

# **ELECTORAL MALPRACTICE AND DEMOCRATIC PROCESS: AN ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA'S 2003 AND 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS**

BY

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## **ABSTRACT**

*Electoral activities in Nigeria have assumed a crisis level. This is so because almost every attempt to conduct a free and fair election in Nigeria to ensure transition from civilian to civilian leadership has often ended up in serious political chaos because of the tendencies to manipulate the process of ensuring this transition. Nigeria has never had an easy ride of transiting from a civilian to civilian leadership. Consequent upon this, the analysis of electoral malpractices as witnessed in Nigeria's electoral process with vivid examples of the 2003 and 2007 general elections respectively will be done in this paper. Besides, the forms of electoral malpractice and the techniques devised to perpetrate electoral malpractice and other election-related fraud by government and political parties will be treated herein. It was discovered that electoral malpractice has adverse effects on our political arrangement such as the problem of the country tottering towards one-party state, electoral corruption and bad leadership in future which is inimical to Nigeria's democratic process. To arrive at this conclusion the paper relied on secondary sourced materials. The study therefore recommends that proper mechanism such as political re-orientation program and rebirth directed towards educating the masses on the dangers of electoral malpractice on democratic governance must be embarked upon.*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Elections in Nigeria since independence have been characterized by malpractices, which often had corruptive influence on democracy. A transition from civilian to civilian leadership in Nigeria has always been

characterized by one form of malpractice or the other usually accompanied with tension, violence, crisis, acrimony, rancor and vendetta. Historically, the parliamentary system of government practiced in Nigeria as the pioneer post-colonial civil administration after the country's independence in 1960 was truncated following the problems encountered four years after in a general election that would and should have ushered in another young democratic regime with the reign of another crop of indigenous political leaders.

The widespread electoral malpractice and other vices facilitated the demolition of the Nigeria's political structure at its prime by young military officers through a bloody coup d'état on the 15<sup>st</sup> day of January, 1966. This marked the beginning of politics of violence, crisis, rancor, acrimony and vendetta on Nigeria's political landscape. Nigeria has had a long history of electoral malpractice that has obviously caused democratic dislocation and consequent socio-economic developmental fracture as the democratic process is stagnated with the accompanying socio economic problems. Political antecedent shows that Nigeria is a political amateur as it cannot ensure the wishes of the people to transcend to power and authority through free and fair elections as a result of the consuming effect of electoral malpractice.

According to Appadorai, (1975), electoral malpractice negates the idea of free and fair elections as he opined that "modern democracy is representative, indirect; and the people govern through representatives periodically elected by them". However, the persistent occurrence of electoral malpractice has ridiculed democratic effort in Nigeria as the country's political environment is filled with air of political ills that has clipped the democratic wings of Nigeria as it seems to crash in any attempt made to fly to a higher height of democratization. All these ills and fraud beat the essence of electoral process which is the centre-spring and the back-bone of democracy. The paper sets out to analyze the 2003 and 2007 general elections in Nigeria and how electoral malpractices impede on these processes. To do this the paper is divided into the following sub-headings. These include, introduction theoretical framework, conceptualization of electoral malpractice, an overview of 2003 and 2007 general election and conclusion.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The liberal democratic theory and the power theory are used as the theoretical framework for this paper. The liberal democratic theory according to Graham et'al, (1997) could be traced to the works of scholars like John Locke, Jean Jacque Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Bentham and David Ricardo among others who acquired their philosophies from liberalism. This theory advocates for popular participation of the people in the decision-making process to choose representatives or leaders. This grants express and outright liberty to the electorate to express their franchise through free and fair elections to determine the majority interests allowed for the formation of government. Going by the liberal democratic theory in the analysis of elections in Nigeria right from the inception of independence, are manifestation of clear deviation from the fundamental underlying principles of democracy. The 2003 and 2007 general elections depicted electoral malpractices and other electoral vices in Nigeria. Both elections characterize democratic failure which has eroded the confidence of the electorate in Nigeria's electoral process. The dual elections were characterized by electoral malpractices and violence as some of the political office seekers lacked the genuine desire to serve the nation. Cases of electoral rigging, ballot box snatching, and the use of political thugs were widespread in the country at the time (Ainabor, 2009). Theoretically, elections as element of democracy according to the provisions of the liberal democratic theory have features such as:

- i. Popular participation of the people.
- ii. Majority rule.
- iii. Commitment to individual dignity and preservation of life, liberty and property (Dye and Zeigler, 1972). There was blatant disregard for these democratic features as there was clear departure from the tenets of democracy because of these malpractices.

