









**CONFERENCE ON: "THE ROLE OF PARTICIPATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS"**

Date: Wednesday 21st July, 2010  
Time: 9:00am  
Venue: CONFERENCE CENTRE, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife-Ife, Osun State

Guest of Honour: Yemisi Akinyemiju, Assistant University Rector

Guest of Honour: Comrade Femi Aborishade, Head of BAPPI, an executive department of the Nigerian Labour Union

**Strictly by Invitation**

















PICTURES...

RMG ORGANISED CONFERENCE FOR THE YOUTH ON VOTER EDUCATION HELD IN THE MONTH OF JULY 2010.





OLUFEMI ADUNGBA, NATIONAL COORDINATOR, IS TALKING WITH RTA CREW DURING THE BREAK OF THE CONFERENCE.







IN LONDON



**POLITICS**

Hajia Halimat Ahmed Abdul is the woman leader of the Action Congress (AC) in Adamawa State. When **OLUKOREDE YISHAU** met her in Lagos, Hajia Abdul spoke about politics in her state, women participation in politics and the state of opposition parties in the country.

# 'Nigeria will have a female governor in 2011'

**WOMEN** normally shy away from politics. Why are you in politics? Well, may be that is your own opinion. As you can see these days, women have really come forward to participate in politics nationwide. If you are talking about the North where I come from, yes there is a little bit of backwardness in women participation in politics. But it is changing very fast and so you can see we are ready to come out. With people like us who are already there, we are encouraging other women to come out and be involved in politics because it is

their right. What impact do you think women can have on the dirty way we play politics in Nigeria? Tremendous impact right now, what we are doing in Adamawa State, my state, is that we involve women in so many sectors and during the campaigns, we sectionalised them in such a way that all of them can participate. We have those that are educated and we have those that are not educated. Those that are educated we look at your field where you have experience and we see how we can assist, those that are not educated,



\* Hajia Abdul

we also take care of them. So, when they are empowered, they can participate actively in politics and impact on the way we play politics.

I have heard women complain about nocturnal meetings by politicians. What is your own view? We don't have problem with that. Politics is an open thing, when there is a meeting, there is a meeting, if it affects you, you will be called to attend; there is no meeting that you will say some women cannot participate because it is held at night, ward time. It is an open thing. There is no problem. Do you think your party is really playing its role as the opposition in Adamawa State? Very, very much. I am sorry to say this; the people in PDP in Adamawa State they are not supposed to be the people that should be there. They came from other parties. We are the original PDP. Because of the opposition we are providing, we are putting them in check and because of that, PDP does not have power. It is a false government on a false platform. If you are asked to assess Governor Mustafa Nyako, what would you say? It is early to assess him. He was in government for eight months, he was removed and he just came

back; so it is early to assess him. Really, right now I cannot say anything other than that we are watching. What do you think of the way the judiciary has handled election petitions arising from the conduct of the last general elections? I respect the judiciary. But as a politician, you can see that the whole nation is going into a one-party state. PDP has benefitted a lot from the verdicts so far given. Those that are still in court, you will see that at the end of the day, they will say it is PDP. So, I want to see the opportunity to advise those that are still at the tribunal not to waste their time because it is either you withdraw or keep quiet because at the end of the day it is going to be PDP. The judiciary has treated it best but in the country some people are more powerful than the others and can influence things. When do you think we will have a female governor in Nigeria? 2011. Are you sure? I am very, very sure. By 2011, we will have a female governor or a female vice president.



\* Aduwo

**COULD** you shed light on the report of your committee which monitored the 2007 poll? In 2007, I was the South-West Zonal Co-ordinator of Civil Society Partnership for Democracy. We deployed 17,000 observers across the South-West. Our report then was that, in organising a credible election anywhere in the world, all stakeholders must play account-

# 'INEC alone should not be blamed for failed polls'

Femi Aduwo, National Co-ordinator of Rights Monitoring Group, spoke with Deputy Political Editor, **EMMANUEL OLADESU** on electoral crises and related issues.

ing to the rules. Unfortunately, everybody blamed INEC. But, we saw it from a different angle. INEC was just a stakeholder. We have others; political parties, politicians, observers. We concluded that there were discrepancies here and there, and irregularities caused by the candidates, political parties, some INEC staff. When ballot box is smashed or hijacked, it is not the problem of INEC. If somebody puts on a police uniform to disrupt election, it is not INEC problems. The candidates are not playing according to the rules. Nigerian politicians want to win at all cost. If he loses, he will say there is no democracy. People went to court. The judiciary has declared its judgment. That means that Nigerians have hope in the judiciary. I have my reservations. In Nigeria, election does not end at the polling booths. People will go to the judiciary. The nation will keep on learning democracy.

Why were the re-run elections not so different from the actual elections, in terms of transparency? I will disagree. The re-run elections started in January 2008 in Lagos/Akoko Ilesan, Ondo State. It was an election into the House of Representatives. Later, those of Kogi, Sokoto, Adamawa, Cross-River states held. Apart from Kogi re-run, opposition did not challenge other re-run elections. Audit Abiodun of ANPP is challenging the election based on his disagreement with the school Certificate held by Ibrahim. He insisted that the governor did not sit for the Secondary School Certificate examination in 2001. Nobody, beyond that, has challenged INEC. One of the reasons is that at the bye-elections, INEC did not engage ad hoc staff. They drafted their staff to the affected states. Four days in the re-run, Iya, the INEC chairman, would visit the state to meet with all - police, army, INEC, parties. He insisted that representatives of the parties should come and monitor

the delivery of ballot papers, for the monitoring of the serial number. In Cross River State, the candidate who took issue to the court was not even allowed to participate in the election. ANPP does not even have a party secretariat in Calabar, the state capital. In all these re-run elections, you see PDP campaigning. Other parties were just making noise. How can the people vote for them? In Cross-River, ANPP even went to the court to stop the re-run. The question is why did they go to the court in the first place. 2007 election is spilling over to 2011. What is the way out? When you are building a new democracy, no amount of money, energy and resources are too much. In 2007, there may not be general elections in Kogi, Sokoto, Cross-River, the election will not hold in 2011. In United States, election is not conducted the same day. There is need to give gap. The PDP wrote to the Roberts Committee, asking for a seven year tenure. If they succeed, it may change. The tribunal should be fixed. In 1993, during the case between Oshofovo and Ajakaiye, it took seven days by Justice Kurie Ojo to dispose of the case.

At the Benin Appeal, Ayin Infante did not waste date. The case finally landed at the Supreme Court, prepared over by Justice Fatayi Williams. The case took only 27 days. Uwaifo was a member of the Supreme Court. But under him, it took more than a year to determine the case between Babari and Osovwase. Let presidential election be conducted six months before the swearing-in, so that the cases can be disposed off. Can we call Nigige a democrat? He was in office for two years enjoying a rigged election. He benefited from the oil, so it is important for the judiciary to live up to expectation. We are canvassing new ideas. We have over 50 parties. They got want to get grants from INEC. They are not existing. The electoral law recognizes the observers. All the information used at the tribunal were got from the observers. The observers should be funded. They money going to the parties should be given to observers and party agents. Some parties use under-aged 3-party agents. They are not matured. When a 2-party comes, be watch out. There is going to be a bill that will make funding available to party agents and observers. They should take oath. The party agents should have names that could be verifiable. They should be identified. This is very important. When elections are flawed, don't you think it aggravates the crisis of legitimacy? We should go to the genesis. When Nigerians are ready for democracy, they will get it. It is not about casting votes and going to sleep. We need to. We should ask questions. In any decent society and laws are respected, they are made by people. Laws should be observed. For instance, the law on spraying money is not observed. I have seen South-West governors violating the law. If we obey the electoral law, rules and regulations, things will work well. In what way has the report of the observers been useful to the polity? We make our report known to INEC, the government, political parties, the media and public. We point out the areas of discrepancies, and they have been useful. Before people listen to INEC, they will listen to observers. The observers were called to testify at the tribunal. Before you are an observer, you are screened and recognized by INEC. More professionals should come out to observe elections. It should not be left to arbitrary alone.

