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Dr. Chukwuemeka Aroh is a quintessential speaker, public intellectual, political scientist, social activist and politician, who has always had a passion for a better society. This passion drove him very early in life to travel NYSC camps, Universities and Secondary schools teaching fellow youths personal effectiveness before and while he was a student studying microbiology at the Nnamdi Azikiwe University (NAU).

In furtherance of his zeal for development and governance, upon obtaining a Bsc in Medical Microbiology he dumped it to spend another decade studying political science and government in which he presently holds a doctorate degree (Ph.D) from the University of Nigeria Nsukka (UNN) with numerous publications.

He is the convener of GNI (Greater Nation Initiation), a strong devout towards a better Nigeria.



ABOUT THE BOOK

An inspired sociopolitical analysis of the form, content and confusion of Nigeria. A decade of interest and dedication to study Nigeria, how we got here, where we are and how to move forward.

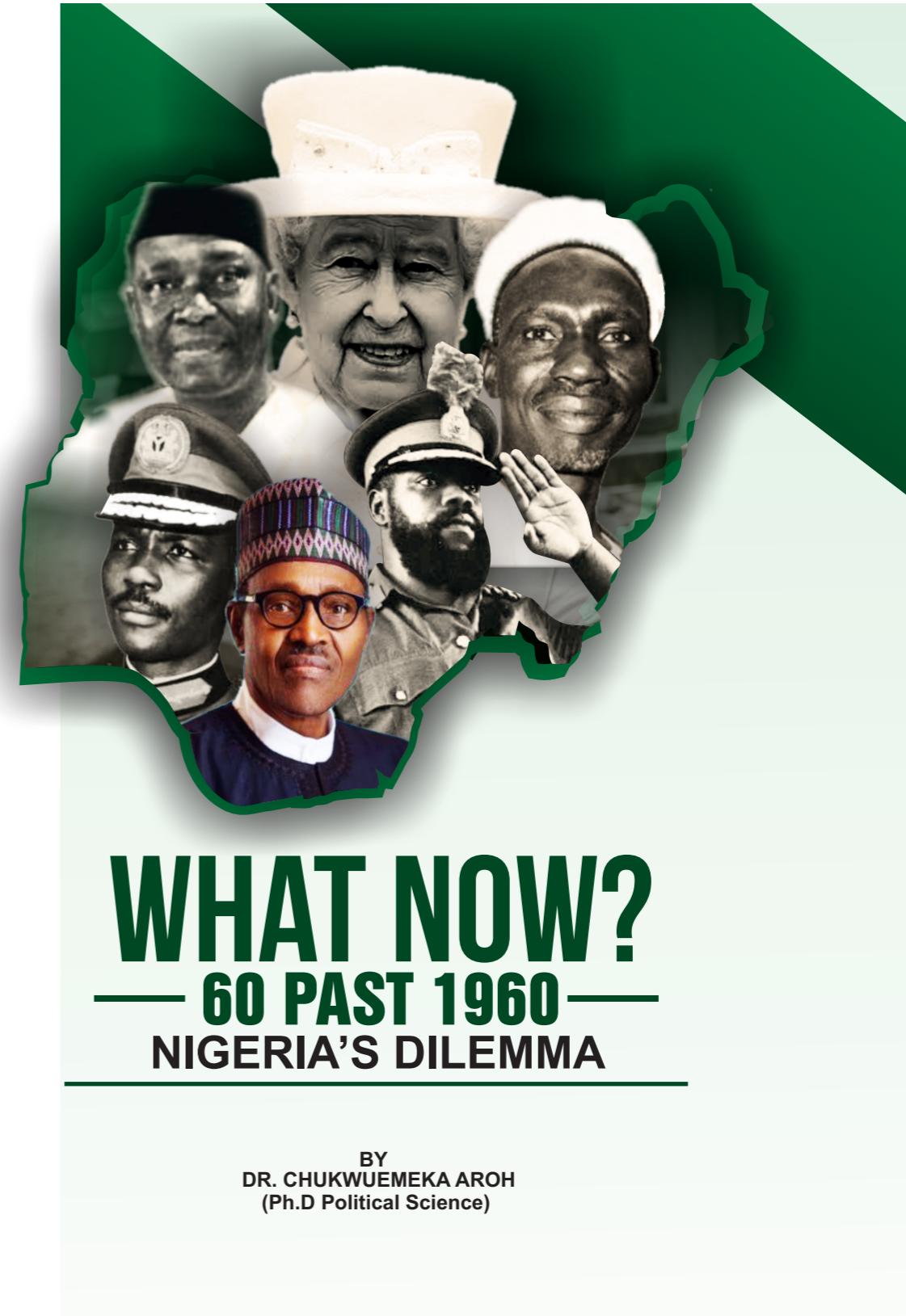
This country is greatly challenged, our security and economic quagmire is obvious but there is remedy which starts with reading this book.

This book shows that if we look at our history blamelessly not to find faults but force, update the Nigerian software which is about to crash, tackle our monsters which frighten us and sustain the Nigerian dream, there will be a Nigeria that can be great.

We must clearly understand our colonial encodement, work on our value system and education, elect good, capable and passionate leaders restructure or reset our systems our challenges will die a natural death. In your hand is a manual for a greater Nigeria which is possible.

BY DR. CHUKWUEMEKA AROH
(Ph.D Political Science)

WHAT NOW? 60 PAST 1960, NIGERIA'S DILEMMA



WHAT NOW? 60 PAST 1960

NIGERIA'S DILEMMA

BY
DR. CHUKWUEMEKA AROH
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this book first to
Late Lt.col. Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu

and
Gen. Yakubu Gowon

The most misunderstood patriots at the most unfortunate
junction in Nigeria's history.

Secondly to
Prof Adewole Soyinka
foremost Nigerian protagonist in the struggle
for social justice.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Praise be to the almighty God, creator of heaven and earth. I am a product of grace, if not for the grace of God that smiled on me and kept me despite the challenges starting from the time of birth, obviously I wouldn't be here let alone writing this. I adore my parents, my Dad, Late Deacon J.N Aroh and my Mum, Deaconess Julie Aroh, they trained my wings to fly and strengthened my guts to dream by a solid upbringing and educational foundation. I consider myself privileged, for I live on their sacrifices of yesterday. My Dad whose life centre was all about sacrifice for his family and in his last days on earth taught and encouraged me with the philosophical concept "The building of a nation" as I battled with the challenge of child birth early in marriage.

My Grandfather, Ejiekaakwaife whom I never met, a strong, huge and ambitious man whose dreams were dashed as he got blinded from hot coal as a coal miner. My father cried as he narrated to me the untold hardship they had to go through of which consequently I have a rub off from. He suffered, as we all did with him from the slavery infested, non-welfaric public service system of the colonial masters. Chioma and Chisom, my beloved sisters who day and night are more concerned and interested in my well-being than theirs.

My Father-in-law, Late Prof. Ike Nwosu, a former president of Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR), a University don whose sudden departure remains a mystery and lesson in life. He left me two gifts, the first my darling wife Mrs. Uchenna Suzzane Aroh, a Public Health Consultant and Business / public relation guru without whom my story can never be complete for she is everything to me. The second is a gift of two little books which he gave to us as Christmas gift in December of the year 2010, months before his demise. These books' "The trouble with Nigeria" by Chinua Achebe



and "How to be a Nigerian" by Peter Enaharo. They kept me thinking and studying for a full decade sitting right on an already existing or close to innate passion of how to fix Nigeria and enrolling with the work force "Nigeria's call obey". This in part stimulated this work as I have spent this past ten years studying Political Science, Leadership and the pursuit of humanistic ideals.

I appreciate in a special way Dr. Ken Katas who introduced and mentored me in the human resource development aspect of national development which we christened personal effectiveness life coaching, from the very early age of seventeen. This I spent my youth doing, traveling to Secondary Schools and Universities speaking to fellow youths, he indeed strengthened my courage to speak up. Bishop Dr. M.H. Kukah, a man I have drank from his wealth of knowledge in recent times, specifically whose Ted talk gave me the topic of this work. "What now?"

I acknowledge my first son, Kamasi Aroh whose dreams, belief, creativity and aspiration know no obstruction due to virgin innocence and challenges me to dream bigger, he who will always ask me what is wrong with Nigeria since whenever he wants to download a game they will say U.S.A (United States of America) only. He as well taught me how to pronounce this title in queen's english expressing vocally the question mark and always inquiring why an ordinary book should take me so long to complete. My other kids Kaeto, Victoria and Victor, we strive that at our age you will be proud to be Nigerians.

Greetings to all my leaders in different spheres of life, just to mention a few: Rt. Hon Chief Dubem Onyia, Hon (Sir) Okey Ogbonna, Chief (Mrs.) Tina Aniagolu, Amb. Prof Ifeanyi M Abada Ph.D, Mr Onwuwamaeze Agu, Prof Oguejiofor Ujam for our circle of friends and Bishop Moses Oji. To all my relations, friends and well wishers, Uncle Christian Anih, Chike Anozie, Ebuka and Nnamdi Nwosu,



Emelie Ndiukwu, Echezona Ezeofor, Engr. Tony Anih, Kachi Ibekwe, Gabriel Ugwu, Emeka Ejiofor, Barrs. Ebuka Ude, Ejike Oji and Kene Nnadi, in no particular order, too numerous to mention. I doff my cap for all our heroes past and present, all that have tried to move this nation forward in anyway, whether rightly or wrongly, succeeded or failed, those who put blocks on the Nigerian project even those who removed some blocks because they felt it was right.

I honour those who lost their lives at different junctions of our national development, may your sacrifices never be in vain. Finally, I accept that writing an acknowledgement is always the most difficult thing for me to do because I am a product of many hands. My designer and typist, Nnenna and Ebuka a big thanks to you guys.

Dr. Aroh Chukwuemeka
(Ph.D Political Science)
April, 2021



THE IDEA

"The trouble with Nigeria has become subject of our small talks the same way as the weather is for the English"

- Chinua Achebe, 1983

This was an introduction by Chinua Achebe to bring out the central idea and passion in his book "the trouble with Nigeria". This was the national weather about forty years ago at the time of that writing but permit me to point out that this statement is not only still relevant today but has metamorphosed. On this premise I make the following postulations;

"The sustainability of Nigeria has become subject of our small discussions the same way the trouble with Nigeria was about four decades ago".

"Our collective dissatisfaction in Nigeria is not choreographed, nobody is happy in this country, things have fallen apart in every sense, the set up as it is presently constituted obviously cannot redeem itself but somehow we still have Nigeria as a country and that gives us one last chance.

- Aroh Chukwuemeka, Ph.D, 2021

This book is therefore poised to spark up for the first time an unemotional, unbiased, non ethnic, non-partisan conversation and debate on the way forward with the project "Nigeria". We must bend over to look at what had happened and the nature of the injuries sustained, where we are currently, but most importantly our concentration will be on what happens the day after , which is the way forward. Thus the book "What Now" 60 past 1960, Nigeria's Dilemma"



THE DRIVE

"I am not an expert in economics, and I am not an expert in law, but I am an expert on an empty stomach while wondering when and where the next meal will come from. I know what it feels like going to bed with a headache for want of food in the stomach".

- J.J. Rawlings, 1979.

This was a statement made by the former president of Ghana exactly forty two years ago when he was but a flight Lieutenant and was about to be court-martialed for trying to usurp the government of the day. He said this in court during his trial when obviously he believed he was going to be killed. It is very important to note that he was face to face with death, so he spoke with simplicity, reality and last passion. We know that when face to face with life threatening situations we do not speak to pacify or please anybody or sound politically correct. He spoke that posterity might understand his travail when he is gone even though on the bright side he ended up evoking the sympathy of other officers in support of his course who eventually broke him out of prison which wasn't in his mind at the time of speech and the rest is history. The threatening truth is that all mortals stand as though they could be court-martialed to be sentenced to death because none knows when they will breathe the last. This should always push us to strive at all times to stand for the good of humanity that posterity might smile on us.

I write therefore without fear or favor as an ordinary Nigerian who at the time of this write up holds no political office thus no master to pacify, no strings attached, I therefore posit as follows:

"I am an expert on an empty stomach while wondering when and where the next meal will come from. I know what it feels like going to bed with a headache for want of food in the stomach."

