

# The Role of Philosophy in Insecurity and Good Governance in Nigeria

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This paper re-emphasizes the relevance of philosophy in combating insecurity and bringing about good governance in Nigeria. It laments on the Nigerian negligence to the worth of philosophy in addressing the Nigerian social challenges which have called for concerns. Hence, the attitude of Nigerians to have soon forgotten the indispensability of philosophy in addressing social challenges, criticizing the political elites to bring about justice and good governance among other things, is really amazing. Consequently, Nigeria counts backwards whereas her counterparts count forward in terms of development, social tranquillity, good governance, practical and sincere consciousness of morality, strong economy and security, health and education wise, etc. Hence this paper attempts, with every possible effort, to define philosophy and elucidate its worth in tactically engaging insecurity and bringing about good governance. The end of this research will show that philosophy and its critical and systematic tenets are the basic answers to Nigerian challenges especially as they concern insecurity and bad governance. We will critically employ historical and ex post facto methods.

*Keywords:* philosophy, insecurity, good governance, Nigeria

## Introduction

In recent times, every nation has had its own peculiar problems. The problems of Nigeria are majorly drawn from unreasonable attitudes, talks and thinking from Nigerians, economic crisis and crimes, political instability, insecurity, etc., all pointing to the question of good governance. The question of insecurity ranging from the Boko Haram, herdsmen terrorism, rampaging banditry, communal clashes, high rate of criminalities, poverty, overpopulation, economic management, food insecurity, unemployment, cyber crimes, etc. in Nigeria has always been trending as it touches on the issues of trans-cultural justice, migration, national and international policies and relationships, self and national identity, security of food and resources, equal representation, societal peace and welfare, etc. Adding to this, the issue of good governance has always been in vogue in Nigerian public affairs. This is because Nigerians have always experienced scarcity in the midst of plenty due to the mismanagement, egocentricity, and self-deceiving lifestyle of their political class. The act of governance has been an issue of debate on daily basis where “the favoured” strongly argue that there is good governance whereas “the unfavoured” or those who want the prevalence of justice over the injustice meted for them sternly stand in its very denial. For instance, clear scenarios that show such an experience relate to the

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inaccurate information given by the government on security situation of the country, the deceptive attitude of the political class to, all in the name of diplomacy, tell lies before foreign personalities in the affairs and well being of the citizens, postulate an ideal government that is unreal in the governance-situation of the country, etc. At this, we may be forced to ask: What does it really mean to have security and good governance? Are politicians in Nigeria truly in self-deception or in ignorance of what these fundamental human social factors mean? Is the issue of security “strictly” all about the safety of lives and properties? Is good governance “all about” favouritism or diplomacy? Be that as it may, philosophy, with its critical tentacles will, in this paper, be used to dissect and dilute the arguments and sensitive issues raised here. In doing this, we will explain tactically the issues bordering on insecurity and good governance as the focus problems, and then explain how philosophy, if accepted and allowed to guide our idiosyncrasies, will help to put them to an end.

### **The Issue of Insecurity**

The issue of insecurity is not only personal, communal, or national issue, but also an inter-national, inter-continental, and indeed a global issue. It has posed threat to lives and properties, peace and development, trust and national strengths and supremacy. The fundamental question however is: What does insecurity mean and entail? Before now, many have always believed that insecurity is all about the government’s inability to secure the citizens’ lives and properties against (external) attacks. But today, we must bear in mind that it is a half or myopic conception of insecurity from an archaic mentality when it is seen as a “reduced capacity and capability of the government to safeguard and protect the country’s property and person against attacks” within and from outside a country. Apparently, when the issue of insecurity is conceived as a sole duty and obligation of the government to save and protect lives and properties, it becomes worst. These kinds of attitudes were of yesteryears; and they consequently brought about physical and mental weakness which enhanced insecurity in the community. Stretching this point, it is imperative to know that security is no more strictly conceived vis-à-vis lives-and-properties-safety, but safety in all human endeavours. This informs McNamara’s opinion (1968) that in a modernizing society, the issue of security should not be all about traditional military activity or military hardware or military force though it may include them; but it also means development without which it cannot be. Thus, for him, talking about security is talking about development, and development here is not only physical but mental. Thus while military activities are included in security discourse, it equally extends to food production and security, population management, level of productivity and per capital income, technological development, public utility and chronic problem of unemployment, poverty and justice issues, among many more. Adding his voice to this discourse, Kofi Anan says that “today, we know that lasting peace requires a broader vision encompassing such areas as education, health, democracy and human rights protection against environmental degradation and proliferation of deadly weapons” (Ibabor & Osabuohien, 2016, p. 231). From a thorough examination, we can deduce that the issue of insecurity is a human-centred one, even though some have tried to generally classify the issue of national security into five dimensions to include: military security, political security, economic security, environmental security, and societal security (Buzan, 1990). Attempting to broaden its horizon, Nwoliase added 10 extra dimensions to include: physical security, territorial security, legal security, treasury security, psychological security, technological security, global security, people’s power security, image security, and spiritual security (Ibabor & Osabuohien, 2016, p. 232). To make it all-encompassing, Ibabor and Osabuohien (2016, p. 232) quickly reiterated “health security” especially as it concerns deadly diseases, for instance, the Ebola Virus Disease, coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemics, other

deadly and contagious diseases like measles, chicken pox, “appollo”, etc. that have existed and are still dealing with the African continent and the whole world indeed as seen with COVID-19 pandemic alone that has made the year 2020 one of the worst wasteful years in human history. Of course, in this discourse, we must extend the tentacles to the domain of metaphysics where the concern is the security of human freedom and rights, volitional exercise, thinking and expressions of thought, etc. The whole concept of insecurity warrants questions on the inability of any nation to cooperatively overcome all challenges to maintain lives and properties.

The emergence and persistence of insecurity, the cunning and deceitful nature of man’s mind, no doubt, can answer why there is insecurity, but apart from that, some political elites can ignite security-threatening-situations and enhance their escalation provided they dent the image of a particular government and equally exploit from the situations. Most of the insecurity situations in Nigeria are ignited by some influential statesmen for political gains mindless of what could become the outcome in future. As such, in insecurity, some gain and laugh while millions of others are under the uncertainties of gun powder. Religious and belief system, cultural motivation, marginalization and injustice, disunity, etc., are not equally left out as possible causative factors. In other words, conflicts are inevitable parts of the structure of society resulting from political and economic exclusion, injustice, poverty, inequality, and exploitation. (Onuigbo & Eze, 2011, pp. 1-12).

In the Nigerian case, how does insecurity begin and progress? Does every insecurity situation emerge by terrorists surmounting nations or as a result of political, tribal, economic, or even religious propaganda? The emergence of Boko Haram, other banditry groups, how they get funded and information of ongoing intentions of Nigeria are not far from political and religious propaganda and propagandists. If not daily, we hear on weekly basis how they attack the citizens and the security agents with highly sophisticated weapons that the military do not even have. Sometimes they carry out their terror successfully, sometimes, repelled and unsuccessful. Herdsmen in the olden days are known as mere pastoralists who wander about from one bush to another bush pasturing their livestock and equally being conscious of the farmers’ crops, though not that there were no clashes resulting from that, but very minimal and easy to be settled, but today, who has disoriented and supplied them with mind-boosting weapons, ammunitions and equally taught them how to strategically make use of them to dislodge host communities? What is the source of the sudden guts they have now acquired and are now using to commit the heinous and unjustifiable crimes, massacre, and tribal genocides they have unleashed on the innocent and armless citizens? The worrisome part of the issue is the fact that even when the host communities through their vigilantes come out in defence of their communities as set up by State Governors, the security agents accuse them of possessing arms illegally. Consequent upon that, an order to disarm them will come from the “above”—the centre where the component States are enslaved to and disarmed of any sense of rights and independency, and fed and worn Pampers like babies who cannot feed and care for themselves.

Deductively, that explains why the other day, the President as the Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federation, came out through the then Inspector General (IG) of police Mr. Ibrahim Idris to term the Benue State community vigilantes which is a security architecture built up by the Governor for safety of his people and their properties that the Fulani terrorist herdsmen are massacring and damaging on daily basis, “militia” and subsequently called for their disarmament (of machete) with which they secure their communities against

herdsmen who have now terribly amazingly armed with sophisticated arms which they never hid<sup>1</sup>. They are more terrorizing than even the one the North have agreed as terrorists—Boko Haram, yet their ammunition is for self-defence. Consequently, today Nigeria (with 8.314 score) is the first in Africa and globally third most terrorized country, following a geometrical increase of 25% killings and destructions done by terrorists in Nigeria during 2018-2019<sup>2</sup>.

This is indeed how insecurity is politically and tribally sponsored in Nigeria, and the people's lives, properties and livelihood taken for granted and political games. The worst part of this whole experience is that you may hear that these armed herdsmen are arrested, but you will never hear anything about them after the arrest, and to your greatest surprise, tomorrow you see these people you are told yesterday were arrested still shepherding flocks around. But needless asking why such awful scene. The security agents who carry out the arrest are in the executive arm of the government “ably” and with every “agility” headed by Mr. President whose order is the final, and no any security agent answers you even as a Governor in whose State the insecurity scene is happening, without the approval of Mr. President at Abuja—the Leviathan at the centre.

This is a clear scenario that best describes the Nigerian system as a “Slavery (or Totalitarian) and Unitary Federalism and Democracy” where the security agency is owned by the “Grand Imperialist and Emperor”—the Grand Commander of Armed Forces of the Federal Republic (GCFR)—sitting at the centre (Abuja) as the “almighty and able” President even in democracy, and the “Chief Executiveness” attribute given to State Governors is for “inactive” officialdom and ceremony but never to be practised. What best could be called a situation where a Governor—the State Chief Executive could not give a security order, be it of emergency or not, to any armed force command in his State and it should first be approved by the “Head” who must have sought for permission from the “centre” where every authority comes, before the order is carried out?

Imperatively, these Fulani herdsmen are the Leviathan's kith and kin and so, laying your hands on them are unpardonable, and that explains why they are unconditionally released the next day after you may have heard of their arrest like yesterday, even though their arrest have never been heard let alone prosecution. A follow-up to this is that even when you take them to a law court in pursuit of justice, you are only entertaining a mirage. The reason is simple: starting from the Minister of Justice and the Attorney General of the Federation down to almost the least national legal structure/system/institution—Supreme Court, Federal High Court, Appeal Court, etc., the Heads who would decide their fate and the fate of your justice, are all not only Fulani in whose blood, just like those of the terrorist herdsmen, runs this delightfulness in shedding the blood of their fellow “citizens” religiously tagged “infidels and enemies” and “defence of faith” hence *Jihad*, but also the kith and kin appointees of Mr. President, a core Fulani and strong defender of Islamization movement. That is why the judiciary has become so compromised that tribal, religious, economic, political, or personality influences define all it could give to the people. The simple reason is compromise—where the judges are trying to please the “Leviathan” whose interest—based on political affiliation, religion, tribe, friendship—has predominated the conscience of the judge in charge through warnings and signals. In other words, it is the influence imposed on the judge in charge who will deliver “justice” and whose stay is obtained from compromise by the almighty that has prevailed instead the principle of justice that should characterize the centrality of judicial system. On the

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.dailypost.ng/2/2/2018>.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.vanguardngr.com/15/9/2020>; <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/21/11/2020>; <https://www.saharareporters.com/26/11/202>; <https://www.africanews.com/12/6/2018>.

other hand, if you leave these terrorist-herders in the cell, all the Heads of every security agency are fellow Fulani appointees of Mr President—ranging from the Military, Para-Military and its parastatals, Customs, Police and its parastatals, Road Safety Commission, Civil Defence, and other armed force agencies. These appointments are his constitutional rights, and in utilizing them, his tribalistic nature is never hidden not even for once. Among many instances (Ugwu, 2020), the one expressed in a speech delivered by Mr. Muhammadu Buhari in August 2001 at a seminar organized by the Supreme Council of Sharia in Nigeria is outstanding. He says: “I will continue to show openly and inside me the total commitment to the Sharia movement sweeping all over Nigeria... God willing we will not stop the agitation for the total implementation of the Sharia in the country”. No concept than religious bigotry can best explain this stance.

