

**PHILOSOPHY AND THE RE-MAKING OF NIGERIAN NATION: A REFLECTION ON
THE FOURTH REPUBLIC DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP**

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Abstract

Philosophy as a problem solving activity can never arrive at a precise destination, but, always on the way to question, reflect and proffer solutions to the problems of life and reality perturbing mankind. There are great deals of enduring problems in Nigeria which are begging for solutions. They include problems of corruption and insecurity, economic deterioration and underdevelopment. Philosophy in this context, questions the cause of these problems and how to solve them. Focusing the scope of this study with a trace from the Nigeria's first republic to the present day fourth republic, may disrupt the good understanding of this article. So we decided to narrow it down to the fourth republic democratic leadership led by Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo, Umar'u Yar'adua and Goodluck Jonathan's (PDP's) and Muhammadu Buhari's (APC's). The way things are going on in this forth republic of Nigeria is above imagination. Every person in Nigeria, both the leaders and the led are yelling about the condition of Nigeria. The statement in the mouth of every Nigerian is that Nigeria is corrupt. Philosophy in this context, therefore, questions the cause of these problems. Can Nigeria as a complex nation be corrupt? Applying the critical method of philosophical inquiry here, we found out that things are no longer at ease in Nigeria, and that bad leadership is the cause of these problems. The truth here, is that, Nigeria as a complex Nation is not corrupt and can never be corrupt, instead, it is the citizens that are corrupt, and are receiving the consequences. Since this is so, do we still have the hope of rebuilding Nigeria to become a better nation? If the answer is in affirmative, how can it be achieved? It can be achieved by ensuring that bad leadership which is the primary cause of the monster, corruption that bred insecurity and economic crisis which results to underdevelopment, must be severely dealt with, and there must be self moral orientation of all Nigerians irrespective of the status quo.

Keywords: Philosophy, Democracy, leadership, Democratic Leadership, Fourth Nigerian Republic

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria in this fourth republic democratic government is turning back to the Thomas Hobbes state of nature characterized by anarchy, brutality, solitude and survival of the fittest. Insecurity of life and property as well as economic backlash has been the orders of the day. These, however, are causing untold hardships to Nigerians. Ask Nigerians the cause of these problems, they will univocally voice out "corruption". The statement in the mouth every Nigerian is that, "Nigeria has spoiled". But is this true? A critical reflection on this study, debunked the assumption. Nigeria is a complex nation, everything about it, transverse through the lenses of human elements which defined it. Corruption is a human act, it is the product of bad leadership, thus it breeds insecurity and other social evils as its consequences. Things have fallen apart in Nigeria, especially in this fourth republic governments. Nigeria, the giant of Africa, at the age of 62 years, supposed to have grown fully in terms of development like the Western world, but is still stagnating and crippling. Quoting the Expert Insider's Survey of 2019 on the World Inter - Nations Development Index, Emedo says, "Nigeria is ranked the 3rd amongst the most dangerous countries of the world. It featured also on the Global Terrorism Index due to the incessant activities of the Fulani -herdsmen militant group which was tagged the fourth deadliest terrorist group in the world."¹ The cause of these problems in Nigeria is clear. Nigeria as a complex state is not corrupt and cannot be corrupt. Rather, it's the citizens who possess the rational repertoire to differentiate between good and evil, right and wrong, worthy and unworthy, honest and dishonest that are corrupt. There is an overt corruption in Nigeria. Nigerians are destroying Nigeria. It is Nigerians that tell lies, steal and laund public money, abduct and extort money from the fellow Nigerians, rape and gang rape fellow citizens, and commit different crimes that are undermining the development of our nation and our own well-being. Every Nigerian, both the leaders and the led have in one way or the other, knowingly or unknowingly contributed to this dilapidating situation of the nation. Every Nigerian is a leader in their various domains. Hence, their daily positive or negative inputs can either promote or mar the development of the nation. Things are no longer at ease in Nigeria. The manner and ways evils are occurring on daily basis in this country, if care is not taken, may expunge the name Nigeria from existence. Thus, what shall we do in this situation? Can Nigeria still become a better nation? If in affirmative, how can it be achieved? Re-making Nigeria to become a better state, the authors opine, is simple. It requires the efforts of all, both the leaders and the led. Thus, every aberration must be thoroughly checked. There must be moral examinations of the conducts of all Nigerians irrespective of the status quo, etc. To make this work more comprehensible,

