of a statesman*. Garki 2, Abuja: Spot life Images Ltd.
- Omotor, D.G. et al. (2006). *Readings in conflict management and peace building in Africa*. Abraka: Delta State University press.

- Patrick, F.W. (2006). *In search of nationhood: The theory and practice of nationalism in Africa* Zaria: Asekome & Co. publishers.
- Sesay, A. (2003). *Civil wars, child soldiers and post-conflict peace building in West Africa*. Ibadan: College press & publishers.
- The ABC of FOI Bill, in The Nation Newspaper of Thursday 2 June, 2011.
- UN asked Jonathan to intervene in Cote d' Ivoire crisis, in The Punch Newspaper vol. 17, No. 20755 7 December, 2010.
- UN calls for immediate transition in The Punch Newspaper vol. 17, No. 20, 813, 4 February 2011.
- Uprising continues as protesters remain defiant in The Punch Newspaper vol. 17, No. 20, 813. 7 February, 2011.

INDEX

A

- Aba, 250
 Abacha, 9, 54, 58-60, 62, 98, 132-134, 150, 175, 180, 184, 219, 239, 262
 Abakaliki, 38, 151
 abandoned, 202
 Abaribe, 41
 Abati, 143, 146, 150
 Abba, 69, 223
 abduction, 138
 abductors, 176
 Abdulahi, 202
 Abdulateef, 80
 Abdulkadir, 175
 Abdullah, 86, 90
 Abdullahi, 96-97, 104
 Abdullateef, 90
 Abdulmumin, 201
 Abdulsalami, 58-59, 132, 150
 Abdulsalmi, 175
 Abia, 116, 118, 160
 Abide, 54
 Ability, 19-20
 Abiola, 9, 58, 98, 132, 262
 abnormalities, 85
 abode, 140
 Aboki, 105
 Abraham, 18, 95, 235, 255
 Abraka, 1, 233, 275
 abreast, 213
 absurd, 72
 Abubakar, 58-59, 61, 132, 150, 158, 160-161, 166, 169, 175
 Abuja, 34, 38, 53-55, 60-61, 72, 127-128, 136, 143, 145, 147, 157, 159, 166-167, 176, 189, 203, 219, 224, 275
 abusive, 223
 abysmally, 6, 77
 academy, 232, 258
 Accelerated, 183
 accepting, 69
 Access, 209, 245
 accession, 110
 acclaimed, 9, 99
 Acclaiming, 124
 accolades, 234
 accommodate, 109
 accrued, 130
 accruing, 241
 accusing, 149
 Ace, 111, 127
 acknowledge, 11, 71
 acquired, 61
 acquits, 180
 acquittal, 168
 acts, 21, 190, 218, 227
 actually, 38
 acute, 224
 AD, 60-61
 Adam, 7, 215, 275
 Adamawa, 160, 200
 Adams, 37, 67
 Adamu, 202
 adapt, 140
 Addo, 88
 adduced, 8, 168
 Adebayo, 173, 179, 226, 230
 Adeleke, 223, 230
 Ademola, 166, 201
 Aden, 86, 90
 Adeniran, 54
 Adeniyi, 156, 166, 179
 Adeola, 136, 150, 225
 Adeoye, 54, 180, 231
 Adesina, 233, 243, 247
 adjust, 140

- admirers, 36
 Adolphus, 68
 adopt, 21, 57, 72
 ADP, 183
 advice, 8, 253
 Advocate, 166, 214
 AFENIFERE, 58
 afford, 73
 Agarwal, 4-5
 Agbor, 90
 AGF, 169, 179
 aggrandizement, 2, 163
 aggregate, 208, 213
 Aguiyi, 130
 Ahmed, 29, 150-151, 160
 AIDS, 36, 135, 185
 AIG, 161-162
 Airport, 202
 Ajaokuta, 38, 158
 Akanbi, 157, 159
 Akinyele, 23
 Akinyemi, 275
 Akpan, 82, 90, 182, 204
 albatross, 13
 Albert, 87, 90
 alcoholic, 243
 Aliko, 193
 Allen, 23
 Amaechi, 170
 Amarachi, 123, 127
 amass, 155
 America, 5, 22-23, 104, 130, 136, 142, 200, 222, 237, 243
 American, 146, 235
 amidst, 86
 Aminu, 69
 ammunitions, 130
 Amnesty, 188
 analysts, 58, 60, 166, 257
 Andrew, 169, 198
 Andrews, 70-71, 74
 Angela, 142, 144
 Angeles, 23
 angrily, 139
 Annan, 256-257
 annihilate, 168
 annul, 133
 annulled, 9, 58, 262
 annulment, 9, 58, 108, 133, 262
 ANPP, 158
 antidote, 242
 antithetical, 194, 228
 Apartheid, 131
 apathy, 80, 223
 APC, 15-16, 37, 43, 47, 69, 88, 125, 128, 200, 223, 247-248
 APP, 60, 245
 apparatus, 95, 103, 201, 217
 applauded, 30, 131
 apple, 27
 approval, 112, 169, 197
 Archbishop, 31, 33, 98
 Archers, 23
 Archives, 192
 ardent, 74
 Armies, 105
 Asia, 59-60, 74, 104
 Asian, 21, 154, 189
 Asset, 246
 assuage, 9
 assume, 81
 asylum, 135
 Athenian, 95
 Athens, 25
 Atiku, 9, 61, 160, 175
 attire, 28
 ATTITUDE, 76
 audience, 200
 Austerity, 182
 Australian, 143
 Authority, 35, 135