The point of emphasis here is that insecurity discourse does not start and end with challenges to security agencies and physical efforts and ammunitions, it also entails/extends to political insecurity, electoral-process-trust insecurity, socio-political-traditional-religious-institutions insecurity, good governance insecurity, nationhood insecurity (insecurity of our continual existence as a nation) from nepotism and tribalism, peace and tranquillity insecurity, insecurity to human existential ingredients—justice, freedom, volition, human right, etc., academic/education and certificate insecurity, intellectuality and meritocracy insecurity as for mediocrity and political compensations or appointment-by-tribes, entrepreneurship/vocation, skill/creativity and hard-work-rewarding insecurity, employment insecurity, labour and labour-dignity insecurity, agricultural—food, timber—insecurity, economic/financial insecurity, etc. The unavoidable consequence is the exposure/vulnerability of the citizens to the whims and caprices of the bloodthirsty tribesmen. For instance, a bill from the former Yobe State Governor and now Senator, Ibrahim Gaidam advises for not only granting amnesty to the so-called “repented” Boko Haram members, but also foreign scholarship to them, yet we call this action “good governance” and equally deny of such act, “sponsorship to terrorism” while all it could now cost you is to be enrolled into the sect and for months or one year, come out and get amnesty and you are on your way abroad for studies. Nobody has heard of any bill seeking for academic rewards to those who are fighting genuinely tooth and nail to make it commendably in the academic environments, or compensate terror victims in Dapchi, Chibok, or even Buni Yadi. The rationality behind these kinds of moves is what philosophy seeks and condemns into to. The conclusion is simply that Nigerians, out of drives by human instincts, are playing with terrorism.

It is still on the danger of tribalizing, politicizing, and trivializing insecurity issues that led the Northern Governors—especially those of Katsina and Zamfara to go into negotiation, dialogue with the tribesmen insurgents and bandits who terrorize their States. Though, this was not the first time doors of discussion or what could be termed “Peace Deal” with bandits and terrorists 95% of whom are Fulani were made open, Mr. President (Buhari) in the early periods of his first tenure encouraged so too just as the Former Chairman of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Mallam Nuhu Ribadu argues, it is not a crime<sup>3</sup>. After this move was condemned by Nigerians<sup>4</sup> (like Timothy Chimezie Iwuagwu, Kogi State Governor, Yahaya Bello and El-rufai who made it clear that his government will not negotiate with terrorists, thus he wants the bandits to be declared terrorists, among others), they (for instance the North-East Governors) resort to demanding that “the Federal Government should cede the power to prosecute suspected insurgents to states as

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.pmnewsnigeria.com> 6/3/2020; <https://www.thesourceng.com> 31/8/2020; <https://www.vanguardngr.com> or <https://www.today.ng> or <https://www.nigerianbulletin.com> all of 1/3/2020.

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.vanguardngr.com> 31/7/2020; <https://www.businessday.ng> 22/12/2019; TV/C News of 3/3/2020.

the present system of relying on the Attorney-General of the Federation (AGF) and Minister of Justice, for the prosecution of those arrested for terrorism is cumbersome”. In the words of the Chairman of the Forum and Governor of Borno State, Prof. Babagana Zulum in Yola:

As we deliberate on the scourge of terrorism and terror groups within the North-East, we need to fashion out ways of facilitating the prosecution of those charged with terrorism activities... At the moment, the process is a bit cumbersome as all suspects charged with terrorism and terrorist-related offences have to be transferred to Abuja for prosecution, as only the Attorney-General of the Federation has the statutory powers to prosecute terrorists; according to the provisions of the anti-terrorism law... We need to obtain prosecutorial fiat from the attorney-general to enable us to prosecute those charged with terrorism in our respective states, instead of referring them to Abuja<sup>5</sup>.

As far as we know what Nigeria is, this is just for formality sake for they know all that terrorism in the North entails and how they are (and supposedly should be) handled. Ironically, these are people who rejected restructuring into regionalization or confederalism and subsequently dissolution of power arguing that it is a subtle way/manner to “disintegrate” the “indissoluble” entity called “Nigeria”. These are people who rejected the advocacy of “community policing” which is a by-product of restructuring and power dissolution, arguing same thing—they would not allow dissolution of political power (centralized) which is their birth right. Unfortunately and ignorantly, what they are demanding for, are the inherent functionalities of real democratic federal system, and the easiest methods to ensure good governance which restructuring practically represents (Ugwu & Ozoemena, 2019a).

Apparently, this tribal position taken by the government, the central government to which all others (States) answer, because the Leviathan whom the constitution has positioned there is a Fulani, has made the citizens more vulnerable to terrorism and brought out the contradictory nature of the government which would one time, encourage the citizens to partake in security and organize local security units to watch over their communities, and another time, turn around to term them militias who must be disarmed.

At this, we may ask, what does security entail? Is security done with what, empty handed? What really does security imply to the Nigerian political rulers? Nigerian experiences of insecurity incidents today tell more of the onus in this section<sup>6</sup>. These have only shown that we throw out security (in acceptance) through the front door so that the world will see us but collect back (choose) insecurity through the back door. The point made here is that some insecurity cases are propagated by some “big wigs” among the citizens. In other words, some Nigerians are behind some terrorist groups in Nigeria with the intention to disrupt the governance process or make the country ungovernable for those in power because they egoistically seek for power or lose power. Standing by Prof. Isaac Olawale Albert’s testimony in his Keynote Speech at the First Annual Regional Conference organized by the Centre for Petroleum, Energy, Economics and Law, University of Ibadan, suffice it then to say that sabotage is a fundamental challenge facing Nigeria and hindering its development in all ramifications. After the 2011 general elections, the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Presidential Candidate, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (rtd) while addressing the Niger State CPC members on a courtesy visit in Kaduna, joined his voice with that of Prof. Ango Abdullahi to posit and highlight that there are three types of Boko Haram: the Federal Government, those who kidnap and kill Nigerians all in the name of religion (religious fanatics/bigotries) and finally the one led by late Muhammed Yusuf. While speaking in Hausa

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.thisdaylive.com>; or <https://www.dailytrust.com>; or <https://www.allafrica.com> all of 27/11/2020.

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.premiumtimesng.com>; <https://www.punchng.com>; and <https://www.saharareporters.com> 12/2/2018; <https://www.checkoutmagazine.com> 11/8/2019.

language, he was emphatic in expressing his anger over his loss in 2011 elections and making reference to 2015 elections said “2015, I’ll be bloody”. In his own words, he said:

God willing, by 2015, something will happen. They (referring to the Federal Government) either conduct a free and fair election or they go a very disgraceful way... If what happened in 2011 (referring to alleged electoral rigging) should again happen in 2015, by the grace of God, the dog and the baboon would be soaked in blood<sup>7</sup>.

This is a statement of not only an elder statesman, but a holy and tribal-less man, the most peaceful man who is for nobody but for everybody (even with disregard to his position that he will oil the hands of the Southerners with 5% and the Northerners with 95% of government attention according to their vote strengths), the most democrat in the world (though repented from militarism as Nigerians have always been brainwashed to believe), the almighty “incorruptible” man (yet a human being). Perhaps this is an optimistic spirit for good governance and abrupt bringing insecurity to an end in Nigeria. Terrible one indeed!

Unfortunately, many a times, some of these mischief and saboteurs engage in these ugly activities, hoping to quench them later, but unfortunately, it does not end as thought, and at this, Achebe’s word that a man who makes trouble for others also makes trouble for himself, will come into fulfilment—they are not themselves left out from the ugly effects of what they have jealously instituted.

Another aspect of insecurity bothers on who are these terrorists causing insecurity? Today international identities, allies and funding like the Islamic States of West African Province (ISWAP), Al-Qaida, etc. have been established of the Boko Haram sect, herdsmen terrorism, Northern-based banditry, kidnappers, etc. Plenty sources have all established that there are imported population of terrorists disguised as “fellow Fulani Muslims and herdsmen” from Mali, Ghana, Cameroon, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Benin Republic, Cote d’Ivoire, etc. into Nigeria<sup>8</sup>. The increment in terrorist activities they show in videos, the possession and display of more sophisticated ammunitions, their widening of territories in some States, etc., are clear and undeniable instances of the above assertions. Nevertheless, this paints a clearer atmosphere of how migration generally stands as a huge threat to security, co-existential peace and harmony, population, ammunition-acquisition-management, economic growth, employment opportunities, acculturation, nationhood, etc. And to worsen the situation, tribalism (fellow-Fulani-considerations) has prevailed but to position it as detribalized, it is given a legal back-up by many policies like that of “visa on arrival”. This is Nigeria where we beg and even import as mercenaries non-Nigerians—fellow Fulani across the globe, fellow Arabs, Islamic extremists terrorizing other countries to become Nigerians and which solely shows battle-ready, should there be resistance against their Jihadism intention by the Igbo, Yoruba and other minor ethnic groups, but we beg other countries for us to come in and even accept neo-slavery repackaged provided we get entrance into those. Nigerianhood (or being a Nigerian), by this, becomes a matter of nominal blending and acquiring national identifications like passport, identity card, etc., not by culture, attitudes, language, religion, political strategies, etc. Nigerianhood thus becomes so cheap, common, and consequently valueless that gone are those 20s, 30s, 40s, 50s, 60s, 70s, 80s when Nigeria was a global dream to be in, and where jobs were awaiting for the job seekers, rather Nigerian identification today is now a curse, bad luck, fraudulence, and corruption-epitomized, and so, people in their right sense should wonder less why countries that place high level of value on their nationality should ban Nigerians, or make their entrance into their countries extremely hard or even South Africans (though with

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.vanguardngr.com>; <https://www.dailypost.ng> 3/4/2013.

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.premiumtimes.com> 16/5/2016; <https://m.youtube.com>; and <https://www.newtelegraphng.com> all of 14/7/2019.

elements of apartheid psychological influences) should hide under xenophobia and push them out from their country or even Ghanaians whom Nigerians have jeered by the “Ghana Must Go” bag saga should laugh at them regardless of the African brotherhood. We are Nigerians—the giant of Africa but the most feeble—weakest, the biggest and pivotally and strategically central in the whole African economy but the most devalued, weak and mono-sourced economy—we neither produce nor consume appropriately and respectfully the livelihood imported—we claim the largest concentration of black population and hard workers but the most enslaved. We are after the quantity instead of the quality, fame of most black populous country but with nothing to be remembered by history, everything imported, even our name—Nigeria. Another underlying factor facilitating such national obnoxious attitude is because Nigeria as geographically known has no indigenous founder and identity, and so no patriotism hence no man’s land, and as such, the rulers (90% of whom are Fulani) toil with its national dignity because it is not their own country hence the descendants of Uthman Dan Fodio—the Arabic Islamic Jihadist who conquered (as seen today) the Northern part of Nigeria. The simple truth about this invasion of Nigerian indigenes by Fulani is that as they have conquered and Islamized (and Fulanized) many countries which *ab initio* have been Christians and traditionalists in the Middle East, they have also come to do same to the Nigerian indigenes and it is successfully happening. In a very near future, two things are expected in Nigeria: it is either there is another war, minorly politically and majorly religiously motivated when the people would wake up from their pretence slumbering and resist the cunningly successfully ongoing Islamization agenda; or Nigerians as geographically referred to, get Islamized (Fulanized).

