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23
PRESIDING
QUESTIONS
FOR
2023
PRESIDENTIAL
QUESTS:
THEIR AMBITIONS
versus
OUR CONVICTIONS

A row of six vertical bars of different colors (white, orange, blue, red, green, grey) with a question mark inside each bar, positioned at the bottom of the black rounded rectangle.

ADETOLU ADEMUJIMI



23 Presiding Questions for 2023 Presidential Quests: Their Ambitions Versus Our Convictions

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Dedication

To all agonizing Nigerians whose great convictions on good governance have been serially betrayed by the pale ambitions of perpetual politicians but look forward to the 2023 Presidential election for a glimmer of hope



Acknowledgement

Special thanks to the team of Sartorius Resources for the uncommon tenacity demonstrated every week (Saturdays) that each of these questions were released to the public. The following online media organizations are appreciated for being consistent & willing tools of disseminating these critical inquisitions to a growing audience.

- sartoriusresources.blogspot.com
- www.premiumtimesng.com
- www.vanguardngr.com
- www.newsline.com
- www.newspotng.com
- www.ojuasha.com.ng
- www.eventdiarylifestyle.com

I thank also, the nearly 4,000 direct recipients of these messages via whatsapp on 23 consecutive Saturdays who are spread across Nigeria, Africa, Europe, Asia, North America and other continents of the world. The list included close aides of three leading 2023 Presidential candidates, high-ranking former & current political office holders (Governors, Senators, members of the House of Representatives and State Houses of Assembly etc.), senior professionals of my medical and other fields, top-rated lawyers including Senior Advocates of Nigeria, traditional rulers, religious leaders, members of the academia, labour union heads, media outlet owners and so forth. The several hundreds



of feedbacks received every Saturday after each broadcast was always overwhelming. I thank those among the keen weekly audience who took further individual steps to transmit the received electronic posts to several others till we built a community of change-interested Nigerians across the globe.

In addition, I thank those too numerous to mention, who not only eagerly awaited each week's publication but always engaged me through whatsapp or my blog (<https://sartoriusresources.blogspot.com>). I also acknowledge my darling wife, Oluwabunmi, for her countless support.



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Preamble

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) slated the 2023 Presidential election for Saturday, 25th February, 2023. Therefore, from Saturday, 17th September, 2022, to Saturday, 18th February, 2023 (over a period of 5 months), I reeled out weekly, one critical question for all the 2023 Presidential candidates through various online media entities to between 3,500 and 4,000 Nigerians directly from my mobile phone, using my whatsapp platform. Many of the direct recipients in turn shared the electronic inquisitions with several thousands of persons. I also shared these publication links on my social media handles: twitter (@toluademujimi) and linkedin (@adetolu ademujimi). It was an opinion-sourcing engagement via 23 fundamental questions about the Nigerian project that encouraged readers to air their feedbacks and stimulated great discussions about Nigeria's developmental progress expected to be championed by the successor of President Muhammadu Buhari in 2023.

Respondents were also encouraged to note that there were NO RIGHT or WRONG ANSWERS as such, but the feedbacks were simple reflections of each person's view and Presidential candidate's opinion, thought and conviction on specific issues. Overall, Nigerians were told to expect that each Presidential candidate's stance on the to-be-answered questions would represent their respective administration's philosophy, policies and



programmes if elected as Nigeria's President on the 24th day of February and sworn-in on the 29th day of May, 2023.

The 23-week long session was divided into four sections;

- Section A - Reform of governance structure for decentralization/federalism, economic revolution & security restoration
- Section B - Revamp of physical infrastructure
- Section C - Recovery of social architecture
- Section D - Remodeling of political culture

I must confess that some of the feedbacks were overwhelming, insightful and engaging. Through these intense weekly sessions, Nigerians were enlightened to know that campaign lines such as *"Our administration will construct schools, roads, hospitals & rails and secure the nation"* were fished presidential campaign rhetoric that no longer moves mountains. The in-depth analytical offerings of the 23 questions made it obvious that *"I'm in the race to promote peace, justice, unity & progress"* is a blank political promotion line frequently used by Presidential hopefuls in Nigeria that tells nothing. Away from those kinds of unconvincing and unbinding electioneering talks, the series stood in as crucial interrogations needed to be conducted at Nigeria's crossroads called 2023 Presidential elections. I'm convinced that I was merely and dispassionately performing one civic duty of mine, like all other



Nigerians, by asking such essential questions from those who aspired to lead us in 2023.

As important as it is to always acquaint ourselves with persons desiring to occupy the number one seat in the land by digging into their backgrounds, we perhaps needed more than knowing if he/she was for instance, corrupt or incorruptible. Political events of the recent past had proven to us that a saintly Mr. President might yet not know the critical road to Nigeria's promised land and the hard lessons from these were fresh and rife. That an incorruptible President mounts the saddle and keeps our coffers safe from the filthy hands of public pilferers neither guarantees that our commonwealth will be effectively harvested for greater yield nor more justly, equitably and efficiently distributed to reach majority (even if not all) Nigerians, particularly the 70-80% of us residing at the subnational level.

This intellectual inquisition was therefore not unconnected with the fact that every President's leadership strategy is primarily driven by 'his/her convictions' about the problems besetting our nation, and marshals his/her solutions in that line. It is imaginably more imperative to have thus inquired of their clear stance on critical issues in order to rather impress on them, 'our convictions', which override their 'ambitions' of presiding over the current contraption called Nigeria.



Example

206 million-populated Nigeria with less than \$US25 billion Federal Government's (FG) 2021 budget based on revenue receipts from crude oil (soon-to-be-jettisoned fossil fuels) and non-oil sectors is factually a poor nation falsely portrayed as rich (because of the large-scale public corruption and ostentatious life of public office holders), Unfortunately, the very educated Nigerians aren't even aware of this bitter truth. If the State of Maryland (with a population of 6.06 million people) in the United States generated \$US47.4 billion as revenue in 2021

(source:

<https://dbm.maryland.gov/budget/Documents/operbudget/2021>), Nigeria is a poor country. Lionel Messi's base salary of approximately \$646,000 (₦245.48 million) per week in 2021, amounting to \$141.3 million (₦53.694 billion) total earning per annum (for 1 person; and that's before considering his lucrative deals with the likes of Adidas and Pepsi), was more than the combined Federal Allocation and Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) of some States in the same year. To what extent do you agree with these positions?