Autobiography, 55
 autocracy, 4
 Autocratic, 253
 automotive, 192
 autonomous, 32, 88, 212
 Autonomy, 213
 Aviation, 145
 avoidance, 88
 Awa, 255
 Awolowo, 151
 Ayo, 54, 170-171
 Azikiwe, 33-35, 37, 51

B

Babachir, 170-171
 Babangida, 9, 57-58, 131, 133, 150, 183, 224, 239, 262
 Babatunde, 63-64, 74
 Badagry, 179
 Badamosi, 9, 57
 baffling, 171
 Bakare, 221
 Bakassi, 186
 Baking, 202
 Baku, 259
 ballgame, 87
 Balogun, 186
 banned, 30, 261, 274
 bastions, 67
 Bayelsa, 11, 24, 33, 35-36, 39, 45, 56, 62, 76, 92, 103, 106, 129, 153, 159, 161, 181, 205, 219, 230, 251, 269
 Bayero, 175
 Bayo, 160, 163
 BBC, 236, 249
 BBOG, 222, 226
 beam, 129
 bear, 4, 7, 71, 228
 believes, 4, 195

Bello, 55, 137-138, 151, 173, 244
 Benson, 12, 22
 bent, 67
 Benton, 22
 Berkeley, 23
 Berlin, 100, 250
 Beverly, 105
 Biafra, 179, 201
 Board, 39, 64, 136, 145
 boards, 266
 boasting, 193
 Bola, 160
 bound, 212, 229
 boyhood, 26
 boys, 172
 bpd, 39
 BPSR, 10
 brain, 3-4
 brawn, 3
 brazen, 219
 Brazil, 143
 Brazilian, 143
 Brazzaville, 259
 brigandage, 102, 109, 116
 Bright, 159
 Brown, 55
 brutal, 9
 brutality, 86
 brute, 97
 Buba, 158, 160
 Buhari, 15-16, 43, 48, 53, 56-57, 68-75, 88, 102, 127, 131, 148-150, 165-166, 168, 171, 183, 195-199, 201, 203-204, 207, 223-225, 227, 229-231, 235, 247-248, 267-268
 Burke, 6, 8
 Burkina, 52, 99, 260-261, 273
 Buthelezi, 32
 Butts, 93, 105

C

- cabal, 221
- cabinet, 11, 41-42, 221, 241, 245-246, 258
- cacophony, 87, 90
- cadre, 57
- Cairo, 258
- Cambridge, 23, 127, 180
- Cameroon, 81, 99, 125, 186, 261
- Cameroonian, 82, 186
- Canada, 146, 237
- Cancer, 209
- Candidate, 36
- Canoe, 33
- Capacity, 39, 213
- Cape, 26, 45
- cardinal, 106, 226, 248
- Carson, 2, 22
- carter, 125
- castles, 7
- casualty, 100
- catalogue, 218
- catastrophic, 9
- Catholic, 33, 208
- CBN, 163-164, 246
- CCT, 167-168, 180
- CEDAW, 145
- ceded, 87
- Chad, 81-82
- Chafe, 95
- chairmanship, 189
- Chairmen, 41
- chairmen, 266
- chaos, 30
- charity, 138, 209
- Charles, 67, 135
- Chris, 160
- Chuba, 68
- Chukka, 173
- Chukwuebuka, 92, 106
- clamp, 225
- clandestine, 259
- Clarification, 207
- classroom, 12
- Claude, 91
- Clifford, 113
- Cliffs, 90
- Clinton, 143, 221
- clique, 227, 229
- CNN, 192
- coconut, 94
- Code, 10, 20, 161, 167, 186
- cohesion, 47
- cohorts, 53
- coincided, 130
- Collier, 22
- Colonel, 28
- colonialism, 97, 156, 216, 275
- colonies, 16, 208
- combat, 183
- Combating, 154
- Comfort, 161
- comfortable, 33
- comity, 58, 265
- command, 19, 73, 253
- commensurate, 100
- commentator, 13
- Commercial, 35
- Commissioner, 145, 158, 161, 245
- commonly, 223
- Commonwealth, 54, 71, 133-136, 262-263
- Communications, 187
- Communist, 30, 99
- Commutation, 247
- Compact, 10
- Companies, 91
- compete, 15, 96, 263
- competence, 3
- completion, 70, 196