I am an academic authority in society, development, politics and governance but more importantly I have been on ground experiencing Nigeria first hand all my life. I am a strong believer that we obviously cannot continue like this, let the discussion begin, the place to start is here and the time is now"

- Aroh Chukwuemeka,

Ph.D, 2021



PROLOGUE

This is the debut book of my contribution to the form, content and dilemma of the entrapment my Nigeria. A system in which everybody who is part is more comfortable outside it, top-to-bottom. The hustler will do anything to get a visa to leave the country, the big man makes or steals a lot of money and more comfortable to invest it outside Nigeria, the list is long. We are happy doing every other thing together, parties, sports, weddings, religious activities, chieftaincy and cultural celebrations but we are not happy about being Nigerians. What is wrong?

As bad as the situation might be I desire to introduce a different type of consciousness, a liberal journey to the scene of the crime and back in other to fuel a transformation for a better Nigeria which very many are pessimistic about. Looking at what we have been through nobody will really be blamed for this pessimism or even cynicism, it is almost a right earned by us here in Nigeria due to what we have been through.

The Covid-19 world pandemic has pushed us as a country vigorously to the wall, neck fisted. It has exposed the short comings in our system which we have been pampering, transversing economy, social welfare, politics and healthcare. The most critical of it all being the complete breakdown of the stomach infrastructure, demonstrating completely the primacy of material conditions, re-enforcing the ancient dialectic postulation, food as man's primary need and hunger as the root of all evil. With the stress in compliance with the lock down as well as the challenges with protocols put in place for re-opening up during the Covid-19 pandemic, we could clearly see that for you to be correct in the head you ought to have a full stomach. This thesis will not be far away from being a remote cause of other challenges we have as a nation, for instance the current terrorism and banditry, simply put the issue is that other setups are offering Nigerian citizens what the state cannot offer them because the Nigerian state cares less about their existence. Hunger, poverty



and insecurity of lives and properties are with us on almost a permanent basis, we include them in our schedules.

On the social media presently no day goes by without one display of the sick state of the Nigerian state in one way or the other, in one place or another. The list is inexhaustible, the conclusion of the whole matter is that Nigeria is sitted on akeg of gun powder, we are sitted comfortably on troubled waters, we are drinking and clinking our glasses in the face of suspended disaster awaiting manifestation.

As kids we sang a song "There is fire on the mountain, run! run!! run!!!, a big big fire, run! run!! run!!!". I find this song very relevant to be sang in Nigeria today because we can literally see the fire climbing the mountain from every side. The purpose of this picture is not to create fear or panic but to stare up an anger that will push us out of this nightmare. To come out of this quagmire as a nation we must look at where we are, how we got here and most importantly chart a course together on how to come out, for coming out we must to save Nigeria. As you flip through the pages of this book I implore you to do so with an open mind. In our elementary studies we learnt an ancient truth which is pertinent, we are all a function of two things, nature and nuture. This says it all, we are all different in some sort and the differences wider to the degree to which our individual nature and nuture differ, creating endless possibilities. So you are who you are because of who you are, where you are, where you come from or any other uniqueness of form or experience, sorry to bug you with this psychological cum philosophical exposé,' but for a discuss of this nature it is critical for us to understand, that we bring who we are to books, this is both relevant to me as an author and you as a reader. I have read a lot of subjective books and I have as well seen a lot of objective books read by many with a subjective mindset especially when the issues being discussed could be emotional.

As a public speaker from my teenage years and presently a doctor of political science, I understand that the world and ideas are in a continuous flux, thesis , antithesis and synthesis clearly contestations



are inevitable. For us in Nigeria, it is of another level because of our chequered history but try to read with an open mind as I have tried to write with one myself, although I wouldn't claim to be completely absent since I wrote the book. I tried to stand aside as much as I could professionally do. We as humans are hostages of languages, which mean different things to different people. The most re-occurrent words or concepts in Nigeria today are restructuring, corruption and insecurity. These words mean different things to different people depending on where you stand and what you stand for.

As an example restructuring to the retired military General, is a breakdown, "we fought to keep this country as one so no!, no!!" he will say. To the scholar we need to decentralize, regionalize or have a true federalism.

For some ethnic groups like the Igbos and Yorubas, we want to control ourselves, enough is enough! I note at this point there is nothing inevitable about how Nigeria should be but I believe that to move forward a discussion on this is a necessity, for you to have a happy family you must always discuss issues. To the hungry man on the street insecurity means any empty stomach not banditry or terrorism.

I bring to this work my unadulterated Nigerianess, this alone I will not withhold, I write as an insider, a participator not a researcher. All my life to this mid age I have lived in and experienced Nigeria in the real sense of it starting out and growing up in my village, born to teachers, I experienced firsthand the Nigerian poverty although some will argue my background was fair, having the opportunity to get the best upbringing and attend good schools since teachers were close to average, but poverty is poverty nevertheless. Even at that, I lived with and saw those with worse situations, less directions and limited opportunities.

My heart bleeds because I still encounter some of them today and see where they are and I know they have totally been short-



Changed by the Nigerian state, likewise so many in other parts of the country who grew in poverty and had no opportunity of education. This is still happening today, a child born tonight somewhere in the remote parts of Nigeria is born into uncertainty.

My senior secondary school came with another shift in my perspective, I attended one of the unity schools called Federal Government colleges, let me pause to say that in my view this has been one of the strongest tools in Nigeria for national integration, national unity and acculturation at a teenage age for wider horizons of life and tolerance. As I write I remember that at that time at Federal Government College Enugu we had houses or hostels named like: National, Independence, Peace, Honesty, Liberty and Unity not to talk of our school anthem. In retrospect I realize that unknown to us these values were reinforced in our subconscious since we heard them daily and they obviously had made us the way we are today. So as a teenager I already had an accommodating world view of the diversity in my country, as Emeka I had a friend named Tope and a crush named Hawa. I could understand quite early how I got up in the morning headed for the chapel and others headed for the mosque and some nowhere at all, later on we converge in class very happy, sharing little interesting stories about nothing. Interestingly my unity school was co-educational, you can cross the (T)s and dots that the (I)s on the social exposure. I count myself one of the most privileged Nigerians especially when I realize that those tender early exposures were none of my making. So I took it as a sense of responsibility, since I had an opportunity and exposure that endowed me with a different and superior understanding, some are not as lucky as I am, some are even luckier but be it as it may I have a duty to give back to Nigeria an unbiased analysis of the state of the nation as necessity is laid upon me to do so.

Having noted these, Nigeria has a long history from 1914 till date as a country and from 1960 till date as an independent State. From then to now a lot had happened, the good, the bad and the ugly. The



ancient saying that what doesn't kill us makes us stronger comes to mind and this implies we can pick up our broken pieces and become a great nation. This is the course we intend to chart in this book, let the right structure and leadership that Nigeria requires to live out its great potentials emerge. We also need to be mindful of the fact that it's not going to be a sudden flight or a social miracle but a process. Sustainable developments and changes happen in the process of time, let's kick the ball forward at all times, slowly but surely Nigeria will be a great nation.

It was prime minister Piere Tudor who said "A country is not something you build as the pharohs built the pyramids A country is something that is built everyday out of certain basic shared values. I take very seriously from this quote "everyday" and "values", fixing a nation requires a daily commitment by all and sundry. It is critical because erroneously when we think about change we only think of our leaders, we think of office holders, we think of government, let's remember that our leaders are a demonstration or a mirror of our society and its value system, because the leaders today were ordinary members of the society yesterday so our leaders of tomorrow are currently members of our society today. It can be you who is reading this book right now that the mantle of leadership will fall on, you can never know and you don't need to be feeling like it. This is why I believe in a comprehensive change impacting all and sundry, for this reason the details to come in this book is for the information, digestion, consideration and action of every Nigerian.

Let me therefore borrow a phrase from our national anthem "Arise o compatriots" arise o compatriots let's all put our heads and hands together to push the Nigerian ship forward.

Although Leadership is there for direction in terms of policy making and implementation as well as control which is absolutely vital and we would look at this as we proceed. I remember vividly in 2014 when I was interviewed by AIT (African Independent television) at



transcorp hilton after a pre- 2015 election meeting, I made it clear that Goodluck Jonathan was not the problem of Nigeria. I tried to explain that what we were going through then and even now, was and is a cumulative effect of hundred years of our amalgamation as it were that year. So what we faced then and now is a function of our history, contrary to what a lot of people think. We have had leaders in Nigeria, good people in many respects but the issues were beyond them. I absolutely sympathize with the man on the saddle, President Buhari whom the problem of Nigeria has completely overwhelmed. Growing up as i watched NTA news with my Dad, the moment some of these composed songs for peace, unity and togetherness in Nigeria were sung, he will always sigh and say "this peace in Nigeria can never be attained by songs". As young as I was then, I never understood, neither did I bother to ask, but today I completely understand. We must drop our past behind and the best way is to talk about it unemotionally. It always becomes clear to us that we have not resolved our pasts when issues of national contest arise. I end how I started, Nobody is happy in this country, everybody hurts, every part hurts, though we all hurt differently. The truth is that we are in this together, we either sink or sail, the choice is ours to make, the time to make it is now, the place to start is here. So let us start the conversation; I bring to you my debut on Nigeria "WHAT NOW? 60 past 1960 Nigeria's dilemma".



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CHAPTER ONE

WHAT NOW?

AN INTRODUCTION

This is a philosophical question and an elastic concept, meaning its scope is limitless and can be stretched as much as required. The question by nature makes reference to history but most importantly it is about vision. This appears as a question of search or guidance or direction in decision making. The implication therefore being that no individual, organization or nation that wants to move forward, good or bad can dodge this question. Put differently, in this question lies a propelling force for a next level or a next action based on an evaluation of the past, success or failure notwithstanding. Bottled in this ubiquitous question are reflections, analysis and resolutions which precipitates decision. For instance on a lighter note, a man sees a pretty young lady that catches his fancy, he woes her and she agrees to become his wife. The question after all will be what now? Where do we go from here?, What do we do next?. In a nutshell the "what now?" question is that of assessment of current situations and making deductions for next logical steps of action at any level of analysis. When this question is not asked there in rudderlessness in proceeding that is if at all movement happens. It is possible to write endlessly on this from the individual level to the world level, but let's domicile this concept and wear it as a lense to look at our nation, Nigeria.

It was in 1960 that Nigeria as an independent country began its seemingly and tenuous political walk towards democracy (Emefiena, 2013, p.18). Our Nigeria is a great nation that has been through multiplicity of scenarios from independence till now, today, sixty years down the line.

The question "what now?" comes in handy, after sixty years of self governance and a pursuit of democracy as a government of the people. Nigeria has been through different military inter-regnum's



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and in its fourth and longest republic.

"What now?" Nigeria has been through ethnic, political and religious crisis, a civil war, an aborted third republic, an interim government and currently facing enormous economic and security challenges "What now?" Knowing that the question what now? Hinges on what happens the day after, after all said and done where are we? And where do we go from here?

I remember and find relevant an old musical track "which way Nigeria? which way to go? which way to go?" by Sunny Okosun.

The intention in this piece of work is not to make a historical compendium of Nigeria, I believe we have many of that done already but a social and political analysis of Nigeria. History itself is full of contestations depending on which side of the narrative you belong which is a betrayer of your condition, position and perception: we would rather take a multifaceted look at some cardinal points in our nations history and use it as a springboard to craft a vision that will be all encompassing.

I will like to tag them "Ancestral sign posts in Nigeria's history" we would look back without going back but rather moving forward in a way and manner that doesn't continue to apportion blames about what our political class, military, different ethnic groups did or didn't do.

My thinking is that if we play the blame game, there will be enough blames to go round rightly or wrongly, why don't we face the fact that no part of this country or anybody in this country is totally happy as I have pointed out earlier. Let us take a gaze into the future and train our legs to pursue. We would ignored this advice to our peril as a nation if we continue to blame "the people" and "the decisions" of Nigeria's political history very soon just as time flies in a matter of decades we would be history too which will not be very kind to us either for wrong action or inaction. If we make a proper analysis we would realize that most of the people that made decisions that created the Nigeria we have today are either dead or retired. Should



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we in our generation sit and talk about what they did and didn't do, what they said didn't say or shouldn't have said, and not concentrate on what we should and can do now? No! God forbid! Just like Mandela said, it falls upon a generation to be great, let's choose to be that generation that will make Nigeria great. The sad truth is that it's difficult to be a Nigerian today, it really hurts.