# 'Candidates are not imposed in AC'

Hon. Adeola Solomon Olamilekan is the chairman, Finance committee of the Lagos State House of Assembly. **ADEYEMI FAKOREDE** met him.

**WHAT** has been your achievement so far in the House of Assembly? My achievement are of two ways. My achievement as a member of the State House of Assembly are so numerous. I have served as committee chairman of so many committees in the house; Finance committee chairman from 2005 till date, committee chairman to make Lagos Internal Revenue to have its autonomous power to operate, chairman, Lagos microfinance law, committee chairman of the Cdn management office where the state will have the replica of the debt management office as it is being operated at the federal level. In the course of discharging legislative duties, the house has been able to approve and implement the budget as promised. In my constituency, I have ensured that good infrastructure are being put in place; provision of good roads like the Ibeju Road and the LASU-Ibe Road, school rehabilitation, provision of amenities in

schools and introduction of poverty alleviation programmes. The Fashola government has been doing so many things, are people living in your constituency feeling the impact of his administration? My people are enjoying the Fashola government. He has awarded so many road network contract to the constituency to a notable construction company which will be achieved very soon. The construction of BRT line is being constructed from Iyana-Ipaja down to Ikeja to Ibeju and LAMATA this has been achieved. What are you doing to curb the menace of street archists in your constituency? Security of lives and properties is one area the government has done a lot through the introduction of Rapid Response Squad (RRS) in each of the local government and the rate of crime in the state has reduced drastically. The forthcoming local govern-

ment election is around the corner; how is your constituency preparing for this election? The local government election will take place in 20 local government and 37 LCDAs. The constituency is preparing very well for the local government election which is a good development. There is an allegation that your party does not believe in internal democracy, that candidates are being imposed on party members? Candidates are never imposed on party members. All members and leaders of the party are democrats and they believe in true democracy. Who are the political godfathers backing you in your aspiration in politics? People who voted for you and made you the flag bearer of that party are your political godfathers and you are indebted to them. There was a pipeline fire in your constituency; what is the state government doing to compensate the



\* Olamilekan

affected family? Funds are being made available to the committee set up by the state government to take care of the people in the hospital and the government will compensate the affected family, whose buildings got burnt in the disaster when due and I sympathise with the family who lost their loved ones.



Arise

Arise

# Ekiti Senatorial rerun has shown opposition parties are not sincere - Activist

FOR how long has the group been monitoring elections in the country? We are 1 month, 42 observers. We started observing election since after the general election in 2007. In 2007, I was the coordinator of six societies, sponsoring the democracy, before it was dissolved, and then we formed Rights Monitoring Group (RMG). We have observed all the main and bye-elections, Ghana election and America election.

With your observation of elections, how will you rate Nigerian democracy? Our democracy is wobbling and we are leaning. If the state is to get them in place, like having vibrant political parties with internal democracy, and people themselves know their rights, because having a voter education goes beyond casting votes; you must be able to know what your votes mean to you, in the state and in the nation, and what respect you have from the people, politicians and the state. So, if people can understand this, they will be talking about democracy, it is an evolving process. It includes participatory democracy, but as it is today, many people, especially the electorate believe we have the government, and the people on the other side. There is no link between the electorate and the people elected to the office. That is what we are saying, we are not talking the top, we are talking people who elected from them from the first one.

What would you say are the causes of electoral violence in the country, and what is the way out? Anything about power goes through, and we seek the way with violence when people get frustrated and believe in democracy. Democracy is about building consensus, it is give and take. What you cannot get today, you seek to regenerate. It also depends on the level of enlightenment. With voters' education, when we imagine we keep on organizing, and for make it to be democratic, as a democracy, you are not dogmatic. So everything we can do make violence is for us to go back to the issue of educating people, that really be educated. Like an Senatorial when we re-elected in Delta, I discovered some of these polling agents do not even know their right most of them are hand-picked by the state on the early morning.

So, if these party agents learn their responsibilities, they will not use attack, therefore, with weapons. Like the election, we have observed, we are someone who for two years, one for AC and one for PDP, when we asked him, he brought the two together and he quickly possessed one and brought out the other, you can now see that

Olufemi Aduwo is the National Coordinator of Rights Monitoring Group (RMG), a coalition of 45 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). He spoke with a group of journalists shortly after the Ekiti North Senatorial bye election held barely a fortnight ago. REMI KOLEOSO was there

we have to go back to this issue of education. What we need is a total change. Nowadays, we have millionaires without enterprise and the major players turn out to be speculators. People must be enlightened, for example, if you want to be a Senator, you don't need to be telling people that when I become a Senator, I will bank you today or provide you water, that is not your job. Your job is that when you get to the national discourse or how to pass people's law, that is what you do we see, we see Senators not doing that, there is about powerful and to educate and enlighten people.

We are looking at 2011 election, when people cannot vote without party affiliation. You think of the pedigree of the people. Nigerians are very unique. Nobody wants to be a fool. Around 1980s, when the late M.K.O Abacha fought against the late General Abacha, he had 50,000 people in power and that is how politics should be. When it comes to election process or management, I think the stakeholders are many, the political parties, observers, media, electorate, INEC and the power of the judiciary.

Take for example in the Kogi river, when was arrested for washing ballot boxes, NDA showed the man, he put on a police uniform, and says you work down to my in the policeman. When in the former IG of police, where is this man? When is he going to court? Let us imagine who says this, is in the PDP, ANPP or AC, all today they have a bureaucracy administration. That cannot be the House of INEC. If in Ekiti, people that you, that can never be true headache.

In other words, certain stakeholders in particular segments are not doing their jobs. Who give you, politicians, identify the problem one by one and we will know the one they belong to INEC. If materials are not adequately supplied, we use INEC question, but when you use violence, there is nothing INEC can do. That is why we still need enlightenment, the parties are not to play. When you have a good government, either local, State or Federal governments, if they follow the pattern, within about five people will follow the pattern.

The same INEC people go complaining about rigged election in Benue, when the former governor, Yakubu Akiwo, then sitting president, but to his former Personal Assistant. Are we now saying that, that former PA, his money to bribe INEC that he has been. Are we now saying that

you have money to bribe INEC to win Lagos state than the Federal Government?

How do you see the coming elections? The Director General of the State Security Service (DSS) has told the whole world that the level of gas and ammunition in Nigeria will make the 2011 election the most bloody, that cannot be law and INEC problem. Militants in Niger Delta are saying that politicians are willing them not to drop their guns because they need them for election. This cannot be the problem. We should start listening. We should start working for solution. If we all agree that we can move forward, then we move forward.