Complex, 128
 comprador, 101
 compromising, 223, 225
 Comptroller, 201
 Conakry, 146-147
 concomitant, 78, 97, 184
 concrete, 110
 condoning, 225
 conducive, 16
 confers, 112
 confessional, 200
 Confirming, 160
 confiscate, 28
 Congo, 81, 83-84, 94, 259
 conjunction, 135
 conservatism, 131
 conspiracy, 13-14, 170
 constant, 3, 53
 constitutions, 5-6, 53, 98
 consume, 185
 Content, 13-14, 39, 47, 118
 Continent, 52
 Contrary, 199
 convey, 102
 Cornelius, 173
 Corridor, 38
 covert, 36, 170
 crazy, 180
 crime, 127, 138, 154
 criminals, 176
 crippled, 148
 Criterion, 180
 critic, 74, 215
 Critics, 223
 critique, 218, 225
 crop, 260
 crux, 58, 184
 Cuba, 136
 cultures, 104, 109
 cum, 269
 curb, 44, 157

curbed, 222
 cycle, 77

D

Daar, 86, 90
 Dakar, 231, 261
 damaged, 133-134
 Dame, 223
 Dan, 175
 Dangote, 193
 Daniella, 165
 Daniels, 29
 Danladi, 167
 Dasuki, 72, 201, 269
 Daura, 225, 231
 Davis, 253
 dawn, 8
 debates, 214
 decent, 139
 deceptive, 42, 271
 deeply, 30, 172, 267
 def, 266
 defiant, 276
 deficiencies, 10, 115, 124, 184
 dehumanization, 98
 delicious, 27
 Demo, 49
 Democracies, 142
 DEMOCRACY, 24, 56, 92, 251
 democratize, 254
 demystified, 43, 156, 178, 274
 Denis, 83
 denote, 236, 238
 depends, 19, 265
 deprivation, 254
 Description, 142
 designed, 8, 56, 129
 despotic, 59
 destruction, 85
 detach, 160

- developments, 30
 deviate, 13, 205
 devoid, 110, 149
 Dewey, 18
 Diaspora, 115, 139, 141, 144-145
 dictated, 99
 differing, 95
 differs, 215, 264
 Dino, 41
 Diouf, 87, 90
 Diplomacy, 150
 disappointment, 164, 224
 disdain, 167
 dishonesty, 8
 dismantling, 162
 Disown, 159
 disposal, 97
 drug, 53
 DSP, 36
 DSS, 166-167, 225, 231, 270
 duo, 11, 260
 durable, 108
 Durban, 32
 Duress, 159
 dwell, 3, 267
 dynamic, 149
 Dynamism, 131
- E**
- earliest, 270
 earthly, 42, 271
 Ease, 165, 196
 Eastern, 13, 80, 99, 222
 Easton, 53, 78, 90
 Ebele, 11, 13, 15, 24-25, 33-35, 38, 40-41, 44-45, 52, 54-56, 61, 63-65, 69, 71, 74, 88, 90, 129, 139-140, 143, 151, 170, 177, 187, 195, 203, 207, 221-222, 227, 229, 233-235, 239-243, 245-248, 265, 267-270, 272-275
 Ebola, 192, 222, 248
 echo, 2
 Ecology, 35
 ECOMOG, 132
 ECONOMIC, 233
 economy, 10, 16, 39, 50, 90, 105, 132, 135, 137, 148, 150, 154-155, 179, 183-185, 188-189, 191-192, 194-196, 203-204, 215, 217, 219, 221-222, 224, 231, 242, 245-246, 251
 ECOWAS, 43, 50, 85-86, 132, 134, 145-146, 258, 261, 274-275
 Edmund, 6
 Edo, 37, 67, 125
 Edward, 260
 Edwardo, 259
 EFCC, 10, 20, 41, 63, 138, 153-154, 156-163, 166, 169-171, 176, 178-180, 186, 198, 200-202, 218, 220, 232, 263, 266
 Efficiency, 19
 Ehindero, 160, 163
 Einstein, 8
 Ekiti, 125, 168, 270
 Ekpo, 157, 184, 189, 203
 Elder, 14
 Electrical, 244
 Eligibility, 112
 eligible, 64, 84
 eliminate, 148, 196
 ElZakzaky, 72
 emblematic, 102
 embodiment, 28
 Emeka, 135-136, 140
 emerge, 36, 70
 Emmanuel, 23, 157, 159
 encomiums, 71
 Encyclopedia, 22
 endorse, 116
 Energy, 10
 England, 22-23

Englewood, 90
 English, 34, 236, 249
 engulfed, 36
 enormous, 11, 28, 206
 enthrone, 26
 Enugu, 23, 38, 74, 151, 166
 Environment, 196
 Enyinnaya, 41
 Ephraim, 60
 epochs, 234
 equal, 5, 21, 102, 223, 235, 254
 erroneously, 162
 erstwhile, 130
 establishing, 161, 177-178
 ethos, 104, 259
 Etiebet, 175
 Etteh, 69
 evacuation, 145
 evolution, 8, 96
 exhausted, 84
 expand, 190, 253
 exploit, 36, 80, 190
 exploration, 11
 Ezekiel, 275

F

fabulously, 12
 faces, 182, 224
 facilitation, 57
 factor, 2, 94
 failures, 127, 183, 210, 239, 242
 faithful, 27, 89
 Falana, 114, 116-117, 127, 169, 224-225, 227, 229-230
 fallout, 9
 faltering, 74
 fame, 39
 famous, 5, 8-9, 66, 235, 258
 FAO, 243

