



Leadership Effectiveness and Accountability Dialogue (LEAD)

— A Desk Review on —

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT



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PLAC
POLICY AND LEGAL ANALYSIS CENTRE

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**LEAD EFFECTIVENESS AND ACCOUNTABILITY DIALOGUE (LEAD):
A DESK REVIEW on NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**



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Acknowledgement

It has been a huge and exhilarating task for the SCDDD to Desk Review, compile and produce the reviewed selected national documents. The review is designed to isolate sets of common grounds and recommendations that can be used to engage critical State Actors, especially the Presidency and leadership of the National Assembly, to attain genuine and sustainable national reconciliation, social inclusion, healing, cohesion and open/accountable governance that would subsequently usher in national development. This Desk Review of selected national documents would not have been materialized without the support of many people to whom we are profoundly grateful.

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Amb. Sani S. Bala (Wamban Katsina)
Executive Director, SCDDD

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Acronyms

APC -	All Progressive Congress
EMB -	Electoral Management Body
INEC -	Independent National Electoral Commission
SIEC -	State Independent Electoral Commission
SOEs -	State-Owned Enterprises

Executive Summary

The In-depth Desk-Review on selected National Documents is one of the segments under the second edition of the Leadership Effectiveness and Accountability Dialogue (LEAD) project, currently being undertaken by Savannah Centre for Diplomacy, Democracy and Development (SCDDD) with support from MacArthur Foundation, under its **“Enhancing Citizens’ Engagement of Accountability and Social Inclusion Issues around Elections”**. The selected National Documents are (2005 National Political Conference by President Obasanjo, 2014 President Goodluck Jonathan's National Conference, 2007 Justice Mohammed Lawal Uwais Electoral Reform Report, 2002 Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission of Nigeria (Oputa Panel Report) and the All Progressive Congress (APC) 2018 Report on True Federalism.

The second edition of the LEAD Project is tailored to complement the first edition in terms of context, reach and impact. LEAD-2 is fashioned to be action-driven through sets of activities that include; in-depth desk-review on selected national documents, national online forum/policy discussions on the state of the nation, critical stakeholders buy-in engagements, regional consultative forums and weekly radio show on a national frontline radio station in Abuja. The reconstituted Savannah Centre's Council of the Wise are the major drivers of this project for impact and effectiveness.

The major purpose of the LEAD II in-depth desk review segment is to amongst other things; Isolate sets of common grounds and recommendations that can be used to engage critical state actors, especially the Presidency and leadership of the National Assembly to attain open/accountable governance, genuine and sustainable national reconciliation, social inclusion, healing, cohesion and revival that would subsequently usher-in national development.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT



INTRODUCTION

Unlike previous exercises that date back more than 60 years to Nigeria's pre-independence era, the reports reviewed in this session cover about 20 years between Nigeria's transition from military to civil democratic rule in 1999 and the first civilian to civilian transition from a ruling to an opposition party. This review has become very important because, in the two decades following the transition from military to civil democratic rule in 1999, the much-anticipated dividends of democracy in the form of improved welfare and security of lives and properties of the Nigerian people have remained elusive.

More than 20 years after democracy was ushered in with fanfare, the dashed expectations of the Nigerian people have resulted in a systematic delegitimisation of Nigeria's constitutional democratic order as in the face of lack of progress, many are beginning to question the relevance of democracy in Nigeria's national development. Many Nigerians of this generation are beginning to look back to the era of military rule with nostalgia, just as those before them looked back to the first and second republic democracies with similar nostalgic feelings. Frustrated by the failure of democratic rule to achieve national development for Nigeria on the desired level, many Nigerians have called for restructuring and a return to what they describe as true federalism; a system where power is devolved to the federating units from the centre.