Observation on Ekiti rerun As an observer, if I want to follow international standard, the availability of materials, personnel, the conduct of the voters and general security atmosphere of the whole area, the time the voters started, the counting and all that, but being a Nigerian, I will go beyond that, for example, there is time we go to a polling unit, someone in the media says not observe or know this, you will see seven polling agents, putting on different party tags, you will discover some of them belong to the same party. They put on it inclusive that these polling agents are organized, in Ekiti, what we are saying the election is total opposite of what was expected of the people that claimed to be President of Knowledge.

Maybe we have to ask psychologists to come and do a behavior study, maybe the level of poverty is high and many other things make them to do anything they do. Take for example, I witnessed when former governor Niyi Adebayo came to Rejoice, and the youths asked him to share that particular area government, but the question is, that area part of his council area was not in full under his administration? He is from Iyem-Ekiti in Ibadan under the former local government, the election law says, on the day of election, you cannot nominate candidate your polling unit or ward. So, what was he doing in this area? At Rejoice, I don't know who placed Kayode Fayemi, he came with thugs, policemen, armed. And one thing is clear, that they were other observations. He had to run for out door boys and those are the people we trusted that the power should be given to. If they say that people may not like it, the crisis that trained the that election was poorly caused by the AC. In Ibadan, we are AC, they said the materials meant for 12 polling

stations would not leave.

We met some people who said they were AC members, and we asked them what one is AC member? It's either you are polling agents or accredited observers. They said but their party sent them to be there. And we told them that since they were doing contravenes the electoral law. We are told that they were informed, that they are not from that particular area. They also confirmed that so we took their pictures. We were told they would burn the election materials in the polling unit and since that one hour, and they did just that.

That cannot be a problem of INEC. During the election, you saw a hand operation, that was a place we met INEC officials, the people of Ekiti said they would not provide them with chairs and I told them that they are shameless; they said the INEC officials must sit on the ground. The issue of security officers in uniform, the ballot boxes, Asoju that is not armed, how can they protect a polling unit? How can you tell a Road Safety team to secure a polling unit? In America in the election, America deployed their National Guard to take of their polling station in case of terrorist attacks. Whenever you see untrained policemen in uniform polling units, for election there is always possible, when we get to burn the country home of Kayode Fayemi, all the PDP agents can sleep because they will police there, correct patterns that safety.

INEC has just registered some four new political parties, is this a step in the right direction?

America has more than 12 political parties, but only two are vibrant, other votes are not voting for office. What people are talking about government, and all that. In the 131 members, Nigeria had 102 political parties, many associations were allowed to contest election and there was not a room for independent candidate. Out of these 102 political parties, only NPC, AC, INC are vibrant, these parties were formed and named but in those era it is not so.

For example in Delta, AC came in an alliance with the PDP government, meanwhile in the national level, AC is not part of the State government. In the last election in Ekiti, CNPP said it would support Fayemi and that is why I see AC agents because they were not taking candidates. For an event, that CNPP wanted to a returning officer for Fayemi here. For example taking started with AD here in Ekiti, within a year, he jumped like a NCP. Today people can jump from one party to another. If the government can stop the funding of political parties, they will be reduced. There must be a total regulation. We need more than four political parties in Nigeria.



# Many Nigerian Judges are Crooks—Aduwo

Olufemi Akinbule Aduwo, President of Rights Monitoring Group (RMG) and CEO of Probity and Ethics Society (PES), is a human rights advocate who has been championing the cause for an end to electoral violence and irregularities in Nigeria. He was one of the local observers who monitored re-run of the Governorship election held recently in Sokoto State. In this interview with **FRIDAY OLOKOR**, Aduwo said recent judgements in the Election Petition Tribunals suggests that all is not yet well with Nigerian Judiciary. He also speaks on other national issues, including the silence of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) on the Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill. Excerpts.

**REACTIONS** are trailing the ruling of the Ondo State Election Petition Tribunal. As the South West co-ordinator of the Civil Society Partnership for Democracy (CISPAD) what is your take on the ruling?

I was one of the observers of CISPAD; we deployed not less than 3,000 observers to Ondo state. Mind you, I am also from Ilaje and Ifaje areas in the state. It is true that ballot boxes were snatched and election disrupted by hired thugs, mostly in Ifeluju/Okeba; Okitipupa and Ose Local Government areas. The result forms of some polling stations and collation centres were hijacked and destroyed in Akoko North; Akoko North East and Akoko West Local Government Areas. All cases of election disruptions were recorded in Akure North, Ondo West, Odigbo and Ifedore Local Government Areas. You will recall that the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) cancelled the election results of the affected polling stations in those areas and 80 arrests were made. We are still waiting for the police to prosecute them. Similar violence led to the outright cancellation of election in Akure South 11 State Constituency. INEC rescheduled election in the affected areas on April 28, 2007 because the first election was 14 April 2007. In the Presidential and National Assembly elections, it was only in Ondo Local Government that election did not hold due to breakdown of law and order. All the rescheduled elections were successfully conducted and conducted and we were there. We want to know how Justice Garuba Nabaruma arrived at the figures he delivered as the result of the election. Is it the previous election or the rescheduled election of April 28 2007? He held that Dr. Olusegun Mimiko of the Labour Party (LP) secured the majority of lawful votes during the governorship election. For me, that was a miscarriage of justice because he awarded LP 198, 259 votes and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) 128, 669 votes against INEC's figures of PDP= 349, 288 votes and LP= 198, 269 votes. In the case of Nabaruma, if you calculate both PDP and LP votes, it will give you 326, 938 votes, while INEC summed up 547, 557 votes. Where did the tribunal get all these figures? Election was conducted in Ifaje area but the tribunal said it was not conducted. It is a false Ifaje is a complex terrain made up of creeks and swamps. Some of the materials left Igbokoda to the riverine areas at about 3.00pm. Election was held in that area. He would have called for a re-run in those areas where there was no election. We should be very careful because Ondo state is unlike other states.

**Are you saying that the tribunal erred in their judgement?**

Yes, of course. Nabaruma-led tribunal erred. I am from Ondo state and I have never been to Akure. I don't know

Mimiko and I have never met Governor Clusegun Agagu. I am not in PDP or LP. I am not seeking for contract. We should call a spade a spade. We have seen cases where tribunal judges misled people in the miscarriage of justice and the judges are spilling their hands through corruption. The judges we are seeing today are not the type people want to see. Mimiko knows how to jump from party to party. He left PDP because there was no place for him. Mimiko is a Muslim and of recent he has joined Christianity. People are so dubious. You have been a Muslim for over 20 years and became a Christian over night.

**What is the implication of this judgement in Ondo State as it affects development?**

The implication of the judgement is that there will be a kind of setback in development because there are so many projects that are on going. If Mimiko becomes a Governor there will be a kind of stagnation in Ondo state. Agagu is from the Southern part of the state, the economic block. If Mimiko comes in and cannot find majority in the House of Assembly, we will witness a situation like that of Anambra state where Governor Peter Obi occupied office but could not rule; we don't want what is happening in Ekiti state in Ondo. We are telling those supporting cases in Southwest to soft pedal.