Power theory is another theory that explains the workings of electoral malpractice in Nigeria, especially in 2003 and 2007 general elections. The proponents of this theory such as Niccolo Machiavelli and Hans J. Morgenthau among others observed that power is a pipeline to leadership. Thus, the manifest function of power is usually utilized during elections in

Nigeria. This shows in the manner the power of incumbency is used to manipulate elections through electoral bodies. The 2003 and 2007 general elections, for example, were all clear manifestation of power theory as power was used to facilitate electoral manipulation in Nigeria by the dominant political parties in Nigeria. Considerable number of politicians was involved in electoral fraud in the course of trying to acquire or sustain power, hence, the need for the utilization of Machiavellian approach to power acquisition or sustenance.

The power drunkenness and craziness of politicians speaks volume of why there is so much election-related fraud in Nigeria. It has turned political activities into a do-or-die affair as Machiavellian way of acquiring power. This was what former President Olusegun Obasanjo preached and practiced in 2007 general elections (Iyayi 2008). This has legalized and legitimized electoral fraud in Nigeria as the incumbent governments right from the local government to the federal government level involve in electoral malpractice as they go extra miles to cripple the electoral process. The “win by all means” syndrome of Nigerian politics justifies the utilization of power theory in this paper.

### **CONCEPTUALIZING ELECTORAL MALPRACTICE**

Electoral malpractice will be understood better still if recourse is made to unravel what malpractice means. Malpractice may mean different thing to different people. But common thing that comes to one’s mind is disregard, misapplication, misdeed, misdoing, misuse, omission, or wrong doing. The word ‘malpractice’ as culled from Wikipedia Encyclopedia (2010) is an act or continuing conduct of professional which does not meet the standard of professional competence and result in provable damages to his / her client or patient. In this manner it is a deviation from acceptable standard of care applied to the specific act or conduct.

Similarly, malpractice refers to professional misconduct, illegal, unethical, negligence, or immoral behavior by somebody in a professional or official position, resulting in a failure to fulfill the duties or responsibilities associated with the position (Microsoft Encarta, 2009). In line with the above the paper submits that any act of conducting election by group of persons or nation state other than ordained or agreed terms is referred to as malpractice.

As election is one of the most important means of establishing legitimate government and their leaders. Hence, Nigeria's chequered history of elections has contributed in this respect to abysmal socio economic and political development of the country. Oddih (2007:179) made this clear when he emphatically emphasized that where there is massive electoral fraud/malpractice and manipulations so many things result from it. For instance, when election is rigged choices of the citizens are invariably annulled and the government that emerges cannot represent, protect, and affect the interest and aspirations of the people. A government that takes over power through any means of malpractice cannot be said to be legitimate or democratic, as this can lead to apathy, leadership crisis, godfatherism, assassinations, and poor political culture among other things.

It is pertinent to note that electoral process begins with the delimitations of constituencies and ends with adjudication of election petitions at ordinary courts or election tribunals. Through out this period so many things come to pass within which malpractices of different categories are perpetuated by those involved directly or indirectly in the electoral process.

This includes electoral rigging, electoral fraud, gerrymandering, and falsification of electoral register. The commonest acts of malpractices noted by researchers or scholars in Nigeria's democratic quest are as follows:

- i. Manipulation of electoral register, example inflation of register
- ii. Ill intend demarcation of electoral districts
- iii. Use of thugs such as *Area Boys*, *Ecomog*, *Kallare*, *Sara-Suka* during campaigns and elections
- iv. Use of money on the eve of election

Malpractice by security agents according to Ajayi (2006) takes the following ways;

- i. Collusion with politicians to scare opponents from polling centers.
- ii. Collusion with political party agents and thugs to steal ballot box
- iii. Abandonment of /absence from attached polling centers

- iv. Receiving bribes from politicians to stuff ballot box
- v. Sporadic shooting into the air to scare away genuine voters, and in the process, ballot boxes already stuffed were substituted for the empty ones.
- vii. Personally thumb printing of ballot papers, etcetera.