The Nigerian software is hanging and in dire need of an urgent update of its operating system to avert a sudden crash. My words and concepts are deliberately chosen, software and not hardware is the Nigerian problem and unfortunately we have spent the last sixty years doing all manner of work on our hard-wares.

I use a sudden crash as well because if we don't update we could soon experience a national blackout in a bang. In the course of this discuss we would look indepth at the software challenges of Nigeria and how to update them.

These are the unseen hands, like value system, education, religion and ethnicity/tribalism. These we would evaluate and look at their implications. This question "what now?" is not one that our politicians and the successive military generals who kept staging coups had asked. Perhaps had they asked it, we could have been a more successful society because obviously they would have made better decisions. To answer the "what now" question for Nigeria today, Kuka said and I quote. "We must come to the table and design a coherent history or historical account of Nigeria in a way and manner that doesn't continue to blame one group or the other". I totally subscribe to this statement not as a comprehensive solution but as a crucial first step to a comprehensive solution. For this reason I dedicate a chapter to the ancestral sign posts in Nigeria's history as earlier noted with an unbiased approach. This route has been full of casualties, sacrifices, marginalizations, deaths, loss, hunger, widows, widowers, orphans and above all fallen heroes. The sixty-years road has been bloody, truly some people, some ethnic groups, some regions have made more sacrifices than others in different



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areas. In social media colloquialism, las las at this point the "what now?" to this history will be how does a people decide to tell its story?and what is their resolve going forward.

An Igbo adage says "Ife nile tara na uchichi bulu anwu" meaning let all that had bitten at night be tagged as mosquito even though we know other things other than mosquito must have contributed to some bites. This is always invoked to close a matter in other to move forward.

Let's make a history that can let us move forward. We tagged them sign posts because their visibility and remarkable to passengers in the bus "Nigeria" and like every moving bus we have passed them for good. The deformed baby "Nigeria" at independence, the military coups, the Nigeria Biafran war, the June 12 national abortion and today's unsafe Nigeria, unsafe in every sense of it. These sign posts we would look at not to find faults but to find force to move forward. The next step to a crucial answer or solution to the Nigeria's, what now? question will be to update the Nigerian software as we had already noted.

We must change our value system and most importantly value people based on their contributions to society. We must stop using religion and ethnicity as tools of blackmail and furtherance of selfish goals, our system of education must be overhauled as it is currently producing innocent liabilities to the system.

As a follow up to this historical update Chinua Achebe captures clearly what should be done. "In the final analysis, a leader's no-nonsense reputation might induce a favourable climate but in order to effect a lasting change it must be followed up with a radical programme of social and economic re-organization or at least a well-conceived and consistent agenda of reform which Nigeria stood and stands in dire need of. (Achebe, 1983, p.2).

This citation of close to forty years ago captures with absolute clarity an indispensable component of the Nigeria's what now?.



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First point is the ancient truth that everything falls on leadership. We need leaders of substance and vision; this is why I also dealt with leadership as a key to a better nation, "the Human Element of leadership", who is in charge? This must be followed up by a social and economic re-organization. This can be simply termed restructuring but for the avoidance of controversy it can go by any name, it is just a matter of semantics and it can as well take any form.

But the bitter truth which I have noticed is that the system as it is presently constituted cannot redeem itself. Anything is better than what we have now, we must change, there must be a paradigm shift. It is said that it is only a mad man that keeps doing the same thing and expecting a different result, so we shouldn't imitate him. This way, we can eliminate corruption and other systemic issues.

Another vital makeup of the "what now?" answer for Nigeria is that we must clearly and vehemently pursue the Nigerian dream. Some will wonder, does Nigeria have a dream? Yes it does. The Nigerian dream is clearly portrayed in our coat of arms; unity and faith, peace and progress. This dream must be intentionally pursued since its goal is to bring every Nigerian to the point where they can relate to Nigeria as theirs. We must feel we are Nigerians in all respects and this will in turn breed patriotism.

I also dedicated a chapter to two threaten monsters in Nigeria today namely corruption and bad leadership. I will like to point out that fighting corruption is useless. Corruption was not designed to be fought, it is to be contained and eliminated. It is inherent in the human nature and will always manifest at any laxity. I see fighting corruption in the way and manner we do as ignorance. The antidote to corruption is to set up non-by-passable systems based on innovation and building strong institutions as back up especially the judiciary. Leadership as I already emphasized is key to addressing our many challenges for instance insecurity, a very critical area where our approach must be changed, the only military approach is not leading



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us to the promise land, security is not just about guns and bullet it is more robust and even highly linked to the economic climate of a nation.

The whole idea of this book is to introduce a conversation, move a motion, awaken a consciousness and fuel a change. Tomorrow will be better when we have a blameless way of looking at our history, update the Nigerian software, elect good, capable and passionate leaders, restructure or reset our system, sustain the Nigerian dream and approach corruption and insecurity correctly. It was Nnia Nwodo who said "every generation must take on its historical responsibility". The problem of Nigeria started somewhere with some people and today has become a dilemma.

The solution would as well start with some people, somewhere and will metamorphose into a paradise someday, that place of history could be here and those people of history could be us.



CHAPTER TWO

NIGERIA'S POLITICAL ANCESTRAL SIGN POSTS

"What became of the black people of sumer?" the traveler asked the old man "for ancient records show that the people of sumer were black. "What happened to them?" "ah!" the old man sighed "They lost their history, and so they died". (in Williams, chancellor 1987)

By 1988 it was discovered by a historian who was very much involved in the JAMB examination presently called UTME exercise that only about 8,000 of the millions of young people in Nigeria at that time registering for JAMB wanted to study history. Today the situation is worse history has completely been removed from our secondary school curriculum which I consider a colossal mistake. This only reflects that we as Nigerians are not interested in history and I make bold to point out that we are fundamentally where we are as a nation because we are not interested or rather haven't given attention to history. Remember that if we don't correct the mistakes of history, history will always repeat itself. An adage has it that a man who doesn't know where the rain started beating or falling on him will not know where it stopped. The rain started farther than we often analyse in our national discussion and i am always an advocate that we must bend backwards study and clearly understand the nature of the injuries inflicted on this nation, since it isn't just enough to know that there were injuries and as well study the nature of the injuries and efforts too. This rain started with our colonial masters, ran through our political progenitors and it is still here with us today. But before delving into this historical analysis lets agree once more on a few philosophical foundations.

First, those set of Britons who colonized us are either all dead or retired. **Secondly** the regions, North and South were not aware of what was taking place in them, for good or bad, they were oblivious to a transformation taking place (educational, economic and political).



Nigeria's Political Ancestral Sign Posts

Thirdly, the Nigerian leaders who profited from and exploited the satanic colonial setup, those who ruled with them, those who received power from them were just exhibiting human nature (selfishness) and their emergence was circumstantial.

Fourthly, when the British were about to hand over power they empowered their "Hallelujah boys", let me borrow this phrase, who would continue to serve their interest and trampled on all radicals who were passionate to work for a better Nigeria at the time.

Fifthly and lastly, those set of people in Nigeria who participated both in colonial and early independent Nigeria are either dead or retired as well. Those who are running the show today will still go the same way, frightening as it may, but we all have a date of departure with destiny. It was C.C. Onoh who said in his book; **My thorny road to government house**. "This house is mine because I am living here today. The man who lived there yesterday thought it was his. Tomorrow, whose shall it be". Taking a point of departure from these guiding ideological stand points let us study the Nigerian historical sign posts with the blameless approach as I have earlier advocated, we would break our discuss into the following sub-headings; The colonials, Our progenitors, and the Nigerian / Biafran war.

THE COLONIALS

An approach in political science parlance blames the inadequacies in Nigeria today on colonialism with its attendant neo-colonialism. The political and economic instabilities are tagged features of post colonial states, which is absolutely true but not sufficient information to provide a solution. We must take time to look at the nature of the injuries, carry out proper diagnosis to ascertain the best treatment for these messes. This we would attempt here by looking at past policies, interests as well as intents and their impacts.

The Lugard 1914 amalgamation was not done to unite or unify



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Nigeria rather it was done to push business forward, so it was strictly a business deal, which deepened differences. This was reflected in the unevenness in the sizes of the regions which was never considered, the North was larger than the South (Eastand West). This put them in a position where they could and still dominate the political destiny of Nigeria, for the records by 1949 – 50, the Northern region had a minimum of 50 percent representation in the House of Representatives. which brought about resentment from leaders of the South. The British maximized the divide and rule principle to the letters encouraging religious and ethnic differences, they did whatever will reduce unity, which was a treat to their control.

They as well ensured a differential educational development, in that they didn't want to spend on the education of the North largely because they wanted to save cost and in addition to the fact that their experiences in India, Egypt and Lagos the oppositions they have started to see where education was high have shown them that limiting education was the way forward. This will later be an acute problem since the North prior to independence and at independence had shortage of manpower which contributed to why independence was delayed. This colonial confusion of size unevenness and educational marginalization to the disadvantages of the south and North respectively midwived Nigeria's chaos. Let's bear in mind that the Nigerian political players were sincerely fighting for and about what they didn't know anything about. I call them the first partakers of the problems of Nigeria's colonial poisonous concoction. Little did they know that they were playing a script, today I look at them, given their time in history, civilization and level of exposure with an eye full of pity.

Okay, let's see how the Nigerian push me I push you all started in a nutshell. On the 31 of March 1953 when Chief Enahoro moved in



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the House of representatives "that the house accepts as a primary objective the attainment of self government in Nigeria in 1956" Alahaji Amadu Bello, the sarduana of sokoto knowing the unpreparedness of the North moved for the adoption of an amendment changing the words "in 1956" to read "as soon as practicable".

This generated insult and abuse from the educated Lagos crowd to Northern legislators who couldn't understand for the world of theirs why someone should move for the delay of his freedom. Remember the reasons "colonial educational marginalization" and "uneven size" which they couldn't see at the time. The Northern Representatives angered by their experiences in Lagos within weeks announced an eight point programme which if implemented would have meant a virtual secession of the Northern region from Nigeria. It is worthy of note that there was an attempt of secession in our national history before independence by the North.

This action provoked even harsher criticisms from the southern press and from the Action Group (AG) as well as the National council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). To this end the leaders of AG and NCNC then under took a tour to the North to campaign for self government, sort of an awareness campaign in 1956.

This tour led to a chain of events culminating in four days of rioting in Kano (Sabon Gari) which resulted in hundreds of casualties and dozens of death. This was the genesis of the clash and confusion in Nigeria but had they understood the two basic underlying issues of Nigeria being one sided educational exposure and uneven size , the tour wasn't necessary and the regional face-off was uncalled for.

This foundational crack would have been averted and Nigeria a different place, a better place in my estimation and what was required was to initiate programmes to upgrade the North educationally and not taunt them . Just for the records too, the second threat for secession in our history within this period was by



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the West on the condition that Lagos must be included in the 1953 constitution as part of Western Nigeria.

By and large these many issues contributed to ceding of more powers to the regions at independence anyway. The colonial government also brought about unequal economic Development; let's not forget that the purpose of colonialism was domination and exploitation for business. They crippled the indigenous economy like the textile industry of the North, notably Kano. The south had economic advantage as a direct offspring of their educational advantage since the colonial masters used them as their middle men in business and they picked up from there. This they leveraged on to grow in business skills, ideas and connections that at independence they were running the economy by default.

OUR PROGENITORS

I use the designation our progenitors to refer to all those who participated in Nigerian politics the years preceding independence and shortly afterwards especially from those whom the British handed over to. May we never forget that from the colonial foundation there already existed an ethnic cold rivalry between the regions, this was the colonial encodement (I like to call it the seed of Nigeria's destruction). As a refresher, the British handed over to its Hallelujah boys and even had to rig the first Nigerian election to ensure that its vested interest was protected. When we take a look at the statements of these our forbearers, and reactions they got from them, it betrays the code in them, the acquired ideology and inbuilt rivalry were at work unknown to them. As far back as 1947 for example, Chief Awolowo referred to Nigeria as a mere geographical expression. In 1948 Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe said at a rally "it would appear that the God of Africa has specially created the Igbo nation to lead the children of Africa from bondage of the ages. They were the front runners the set of men who picked up the mantle at independence amongst others, some of them worked sincerely hard



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for independence of Nigeria but we see an inbuilt orientation in them even before independence. In 1964 a Northern politician, Jolly Tanko Yusuf, referred to NPC (Northern Peoples Congress) as the only party that could stop Igbonization of Nigeria. This was the atmosphere and the spiritual climate just before and after independence of Nigeria. Our leaders still showed up chanting "my people" referring to the Nigerian populace while they themselves were immersed in ethnic bigotry. Our progenitors in no little way reinforced the divisions created by the British in Nigeria which is an expected outcome anyway. No wonder it was absolutely impossible to form a truly national party as the PDP and APC today as national parties irrespective of whether cosmetic or not. For these underlying orientation there was no how Nigeria could have flourished.