**There are lapses in the constitution; a situation whereby elected political office holders are sworn in before the tribunal decides their case does not occur well. Don't you think this could lead to inducement and corruption on the part of Judges?**

It is a kind of collective guilt. The lawyers are guilty of this; members of the bench are guilty too and the politicians play politics of marginalization. If it is going to benefit them, they don't care. To them, it is an arrangement of loopholes as an escape route. In the old Ondo state, during Pa Adekunle Ajasin's administration, Justice Onjo within two weeks, delivered judgement and Alun Omoborotowo appealed in Benin and less than two weeks, Justice Ifeife delivered judgement at the Supreme Court under Justice Fatai Williams. All these cases took less than 27 days from tribunal to Supreme Court. That is justice but today you see the lawyers dragging cases for years because of lapses. Some of these judges have traded their integrity through corruption and collaboration with the people in the Bar. You have a case going on for over one year. I expect that all these cases should not go beyond six months. It should be stated in our electoral laws that before anybody will be sworn in, all the electoral related cases must be completed. The cases should not stop at the Appeal Court; everything should go to the Supreme Court. We have seen different judgements from Appeal and



Olufemi Aduwo

tribunal but the Supreme Court will be able to checkmate them.

**Before now the Judiciary has been under severe bashing and all of a sudden, Nigerians started singing praises. Are you of the opinion that the Judiciary has improved?**

Most of the Judges are crooks. During the administration of ex-President Olusegun Obasanjo many of them were sacked. You have seen scandals in the National Judiciary Institute (NJI) involving a Judge in the 2007 unsanct budget. What gains me is that these people supposed to dispense justice. Why should a case linger on for more than six months? Allegations every where.

**Are you saying the Judiciary is not the last hope of the common man?**

That is why democracy did not stop at voting. People must be able to answer questions, probe and be agitated.

**What is your comment on the Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill and the attitude of labour towards its passage?**

Labour, especially the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) only fight for its interest on wages, salaries and other welfare benefits. These are the things they fight for but when it comes to the issue that really affects the people of Nigeria, they will relax. When it comes to their interest, they can hold the country into ransom mode but when it affects the generality of the people, they will not talk. Today, at the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) filling stations, you buy diesel

for N75 per litre but in others, you buy for N145 per litre. Labour is not asking questions. Look at the FOI Bill that will give every Nigerian access to government and its programmes and allow me to ask my Governor how he acquired his wealth those dishonorable honourees in the National Assembly killed it. This alone could have made Labour to be on the streets mobilizing Nigerians. They have abandoned the battle for the Bill as if it is the battle for the media alone. The National Assembly is the enemy of Nigerians. Nigerian Labour movement is a docile. They would have charged the peoples mind on the Bill assuming they protested with Nigerians for just one month. Labour is gone.

**A new helmsman has been appointed for the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN). Do you think that will change the epileptic power supply?**

Engr Saleman was formerly the Minister of Energy and later Managing Director. He should know the problem of PHCN for government to release money. He should be allowed to work and people should allow him to settle down to perform. The information that we will have 5000 mega watts in 2009, is a good omen. The problem in the organisation which should be tackled is corruption. If we don't tackle corruption in Nigeria, we won't go anywhere. It is not the function of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) or the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission (ICPC). All of us must work.

# Nigerians Are Too Docile

## - Olufemi Aduwo

Olufemi Akinbule Aduwo is the executive director, Probity and Ethics Society and National Coordinator, Rights Monitoring Group. Since January, he has been monitoring all the elections and re-run elections in the country. In this interview with EJIRO RENE ADIGBO, he bared his mind on topical election issues. Read on.

**Why did you get involved in human rights activities?**

I came back from exile in December 1999. I was in detention for two years before I went on exile. I call myself one of the unsung heroes of June 12. When I came back, four of us met and that we should have a body that would tackle the national menace called corruption. We now set PROBITY AND ETHICS SOCIETY. We got some responsible Nigerians to be on the board, Olu Vincent, Bayo Kuku, Admiral Akin Aduwo and Mobolaji Johnson and others are on the board.

**Tell us about PROBITY AND ETHICS SOCIETY?**

It is an anti corruption organization and we are the first. We have done so much with the EFCC. We have done a lot of investigations and handed over to EFCC. We have stepped on a lot of toes. We handed over about 20 fraudsters to Ibrahim Lamode when he was in charge of Operations at the EFCC. I don't want to be in government. I was once appointed Special Assistant by Late former governor of Ondo, Adefarati, I never took up the appointment. But I believe I can work from the outside to put good governance in place in the country. Recently, some civil society organizations came together to form a strong coalition. Within the context of UNO definition, even the issue of media is being considered whether they are under CSO or private sector. What we have in Rights Monitoring Group is a coalition of Civil Society Organisations and I am the national coordinator and since January we have been monitoring all the by-elections and re-run because we discovered in 2007, The Transition Monitoring Group and European Union monitored the elections and came out with their report. However, they pulled out of the by-elections and re-runs. We now said let's monitor these re-runs because INEC is using another style in handling these ones. Now, they are using their own staff. And the results have been so good. We discovered that the election fraud that happened before were carried out by ad hoc staff.

**You were in Calabar, to monitor the governorship election re-run. Tell us your experience in Cross Rivers State?**  
Other NGOs were there that are under our coalition. But, we don't just move into a

state on the day of election to monitor. I was in Cross Rivers State a week before the election to monitor. I was in Cross Rivers State a week before the Election Day to monitor the pre-election activities and campaign rallies. I will tell you one thing but you may not believe it, you cannot locate the office of ANPP in Calabar. The Secretariat of AC is shared by an executive of the party. In other words, other parties are not on ground in the state.

The person that even went to court to remove Governor Liyel Imoke from office left the country a week to the election. And was not even in the country on the Election Day. Now, three days to the election, the ANPP gubernatorial candidate went to court asking that the election should be postponed for another three months. We even have five journalists in our group on the field monitoring the election. I can tell authoritatively that the election was free and fair.

**What's your advice to INEC?**

We have been doing election in the country since 1950 and there is no single one that Nigeria never complained about. The recent local government was not conducted by INEC, yet people still complain.

**In election management, the stakeholders are more than INEC. In Kogi election for instance, someone was arrested in police uniform wanting to run away with ballot box. Today, I am still telling journalists to ask the Commissioner of Police in Kogi State to tell us what happened to the arrested man. Who sent him?**

If the society wants a law to work, it will work, so don't blame INEC for all election problems. In Adamawa governorship election re-run, I know a top politician who offered to bribe INEC official with 30 million dollars

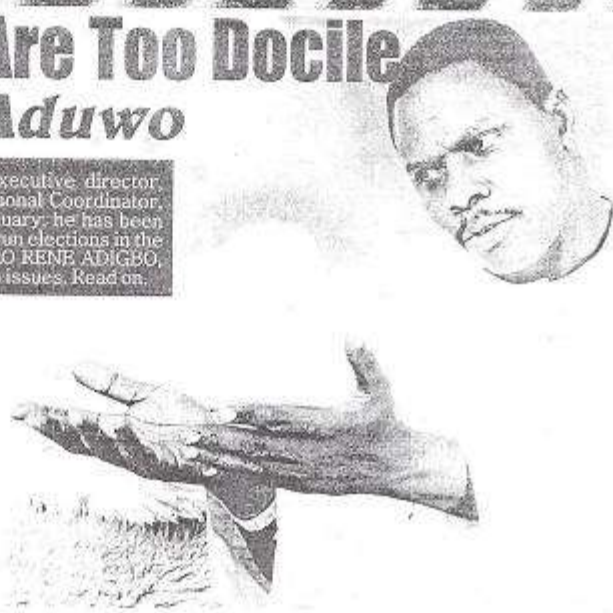
and the INEC officer refused. If politicians play the game according to the rules, INEC will deliver. In Calabar, Maurice Iwu was there before the gubernatorial election to meet with the stakeholders. He told them election materials will arrive on Wednesday, please send your party agents to the airport and follow materials to INEC office and local government areas. A party should have party agents, but go to the polling stations, most of these parties don't have party agents. Some of them will employ 17 years old boys. Most of the 54 political parties don't even have offices in Abuja. They are only collecting government subvention. That is why we are saying that, the money government is giving to political parties should be given to the political observers. Now, electoral law recognizes the position of observers. Today, observers have become a force to be reckoned with in election matters all over the world.