To address these demands, various civilian administrations since

1999 have organized conferences and set up different committees to examine these problems and identify solutions. However, it is in view of this review session that for a plural and complex entity like Nigeria, liberal and representative democracy remains the best form of government. It is our view that democratic rule is not an anathema to national development and can galvanize the Nigerian state into a united, peaceful and prosperous nation where equity, fairness and justice reign. But after a careful review of reports of previous conferences and committees, we identified the need for government in collaboration with other relevant stakeholders to put certain structures and processes in place, to evolve Nigeria from a disunited country of ethnic nationalities into a united Nigerian Nation, if the desired goal of inclusive and sustainable national development is to be achieved in our lifetime.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF COMPONENT ISSUES

National development is not an event but a process, which encompasses some critical components with political, economic, social, cultural and diplomatic dimensions. Without deploying a deliberate political process a purposeful administrative procedure to synchronise these components as a foundation, no economic policy framework will achieve sustainable national development for Nigeria and indeed any other country

1. **National Unity and Integration**

The most fundamental condition precedent for the national development of any sovereign geographic entity is the attainment of a high measure of social cohesion and national unity of its constituent diverse or plural people around a national agenda for global competitiveness. Nigeria in its current state ranks very low on all indices of social cohesion and national unity as a result of the sharp divisions of its peoples along over 500 ethno-geographic and religious fault lines. This lack of sufficient social cohesion and national unity of the Nigeria people has resulted in an intense internal struggle for the control of the land, mineral and water resources as well as the revenues derivable therefrom by its hundreds of ethnic nationalities, in a world where other nations are competing with one another for global resources.

Whereas all the documents reviewed alluded to the imperative of a united Nigeria even in the face of daunting challenges, it was the **2005 national conference report** that drew a nexus between national cohesion on the one hand and national development on the other hand. It would seem as though the other reports underemphasized or understated the imperative of national unity and cohesion as a fundamental condition preceding national development and focused more on how to address the demands of Nigeria's many ethnic nationalities for a fairer share of Nigeria's internal resources without addressing the need for Nigeria's transition into the global competitiveness arena.

2. **Citizenship**

Who is a Nigerian and what makes one? 61 years after independence, Nigeria, a country of over 500 ethnic groups has not been able to resolve the important question of national identity and solve its problem of suppressed citizenship. The failure to harmonize the preponderance of ethnic nationalities' identity dissonance into a Nigerian national identity has reduced Nigeria to a divided country of tribesmen rather than a united nation of citizens. The entrenched system of indigene/settler dichotomy, which renders some Nigerians residing in places other than their place of ancestral origin, as outsiders inside their supposed country, has been a major source of disunity and conflict.

The **APC report on True Federalism [2018]** identified the problem of indigene/settler dichotomy as an impediment to national unity and suggested the substitution of a place of origin with a place of residence as requirements for access to government services as a way of ensuring national unity and the resolution of the unresolved question of national identity and citizenship.

3. **Federalism and Structure of Government**

Whereas each of the reviewed reports touched on various aspects of restructuring, fiscal federalism, derivation, devolution of powers, creation of more states and local governments and decongestion of the exclusive list of the 1999 constitution (as amended), to allow the federating units to flourish, none of the reports identified the root causes of the failure of the different structures of state that have been tried since 1960.

With regards to fiscal federalism and derivation, the report of the **APC Committee on True Federalism 2018**, recommended the devolution of powers and more control of resources by the states. In this regard the report also recommended the Revenue Mobilization, Allocation and Fiscal Commission be directed to come up with a new revenue sharing formula that allocates more to the states of the federation in line with its constitutional mandate but under the amendment of the **Allocation of Revenue Act**,

2002. With regards to derivation payable to oil-producing states, the committee further recommended an upward review from 13% since section 162[2] of the constitution allows it.

The recommendations for the creation of more federating units mostly along ethnic lines is an effort to accommodate more of such interests in Nigeria's political economy of resource/revenue sharing; a proposition that does not point the way forward on how to grow Nigeria's resource and revenue base through external sources to increase its national wealth to such a sufficient level as to allow the government to fulfill its primary responsibility of welfare and security for citizens.