Farida, 157, 162-163
 fastest, 192
 fault, 107, 200, 257
 Fayose, 168, 270
 FCT, 61, 102, 245
 fearless, 33, 156, 263
 Federalism, 180
 Felix, 251
 Femi, 127, 166, 169, 224-225
 Fernandez, 206
 ferociously, 62
 Festus, 158
 FGN, 246
 fibre, 245
 FIFA, 133
 fiscal, 120, 184, 188, 241
 fishermen, 16
 flatter, 223
 flatterers, 7
 Flexible, 213
 flown, 12
 Force, 171, 258
 Ford, 209
 FOREIGN, 129
 formulate, 162, 197, 202
 Framework, 90
 France, 5, 237
 Francis, 56, 129
 Francisco, 81
 Francophone, 87
 Frank, 230
 fraternity, 93
 French, 85, 179, 261
 frequent, 252
 fruits, 264
 functional, 88, 135
 funeral, 13
 fury, 3

G

Gaddafi, 200
 Gaius, 175
 Galadima, 158
 gallery, 158
 galvanize, 234
 Gambia, 52, 85-86, 261, 273
 Gambian, 85-86, 261
 Gambo, 180, 219
 Gaya, 54
 generosity, 26-27
 generous, 31
 Geneva, 136
 Geography, 34
 German, 144, 215
 germane, 96
 Gestapo, 159
 Ghana, 88, 90-91, 98, 108, 135, 251
 Ghanaian, 147
 Gilbert, 173
 glad, 37
 gladiators, 13
 glance, 204
 glaring, 170, 214
 globe, 93, 148, 250
 gloom, 71
 Governmental, 19, 99, 207, 211
 Governments, 142, 206
 Governors, 142
 governs, 66, 96, 101
 Gowon, 42, 130, 149, 183, 271
 Grammar, 35
 grants, 64, 161, 275
 grapple, 8
 gratitude, 268
 Green, 183, 243
 green, 30, 204
 greeted, 114, 218
 grievances, 12
 Grips, 157

groan, 20
 grow, 16, 221
 Growing, 242
 Guardian, 23, 75, 242, 250, 275
 Gubernatorial, 127
 guerrilla, 81, 194, 259
 guru, 242
 guts, 158
 Guy, 252

H

habit, 7
 habitually, 100-101, 103
 Hague, 85
 Halliburton, 175
 hallmarks, 16
 happenings, 213
 happiest, 26
 hardcore, 88
 Hassan, 31
 hasten, 237
 Hasting, 98
 hatchet, 160
 hauling, 229
 haunted, 11
 havoc, 148
 Hayford, 275
 healthcare, 156, 190
 healthier, 22
 healthy, 16-17
 heap, 71
 hegemonic, 61
 herald, 23
 Herdsmen, 200
 herdsmen, 15-16, 224
 heritage, 28
 Heroes, 86
 hijack, 22
 hitherto, 86, 242, 248

HIV, 36, 135, 185
 Hobbes, 4, 8, 22
 homeless, 256
 hopeful, 33
 humanitarian, 207
 Humanities, 205
 humanity, 19, 216
 hung, 268
 hungry, 13
 hunt, 63
 hurricane, 93
 Hybrid, 203
 hydra, 242
 Hyundai, 192

I

IBB, 54, 57-58
 Ibe, 74
 Ibekwe, 125, 127
 ICPC, 10, 20, 153-154, 157-159, 176,
 178, 186, 218, 263, 266
 ICT, 190, 245
 Idahosa, 236, 249
 idealism, 4
 Idiagbon, 150, 183
 Idowo, 150-151
 IDPs, 170, 200
 Ifesinachi, 135, 151
 IGP, 162
 Ikeja, 203, 249
 Ilorin, 38, 166
 imbibe, 248
 IMF, 99, 137, 242
 immensely, 4, 66
 Immigration, 141, 173, 201
 Immune, 185
 impasse, 9
 Imperatives, 23
 imperial, 100, 216
 implication, 5, 26, 109
 implicit, 253
 Implied, 130
 importation, 99, 243, 246, 248
 impressive, 11
 impunity, 40, 73, 199, 222, 225
 inability, 47, 109, 141
 Inauguration, 59
 incipient, 108
 incite, 28
 incompetent, 43
 inconsistencies, 124, 205
 inconsistency, 252
 incumbents, 80-81, 86
 incur, 5
 incurable, 134
 Indian, 127
 Indigenous, 39
 Indonesia, 94
 Induction, 145
 ineffective, 76-77
 infamous, 56
 infamy, 8
 injustice, 73
 Inland, 164, 196
 inserted, 62
 inspiration, 49
 insurgency, 15, 44, 194, 222, 266
 intellectuals, 11
 intensions, 13
 intensity, 157
 interim, 169, 197
 interplay, 217
 intervene, 276
 invaded, 225
 invaluable, 21
 invariably, 18
 invasion, 103
 Inyang, 166
 iPad, 245
 IPPIS, 242