**What is your advice to Nigerian politicians?**

Nigerian politicians are crooks, dubious and liars. Nigerians too are too docile. Election doesn't stop at the polling station where you cast vote; Nigerians should remind the politicians about their electoral promises.

**What is your motivating force?**

My Lord Jesus-Christ was a radical, he went to the synagogue and saw people suing the house of God, he took a biblical decision and chased them away. I believe in a just society where the rich and the poor can live together with equal rights. And things must be done fairly. If the wealth of the nation is a common wealth, it should not end in pockets of some people.



# Yar' Adua is not fair to N/ Assembly-Rep

Honourable Depo Oyedokun, representing Ojuyole Federal Constituency of Oyo State in the House of Representatives, speaks with Sam Nwaoko on President Yar'Adua's assessment of the National Assembly, 2011 politics in the state and sundry issues. Excerpts:

**H**ow would you describe the House since Dimeji Bankole assumed office as the Speaker?

The House has been stable in the last two years after the initial turbulence of the former Speaker, Honourable Patricia Chibureni Etteh. Once in a while, minor hitches are normally resolved diplomatically. Overall, we thank God that the House has been moving smoothly.

The president did not give the House, nay the National Assembly a pass mark in terms of performance. How do you react to this?

It is not within the jurisdiction of the president to give the National Assembly a pass mark. We are elected representatives of the people and it is the people who elected you, whom you derive your mandate, that can say whether you are performing or not. Although I only heard reports that the president passed uncomplimentary comments on the National Assembly, I do not want to believe he said that because he has no locus standi to do that. Come to think of it, the best a parliament could do we did in the past two years when you consider the consequences. If there is a seeming non-performance of the parliament, then, the executive has largely accounted for this. For instance, we could only pass the 2008 budget in the third quarter of that year because it became a ding-dang affair between the presidency and the parliament, meaning that we could not do anything meaningful that year. The most important power of any parliament is the power of appropriation as what the executive brings to the parliament is budgetary proposal. It is only when the National Assembly passes it that it becomes an act of parliament. So, it is surprising when the president says the lawmakers should not tinker with a budget he brings to the parliament. I don't think that is right.

Counting to your state, how will you assess Governor Adesayo Alao-Akala in the past two years?

He's been marvellous. There was so much mistrust in the beginning and this mistrust did not allow people to hold an



•Depo Oyedokun

*"If there is a seeming non-performance of the parliament, then, the executive has largely accounted for this."*

objective view of the Oyo State government. However, now you'll realise that he has been making a lot of impact, especially on the roads and other infrastructure. If he could achieve so much within two years, by the time he spends four years, the achievements would have become very visible.

With what seems like internal misgivings within your party, the PDP, do you see the party retaining power in Oyo State beyond 2011?

The PDP will retain power in Oyo State. I am saying this because the people of Oyo State are very intelligent and brilliant and by the time Governor Alao-Akala would be coming in 2011 to renew his mandate, they would have seen what he has done. The people of Oyo State are very objective and I want to believe that they will return the mandate to him.

You are out for your party's ticket to contest Oyo Central senatorial seat. Why do you think you should be given the ticket?

I have spent six years in the House of Representatives and by the grace of God, I'm going to spend eight years. The next step is to move higher in serving my federal constituency. With the experience I would have garnered in eight years, I think I should translate what I have learnt to the advantage of my people in Oyo Central and ensure that we do not lose ground in Oyo State in the area of effective representation.

An Ibadan man like you currently occupies that seat and he happens to be the Senate Leader. Don't you think the party structure may not be favourably disposed to your ambition?

No. There is nothing about the structure that cannot be straightened out. Oyo State has the Oyes, Ogbomosos, the Ibadans, Ibarapas, Oke Oguns and others. The Ogbomosos want the governorship and by the grace of God, Governor Alao-Akala, who is an Ogbomoso man, will be returned. The post of the Speaker of the state House of Assembly and the secretary to the state government would go to the Oyo and the senatorial ticket is coming to Ibadans and I believe Ojuyole Local Government Area will have it. So, I believe it is fair enough and all will be happy at the end of the day.

Why are you so confident of this equation?

I am very confident of not just the equation, but of the fact that I will have the ticket because I'm serving the living God and He never fails.

## 'Why Nigerian elections can't be free and fair'

Head of Right Monitoring Group (RMG), a major election observer group in the country, Mr. Olufemi Aduwo, in this interview with Idowu Samuel, speaks on issues that have been militating against elections conducted by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), among other issues.

**Y**OU have been observing the conduct of elections in Nigeria for some time. What specific role does your group perform in the electoral process?

Right Monitoring Group (RMG) is a coalition of about 46 non-governmental organisations and civil society groups. One of our major objectives is to see to a vibrancy of electoral process in a manner that would make the votes of the electorate count. One of the means of doing that is to engage the electoral body, like the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), in its conduct of all elections. We have partners in addition to our membership strength. The RMG was the only organisation from Nigeria recognised to monitor the last American and Ghanaian elections.

What are the inherent problems you have observed in the conduct of elections in Nigeria?

When you are talking about democracy, there are many variables that you have to note and address. In any country where poverty is high, you cannot expect election there to be free and fair. It is the high level of poverty in most African and other developing countries that make the people susceptible to manipulations during elections by the so-called leaders who are prepared to buy votes.

In the case of Ghana, the Ghanaian government allowed the electoral body to be in place for a stretch of 16 years. That body was put in place during the government of Jerry Rawlings and had conducted elections about four times in which the reigning government won twice and the opposition twice. The electoral body with the same

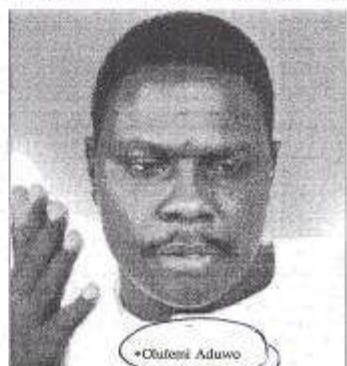
head has thus been able to stabilise the Ghanaian electoral system. I have heard many people in Nigeria suggest that we should follow the footsteps of Ghana, but the question is, will the government ever allow the same set of people in INEC to remain in office for a stretch of 16 years? Notwithstanding the mistakes INEC might have committed in the conduct of past elections, it will have ample opportunity to correct itself in the event that the president approves another tenure of five years for the chairman. If we want to be like Ghana, we should also follow the footsteps that Ghana had laid. So, for us to progress, I suggest that we allow the rules to operate and let the politicians play according to the rule.

Are you in essence saying that President Yar'Adua should allow Iwu fresh tenure of five years in INEC?

The constitution as at today allows the president to renew the tenure of Iwu and the commissioners for another five years. I am saying that for any system to get to near perfection, there must be room for continuity. Over the years, INEC has been using ad hoc staff and now, we have come to realise that this is dangerous because most of them were drawn from the civil service and hence, had their loyalty stretched to their respective state governments. Moreover, many of them are civil servant politicians and it took the 2007 elections to note that. So, if really we are serious, we will allow the same set of people in INEC to build for us a viable electoral system based on the experiences that they had obtained from past elections.