As a follow up to the above Nigeria's track record of development has perplexed Patrick Wilmot who put it (quoted in Uhumhangho 2008:25) as follows:

*After half a century of independence, Nigeria, the potential Super power of Africa has traveled in reverse gear. If Nigeria had been motor vehicle it would have been scrapped. And the scrap dealer would probably have refused the metal because of its flaws. On every measure of performance for a state with its wealth of human and material resources, Nigeria has been a failure. Nothing works – from health, education, housing, manufactures, telephones, roads; the historical record is almost blank. In a thousand years scholars could look back and sigh 'there's no sign here that wise men once lived'*

The above assertion corroborates the manner in which Nigerians conduct themselves in many sphere of endeavors with specific reference to the manner in which they elect leaders at different levels.

Electoral malpractice should be shun and condemned in its entirety for several reasons. Osinbajo (2009) has advanced three major reasons against malpractice in Nigeria's democratic processes. Malpractice in the form of rigging deprives the government of legitimacy. The government though possesses legal authority, but lacks moral authority or legitimacy to command the respect of the people. It also delegitimizes the moral stand of the society in the eyes of all especially the youths. If the youths realize that the political leaders are role models, who speak in high sounding language about integrity and tight values are in fact cheats and are willing to falsify documents and engage in multiple thump printing, sustaining societal values

such as truth, honesty, good over evil, conducting credible election becomes extremely a mere inanity.

Studies on democracy have shown that it has no universally acceptable definition as scholars on the concept vary. Regardless of the popularity attached to the concept, theorists and practitioners have different views on it. Equally, studies have it that democracy and election are synonymous as viewed by Joseph (1999) that election and democracy have become virtually synonymous in western political thought and analysis.

Schumpeter (1942) sees democracy as that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decision which realizes the common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will. The implication here is that, there exists a generally recognized method by which the competitive struggle is carried out.

According to Laski (1967), democracy is the sovereignty of the people. In a way, this seems to be vague because there is difficulty in understanding the will of the people. Following this shortcoming, Lijphart, (1977) views democracy from the majoritarian perspective when he said that democracy is a majority rule. This majoritarian idea is important because it is a way of ensuring sensitivity to the widest possible range of interest.

Welch (1992) opined that through popular elections, the majority rules and has its way while the minority has its say - that is a say that must be listened to while its rights must be respected and protected by the constitution which guarantees the rights of all.

Agbebaku and Azelama, (2003) pointed out that democracy ensures and protects the fundamental human rights like freedom of choice, association, expression, movement, etc. With these guarantees, democracy makes the authority a trust, justifies the existence of government by bringing the principles of justice, equity and fairness to bear in governance.

Dye and Zeigler, (1975) essentially argued that, for liberal democratic rule to prevail in any society, there are prerequisites necessary for this: Firstly, the assembly of people must be as truly representative as possible, the members of the assembly must be free to discuss issues with complete frankness and to

reach decisions without hindrance; and there must be mass political participation.

Diamond (1996) puts differently that government is democratic if viewed by the people as legitimate, best and most appropriate for the society, Because of the emphasis on the consent of the people, democracy is seen to depend more on popular legitimacy than any other type of government.

Going by the views of the various scholars as provided herein, all the conceptual definitions of democracy talks about the fundamental characteristic of democracy which is the rule of the majority. From the onset, it has been put forward that democracy and election are synonymous, intertwined and inseparable. The relationship between democracy and election is like that which exists between human body and anatomy of human physiology. Election is the bedrock of democracy as it cannot be practiced without elections. Be this as it may, like most concepts in Social Science, election is viewed in different ways by different scholars. However, election is described by Ujo (2001) as a procedure that allows members of an organization or community to choose representatives who will hold positions of authority within it. According to him, the most important elections select the leaders of Local, State and Federal Governments.

Schumpeter (1942) in his own way says election is of pivotal importance in a democratic system. To him, the people cannot exercise their power or sovereignty without regular free and fair periodic elections which is to say that the success or failure of any democracy depends squarely on the whims and caprices of free and fair elections.