Be that as it may, the above citation points to the insecurity in borders, poses a big question on good governance and the level of commitment of the government officials, migration crisis and the tie of insecurity that accompanies it. At this juncture however, it is imperative to note that the Controller-General of Immigration, Muhammad Babandede, in working hard to ensure the success of 2019 general elections, disclosed in Abuja during the 2018 Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) Awards that over 700 voter cards from non-Nigerians have been retrieved<sup>9</sup>. Similarly, we must recall that the Independent National Electoral Commission, ahead of 2019 general elections preparations has earlier, at the Lagos weekend Interactive Session/Dinner with Youth Ambassadors/Celebrities, raised concern on the high number of foreigners in the country and promised that it will collaborate with the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and indeed other relevant security agencies to keep tab on campaign spending, electoral crimes ranging from vote-buying, agencies of electoral violence, etc. The Chairman of the Electoral Commission, Prof. Mahmood Yakubu, through the Commissioner’s National Commissioner and Chairman, Outreach and Partnership Committee, Dr. Adekunle Ogunmola, in responding to the recent discovery and retrieval of the Nigerian voter cards from non-Nigerians, has this to say: “I want to confess that there may be more than 700 foreigners with voter cards”. Nevertheless, it became a surprise and as contradictory as it could be, to hear from the same Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) through its Public Relations Officer, Ekpeme King that there are no proofs that these identified national-identity-impostors are Nigerians. He said that the NIS does not profile people and so, the NIS cannot say whether the herdsmen are Nigerians or not because nobody has produced them for us for profiling. In his own words:

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.saharareporters.com/17/12/2018>.



We are at the borders and we have not seen any herdsmen coming into the country... We have our men at the borders and they are doing their jobs. So far, what we have heard is speculation that they are from foreign countries, but no one has profiled them to know their identities, but it is not impossible that they could be foreigners<sup>10</sup>.

What a propagandist assertion trying to politicize Nigerian borders porosity discourse and give propagandist coverage to the poor intelligence among the border security agency! Nonetheless, this is practically what too much or excess desperation for political power could do. In Nigeria for instance, during the recent COVID-19 lockdown, Nigerians were told that all borders were closed, but the land borders in the Northern regions to include Katsina bordered with Niger Republic at Magama in Jibia, Kongolom in Maiadua, Babban Mutum in Baure, Dankama in Kaita LGAs, and other unofficial entries were widely open and welcoming to foreigners, even terrorists refugees. They all were open and free movements of importers and exporters, and fellow Fulani herdsmen (Nigerian owners) from other countries, etc. were steady. This was experienced simply because it was in the North where those who think that Nigeria is theirs come from and as people piloting the affairs of the country. No one heard of such in the South whom they (the Northerners) thought they were marginalizing and cheating. Consequently today, banditry, terrorist activities have geometrically increased following the troop of both insurgents looking for refuge in disguise as civilian merchants, herders, etc. Today, the prevailing terrorist activities in the North are the fruit of their wisdom, cheats and subtlety on the unwise Southerners. Nigeria today has become the only property and home to the Fulani and instead of their expulsion, they rather choose death as the only option.

Nevertheless, by this, it is observed that particularly, the effects are heavier on the citizens, and most vulnerable among them being the farmers who are left with no “armed escorts” and statistically about 10,000 citizens are being protected by a police officer but one government office holder and the well-to-do among the citizens going around in the midst of thousands of armed force personnel. Additionally, it has been cried out that at least 43 farmers were slaughtered in Zabarmani, Borno State and few days later the one in Katsina took place all by Boko Haram and consequently, adding to the misfortunes against agriculture from natural disasters like flood, pests, and diseases damages, human heinous acts like the mindless killings of farmers perpetuated by the Fulani herdsmen, farming business is going through tough times<sup>11</sup>. Food security is not assured even as we gnash teeth following the COVID-19 untold effects on us and worst of all is the recession the Nigerian economy which has entered in November-ending 2020. Summarily, it must made open that the level of intelligence in Nigerians, especially the security agents is too appallingly low indeed. But to crown it all, just like in the words of Joseph De Maistre that “every country has the government it deserves”, the Northern Nigeria has got (deserved) the type of societal outlook they ignorantly desire through their treachery and tribal politics, even though the South is not free for the outermost person is not free from the death that kills the innermost person.

However, on a more critical note, hearing the (NIS) Public Relations Officer, Mr King, an inquisitive mind may begin to ask: What ideally does a statement from an authority like him imply? Could this latter position against the former maintained by the Controller-General of Immigration—Babandede be to protect the process that brought in the present government from being seeing as fraud? Is the Nigerian government still in full charge and control of the Nigerian borders really? What personality, prestige and public trust-building do the

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.punchng.com/30/4/2016>.

<sup>11</sup> *Daily Trust Newspaper*, 29/11/2020, 4-5; Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) 9 pm news, 29/11/2020; *The Nation Newspaper* 1/12/2020, Front Page.

Immigration and Customs personnel and generally security agencies, portray to Nigerians and the world as a whole? What level of intelligence operates among Nigerians, especially security agencies? Be that as it may, we have always pointed it out that one of the essential problems of Nigerian is an identity-related one: who is truly a Nigerian? (Ugwu, 2020). By what could a Nigerian be identified: Culture? Language? Religion? Particular way of thinking? Customary and traditional conceptual scheme of values and certain cultural phenomena? What is it that a Nigerian is truly identified by?

From a cross examination, today it has been reported authoritatively that these domineering populations, are in all walks of life in Nigeria, controlling the real indigenes of Nigeria. This justifies the position of the then Kwara State United Nigeria Peoples Party (UNPP) Chairman, Alhaji Nurudeen Imam Abdulrahim, that “aliens rule us in Nigeria”<sup>12</sup>. He lamented that the struggle and sweat of the indigenous Nigerian fore/founding fathers who fought for independence from the colonialists have today been eroded by the corps of rulers in the land, rulers of “bring let us eat”, despotic, tribalistic, inhuman, and bloodthirsty rulers. At this point, I would reiterate that Nigeria has no indigenous founding fathers. The Nigerian founding fathers/figures were the imperialists/colonialists prominent among whom were the Queen in England, Sir Lord Lugard and his concubine who later became his wife, Flora Shaw, etc. No Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba, Fulani, or any person from the other minor tribes that are today referred to as “Nigeria” founded Nigeria, rather they struggled for the Nigerian self-government and after it was granted, then took over the national affairs management. How could they be termed founding fathers as if they founded any country?

Nonetheless, after all these emphasis, philosophy will ask, what actually did Nigerian authorities do regarding these prompt alarms and concerns ahead of the forthcoming general elections? Were these foreigners finally suspended from participating in the said elections? If eventually these national-identity-impostors succeeded, were then the elections that brought in the government from 2019 free, fair and transparent as promised by the Federal Government prior to the elections? What have the Nigerian authorities done to ensure that the country is rid off these national-identity-impostors? Or are they still in Nigeria, and doing what? Perhaps they have succeeded and gained cordial relationships with some notorious elements among Nigerians and are now comfortably terrorizing the country having gained a palatable ground for such activities! If this is so, it still boils down to the question of good governance. And now, who are the most prone to attacks from these terrorists? Put differently, who suffer the ugly effects most? Of course the poor in the streets, farms, schools, who have neither personal escorts nor functional security provisions in the constitution and at their public interaction/relationships avenues.

From the above exposition, the facts are today clearer that the figure we designate as our population in Nigeria is untrue because millions of foreigners are living in Nigeria and counted as Nigerians. Census also tells lies as numbers of population are manipulated. In many places in Nigeria, voting sometimes is done with fake finger thumbs, back of palm-kernels or the fingers duplicated or substituted provided figures are manipulated. All these are for political gains and domination. But after all these analyses, some critical minds may wonder if this could be true or another political propaganda! If former, then it bothers on the duty of government to adequately protect the national borders—this hinges on the security or porosity of borders? If latter, then it questions what Nigerians see as good governance and the differences and relationships found among politics, governance, and morality. In other words, another big factor that poses insecurity in Nigeria is

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<sup>12</sup> *The Sun*, Tuesday 5/8/2003, 33.

the inability to differentiate politics from the morality of governance. In any way, all these boil down to Achebe's position (1983, p. 1) on the Nigerian problem which entirely hinges on leadership.

However, it is indeed categorical to state that the issue of security is everybody's vital concern for when insecurity occurs, it automatically becomes a boundless social affair. Nevertheless, how do we reconcile the exercise of private security following the failure of the government to do that as supposed and the issue of National Security vis-à-vis Nigerian case? Nigerian political and capitalist elites have abused security that hundreds of armed men escort one man while the masses in their thousands are left with no or little security men (with toy-guns). In Nigeria, security is so privatized that security men in their full attire have turned to house helps and maids for the bourgeois. For the bourgeois, national security is all about their security. And it is so unfortunate and a clear contradiction that as Africans who claim communalistic personality lubricated in humanism emanating from our cultural conceptions and daily experiences with and from nature, and as inborn, could live in a class-differentiated society like Nigeria and as worst and inhumane as it concerns the security of lives, livelihood and properties of fellow countrymen.

### **The Issues of Good Governance**

Good governance has been defined in accordance with some situations and factors. For Downer, good governance means "competent management of public resources and affairs in a way that is open, transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to the people's needs" (2000, p. 1). The ideal in this definition is all about managing public affairs and as justifiable as reason, not region could. Observing the necessity of constitutional institutions in ensuring good governance, Hinkel (2002, p. 15) added that good governance has to be based on "the formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, the arena in which state and civil society actions interact to make decisions". Unfortunately, these formal and informal institutions of a society are lagging behind let alone being independent and strong in Nigeria—referring to the little ones we have. Defining good governance in relation to democracy, Nwofia (2011, p. 206) posited that it "is rooted in true democracy and promotes the primacy of the rule of law, good institutions, broad-based economic growth, human and environmental capital development" and equally "based on the principles of legitimacy and voice in decision making, visionary, responsive and effective leadership and equity". In democratic setting, he upholds that equal representation, "effective legal system based on the primacy of the rule of law, transparency, public and corporate accountability and participatory approach to service delivery" (2011, p. 213), and accountability commonly characterize good governance. For Nwofia, democracy observed under the tenets of rule of law coupled with strong socio-political institutions is the bedrock and facilitator of good governance without which it is practically unattainable. In the same vein, Wroe and Doney (2003, p. 13) were of the view that good governance and peace and security work in complementarily as they are the bedrock for the assurance of an equitable democratic atmosphere, opportunities to self-development, safety and environment for good rewarding for self-creativity and hard work. Comparing Nwofia's position to Wroe and Doney's, where as the former argues that good governance facilitates democracy and all its operational underpinnings, the latter holds that good governance in the midst of peace and security enhances democratic equity, and other democratic "lucrative" which are for human livelihood. Whether or not one enhances the emergence of the other, the meeting point remains that good governance, peace, security, and deserving democracy are all inseparable factors that glitter and add value to human lives. Similarly, Graham, Amos, and Plumptre (2003, p. 1) had earlier contended that good governance, in regardless

to any level it exists, is the sole weapon to eradicate poverty and ensure vigorous development. For them just like the Igbo whose course has been just to be given a working atmosphere to thrive in his capability, a palatable atmosphere which ought to be the product and symbol of good governance is all that is needed for self-empowerment, poverty alleviation, physical and infrastructural and human developments. However, Nwofia (2011, p. 213) on this point added that good governance “places high premium on investment in people through improved access to quality education, health-care, water, sanitation, transport, etc.”. Deducible here is the fact that democracy practiced in due process enhances peace and security which ensure human development through which social developments in all human endeavours occur. But democracy that is not constitutionally institutionalized is bad governance and endangers life and posterity. Little wonder then the World Bank (1998) had held that bad governance characterized by public fund mismanagement, corruption, nepotism, and mediocrity is the sole obstacle of both human and non-human development. Attempting to prescribe standards to avert bad government, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1999 during the commissioning of Kaufman, Kraay, and Zoido-Lobation for the development of the Aggregate Governance Index outlined certain principles of good governance as bedrock for economic, political, social, and all-round growth and stability to include voice and accountability, regulatory burden, freedom from graft, political stability and relative absence of violence, rule of law, government effectiveness (Edison, 2003, p. 36). In the same view, the United Nations Development Programme outlined certain principles as basis for good governance to include accountability, direction, fairness, legitimacy and voice, performance (Nwofia, 2011, p. 217).