The Nigerian economy was drained and political instability was the order of the day which resulted in the fall of the first civilian regime in 1966, just six years down the line. The military came to power on the grounds that the civilians were not leading well, oppression, ethnicity, political violence, corruption etc were the order of the day. They rushed out of the barracks with a pure heart to save the child "Nigeria" little did they know that the child they have come to rescue was long dead.

Unknown to them they also had been indoctrinated and baptized with the same ethnic divisionist ideology stimulated by the colonial divide and rule system of their business empire (Nigeria), so the same thing they came to fight was in them and Nigeria became a mess.

This purity of the heart on the part of the military was reflected in the text of the speech by Major Kaduna Nzeogwu who appeared to the public as the leader of the coup. He said amongst other things they wanted to build a Nigeria every Nigerian will be proud of. Also from Major Emmanuel Ifeajuna's unpublished work in 1966 "indictment" where he claims to be the engineer of the coup, he gave this as one of the reasons they struck and I quote: "Corruption and inefficiency



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were not only visible everywhere; they were accepted as a way of life" from all indications their aim was a better country. This coup led to the killing of the Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the premier of Northern Nigeria region Sir Amadu Bello, the premier of Western region, Chief S. L. Akintola and Finance minister Chief F.O Okotie Ebo amongst others.

The moment this happened, it was observed that the coup was staged mostly by Igbo officers, and the victims of the coup were mostly Northerners. This didn't mean that Northerners didn't participate in the coup, of course it wouldn't have been possible to stage a coup without them and it didn't as well mean that the only victims were Northerners, no!. It was very easy to smell a rat considering the already existing fear of Igbo domination as well as the unguarded speeches of our progenitors from both sides of the divide at the time dwelling already in the subconscious of people including the military.

Remembering our thesis of the colonial foundation, this monster of ethnical division showed up in the army immediately and it was labeled an Igbo coup aimed at propagating and consolidating Igbo domination.

To add salt to the injury, the highest in command to take over was an Igbo, Major General Aguiyi Ironsi who left the coup plotters unpunished and appointed mainly Ibos into his cabinet and nailed the coffin with the running of a unitary government. That year 1966 introduced another layer to the Nigerian push me I push you. This was a situation knowledge our colonial foundational insight, had they the knowledge of it should have saved because they should have known that more Ibos were educated and by default more in the military.

Joseph Achuzia debunks the Igbo coup hypothesis by highlighting the major role played by Lt. Col. Emeka Ojukwu which helped to thwart the coup contrary to what many know, pointing out that it was a failed coup anyway. Col. Arthur Unegbu, the Quarter Master



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General in charge of armory in Lagos, an Igbo man was killed for non-cooperation in this coup. Ironically, it was Major General Aguiyi Ironsi, Alex Madiebo, Emeka Ojukwu and other officers who used Unegbu's situation to foil the coup (Madiebo, 1980). "If it wasn't for Ojukwu and the role he played, the North would have been the battle ground because Nzeogwu was holding the North and the army firmly, if not for Ojukwu's action and steps the story would have been different, his actions favoured the people who are now criticizing him saying he caused the war ... (Etim, 2011).

Anyway, based on the Igbo coup hypothesis and on the background attitudes of Igbos living in the North, saying that they have taken over which was an exercise in foolishness and lack of exposure. These generated riots in the North with Igbos as targets and finally cemented by a reprisal counter coup few months later by Northern officers wiping out alot of Igbo officers including Major Ironsi. This was the death of nationalism in the military and Nigeria in its entirety; to me this was where the Nigerian / Biafrain war started officially because all that happened after this incident were reactions. This was the war, that was the fight, it was beyond Lt. Col. Ojukwu and Gen. Gowon. I really pity those two individuals because they showed up in the most unfortunate time in Nigeria's history, for even Angels would have gone to war under the atmosphere and circumstances that they did.

THE NIGERIAN / BIAFRAN WAR

This was the thirty months unfortunate civil war in this nation in which over a million lives were lost. This Our Nigeria will never be fine if we keep ignoring discussions of the war, the nature and the consequences and how well the 3Rs(Reconciliation, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation) were implemented to heal the wounds. It is



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worthy to note that within the three days confusion of no central government after July 1966 counter coup that the Northern region considered secession before Lt. Yakubu Gowon emerged as head of state. Due to the continued brutal treatment of the Igbos in the North, the military governor of Eastern Nigeria, Lt. Col. Ojukwu called for Igbos all over the North to return to the East. This call introduced a cloud of uncertainty upon a country already immersed in chaos. Every move made to restore peace failed, from the constitutional conference in September 1966 to the meeting held in Aburi Ghana known as Aburi Accord. The leader of the Nigerian central government and the leader of Eastern region were already standing on troubled waters and each man trying to stand and be a man for their positions as much as they could till the nation was torn apart. In the prevailing circumstances Ojukwu was under intense pressure to sever relations with the State of Nigeria for its failure to protect lives of easterners living in the north. (Ransome Kuti, 1999; Soyinka 2006; and others). When General Yakubu Gowon assumed that Lt. Col. Ojukwu had decided on secession, he on May 27, 1967 declared the creation of 12 States, splitting the East into 3 States, he as well cut off communications with the East amidst a State of emergency. These were the last straws that broke the camel's back. On 30 May 1967, just three days later Ojukwu announced secession and Biafra was born. As an ardent student of power I know power then as now is fulfilled in hostage taking, no one having acquired power is willing to leave any space. We have an adage that a child is not supposed to allow fire put in his hands to go off but has to keep the fire burning. These two men were very unfortunate in Nigeria's history and I really believe history has judged them wrongly and painfully so but I hope it will be read right someday. Giving the existing situation the two men were testing their strengths and had to do what they had to do. It was a typical case of those who were dancing and were thought to be mad by those who couldn't hear the music. These were men battling with the climax of the colonial setup



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which has been programmed to lead nowhere but to fail. Unfortunately really, but I am fascinated by the fact that the war didn't start immediately showing it was not a mistake neither was it an emotional reaction of some sort but a resolution on both sides. The war broke out on 6 July 1967, with the background of the existing tension on both sides. If each man had failed to do what they had to do it would have been perceived as great lagging from their subjects and followers as well as stakeholders from each side of the divide. So it wasn't just these men, people planned and pushed both ways, the intellectuals amongst the Biafrans for instance articulated policies and approach for the Biafran struggle etc. Never forget that this was an offshoot or aftermath of the colonial divided and rule injection still at work in the people who were probably not born yet when it all started. Nigerians knew colonials had left but they didn't know the colonials still lived in our heads and we were and still running their programs with its attendant emotions up till this day. On this premise the war broke out and the rest is history. This war was the most horrible experience in our history, it was seen in some quarters as a genocide but I don't want to delve into that sentimental aspect for I believe our history books have done justice to them from different perspectives. A lot really happened but as I have pointed out, it was war, it was fight. An Igbo proverb says "ada acho ogu mma" meaning that in war and fight the overall idea is to win even if it requires plugging the opponents eye off though in today's modern world this crude approach is unacceptable because there are rules of engagement even in war. The federal government believed it was fighting a just course to unite the country so did Biafrans see their fight as a fight for freedom. We have been able to do a chronological and philosophical expose on how and why we got to this black spot in history. Our colonial heritage of imperialism and a study in international relations as well as oil politics will explain why the perceived world powers like Britain and America did not support the Biafran course although this is a topic for another discuss. We would



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also understand why those that stood for Biafra did what they did but this should all be history now. This chapter has dealt with our national ancestry which we must have at our finger tips and on our foreheads, most importantly with the orientation that our experience was and still is the harvest of the seed of discord sown by the British. They did this for their own selfish reasons and interest as our colonial masters basically for imperialistic goals even as our erstwhile masters. Having understood this, let's move on with our blameless lense on ethnic groups, our then and now leaders, and their actions and decisions making a resolution to move forward and do things better with more commitment, understanding and patriotism. This is the only way we can be sure we are off the shackles of this colonial foundation, lets jump and pass these ethnic, religious and aimless political face offs to have a great country.



CHAPTER THREE

NIGERIA'S SOFTWARE

In elementary economics it is taught that prices in the market are fixed by the unseen hands or forces of demand and supply. I would like to borrow the phrase "unseen hands or forces" to demonstrate the foundation of the Nigerian problem. These unseen hands because of their less concrete nature have been trivialized and consequently contributed to the seeming intractability of our national chaos. They are the disease causing organisms but we often ignore them to treat the symptoms which are visible and tangible. Our problems are behind the scene producing multiplicities of on stage effects and I decide to designate these unseen forces as the Nigerian software. Just as In a computer system there is the hardware which entails the physical, visible components and there is likewise a software which entails the applications and the internal working mechanisms of any computer systems which keyed in commands from the hardware hits and in turn produces results which we see as effective functioning. As we can see and hear, visible to the blind, audible to the deaf that our Nigerian system is not working, it doesn't matter the sentiment with which we view this it is very glaring. Nigeria is not working because the Nigeria software as I have pointed out earlier on is hanging and in dare need of an urgent update to avoid a sudden crash. Our system is malfunctioning just like our phones when they are bad, if you give hardware commands from outside they respond in a different way not in consonance with your command or they don't respond at all. We know that if you keep managing the phone one day it will just crash and if it does, you have to go for a fix but sometimes it is already beyond repair and you have to discard the phone.

May we not allow this country crash beyond repair that we would have to discard her (Nigeria). Sadly too, we have spent the last sixty years solving only hardware problems. These are problems of corruption, insecurity, political brigandage and impunity of all



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shades.

Even though they need to be addressed as well for the records which we would look at later on in this work but would be as it has always been an effort in futility if the software issues are not taken care of first. These are the major software issues we would be looking at value system, Ethnicity, Tribalism and Religion, Education and human resource development.

VALUE SYSTEM

I open with a statement that was trending a few months ago on social media in the course of my writing and it has kept my mind agitating even to the extent of personal questions.

"Those waiting to steal from Nigeria are more than those currently stealing from it" My first answer is Oh Yes! "very true", the national cake syndrome , we are all waiting consciously or unconsciously for a bite. But my question then becomes "why?" and my second answer is "our value system is skewed".

One of the unfortunate canker worms that has invaded this nation or better put the most unfortunate one is the thwartedness, skewedness, loopsidedness of our value systems as a country. Nigeria's value system is dysfunctional and this has kept happening gradually but today it is simply embarrassing to the point that many feel like hiding their faces in the sand when our nation is mentioned and the type of stories that follow.

Chief Nnia Nwodo put it in a way I love and it summarizes the situation. "We are recognizing people not because of their contribution to society but because of their aggrandizement of society, so the emblems of achievement that spur people up to become something is jaundiced or turned upside down and this is the incentive for crimes".



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I keep wondering how we got here as a people, this is not as it were currently just a problem of leadership or governace although the culpability can be traced down the generations of leaders as architects of the problem being sustained today by present day leaders. This occurs in our villages, we respect a man, give him awards, titles, elect him into office e.t.c just because he has money without bothering about his wealth source, his person or attitude as an individual, can you imagine? So this person automatically becomes a role model to the next generation because of his overwhelming visibility, influence and power conferred on him like an honorary doctorate degree by our society.

Little wonder the younger ones have a thwarted value system already coming up with slangs like "school na scam" "apprenticeship na dulling" "just hit am" "las las na money be the koko" "if you no buy the benz wetin you gain" etc. This is the current spiritual and mental state of the ordinary Nigerian especially the youth and so many youths have made it to stardom this way receiving their own accolades from our society and this barbaric cycle of mentorship in nothingness continues in our nation.