Iwu has enemies in Nigeria and his probable re-appointment by the president could rupture the electoral system. How would you react to that?

The problem is that nobody wants to be a good loser



•Olufemi Aduwo

in Nigeria. Rather than accept defeat after an election, a loser will always find Iwu to blame. It is correct to say that if the president re-appoints Iwu, there would be protests. I know some political parties that will vow to boycott elections because of that. But that will not be a justifiable position since there is an element of personalisation of issues there.

You were in Ekiti State for the observation of the governorship rerun. What lapses led to the chaos in the 10 designated local government areas?

Problems ensued in the rerun election in Ekiti due to build up of tension in the state. Recall that beginning from 2006, there had been cases of politically motivated killings in the state and people were already aggrieved. The political parties also did not help matters by resorting to propaganda to settle scores.



## Feature

# Militants are criminals, un-worthy of amnesty —Aduwo

THE Rights Monitoring Group, a coalition of civil Society Organization has been of tremendous help to the nation through blowing the whistle to alert on corruption and monitoring of elections across the country. Its national coordinator, **COMRADE OLUFEMI ADUWO** who spoke with journalists on myriad of national issues linked the amnesty granted militants in the Niger Delta, describing them as criminals. The fire brand activist also took a swipe at those rescinding the appointment of three Kano State indigenes as ministers for Finance, Economic Planning and Governor of Central Bank of Nigeria, saying Northerners are justified to occupy any exalted position in the country. Our man **RAYMOND O. TEDUNJAYE** who was in attendance reports. *Excerpt*

**NS:** A section of the society has faulted President Yar'Adua's appointment of three Kano State indigenes to man some strategic positions that is crucial to the nation's economy, claiming that it has by extension placed the economy of the country in the hands of the Northerners, do you subscribe to this?

**ADUWO:** By my understanding of the 1999 constitution, it does say that the president can only appoint his cabinet members or make appointments into strategic positions from anywhere in the country. When Obasanjo was the president he appointed all his inspectors general of police from the south-west, when Shagari was the president, most of his service chiefs were all Christians and most of them were from the ruling party controlled states. So even if Tinubu the president's wife is capable of handling any ministry effectively, the president is free to appoint her. What is this fallacy that they are talking about, if these people are capable and qualified, let the appointment be, all we want is delivery.

**Are you of the opinion that they were appointed on merit?**

The president has a lot of information about them which we are not available to us as ordinary Nigerians. All in all, I think he has got the best and does what he can do for the country, and let's see if they can perform. For instance, I can disclose to you that we just discovered last week of a minister who awarded a 42 million dollar contract without going through the tender's board and equally bought a private jet. We are going to tell Mr. President and he just have to go. Though, we want him and he had reported that it is a mistake, that can not be corrected and he has to go.

**Some sector of the economy are almost being paralysed as a result of industrial action, what do you especially in the health and education sector, following demand for salary increment, what is your opinion on this?**

We are already aware that there is economic meltdown world wide. Even in America, the salaries of political appointees are being slashed, so I think this is a little sacrifice that we all have to make, it is not a period to think about movement of salary but sacrifice because there is a meltdown that has affected every part of the world.

**Now, to address the issue of labour, which is supposed to be the last option, there are many avenues which are opened for people to dialogue. In Nigeria, we have witnessed many forms of strikes, what is your opinion on this?**

We are already aware that there is economic meltdown world wide. Even in America, the salaries of political appointees are being slashed, so I think this is a little sacrifice that we all have to make, it is not a period to think about movement of salary but sacrifice because there is a meltdown that has affected every part of the world.

**The issue of electricity as being a major problem over time and has become more specific, while the Federal Government has been unable to provide a solution, how do you think this can be addressed?**

The issue of electricity is one of the seven point agenda of Mr. President and Nigeriaans are a little bit not totally comfortable with the idea of the seven point agenda because it remains on book. They want to see it in practical, they want it to be implemented, even if it is only by one day but in the area of energy, unless by having stable cost, at least Nigerians will be very happy. In some

cases, I think it is not the fault of Mr. President but that of his aides. The last time when the strike of Nigerians was successful, he told Nigerians that within one year he is going to increase the payment of electricity from 3000 to 4000 which is not possible because everybody knows what it cost to build a megawatt. The problem is that we have a hybrid model in the energy sector who does not want this thing to work. The people in the PHCN are not helping matters and it is very unfortunate.

**It has been expressed in some quarters that the generation of power should be deregulated to the extent that the three tiers of government and even corporate bodies and individuals are allowed to generate power, do you subscribe to this?**

Oh yes, that will be fantastic. For example



**COMRADE OLUFEMI ADUWO**... National Co-ordinator, Rights Monitoring Group

we have some individuals who are generating for PHCN to distribute, let this issue be deregulated properly because in the constitution it is on the exclusive list, it belongs to the federal government, so to be done constitutionally so that the federal, the state and local government can generate, distribute and do everything by themselves. For example in Lagos, we need nearly about 1000 megawatts, if some states they need only 500 megawatts. The Ekiti state governor declared recently that he wants to partner the private sector to generate about 350 megawatts for the state. So let the National Assembly amend that particular section of the constitution to allow the three tiers to generate power for themselves.

**What is your view on the amnesty granted the militants in the Niger Delta by Mr. President?**

You see, it is a very interesting issue. Mr. President has been so very kind, very generous and to be a good father. I am an Ijapa man from Delta State, I Niger Delta to be core, but I think

he only granted amnesty to criminals. These people told the world from day one that they are fighting for the emancipation of their people. First of all we want to take from whether they have achieved that purpose and if the answer is no, then when is the gas of the amnesty struggle all these years. Though I am not a prophet, but for me the issue of amnesty may not be the end because these guys have been engaging in oil stealing and bunkering over the years and the bottom line is economic empowerment. The JTF has told us before that it has gotten the list of the sponsors of the militants, for them release the amnesty. I have said before that those who steal the crude oil are not from the Niger Delta, the militants are just not, along the line they empower them. Who is giving them the ammunition, who is buying the crude oil from them? These are the issues we have to first of all discuss so that the amnesty will not turn to another whereby these people will be stealing Nigeria oil without killing, without maiming and nobody will talk.

**It is claimed in some quarters that Mr. President is afraid of the aftermath consequences and it is the reason he succumbed to granting the amnesty, are you of the same opinion?**

I think don't Mr. President is really afraid of

no genocide. For eight years that they have held sway in the area that they have been kidnapping, mutilating and pipelines, that was an genocide, now that the federal government came to defend its territorial integrity, you see these massacre.

**Are you satisfied with the level of development in the region?**

You see, if as a province for a period of eight years you do not invest about \$50 billion there, people should be asking you what you do with the money. When Obasanjo was the governor of Rivers, the private oil he acquired was all the priority of the people. So the people should be asking the government how the allocation and other money generated was spent. Today our government in Niger Delta are taking about 400 million Naira every month as security cost. The problem of the Niger Delta did not begin today, it was neither started by Obasanjo nor Yar'Adua. Obasanjo started NNDC so that they can have physical development, but when you don't allow people to mine, how do you develop? There must be peace, when there is peace, development follows.