¹ Emedo, Chinyere. C., A Philosophical Discourse on Corruption and Insecurity in Nigeria, Journal of African Studies and Sustainable Development (JASSD), Vol. 4, No.1, 2021, Pp.15 – 28.

we will narrow down the study to the analytical discuss on the conceptual framework of the topic of the research such as philosophy, democracy, leadership etc. We shall trace the origin of Nigeria's fourth republic democracy, and evaluate the leadership performances of all the Presidents that have ruled Nigeria from Obasanjo, Yar'adua, Jonathan, and down to that of Muhammadu Buhari. Lastly, we shall conclude by stating the findings and recommendations.

PHILOSOPHY

The quest to reach a univocal definition of philosophy has caused controversies amongst philosophers. Philosophy according to Umeogu 'is narrowed down to its etymological definition as the love of wisdom. The love of wisdom he says is the love of knowledge.'² Hence, Plato through his disciple Aristotle, described philosophers as, "the seekers of knowledge, or lovers of wisdom."³ Philosophy emanates from the wonders of human experiences of his life and reality. Philosophy questions, reflects and proffers solutions to the problems of life and reality in totality. Philosophy could mean a course studied in tertiary institutions. It could mean a rational tool which human beings use daily to solve their personal and social needs. Philosophy according to Emedo, "is the parent that gave birth to every knowledge. Philosophy is consistently on the way and cannot arrive to a particular destination. It is the only discipline that questions its own activity and that of the other disciplines and thus exhibits constantly its super parental functions to by solving the problems facing them in their various fields and other areas of life."⁴ Philosophy questions the Nigeria's fourth republic democratic governments and the performances of the leaders that have ruled the country from the inception in 1999. The truth is that the tail of wrapper is no longer where it is tied in Nigeria. Corruption and insecurity have overtaken all events in this country; hence there is a total economic meltdown. Nigerians are skeptical about the possibility of Nigeria becoming better again. It is on this scenario that philosophy came to exhibit its interrogating role. Thus it asks; apart from death, is there any problem that is unsolvable in this planet earth? If the answer is no, it implies that there is still the hope of re-making Nigeria to become a better nation. Philosophy is featured by speculation, investigation, criticisms, analysis and prescription. Philosophical investigation discovered that Nigeria is not the first country that has passed through this type of dilapidated situation. Many countries of the world have suffered this fate because of corrupt attitudes and incompetency of the leaderships that have governed them. For example, France in 1789, under military leadership, has encountered this type of ill-fated situation, which the

² Umeogu, B.U., *Deep of Philosophy Handbook*, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Enugu: Victojo Production Services, 2014Pp. 4 - 12.

³ Plato, *The Republic*, Translated by G.M.A Grube, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1974.

struggle for liberation led to the famous French bloody revolution that brought into existence a better France. Britain in 1687 and America in 1755, have experienced bad leadership years prior to Nigeria, and this provoked the resolution that uplifted them to climax in terms of good governance, civilization and development. Many African countries like, Egypt under Hosni Mubarak, Libya under Maumma Gaddafi, Sudan under Omar-al Bashir, Ghana under Fred Akufo to mention but just a few, have passed through bloody revolution, yet, apart from Ghana, things have not been all that easy as expected with the enlisted Nations above. No matter the height of bad leadership, corruption, insecurity and frustration in Nigeria, especially in this Fourth Republic, no hope has been lost. Nigeria can still be rebuilt to become a better Nation. The only thing required to achieve this is revolution, not bloody revolution as occurred in the African countries mentioned above, but, rather, the self moral, academic and industrial revolution in the life of Nigerians, especially the leaders.

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

To have a good understanding of the phrase democratic leadership, necessitates a separate look at their meanings:

What is DEMOCRACY?