Ironically, 262
 Isaac, 164
 Islamic, 202
 Island, 30, 46, 49
 Ivorian, 85
 Iweala, 190, 233, 241, 245, 247
 Iwu, 160, 163

J

Jackson, 5, 22
 Jacob, 76, 181, 184, 203
 Jacques, 4
 Jammeh, 85-86, 261
 Jean, 4, 260
 Jeffrey, 139
 Jega, 37, 39, 54, 66-67, 75, 95, 99, 105, 124, 180, 247, 255, 265-266
 Jersey, 128
 jettisoned, 74-75
 Jones, 110
 Jos, 161
 judgment, 9, 39, 42, 168, 226
 judicious, 169
 Julius, 90
 junta, 9, 57
 jurisdiction, 28, 101
 justly, 236

K

Kabila, 84
 Kabiru, 166
 Kachifo, 179
 Kaduna, 54, 158, 169-170, 180, 189, 200
 Kalama, 24, 44, 51, 54-55, 153, 180, 251, 267
 Kalu, 160
 Kano, 93, 166, 169, 189, 193, 244
 Kanu, 201

Kara, 260
 Karl, 215
 Katsina, 13-14
 Kaunda, 36-37, 87, 90
 Kingdom, 54, 127, 136-137, 146, 149, 249
 kingpins, 138
 Kingwood, 275
 kinsmen, 48, 133
 Kitchen, 221
 Klerk, 29-31
 Knock, 169
 Kofi, 256-257
 Kogi, 200, 269
 Korea, 21, 142
 Kudirat, 98
 Kukah, 31, 212, 220, 230-231
 Kwame, 251
 Kwazulu, 32

L

lab, 245
 Labaran, 41, 270
 Labour, 92, 222, 259
 Lambert, 249
 Lamorde, 180
 landmark, 191
 lanterns, 274
 lastly, 5
 laudable, 9, 221, 246
 Leader, 46, 147
 League, 86
 leaped, 189
 legacies, 242
 legitimize, 77
 Leopard, 28
 lethargic, 99
 Leviathan, 22
 liberalism, 99
 Liberation, 259

Liberia, 132, 134-135, 146-147
 Liberian, 134
 Libya, 86, 145-147
 lieutenants, 239
 Lincoln, 18, 95, 235, 255
 liquidity, 246
 loan, 135, 243
 lobby, 218
 lobbying, 78
 Locke, 4, 8, 22-23
 Lokoja, 38
 loopholes, 124
 Luanda, 259
 lucidly, 234
 Lugard, 216
 Lumumba, 100
 Luther, 2, 22

M

MacGrace, 180
 machine, 125
 Macmillan, 22, 54, 127, 179, 275
 macro, 11, 184, 204
 Madagascar, 87, 90
 Madam, 34
 magazine, 147, 160
 Magu, 162, 169, 179, 201-202
 Maiduguri, 200
 Makurdi, 105
 Malami, 169
 Malawi, 87, 90, 98
 Malaysia, 21
 Malik, 175
 Mallam, 156-159, 161
 Mandela, 9, 18, 24-33, 44-45, 48, 52, 55, 90, 133, 273
 manipulating, 200
 marginal, 185
 massacre, 200
 match, 3, 50, 59, 129, 140

material, 80, 97, 155, 254
 maternal, 185
 maturity, 125
 Maurice, 160
 mayhem, 16
 Mbasogo, 81
 Mbeki, 257, 275
 McGraw, 91
 MDA, 176
 MDAs, 40, 191
 mechanisms, 20, 107, 216, 238
 menace, 148, 153-154, 156, 200
 menaced, 199
 migration, 145
 milestones, 3
 militancy, 11, 221, 231
 militia, 18
 militias, 62, 257
 mincing, 126
 minerals, 10, 195
 minimal, 149
 minority, 29, 96, 103, 217
 mistakes, 1
 misuse, 88, 97
 MKO, 58, 132, 262
 modesty, 42, 114, 271
 module, 193
 mogul, 98
 Muhammadu, 43, 48, 53, 166, 168, 195-196, 198, 207, 219, 226-227, 229, 235, 248, 267-268
 Mohammed, 9, 63, 75, 117, 125, 131, 166, 173, 183, 258, 265-266
 molestation, 106, 110, 113
 moment, 30-32, 66, 262
 Monograph, 54
 Morgan, 256-257
 moribund, 248
 morning, 28
 Moro, 224, 231
 Morocco, 259

mortality, 185
 mortals, 226
 mortem, 75
 Mortgage, 242
 mortgage, 187
 Moshood, 9
 Mozambique, 108
 Mugabe, 86, 256-257
 Muhammad, 68-69
 Muhammadu, 15, 56-57, 70-71, 88, 131, 148-150, 165, 168, 223, 247
 Muhammed, 18
 multilateral, 99, 134, 140-141, 265
 multinational, 39, 100
 Mustapha, 159
 myopia, 201
 myopic, 3
 myriads, 252
 mysterious, 171
 mystery, 14, 170