- a. I strongly agree*
- b. I agree*
- c. I disagree*
- d. I strongly disagree*

Answer: I strongly agree



May I stress that one is partially fulfilled by two profound immediate outcomes of the 23-week long exercise;

- i. a cross-cutting suggestion put forward by some of our weekly recipients that the 23 questions be collected into a book and here is that evidence;
- ii. the professed resolve of many of them to obtain their Permanent Voters' Cards (PVCs) to exercise their voting franchise during the 2023 election cycle after the enlightenment afforded by ***23 Presiding Questions for 2023 Presidential Quests: Their Ambitions Versus Our Convictions.***

My all-round fulfilment, however, would be for Nigerians to elect a credible, compassionate, clear-headed and critical thinker as President at the February 25, 2023 elections; one who would live up to the responses of the majority that are contained in this volume.

Finally, God blessed Nigeria even before her creation. Therefore, beyond our routine prayers, it is time for all Nigerians, through our 2023 votes and post-election deeds of nation-building, to let these blessings manifest in our governance structure, physical infrastructure, social architecture and political culture.

Dr. Adetolu Ademujimi
Sunday, 20th February, 2023



SECTION A -

Reform of governance structure for decentralization/federalism, economic revolution & security restoration



Question 1 (on 17th September, 2022)

Like I stated on twitter on the 18th day of July, 2022; *“Voting an upright Pastor as President and a honest Islamic cleric as Vice President or vice versa CANNOT take Nigeria out of the woods with the current DYSFUNCTIONAL governance structure. We need a pair that is committed to the ideals of FEDERALISM.”*

Our governance framework under the Nigerian Federation is extremely dysfunctional and inefficient for a country that has over 95% of her 206 million population residing and working outside Abuja. They live and function in various urban, semi-urban & rural areas within the subnational units in Nigeria. Thus, they would fare better in access to security, food, water, health care, education, roads, other infrastructure, and overall development if the 36 States, FCT and 774 LGA Councils are ‘legally, geographically, administratively, politically and economically’ reinforced, through constitutional devolution of powers/decentralization/federalism, to cater to these daily personal & communal needs. For instance, the high offices of the Inspector-General of Police and Hon. Minister for Education at the Federal level would remain largely ineffective until State & Community Police, and 36 States Commissioners for Education, FCT Education Secretary & 774 LGA Supervisory Councilors for Education respectively are ‘legally, geographically, administratively, politically and economically’ empowered to curb the endemic insecurity and out-of-



school children syndrome. Consequently, decentralization is the topmost stich in time by the incoming President in 2023, required to expeditiously save millions of lives and restore Nigeria's sanity.

Therefore, are you convinced that above their individual ambitions to rule Nigeria, constitutional devolution/decentralization of powers by the Federal Government to the 36 States, FCT and 774 LGAs should be the predominant discourse during the pre-2023 election conversations by all Presidential candidates, and not empty talks of 'I will do this and that'? Do you agree that each of them should spell out HOW he/she plans to ensure this Federalism as well as a realistically estimated TIMEFRAME for this life-saving plan, if elected?

- a. I strongly agree*
- b. I agree*
- c. I disagree*
- d. I strongly disagree*

Majority answer: *I strongly agree*



Question 2 (on 24th September, 2022)

The constitutional decentralization of “legal, geographical, administrative, political and economic” paraphernalia to the 36 States, Federal Capital Territory (FCT) and 774 Local Government Area (LGA) Councils is not likely to effectively promote massive economic growth in Nigeria. These subnational governments, if empowered, would not be better positioned to identify their areas of comparative economic strength and seek private sector collaboration for quicker exploration of same. These subnational units, if empowered, would not be able to effectively stimulate local production and expand local economies for increase in their individual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) that will eventually improve the national aggregate of GDP.

For instance, Ondo State’s vast and untapped bitumen deposits and the envisaged Port Ondo project do not stand a better chance of being realized if “legal, geographic, administrative, political and economic powers” were devolved to subnational units. Therefore, is it better for our anticipated President in 2023 to continue with the overcentralized, overbearing and far-away governance structure that is dominated by the Federal government and represses the willingness of States and LGAs to put their economic destinies in their hands?

a. I strongly agree

b. I agree



c. I disagree

d. I strongly disagree

Majority answer: *I strongly disagree*



Question 3 (on 1st October, 2022)

Happy 2022 Independence Day to all Nigerians. Some of the major triggers of large-scale insecurity in our fragile country are population explosion; youth unemployment; influx & use of hard drugs; porosity of the country's borders; over-centralized, poorly motivated & ill-equipped Police; and lowly motivated & poorly equipped Military to fight insecurity.

Be that as it may, a stronger Police Force is at the center of it all to effectively man and enforce our internal security and civil authority. Yet, the average Nigerian policeman is ill-motivated, deployed to unfamiliar territories and lacks contemporary policing gadgets (body camera, breath analyzer, internet-enabled electronic device, pepper spray, taser gun - to deliver electric shock, etc.). The Nigeria Police Force (NPF) is stoutly over-centralized with a far-away command & control center called the Office of the Inspector-General of Police (IGP) that casually deploys thousands of policemen (from neighbouring States) and three police helicopters (from the Police headquarters in Abuja), *'only when it is time to monitor Governorship elections.* Whereas, I have never heard that a single Police helicopter was deployed during ongoing bank robberies, kidnap sagas and terrorist attacks such as the Owo massacre. Therefore, the current Federal Policing system will remain ineffective for a Federation of about 206 million residents.



However, if the country embraces constitutional devolution of “legal, geographic, administrative, political and economic” powers to the subnational units to allow for creation of State and community police frameworks, subnational police formations would be better empowered to for instance, purchase and routinely deploy police helicopters for security operations from each State capital.

Therefore, are you convinced that constitutional reform of our governance structure to include State and community police structures is a life-saving step that the President to be ushered in by the 2023 Presidential polls must urgently undertake to tackle insecurity in Nigeria?