4. Resource Management

Nigeria is currently dependent on the exploitation and export of crude oil in its crudest form as the main source of its national revenues from external earnings. Whereas, the minority ethnic nationalities of the Niger Delta region are host communities of Nigeria's vast deposits of hydrocarbons, the revenues from its exploitation and export are migrated into the federation account, where the monies are shared between the Federal Government, the 36 States and 774 Local Governments across the Country. However, the exploitation of oil mineral resources

in the Niger Delta has not been without severe consequences for the environment and the aqua cultural livelihood of the people of the region as the land, waters and air of Nigeria's oil-producing communities have become polluted with little or no compensation for their environmental loses. This unfortunate situation has given rise to agitations for a better deal from the Nigerian state for the betterment of the Niger Delta peoples.

After many years of failure to address their needs satisfactorily, the people of the Niger Delta are now agitating for the Federal Government to hand over the control of oil mineral resources to the federating units where they are found. This demand has often been met with stiff resistance from the rest of non-oil producing States, creating tension, restiveness and militancy in the region. Among the reports reviewed, the **2014 National Conference Report** recommended a gradual increase of derivation from 13% to 25% over 5 years. Again like most issues of national development, the focus of most of the reports is how to achieve a more acceptable sharing formula of the revenues from Nigeria's main source of national revenue and not how to expand the revenue base of the nation first.

5. Political Reform

Inherent in Nigeria's constitutional democracy are inexhaustible mechanisms that can be explored through a

deliberate political process to galvanize critical components such as social cohesion, national unity and integration, citizenship, restructuring etc, towards sustainable national development. However, a flawed electoral management process that is often devoid of integrity hence unable to deliver free and fair elections has been an obstacle towards realizing a truly democratic Nigeria that can yield dividends for the people in the form of improved security and welfare. This is so because a credible, free and fair electoral process, which allows the people to democratically elect or reject their political leadership at all levels of government will incentivise the delivery of good governance to the people, Meanwhile an electoral process that is not credible, free and fair and which does not empower the people to democratically elect or reject their political leadership, serves as a recipe for bad governance.

To improve Nigeria's political process, the various reports reviewed made some recommendations ranging from a more independent Electoral Management Body (EMB) such as; Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC) to the inclusion of the option of independent candidacy and application of sanctions against electoral offenders. However, the most remarkable recommendation that comes closest to addressing the challenge of Nigeria's

deformed political process is the **National Political Reform Conference Main Report 2005**. In identifying the fundamental problem of Nigeria's political process, the Conference narrowed down to the roles not being played by the political parties. If a credible election is the soul of democracy then a political party is its brain box and if this brain box functions properly, it will give life to the soul of a democracy but otherwise a democracy is lifeless.

All laws, processes, policies, programmes and projects require the human factor to operate them and the point of aggregating this human factor in a democracy is in the political party. The political party is the harbinger of the leadership recruitment process in a democracy upon which all democratic structures and institutions [Executive, Legislature and Judiciary] depend. Nigeria's political parties since the transition from military to civil democratic rule have not lived up to their responsibilities as the guiding organs of democratic good governance. The failure of the political party system in Nigeria is primarily responsible for the inability of successive administrations to deliver the much-anticipated dividends of democracy that heralded the 4th republic.

In addition to being the symbols of democratic culture, inclusiveness, transparency, openness and commitment to a Nigeria where justice and equity reign, the **2005 Conference Report** also recommended that political

parties should have identifiable ideologies and ideals which shall inform their programmes and the way and manner that intend to operationalize the fundamental objectives of the directive principles of state policy as contained in chapter 2 of the 1999 constitution (As Amended).

6. Economic Reform

Following the transition from military to civil democratic rule in 1999, there has been a rapid reform of the economy from one that was defined as a "mixed economy" to an entirely private sector driven economy. Under the mixed economy model, the government of Nigeria shared the responsibility of operating the means of production with private entities. In the same vein, the government-operated State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) with vast interests in oil and gas, aviation, telecoms, banking, manufacturing and agro-allied activities; in some instances, the government-held monopolies in certain critical sectors of the economy. However, with the failure of several SOEs beginning from the 1980s and 1990s; a period that coincided with the collapse of the Berlin wall, which resulted in the reunification of the two Germanys and the subsequent disintegration of the Soviet Union, signaling the victory of capitalism over socialism. This apparent triumph of capitalism will influence the political-economic thinking and policies in the third world developing economies of

Africa, Asia and South America with many countries increasingly adopting such neo-liberal economic concepts such as liberalisation, commercialisation and privatisation of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) in a bid to transfer the means of production from the government to private entities.