However, the point remains that anything good must recognize the sanctity of life and observe the principles of humanism, for being good is being good unto fellow man and in recognition of those things that sustain man’s life. In governance, we may uphold that the goodness of a government revolves around its ability to adhere to its ideal principles, principal dictates and characteristics, but which must be subjected to the principles of value of life and humanism. The implication here is that any principle of governance that disregards the sanctity of life and is inhuman, is inherently bad. In democracy, the ideals include the principle of rule of law so as to avoid abuses and corruption, separation and devolution of powers to ensure checks and balances, justified equal representation to avoid marginalization, agitations, and destabilization of the democratic system, periodic election and government restructuring so as to enhance positive change, instituting and obeying democratic institutions so as to show level of maturity and being guided by the principle of democracy, toleration and learning from the opposition for governance improvement, listening to the people to decipher their needs for humanity, obedience to human rights and exercise of freedoms to show civilization, institutional independent, strength but functional-dependence and more effectiveness among the three arms and tiers of government for oversights and better service delivery to the people, clear and practical, but not verbal independent of the Electoral Commission for free, fair, credible, transparent and bias-free elections, etc. It was for the sake of these that the Social Contract Theorists (Hobbes, 1651, Part I, Ch. 1, Part II, Ch. 17; Rousseau, 1963, p. 61; Locke, 1689, pp. 8, 99) emerged so as to institute a civil society (government) and to curtail possible excesses and inhumanities from the exercise of human rights and freedom. These contracts postulate avenues for contract-negotiation inherently characterized or heavily burdened with high sense of morality and obligations/duties between the people and their elected or instituted authorities. The lacking or absenteeism of the consciousness of this moral obligations/duties between the people and their elected set of people unto whom they have entrusted the management of their social/public affairs as they concern politics, is an in-depth

challenge to Africans vis-à-vis the concept and assurance of good governance. It is the sole work of philosophy to reiterate this and reawaken it in even the sub-consciousness of the people. Even though somebody like Hobbes, in articulating his own stand of the “Contract Theory” could not hide the influence of the Armada War during his birth by going to the extreme in postulating his theory of civil society which encourages Absolutism of the exercise of political power even in a democracy, nevertheless, the original purpose is to create a milieu where the citizens would relinquish their rights and use it to institute a central government that would rule them in accordance with certain democratic principles so as to create a just and egalitarian society. Thus, the voluntarily relinquished people’s rights institute the leadership with whom the people have service contract. This makes their leaders servants and their service moral-burdened because it mainly ought to be for the people’s welfare.

But it is unfortunate that in Nigeria or perhaps Africa at large, the issue of good governance and democracy has never been practiced as ideally defined/analyzed above. As a political problem, some (like Achebe, 1983, p. 1) have held that it is solely leadership problem, where as others (Ugwu, 2020, pp. 223-251) hold different opinions altogether—that it is the electorates’/fellows’ or the inherited colonial structure, respectively. But preceding this position may be the question: what is good governance to a Nigerian? It is so disheartening that to some Nigerians, good governance is all about presenting food on the citizens’ tables or assurance of infrastructural development or tribal and auto-democratic governance or even showing an international “notice-me” attitude (pretence which has become the usual Nigerian Diplomacy) at the life-expense of the citizens. All in the name of (good) governance, the level of insensitivity on the part of the leaders, disregard for truth and morality or inhumanities meted to the citizens by the political elites are astonishing and consequently entirely condemnable and uncalled for. Perhaps this explains why Trump of America posits that Africa needs another 100 years of “re-colonization” so that she will grow mentally especially as it concerns politics and good governance. In his words: “Some Africans are lazy fools only good at eating, lovemaking and stealing... In my opinion, most of these African countries ought to be re-colonized... for another 100 years because they know nothing about leadership and self-governance”<sup>13</sup>. But on the other hand, this attitude which expresses nothing but misunderstanding of politics and what good governance could mean and imply appears informative to the former American president—Barack Obama who is of the opinion that rather than strongmen or even the Trumpian “re-colonization” recommendation, what Africa needs is “strong institutions”. In his words:

Africa’s future is up to Africans... Development depends upon good governance. That is the ingredient which has been missing in far too many places, for far too long... That is the change that can unlock Africa’s potential. And that is a responsibility that can only be met by Africans... Repression takes many forms and too many nations are plagued by problems that condemn their people to poverty. No country is going to create wealth if its leaders exploit the economy to enrich themselves... No person wants to live in a society where the rule of law gives way to the rule of brutality and bribery... Africa doesn’t need strongmen, it needs strong institutions<sup>14</sup>.

Academics in their intellectual prophecy have described a failed state like Nigeria as seen today. A Russian American writer and philosopher, Ayn Rand has once said:

When you see that in order to produce, you need to obtain permission from men who produce nothing—When you see that money is flowing to those who deal, not in goods, but in favors—When you see that men get richer by graft and by

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.qz.com/15/11/2016>.

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/28/7/2015>.

pull than by work, and your laws don't protect you against them, but protect them against you—When you see corruption being rewarded and honesty becoming a self-sacrifice—You may know that your society is doomed<sup>15</sup>.

Fulani tribesmen, people with just 5% intellectual capability have caged Nigeria in every aspect, and before you do anything, you seek for their permission and favour, with your intelligence you are never celebrated but with their knowledge of pastoral, they are celebrated on daily basis, the very opposite—tribalism—is celebrated while patriotism is ignored. And by the way, what do you expect from a society where illiteracy reigns supreme over intellectuality and tribalism and religious affiliation by force are held high but nationalism is down played? “No person wants to live in a society where the rule of law gives way to the rule of brutality and bribery”, this statement has become prophetic and fulfilled in 2020 as Nigerians, mainly youths, just like Bob Marley who says that it is “better to die fighting for freedom than to be a prisoner all the days of your life”, took to streets and decided to take their fate in their own hands by protesting against all the ills meted against them by governments in all levels ranging from security agents’ brutality, extortions, intimidations and killings, corruptions and bribes, economic downfall of the country, betraying of public trust, cheats and deceptions, mind-and-pocket impoverishment, unemployment, marginalization, citizenry misrepresentations, etc. All these accumulated to what they tagged SARS on a secondary meaning and implication and as a concept which must come to an end, hence #ENDSARSNOW movement. These ills were also the rationale behind previous similar revolutionary movements/agitations like the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) Self Government, #REVOLUTIONNOW, Strikes, among others. Just like the Nigerian people would, in the same voice with Frantz Fanon, say, “We revolt simply because, for many reasons, we can no longer breathe”, they revolt because the hand shake has passed the elbow hence it is no more hand shake but grabbing. Thus, just like Innocent Idibia (2Face) who says: “me self na human being”, the youths decided to remind the political elites that, “we too are human beings” by doing something in case these rulers who perpetuate bad governance think that they (the fellows/electorates/masses) are not human beings. But the challenge to the emergence of such revolution to bring about positive change is the track down of some “soldiers”, the “courageous” among the mass by the political class. They would disrupt the whole system having, out of gluttony, received some fraction of inducement at the back from the political elite, but ignorantly perpetuating their own enslavement. Little wonder then the French political activist, feminist, social theorist and existential philosopher Simone de Beauvoir says that “the oppressor would not be so strong if he did not have accomplices among the oppressed”. The practicality of this is the hiring among the mass, some courageous with tout heart to disrupt the justified course of #ENDSARSNOW revolutionary protest. As the saying goes that a child whose father sends for theft will be full of courage to break the door with legs, these hired soldiers have been equipped with criminal conscience that they care less about their action hence assurance from “above” covered them. As have reiterated above, suffice it to say that some of these criminal minded politicians enjoy from ugly happenings in the society, some politicians hired, encouraged, perpetuated and secretly sponsored the disruption of the noble course (#ENDSARSNOW revolution), through the infiltration of the extremists/radicals. Drawing from the above brings to the fore Aristotle’s trace of the root of such civil agitations down to poverty, hence in his word: “poverty is the parent of revolution and crime”. The mass have been enslaved and impoverished to a point of unbearable that at little thing, they pour out their anguish and aggression. This is also a mental state of insecurity which the political class is very ignorant of.

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<sup>15</sup> Atlas Shrugged, 1957.

Yet, it is these politicians who would turn back and call these hired hijackers “hoodlums”, a simply instance of “use-and-drop”. Nonetheless, the focal point remains that it became imperative to fight for good governance for Albert Einstein says that “the world will not be destroyed by (only) those who do evil, but (also and at worst) by those who watch them without doing anything”. The youths became tired of watching their own doom befalling them and continuing being fooled by believing what is not true and refusing to accept what is true. And what is true? That “any generation that has gone to sleep would have awoken to the rude shock that the Courts and other democratic institutions (in Nigeria, and Africa at large) have been weaponized against them (the enslaved and impoverished masses 95% of whom are the youths), and as much they have become subjects instead of citizens”. Even though Yakubu Dogara said this is among the oppressors at the highest order, as soon as it turned against him in his political struggle he now cries out having known the truth but kept quiet all this while because he enjoys from the parasitic governance system. Little wonder it is said that “a bad system does not appear wrong to those who benefit from it. They do everything to defend it to the detriment of larger society” but it appears that Dogara could no longer protect the parasitic system from where he had fed, hence he has been politically thrown out, and he now realizes it is a bad system. If a whole Speaker of the Lower Chamber of the National House of Assembly could say this just within few months out of power, needless to imagine the pitiable condition of the masses for more than 60 years ago. Here calls for the imperativeness of the saying that “if a man is born ignorant, to parents who are ignorant, in a society that’s ignorant, lives a life of ignorance and eventually dies in ignorance... ignorance becomes a norm just as indoctrination can be called education, hypnotism can be called entertainment, criminals can be called leaders, and lies can be called truth, because his mind is never his own”. Just like the saying that when falsehood becomes institutionalized, even truth will look like rebellion, lies and bad governance have become politically part and parcel of the Nigerian life, and the people are groomed in it and have helplessly become so docile with such anomaly. It is either this ravaging ignorance in Nigeria is a product of “intellectual emptiness” or “overlooking” correctable wrongs which have today become degenerated into a social vice. Look at this instance called good governance in the Nigerian system. In the Nigerian 2021 budget, more than 300 billion Naira was slotted in for the prosecution of the Boko Haram terrorists, but the Federal Government could not give to ASUU at most 200 billion Naira for revamping of over 90 public institutions.

All of these emperors and neo-imperialists called “political elites” know the truth but keep quiet because their treacheries do not affect them and unfortunately when they are out of the corridors of political powers, they would begin to talk. Party-less, all of them are the same to the core—ideology-less, heartless/inhumane, vision-less, idea-less, unreasonable, etc. It is high time the Nigerians knew that these people only play politics with their welfare and when the system does not favour them again, they verbally and cunningly appear to be with them—the impoverished masses whose future and possibility of realizing their destinies they have seriously deterred. Just for another instance, Lai Mohammed, the present Minister of Information and Culture under the All Progressives Congress (APC) and Buhari led Federal Government, when out of power and causing propaganda to gain power told the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and Jonathan led Federal Government: “Stop punishing students, honour your agreement”—talking about Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) strike<sup>16</sup>. This same APC Interim National Publicity Secretary on August 20, 2013 still on ASUU Strike as if he is a sincere lover of education and patriot, says: “No government worth its salt can afford

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<sup>16</sup> <https://www.dailypost.ng/21/8/2013>.

to play with education, because it is the path to national development. ASUU is not making any fresh demand beyond the agreement it reached with the government in 2009. Agreements are meant to be honoured, and breaching them comes with some consequences”. Nigeria, this is your Honourable Minister of Information and Culture and one whose words, we are told, “the Nigerian Federal Government says”. Indeed, a terrible continent is the one that Nigeria, a country where such a people’s words imply “the Federal Government says”, is its almighty “Giant”. However today, the outspoken Mohammed has remained silent in strikes (agitations) in the country, the worst and of greatest concern is the same ASUU strike that has lasted throughout the year 2020, and still continues even when the Federal Government has lifted the ban on schools resumptions and given a go-ahead-order. Based on this, in fact, neither the coronavirus pandemic nor the #ENDSARSNOW agitation, but this strike is the main factor that has blended 2020 the most wasteful year to the Nigerian youths. If it were possible to dissolve ASUU or proscribe it, his own led Federal government could have done it, and for him, this auto-democracy or militarized-democracy perpetuated by his own led Federal Government stands as the best and ideal for bringing about a good governance in Nigeria. Unfortunately, that is not feasible because ASUU’s move to employ civil measures like strike remains commendable for the solidarity of the Union. Civil measures like strike is a democratic working/instrumentality/functionality used to address some ills meted for the ruled by the rulers. It is one of the means of revolutionary measures taken by Nigerians especially those in academic field. Backing off from taking this civil responsibility is cowardice. Hence following the rulers sheepishly and inauthentically according to the existentialists, all in the name of “civil obedience” is the real problem the society faces according to Howard Zinn.