The concept of democracy is rooted from the two Greek words; demos - meaning "the people", and kratos - meaning "rule. This, as cited by the Athenian leader, Cleisthenes, cited in Josiah, literally means, "rule by the people."⁴ Democracy is the form of government whereby the sovereign power is vested in the hands of the people. In a democratic system, the constitution of government (leadership) is via social contract by consensus agreement or general will of the people, this could be done either by selection or by voting process. Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as "the government of the people, by the people, and for the people."⁵ This explicitly according to Emedo, portrays the sovereign power of the people as consensually contracted out to few people from amongst themselves to govern the state for the good of all. There are two types of democracy viz; direct and indirect democracy. Direct democracy as was first practiced in Athens, is the type that disenfranchised women, and enfranchised only adult males. Here, only fully grown adult males participate in the decision making in the state. The contrary is indirect (representative) democracy. Here, the system enfranchises both adult males and females only. The democracy of interest in this paper is the indirect type in which the President is the head of State and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. Indirect

⁴ Cleisthenes, in Obor, Josiah, "I Besieged that Man, Democracy's Revolutionary Start", Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece, University of California Press, 2007.

⁵ Lincoln, Abraham, US House of Representatives: History, Arts and Archives, 1806.

democratic system of leadership, however, is usually run under three tiers viz; federal, regional (States), and local government councils as in the countries like Nigeria, United State of America, etc. Indirect democracy is characterized by party politics, three organs of government, constitution (law), fundamental human rights, and the rest. Having done with this, let's look at the meaning of leadership.

WHAT IS LEADERSHIP?

The term leadership is synonymous with governance and government. It involves activities of the leaders or government as being constituted to control, rule, guard and guide the conducts and behavioural attitudes of the people or masses that contracted power to them via election process. Leadership according to Emedo "is government and government is leadership. This in a sense, means the politically elected government in action. The action in this context, refers to the government activities to provide all that are needed to make an ideal state. An ideal state however, is the one where there is uninterrupted and harmonious functioning among the three bodies that constituted the state namely, the rulers, the ruled and the defence. Here, the rulers exhibit their primary function of safeguarding life and property of the people as government themselves., the ruled (subjects), abide to the laws of the state, and the army meditates whenever there is problem between the leaders and the led, and also stands for the state against external aggression."⁶ Webster's Dictionary defined leadership as, "a system by which group of individuals is constituted through voting to govern a state/organization."⁷ The concept of leadership is categorized as follows: strategic/transformational leadership, bureaucratic and transitional leaderships, coach - leadership etc. These, however, "are ratted and trimmed down according to Lewin Kurt as cited in Sari, into three main types; (1) autocratic or authoritarian leadership, (2) democratic or participating leadership (3) laissez - faire or delegated leadership."⁸ The leadership of every nation is geared towards making the nation an ideal one by means of development, hence, the development of every nation is dependent on the effectiveness of the governance and the moral dispositions of the leaders. Leadership could be termed good or bad depending on the progressiveness of the performances of the leaders in power in reference to the common good of the people and the nation as whole. There are numerous traits of a good leadership, of which the contrary is interpreted as bad leadership. The traits of a good leadership include; honesty, self encouragement and that of others, good listening skills, rigidity and flexibility in actions based on what the situation brings, innovativeness, cross - cultural relationship, confidence etc. In concordance to this, Goode avers, "a leadership that is conscious of the common good of its subjects, honest and innovative, rigid and flexible in actions based on the situation at hand etc, is a good one. Good

⁶ Emedo, Chinyere C., A Critical Appraisal of the Role of President Muhammadu Buhari's Government in the Global Fight to Remedy Corona-Virus Epidemiology, *Aku, an African Journal of Contemporary Research* Vol 3, No 1, 2022, Pp70 -89.

⁷ Merriam Webster, Leadership, Definition and Meaning <https://www.dictionary.com> 2007.

⁸ Leadership Success: What are the Three Leadership Styles? Asia Pacific Level 4, Pymont, Sydney, NSW, 2009.

leadership he stresses, is a blessing to the nation, it brings progress, orderliness and development to the nation, while the contrary, bad leadership is a failure and disgress for it puts the nation in shamble."⁹ Having cleared air on the meaning of leadership, let us look at the meaning of democratic leadership.