Otoide and Akinbi, (2004) also posit that in a democracy, the rights of the citizens to elect and change their government become important directly or indirectly through freely chosen representatives. The underlying idea in the definitional analysis of election here is that procedure through which leaders are chosen to occupy vacant political positions or offices.



## **OVERVIEW OF 2003 - 2007 GENERAL ELECTION AND ITS EFFECT ON DEMOCRATIC PROCESS**

Periodic free and fair elections are the yardstick to measure whether a country is truly democratic or the other way. Elections make room for political participation in any political system and the electorate becomes a crucial factor in the selection of political leaders because of their votes. Their votes empower them politically and become an essential determinant of victory in political competition for political office among parties and candidates.

Unfortunately, elections in Nigeria have been marred with malpractices as election of state actors have assumed a war-like and zero-sum dimension as a result of the anticipated gains and benefits. Electoral malpractice as defined by Birch (2008) is the manipulation of electoral process and outcomes so as to substitute personal or partisan benefit for the public interest. This public interest is described in terms of policy accountability. This definitional position of electoral malpractice helps us to differentiate between electoral malpractice and what might be termed ordinarily as electoral deficiencies resulting from incompetence of electoral officials and lack of fund and materials to facilitate the conduct of free and fair elections. Though this might possibly affect the outcome of elections but does not necessarily constitute electoral malpractice in itself. This has therefore, made electoral transition in Nigeria to become problematic and the do-or-die attitudes of contestants has brought about the legalization, legitimization and institutionalization of electoral malpractice and other electoral vices in Nigeria as Machiavellian approach to power has become a common political norm in Nigeria. This approach to politics has made Nigeria to lose her place in the history of world democracies as it defeats the essence of free and fair elections as guaranteed by electoral process.

Fatile (2000) has aptly captured the transition problem in Africa when he observed that African Heads of States have been following the trends of government, and are succeeding themselves through constitutional re-engineering or outright electoral manipulations to facilitate their sit-tight political ambitions. Nigeria is not an exception as most leaders at one point or

the other attempt to embark on constitutional amendment in favor of tenure elongation. In Nigeria, parties of incumbent take advantage of electoral manipulation rather than their, popularity to consolidate power. This was what Olusegun Obasanjo attempted to do through constitutional amendment to favor his popular “Third Term Agenda” during his second term in office. Besides, his administration’s involvement in electoral malpractice in 2003 and 2007 general elections respectively speaks volume of the level of electoral malpractice in Nigeria.

Examples of malpractice during Obasanjo’s administration include nomination of candidates for election and deliberate delay of voting on the day of election. The most dramatic was in Rivers state where the then speaker of House of Assembly Rotimi Amaechi who emerged as a winner from controversial PDP primaries was replaced by Celestine Omehia who did not participate in the party primaries. Other cases of electoral malpractices were widespread and lengthy delays in the distribution of electoral materials on the election days (<http://www.idasanigeria.org>).

These electoral ills have been institutionalized as incumbent governments also perpetrate this fraud to retain power. This is a threat to modern democracy as it is one of the major bedevilment to the ideal principles of free and fair democratic elections as rightly asserted by Appadorai, (1975). As adjudged by Brian Urguhart et’al, (1996), electoral malpractice on the larger or wide ranging spectrum stands as a great challenge to the ideal form of democracy even at the international democratic space via elections.

The latest Fourth Republic which has the 2003 and the 2007 general elections have their problems. The general elections of April and May 2003, were observed and reported to have been marred with electoral malpractice. The report of the malpractice was widespread as it was reported by scholars like Samuel (2004), in his thesis tagged “Electoral Malpractice and Violence in The 2003 General Elections in Nigeria”, John Odey (2003) in his thesis tagged “After The Madness Called Election, 2003”, various reports of Magazines like that of Analyst Magazine of May, 2003, Vol. 2, No. 5, tagged “The Statistical Evidence of Election Rigging” as well as the reports of some Transitional Monitoring Groups (TMGs).

On the eve of 2007 elections the then Bayelsa state Governor Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, now PDP presidential aspirant at the time of this study made a state wide television and radio broadcast in which he called for peaceful voting in a proper manner. In the run up to the elections four people were shot and killed in two separate incidents within Yenagoa. All four victims were known PDP supporters. On the night of Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> April, 2007 a PDP member from Brass Town was gunned down in a fast food restaurant. These attacks among other things contributed to a sense of fear among voters in the Yenagoa area and therefore were factor in the low turn out reported throughout the state (<http://www.nacorev.org>).