N

NADECO, 58, 218
 Naira, 169, 171
 Nairobi, 128
 NAM, 136
 Namadi, 189
 Namibia, 98
 Nationalization, 182
 nationhood, 276
 NATO, 86
 Natural, 6
 NBA, 72, 167
 negates, 194
 Neo, 215, 275
 Netherlands, 102, 137
 nexus, 24, 52, 263
 Ngozi, 190, 233, 241, 245, 247
 Ngwuta, 201
 nipping, 225

Nissan, 192
 NITEL, 158, 173
 Nkrumah, 251, 275
 Nnamani, 36, 68, 160-161
 NNPC, 198
 Nobody, 8, 158, 270
 norm, 77
 normalized, 30
 Norman, 90
 NORTHERNERS, 201
 Notable, 169
 NPA, 35
 NSCDC, 164
 NSE, 247
 nurtured, 78
 nutshell, 215
 Nwabara, 68
 Nwachukwu, 231, 249
 Nwadike, 59-60, 74
 Nwoko, 4, 23
 Nyesom, 170

O

oath, 76, 89, 265
 OAU, 135
 Oba, 35
 Obafemi, 151
 Obama, 142
 Obasanjo, 9-11, 16, 54, 56, 61-63, 68-69, 75, 101, 103, 116, 130-132, 134-138, 149-152, 154, 156-158, 160, 175, 177, 180, 183-184, 186, 188, 218-220, 227, 230-232, 241, 262-265
 Obaseki, 175
 Obi, 60, 66, 75, 133, 151, 161
 Obinna, 249
 Obla, 149, 167
 obligation, 1-2, 236
 Obono, 149, 167
 obsolete, 227

- obstacles, 182
 Oceanic, 163
 Ofuebe, 80, 91
 Ogbia, 33-34, 45, 269
 Ogedi, 76, 181
 Oghadomhe, 246
 Ogoja, 38
 Ogoni, 132-133, 262
 Okoi, 149, 167
 Okojie, 31, 231
 Okoro, 166, 180, 264
 Okowa, 215
 Oliver, 29
 omission, 161
 omitted, 125
 Onitsha, 38, 151, 203, 249
 Onnoghen, 201
 Onyebuchi, 74
 opposed, 85
 oppression, 5
 oppressions, 98
 optimal, 195, 206, 246
 opting, 13
 Oracle, 128
 organize, 25
 orthodox, 136, 252
 Osakwe, 173
 Oshogbo, 179
 Osinbajo, 15, 72, 164-165, 169, 171, 179-180, 197, 225, 231
 Osun, 35, 125
 ought, 165, 168-169, 237
 outcry, 116, 132, 172
 outsmarting, 78
 overdue, 225
 overfed, 17
 overhaul, 12, 187
 overt, 36
 overthrow, 234
 Owerri, 90-91
 owing, 68, 79
 owners, 125
 Oxford, 22, 91, 245, 275
 Oyegun, 173
 Oyo, 157
 Ozekhome, 168
 Ozumba, 155
- P**
 pace, 94, 262, 273
 pacifying, 100
 pact, 81
 palm, 51
 palpable, 84, 188
 pandemic, 15
 parade, 99
 pardon, 12
 Paris, 137, 145, 186, 241
 Pasteur, 83
 pathology, 90
 Patience, 2, 35, 223
 Patricia, 69
 Patrick, 256, 276
 patriotic, 24, 33
 pattern, 130, 253
 Paul, 81-83, 99, 186, 261
 pave, 98, 107, 260
 paved, 36
 PDP, 9, 13-14, 35-36, 41, 47, 49, 60-61, 66-67, 69, 88, 125, 160, 188, 248, 267
 Penguin, 22-23, 179
 Peninsula, 186
 Performance, 176
 periodic, 93-94, 96, 102, 106, 112
 permitting, 66
 Personality, 23
 persuade, 11
 Perth, 143
 petrochemicals, 143
 Petroleum, 54, 131, 169
 PhD, 49

- philanthropist, 192
 Philip, 149
 philosophy, 4, 69, 184, 247, 252
 Pilot, 210
 Pipeline, 135
 plastic, 229
 Plateau, 159, 161, 200
 plush, 31
 PMB, 148-149
 poignant, 182
 Poland, 93, 142
 polarize, 217
 port, 141
 portable, 238
 portfolio, 242
 positioned, 142, 242
 positivism, 1
 postulations, 8
 posture, 130-131, 157
 postures, 184, 227
 powerful, 25, 103
 Powers, 122
 PPA, 160
 practicable, 211
 Prague, 93
 preach, 69, 267
 preceded, 107, 262
 prefer, 30
 preferences, 264, 268
 presided, 26, 220
 presumed, 58, 132
 Pretoria, 27, 29
 Prevention, 197
 primal, 100
 primitive, 109
 primordial, 202
 Princewill, 233
 Principal, 243
 privatize, 158
 privatized, 100, 114
 probably, 60, 268
 probe, 180
 producing, 243
 professor, 265
 progressing, 94
 Progressive, 60, 223
 Prohibit, 121
 Prohibition, 197
 prolific, 107
 prolong, 62
 Promoted, 50
 promptly, 53
 propelled, 100
 Proper, 198
 prophesy, 37
 Proposal, 123
 Proverbs, 1, 7
 proves, 94
 publicity, 166
 pumped, 10
 pursuance, 238-239
 pursuit, 14, 79, 160, 182, 234-237
 purveyor, 15
 purview, 223
- Q**
 Qatar, 192
 qualification, 57, 267
 qualified, 12, 124
 qualms, 87
 quantity, 238
 Queen, 149
 quelling, 103
 quests, 155
 queue, 229
 quick, 145
 quit, 90, 257
 quizzes, 179
 quorum, 117, 122
 Quoting, 10