- a. I strongly agree*
- b. I agree*
- c. I disagree*
- d. I strongly disagree*

Majority answer: *I strongly agree*



Question 4 (on 8th October, 2022)

The reasonable and patriotic calls for constitutional decentralization/devolution of powers/federalism in Nigeria in order to relieve the country's governance framework of its current dysfunction and ineptitude are perhaps, categorized into three;

i. The first is pro-regionalism (Afenifere & several notable sociopolitical groups; legal luminaries such as Aare Afe Babalola, CON, OFR, SAN and Chief Wole Olanipekun, OFR, SAN, FCI Arb; former Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku; some State Governors & traditional rulers etc.) and they advocate a return to six regional blocks/federating units in consonance with the current six geopolitical zones. It means, for instance, the North West region will have its "legal, geographical, administrative, political and economic" powers domiciled in one of the seven States therein as the regional headquarters while the remaining six will be subservient to that capital;

ii. The second, to which I belong (alongside revered lawyers such as Prof. Itse Sagay, SAN; some State Governors & Federal Legislators etc.) is not in support of regionalism but devolution of powers to the current 36 States, FCT and 774 LGAs. It means, for instance, that after self-standing for about two decades as Osun State,



more “legal, geographical, administrative, political and economic” powers would be ceded to it such that a man from Ijebu-Ijesha in Oriade LGA of the State would have most of his government-related approvals obtained at Osogbo (which he’s already acquainted with) rather than travel to another man’s State designated as the new regional capital; and

iii. The third camp (comprising some clerics, lawyers, politicians, etc.), who have not clearly identified any clear-cut decentralized governance structure they would rather have. It means, for instance, that they are yet to take a position on the decentralized governance structure that they consider suitable to replace the current unitary system, although they frown at the continued over-centralization of powers that the 1999 constitution (as amended) promotes at the Federal level of government.

Therefore, as we advocate for constitutional decentralization/devolution of “legal, geographical, administrative, political and economic” powers once the next President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is sworn in on the 29th day of May, 2023, which version do you support?

a. Six regional blocs

b. 36 States, FCT and 774 LGAs

c. I’m yet to identify a specific decentralized governance structure



d. I disagree with the idea of decentralization/devolution of powers/federalism

Majority answer: There was a tie between 'b' and 'c' as equal number of respondents picked both options



Question 5 (on 15th October, 2022)

A certain degree of “legal, geographic, administrative, political and economic” control of resources by subnational units is essential for substantial progress and development to reach over 98% of the estimated 206 million Nigerians who reside and work within the 36 States and 774 Local Government Areas (LGAs). The constitution-backed “Pocket money syndrome” entrenched in the Nigerian Federation and driven by the Federal Government (like an aged father) via central exploration of resources, revenue collection & monthly revenue-sharing is unacceptable. The custom of doling out stipends from this central purse (majorly from oil proceeds) to 36 able-bodied children, 1 nephew and 774 grandchildren (36 States, Federal Capital Territory [FCT] & 774 Local Government Areas [LGAs]) is an abysmal management practice that has killed the creativity of the subnational governments and made them permanent dependents of the ego-tripping Federal Government for over 60 years.

As a matter of fact, the current over-centralized economic model (resources’ exploration, revenue derivation and revenue sharing) is more beneficial to a few powerful members of the elite club who are close to the seat of power in Abuja (where less than 2% of our population reside and work) than to the average Nigerian (over 98% of our population). Worse still, this ‘sharing mentality’ has made enormous ‘free money’ available to Abuja-bound political office holders, top



Federal civil servants & government contractors and consequently made Nigerians to wrongly believe that our “land flows with milk and honey” endlessly.

However, for the sub-nationals to be liberated from this legal and mental bondage that is supported by the military-packaged 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) and experience massive economic revolution, it is better to constitutionally devolve appropriate powers (“legal, geographical, administrative, political and economic”) to them to allow for a high degree of self-reliance via resource exploration and revenue generation within their individual areas of comparative advantage and pay royalties to the Central government. Specifically, the economic autonomy to be granted States & LGAs with high-income mineral resources such as oil, gold, bitumen etc. post-devolution may come with a caveat that a ‘reasonable percentage’ of the revenue from these non-renewable resources be remitted to the central purse for onward distribution to other States & LGAs to complement their revenues.

Given that several States have a litany of untapped natural resources, would you agree that Governors would better navigate the destinies of their individual States for revenue pooling while LGA Council Chairmen are more likely to significantly drive development within their respective domains if these two subnational authorities don’t have to wait for either the Federal



Government's 'readiness' or 'interest' in the exploitation of the resources within their domains?

- a. I strongly agree*
- b. I agree*
- c. I disagree*
- d. I strongly disagree*

Majority answer: *I strongly agree*



Question 6 (on 22nd October, 2022)

Final notes on decentralization of governance structure: Constitutional democracy forbids that governance reforms are done without recourse to the constitution which is “a set of rules and principles providing guidelines about how a State should run, how powers should be distributed, controlled, and what rights a citizen shall possess”.

The necessity of decentralization/federalism/devolution of powers for economic revolution and security restoration in Nigeria does not require a new constitution that will completely displace the current military-drafted 1999 constitution (as amended) of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The National Assembly, though empowered by the same constitution to undertake constitutional reviews, should overlook the moral and mental consequence of retaining the current constitution bequeathed by the last military regime in Nigeria by merely amending several segments of the inherited document.

In other words, we do not require an entirely new process of developing a truly Nigerian people’s constitution to unbundle the current exclusive legislative list and populate the concurrent list in favour of more legal, geographic, administrative, political & economic powers to the States, FCT and LGAs and also engender the confidence of Nigerians in democratic governance after about 23 years (since 1999) of



operating the current military-drafted constitution. Is that true?

- a. Extremely true*
- b. True*
- c. False*
- d. Extremely false*

Majority answer: *Extremely false*



SECTION B –

Revamp of physical infrastructure



Question 7 (on 29th October, 2022)

The overarching legal and policy frameworks supporting the development of physical infrastructure in Nigeria neither represents the needed urgency nor creativity, and does not fully embrace contemporary global practice. When an acclaimed ‘giant’ of Africa spends about 10 years to complete a mere 127.6km-long Lagos-Ibadan highway, the inability of a bragging Federal Government to courageously plug Nigeria’s huge infrastructure gap becomes obvious. Yet, since the advent of civilian rule in 1999, the country’s humongous population has been unreasonably skyrocketing at a higher rate than the delivery of physical infrastructure by the three tiers of government. Of course, the greatest challenge is funding.

The multi-potent private sector channels for financing infrastructure have been poorly explored at the Federal, State and Local Government (LG) levels. As a matter of fact, the closest tier to 98% of Nigerians - the LG councils, has been rendered almost “legally, geographically, administratively, politically and economically” incapacitated in either direct funding of, or ability to seek private partnerships for infrastructure delivery at that critical level. For the States also, a host of intra-State infrastructure are also either in shambles or non-existent. Yet, the Federal Government pretends that the existence and funding of several Federal Ministries and Agencies would automatically extend



water, power, roads etc. to my street and even doorway in Akure, Ondo State.

Whereas, I spent ₦202,000 (two hundred and two thousand naira only) on the purchase and installation of electric poles and wires on my street in 2018, only for a power distribution company to come and inscribe its prints on these items and claim ownership shortly after. That I also paid huge sums to personally hire graders and bulldozers to make a passable road to my street and house, and later mobilized my neighbours to jointly fund the construction of a short-length concrete driveway is worth mentioning as examples of never-acknowledged personal & communal sacrifices/contributions to physical infrastructure, even after paying our taxes.