Civil disobedience is not our problem. Our problem is civil obedience. Our problem is that people all over the world have obeyed the dictates of leaders. Millions have been killed because of this obedience. Our problem is that people are obedient all over the world in the face of poverty, starvation, stupidity, war, and cruelty. Our problem is that people are obediently filling our jails full of petty thieves while the grand thieves are running the running. That’s our problem.

Just as these revolutionary movements aim at reawakening the consciousness of the political class that instead of good governance promised, bad governance has prevailed, so is ASUU strike a fight for the independence of the academic institution from the enslavement of both Federal and State Governments and to correct Governments towards the good of the people—school managers and lecturers/teachers. To ensure good governance, the ruled have to be active to drag the ruling elites to the right path through civil disobedience, which are the instrumentalities of a working-democracy. Any inaction to this supposedly all-encompassing activity is a loophole to the entire system and that is why Haile Selassie says that “throughout history, it has been the inaction of those who could have acted; the indifference of those who should have known better; the silence of the voice of justice when it mattered most; that has made it possible for evil to triumph”. The consciousness of these democratic workings, their indispensability in ensuring good governance stands as a hallmark of positive results in Nigeria and the Nigerian growth in the dispensation of democracy. There must be this kind of law of opposition to conflict for peace, to disagree for agreement just as Heraclitus the Ephesian has earlier postulated. Reality is dual and antithetical in nature, if the ruled does not act, the rulers will ruin both the ruled and themselves. And there is no how the voice of the ruled will be heard if not through these democratic workings which Nigerians are beginning to come out boldly and use, to loose themselves out of the shell of fear. That explains the saying that the “society needs someone to admire and someone to repulse. These two structures are the roles which are being played by a chosen ones, that’s why in each era when the virtues



and vices get changed then the definition of hero and villain gets transformed” and this is simply an illustration of human mentality which needs duality to live a balanced life because we are so afraid to get lost and to create our own, values. Applying this expression of a famous criminal psychologist, Voltaire in the Nigerian parlance, it is observed that hence the prevalence of good governance is the target, both the ruled and the rulers could be heroes or villains but they who finally bring about the target become the heroes while they whose ills keep denying the target become the villains.

But it is instructive to note that strong institutions emerge from and are sustained by democrats, and as such, Africa imperatively needs grounded enlightenment of what democracy—the people’s government—is all about so that revolutionizing-democrats will emerge to ensure good leadership and lead real democracy. Following this, there is indeed need for the involvement of intellectuals to ensure “indigenous functional and progressive socio-political ideology” which will go a long way in consolidating democracy and creating strong institutions. But it is very unfortunate that in the whole act of governance, many Nigerian (African) political elites are ideologically guided by the political tenets of Sophism and Machiavellism, and to wear it a democratic-cloth, practice the “Hobbesian extremism” provided there is a social contract sort of. This attitude is never hidden in our daily experiences. In a democracy as practised in Nigeria, when an agreement is reached at, in the people’s parliament, National Assembly where every citizen is represented, the news headline will read “National Assembly says”, when it is a member of the Assembly, it is particularized to the individual be it a Senator (upper chamber member) or Representative (lower chamber member) and the news headline will read “senator A says” or the “Honourable Member representing constituency A says”; but when any person in the “executive” says something, the news headline will read “Federal Government says”. In a democracy, is there government without the people’s parliament, the foremost institution that replicates what democracy could mean and conceptually imply? But in this part of the world, a conclusion from the people’s parliament is not referred to as “Federal Government” but a word from one man from the executive is referred to as “Federal Government”. This structure of military-unitary-democracy answers why one man (the president) can discard a parliamentary decision/policy into a waste bin as is the case with the result of the 2014 national confab/convention decided representatively by all Nigerians and for which the country spent trillions, regardless of the candid and passionate appeal made to the Buhari led administration from 2015 by the ousted (out-rigged) administration led by Dr. Goodluck Jonathan. The consciousness of the fact that the power is with, of/from and for the people never occurred to the Nigerian political elites, subsequent upon that, the awareness of accountability to the people is entirely absent. This is the rationale behind shamelessly waking up of one man and deciding what he wants without considering the people’s solidarity which has seen him through in his political career up to the level he finds himself today. The sense of accountability as another democratic principle and attitude comes second after the parliament institution for it is a symbol of humility, respect, obedience, allegiance to the people, a way of recognizing their power and building more on their trust. Unfortunately Nigerian politicians are quite ignorant of this point and that is why they are political party prostitutes—they are in party A today, part B tomorrow, part C next tomorrow without accounting to the people why such prostituting defections among political parties. Becoming more pricked by their conscience, some may shamelessly come up with baseless excuses and we hear as reasons for such party prostitution, “I defect from party A to party B because ‘party A has derailed’”, “I defect from party B to C because ‘party B is like secret cult’”, “my defection from party C to D is as a ‘display of my agitation’”, etc. Now critically examining such reasons for such political prostitution, you find out nothing substantial. If you say that party A has derailed,

has it derailed from where to where? Does its “derail-hood” affect its principles and ideologies—if any Nigerian political party has any substantial ideology or principle at all? If you say part B looks like a secret cult, were you not aware of it before—even when the party has sailed and led you the presidency, senatorial, etc. positions? You were enjoying the seeming “secret cult structure” of the party and never complained but because of your inability to control your instincts for greed following the saying that “he who eats always finds it extremely difficult to quit”, you suddenly notice the seemingly secret cult structure of the party. And if your defection is as a result of agitation against your party for marginalization meted out for a region, you protest/agitate to the National Head Quarters of your party, take it to their national meeting avenue and let them engage you so as to address your grievance. Is it in another party through defection that they will listen to your grievances? That is how we have lived in and enjoyed bureaucratic, oligarchic democracy where one man is Government, the people are never. “Federal Government says” should be what the “National Assembly says”, not otherwise. This is a clear instance that it is only one arm and one tier of government that are alive hence actively and almightily functional in Nigeria, and these are the executive and the Federal Government respectively. Others are ceremonial, and with no practical “executiveness”. In the parliament where you make laws, in the legal chamber where you interpret laws, fearlessly and disrespectfully, you are besieged and bundled into a car boot and taken to the cell where you will rot or else you promise allegiance and forfeiting of your democratic rights and duties thereby self-enslaving yourself to the “almighty executives” in whose arms are ammunitions with every sense of legality. In a democratic hierarchy, the legislature is the highest, but the Nigerian’s legislature has been masqueraded by the executive that they have no respect anymore. Refusals of personnel in the executive to respond to parliamentary calls for clarity and explanations on national issues by the legislature as constitutionally empowered and to ensure proper checks and balances and rule of law bring down to earth the point of emphasis here. And even when the President precisely commits an impeachable offence, nothing will still happen as the Nigerian factor of politicization of national welfare will prevail. As an instance, the Former Petroleum Minister—Deziani Madueke turned down National Assembly summoning, President Buhari has severally over stayed the time constitutionally stipulated to be out of the presidential seat, and severally turned down National Assembly summoning, among several others who have committed these acts of felony and unpatriotism yet, just as it is said in the Nigerian parlance “nothing dey happen”, nothing surely and finally did not happen; and for the fanatics, “heaven did not fall”. And wonderfully, president Buhari is the most democrat Nigeria ever had according to his appointees and the impoverished praise-singer citizens. Indeed, no matter how a military repents to democracy, his militariness is still in him. That is the country in which we live, that is Nigeria in its reality. However, the point remains that any act of governance that claims good yet does not value lives and properties and their acquisition means that will sustain the life, is still far from goodness and this is the practical state of governance in major African countries, Nigeria precisely.

Regrettably, most Nigerians think that good governance could be got through emotional-appealing and denial of the real situations in the country. That is, attracting the emotion of people to come and say with them that this or that act of their governance is true or good and this or that is false or bad. The real situation is that no person or group thinks and speaks fake news, hate speech and does anything contradictory than government itself. We say we do not want incisive statements, personality blackmails, and character assassinations, but the same Nigerian owned media like Nigerian Television Authority, Radio Nigeria, etc. through which we are told all these were used by the APC big wings like Bola Ahmed Tinubu, among others to castigate Obaseki—their “saint-son before” who defected to another party of “satanic children” following the internal party oppression

meted out to him by a brother (Oshiomole) hence now an opposition—talking about Edo State Governorship election of September 19, 2020. We say we do not want hate speech, but instead of campaigning, we use derogatorily, abusively, and unjustly the names and party names of the opposition to coin campaign songs calling them thieves, debtors, etc. all for denting their images; we say we do not want fake news, but which is more fake than the government denying the real situations in the country, imposing pictures of different events which are not campaigns as means of campaigning and portraying the government good? We condemn vote-buying, rigging, and other electoral malpractices, but we executively carry them out privately and confidently in a way of “big man talks to big man”. This is how we comfortably and even subconsciously live in self-contradiction and negativity with which we have systematized and structured our lives and society.

Some Nigerians think that they can evoke good on certain things and they become so. Essentially however, the question of good governance is a moral enquiry into the act of governance. Governance is so effective and central in the lives of the citizenry for government policies and legislations affect the human life in all angles, and this explains why Plato in his *Republic* sees the science of politics and governance as the Master Science (the discipline that affects every aspect of human life via the decisions that proceed from it).

Ontologically, the act of governance is not only for the physical, but also the invisible who are still part and parcel of the community or country in the spiritual realm. These invisible are the community or country institutors or founders, the heroes who are now passed, upon whose sweat, dignity and reverence, the community or country stands and whose pride, integrity and fame, she enjoys. They are the living dead, ancestors or better still departed-living who would be happy to see the posterity of their struggle to see for the community or country. These invisible members who instituted the country of course, can positively or negatively influence the person in the helm of affairs of the people. So, the fight against bad governance is not only physical, but an activity that involves the invisible especially those who have held the position justly and whose image the present bad government perpetrators are denting. Perhaps this can explain why these bad eggs in the government always die of sicknesses even when they are flown outside the country but which could be cured of the poor even in the country. But unfortunately, many of the Nigerian or African political elites have not yet understood the ontological involvement and influence of the invisible members whom they govern in the act of governance. This understanding makes governance a sacred one burdened with moral obligations and duties. The fear of their involvement in the political affair of the country reawakens and commands responsibility, uprightness, justice and equity and good representative because failure to ensure these are evils that are directly felt by the citizens and this attracts ontological punishment on the perpetrators. This knowledge largely helps to correct some mischief in the system knowing that as one treats others, exactly so shall one be treated by even nature itself. But it is today regrettable that the insights of the political elites are too myopic and do not get hold of this.

Further, the morality and sacredness of governance again come from the fact that it is all about the people's life, welfare, happiness and sadness, peace and war, richness and poverty and all the humanitarian ingredients to include free will, volition, human rights, freedom, etc. All these raise the question of good governance and public trust and management of public affairs. This, for me, is why we need to go a process of reawakening our conscience and moral guilt through philosophical studies so as to be able to differentiate from good governance, politics and morality all along. In politics, we take the physical position of God's spiritual position in human lives for it is a continuation of God's spiritualized concerns and cares for humanity in human and physical form and sphere. It shall never end, if mismanaged, without seriously terrible repercussions afterwards.