Electoral malpractice and other electoral vices have become part and parcel of Nigeria's political activities considering the techniques of electoral malpractice devised either through electoral rigging, electoral violence and the use of political thugs and electoral officials to inflate election results, incumbency manipulation or power syndrome by politicians.

The 2003 and 2007 general elections were conducted in a manner that left much to be desired because some of the results were fabricated with the assistance of electoral officers and in some cases; results were announced before the elections were actually conducted. In Ogun state, especially Ife constituencies, the forensic experts hired by Action Congress party to investigate the result found that over 80% of votes cast for PDP in the gubernatorial and senatorial House of Assembly were multiple thumb prints. The total number of ballot papers scanned, indexed and examined was 243,208 (PDP votes being contested), 16,102 ballot papers were found to have been used outside the appropriate location, 96,584 ballot papers were not found in the available distribution list. Since the list provided by INEC were comprehensive, this figure suggest, the number of ballot papers fraudulently used outside of INEC's official inventory. 96,392 ballot papers were found to have been used from booklets that were used in 2 or more voting locations.

In Okrika Local government area of Rivers state for instance an armed rival gangs (PDP and ANPP) attempted to hijack ballot boxes. The PDP group reportedly took the boxes they hijacked to the local government secretariat where they thumb-printing ballot papers and stuffed the boxes. In

Degema Local government area in the same state a group of forty (40) ANPP supporters staged an attack on a hotel where PDP members and hired thugs were thumb-printing the ballot papers they hijacked (<http://www.nacorev.org>). This has denied Nigerians the opportunity of conducting free and fair elections which facilitates periodic change of political leadership.

The 2003 and 2007 general elections respectively were as contentious as 1983 elections as the reports from electoral observers confirmed the numerous cases of alleged fraud in many states across the country. In rivers state hundreds of votes were recorded for parties not on the ballot paper in both gubernatorial and presidential elections. Over 500 votes were cast for parties not on the ballot paper in Asari Toru local government of Rivers state (<http://www.idasanigeria.org>).

Politicians adopt whatever means considered best to achieve the desired end. This is a threat to the democratic process of Nigeria because free and fair elections as the bridge through which a country passes to democratic destination have been destroyed. Following this development, Nigeria seems to be lost in the political wilderness where hope for rescue is not feasible. The democratic hope of Nigeria is put in a balance as the element of free consent is absent in Nigeria's electoral process. This contributes to the level of political instability, electoral crisis and insecurity in almost all parts of the country. This political instability, electoral crisis and violence have a trickle-down effect on the socioeconomic development of Nigeria as the developmental potentials of Nigeria remain undiscovered or untapped because of political underdevelopment and immaturity.

Just like Ronald and Edgar (1963) observed that generally in Africa, corruption flourishes as luxuriantly as the bush and the weeds which it so much resembles, taking the goodness from the soil and suffocating the growth of the plants which have been carefully and expensively bred and tended, electoral corruption trickles down to the political environment of Nigeria as it is perpetrated by government, political parties and individuals to influence electoral process in the country.

From this perspective, it shows that corruption, including electoral corruption have been long time practice in the history of Nigeria's politics and this has lingered on to cripple democratic exercise in Nigeria and the

consequent result of this is the “back-and-forth” approach to politics which has politically relegated Nigeria to the background.

During the 2003 and 2007 elections, all strategies and techniques were employed in order to win elections. As provided by Babalakin Commission of Inquiry, techniques of electoral malpractice employed during elections are:

- i. Illegal printing of voters' cards.
- ii. Illegal compilation of separate voters' lists.
- iii. Compilation of fictitious names and voters' registers.
- iv. Illegal possession of ballot boxes.
- v. Illegal thumb-printing of ballot papers.
- vi. Voting of under-aged children.
- vii. Harassment of candidates, agents and voters.
- viii. Ballot box switching and inflation of figures.
- ix. Change of list of electoral officials.
- x. Deliberate delay in supplying election materials to certain areas.

All these techniques as applied during elections spell doom for Nigeria's democratization and could bring the country's democratic experiment to grief.