**Are of the opinion that the e-voting option proposed by the chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) would be possible in 2013?**

The e-voting to be possible, we must first of all talk about the level of literacy. During the 2007 election in Nigeria, most with that level of literacy, we discovered in some states that they adopted the e-voting and in some they still use the usual voting. But when you talk about literacy in Nigeria, how is it going to work?

**The capture of electoral victories by the electoral tribunals and their subsequent upheld by appeal courts is considered a serious indictment on the part of INEC, including the failure to prosecute those responsible for destruction of requisites, how do you react to this?**

Sir, unless we continue to do away with the issue of money politics, we are not going any where. The level of immorality that went into the 2007 election was so high and the politicians themselves are not playing according to the rules of the game. In the last few years government has been election, it was in public opinion was revealed when he was about to stand a ballot box. Till today, so far, it has been on the Inspector General Police to prosecute him, we should first see who sent him to ground search the box, it can't be him, it has to be one of the politicians or one of the political parties. Now, as far as the level of poverty is very high, there is the tendency that we can not have a proper, free and fair election in the country. What we can do is to create a situation that the people should not sell their vote right. Government should through INEC embark on voting education, civic education because a lot of them do not know the importance of voting. During elections, in the GRAs you see only two materials coming out to vote, while the same was in place like Ajegunle and Badagry which are often to us rural areas is very high. But when the government is formed, it is about 50% in the GRAs that make the composition and yet they are the ones that condemn those in the phone. This anti-genocide campaign might be to some programmes where the Federal Government through the ministry of information should start them send to work to let Nigerians know that their vote is power.

**President Barack Obama of America during his issue was in Ghana and controversially has continued to trail his non-ethic in Nigeria, with many claiming that it was as a result of the nation's lack of genuine democracy, do you see it from that perspective?**

That is not true, those who are saying that are very wrong, they are not students of history. Obama went to South Africa, deep south of South Africa have never seen before him in their lives, he also visited Venezuela where the president has exceeded his credentials and can go on for five. So the issue about Obama in Ghana is about oil in Ghana, America sponsored the election in Ghana and first will start to explore oil in Ghana from 2010. American interest is about the resources, if they don't have any interest to protect, they don't come to your country.

**A COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED BY ACCREDITED OBSERVERS ON GOVERNORSHIP RE-RUN ELECTIONS HELD IN EKITI STATE ON 25TH MAY, AND 5TH JUNE 2009.**

**EKITI REMAINS A LEGITIMATE MANDATE FOR STABILITY AND UNITY.**  
 Within the Nigerian continental context and indeed, sub-Saharan Africa, Ekiti State is doubtlessly a fountain of knowledge. However, if knowledge is a function of experience then the knowledge of the true-ness of popular democracy and civil rule is what Ekiti State, like other states in Nigeria, is learning with gradual steps. The last gubernatorial re-run election in Ekiti State lent itself as an ideological test of every citizen's knowledge that people have acquired in the journey of the democracy. Ekiti state democratic test, with result, as we have it today, is anchored on the following indices of our democracy:

**Jurisprudence of the Electoral Act, The Institution of INEC, Propaganda of the Re-run, Political Alignments, Observers in the Arena, Conduct of the Election, The Mandate.**

**JURISPRUDENCE OF THE ELECTORAL ACT.**  
 Ekiti election, no doubt, understand the duty of compliance with the Electoral Act. Coming out to vote and complying with the procedure for voting to the end. They know the candidates; they know what they want for themselves and the sought to do justice without being repugnant to national justice, equity and good conscience. The customary law of democracy is at play in this regard. Ekiti election saw the Electoral Act in the light of the realities of their lives and the contradictions prevailing against them. Consequently, they submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the Act and accepted the verdict of the electoral process in good faith.

**THE INSTITUTION OF INEC.**  
 There is no doubt that people would have divergent and convergent understanding of the institution of INEC. The common denominator, however, is the confidence in varying degrees which sufficed in every instance to make the electorate and the politicians subject themselves to the jurisdiction of INEC. Given the confidence, therefore, there is nothing wrong with INEC that cannot be corrected with what is right with it. This very abun is the source of confidence that makes the electorate and the parties able to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of INEC. Our task at once, is to nurture the confidence that people have in the INEC institution anchored on the best acts of liberal democracy. We must allow ourselves to count on deploying our human resource to manage the challenges that are inherent in a fledgling democracy.

**PROPAGANDA OF THE RE-RUN.**  
 The political arena upon which Ekiti Re-run took place steeped more to "Eve of Civil War" in 1967 than to the "Dawn of Democracy" in 1999. As yet, the descendants of King's war veterans know that the price of their liberty is eternal vigilance. Ekiti electorate were vigilant enough to know that anyone flouting the embury of war is ultimately interested in using them as cannon fodder for his own imperialist whims and caprices. What was it about Ekiti State? Did we have a humanitarian crisis like Darfur as to warrant a militia like intervention army sponsored by a political party.



In this war-like approach to the electoral battle, the AC Governorship Candidate Dr. Fayemi anchored his ambition on some battle cries such as the following:  
 "The re-run is the 'second Kaji War'."  
 "... Not a member of Ekiti alone but that of Yoruba and the international community".

Fayemi chided the PDP for taking what he called "penalty measures" by taking 4 Campaign Committee of "Foreigners" headed by Vice President Goodluck Jonathan. The AC Party ridiculed the likes of Akin Doku from Niger Delta and Chris Ngige from Anambra State. To them, these types of individuals are not foreigners because there is nothing alien and repugnant to them about stealing mandate as in the case of Ngige and declaring war on your own country as in the case of Doku. Calling the Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the number 2 Citizen, a foreigner in any part of Nigeria is a criminal contempt of the Constitution. Engineers Association challenged the people of Ekiti to fight the "invading past riggers" with everything they have, including spiritual means, in the "second Ekiti Papanjo War". (See The Nation, March 1, 2009, pg. 7)

**NATIONAL COORDINATOR, RIGHTS MONITORING GROUP AND CO-COORDINATOR, ACCREDITED OBSERVER GROUPS.**  
**MR. OLUFEMI ADEJUNO WITH AC AND PDP POLLING AGENTS AT POLLING STATION AT IDO, OSI LOCAL GOVERNMENT DURING THE GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS RE-RUN IN EKITI STATE.**

The objective of Political parties Code of Conduct is clear: No political party candidate shall during campaign resort to the use of inflammatory language, provocative actions, images, or manifestation that incites violence, hatred, contempt or intimidation against another party or candidate or any person or group of persons on grounds of ethnicity, gender or for any other reasons. Accordingly, no political party or candidate shall use any pamphlets, leaflet or other publication that contains any such incitement. (See Section 5)

If elections are, indeed, social contracts between the electorate and the political parties/politicians, then any election based on misrepresentation and undue influence through propaganda should be rejected by the people and any resulting claim should never be heeded on any judicial scale to which provocative votes could be attached.

**POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS.**  
 The greatest freedom fighter the Yoruba ever had, in the person of Chief Osofisan Adebayo, rejected confederation in 1963 and secession in 1967 in spite of the grimest parts of those fateful years, can the war philosophy in Dr. Fayemi and his henchmen be right - in this (relative Peace) than Ayo in their war mongering. Are they wiser than our brethren Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi. Those who believe in Dr. Fayemi's idea of politics and war mongering are the Hitler's of this age who dress in the garment of freedom fighting for the majority.