Still on the question bothering on politics and good governance, it is highly dispirited that after using biblical and sacred injunctions to campaign and get political offices, the politicians quickly forget the essence and the repercussions that follow when they do otherwise. A postgraduate classmate at the University of Nigerian, Nsukka who contested for councillor of his Ward in 2017 election said that he knew he would not win, but his intention was to snatch the victory from the winner at the court through court manoeuvrings. At this grass root stage, what would become the fate of politics in the hands of such a person if he eventually grows with such mentality towards politics?

The Nigerian government has made a global record of injustice by being the highest earning government officials and the lowest minimum wage paying government. This is a practical description of what good governance means to many Nigerian political elites. Majority of the National Assembly members would even stop attending the House sitting knowing that they will not be returning the next tenure thereby developing sitting-apathy for the welfare of the country yet, they claim they have the welfare of the citizens in heart. That is why it is thus imperative to cite the Greek genus—Plato who in the *Republic* and the *Laws* insists that these political rulers be subjected to philosophy-studies so to revive once more, their moral consciousness and conscience through ethical studies for their ignorance of this aspect of life projects their evil and inhuman political life-styles.

### **Philosophy Addressing Insecurity and Good Governance**

At this juncture, let us apply philosophy to question what insecurity means to majority of the Nigerian political elites but starting from what security means to them. For them, security is all about acquisition of military hardware—armaments and ammunitions—to fight external attackers. By this, their understanding of security is basically physical or material, not ideal and this explains why these military hardware are displayed with much prestige and ego during independence celebration. So, to prove and show the world and equally celebrate the Nigerian independence and capability of securing or defending the country as a sovereign and independent one, they parade these hardware, meaning that they are very much ready for security of “dear” country. But unfortunately, none of them displays apparatus or hardware to fight against food insecurity, poverty, pitiable state of the educational sector, inadequate health and medical facilities and security, over-population, environmental degradation, public disunity, denial of legal rights and trespassing on the individual’s human freedom, daily undemocratic attitudes, rampaging unemployment menace, indigenous technological underdevelopment, nor the psychological distress shortening the citizens’ life span. Even with these hardware, what improvement have we made in security sector even as banditry, land border and community/village clashes which have claimed thousands of lives, kidnapping, terrorism and incessant massacre of innocent citizens in their peaceful homes by both the Fulani herdsmen and Boko Haram, etc.? At this point, all they know as security is basically physical, through war-material acquisitions, forgetting the ideal aspect which triggers the basis for “insecurity” which now manifests physically. Hence, security emerges when these acquired hardware are employed to bring “calm” or “shut” the people up; while insecurity therefore emerges when all those factors for which they will apply the acquired hardware, are staged. Poverty, illiteracy, hardship, marginalization, over-population, emotional distress or instability, suffering, hunger, among other ideal aspects of insecurity are not insecurity to Nigerian political elites. Until all these accumulate to physical uproar, violence, agitations, civil actions, and disobedience, they would know there is insecurity in the land, and that is when the primaries have accumulated to secondaries. Therefore, the secondaries are the insecurity,

not the primaries. They forget that getting the primaries right, the secondaries would not emerge at all or if would, would be very minimal and less devastating.

From another angle, good governance, for them, could be all about tribal-government and giving the impoverished citizens political gifts to give false testimonies on media, ignorantly indebting their country to other countries through signatories that aim at development when looked at the surface and making of laws and policies that protect their ever-sucking-mouth from the national treasury. Standing on this, of course, it is an act of good governance to them to make laws stipulating retirement age for the civil servants—the teachers, etc.—so that there will be faster productions hence the workers with much energy and virility, but unfortunately, this is not the case in the political sphere. This explains why we are still ruled by people as old as nonagenarians, yet we have people as young and brilliant as vicenarians and tricenarians with modern ideas, more gallant, physically and mentally ready to perform better who are languishing and channelling their energy into negative activities hence they are not allowed into the political-class-cycle. Other countries are operating with youths and progressing example of which is France, Australia, etc., but we are dealing with old elders who forget even their age and give us read-address and not give-address, whose ordinary O' Level certificate, not even practical knowledge, is in doubt, retired herdsmen, elders who can no longer embark on campaign and rally exercises, who support themselves walking with sticks, yet we want to grow like these exemplary countries. In the 60s and 70s, Nigeria had young bloods managing the country's affairs and the progress remained a hallmark where we today draw fame and references from, but the opposite is the case and we can still see the outcome progress. Any sincere Nigerian knows that the achievements are parallel hence incomparable. What then has happened? We do not want to say the truth so that we would be free, rather we have sworn to die politicizing the truth. Funning enough, we have eaten our cake, but would always desire to have it back! That is absolutely living in self-deception. These critical interactions on the subjects of discussion are solely left for philosophy for its basic focus is the search for this hidden truth in Nigeria.

Be that as it may, they seem to forget that the question about insecurity automatically points to that of good governance. Of course it is not a hidden fact that insecurity brings about no social peace and development and does not allow good governance. Both insecurity and bad governance possibly presuppose each other and never allow peace and social development, hence, it becomes a huge irony to expect the latter from an environment like Nigeria where the formers are obtained. In Nigeria, we use insecurity to cause propaganda and use it as a means to gain political power. Through our nepotism and tribal-governance, we encourage it, step back as a government and then keep executive silence on it. Nigerian political elites seem not to really understand the Heraclitan "principle of opposition" (criticism) which is indubitably a basic solid ground for solid development and governance. Unfortunately, talking (criticizing) the government is calling its attention to term you "an enemy" and oppress you merciless and brutally eliminate you.

Also, they have not understood the Socratic dictum that unexamined life is not worth living. We have refused to examine our lives and following this, no member of the ruling class or party sees no fault in their act of governance let alone being critical of certain un-governmental attitudes of the members. Nigerian political elites know the right thing to do, but will bluntly refuse doing it at the right time; and when they are out of office, they now subtly see these ills and begin to attack the system they just used. For instance, former President, Goodluck Jonathan in his book-launch on November 20, 2018 at Abuja used "political inducement" which by his description, is political gifts of bags of rice, cloths, umbrella, etc., together with the political office aspirant photograph to appeal to the emotion of the impoverished citizens, as instances of our undemocratic

attitudes, as if he did not know and do exactly all those before. He equally talked about vote-buying as if his People's Democratic Party (PDP) never perpetrated it even in his time. Former President Obasanjo<sup>17</sup> has recently raised critical voice against certain Nigerian undemocratic attitudes one of which is the seeming un-existence of Local Governments following the domineering power of the State Governments as if he did not know about it during his tenure in office as the military Head of State and democratic President. These "medicine-after-death" instances are for them acts of ensuring good governance. Some like Tinubu<sup>18</sup> even resort to sabotage, knowing what good governance is all about, by being critical about instances of insecurity and bad governance, but close up their mouths as soon as they enter or have great influence in the very instances they criticized and even if there must be criticisms, it must be against the previous government thereby resorting to the politics or government of Blame Games. For the pocket-and-mind-impoorished Nigerians, good governance can emerge when the political elites jump off and jump in to another party. For them changing names and labels makes the angels. They forget that party does not make angel, but character and attitude do. Regrettably, the Nigerian case has been that of when it favours us, we term it angelic, but otherwise, evil. No wonder Adams Oshiomhole during APC campaign in Benin, Edo State told us that "once you have joined APC, all your sins are forgiven"<sup>19</sup>. And indeed that is what happens in Nigeria as all the members become sacred cows, and immediately you switch over to the ruling party—the moving train—you are no more devilish/satanic, but angelic. This explains why when party A wins the Governorship election of a State—say Enugu or Lagos or Kano, the party will automatically win all the elective political positions in the State following the electoral manoeuvring of the emperor instituted at the centre at the State level—talking about the Governor. No opposition is allowed, not even at the least level of Councillors, let alone Local Government Chairman. A winner wins all mentality. It is unfortunate that these are not acts of good governance rather, acts of insincere and deceitful governance.

Critically examining this position however, we may ask if we should vote because of an individual or his party. Philosophically speaking, whichever one for which we vote, to which extent should the party's influence be seen on an individual the entire people of a particular political jurisdiction have elected to represent them? Put in another way, when the party's ideologies are less favourable to the citizens, should the people's minds or the party's policies become prior to the elected individual? In a purely practised democracy, should a political office holder be guided more by the people's intentions or his political party's interests or his own personal interests? In Nigeria regrettably, party obedience and egoistic agenda prevail and in inherency of the personal interests of the office holder rather than the popular needs, interests of the general people whom the political office holder represents.

Probing further, it is a pity that we have not built a political attitude of faithfulness to our political parties, governmental consistency and continuity unlike Western counterparts. Nigerians are politically too empirical, precisely material. Politics and governance is all about what gain do I not we stand to obtain. National Assembly would suddenly become so scanty, yet, we seem adamant to the voice of our conscience as we are paid for work not done. This kind of political attitude explains why we are too blind to ponder on the moral questions behind vote-selling-and-buying, and generally any act of electoral malpractice. It is one of the worst sins against humanity for whatever the person we vote in does, we are automatically partakers in the outcome.

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.today.ng> 13/11/2018.

<sup>18</sup> *On the Marble, News watch*. Dec. 20, 2010 compiled by Ezugwu Anayo and Mmahi Adanna.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.dailypost.ng> 18/1/2019; <https://www.pulse.ng> 17/1/2019.

Any act to facilitate electoral ill is a sin against the metaphysical components of human beings one of which is volition—an act of making a personal choice and expression of mind. Any form of electoral malpractice perpetuates this sin as it perverts the human exercise of volition. At this, Bishop Thomas John Paprocki's advice is insightful when he, on a speech that centres on the "Intrinsic Evils in Democratic Platform", cautions that you as a voter needs to think and pray very carefully about your vote, because a vote for a candidate who promotes actions or behaviours that are intrinsically evil and gravely sinful makes you morally complicit and places the eternal salvation of your own soul in serious jeopardy<sup>20</sup>. He sees democracy as a laudable system of government and any infringement on democratic principles is a "serious sin" and everybody has to be concerned about this. He cautions that failure to ensure this is grave and reiterating how necessary this is, he says:

My job is not to tell you for whom you should vote. But I do have a duty to speak out on moral issues... I would be abdicating this duty if I remained silent out of fear of sounding "political" and didn't say anything about the morality of these issues.

What we can decipher from Paprocki's contention is that politics without morality is very dangerous and risky not only on the person perpetuating such, but also stands as a proof of insensitivity to the feelings of human beings.

Further, in Nigeria, even when we are told that our Permanent Voters' Cards (implicating votes now) are our power, and as such, advised not sell our franchise, we forget to ask questions about the attitudes of the electoral officials. Our Voters' Cards are only but stepping-stones to our partaking in the electoral process and not the final answer to our wish. Our final answer to our wish is the attitudes of the electoral body officials counting them up to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Chairman, before, during, and after elections. This attitude issue comes before vote-buying for it is a denial of people's natural right, freedom, and volition (the most existential ingredients of men). Overcoming these two menaces is overcoming bad leadership, and this explains why Ugwu (2020) insists that the Nigerian and indeed African problem largely lies with the people/ruled/electorates who own the power. Here lies the main thrust of Paprocki's position.