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

The study here, will center on its definition, characteristics, pros and cons. Democratic leadership system is teamwork oriented. It is a participative or share leadership style where everyone is included. It functions on delegated legislation amongst the actors. Here, both the leader and the group members are involved in the contribution of ideas and taking decision. Those involved share opinions and functions in their different domains as distributed and controlled by the leader. Hence the leader has the final order and conclusion. Democratic leadership is characterized by;

- (a) Collaboration; there is a collaborative efforts amongst the members, they share ideas and opinions in decision making, not minding the leader has the final approval to the decision, all must promote the good of the people, and the development of the nation at large.
- (b) Engagement; members of the group feel free to engage in the process
- (c) Creativity; democratic leadership style promote creativity, encouragement and rewarded
- (d) Constitution/Rule of Law; in any democratic organization such as Nigeria, leadership operates on an established principle, or constitution. Here, law rules and no one is above the law, both the leaders, and the led are equal, and submissive to rule of law as enacted by the legislature and judiciary as well as implemented by the executive
- (e) Human rights; in a democratic type of leadership, both the natural and legal, fundamental rights of members are granted, respected and protected.
- (f). Politics/participation; democratic leadership type of government thrives on political activity with registered political parties and election process. Here, everyone stands to vote or be voted for.
- (e) Greatest majority in, and minority inclusive in the decision made; here, it is normal that in making of any decision, the interest of the greatest number (majority) prevails, and thus protects that of the minorities, this in essence implies that, the majority carries the vote, and the voice of the minorities are also heard. Party politics for example, is practiced in Nigeria. Here, the party that obtained greatest numbers of votes, produces the leader etc.

Democratic type of leadership like other leaderships has its pros and cons:

The Pros include

- (a) More ideas and creativity
- (b) Group members commitment
- (c) High productivity encourages high development
- (d) Improvement of group morale.

⁹ Goode in Wambutda, D., leadership and Biblical Studies in Africa, Journal of Biblical Studies Vol.vi, No.1, 1991, P.16.

The Cons include:

- (a) Communication failure
- (b) Poor decision making by unskilled group or incompetent leaders.
- (c) Minority or individual opinions overridden and suppression.
- (d) Potential security issues, etc.

Fourth Nigeria Republic Democracy

The political structure of Nigeria is composed of one President with vice, 36 States and Governors with deputies and 993 Houses of Assembly members, 774 local government areas with chairmen, and 8,809 wards with councilors, 109 Senators, and 360 House of Representative members. Total being 11,893. These, however, are the main captains that drive the leadership of Nigeria. Reflecting on the situation of things in Nigeria from the First Republic, may be ambiguous. So, the context is narrowed down to the Fourth Republic. The situation of things in this Fourth Republic has been topsy-turvy. Nigeria is neither where it supposed to be, nor, where it's used to be. The performances of the elected leaders of Nigeria, especially in this Fourth Republic have been sub-optimal.

The return of Nigeria to civil rule from 1999 till date is referred to as the country's Fourth Republic. The first, second and third Republics of 1960 -1966, 1979 -1983, and 1990 -1993 respectively, were all interjected and punctuated by military coups. First and second coups took place between 15th January, 1966, and 31st December, 1983. The third Republic was truncated by the annulment of the 12th June, 1993 Presidential election that occurred on the 24th June, 1993. This prompted the chains of events that led to the inauguration of Chief Ernest Shonekan - Interim National Leadership, which was toppled in a palace coup led by General Sani Abacha (deceased) on 17th November, 1993.

Origin of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic Democratic Leadership.

With the demise of the military dictator and de facto leader of Nigeria, General Sani Abacha in 1998, his successor General Abdulsalami Abubakar commensed the transition of government which announced Nigeria's return to democratic rule in 1999. Because of this, the ban on political activities was lifted, and political prisoners were released from detention facilities. The constitution was designed after the ill-fated second Republic election which saw the Westminster's system of government jettisoned for the American Presidential system. So many political parties, both the majority and minority parties like, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), All People's Party (APP) which was later changed to All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP), Alliance for Democracy (AD), The Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), to mention but a few, were formed, and elections were set in April 1999. In the widely, and well monitored elections in 1999, former military Head of State, Olusegun Obasanjo emerged the President elect under the auspices of People's Democratic Party, and was sworn in as Commander in Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 29th May, 1999. Succeeding President Obasanjo, was Umaru Yar'Adua, who was elected as the President in the controversial

general election on 21st April, 2007, under the umbrella of PDP. Following the demise of Shehu, Umaru Yar'Adua in 2010, his Vice Goodluck Jonathan, became the interim President, and later became the full fledged elected President of Nigeria from 2011 to 29th May, 2015 under the same PDP platform. The election that brought in Jonathan's leadership properly was, largely accredited as the freer and fairer than the previous elections of the Fourth Republic. Goodluck Jonathan (GEJ) was succeeded by the incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari from the 29th May, 2015 till date under All People's Progressive Party (APC).