Guided by the neo-liberal economic philosophy that "the government has no business in business", Nigeria embarked on economic reforms that saw a transfer of the means of production from the government to private entities through an elaborate privatisation programme that left the government with the role of only providing enabling environments, policies and guidelines for the private sector. **The 2005 National Conference Report** recommended even more privatisation of yet to be privatised State-Owned Enterprises such as the National Oil Company and its assets among many others. By 2014 when it appeared Nigeria was still largely dependent on crude oil for its main source of national income despite many years of operating a private sector driven economy, the **2014 National Conference Report** made recommendations for the diversification of the economy away from crude oil dependency. The challenge that is still facing Nigeria remains its inability to grow its national income away from crude oil revenues and none of the reports provided any radical approach to solving a problem that poses an

existential threat to the Nigerian state.

7. International Relations

In a highly globalised world, nation-states are in a race for a global convertible to revenue resources to grow their wealth of nation through trade and investment. To facilitate their favourable positioning in the international arena and ensure for them a sizeable share of global resources, nation-states deploy evolving purposeful foreign policy mechanism to enhance their national economic and security interest. Since 1960, Nigeria's foreign policy thrust, which has Africa as its centerpiece has remained unchanged. The core of Nigeria's foreign policy appears to be a moral obligation to stand by brother African Nations in political solidarity while maintaining non-alignment with any of the global power blocs.

Among the reports reviewed, the 2005 and 2014 conference reports appear to agree with the need for Nigeria to continue to employ the principle of "concentric circles" and prioritize, in sequence, our domestic security, relations with our neighbours in West Africa, ties in Africa and her ties with the rest of the world, along with citizen and economic diplomacy. However, the **2005 National Conference Report** emphasized the need to adopt a more economically focused foreign policy than political solidarity within the African continent.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Without social cohesion and national unity, the goal of sustainable national development will remain elusive as the constituent peoples of Nigeria will be working at cross purposes with legislations, policies and programmes that are aimed at national development. To this end, it is recommended that the president as the head of government should intensify efforts at uniting Nigerians around a pan Nigerian agenda for global competitiveness away from the current situation of struggle for the control of revenues from Nigeria's internal mineral resource endowments by the many ethnic nationalist groupings in the country by enthroning equity, fairness and justice in all business of government.
2. There is an urgent need to transform Nigeria from country tribesmen to a nation of citizens to have a critical mass of Nigerians that are rational, law-abiding and committed to the common good and are willing to place national interest above sectional interests. As a first step towards achieving a united Nigerian nation of citizens, it is hereby recommended that the President should activate his role as the leader of the ruling party and make it a party policy to replace state of origin with state of residence in all public administrative instruments with unrestrained political and economic rights extended to all Nigerians wherever they choose to reside without discrimination or exclusion based on ethnicity or

religion.

3. Whereas no structure of state anywhere in the world is perfect and must be continuously improved through processes of restructuring, reconfiguration and rearrangements to meet the developmental needs of the people, the case with Nigeria is not so much about the physical structure but more about its configuration. The structuring of Nigeria's federating units along ethno-geographic fault lines out of the political expediency of resource sharing is what has reduced Nigeria into a state of global non-competitiveness in the contemporary world. To correct this anomaly, it may not necessarily be through physical restructuring but through a systematic reconfiguration process that transforms the geopolitical nature of Nigeria's federating units to geo-economic entities. To achieve this, it is hereby recommended that the President in his role as the leader of the ruling party should set as an agenda for national development the need for governments at all levels to deploy a deliberately inclusive political process and purposeful administrative procedure that integrates and assimilates Nigerians into the communities where their economic activities are domiciled, to solidify the foundation for social cohesion, national integration and unity for global competitiveness. In a Nigeria where it is possible to be Igbo and Kano, Hausa and Anambra, Fulani and Benue, Ijaw and Sokoto, Tiv and Sokoto, Kanuri and Oyo, Yoruba and Borno, the 44 local governments of Kano state will no longer

be the exclusive territory of only Hausa speaking Nigerians just as the host communities of the oil-producing areas of Nigeria will now include every Nigerian of all ethnicities that are resident in the area.