Nigerians know (by explanation) what acts of good governance look like only during election. When the political class want to defend the tenets of democracy in their governance, they refer to America, but when they want to defend the sorry-state and pitiable underdevelopment of their countries, they argue that you cannot compare America to Africa or Nigeria for their independence-gap is quite clear. In America and other developed countries, sports, sincere and critically investigated asset-declaration, some health status, and most especially debates are organized for political power aspirants and from all these, especially the debates, greater percentage of their votes will be predicted for they are the systematic, eloquent means and verbal sketch and fight for how to achieve their promises and ideologies (manifestoes) when elected in the office. But in Nigeria, out rightly, all these do not matter, and we run away from debates because we are illiterates—cannot logically and eloquently speak and do not even have guiding-ideologies and the little hope-giving-promises we make during campaigns and rallies as manifestoes are never fulfilled and even denied. In their hunt-for-votes, we are fed on media with Nigerian non-existent pictures of infrastructural activities, fake-testimonies, ideal analysis of certain crucial national issues, diaries of insignificant projects done, still ongoing and the ones to be commissioned soon, but after elections, all are dumped—to be used for campaigns and rallies in the next

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/27/9/2012>.

election time. That is why there has never been any substantial difference from the 1960s/70s manifestoes and what we still call manifestoes today for the peoples' needs are all left as objects/projects of hunting for supports so as to gain political power in every election. If you do the road, build and equip the school, provide the water, build and equip the hospital, make the economy stronger, make living standard better, God will punish you because that is "bad market" to them. What do you think they would use to fool the people during the next election time? On NTA 7 pm news on December 1, 2020, we saw Mr. President in a meeting with Sen. Ahmed Lawan, the Senate President among others, still arguing that he inherited insurgency from PDP corruption and would not let it continue even as his second tenure is heading to an end. Over six years, we are still contending that we inherited this and that from the PDP "corruption". This was the insurgency that was technically defeated as Lai Mohammed told the world. This was the same insurgency used as the most propagandist tool and for which the APC party ousted PDP government in 2015 through popular rigging, promising Nigerians that within a year, insurgency had become a history in Nigeria. Though who are PDP members different from APC members or any other party? We are still with the same devils who wore red cloth in the morning and wore white cloth in the afternoon, wore blue cloth in the evening and now wearing yellow in the night. So nothing substantially has changed. This scenario is practically the one in Nigeria. By this, the clear fact is that the idea of good governance is all about playing with the lives and welfare of the citizens, using them for politics, and having now impoverished the citizens both in mind and pocket, they sell again their democratic power (through vote-selling at #1 or 2000), and the youths ready to die at the sight of chicken change while working as thugs for them—forgetting their ugly past. The situation has even worst that they buy the people's interest and sense of merit and individual capabilities with ordinarily a lump of cowpea (okpa) sold for #50, and the outspoken among them are given minerals to wash it down. Apparently, today we see what is called school feeding project even under mango and cashew trees as the pupils' classroom blocks and which substantially exists on media. At this, critical minds may ask, which is more important: building and equipping school blocks or even rebuilding the dilapidated ones for the pupils, or feeding them under cashew and mango trees as their classrooms? Resources injected into this fraud means through which national treasuries are looted are enough to build and equip to an internal standard, at least five to ten big schools, hospitals, or producing companies in the 36 States of Nigeria including Abuja the capital city thereby creating employments. The fraud perpetrated there is never hidden to Nigerians. We always invent certain unreasonable projects through which we loot for our individual settlements and for sponsoring of the next election so as to remain in the government when we buy the votes of the impoverished citizens. All these are just few issues questioning the act and practice of good governance in Africa, Nigeria particularly.

These Nigerian attitudes which clearly show their misunderstanding of the concepts: Security and Good Governance may have informed Vladimir Putin's assertion that Africa has now become "a grave yard". He contends that:

When an African becomes rich, his bank accounts are in Switzerland. He travels to France for medical treatment. He invests in Germany. He buys from Dubai. He consumes Chinese. He prays in Rome or Mecca. His children study in Europe. He travels to Canada, USA, Europe for tourism. If he dies, he will be buried in his native country of Africa. Africa is just a cemetery for Africans. How can a cemetery be developed?<sup>21</sup>

There is nothing less than truth here. Nigeria is only a home-identity, not a living-identity. How many of

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<sup>21</sup> <http://www.informationng.com> 22/11/2018; <http://m.youtube.com> 22/11/2018.



the Nigerian rulers can stay in Nigeria for a whole month without travelling to Europe and America to chopping for body cream and wears, medical check-up—even ordinarily to treat ear itching, consumables, holidays and tourism, etc.? They bank in the foreign lands and generate revenue and strengthen their economy with and to the detriment of his own economy. He only lives permanently in Nigeria in dead, but never alive. That is a terrible style of life. African political elites loot their countries' treasures and travel outside their continent, use it for their selfish interests to develop other countries, and when they die, their corpses are taken back to Africa for burial proper. We developed Europe and America yesteryears through slavery and colonization characterized by dehumanization, but today, we are still consciously developing them through our selfishness and conscienceless approach to issues that matter most. What is the difference between the two scenarios—one, developing Europe and America as slaves and in hard/over labour, two, still developing it today through our irrational and selfish means of looting the national treasures? Shamelessly because it is “our” government from where “we” eat, we come on national media to speak grammars in defence of what is going on in Nigeria as exemplary of good governance<sup>22</sup>. Effectively, this self-disdaining and integrity and national denigration attitudes have given foreigners (laughably, some of whom are from fellow African and other developing countries) of no academic, political, religious, etc. substance or significance, to see themselves as demigods and presidents that they are escorted and given convoys with which they break every rules—traffic, official normal processes, etc. They intimidate citizens on the roads, exploit the citizens humanly and resource wise through hard or over labour, insecurity of their jobs, under-value and disregard of their labour in their country. For how long shall Africa continue in self-unrealization, shamelessness, and deception? This Putin's is provocative enough for Africans to tell themselves the truth, come back home by Think Home Philosophy, force and direct themselves towards authentic self-realization and vigorous development. Germany and many other countries did it and came out more stronger—economically, politically, militarily, and otherwise. Similarly however, in one of his albums, Wizkid, advises Africans to desist from corruption which their political systems encourage, and even if they will loot, they should spend it in their home countries so that their countries will share in all angles in the use of their loots. Indeed, Nigeria is fundamentally disorganized morally, structurally, ideally and otherwise, and it can only be cured through a moral regeneration. Indeed, such regeneration is imperative if the country is to make any meaningful progress in development (Omoregbe, 2011, pp. 192-199). Peradventure, we have been conditioned to live and enjoy in worst situations. When Achebe says that Nigeria is the worst place to live on earth, these big vultures that eat the fattest corpse attacked him arguing that he is not a true patriot, diplomat and good nationalist. But in all ramifications after critical crosschecks on Nigeria, a place like Nigeria is an abomination to exist on earth. That explains why many impoverished Nigerians prefer to die suffering outside than to die inside and out of scarcity in the midst of plenty. To worsen the situation, these people whose mouths have been fixed to the national treasury pipe are stingy, wicked, conscienceless, and merciless that they do not care about their neighbour who is languishing in abject poverty. In fact, it gives them joy seeing you gnashing your teeth because of hardship. And the worst Nigerian scenario is that as it progresses in negativity, it can never get well or decline in rate. If Nigeria spoils/corrupts/falls from point A to Point B, C, D, E, F, G or even H, it only takes Divine Grace to decline from point H to point G. There will never be a time it will normalize and decline to point A much less hoping for total absence of the fall. This is the living experience of Nigerians. For instance, how much was a tin of rice, smallest tin tomato, spaghetti, magi, a rubber of water, a

<sup>22</sup> NTA Programme, “Tuesday Live”, 10:30 pm-00:30 am 1/12/2020.

pair of shoes, a paint of cassava (fufu), a bag of semovita, a cup of garri, a pen, Nigerian currency vale to Dollars, electricity bill, house rent, transport fare from a bus stop to the other, barbing, etc. yesteryears and how much are these today? The list is simply endless. Nigeria cannot feed itself. It cannot exist without importation, and trust Europe and America, hence you choose that type of life, you remain a dumping ground and objects of testing the products of intellectuality. These are Nigerian existential experiences. During my NYSC in Akwaibom State in 2015, I enjoyed a paint of red garri at #280, white one at #250 that was never many people's choice, but as we lived on in our usual Nigerian way, it got to #300, later #400 and today #900 and we even today, beg for the white one at #750/800—that is the one we can afford. The prices of these items can never come down as was in 6-10 years ago yet both the quantity and quality have drastically reduced to an annoying level. These are live-telling, they are not theoretical. Yet people have the gut to say Nigeria is the best. When I listen to some NTA “national praises” that there is no place like Nigeria and people should come and explore Nigeria, I laugh. Indeed, there is no place like Nigeria, a place that is simply a joke.

Critically speaking, there is no basic cause of all these than greed. A saying goes that *eriwerem anaghi ahapu* (the mouth that always eats, will never agree to stop). Nonetheless, the act of good governance ought neither to know time, boundary, who is concerned nor the consequences thereof. But it is a pity that the Nigerian conception of good governance is all about *na we we*, and as such, no one says that his mother's soup (tribesmen governance) is not sweet (good).

Be that as it may, philosophy, which etymologically means love of wisdom goes with more questions and morally laden obligations. What does it mean to love? What does wisdom mean here? Love here means unbiased passion and determination to search or know, while wisdom means the truth, the reality as it naturally is, and its subsequently being put into work to infect positive changes. Hence, unbiased knowing of the truth or becoming wise does not entirely solve the problem, but putting it into the reality of existence. Having established this ground through the definition of philosophy, Phenomenology as an aspect of doing philosophy and which encourages phenomenologically reaching to the truth, the essence of the given object—be it human or non-human—if adopted as a philosophical ideal or guiding principle in the Nigerian lives and system, will go a long way to ameliorate certain ugly issues raised here. Issues like mediocrity instead of meritocracy in appointments, national issues, making of policies, etc. Utilitarianism which encourages action based on majority gains, if imbibed with, will go a long way to curb the rate of selfishness and unaccountability among the political class and bring about seriously committed community-development. Stoicism which encourages indifference and rejection of emotional drives in dealing with general issues, if welcomed in Nigeria, will encourage true nationalism and patriotism and discourage tribalism, favouritism, nepotism, cases of “kitchen-cabinet-saga”, appointments by “compensation” and based on “he/she is from my region and classmate” and finally strengthen the so-called “Federal Character”. Humanism which advocates for being humane, using the human intellect very appropriately and practically acknowledging the concrete living being (man) with whom you live first, before other beings and whatever essence or gain derivable from existence, if well understood and sincerely put into practice, will rid Nigerians off the high rate of violence, inhumanity, consciencelessness, incessant killings/massacres of men like animals, and the attitude of placing more values on animals than human beings, that are characterizing her. Other philosophical disciplines are of course, of very importance in this discourse if Nigerians could imbibe by their tenets.

However, there are other pragmatic steps that are of necessity in this issue. To ensure good governance and the reawakening of the moral consciousness and conscience of the Nigerian political elites, first,

philosophy ought to be brought down to the primary school level so as to critically begin the cleansing of the minds of the pupils. Some political faults in Nigeria are products of intellectual blindness of the political elites, and therefore, philosophy and ethics should be brought to both primary and secondary schools and be systematically inserted into the curriculum of Advanced and Tertiary Institutions so as to be a general subject or course to every discipline in order to early build and mould critical and moral thinking and conscience of the citizens. This will lead us to the right path of no self-contradictions where we will not say one thing and do another as has been the case. Just for an instance, the Nigerian constitution has stipulated limits of expenditure during campaigns and according to positions being vied for, but surprisingly, no political office aspirant has been held accountable for spending more than the constitutional stipulations for campaigns even when a constitutional breach is clear. Again, when we get it right this early, we will stop inventing certain unreasonable policies and embarking on acts that instead of helping would rather deter our collective progress. For instance, of what reason is it to shut down cities and major roads because a government official is visiting the city or state? Does this show of cheap fame and ego add or reduce from our economy? Also, it is common to see some policies that are purposely for looting, vote-buying and are very unreasonable that they question the level of our reasonability. Government officials earn millions monthly, but they embark on ideologies or programmes like Youth Empowerment with wheel barrow, shoe shiners' boxes, etc., #30,000 N-Power, N-Tech, N-Agro, Trader-Moni, Farmer-Moni, Market-Moni, N-Sit, and all the "Ns- and Monis", etc., placing former presidents and governors and perhaps with their deputies on life pension of at least #10,000,000 monthly exclusive of other official privileges, granting not only amnesty but scholarship abroad to so termed repented Boko Haram, spending of almost #40,00,00 each to purchase foreign made 2020 model car for each senator whose total number is 109 people—forgetting to encourage Innoson—an African, Nigerian motor maker and boost economy and entrepreneurship and indigenization of local manufacturing and production, among other laughable attitudes of Nigerian political elites, which many never worked for, school feeding programme which exists only on media and under cashew-tree-classrooms and which has claimed millions, and many others. Money spent on some of these could have been better used to rehabilitate dilapidating or build new schools, industries, refineries, silos, etc. so that we standardize the ones we have.