Evaluation of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic Democratic Leaderships

The Fourth Republic started with President Olusegun Obasanjo's regime, and ran through Shehu Umaru Yar'adua, Goodluck Jonathan, and the immediate past regime of Muhammadu Buhari. The evaluation of the performances of these presidents, however, shall emphasize on the corruption scandals experienced during their regimes and the consequences on the development of the country.

Olusegun Obasanjo's Leadership (May 1999 - May 2007)

A lot of corruption scandals erupted out during President Olusegun Obasanjo's leadership. The scandals included, when his vice Atiku Abubakar was caught in cohorts with the US Congressman stashing cold hard cash (literally) in freezer. Following this, was the KBR and Siemens bribery scandal that bursted out during his regime, which was investigated by the FBI and led to international indictments indicating high level of corruption in his leadership. According to Reuters reports, "while Nigeria dithered, the US Department of Justice on the 18th January 2012, announced that Marubeni Corporation, a construction company in Japan, has agreed to pay \$54.6million as criminal penalty for allegedly bribing Nigerian government officials, to facilitate the award of \$6 billion liquefied natural gas contract in Bonny of Nigeria, to a multinational consortium, TSKJ between 1995 and 2004."¹⁰ Hussaini Akwanga was accused of being involved in taking bribe to approve major government contract to French electronic group, and was sacked. President Obasanjo also sacked and handed over Inspector General of Police MrTafa Balogun to EFCC on grounds of selling public property to the tune of \$5.7 billion. He also extended his anti corruption watch dog by arresting some of his ministers that involved in all sorts of corruption. President Obasanjo was tied to Transcorp shares scandal that violated the code of conduct standards of public officers, and the Presidential library donations at the eve of his exit from the power that pressured associates to donate. He lobbied and bribed the legislators to alter Nigeria constitution, though failed, to enable him carry out his third term leadership agenda. Obasanjo's leadership in 1999, acquired not only a delicate state, but an unsustainable economy heavily dependent on oil and imbalanced international trade deals. Additionally, is that the inherited energy crisis continued due to the limited energy sector, overall government inefficiency and corruption. This, Osunmuyiwa reflected on when he said, "energy development of the non -

¹⁰ Reuters, J.P., in Tom Philips, "The Cultural Revolution", The Guardian, 2006, Retrieved November, 2021.

renewables was "front and center on the Nigeria's agenda during its 33 years of the military rule, especially through restructuring and creating a new energy enterprises and companies."¹¹

UMARU YAR'ADUA'S LEADERSHIP (29th May, 2007 - 2010)

Musa Yar'adua's leadership and tenure were short, although, a few number of corruption scandals from his predecessor's leadership came to light under his tenure, and went investigated due to ill health and lack of political will. Yar'adua's involved himself in various acts of political corruption. He used his Attorney - General to frustrate the ongoing internal and international probes on the financial corruption activities of his friends namely: Governors James Ibori, Peter Odili, and Lucky Igbinnedion, which led to big losses to their states. According to Wikileaks, "Supreme Court's Chief Judge, Michael Aondakaa (the Attorney General of the Federation), was bribed to legitimate the corrupt elections that, through widespread rigging sponsored by Obasanjo to put Yar'adua to power as President in 29th May, 2007. Wikileaks, further revealed that, this is what shaded Aondakaa from being convicted in Nigeria for money laundering, even when the UK and other foreign courts, successfully tried Nigeria's deeply corrupt Governors under Obasanjo regime."¹²

GOODLUCK JONATHAN'S LEADERSHIP (2010 - 2015)