Consequently, there is a need to rejig the predominant legal and policy impediments to large-scale private sector participation and other creative channels in infrastructure provision across the country. From hospitals, schools, housing, power and water provision, to facilities such as roads, rails, airports, seaports, ICT, sports, flood-protection embankments, oil & gas, tourism & hospitality and telecommunications, our infrastructure profile is extremely poor. Innovative thinking about the legal and policy framework for infrastructure provision at the Federal, State and LGA levels is more urgent, practical and re-assuring than empty campaign promises by 2023 Presidential



candidates “to fix all infrastructure” across the country from Aso rock.

Therefore, do you agree that the incoming President needs to publicly admit the Federal government’s inability to meet the enormous physical infrastructure needs of 206 million Nigerians and move swiftly to alter relevant laws and policies to allow ‘appropriately regulated’ participation of the private sector, multilateral organizations etc. in the rapid & massive deployment of infrastructure at all levels of government? Do you agree that States as well as Local governments must be constitutionally empowered to concurrently forge partnerships for funding basic (and sometimes, critical) infrastructure development and not merely sit idly and watch the Federal Government’s ‘Messiah complex’?

- a. I strongly agree*
- b. I agree*
- c. I disagree*
- d. I strongly disagree*

Majority answer: *I strongly agree*



Question 8 (on 5th November, 2022)

Since the country's return to civilian rule in 1999, all Presidential campaign promises that centered around ending Nigeria's shameful electricity profile have failed. The unbundling of defunct National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) into generation, transmission and distribution arms has not produced the power outcomes necessary for home, organizational and industrial consumption.

Albeit in 2019, the Federal Government of Nigeria signed a power deal with German multinational, Siemens, to generate 25,000 megawatts of electricity by year 2025, the amount of power currently generated (average of about 13,000 megawatts) is incongruent to the paltry 4,000 megawatts (on the average) that eventually reaches consumers in a country of 206 million inhabitants. As for the distribution end, many of the power distribution companies that scaled the bidding hurdle of the power privatization process years back have demonstrated weak financial capacities to take on enormous investments in that subsector of the power chain; they can't even fund metering! Worst hit in the power infrastructure drought over the past 20 years is the transmission component that has witnessed limited or nil intervention.

Therefore, the significant strategic investments in the power sector to be driven by a new Nigerian President



in 2023 ought to focus exclusively on power generation. In generating more, the policy focus should not consider the green energy called solar power, which the People's Republic of China massively explored till that Asian country attained a record of 306,000 megawatts of solar-generated energy in 2021. Also, the Federal Government should not liberalize power generation such that States, Local Government Councils, communities and even individuals can participate. Furthermore, metering all energy consumers in the country is too much a task for the Federal Government to compel all power distribution companies to achieve in two years. Finally, a transparent privatization bidding exercise to inject credible and buoyant investors into the neglected and Federal Government-owned transmission chain should not be considered by the next President for urgent infrastructure upgrade.

Consequently, would the positions stated in the previous paragraph advance the infrastructure of Nigeria's abysmal power sector under a new President in 2023?

- a. Yes, they will*
- b. No, they won't*
- c. As a matter of fact, they would amount to total retrogression*

Majority answer: *As a matter of fact, they would amount to total retrogression*



Question 9 (on 12th November, 2022)

Is it possible to ensure agricultural revolution in Nigeria without commensurate physical amenities that support farming and its allied activities? Infrastructure is the bedrock of a robust agriculture chain in any nation; studies have shown this. Commercial farming has also outgrown the consideration for cutlasses and hoes and embraced massive infrastructural upgrade of its entire value chain.

The 3 tiers of government - Federal, State and Local, haven't been intentional and strategic about the provision of irrigation systems, mechanized farmland implements, agro-storage facilities (intra-towns and around airports & seaports), agro-cargo train cabins and rural roads linking farms to external places (for seamless grains, plants, livestock & dairy evacuation), well-planned agricultural produce markets in all localities and agro-allied industries.

Our next President in 2023 would have to work closely with the 36 State Governments, 774 Local Government Area Councils, private sector and multilateral organizations to facilitate the provision and access to these moribund or non-existent infrastructure across the entire agriculture value chain in order to ensure food sufficiency for local consumption and earn significant foreign exchange from agriculture. How important is



this recommended agricultural infrastructure revamp come 2023?

a. It's very important

b. It's trivial

c. 21st century agriculture does not require such critical thinking of infrastructure

Majority answer: *It is very important*



Question 10 (on 19th November, 2022)

Before you give a uniformed man a gun to secure others, give food to his gut and secure his family's needs. One of the major reasons for the demoralized security structure in our troubled country is the poor infrastructure (not only in terms of working tools) available to promote the welfare of the security personnel.

How many past and present Nigerian Presidents have ever undertaken on-the-spot-assessment tours of the Police stations across the nation? How many Police and Army barracks have they intentionally visited to ascertain the inhuman state of the physical infrastructure in these places for our gallant internal and external security forces and their beloved families? While we canvass for State Police, the physical infrastructure that would boost the working conditions and morale of the Federal security agencies as at today are deplorable and have remained unacceptably so for decades.

Furthermore, media revelations have it that virtually all our correctional centers, each commonly housing three times its expected number of occupants (convicted & awaiting-trials), have less-than-average infrastructure that can't even cater to "imprisoned" animals, let alone human inmates. Little wonder why many convicts come



out of these supposed correctional centers as hardened felons and not refined (or corrected) citizens.

Therefore, we are convinced that the lip service by the Federal Government to the critical infrastructure in the security sector has gone on for too long to become a national tragedy. We are convinced that the rhetoric of “massive infrastructure upgrade and renewed fight against insecurity” must end come 2023 through deliberate budgetary provisions and financial releases to urgently upgrade Police stations, barracks occupied by security forces & their families, and correctional centers.

Do you hold this same view?

- a. *Yes*
- b. *No*
- c. *Indifferent*

Majority answer: Yes



Question 11 (on 26th November, 2022)

While recognizing the physical infrastructure milestones achieved by the Federal Government over the past few years in tertiary and primary schools through the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND) and the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC) respectively, the humongous gap yet uncovered cannot be overlooked.

A dysfunctional Federation such as ours needs a President in 2023 who would openly acknowledge that adequate provision of appropriate physical infrastructure in all schools (primary, secondary & tertiary) across the nation can only be accomplished through a governance structural framework that delegates substantial “legal, geographic, administrative, political and economic” powers to the 36 States and Federal Capital Territory (FCT).