### **Conclusions and Recommendations**

It is no more a hidden fact that security intelligence, awareness, and consciousness among the Nigerian security personnel are relatively totally absent, let alone in the civilians. The task that calls for necessity is a strategic enlightenment on security courses on the security personnel, and then draws it down to the people through the discourse and practice of community security/policing. Security does not start and end with the armed uniformed men, rather it starts with the civilians/community inhabitants and ends or gets finalized expertly, with the "supposed" security professionals—personnel. Furthering more on this, a significant and effective syndrome that needs a total eradication from the people's psyche is the one of "am I the only one who has seen them? Please leave me let my head remain for me o!". A society where this prevails is doomed and terror may endure there in. "Reliably" speaking up by the civilians plus the "expertise" involvement of the security personnel equals to "nothing after" ending of terror and criminalities. Without sincere, accurate, and bias-free information from the grass root by the community inhabitants, the security personnel may not, or may find it extremely difficult to enforce/inject their expertise supposedly into the insecurity situation that has bedevilled the community. Security awareness and strategies, and enforcement of community policing and even

the sustenance of village vigilante indubitably have a greater percentage of amelioration to insecurity experiences as seen in Nigerian communities today.

Just as the Greek genius Plato has said that not until kings (rulers) become philosophers (educated) or philosophers become kings, the society will not be good. What is deductible from this evergreen aphorism is the necessity of education/enlightenment and good governance, hence the promise and fulfilment of good governance is a sole intellectual duty of the enlightened. How many Nigerian political office holders are educated? However, as a loophole, it is obvious that it is insufficient just being educated/enlightened, but it becomes sufficient when our educatedness is sincerely applied to the management of our official duties. In fact, as a critique to Plato, it has been established that major criminalities today are perpetuated by the educated who, in the exercise of their expertise/professionalism, will ensure they are never caught—for instance, an illiterate cannot survive sufficiently in cyber crimes (Ugwu & Ozoemena, 2019c; 2019d). That explains why the study of Ethics as an aspect of philosophy must never be left out, in the strengthening of moral conducts and assurance of crime-free society, especially as it concerns Africa, Nigeria (Ugwu & Ozoemena, 2019b). This has a lot to do with our inhumanity and consciencelessness, all leading to bad governance in managing official positions entrusted on us.

Anchoring on the above point, educated personnel or experts in development and environmental management and security issues must be actively involved. These experts will come in to ensure proper architectural development of the society with infrastructural assets, and the assurance of usage of those assets. Some assets in the society have become shelters and refugee centres to criminals/terrorists hence proper revitalization of development sector in the country is a must-necessity. Grass root security affairs through community police, vigilantes, take off from such established ground/atmosphere in the society and then throw it up to the official security experts for better living and idyll society dreamt of.

Laudable experience of democracy follows that there are people who understand, are willing and energetic enough to practice it. Therefore, just as the civil servants have their retirement age, Nigerian and indeed African politicians ought to have theirs. This limitlessness of age in the African politics, is one of the major problems the continent suffers in her polity for it has encouraged oligarchy, monarchy, politics with tears provided power does not slip off their hands, all in what we term democracy as our government system.

Further, to get it right from the very beginning, the earlier we begin rethinking on what really politics means to us instead of conceiving it as a game of various ideologies—number, interest, power, etc., the better for us. This misconception of politics has devalued and demeaned the worth, morally laden and sacredness of politics, and made it truly, a game of course, of a do or die affair, or the one any prank goes, provided there is a winning. Some games are even becoming more lawful than politics in Nigeria where offences are never punished and accountability never seen. This, by extension, explains why we miss the target even from the debates where, instead of critically and articulately proposing and defending ideologies and manifestos, we end up promising for what we have never fulfilled nor held responsible for.

Again, there must be laws that compel all political office aspirants to partake in all the electoral preparatory activities especially that of debates in our polity so as to know, at least, the grammatical eloquence, logical coherence, and critical mindedness of our political offices aspirants. Even though debates are mere systematic, tactical, courageous, ideal and means of testing the verbal, ideal conceptual and logical eloquence of the political offices aspirants, yet, they have to be part of the electoral process for through them, at least, the aspirants will forcefully come or be motivated to form ideologies and probably stick to them when in the office.

They create avenues to, at least, see facts to hold those aspirants responsible when they derail; and most importantly, debates must retain their argumentative and critical natures, not to be conducted or seen as campaigning avenues.

On December 7, 2020, there was a trending bold front headline across almost all the Nigerian newspapers, but as captured by the Daily Trust which says: “Danger as ‘Recycled’ SIM Cards Flood Streets, Markets”<sup>23</sup>. The summary of the article is the level of security threat posed to the society through cyber crimes. It is observed that some SIM Cards are not registered, some are registered improperly and so, some important information about the owner supposedly the user are haphazardly supplied, some are registered anonymously (pre-registered) and sold to customers, and some are properly registered. Some of these registrations are done illegally by agents (roadside vendors) not certified by the Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC). Mobile phone true caller application would give details about the supposed owner differently from the person using the line. Consequently, this has implicated some innocent citizens as criminals, some marriages shattered, many criminal targets missed, etc. By this haphazard information or fake information or the registered owner differing from the user, when cyber crime is committed with such telephone line, it becomes extremely difficult to trace the culprits. Thus, it is commendable however the move made by the Ministry of Communications and Digital Economy to block any unregistered or improperly registered line, and the ongoing move by the same Ministry and sister Ministries (and or parastatals) to collaborate with the National Identity Management Commission to link the National Identity Number to telephone lines. But the big question is: even after all these measures, and even the catching of biometrics during phone line registrations, what improvement have we got, especially as it concerns security? Is it not a contradiction when the Commission says that blocked SIM Cards following their dormancy should be recycled and reissued to new customers? Hear the Chief Corporate Services Officer at MTN Nigeria, Mr. Tobeckukwu Okigbo drawing a conclusion from the premise that the Federal Government owns the SIM Cards but managed by the NCC, he says that operators are only assigned numbers for their operations on a lease basis. Consequently, to ensure efficient use of the numbering resources, the NCC Quality of Services Regulations permit operators to recycle numbers (that is, make the line available to another customer) where subscribers do not use their lines for a stipulated cumulative period of 356 days<sup>24</sup>.

Nigerian must upgrade to technological approach to life—be it government management, education, security, etc. and get them modernized and in tandem with modern system that crimes are technologically traced. As it concerns education, lack of this technological management of social affairs made the coronavirus pandemic lockdown a big waste to Nigerian students. It has enhanced insecurity, criminality, and corruption. When in other countries, intelligence and security are so smart and laudable that ordinary mosquito bite could be used to trace criminality and hold the culprits responsible, thumbs (through object touch) are used to detect criminals. In the very opposite, in Nigeria and indeed Africa, we apply manual method of inhuman torture, beating and putting a mere “suspect” (not a convicted) under duress to agree to crimes he “may” know nothing about. We resort to question and answer and imagination that appearance and physiological outfit and attire are gestures to determine who is a criminal, and immediately the security agents get hold of you, they re-baptize you with names like “rogues”, “thieves”, “assassins”, “criminals”, etc. That is our own Nigerian (African) level of security intelligence and modernized security system. The onus of this paragraph is that African security

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<sup>23</sup> <http://www.dailytrust.com>.

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.dailytrust.com> 7/12/2020.

architecture just as exemplified in the Nigerian case is too analogue and archaic in nature—this could be as a result of (1) the level of illiteracy in the political elites; (2) they do not want to expose their evil-mindedness towards insecurity-perpetuation or incapability towards insecurity or unwillingness to good governance. The Nigerian security system and operations are too manual, very disappointing to the trends of modernity where technology has taken over majorly human undertakings. That is why ordinary technological recordings are totally absent in our security personnel—showing their level of security unprofessionalism—and proceeding from this timid mentality, these political elites shamelessly have the guts to deny video recordings of this quackery in security agency or in cases of insecurity. We think the world is still in analogue stage where they would only know what happens by oral testimonies and speeches from the political class.

Additionally, anybody vying for, or winning any political office should have all their immediate family members permanently staying, working, schooling, embarking on tourism and receiving health medications in their countries, and their travelling facilitators should not be left with them or travelling critically examined and time-allotted and only on the ground of officialdom vis-à-vis their public offices. This will make them to be very serious with their countries' worrying issues like the education, health, security, economy, among many others. Again, their health status (some aspects) must be detected and made known to the public just like their assets with high sense of critical review. Public lawful declaration of assets must be ensured and followed seriously.

Nigerian constitution in every common sense, maturity, and sincerity needs nothing more urgent than restructuring—review for commendable democratic workings and in accordance with the trends of modern democratic practices. This constitution works only for the political class to the exposure of the ruled to the whims, evils, negligence, detriments, and caprices of the ruling class, and perpetuation of contradictions to the highest order. From page one to the last page of the Nigerian constitution are filled with contradictory ideas (Ugwu, 2020).

More so, the political office salaries should be made unattractive—brought moderately low so that the offices will sincerely depict real sense of working (service) for the people. The onus of leadership is in the number of service rendered, not services gained, even though serving people implies reciprocally receiving service because you as a leader, servant is never not an integral part and parcel of the society to whom you are serving. So as much as you serve, supposedly, you gain, but it is unfortunate the reciprocity is never applicable in Nigerian scenarios. Senator Ben Murray-Bruce (just like Senator Shehu Sani on the issue of consolidated salary and allowances of each Senator), has opted for a senatorial salary slash, but his colleague “servants” in the National Assembly gave it deaf ears<sup>25</sup>. But tomorrow, they will tell us they have our interest in their hearts!

Having seen the level of disregard to foreign religions and all their spiritualities following the fact that what is not yours remains alien to you no matter how you try to domesticate it, traditional religion should be used in the oath taking for occupying public offices. The fears for the foreign religious scriptures with which the political office holders take oath of office have been outlived. Traditional means among the real traditionalists should be employed so that the people will genuinely be afraid and more sincere with their ruled/electorates on whose mandates they are in the public offices. The African psyche tends towards truth and right when and any time the traditional means is employed for he knows the capability of the process when the genuine ones are employed. The African traditional means is like the Old Testament era, the reality behind the

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<sup>25</sup> <https://www.legit.ng>; <https://www.dailypost.ng> 12/3/2018.

process or era does not waste time to act, just like in the Nigerian parlance, *e dey play e dey show*. This calls for the strengthening of our traditional institutions, our own African institutions where the truth that will serve our African community is sufficiently obtained. We should get to the aspect of religion whenever the issue of indigenization and domestication of our own products is raised, because the truth that will guide our sincerity is right there in our traditional institutions especially as it concerns the ontological calls for the witness of the Divine and guide for those taking up official duties among and for the good of the people (Ugwu, 2020). Simple: let them take traditional oaths and face the consequences immediately they derail from the stipulated guiding principles for the offices they take management of, on behalf of the people.

More so, the populace must come out to unanimously say no to praise-singing attitude to their detriment, perhaps because of the fact that they have been subjected to the poverty of both mind and pocket and probably given some “chicken change” monies and items during election, even when the inherent lies in their eulogies are obvious. Again, they must make use of the outcome of the debates in voting, and as well apply “political stoicism” in order to ensure bias-free politics. Similarly, Nigerians and indeed Africans must shun money-bag political inducements from some illiterates, and elect conscientized and morally-living literates who, at least, can make a good and wise representation of them before the world. These and many more will go a long way in liberating Africa, Nigeria from political uncertainties and dismays.

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