Electoral malpractice cripples democratic aspirations of the country. It has become part of Nigeria's electoral process as it has been indirectly institutionalized. The sad history of electoral malpractice has serious implications on Nigeria's democratic future. As elections go by, these techniques are being perfected in successive elections. The outcome of this is the subversion of the democratic process.

Electoral malpractice makes the military to see the civilians as immature for political leadership and have a puritanical role to play in governance which can only be achieved through coup d'état which is opposed to democracy. The idea of the military being puritanical can only be imagined than explained as the military is not trained to rule. It is always violent with tendencies to form dictatorial governments.

Electoral malpractice also has the tendency of making the country to drive towards a one-party as the incumbent government will want to use state

instruments, machinery and other resources to manipulate elections in favor of the ruling party.

Electoral malpractice has also brought about political assassination in Nigeria. In all parts of the country today, there are cases of political killings. On 23<sup>rd</sup> December, 2001, Nigeria woke up to a rude shock over the news of the murder of then Attorney-General of the Federation and Minister for Justice, Chief Ajibola Ige in his Ibadan home. The outcome of police investigations left the families and admirers frustrated, resulting in the death of his wife, Atinuke. Also on the list are a former Onitsha branch chairman of the Nigeria Bar Association (NBA) Chief Banabas Igwe, who was killed along with his wife on September 1, 2002 in Onitsha, Anambra State; a All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) chieftain, Chief Marshal Harry who was assassinated on March 5, 2003; Chief Aminasoari Dikibo, murdered on February 6, 2006; 2003 governorship candidate of the PDP in Lagos State, Funsho Williams, an engineer, was hacked down on July 27, 2006 in his bedroom and Dr. Ayodeji Daramola who fell victim of assassins' bullet on August 14, 2006, the list also include Kehinde Fasuba, an Ekiti State senatorial aspirant was also murdered in 2006, among others. With the common trend noticed in all the investigations conducted to unravel the causes and perpetrators of the murdered political actors, ending up the same way, with the police usually making promises not only to bring the perpetrators to book, but quickly too, and with developments over the years showing that the police has failed to successfully investigate cases of political murders, let alone bringing the perpetrators to justice, many Nigerians are worried (Okohue 2010)

This has made the political activities in Nigeria to look more like hunting activities. There is widespread use of the bullet rather than the popular ballot. With these problems and many more, Nigeria seems to be on a very shaky ground to be able to pursue her tall dream of democratization.

## **CONCLUSION**

The history of Nigeria's political activities has revealed that Nigeria as having suffered from political failure following the application of electoral fraud in Nigeria's electoral process which is currently pushing Nigeria towards her Waterloo. The involvement of government sometimes in this

fraud have frustrated and strangled every effort towards achieving free and fair elections. This has made credible and quality elections to elude Nigeria as democracy is seen to be nose-diving thereby crippling the country politically as it is seen tottering towards total collapse.

The political incapacitation of Nigeria has made Nigeria not only to be politically underdeveloped but also economically backward since no economy grows well in a society where the leadership lacks political will to transform policy into economy through a truly democratic system that creates room for good policy formulation and implementation. The Socioeconomic and political underdevelopment of the country is tied to the umbilical cord of electoral corruption which seems to be steering the wheel of democracy to the undesired direction that will subsequently lead to the total derailment of Nigeria's democracy. This economic and political incapacitation of Nigeria has made her to look like "The bull without a horn" looking just big for nothing in the eyes of the world. What then is the hope of Nigeria and Nigerians, where do we go from here and who will lead us on? These are leading questions that can trigger further discourse.

However, it is unfortunate, sad and ridiculous to see "The Giant of Africa" caught in the web of political confusion without the strength or vigour to wriggle herself out just because of the political dementia suffered by some of the politicians. Therefore, "The Giant" must be free and for "The Giant" to be free from the claws and jaws of political backwardness and to be able to swim in these turbulent waters of politics, she must guard against derailment by putting in place the necessary mechanisms as a life jacket for safety to guarantee free and fair elections in Nigeria. The winner-takes-all attitude characterizing Nigeria's politics should and must be suppressed as it contributes in no just meager and mean way to the political and democratic problems of Nigeria. Nigeria as a country therefore must ensure the achievement of this dream through a very positive political re-orientation program and rebirth.

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