My late Dad was a secondary school principal and an upright man. One faithful day he returned from work and told me this story which I have not stopped thinking about. It was WAEC exam time in his school, so he left his office to patrol round the hall and he happened to catch a man, a father smuggling in a malpractice chip to his son through the window. In his embarrassment and disappointment he got the man arrested for exam malpractice but in the process the man said this to him "Principal I hope you are in this country where results were announced without counting the votes just last month and you think you can change Nigeria from this small place", sadly but truly, this is the mindset of the average Nigerian. This is the reason a mother who has been suffering in the village is happy his son is spraying



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money publicly without caring to know how and where he got it from.

Saraki (2020) we need to change the conditions that make crime appealing and attractive to our youths by creating an economy that encourages and incentivizes hard work, talent and skill. There is the need for mentoring and value re-orientation by opinion leaders but this must be backed by creating an atmosphere of hope and self sustainability for all Nigerians. This clearly makes the point that this value system erosion is largely as a result of the collapse of governance and will be corrected largely by government. An Igbo proverb says "Mmiri sina isi were gbarua" meaning the water got messed up from the source, which is to say the problem started from up there but like MTN says it is now everywhere you go. This is in no way making excuses or justifications for criminality of any kind or sidelining change coming from the little chambers. I believe strongly in the concept of the change that begins with you and as a matter of example, this book is an attempt to fuel a change from a little chamber because it is not backed by state power or authority but an on expert advice to leaders on policies to make things work better and in turn stimulate people to conform, as well for the enlightenment of the general public. Picking people up especially our young ones and populating our prisons recently labelled correctional centres is just a typical example of hardware fixing without first addressing the software which is useless in my own estimation.

This is simply because when they are arrested there are a thousand out there waiting to do same and when you release them after the correction you re-introduce them into the society infested with a skewed value system, so how corrective has the correctional centres been? or what is its essence? We must structure our country in a way to encourage hard work, talents and skills and especially for the children of the poor which the country presently doesn't care about. Our government should create the systems, structures and the reward systems while all our opinion leaders embark on massive national



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reorientation. Social injustice is when there is no equal opportunities, one law for some people and another for others. A friend once said to me, I have been working for fifteen years but when I look around it seems as if I have been wasting my time. People are broken by society because our assessment and reward apparatus are rusty. We have damped the creativity and killed the patience of the Nigerian genius, driving out of the window the possibility for a better and more robust Nigeria. This encourages corruption and crime as a lot are struggling on the side line, those who finally survive are most times uninterested to make any form of contributions to the society which they believe betrayed them. Another set that should have been improving our nation the professionals have escaped the shores in a search of refuge in other climes and yet another set who should be improving our national discuss, the intellectuals have all turned comedians and masters of ceremonies just to survive, I have experienced this myself. We might choose to label them as unpatriotic but there is no patriotism when the state has not fulfilled its own part of the social contract. To solve this problem we must deliberately start to place value or premium on ingenuity and contribution to society above riches and personal accumulations. Let's also note that riches are good, we should as well respect men and women who have worked hard in their (business, religion and political) careers and have as well made a lot of money. I had to list these careers business, politics and religion e.t.c because there is also this lopsidedness that only people in the business world should be rich, No! a thousand times No! Riches should be a direct result of hard-work and smart work.

With the present happenings in Nigerians today I state that the increasing number of Nigerians engaging in cyber crimes and other related offences are painting the nation black in the international community. This is really a reflection of our lax values, our skewed value system bred by an asthmatic leadership that has almost stifled the people. I agree with Sen. Bukola Saraki who said "we do not



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require oil prices to rise or dollar exchange rate to the naira to be lower, what is needed is the commitment on the part of everybody and the political will. Let us all put a commitment towards changing our values and let our government set the right environment for this to happen. Until we separate looters from hard working Nigerians, the next generation of youths will think looting is a career. I end with this quote: integrity, transparency and the fight against corruption have to be part of the culture they have to be thought as fundamental value - Angel Curria.

Lets work from inside out and not the way round, software first before hardware.

EDUCATION

The critical problem of education in Nigeria is a definition problem above all. We don't understand what education means, we misinterpret education, wrongly access education and consequently mis-educate. Generally we have reduced education to only academic exercises or what is done in school and this erroneous concept top to bottom is the reason we can't move forward in education. This is why at the highest level we assume that a minister for education should be a Ph.D. holder or an academic guru of some sort alone.

Let's start by looking at the Wikipedia dictionary definition of education: Education is the process of facilitating learning or the acquisition of knowledge, skills, values, beliefs and habits. Educational methods include teaching, training, storytelling, discussion and directed research. Education frequently takes place under the guidance of educators. However, learners can also educate themselves. Education can take place in formal and informal settings and any experience that has a formative effect on the way one thinks, feels and acts may be considered educational. Any experience with the formative thinking feeling and action is education . So let's face it, education doesn't only take place in the school, it happens at home, church, mosque, market, street, workplaces, in friendships and



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presently online (social media, webs....). If we agree on this how then do we classify those who have been in the market for instance involved in business and marketing in one form or the other for 10 – 20 years as uneducated? The tailor of fifteen years as uneducated, the computer repairer of 10 years as uneducated, a long standing member of a particular institution and even a close friend of a guru in an area? An actor, musician, comedian, reverend as uneducated just because they didn't attend our formal schools, or engage in our traditional education pattern.

I think a better approach will be to find out the strongest point of a folks education depending on what we require in the nation or what role we require to be played. I remember an old television programme "ka ima nkea ima nke ozo which means since you know this, do you know the other? Okay, you are a professor of say medicine or law.

Why do you hire a professional driver, as a governor why do you hire a professional security personnel and so on. Let's just learn to fix round pegs in round holes, square pegs in square holes. I hope we know that the markets in Lagos, Kaduna and Onitsha e.t.c have produced more millionaires who have been helpful to society and Nigerian economy than all the Nigerian universities put together. I have also seen very talented set of people in the entertainment industry, movie, comedy, music who don't have any university degree. I played a role in blockbuster movie "Lion heart" and my experience showed me how difficult acting and time consuming acting was.

I watched people like Nkem Owoh, Genevieve Nnaji act effortlessly. I couldn't stop wondering how they have been on this for years and I doffed my cap. For national development, what we require is to bring the best man for each job. If a man can do the job but he can't speak English and its purely a technical job let's bring and hire him and if need be get him an interpreter. Anyway a higher percentage of



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Nigerians now speak English, worst case scenario they will break it, that is our colloquial broken English or pigeon English. English as any other languages is learnt majorly by association, my maternal grandma who never attended any formal schooling understands and speaks little English today by association. That part of academic education that should be compulsory is the universal basic education (UBE) i.e (Primary to JSS3). This should be made a must because it shapes the mind, kills animalism in man and eliminates primitivity.

If it has to be taken to the streets then it should, we must also be less conventional about how we give out this universal basic academic education. This first nine years of education shouldn't be a choice but a must and should be pursued legally as it is free. It is here we liberate the mind from terrorism and picking up arms against the state which occurs when the mind gets contaminated. Now permit me to stay on academics a while, we must change the way we run our schools in Nigeria, from primary to university or better still add some critical things.

We must introduce an integrated learning approach, theory and practical not the kangaro practicals we do in our school laboratories and most importantly provide a socially healthy environment. How did we arrive at a situation where an auto mechanical Engineer cannot completely overhaul an engine of a car? this is wrong, we are only celebrating certificates that have no productive capacity. Even more serious, most of our private schools from primary to university do not make provisions for these social activities (ranging from play field for the young ones and avenues for social interactions for those in the universities).

So we are producing intelligent people who are socially deformed and cannot fit into the society appropriately. There should also be a miscegenation of knowledge, our universities should do exchange programs with international universities as was the case in our early years. Our universities were proposed to groom people in character and learning. We have done only learning to some extent and



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abandoned character, let's pick it up once again. If you do activism or speak up in your school you will be rusticated, if you become social in school or pursue a business or an idea other than what you have come to study, the university is structured in a way to reward or punish you with a third class or you don't graduate at all for non-conformity automatically. We have not also asked ourselves why those third class graduates are very great people, those rusticated students very great. In as much as learning is important, character is more important, have we thought of the outcome if this set of academic deviants created by our institutions were given more attention and encouraged. Also on leaving the university only 20% are practicing what they read, people just get any job and learn on the job. Critical too, Government must closely look at the reward system for our teachers and lecturers to ensure they are motivated to keep giving out their best. We don't need union strikes before government acts, this is perfectly demoralizing and discouraging. Back to the wider education, I know people who just did the basic school education or took a step further and stopped at the senior WAEC level, i.e O level which is best before venturing into trade, politics or religion etc, today they are captains of industries, they are leaders and reverends and Imams, we should classify them as educated, this is the socially right thing to do because putting them in the uneducated class will amount to social injustice. Importantly for our economic development as a nation, there should be a reward system for the apprenticeship especially those involved in the area of learning one technical skill or the other.

Take a walk to Coal Camp in Enugu, Mgbuka Obosi in Onitsha, Alaba in Lagos, Sabongari in Kano just to mention a few. There you will meet some of the most talented and industrious Nigerians. As a nation we must be concerned more than ever with human resource development, developing peoples talent to skills and making people better, this is education and this is the way forward for Nigeria.

May we never forget that education is from cradle to the grave according to Olusegun Obasanjo. We should take seriously in this



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generation technology and invest in it. By promoting digital literacy at all cost as well enhance learning by distant online learning. May we neither trivialize nor neglect political education, for this is for all and sundry and borders on our common humanity, there should be a basic knowledge that we at least all understand how government and the state functions because this will impact on our decisions in times of voting both for people and policies.

ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

In Nigeria today, ethnicity/tribalism has been elevated to dominate our national discourse, control how people think and talk and also determine what they oppose or support. It is promoted by political elites, embraced by the young and the old, passed from generation to generation, and even has base in the constitution. The above clearly demonstrates that tribalism has completely become a way of life in Nigeria, still trying to demonstrate the poignancy of this canker worm Achebe (1983) states; "Nothing in Nigeria's political history captures her problem of national integration more graphically than the chequered fortune of the word tribe in her vocabulary, tribe has been accepted at one time as a friend, rejected as an enemy at another, and finally smuggled in through the back door as an accomplice". In the course of this book tribalism and ethnicity will be used interchangeably to mean the same.

Tribalism according to Wikipedia is the state of being organized in, or advocating for, a tribe or tribes. In the Nigerian context, ethnicity or tribalism is defined as a social phenomenon associated with the identity of members of competing communal group(s) seeking to protect and advance their interest in a political system. The relevant communal factor may be language, culture, race, religion or a common history. What is peculiar to ethnicity or tribalism is that "it involves demands by one group on other competing groups" (Nnoli, 2008).

This topic being very academic, I am trying very hard not to make my



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analysis an academic one rather let's speak to the issues. Tribalism has eaten so deep into Nigeria that as you seek anything in this nation, just the mention of your surname depending on who is seated, it determines whether you fail or pass. It has gotten itself into the very core of our nation. Okay lets analyse this, university of Nigeria Nsukka is a federal university, can an Hausa Muslim become a vice-chancellor?, Amadu Bello University is a federal university can an Igbo Christian be vice-chancellor? Same stroke for Obafemi Awolowo university. Our political leaders have turned tribe into an instrument of blackmail to achieve their political dreams. People in public offices have their performance accessed by the number of people in their tribe that they empowered.

We have exalted tribal affiliations above our national grid. Since the word tribe appeared in our first national anthem, we esponged it and have been working consciously to eliminate it but it has only gotten stronger. Achebe (1983) noted that all this self-conscious effort to banish tribe has proven largely futile because a word will stay around as long as there is work for it to do.

In Nigeria, in spite of our protestations, there is plenty of work for tribe. Our threatening gestures against it have been premature, half hearted or plain deceitful!. Tribe cannot leave as long as our country is structured in a way to appeal to these sentiments. Look at admissions, employments and our politics in Nigeria you will see tribalism drinking a cup of coffee with his legs cross. I will lump in religious leanings here too because it behaves like tribalism, creating the same orientation and having the same effect infact they are birds of the same feather and they flock together this duo have generated social injustice, unfairness and division in the country as well as conferring undue advantage on its perpetrators. Tribal and religious sentimental attachments in the course of national interactions has and is a cankerworm.