4. There should be an increase of derivation on crude oil and other mineral resources from 13% to 50% within the next four years to the oil and solid mineral producing states of the federation. The current practice of monthly allocation of crude oil revenues to the federating units of Nigeria has induced severe governance inertia arising from the most destructive form of transactional politics. The reduction in monthly allocation to states due to the increase in derivation will be a necessary shock therapy to re-awaken governance at the sub-national levels. In addition to executive actions to this effect, it is hereby recommended that the President should consider initiating relevant legislative instruments via executive bills to the National Assembly where needed.

5. To overcome the challenges of identity politics of ethnicity and religion, upon which Nigeria's democratic leadership recruitment process is primarily driven, there is an urgent need for political parties to begin the mobilisation of Nigerians in their places of RESIDENCE, to align their democratic choices/association with their individual but legitimate economic, environmental and security interests away from their ethnicities and religions. This process will eliminate

patronage as the reward system for identity politics and replace it with good governance as the reward for pragmatic politics. To this end, it is highly recommended for the President as the leader of the party, to lead the process of internalizing popular and inclusive participation as a progressive democratic culture.

6. Government should draw up an Integrated National Development Plan that strategically links the economies of every part of Nigeria to an export competitive national economy. This will grow Nigeria's wealth of nation away from proceeds of crude oil and usher in individual and collective prosperity for all Nigerians. To effectively drive this process, the government can no longer abdicate its core economic responsibility as the main driver of the economy to the private sector by transferring the means of production to individuals under the misguided philosophy of "government has no business in business". It is strongly recommended that governments at all levels should get involved in the means of production side by side with the private sector under a liberalised economic atmosphere as the main business of government is doing business. Specifically, the President as the leader of the ruling party should influence a change of his party ideology from the Right to the Centre of the Left, where government will be the main driver of the economy in order for the private sector to thrive.

7. In Nigeria's foreign policy it should be Nigeria FIRST. Whereas Africa is the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy, Nigeria should begin to see brother African states as competitors in the wake of signing the **Africa Continental Area Free Trade Agreement**. To this end, Nigeria's foreign policy should be recalibrated from political solidarity to economic realism but with a moralist outlook. Starting from the African continent as its sphere of economic influence, Nigeria should deploy the instrumentality of its foreign policy to negotiate for favourable trade deals and overseas investment opportunities for its indigenous business enterprises and transform them to export competitive multi-nationals.

CONCLUSION

At the current stage of its development, the above enumerated components must be in place to achieve sustainable National Development for Nigeria. Without addressing these fundamental issues of nation building and citizenship, every policy framework will build on quicksand as there is no solid foundation to sustain them. Addressing these issues requires a deliberate political and purposeful administrative process of nation building before economic policies and social programs can effectively translate into sustainable national development. To effectively drive the process of nation building as a foundational requirement for national development, the president and leader of the party must deploy enlightened political decisions and implement same as party policies and programs across all tiers of and arms of government. Unfortunately, this has not been the case with Nigeria since independence in 1960 and that is why no system of government has worked for Nigeria 62 years later because systems work for united nations of citizens and not disunited countries of tribesmen.

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ABOUT SAVANNAH CENTRE

Savannah Centre for Diplomacy, Democracy and Development (SCDDD) is a non-governmental organization committed to research, advocacy training and policy analysis in the areas of conflict prevention, management, democracy and sustainable development in Nigeria and Africa. The SCDDD is leading strategic discussions on inclusive governance for sustainable development, in order to promote human security, sustainable peace, good governance, rule of law and human rights in Nigeria and Africa, shaping public policy through research and knowledge sharing. We are committed to improving the democratic and governance space through advocacy and the provision of context-specific training and solutions to governments, policy makers and some non-state actors.