Great number of corruption scandals were recorded during Goodluck Jonathan's leadership. Though, his government tried in suppressing corruption in the country, hence the rating index improved by reducing from the 143rd position in 2013 to 136th 2014. In 2013, the Central Bank Governor, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi intimated President Goodluck about NNPC's failure to remit the \$20 billion oil revenue owed to states. But Mr. President dismissed the information and in turn accused and replaced him of mismanaging the Central Bank's budget. Senate committee on finance, budget and audit also accused Sanusi's pieces of information of lacking substance. After the conclusion of the NNPC's audit, government found out that, there is real truth from the CBN governor's information and therefore, announced the NNPC's non remittance of the revenue, and that the actual money involved is not \$20 billion, but \$1.48 billion and they should refund it back to government. President Goodluck Jonathan's government was full of drama. Upon the release of both the PwC and Deloitte report from the government at the eve of its exit, it was determined that the \$20 billion they initially denied of missing, was indeed missing or misappropriated. In addition to these, Goodluck Jonathan's leadership is characterized by running scandals, which include; the BMW purchased by the minister for aviation, Senator Stella Oduka to the tune of #255 million, the security contracts to the Niger Delta militants,

¹¹ Osunmuyiwa, in Grit, Keith, Leadership: Limits and Possibilities, London: Palgrave Press, 2005, ISBN9780333963876.

¹² Wiki Leaks Dodds, Klans J., The WikiLeaks Arctic Cables", Polar Record, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 48 (2), 199-201.

extensive corruption and kickbacks in the Ministry of Petroleum, the Malabu Oil International scandal, and many other scandals involving the Ministry of Petroleum. Towards the end of Goodluck's leadership, the Central Bank scandal of cash tripping of mutilated notes also burst out, where it was revealed that 8 billion naira was stolen by low level CBN workers within four days. The revelation excluded a crime that is suspected to have gone on for years and went undetected until exposed by whistle blower. The Central Bank claims the heist, undermined its monetary policy, etc.

More corruption scandals surfaced after the departure of Goodluck Jonathan on 29th May, 2015, but we shall outline but a few:

- (1) Enormous scam in weapons and defense procurements, and misuse of 3 trillion naira budget since 2011 under the guise of fighting Boko Haram.
- (2) Diversion of 60% of the \$1 billion foreign loans obtained from the Chinese government by the Ministry of finance.
- (3) Diversion of \$ 2.2 million vaccination medicine fund, by Ministry of Health
- (4) \$2.2 billion illegally withdrawn from Excess Crude Oil Accounts, of which \$1 billion supposedly approved by President Jonathan to fund his re - election campaign without the knowledge of National Economic Council constituted of Mr. President, Vice President and State Governors.
- (5) 60 million barrels of oil valued at \$13.7 billion was stolen under the watch of the Nigerian National Petroleum Cooperation, 2009 to 2012.
- (6) Diversion of Ebola Virus fight fund up to 1.9 billion naira.
- (7) NIMASA fraud under investigation by EFCC, inclusive of accusation of funding PDP and buying a small piece of land for 13 billion naira.
- (8) NDDC scams and multifarious scams including 2.7 billion naira worth of contracts that do not conformed to the Public Procurement Act, etc.

MUHAMMADU BUHARI LEADERSHIP (2015 - 2023)

The leadership of President Muhammadu Buhari is quite distinct from those of his predecessors. Corruption scandals recorded in his regime are too many to count. President Buhari claims to be enemy of corruption, but has been lukewarm in action. Numerous corruption scandals are experienced in his leadership.

Muhammadu Buhari promised to deal severely with corruption to bring change in Nigeria. He used the already established agency, "the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) to accomplish his mission, but failed. Mr. President's motive of using this agency to delete corruption in Nigeria is lopsided. His probes and punishments on corruption scandals are meted only on his oppositions. In 2016, the Senate ad hoc committee headed by Shehu Sani, indicted the secretary to the Government of the Federation appointed by President Buhari, Mr Babachir Lawal of a #200 million contract scandal

for clearing of "invasive plant species" in Yobe State by Rholavision Nigeria Limited; a company which he owns. On 30th October, 2017, President Buhari sacked Lawal based on the report of a three - man panel led by the Vice - President, Prof Yemi Osinbajo that investigated him. In the same year, Abba Kyari (the chief of staff to President Muhammadu Buhari), took #500 million bribe from MTN to help it slash the \$5 billion fine slammed against it for violation of the Nigeria telecommunication regulations bothering on national secretary, the case was reported to Buhari, and, as MTN fired the staff involved, Abba Kyari stood intact in his position as the chief of staff. The national outrage forced Mr President to announce the probe of Kyari, though, the findings of the investigation was not made known to Nigerians.