For Federal government-owned tertiary institutions, can't there be an innovation I term a “Take, Bake & Name” policy (meaning take a specific physical facility within a school, renovate/upgrade/build it and the government will name it after you) to be ‘boisterously marketed’ to philanthropists & corporate organizations? Can't this direct infrastructure funding mechanism be used by the undertaking entity to negotiate tax cuts with the Federal government if it will achieve desired infrastructure results across our dilapidated



universities, polytechnics and other degree-awarding academic institutions?

As basic as toilets are, it was estimated in June 2019 by the Federal Capital Territory Water Board that “about 50 per cent of primary and secondary schools in the country need to be provided with toilet facilities in order to tackle the open defecation menace”. Apart from traditional chairs, tables and hostels, are there not infrastructure needs of Nigerian schools that will enhance the multi-potential spirit of the average Nigerian student for the 21st century? Shouldn’t the next President lead the contemporary revolution of physical infrastructure in all schools across the Federation in order for our educational products to be globally competitive?

In other words, don’t all schools require sufficient, functional & fully-kitted units of hostels, computer rooms, sports facilities, audiovisual studios for recording music & drama, multipurpose halls to enhance their presentation & public speaking skills, and many more?

- a. They do*
- b. They don’t*
- c. Physical infrastructure in schools should be limited to chairs & tables*

Majority answer: *They do*



Question 12 (on 3rd December, 2022)

Granted that the exodus of both experienced and ‘freshly-baked’ Nigerian medical doctors and nurses to the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Gulf countries and other foreign lands is a national tragedy yet unrecognized by our leaders, let alone prioritized to be tackled by government at all levels, the dearth of physical infrastructure in our hospitals makes it a twin calamity. My piece published on 1st of September, 2022 and titled *“Effective healthcare exceeds edifices & equipment: Enlightening Obi, Tinubu & Atiku”* notwithstanding, the inability of the acclaimed giant of Africa to have all her Primary Health Care (PHC) facilities equipped with basic outpatient gadgets, decent admission beds, solar power, cold chain equipment for vaccines’ storage, ultrasound scanning machines, nebulizers, basic laboratory reagents & kits etc. is shameful. Whereas, the duo of National Primary Health Care Development Agency (NPHCDA) and the National Health Insurance Authority (NHIA) can be more intentional in ensuring that PHC facilities, through the Basic Health Care Provision Fund (BHCPF) of the Federal Government, receive massive infrastructure advancement in 4 years (2023-2027).

In addition, the near-neglect of infrastructure upgrade of many General Hospitals (secondary level of care) over the years by the 36 State Governments and Federal Capital Territory (FCT) should warrant an urgent



national discussion to be led by the incoming President in 2023 for a holistic resolution. To strategically reposition the abysmal infrastructure profile of the Teaching Hospitals and Federal Medical Centers that are within the purview of the Federal government is not rocket science. Yet, successive governments since 1999 have failed in supplying requisite amenities in these healthcare facilities to enhance their provision of 5 forms of healthcare services recommended by World Health Organization (WHO) to meet Universal Health Coverage (UHC). These are promotive, preventive, curative, rehabilitative and palliative care.

Therefore, we hope the next democratically elected President will not add to the over two decades of failed campaign promises to equip Nigerian hospitals. Or aren't you tired of these promises?

- a. *I'm tired*
- b. *The infrastructure decay in our hospitals is bearable*
- c. *God will provide healthcare infrastructure in His time*

Majority answer: *I'm tired*



SECTION C – Recovery of social architecture



Question 13 (on 10th December, 2022)

Clearly, the anticipated year 2023 renewal of social contract at the polls is way beyond the mere award of infrastructure contracts. Nigerians' candid aspirations that override the 2023 Presidential candidates' ambitions include the recovery of elements of our social architecture that have been eroded. Apart from palpable insecurity, other fundamentals of our unaddressed social maladies that are as important as provision of physical infrastructure are;

- Public corruption
- Population explosion
- Unemployment
- Inter-religious competition, suppression and disharmony
- Out-of-school children
- Stomach infrastructure
- Cybercrimes/Internet fraud
- Money-seeking ritual killings
- *Olosho* syndrome (rising incidence of teenagers-turned-commercial sex workers)
- Merry-making extremism that puts the average Nigerian under undue socioeconomic pressure (*aso ebi* pressure for parties, Money-spraying & naira-mutilating culture of merry-making, Petrol-in-containers souvenir syndromes at social functions etc.)



- Public indiscipline (public use of marijuana, streets-littering, anti-queue attitudes/refusal to take turns, road side urination etc.)

Do you agree that these social issues constitute major threats to our nation and require as much attention as the award of contracts for physical infrastructure would receive from the Office of Nigeria's incoming President in 2023?

- a. I strongly agree*
- b. I agree*
- c. I disagree*
- d. I strongly disagree*

Majority answer: *I strongly agree*



Question 14 (on 17th December, 2022)

Nigeria may be dominated by Christians and Muslims but these two have no superior right to religion than traditional worshippers or even atheists. A secular nation such as ours is an embodiment of all religions and should neither discriminate nor be seen to do so, especially if unhealthy religious competition & oppression are to be discarded. As a matter of fact, religion ought to be an entirely private matter between a person and his/her God.

Therefore, to enact a new social order of true inter-faith tolerance & harmony in Nigeria, our next President come 2023 should consider parliamentary bills and executive policies that favour an outright ban of the following needless religion-inclined social practices that I call “Public Display of Religious Affinity”;

- Incessant noise pollution by Churches and Mosques through the erection of speakers outside all worship centers;
- Existence and Public funding of National Hajj Commission & National Christian Pilgrim Commission and government funding of religious pilgrimages;
- Official ‘opening and closing’ prayers at government functions and in government offices by Christians and Muslims;



- Deployment of tax-payers' funds by government to the construction of Christian and Islamic worship centers
- Other unnecessary forms of “Public Display of Religious Affinity” that breed inter-religious tension, disharmony etc.

Would you support that the coming President leads the process to put a stop to all the afore-mentioned?

a. I am in support

b. I am against

Majority answer: *I am in support*



Question 15 (on 24th December, 2022)

Merry Christmas! Permit me to use this yuletide season to refresh our minds that population is not only a social determinant of individual & communal health but could also turn around to be a determinant of social wellbeing. Our tight hold on religion and culture as the two major excuses for our uncontrolled population explosion actually portrays ignorance and has resulted in an alarming 2022 population figure estimated at 206 million. Today, Nigeria's Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of 5.2 births per Nigerian woman is the second highest in the world, coming after Niger Republic (the country with the highest TFR in the world).