R

- Racial, 110
- Radio, 201
- Rail, 187
- railway, 14, 190, 248
- rallies, 261
- rampant, 137
- ranks, 259, 261
- rape, 200, 229
- Rasheed, 171
- ratification, 117
- ravaged, 132
- Raymond, 127
- realms, 211
- rebasing, 242
- rebel, 84
- reciprocated, 47
- Reconciliation, 33
- recoveries, 169, 197
- Recruitments, 164
- recurring, 17
- red, 89, 141
- redeem, 61
- rediscover, 2
- reduction, 89, 141, 185, 192-193
- refinement, 3
- refineries, 188
- Reform, 63-64, 120-121
- reforming, 56, 99
- refrain, 1, 15, 80
- refusal, 89, 149
- regain, 263
- regionalism, 216
- regionally, 207
- rehabilitation, 12, 146, 182
- reign, 2, 85-86, 195, 258, 260
- reigns, 12, 15, 242, 247
- reinforced, 132
- relinquished, 274
- relocated, 26
- reluctant, 220
- Reminiscences, 3
- reminiscent, 131
- renewed, 114
- Reno, 14
- repeal, 116, 118
- Repeated, 7
- repercussions, 40
- repositioning, 43, 218
- repossess, 61
- republican, 182
- Republics, 108, 113
- Required, 169
- rerun, 113
- Reuben, 146
- revalidating, 25
- Revenue, 64, 164, 196
- revisited, 20-21
- revitalize, 190
- revolve, 115
- riddance, 184
- ridden, 12, 62, 194
- rival, 82, 85, 113
- roadmap, 1
- Roberts, 275
- Robin, 49, 112
- Robotic, 247
- Rockefeller, 209
- rods, 258
- Rotimi, 170
- Rousseau, 4, 8, 23
- route, 73
- rumbles, 180
- rummaging, 35
- runoff, 112, 257
- Rwanda, 81, 83
- Rwandan, 84

S

- sabotage, 11, 14, 226
saboteurs, 3
Sacrifice, 2
sacrifice, 7, 19, 52, 270
Sagay, 169, 179
Saharan, 105
salient, 254
Sankara, 260, 275
SANs, 179
Santos, 81, 259-260
savagery, 15
Scandal, 173, 175
scandalously, 15
scarce, 7
scenario, 22, 79-80, 184
score, 64
Seat, 140
secretaries, 266
seemed, 34, 220
segment, 117
Seidel, 173-174
selfish, 25, 88, 103-104, 202
Seminar, 105
senate, 21, 117, 161
septugenarian, 98
sequel, 169
SERAP, 222
servicing, 13, 209
SERVICOM, 10
severe, 27, 134
Shagamu, 38
Shagari, 42, 57, 131, 150, 182-183, 271
Shakespeare, 3
shambolic, 99
Sharma, 234, 250
sharply, 264
shoddy, 164
shoes, 34, 51, 274
shredded, 171
shrink, 3
siege, 9
signal, 144
signatory, 226
signifying, 3
silenced, 3
silencing, 114
silent, 136, 239
sincere, 157, 170
Singapore, 18, 21
Singh, 214, 217, 232
singular, 58, 157, 234
siphon, 11
sizeable, 213
skew, 80
slander, 7
slate, 11
SME, 246
Smith, 7, 215
sourced, 237
southerner, 58
Southwestern, 61
sovereign, 4, 8, 32, 95, 236
Specific, 240, 247
specifying, 155
specimen, 3
speedy, 178, 197, 256
spicy, 27
spike, 157
sporadic, 194
sport, 192
stable, 76, 88, 92, 192, 217, 222
Stanley, 215
staple, 243
starling, 247
starvation, 182
statesman, 6, 9, 38, 55, 269, 275
statesmanlike, 71
stature, 3
statutory, 116, 248

steadfast, 156, 263
 stem, 110
 stems, 264
 Stephanie, 105
 stewardship, 96
 sting, 166
 subsumed, 213
 subterfuge, 258, 260
 Sudan, 81-82
 suffices, 96
 sufficiency, 183, 246
 sufficiently, 4, 60
 suffocated, 11
 suffrage, 5, 96
 sugar, 246
 sundry, 109, 190
 suppress, 77
 supremacy, 72, 101
 surrounding, 108, 116
 survey, 4, 68
 susceptible, 226
 sustaining, 23, 216, 225
 swept, 93
 swift, 158, 244
 swindlers, 186
 swing, 6
 Switzerland, 202
 sycophants, 3, 7
 Sylva, 36
 symposium, 202
 synergy, 88, 194
 synonymous, 234, 237
 systemic, 98, 221, 227-228