It not only short-changes the immediate person or people involved but it generates a level of inefficiency due to locking out the right man



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for the job and getting meritocracy crucified, this prevents the nation from moving forward. A team that goes for a football tournament without its first eleven for any reason, will not do the best it has the capacity to do. This evil has been institutionalized in quota systems, federal character and zoning. This is not the best for a nation that desires to progress but I must sound this caution as a leadership and political expert.

In Nigeria its elimination must be systematic, gradual and must be done in a way to avoid a total collapse of our national affairs which hinges presently on it completely but I know some day we will live on merit.

It is sufficient to say that whenever merit is set aside by prejudice of whatever origin, individual citizens as well as the nation itself is victimized(Achebe, 1983, p.25).

He also posits that less advertized but not less damaging to social morality is the advantage which tribalism may confer on mediocrity. The best approach to excellence in national life is the best man for the job but we have studied and observed the strength of the informal systems in Nigeria and how they influence who gets what ,when and how? The communal life we live in Nigeria, the way our religions are practiced and the political blackmail by our politicians using religion and tribalism. As a human being the first thing on the table should be our common humanity not religion nor tribe.

This is where I believe universal basic (ie schooling) education and exposure helps. Some leaders more rampant in the northern part of Nigeria will prefer to keep their people ignorant and uneducated at the level of "Allah be Allah yakabani" meaning may God give you so that you can give me, but their own children are in the best schools abroad working towards a great future.

They come back, become leaders of the nation continues the blackmail and the vicious cycle continues, unfortunately the people i write about can't read this work, because they have no basic schooling or exposure to read in order to have a proper grasp of life



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but let it be penned down just may be somebody can decide to pass it down , inform or mentor them . You walk into some offices you see Christians their reading their bible or moslems praying when they should be at work both always with a pius look of their faces and if you fire the person you are labeled enemy of their faith. If you take any action against them it is termed persecution. People in religious conflict fighting each other without understanding clearly that your parents, place of birth and your first encounter in life at that unconscious level determines your religion to a large extent, unknown to you. So how do you kill a man and eliminate another man for not conforming to your religion that you know nothing about, how it started but was born into or even if you are the pioneer of your own religion don't you understand that its your choice and each man entitled to theirs. Do you know that religious intolerance is the highest level of myopism? It is absolutely unnecessary even if you chose your religion at a matured age, your nature and nurture made you make your choice.

Man remember is nature and nurture.

The problem we have in Nigeria is that religion has become a refuge for scoundrel, people who have been permanently battered by the Nigeria state have no other place to run to but to pick up religion and use it in the way and manner that is embarrassing and I don't blame but pity them though really worrisome. Superfluous expression of religion in any form is a danger to the body polity and must be completely discouraged.

As a result of ethic or religious superfluity, when we have seen how people tenaciously hold on to ideas of ethnicity/tribalism and religion in discussions about Nigeria at all times and are ready to die for it, even on social media in recent times, you can perceive and see the bitterness literally. This is a problem and continuing on this path keeps Nigeria on the egde of a dangerous precipices for we must strive at all cost to create a truly secular state and a country we can all call our own irrespective of where we come from and our faith



CHAPTER FOUR NIGERIA'S MONSTERS

I have been frightened by these monsters
I Cannot be great because of them
I was born into them
I Have never won any war against them though waged many
I Cannot breath because they have their knees on my neck
I am about to die if I don't get help urgently – cries of the Nigerian nation.

These monsters are the pivot on which our national challenges revolve. The dying economy and poverty, the copious insecurity, terrorism and banditry and other indicators are in one way or the other stimulated or exacerbated by these monsters. These above mentioned national challenges are by and large in political science parlance regarded as features of a weak state. These monsters make the state weak which means a weak government and this answers the question why our government has been adjudged weak especially by the international community, the monsters. The primary purpose of government is the security of lives and properties and I will add for emphasis stomachs too. The government as well stands to control excesses as a leviathan.

“Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice without constraint”.

—Alexander Hamilton.

“The purpose of a government is to enable the people of a nation to live in safety and happiness. Government exists for the interest of the governed and not for the



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—Thomas Jefferson

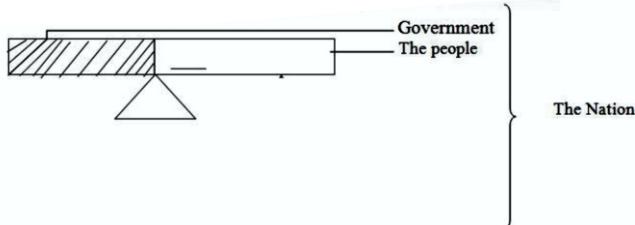
When a government at any level cannot perform its functions it is referred to as failed or weak which means the same anyway, weakness is failure. So having accessed the Nigerian government we see why it has failed, it is weak and it cannot be great. The truth that this nation is sick was alluded to by a former WHAT NOW? president, Olusegun Obasanjo who said "As Nigerians we are all in one bad boat and all hands must be on deck to fix it" and i add we either sink or swim together.

Having known some of the software issues as the disease causing organisms and as well an understanding of our history that shaped us. We must now graduate to call these diseases, these physical symptoms names. This we tag them monsters. The two most critical humongous monsters of this country are bad leadership and corruption which are parents to other monsters.

BAD LEADERSHIP

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of her leaders to rise to the responsibility and to the challenge of personal example which are the hallmarks of true leadership (Achebe, 1983, p. 1). The above says it all because clearly leadership is the fulcrum of national life. Everything revolves around it and if it is faulty nothing works .

Fig 4.1





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This is so powerful because leadership organizes the government to serve the people by setting up systems and institutions to enable this happen. It in turn motivates the people to submit to government by establishing trust over time. The institutional failures on one hand and the cynicism amongst the people of Nigeria on the other hand is an affirmation of a faulty leadership set up that has persisted.

When we talk of leadership, it is not an abstract concept for we speak of people in different positions of authority at different points and times.

To be clearer, it runs from the president of the country down to the cleaning supervisors in different offices. Leadership is vast, but we understand that the higher and more influential the position the more far reaching the impact of their leadership prowess or inefficiency. So it is logical that the higher the position the more solidified the leader should be to avoid stories that touch. A leader ought to be prepared, have a heart filled with passion and as well an understanding of the people to be led.

The human element of leadership is the crux of leadership. Who is leading? Who has the wheels? Who calls the shots? Leadership transforms cowards into violent warriors; capacity and commitment are the words. An army of sheep led by a lion will always defeat an army of lions led by a sheep. Who is in charge matters.

Now turning our periscope to leadership at the top echelon of our country Nigeria. It was Bishop Kukah talking about Nigerian leaders who said our presidents have always been brought from somewhere on parachutes and their good luck has been our bad luck.

Our past leaders have been good people in many respects and some with good hearts but performed poorly in leadership due to lack of preparation and lack of selfless commitment to duty which are the two most important qualities of good leaders. My recommendation will be that the best qualification to be a Nigerian leader is being a graduate of the University of the heart in the country of life. This was



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the qualification Mandela had, a heart that beats for the people and passion adorned with the commitment for a better tomorrow. This should now be followed up by capacity.

Secondly, when it comes to voting and appointment of leaders let's us look beyond ethnic and religious sentiments to fish out those who have at least shown evidence of preparation and commitment.

Thirdly, we must subscribe to leaders who have an understanding of our history as a people and an understanding of the people called "the Nigerian people" and how we got to where we are. Too many writers are trying to solve Africa's political and economic problems without looking at the people with whom they are dealing (Enahoro, 1998, p.x). It must be known to would be leaders who desire to fix this nation the psychology of the Nigerian people.

The Nigerian people are critical, emotional and cynical as a result of backstabs of leadership in the past, from colonization till date. A people that have no trust in leadership due to a culture of carefreeness and carelessness by those in authority as regards people's welfare.

Fourthly, leaders have to be leaders and not office holders alone.

In this 21st century of citizen, journalism, that traditional set up are jettisoned. social media and globalization taking over office holding is ejected out of the window. Though it's impact in terms of public policy design and implementation is not underestimated, this is why we should be conscious of who is in charge. The big question is, when you leave office are you still a leader? So as a leader you must have an ideology and a solid one for that matter which sees a picture beyond yourself for this is the bottom line.

Fifthly, Leadership capacity is not a function of age, career or religious inclination. Bishop Desmond Tutu is a Christian cleric that helped Mandela win the war against apartheid, Minister Louis Farakan is a Moslem Cleric but has established himself as a leader fighting for the emancipation of black people and a freedom fighter in the United States. Whether old or young if one is qualified for



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leadership they should be given a chance to lead. Let me drop this, we as youths advocate for youth involvement in politics to the letters .

I have both supported and demonstrated my support for the "not too young to run initiative" because youths are the masters of innovation which is what moves a nation to the next level. But the caveat to us as youths is that we should also learn to accommodate the old Nigerian leaders, it must be a mix of old and young. If it becomes a government of only the young that one has its own problems too, for instance if we look back to our history, it is clear we need the fire, we need the push but we also need restraints. You don't kill your father because you have more liberal ideas, because that is what it should be, the younger should be better, more educated than the older because times are changing with lots of improvements. I also passionately appeal that the old in power today make space for the younger generation to join the work force because that is where we see the major problem. In Nigeria the greatest challenge is whether the young people can get beyond the dubious scaffolding by this semi-feudal system we are running and getting nowhere that we call democracy according to Kukah. I add that it is even almost impossible for a youth from a poor background.

Sixthly, what Nigeria requires now is the carpenter or mechanic brand of leaders at all levels to fix the breakdown in the various sectors of our nation. A supposed Nigerian leader must have the courage to lead and the humility to be in touch.

We require a capable, strong willed, visionary leader who will introduce radical programs for social, political and economic reorganization or at least a well conceived and consistent agenda of reform. Being in touch, a Carpenter must be in touch with the nails, the woods, the metal sheets, and the mechanic must be in touch with the bolts, nuts and all parts. We must go for leaders who are in touch with those they aspire to lead, who feel their pulses patient enough to hear them out. and sagacious enough to drive development. Our



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freedom to oppose a leader and express our views shows how good and democratic which the leader is that of cause is the essence of democracy which is about exchange of ideas.

Lastly, the leaders orientation and mindset or better put their ideological leanings. A perceptive student of Nigerian politics, James Booth, has drawn attention to the poverty of thought exhibited in the biographies of our great sages Dr. Azikiwe and Chief Awolowo in contrast to the expressions of ideology to be found even in the more informal works of Mboya, Nyerere and Nkrumah.

A solemn vow made by Azikiwe in 1937 he pledged: "that henceforth I shall utilize my earned income to secure my enjoyment of a high standard of living and also to give a helping hand to the needy".

Obafemi Awolowo was even more forthright about his ambitions. "I was going to make myself formidable intellectually, morally invulnerable, to make all the money that is possible for a man with my brains and brawn to make in Nigeria".

Thoughts such as these are more likely to produce aggressive millionaires than selfless leaders of their people. (James Booth, 1981, p.49) quoted in (Achebe, 1983, p.14). Permit me to say that these are our respected founding fathers and these thoughts are not evil thoughts, neither do they discredit the great lives they lived and works they did for this nation. James only made the point that those statements were more business driven than humanity driven when compared to other leaders mentioned.

Moreover what we have today is worse since it is not only a business driven ideology but an ideology to loot the treasury of the state to stupor. There is nothing wrong with making money or doing business, I do business and make money and I pray to make more but our primary driving force should be the good of humanity, our nation. This will lead us into the reason for the next monster



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corruption which stems from a selfish ideology of money making or favour garnering in an excessive manner. Very important as a mother to every other condition of qualification to leadership for leaders who aspire to or are allowed to handle Nigeria's government, I recommend that they should at least have a minimum understanding of how States function, the dynamics of states and the burden of leadership as service to humanity.

By and large a mix of capacity and hearticity (a heart for the people). The lack of quality leadership has been a great monster to the development of Nigeria.

CORRUPTION

The problem of corruption in Nigeria is that corruption has been culted. The events of the last few months to this our sixtieth anniversary have cast the last stone on the corruption situation in Nigeria. It has really dramatized the intractability of corruption.

We watch the anti corruption poster boy decimated, lootings, re-looting and fight for the loots in different ministries and between the different arms of government. Does it have a solution? possibly yes it does!