The three nations considered "holy lands" by highly religious Nigerians have the following population-related statistics, according to the World Bank (2019); Israel has an estimated population of 9.45 million and a Total Fertility Rate of 3 children per woman; Italy's population estimate is 59.3 million with a Total Fertility Rate of 1.3 children per woman; and Saudi Arabia has a 35 million-populace and a Total Fertility Rate of 2.3 children per woman. Whereas, Nigeria's population was about 45 million people in 1960 while that of the United Kingdom was 54 million then. Today, the United Kingdom is estimated to have 67 million residents while Nigeria has skyrocketed to 206 million. According to populationeducation.org, "Simply put, total fertility rate is the average number of children a woman would have



if a she survives all her childbearing (or reproductive) years. Childbearing years are considered age 15 to 49.”

In spite of the above facts, Nigerians are racing to hit 400 million by 2050 and our government is only concerned about expending billions of naira to conduct a National Population Census in 2023. Yet, “population census without procreation censure is a popularized carelessness (or senselessness), of the world’s poverty capital - Nigeria”. Recall that the Nigeria Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) released in November, 2022 posits that 63% of Nigerians are multidimensionally poor. This scary finding should deter a serious-minded nation from maintaining the second position on the world map of countries with very high Total Fertility Rate (TFR).

Nigeria’s current troubling socioeconomic situation can be likened to that of a burst pipe conveying vital products such as water or Premium Motor Spirit. While the fault is being fixed, it is essential to either stop the flow or reduce it to the barest minimum. While one admits that economic and population management theories are much more complex than I have attempted to simplify it, there is complete sense in proactively suggesting that stiff measures against our uncontrolled population expansion be put in place now because population explosion continues to worsen our pains of unemployment, insecurity etc.



Therefore, do you agree that it is high time our democratically-elected President in 2023 birthed a new Nigerian culture of reproduction, regardless of our differing cultural or religious beliefs, by rolling out a “firm policy on family size” like China’s communist party did in 1973, stating a maximum number of children that each couple can have?

- a. I disagree because such a policy would be anti-democratic and anti-human rights*
- b. I strongly agree because our unabated population growth aggravates our existing challenges*
- c. I disagree because Nigeria still has enough landmass to accommodate as many more Nigerians as possible*
- d. I am indifferent because my religion and/or culture supersedes rational thinking*

Majority answer: Participation was at its lowest ebb. So, it would be unfair to decide the majority based on few responses



Question 16 (on 31st December, 2022)

According to forecast unemployment rate in Nigeria published by www.statista.com, “in 2022, the unemployment rate in Nigeria is estimated to reach 33%”. This alarming figure places unemployment as a chief manipulator of social order and recipe for the growing insecurity in the land. However, resolving this complex problem requires a multi-faceted strategy that includes the enhancement of private sector investments (industries, corporations etc.) in all areas of comparative advantage in each of the 36 States & FCT, empowerment of graduates & non-graduates with requisite career-building & entrepreneurial “knowledge and skills”, provision of grants and interest-free loans to business/enterprise starters and other creative initiatives. The reduction of unemployment should not continue via the flawed approach of overburdening the Civil Service at Federal, States & LGA levels with needless number of workers and creation of new Ministries, Departments & Agencies.

According to the Director-General of the Bureau of Public Service Reform, the Federal government currently has about 720,000 public servants on its payroll with a huge financial expectation of ₦3.88 trillion (as of 2022 budget) for their salaries, allowances & other emoluments. Yet, drawing from a Punch newspaper publication of 22nd December, 2022, “the Senate has proposed the establishment of 376 new agencies and institutions despite moves by the Federal Government



to restructure the public service in line with the Steve Oronsaye Committee Report on Restructuring and Rationalisation of Federal Government Parastatals, Agencies and Commission”.

No doubt, gainful employment of the youths would significantly reduce social vices in Nigeria. Consequently, our next President in 2023 should engender policies that would encourage the Federal, State and Local governments to attract massive private sector participation in various productive sectors as a sustainable employment-generation strategy for Nigerians within the productive age group. On the other hand, the needless and unsustainable creation of more Ministries, Departments & Agencies (MDAs) for job provision should be discouraged because it creates more problems than it attempts to solve. Do you agree?

- a. I strongly agree*
- b. I agree*
- c. I disagree*
- d. I strongly disagree*

Majority answer: *I strongly agree*



Question 17 (on 7th January, 2023)

Public corruption and its near-acceptance as a norm are major social maladies in Nigeria. The wanton frittering and pilfering of public funds by Nigerian political office holders, high-ranking civil servants and government contractors creates large-scale artificial scarcity & socioeconomic inequalities and aggravates social tension. Sadly, this unacceptable attitude to taxpayers' monies by a section of the elite, with little consequences, continues to lure many other Nigerians in their various fields of endeavour to steal.

However, the journey to reverse the palpable and long-drawn mistrust between government (at all levels) and the citizens of Nigeria would begin by demonstrating financial prudence, transparency, accountability and overall integrity in public governance. This lack of trust is occasioned majorly by corruption, such that all occupiers of government seats (political & bureaucratic) are perceived as 'dishonest'.

Whoever emerges our President in 2023 needs to do more than ensuring timely releases of funds to the Economic & Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practice & Other related Offences Commission (ICPC) for prompt prosecution of corrupt cases/persons. Nigeria's next Chief Executive must creatively devise means to prevent acts of malfeasance in public offices as well as the endemic & audacious display of a wasteful attitude by government officials



(political & bureaucratic). Furthermore, the fight against public corruption requires that the administration of criminal justice system in Nigeria be strengthened at both the Federal and subnational levels to protect whistle-blowers and expedite the process of conviction of courtroom-indicted corrupt persons as a deterrent to other 'infected' minds. Do you agree with the points in the last paragraph?