T

Tables, 69
 tables, 172
 tactically, 94
 tailored, 130
 Taiwan, 21

Tajuden, 173
 Tambo, 29
 Tambuwal, 69
 tampering, 52
 tandem, 239
 Tanzania, 90
 Taraba, 200
 taxpayers, 184
 Taylor, 135
 teaming, 273
 technocrat, 234, 236, 246, 269
 tendered, 167
 tenders, 173
 terror, 142
 terrorism, 103, 140, 199, 231
 theatre, 98
 Theodora, 145
 Theoretical, 154, 252
 thinkers, 8
 Thomas, 4, 115, 260
 threatens, 139
 threats, 41
 threshold, 264
 tie, 28
 timeless, 7
 Timipre, 36
 Tinubu, 160
 Tofa, 262
 toleration, 21
 Tom, 5, 22, 133
 Tome, 135
 tortuous, 19, 126
 torture, 163
 tough, 34
 tour, 224, 226
 tourism, 190
 touted, 98, 136
 trafficking, 53, 138
 tragic, 115
 trail, 93
 trajectory, 150, 182, 241, 247

transformed, 165
 transmitted, 12
 transmute, 98
 Treason, 26
 Treasonable, 176
 Treasury, 16, 195, 204, 242
 tremendous, 41, 49, 265
 trenches, 7, 46
 tribal, 18, 227, 229, 257
 tries, 141
 trillion, 195, 197
 triumph, 6
 trusting, 14, 66
 TSA, 195, 242
 Tsunami, 176
 Tunde, 54, 221
 Tunisia, 86
 turbine, 143, 170
 turbulence, 36
 Tutu, 31, 33, 47
 typhoon, 93
 typical, 11, 26, 218, 227
 tyranny, 7, 168

U

UAD, 222
 Udokang, 180
 Uganda, 81-82
 UK, 175, 242, 245, 250
 ulterior, 162
 ultimate, 3, 8, 96
 Umana, 204
 Umar, 69, 162, 167
 Umaru, 11, 13, 36, 68-69, 156, 162, 187, 189, 220-221, 227, 244, 265
 umbrella, 194
 unable, 160
 unacceptable, 30, 85, 159
 unanimously, 136, 167
 unbridled, 37

unburden, 1
 unconscious, 101
 undermines, 53, 106, 109
 UNDP, 19, 231
 undue, 36, 41, 53, 178, 194, 224
 UNEP, 145
 unequal, 73
 UNESCO, 145
 UNIP, 87
 unique, 34, 98, 185, 246
 unmatched, 71
 unprovoked, 147
 unpublished, 231
 unveiled, 195-196, 198
 uploads, 127
 USA, 149, 179, 275
 Usman, 233, 244, 247
 utility, 192, 235
 utmost, 13, 217
 utopian, 96
 Uyo, 231
 Uzor, 160

V

vacancies, 164-165
 vacant, 113
 vacate, 70, 85
 vacation, 224
 vacuum, 12
 vagaries, 4
 vague, 218
 vendetta, 160-161, 179
 vibrancy, 18
 vibrant, 95, 104, 148
 vicariously, 4
 victims, 184, 228, 252
 Victor, 30
 vigorous, 14, 217
 virtues, 7, 34, 223, 228
 visa, 133, 196, 246

vocabulary, 227
 vocal, 31, 33, 220, 224
 vowed, 67, 148, 171
 voyage, 77
 vulnerable, 190, 196, 214, 217
 vying, 107

W

waged, 157
 wake, 20, 136
 wanton, 85
 warder, 27
 Washington, 90
 wastage, 20, 219
 waterways, 190
 Waziri, 157, 162-163
 weak, 42-43, 78, 131, 271
 weapon, 12
 wearing, 28, 98
 weather, 130
 website, 222
 weigh, 51
 weight, 73, 167
 weights, 171
 welcome, 191, 220
 whims, 162
 whisky, 31
 Whistle, 169
 Wike, 170, 179
 Wikipedia, 82-84, 86-88, 91, 112, 128, 261
 William, 3, 22, 215
 willing, 79, 96
 willingness, 18
 withheld, 188
 wittingly, 160
 wobbling, 19
 workable, 9, 17
 worrisomely, 56, 63
 wound, 82, 220

wounds, 32
 woven, 17
 wrongdoings, 21
 Wuse, 54

X

Xhosa, 28

Y

Yahaya, 23
 yahoo, 24, 153, 205, 233, 251
 Yakubu, 130, 169, 183, 198
 Yale, 231
 yearn, 97
 Yemi, 72, 164, 169, 171, 197, 225
 Yenagoa, 36, 39, 159, 230
 Yola, 38

Z

Zafy, 87, 90
 Zainab, 169
 Zaki, 103
 Zambia, 87, 90, 98, 108
 Zamfara, 200
 Zaria, 55, 75, 244, 276
 zeal, 9, 33, 131, 188
 zero, 79, 184
 zest, 18
 Zimbabwe, 86, 256, 273
 Zinc, 86
 Zone, 54, 135
 zone, 103
 Zoology, 35
 Zurich, 202