As a foundation to this corruption discuss, it is critical to note that corruption is as old as civilization with its variants and if this is the case it is in the human nature to be corrupt which is a result of selfishness. Some schools of thought see corruption as a post-colonial trait of nations which is not out of place but is half truth since those in the more civilized climes have these corrupt tendencies too.

Let me clearly state that what we have in Nigeria cannot even be labeled as corruption but impunity, monumental careless, fearless, ruthless, shameless, inconsiderate primitive accumulation of state wealth as though Nigerian leaders live forever. A study of our colonial history presents series of Emirs, warrant Chiefs and court clerks, Obas and Chiefs who were corrupt and how they ripped the



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masses off. The coup speech by major Nzeogwu and Major Ifeajuna in January 1966 heralding our political confusion stated corruption as one of the reasons for the coup. So we have been fighting corruption in Nigeria to no avail. The many questions are as follows: Are we supposed to be fighting corruption?

Are we fighting it right?

Can we ever win this war?.

Corruption in Nigeria has passed the alarm state and entered the fatal state and Nigeria will die if we continue to pretend that she is only slightly in disposed (Achebe, 2012, p. 149). This was a statement made about eight (8) years ago affirming the gravity, of corruption in Nigeria. If you ask me today what I think, I will say the country has been corrupted into comatos and presently on a stretcher heading for the emergency unit and its chances of survival is slim.

To solve, the corruption problem we must understand the foundation of corruption, the different variants of what constitutes corruption and finally can now work on how to reduce corruption. I purposely used reduce because stopping corruption completely is just like saying you will eliminate crime completely in the world. It is innate in people but when access is difficult and sanctions are lethal people are restrained.

We must understand that the dimension of corruption in Nigeria is a social problem and a reflection of a nation that has lost its value compass and is immersed in poverty and injustice. Quote me anywhere "corruption is the only lucrative business in Nigeria to the extent that we all as human beings are tempted to join".

This reflects exactly the thoughts of a higher percentage of Nigerians, let's not deceive ourselves please. We have all been here for a while, we have heard the millions and billions moving around that we have lost respect for the sheer size of those figures in our ears but adore them in our hands for we have never touched them. The only way we have seen to grow in this nation is to capsize the state and probably have a second home abroad. Now let's look at what



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constitutes corruption in government where our interest lies. I appreciate this list by Datti Baba-Ahmed in 2019 as what constitute corruption which include, inflated government contracts, unremitting revenues, extortions, conversion of public properties to private, misuse of security votes (I add all government funds in general) wastefulness (criminal wastefulness) and lastly influence peddling. If these are some parts and areas that constitute corruption in government and we also remember that it is in the human nature to be corrupt for same reason people are selfish and we know people are people everywhere. How do we solve the problem of corruption? I start with this quotation: Nigerians are corrupt because the system under which they live today makes corruption easy and profitable, they will cease to be corrupt when corruption is made difficult and inconvenient. (Achebe, 1983, p.48), Let me add to the last sentence "difficult, inconvenient and life threatening". This was a statement made thirty seven years ago that has never been adhered to.

A high percentage of the corruption in Nigeria is administrative so let's simply control the mechanism using innovations especially in technology to circumvent the loop holes. This is what Ngozi Okonji Iwela refers to as the non-sexy works or parts of fighting corruption because it doesn't get the adverts but it gets the work done. Things like computerization of records for revenues, payments e.t.c. When this is done we can now set up policies and heavy sanctions for those that circumvent the processes. This is where having strong institutions comes in handy especially a strong judiciary as our final bus stop.

So corruption is not tackled by making arrests whether they be paper tigers or real ones. This is simply because when you make only arrests you have only created space for the next thief to take over and continue. May be this time with a different format which will also take you time to uncover ad infinitum and this has been the case and story of Nigeria.



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Why would a corrupt man in Nigeria get to US, China or the UK and only do legitimate businesses.

This is simply because of the tight system and the hard repercussions of walking outside it. So to fight corruption we must set up systems and processes to reduce it to the barest minimum and punish offenders as the last straw for exemplary purposes.

It was Kukah who asked if a congress man from the US will reject the billions being shared in our national assembly and how will a Nigerian national assembly member if taking to the US congress steal money? will he not want to? but he can't because of the systems, processes and strength of laws.

Talking about strength of our laws, can you show me one person who had really faced the music for corruption in Nigeria? None! There should be recrimination for corruption but doing this alone will result in culting corruption and making it intractable.

When we fight corruption we institutionalize it and unfortunately that is what we have been and still doing in Nigeria today and this explains why we have not won the war against corruption after 60 (sixty) years of every government poised to fight this monster. And this government coming to power on it as a cardinal agenda.



CHAPTER FIVE THE NIGERIAN DREAM

The Nigerian dream is simply a common ground for all Nigerians, old or young, rich or poor, strong or weak, irrespective of side in any of the divides (ethnic, Religious , Political etc). Neither the Lion nor the Hyena wants the bush burnt, our common ground is the preservation of our bush and this bush of ours is the Nigerian dream. This is the way forward and this is the answer to the national dilemma what now? So if you ask me, what now? I will answer we must preserve our bush, we must sustain the Nigerian dream and this is the only way we can remain an entity in truth and in spirit. What then is this Nigerian dream? The Nigerian dream is clearly and simply written out and specified as the motto of our coat of arms adopted at independence in 1960. We must go back to where we started getting it wrong to solve our problem I recommend and that place is the Nigerian dream.

The Nigerian Coat of arms



Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress

They are Unity and faith, peace and progress. It is first and foremost the responsibility of government at all levels across the country to provide an enabling environment for the Nigerian dream, I call it the "coat of arms atmosphere". From the birth of an independent



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Nigeria, it was clearly understood that Nigeria then as now is multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-this and multi-that. This is simply why this motto was placed on our coat of arms which is a symbol of our independence, honour and all we are as Nigerians. The British knew how critical this sustenance of the dream was to the survival of Nigeria. Unfortunately we have not taken time to live by them as a nation and that has been the hub of our problem.

In this coat of arms the images which we are very used to from elementary studies collectively depicts the beauty, wealth and strength of Nigeria. Put differently, depicts the greatness of Nigeria as a nation which is a display of capacity or some sort of potential.

This greatness will never, I repeat will never completely manifest except we take care of the Nigerian dream, except we address our motto, except we preserve our bush. Let's us do a little conceptual elucidation of these words before we correlate them to depict the Nigerian dream.

Faith: faith is derived from the Latin word *fides* meaning trust or confidence in something, person or concept and for contextual understanding I add confidence in "nation and government".

Unity: unity means oneness but I love a particular definition which says "quality or state of being made one: unification".

Peace: peace is a concept of societal friendship and harmony in the absence of hostility and violence. In social sense, peace is commonly used to mean a lack of conflict (such as war) and freedom from fear of violence between individuals or groups.

Progress: progress is the movement towards a defined, improved or otherwise desired state.

Tenets set1 - Faith and Unity

Tenets Set 2 Peace and Progress

Let's interact with these tenets sets by sets.

Before that I posit that if tenets set 1 is not achieved there can never be tenets set 2 or put differently the degree to which we observe and enthrone tenets set 1 is directly proportional to the degree of



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availability of tenets set 2. There exists a causal relationship between tenets 1 and 2, tenet 1 brings tenet 2. Interacting with the first set of tenets; faith implies that as Nigerians we should trust and have confidence in the Nigerian state for our protection and provision. We should by the actions of government have that feeling and see they reflectively that they have our collective interest at heart, feeling in every sense as part and parcel of Nigeria, no feeling of being marginalized, less recognized or shortchanged in any form. It is only when this is achieved that we can have unity, unification, oneness and that family spirit which is based on acceptance and then we can work together.

Unfortunately, at this point a lot have no faith in this nation, consequently Nigerians are very divided both in spirit and actions, when you take a walk round Nigeria and even on social media you will see resentment and emotional bad blood across divides a reflection of dissatisfaction by all and sundry. So to achieve unity in Nigeria our government must at all cost in its intents and actions seek to restore the confidence to every citizen and part of this nation that we are all Nigerians.

We must visibly see that Nigeria belongs to us all in a way that it belongs to us all, that it doesn't belong to anybody or group more in any sense. This can be achieved by the installation of meritocracy as a guiding principle in all walks of our national life garnished with social justice which entails as part of it equitable distribution of representation and resources. When this faith is restored unity comes as by-product, let me point out that unity is not uniformity, we don't all need to have the same form in any sense to be united, we can have unity even though we are very different which we call unity in diversity.

This sets the tone for the second set of tenets, peace is a normal fallout from faith and unity in the nation. There will be cohabitation and freedom for we have an understanding of scoring at a common goal post. Peace they say is not only the absence of war but the



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absence of those things that cause war. When they are absent you have faith in the system and there is togetherness and peace becomes a by-product. When there is justice in every sense, there is peace, no justice no peace point blank. My Dad will always say "we can't get peace in Nigeria with all these songs of unity and peace". Whenever it ran through the TV as I watched with him growing up. Sorry, they are a waste of time if these issues are not first addressed. We like to say Nigerians are unpatriotic, you don't expect patriotism from a citizen battered by the state, if you get it from such citizen , it is just a selfless sacrifice.

With the Nigerian dream in place why won't Nigeria progress, if we build faith in the people bringing unity and peace, moving forward which is progress will be the only and natural possibility. Then Nigeria can grow, develop more in human resource and infrastructure because all hands will definitely be on deck towards creating a better Nigeria. What Now Nigeria? _we must live and fulfill the Nigerian dream, if not there will be no dream and invariably Nigeria will cease to exist.

PRESENT DAY NIGERIA AND THE WAY FORWARD

Here we would substantiate in concrete forms the political, social and economic climate in the country and the practical concrete ways we can sustain the Nigerian dream. These actions that must be taken to reflect all four tenets of the Nigerian dream as i tag it "What Nigeria has to do now" what now? This will be the cap on this our social political analysis of Nigeria.

WHERE ARE WE?

Our Nigeria, this country is sick or we can even say that the nation is comatose and it calls for a real and urgent intervention, a former comrade and bosom friend of mine Chibuzor onyeije will always say "play time is over" . In philosophy we always say the questions are



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more important than the answers, we must ask the right questions to stimulate the right direction. We have a nation with a high debt profile and standing inbetween a fractured economy complicated by the covid-19 pandemic and a field day for the terrorism and banditry industry , yeah! It is already an industry today, we need no dramatization of this fact. A country where stereotypes have taken over our narrative and analysis (for instance it is very dangerous as to tag all terrorists and bandits to a tribe Fulani because this kills efforts to fight it and more ridiculous to label IPOB members terrorists because it frustrate the agitation being made. By and large what we see in Nigeria is a failure of government over time and at it's lowest ebb today.

Right here today our problems are not far away as well from some fundamental misconceptions which definitely leads us to the wrong results because we are a nation that doesn't engage or that never engages in diagnosis.

Here are few wrong assumptions and national bad habits:

- We wrongly assume here in Nigeria that security is all about guns and bullets without trying to understand the sociology of security. What of food security? Isn't it obvious that for you to be correct in the head you must have a full stomach.
- Why do we always assume that National development is all only about infrastructure, and physical assets the seemingly and tangible things. Don't we understand that human resource development is the greatest infrastructure and the people are a nations greatest assets. A nation where people see politics as a criminal enterprise (practitioners and observers) enterprise and politicians as merchandisers of evil. Corruption hijacks our graphs to the point you can hardly be scientific about the way things should be arrived at in this country.
- No accountability for resource management and stewardship by leaders.
- A government that never listens to its citizens when they speak up until it deteriorates into violence, that is if they eventually listen.



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Lastly, a skewed pattern of recruitment for leadership, we always hire the worst people to do government job, no wonder its turns out the way it does.

Our banks hire the smartest and sound people to manage money and we Nigerians hire the worst people to manage all of us so what do we expect. As Nigerians we are sentimental with a lot of issues. For instance, Whenever it is said that Nigeria is a failed state it starts to raise dust. Chukwumerije said it some time ago and it became an issue, likewise so many other people are today alluding to this undeniable fact including a former president Obasanjo and most recently Wikipedia has toed the same line. Let's us even look at the definition of a failed state after which you will answer the question whether Nigeria is successful, failed or even dead but don't tell anyone, just keep the answer to yourself. A failed state is a state that can no longer perform its basic functions such as Education, Security or governance. It has the following attributes :

- Loss of physical control of its territory or monopoly of legitimate use of force.