- a. I strongly agree*
- b. I agree*
- c. I disagree*
- d. I strongly disagree*

Majority answer: *I strongly agree*



Question 18 (on 14th January, 2023)

Since 1999, political actors appear to have paid lip service to curbing acts of social indiscipline among Nigerians such that the younger generation (especially those born between then and now) are not even aware that the following actions are abnormal and should be regarded as social maladies;

- Public use of marijuana (e.g., as seen in motor parks);
- Streets-littering with dirt (e.g., winding down the glass of a moving car to throw out garbage to the roads);
- Indiscriminate creation of unguided refuse dumps;
- Anti-queue attitudes/refusal to take turns (e.g., jumping of queues in banks, supermarkets, ATM points, gas stations etc.);
- Road side urination; and
- Open defecation

Upon being sworn in as democratically elected on May 29, 2023, should our next President prioritize the recovery of public discipline & sanity by leading State Governors and Chairman of Local Government Councils to enforce all relevant laws to curb this national pandemic?

a. No; it is not a priority because of more important issues like power, road, trains etc.



b. Yes; these are low-hanging fruits that if the next government strives to curb, Nigeria would at least have made progress in four years

c. I don't care

Majority answer: Yes; these are low-hanging fruits that if the next government strives to curb, Nigeria would at least have made progress in four years



Question 19 (on 21st January, 2023)

Various forms of social insecurity manifesting as cybercrimes/Internet fraud (yahoo yahoo), Olosho syndrome (rising incidence of teenagers-turned-commercial sex workers), kidnapping, banditry, bank robberies etc. arise mainly from lack of productive engagement/employment of the high number of Nigerian youths, which is in turn daily worsened by population explosion. The fixation of our federal entity on social schemes that transfer a meagre ₦10,000 cash to the individual bank accounts of each of 2 million Nigerians on a monthly basis doesn't improve the social security rating of these beneficiaries and wouldn't deter them from ventilating their consequent anger & hunger through indulgence in dangerous acts that compromise national insecurity.

Although the penchant for quick monies (e.g, through money-seeking ritual killings) among the young generation is infamously fueled by religious doctrines promising mysterious wealth regardless of hard work, smart work, creative thinking, opportunity-recognition etc., intentional job-creation strategies led by private sector partnerships in areas of comparative advantages of the Federal government, 36 States, Federal Capital Territory and 774 Local Government Area councils, hold the ace. Are you convinced that such tactics, if embraced by the next President in 2023, would be far-reaching and complementary in resolving these complex



social problems occasioned by unemployment, rather than expending hundreds of billions solely on the purchase of arms & ammunitions for the police and armed forces?

a. Yes

b. No

c. I don't know

Majority answer: Yes



Section D - Remodeling of political culture



Question 20 (on 28th January, 2023)

A patriotic attempt by Nigeria's next democratically elected President to reform the country's dysfunctional governance structure for decentralization/federalism, revamp her moribund physical infrastructure, and recover her lost social architecture can be thwarted by the present-day culture of Nigerian politicians. The fact that our country's political space is dominated by a self-serving, money-wasting, oppression-loving, violence-prone, ideology-deficient and ideas-bereft political class would prevent a well-meaning President from achieving economic revolution & security restoration for Nigeria. If a saintly President takes oath of office on 29th May, 2023 and appoints politicians who bear the above-stated traits as cabinet members, there's no miracle that can bring out the best in them.

Since 'charity begins at home' and sitting Nigerian Presidents are automatically referred to as leaders of their various political parties, would it be necessary for our coming President to lead the remodeling of Nigeria's rotten political culture, beginning with his/her political party?

a. No; these are trivial issues as ill-cultured political appointees can yet support Mr. President and State Governors to combat insecurity and a poor economy.



b. Yes; if we do not make haste to remodel our political culture, the Presidential and Governorship seats will always be surrounded by enemies of progress.

c. I am indifferent because I do not understand the link between political habits and performance in public office.

Majority answer: Yes; if we do not make haste to remodel our political culture, the Presidential and Governorship seats will always be surrounded by enemies of progress.



Question 21 (on 4th February, 2023)

The siren-blaring cars conveying several political office holders has become a largely oppressive act in Nigeria. Ask a regular politician something he/she finds most 'inspiring' about political power and you'll be amazed that one honest response includes being driven around with sirens and security men; a culture that massages their egos, confers the feeling of being above the law and satisfies their urge for conquering their 'subjects'. Why should citizens over whom you rule feel terrorized by you? Naked display of absolute power, even in a democracy!

In the full glare of their principals, most convoy drivers and the security personnel attached to Governors, Deputy Governors, Ministers, Senators, House of Representative members etc. have caused other road-users untold hardship such as unwarranted road traffic accidents, sustained panic & trepidations, intentional damage to fellow road-users' vehicles, infliction of bodily injuries on drivers considered as disobedient to sirens and so forth. For short, several highly placed political office holders who are supposed to hold their respective positions in trust for the people have instead, through the tyrannical misuse of sirens & security men on the roads as "Very Important Persons (VIPs)", conducted themselves as insensitive and reckless occupiers of public leadership positions. This domineering political culture has also fueled impunity, more than dignity and statesmanship, among Nigeria's political class.



Therefore, what would be your recommendation for Nigeria's next President regarding the 'convoy' culture that is being regrettably abused and irresponsibly deployed by political office holders at all levels of government every minute?

a. An outright ban on the use of siren among all categories of political office holders.

b. There is nothing wrong in that. As a matter of fact, I pray for such political opportunity to be driven around with sirens & security escorts one day, not minding who feels oppressed.

c. Development of a Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) for all government users of motorcades, regular training of their drivers & security attaché and establishment of a Special court in each State where citizens can submit complaints (with evidence) for guilty convoy officials to be punished.

Majority answer: Development of a Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) for all government users of motorcades, regular training of their drivers & security attaché and establishment of a Special court in each State where citizens can submit complaints (with evidence) for guilty convoy officials to be punished.



Question 22 (on 11th February, 2023)

The inducement of voters (before, during or after primary & general elections; around or outside voting venues) is a criminal political culture that is prevalent in Nigeria and requires more than lip service to tackle. Save for the shabby planning and implementation of the currency redesign by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) and its consequent needless hardship on majority of Nigerians, its intention to stifle the ability of corrupt politicians & political parties to procure votes with already-stashed naira notes is welcome. Nonetheless, it is important to stress that not all monies expended during elections are for electoral malpractices as INEC (Independent National Electoral Commission) officials and party agents legitimately require logistic support, via funds, for smooth conduct of elections.