Abudulrasheed Maina who was the head of the task force on pension reforms during President Goodluck Jonathan's regime, embezzled \$5.6 million, 4.8 million Euros, and fled Nigeria in 2015. Despite the fact that an Interpol arrest warrant was issued on him, yet, he managed to return to Nigeria, where he enjoyed protection from the President Buhari's government. Maina has been fired from his corrupt practices but was reinstated and given dual promotion by the Buhari's leadership. Though, later in the 8th of November, 2021, the Federal High Court Abuja sentenced 8 years imprisonment as punishment to Maina. According to Senate Committee on public accounts, 85 government parastatals, including EFCC since the inception of present leadership of Buhari, have failed to submit their audit reports. Though, EFCC, has responded to the committee, and denied the truth of the report given by the committee. Despite criticisms, the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) in May 2018, announced that about 603 Nigerians involved in corruption scandals have been convicted, citing example with the Attorney General Muhammed Adoke who fled Nigeria for being indicted of taken bribe to grant oil licenses to Shell. Adoke was extradited back to Nigeria from Dubai and immediately arrested. The questions are: what about the other 602 personalities arrested with him? Who are they? And, what are their names? How were they arrested and punished to authenticate the said conviction? Bad leadership no doubt, has caused a lot of damages in Nigerian Nation. In January 2020's evaluation on the most corrupt countries of the world as contained by the Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, Nigeria scored 146, i.e the 3rd position out of the 180 countries of the world. In October 2020, End SARS protestors alleged that Nigerian police officers, despite being employed by what has long been perceived as being the most corruption institution in Nigeria, were no longer paid adequately and, despite calling out police brutality, called for an increase in police salaries as one of their demands. The above discussed crimes that related to financial misappropriation and laundering are the mildest aspects of the corruption scandals recorded in this fourth Republic democratic leadership of President Muhammadu Buhari. The most grievous corrupt act under the watch of Muhammadu Buhari, is terrorism. Terrorism has reached its peak in his regime. Boko Haram insurrection that surfaced towards the end of Goodluck Jonathan's government in 2015, is lingering in strength till date. The heinous herdsmenism established to put other tribes into extinction, to achieve

the Fulanization agenda was pampered by the Buhari's leadership, hence the rights of the poor Nigerians are trampled upon. The security of life and property of the citizens have been jeopardized. Abduction and all manner of killing have been a pattern of life in his regime. Education, health, agro sectors, etc, are deteriorating every day, hence the country is experiencing the highest level of inflation. Fraud is on its highest level in the Buhari's regime. All the governors that looted States treasuries are compensated with either the senatorial or, Ministerial portfolios at the national level. Other corruption scandals under the watch of Buhari leadership include; the recovering and relooting of the Nigerian looted funds syndrome from the wicked ex- politicians. It was in the Buhari's administration for instance, that the monies recovered from Abacha loot are announced to the public, but the public didn't know and when the said monies were spent. The alleged \$170 billion fraud by the Account General of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (AGF) has been seated upon, and the public heard nothing about it again. It is in the Buhari's regime that \$18 billion was used for clearing of bush by the minister of agriculture, and \$11.19 billion was spent by President Buhari and his Vice President Yemi Osinbajo for school feeding of school children in the Northern Nigeria. This is arrant nonsense, were Mr President and his cohorts fed by the Colonial leaders during their school days? Even prior to this fourth republic, government has not thought of feeding primary school pupils. What they did was only giving free education. Thus, all these actions of the Buhari, are just the strategized ways of syphoning public money into his personal purse. High cost of governance is another area where corruption scandals are experienced in the Buhari's leadership. Nigeria is the country where parliamentarians (i.e Senators and Rep members), apart from other packages as lobbies for approval of bills and quotations from contractors and the executive arm itself, go home with at least \$18 million, and \$10 million every month etc.