- Erosion of legitimate authority to make collective decisions.

- Inability to provide reasonable public services

- Inability to interact with other states and the international community. Lets answer the questions now, does any or all of these qualities define Nigeria? So when next someone calls Nigeria a failed state keep quiet and don't shout. Just in case you are not aware , Bandits and terrorists are kidnapping people and causing mayhem everywhere. they are doing this in our territory and we can do nothing so we have ungoverned territories ethnic and religious division everywhere in the county our case in Nigeria is OYO (on your own) nobody is responsible for your welfare but you.

THE WAY FORWARD

For me the way forward will be a holistic approach not a quick fix, this will have to take us back to the beginning. The beginning for us



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was independence because this was at least when we became in-charge of our own affairs even though we were already programmed to fail as we have seen. It is this recognition of an existing programming from the colonial times that led us to resolve on a blameless approach to finding solution for Nigeria. Having understood the nationalist movement in our history that gave us independence, it is also very vital we remind ourselves of the two factors that delayed our independence. In understanding them lies our solution.

They are:

The minority question.

The fear of Southern domination by Northern leaders.

We must look at how these issues were addressed before independence and fast forward to the situation today sixty years down the line.

History has it that the minority problem, given that the British were uncomfortable due to the nationalists and the fact that they were already prospecting other careers elsewhere were anxious to leave and the Nigerians on our part due to desire for freedom were anxious to take over power. This rush led to the minority problem being ignored after all their submissions and agitations.

The second problem, the fear of Southern domination which its reasons will be clearly seen if we properly understand the dynamics of colonialism in Nigeria as explained in chapter two.

This issue was taken care of by regionalism, ceding more powers to the regions and it was on this table that October 1960 was agreed on as independence day.

Today, looking at this two variables:

The minority problem has been addressed to an extent and having a president Jonathan in our history as one most prominent testimony although we hope for more opportunities for the minorities in our national space.

The second problem which was addressed then, fear of Southern



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domination is no longer in place because the regional system addressed and contained it. This regional structures unfortunately were dismantled by Gen. Yakabu Gowon who created states. Whether it was the best decision at the time or not depends on your side of the narrative but the fact remains it was basically done to prevent Ojukwu from going to war. We have practiced this pattern of government for years and the fear has now flipped, there is currently a fear of Northern domination in the atmosphere.

This can only be assuaged by returning faith to Nigeria and how do we do this, let's restructure, and again I say restructure before you pin me to one side of the narrative there is nothing inevitable about how the restructuring should be done, it can take any shape but the fact remains that if we had restructured all these agitation wouldn't have shown up. It can be returning to the few regions as before but not a copy and paste, a regionalization that will incorporate all the indices of the new world order and so on. It could also be working on the states which we have by ceding more powers to them. The Federal Government should be like a union office not this lopsided federalism we have today because what we have today in every sense of it is

What we require is a federal system based on parliamentary democracy, that is, a country housing other smaller countries.

unitary government to say the least, simply, anything is better than what we have now. This will restore faith to the polity and strengthen our union precipitating peace and without fail Nigeria will progress. Lastly, the Nigerian/Biafran war was very unfortunate but for the fact that it had happened there is an area we can never sweep under the carpet if we aspire to fulfill the tenets of the Nigerian dream. We must perform the burial rites of the Nigerian/Biafran war which will be complete re-integration of the Igbo in nation affairs which we should be very deliberate about. We must therefore ensure that the 3Rs (Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction)



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after the war have been completely implemented in truth and in spirit.

The Igbos were not and continue not to be integrated into Nigeria, one of the main reasons for the country's continued backwardness, in my estimation(Achebe, 2012,p.233). This situation is made worse by this present government that has deliberately sidelined the Igbos like never before adding salt to the already existing injury. My thoughts, the highest dramatization of the total inclusion of the Igbos will be achieved the day an Igbo man or woman holds again the top job of the Nigeria presidency, at this point we can understand we are completely one Nigeria again and old things are pasted away . The struggle of Martin Luther King Jnr. in America got to its acme on the day Barrack Obama became the president of the United States of America, this sealed the inclusion of blacks in the affairs of America. I as well appeal to the Igbos to have an open heart towards the affairs of this nation. Let us all really put the past behind us, it was Nelson Mandela who said "the mentality of retaliation destroys states while the mentality of tolerance builds nations" Let's all build a great Nigeria together and our greatest hope is that one day a Nigerian not an Igbo, not a Yoruba, not an Hausa will finally be president in the words of Dike Chukwumerije, who knows no tribe but Nigeria.



EPILOGUE

What we have re-commended in this book is a far reaching programmatic approach of policy and orientation overhaul of the way Nigeria should go, not a quick fix. The dream is that we must bring back a Nigeria where it would be possible to move across class lines, because right now every avenue for legitimate improvement for individuals in Nigeria has been blocked off. Sixty years after independence I beg to borrow a leaf from the Gertysburg speech made by Abraham Lincoln as a post war president in an environment of massive devastation. It was in this 1863 short speech that Lincoln laid a foundation of why America must be a democratic society, opening with a quotation from the 1776 declaration of independence where American founding fathers stated clearly "we sign on to the proposition that all men and women are created equal". The focus of this speech was the sacrifices of those who had already died in the war and Lincoln didn't want Americans to pity those who lost their lives but that from their sacrifices and their blood that a greater nation might emerge. One word that appeared in that speech at least four times is the word "dedication" meaning that what we owe the dead is not our tears but to stand by those dreams and vision that they died for. Bringing it home to our nation Nigeria. For instance in our national anthem a line goes thus "The labours of our hero's past shall never be in vain ... One nation bound in freedom, peace and unity". May we commit to the Nigeria dream of freedom for all which will bring peace and unity, this way that the labours of our heros past shall not be in vain, so Nigeria must belong to everybody. To achieve this for the records I will give a brief rundown of areas of this country that must be touched to achieve this. Obviously the present brain drain in the country surpasses what we saw in the 80s, for this time people are running away from the country and sincerely I wanted to run too until resovled be part of making a conducive home, if your home is not conducive you will always prefer to be out. I have already highlighted in the section on the way forward that we need to



restructure both the government and the economy and I must add at this point that changes in some critical areas are required.

Our elections is an area we must tighten up. The situation of June 12 1993 was very unfortunate, sadly we have not corrected that mistake instead we have even worsened it for it was a credible election but the problem was cancellation. We have not started having free and fair elections or allowing votes to count and announcing the correct results.

This Making June 12 our democracy day is good as a reminder of what we must avoid but of what use is it if we continue to rig elections and our votes don't count. Government and the Independent National Electoral Commission

(INEC) must stand up to the responsibility that our votes count at all times and all levels. Next, We must invest in people, we must invest in human beings, they are the drivers of technology and reforms. It is erroneous if we keep thinking that development is all about building infrastructure, the greater aspect of development is building people.

Invest in Education, the right type of education as we have pointed out earlier, people should be helped by the nation to improve as individuals so they can in turn improve this nation. Human resource development is the key, having travelled many universities and secondary schools teaching young people for close to two decades, I have learnt one lesson, no one person is not gifted and all have the capacity to contribute to society.

Let's invest in human capital development remembering that ideas rule the world and these ideas come from people.

Electricity is the life wire of technology and we are at the peak of the technology age and we can't afford to be battling with electricity now if we desire to stay afloat as a nation.

Whatever it takes to fix the electricity of this country should be done by government in a hurry because it is almost late.

As a matter of emergency there has to be an overhaul of our entire



security architecture and security should be localized for effectiveness. This localization can vary across the country being suited to the peculiarity of areas. An unsafe country cannot move forward in any sense of development.

The oil which has been a ventilator to the Nigerian economy is parking up and if it completely does and care is not taken now, poverty, unemployment, high debt profile, low life expectancy and all other indicators of a sick economy will soon escalate and the nation will be dead. I think the awakening and threatening fact is to understand that we are in a bad shape right now, threatening to die under the oil ventilator support.

What do we think will be our story without the oil life support, tragic! I believe and this is why we can't play with electing the right leaders without sentiments who will give way to the right policies to re-navigate a post Covid – 19 battered economy of Africa's most populous country. We must critically look at every ministry in this country, we must bring in the private sector and take them more seriously in order to compliment our public sector which is way behind. I end on this note, it is when we have fixed Nigeria that we can rebrand it and sell it better to the whole world. In 2010 I had a very robust discussion with my late father-in-law Prof. Ikechukwu Nwosu, who was at the time a member of the re-branding Nigeria committee as a public relation and media expert, president (NIPR) Nigerian Institute of Public Relation under the headship of Late Prof. Dora Akunyili. I outlined my points to him on why that wasn't what Nigeria needed and some of those my arguments a decade ago I have expanded and consolidated in the place of research and study to produce this work. The summary of my simple argument is that you cannot re-brand shit or chaos it will only be re-branded shit or chaos. I argued and still stand on the point, that what Nigeria requires is fixing our issues which I believe if this book is adhered to we would go a long way on that path. It is when we have done this processing that we can now talk of packaging and branding. This my position



then and now is made clearer by today's social media era, where you can be packaging Nigeria as a peaceful place to do business on CNN or any other notable world mainstream media and in a twinkle of an eye the mayhem in Southern Kaduna for instance is sent out via the facebook or tweeted canceling the resolve of a would be investors to invest from far away Australia. The world is hyper-connected so Nigerians especially our leaders, let's leave up to the occasion and make Nigeria great again by doing what is required of us today. This is what now? 60 PAST 1960 and this is the only solution to Nigeria's dilemma today.

GREATER NATION INITIATIVE (GNI)

We have an understanding that the nationalist movement was at the instance of the people meaning people drove it bringing us independence. Movements for any change in history are made by people who rise to the occasion. Some of these quotes attest to this fact. "Change will not come if we wait for some other person or if we wait for some other time, we are the one we have been waiting for. We are the change we seek." -- Barrack Obama. "We say thoughtfully that politics is a game of numbers. So it is the masses that own the nation because they have the number. And when they move they will do it knowing that God Loves them or he wouldn't have made them so many. (Achebe, 1983, p. 30) "The greatness of Nigeria lies on its people, this is why I advocate every individual should participate in politics".-- Dr Chukwuemeka Aroh This is because everything rises and falls on it, if it is crooked the whole sectors of our national life will be. We always have this group of people who because they have been involved in the political struggle at different levels for some time tag themselves as politicians and name non current participants as non-politicians. This is absolutely erroneous because by my discipline I understand that the moment any individual wakes up and starts to get involved in the affairs of State power (struggle, acquisition, use and consolidation) like an



automatic bottom they become politicians. No hard feelings or belittling the efforts of current participants intended because by the former erroneous definition I am also a politician because since 2007 I have been actively involved, just to straighten the lines out. Politician is matter of action, lets all become politicians it doesn't stop your individual career, we must all get involved for all our lives depend on this. The punishment of which the wise suffer, who refuse to take part in government, is to live under the government of worse men.—Plato.

This is why it is paramount we all get involved and participate in politics.

There is this Nigeria mantra "If you see something say something" I want to say this should not just be for security matters though inclusive but in matters of governance and politics. We must speak up, criticize where necessary but must be constructive in our criticism not running Nigeria down and we should as well learn to applaud those making efforts in the right direction. I hereby propound a theory which I call the theory of socio-politicopreneuring. This has to do with individuals coming up on their own with ideas on how to salvage their nation in this instance, Nigeria. We don't need to wait for government organizations to push social and political change, let us take the responsibility up, this socio-politicopreneuring theory hinges on the mindset where individuals come up with ways and ideas that can give us a good society and push them as much as is within their capacity as well linking up with other individual or organizations where necessary. I as well implore every good meaning government at all levels to support this quest for all these little drops will make Nigeria flow. To practicalize this theory input, forward the Greater Nation Initiative (GNI) as an agent of change for a better Nigeria. The Modus Operandi of GNI shall include conferences, seminars, symposia, on-line speeches, motivating and training the youths, Rewarding exemplary leaders and political pressure group. The idea is to give



Nigeria the best stand on globalization and a post Covid – 19 world of internet of things. In life generally, most changes in life, science or otherwise are as a result of the crazy dreams of people.

Each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfill it or betray it Fred Fanon. Let's fulfill it the work in our generation together.

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