However, the morally decadent and generally destructive behaviour of voters-enticement at primary elections as well as at the general polls (with cash/kind) instituted by the major political parties over the past years of our democratic life continues to deprive our elections of fairness and credibility. Nevertheless, socioeconomic poverty is not a valid excuse for voters who lay in wait for these bribes. Imagine a House of Representatives candidate expending as much as three hundred million naira to win both primary elections and the general elections, whereas over 70% of this huge expenditure is committed to inducement of voters and 30% on genuine campaign logistics. Humans - not goats, take the bribes! In any case, candidates who procure votes would do all it takes to recoup their investments



at the detriment of voters and their constituents if they make it to public office. Temporarily, *e dey sweet us*; but unknowingly, *e dey kill us!*

To arrest the shameful trend of votes-buying and remodel our political culture, what additional recommendation would you convincingly put before Nigeria's next President?

a. Massive sensitization of all political parties and Nigerians by quoting relevant sections of the Electoral Act 2022 and translating same into 20 local languages to be disseminated via text messages (SMS) and whatsapp

b. Encouragement of whistle-blowing around primary election venues, polling units and other covert spots where cash is stashed around the country for the purpose of suspected or ongoing votes-buying activities

c. Speedy prosecution of both vote-sellers and vote-buyers by the Nigerian Police Force (NPF, Economic & Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) or Independent Corrupt Practices & other related Offences Commission (ICPC) as scapegoats

d. All of the above

Majority answer: All of the above



Question 23 (on 18th February, 2023)

In conclusion of this momentous question series, the new political culture that Nigeria requires her next democratically elected President to facilitate by starting with his political party on May 29, 2023, is one encapsulated in my article titled "*From Tea Parties To Political Parties: Formatting The Highfliers Of Democratic Regression To Livewires Of Demonstrable Progression*". The piece was published on the 12th day of June, 2022, in commemoration of Nigeria's 2022 Democracy Day and the 30th anniversary of the annulment of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election believed to have been won by the late Chief M.K.O Abiola.

If politics is not all about power-grabbing but intended for good governance, and good governance is in turn intended for service, imagine both the ruling and opposition political parties in Nigeria taking up a new culture that entails;

1. Civic volunteering & community service: Without contravening the electoral laws (that is, without engaging in open campaigns; without wearing politically branded items etc.) and after notification of relevant authorities, wouldn't it be a remodeled political culture for political parties to mobilize their members to do the following even when the elections are not around the corner;

- *clean a dirty market on a weekend;*
- *clear blocked drains of major roads;*
- *control road traffic during a logjam;*



- *coordinate fund-raisers to rebuild a dilapidated round-about, primary health center, school or Police Station;*
- *and many more*

2. Development-inclusive meeting agendas: “An X-ray of the usual meeting agendas (pre-election and post-election) of political parties divulges 5 major discussions around self namely ‘how’ to raise & share campaign funds; distribution formula for political offices; contracts-lobbying; influencing, planning & execution of empowerment programmes by legislators within the party; and extension of moral & financial support to members hosting social events like birthday, burial, chieftaincy & house-warming ceremonies). Instead, why can’t a political party meeting in this new age have an item on its agenda that permits discussions of identified classrooms without roofs within the party’s geographical location? Whether your party is in power or not, is it forbidden to take a picture of the dilapidated classroom and attach same to a letter to be written and forwarded to the Ministry of Education after your political party meeting?”

3. Physical development-related innovation in political contests: For instance, instead of N100m (one hundred million naira) price tag for the purchase of Expression Of interest (EOI) forms for Presidential contests, can political parties be innovative in compelling contestants to undergo physical development of their society? For example, can’t the



party request aspirants to each expend N50m on the upgrade of 1 primary health center or 2 schools or 3 Police stations in their LGAs of origin (with verifiable evidence - pictures, videos etc.) within 4 weeks before coming forward to procure the form for (the remaining) N50m?

4. Political party Academy: An APC Academy, Labour party Academy, PDP Academy and so forth will do well to articulate respective party ideologies; enlighten new members; train new public office-holders on legislative or executive duties (as the case may be); develop policy thrusts for Presidents, Governors & LGA Chairmen and function as their routine think-tanks; regularly update old members on party ethos; adapt/adopt best development practices from various parts of the globe and share same with members etc. Won't it?

5. Stoppage of the crowning of Presidents and Governors as 'leaders' of political parties: It is despicable and anti-democratic, in my view, for a ruling party (not the government) to subjugate the decisions of thousands or millions of party members to the whims and caprices of one President or Governor within the party. What does the job description of a party Chairman imply, if he/she is not the leader of the party? When Mr. President or Mr. Governor falls short of the party's 'legitimate and selfless' expectations, will any of the Chairman, Working Committee, Executive Committee, Board of Trustees, Council of Elders or other organs of the party be empowered to reprove and nudge him/her



back to track when he/she is already seen as the ‘leader of the party’?

Therefore, do you agree with the five points above as examples of how political parties in Nigeria can remodel our political culture?

a. I strongly agree because the points truly represent a new political culture and they are practicable.

b. I agree but I’m not really convinced that they are practicable.

c. I disagree because the points are too idealistic and not practicable.

d. I strongly disagree because the prevailing political culture in Nigeria is not as bad as being portrayed.

Majority answer: I strongly agree because the points truly represent a new political culture and they are practicable



The Author



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He is an end-product of such refining educational institutions as Kings' College, Lagos; Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ogun State; and Manchester Business School, University of Manchester, where he earned & had his



secondary education, Bachelor of Medicine & Surgery (MB.Ch.B), and Masters of Science (M.Sc) in Healthcare Management respectively.

His healthcare trajectory cuts through private clinical practice, a public health career in Primary HealthCare (PHC) and the health insurance space. He has at different times being the Deputy Director, Medical Service, Ondo State Primary Health Care Development Agency; and Director, Business Development & Marketing, Ondo State Contributory Health Commission - the State Health Insurance Agency. Currently, he is the Health Finance Specialist of the Centre for Disease Control (CDC)-funded Nigeria Sustainability & HIV Impact Project (N-SHIP), National AIDS, Viral Hepatitis & STIs Control Programme (NASCP), Federal Ministry of Health, Abuja.

Tolu's writing path began with published & unpublished articles in the last decade of the 20th century and his first published book titled *National Rebirth: Expurgation of bad leadership & corruption* in 2005. Tolu is also famous for his adaptation of Mahatma Gandhi's "7 deadly public sins" to "7 demoters of Nigeria's destiny", out of which he has published 3 titles over the years. He is also the author of the national book on "restructuring" that questions Nigeria's dysfunctional governance structure, titled *DIAL 811: DEFT or DAFT?* published in 2022. Cursorily, Tolu's books include;



1.	National Rebirth: Expurgation of bad leadership and corruption	2005
2.	Ogun: A Paradise in the Offing	2007
3.	Politics without principles (Series 1 of “7 demoters of Nigeria’s destiny”)	2010
4.	Education without Character (Series 2 of “7 demoters of Nigeria’s destiny”)	2013
5.	Wealth without Work (Series 3 of “7 demoters of Nigeria’s destiny”)	2015
6.	Wealth without Work: A fantastic public sin (revised edition)	2018
7.	DIAL 811: Deft or Daft?	2022

Adetolu is happily married to Olubunmi, who is also a medical doctor and a certified Weight & Lifestyle management Coach. They live in Akure city, the capital of Ondo State in the Southwest region of Nigeria, with their sons - Towobola and Farakanla.