Things Worth Nothing about Nigeria's Fourth Republic leaderships from 1999 - 2023

The Fourth Republic leadership of Nigeria has existed from the 29th May, 1999 till date. Though, the continuity of the Republic for now, is tentative, and will be determined by the outcome of the election judgement fixed from 6th to 16th, September 2023. The past and present leaderships of this specified years in this republic, have been featured by too much corruption scandals and crimes, thus, they are tagged the worst leaderships since Nigeria's independent in 1960. The leaderships however, are too bad that they encourage election violence featured by thuggery, snatching of ballot box, rigging/manipulation of results. The leaders are greedy, dishonest, wicked, and lack good relational skill with their subjects. They breed bandits and herdsmen terrorists that abduct, kill and extort money from the fellow citizens. The Leaderships claim alibi on master minding these crimes, but in the actual sense they're rogues themselves. They steal, recover looted funds and re loot them, hence they liquidate Nigeria's treasury. They claimed fighting Oil Banditry, while they themselves, are the culprits. This republic has been featured by dull brain leaders who devalue education, health and agriculture, which are the key factors for effective development of every nation. The features of democracy, such as

equality of all before the law (e'spirit de law), recognition and respect for the fundamental rights of the people, separation of powers amongst the three organs of government which roles are to checkmate the excesses of their conducts, impeachment saga, recalling back a defaulted law maker by using at least 50% votes of the members of his constituency etc, have neither function in this Republic, nor from the inception of Nigeria system at large. Both the Nigerian judiciary which is the hope of the common man, INEC (Independent National Electoral Commission), and legislatures (the Watch dogs to the Executives), have all Lost their glory. These bodies, however, are no more independent and unbiased, but dependent and controlled by the executive. Power in this republic rotates amongst few dominated leaders. Change of leadership is like a relay race where the starter's performances determines the result at the end. President Olusegun Obasanjo started the leadership relay and ended up with bad mark, Jonathan Goodluck took over from Obasajo and ended up with the worse mark, and Muhammadu Buhari took from Jonathan and has ended up according to the statistical analysis on world's leadership performances with the worst mark ever in the history of Nigeria's democratic leadership, though, the performances of the future leaderships of this republic cannot be predicted for now. Despite all the enumerated challenges hindering development in Nigeria, there is still the hope of Nigeria becoming a better nation. This however, will lead us to conclusion with focus on the prescriptions cum recommendations on how to make Nigeria a better nation.

How to Make Nigeria a Better Nation

A philosophical reflection on the situation of things within the 23/24 years of Nigeria's fourth republic democratic leadership shows that things are truly out of place. Corruption has become a general disease in Nigeria and the leaders that supposed to cure it, are the worst culprits. Change, according to Heraclitus as cited by Brames, "is the order of existence."¹³ Everything in the world is capable of alteration except death. This implies that the enduring problems of Nigeria can still be elucidated to make it a better nation. To achieve this, too many anomalies must be made normal. Hence every Nigerian must be committed to the project. There must be a thorough restructuring of the constitution (law) of Nigeria. All the tribes and ethnic groups that make up Nigerian nation, must develop the spirit of oneness and forgiveness amongst themselves, the leaders and the led must endeavor to be morally upright. Our political leaders must set aside all the religious sentiments/strategies which they treacherously use to shatter people's mindsets to achieve their personal evil goals, and drive the country as a secular state it is. Education, health, agriculture, and other detailed resources in Nigeria must be prioritized to boost effective economy in order to reach and maintain a progressive

¹³ Heraclitus, in Brames Jonathan, *The Natural Philosophy of Heraclitus*, London & New York, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 1982, Pp.43-52.

development and stability of the entire nation. Succession to cover predecessors crimes syndrome, and money sharing style of politicking must be abhorred. All the financial /wealth entitlements attached to political offices must be slashed drastically. Political enrichment is the main factor that lures people in corruption. We must practice pure democracy as the system of leadership which we have claimed to be practicing. All the characteristics of democracy such as impeachment, bringing back a parliamentarian by passing vote of no confidence on the occasion of falling to give account of his/her stewardship to the people they are representing through the 50% of his peoples votes, which have been treacherously incubated by the Nigeria political leaders to protect their interests must be revived and put in force again. All the illicit wealth made by political office holders must be confiscated and the leaders involved starting from the federal to local government levels must be jailed. If all these factors should be put in practice, coupled with the harmonious relationship of the three bodies that constituted an ideal state (i.e the Guardians-leaders, the Artisans- led and the Warriors- armed forces) in the political philosophy of Plato, Nigeria unsceptically, will become a better nation. It will obviously become the Dubai/Taiwan nation of Africa as promised by some of our leaders in their election manifestos.