**CONDUCT OF THE ELECTION.**  
 Voting commenced early in majority of polling units. In several Local Government areas which complied a duration of voting time in some polling units beyond 3.00pm. Polling agents were present substantially in polling units. They expressed satisfaction with election processes. The counting of votes was open and transparent at polling units and ward level. Centre observed large number of intending voters turned up at all polling units in 100% of Local Government Areas.

**THE MANDATE.**  
 In the light of the above, it is self-evident that Ekiti has succeeded in fighting for their own freedom and restoring stability. Ekiti people have succeeded in making their state the frontier of national unity and Federalism by rejecting the sinister idea that fellow Nigerians from other parts are foreigners. They have given their mandate in spite of intimidation and terror of agents who manipulate people's mind for sake of personal aggrandizement. The road was not smooth, but they have learnt useful lessons in the cradle of democracy that will continue to guide them in determining those who are civil, tolerant, and purposeful enough to lead them to their promised land.  
 SIGNATURE

*[Signature]*  
 OLUFEMI ADEJUNO  
 NATIONAL COORDINATOR,  
 RIGHTS MONITORING GROUP AND  
 CO-COORDINATOR  
 ACCREDITED OBSERVER GROUPS FOR EKITI STATE GUBERNATORIAL RE-RUN ELECTIONS.

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 ROW. BONIFACE O. OKAFOR  
 COUNTRY DIRECTOR  
 WORLD YOUTH PEACE MOVEMENT (WYPM)  
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 PRINCE NINI OMOYELE  
 NATIONAL PRESIDENT  
 NIGERIA YOUTH ASSOCIATION

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 HERBERT PRINCE ESOCHINYERE  
 COUNTRY COORDINATOR  
 WEST AFRICAN NETWORK OF ELECTION OBSERVERS

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 REV. ONWUBUYI BREAKFORTH  
 COORDINATOR  
 GLOBAL INITIATIVE FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

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 TRANSPARENCY MOVEMENT

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 OWA KWAGIT ODEBA  
 PRESIDENT  
 INTERNATIONAL NOBLE INITIATIVE CLUB

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 DR. ISAAC OYIWE  
 COORDINATOR  
 CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT, ABUJA

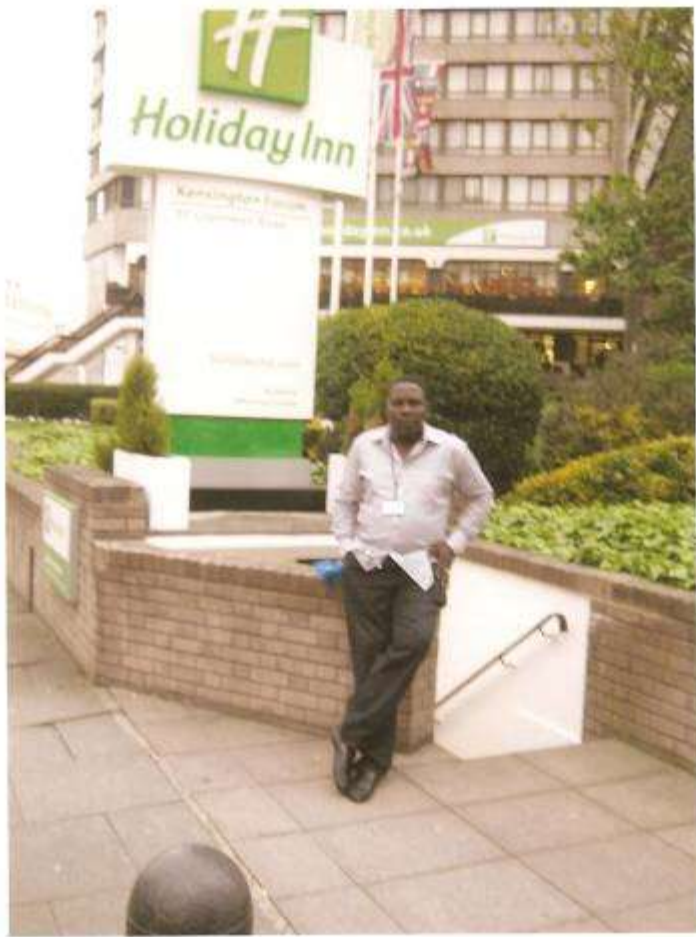
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 HEAD OF RESIDU  
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OLUFEMI ADUNGBAYO, NATIONAL COORDINATOR AND INVITED AS FOREIGN ACCREDITED OBSERVER BY UK GOVERNMENT IN THE LAST ELECTION HELD ON THE 15/02







Politics

TOWARDS 2011

Shinkafi unfolds plan for second term

ZAMFARA State Governor Allys Shinkafi has said that he would seek nomination for a second term in 2011. He called on politicians to stop politics of bitterness as the political train rolls into 2011.

The governor spoke at Omu, Ogun State, where he was recently honoured with a chieftaincy title of Gbolofesi by the monarch, Oloosu Adajogbesan Osumu.

He said the bond of fellowship extended to him by the coo, Yousu Iwe would further cement the bond of unity, understanding and harmony among the diverse tribes of Nigeria.

Shinkafi who observed his National Youth Service Corps in the South West loved the Yoruba for their sense of 'occasionalism'.

He asked Nigerians to embrace peace during the next poll by avoiding all the acts of violence that can derail democracy.

There are so many processes going on towards the 2011 elections and it is important that people should work for the peace and stability of the country. Lives and property are valuable, and they must be protected, he added.

On his second term ambition, the governor said: 'I am more than qualified for another term. My team and I started by doing things right. Within a short time, we have done a lot of significant work. We have accomplished a lot through the development of infrastructure and we have surprised what people thought we



• Shinkafi

Stories by Emmanuel Odoeun

were capable of doing. When the President visited our state recently, he commissioned some of our projects. We will do more before 2011', Shinkafi assured.

The governor also postulated on the value of true leadership, saying service to the people is the hallmark.

'When makes you a leader is not what you say, it is the service you give. Right from the onset, we had a vision to manage resources well and we can say today that our people are proud of us', he stressed.

Shinkafi who said the base of social development is tax evasion exhorted the people of the state to pay their taxes regularly so that government can provide more social amenities for them.

Ijebu Central Reps aspirant unfolds plans

A PROPERTY developer, Okeola Oluosoga, has unfolded her ambition to represent Ijebu Central Constituency, Ogun State, in the House of Representatives.

Oluosoga, a Princess of Ijebu Ode, is the daughter of Pa A-Bake Oluosoga, prominent Ijebu community leader held in high esteem by the crown of society, owing across the traditional institution, cultural associations, clergy and laity, and youth and women groups.

'I am contesting for the House of Representatives on the gladiators of the Peoples Democratic Party. Our constituency wants change and many see me as the natural answer to their clamour for quality representation. I have decided to honour the party and our people by responding to their call, and with a promise not to disappoint them', she told reporters in Ijebu, Lagos State capital, at the weekend.

Oluosoga was the Campaign and State Co-ordinator for the United Kingdom chapter of the party led by George Akromoye in 2005. She has also been a strong financial member at the grassroots.

She paid tribute to the governor, George Daniel and other party leaders for making the party an enviable platform in the Gateway State.

Oluosoga promised to attract federal members to the constituency if given the ticket, adding that she would live to expectation as a product of a home of culture.

• Oluosoga

'PDP should not jettison zoning'

THE Director of IBB Centre, Mr Francis Oghoro, has advised the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to stick to its position on the zoning of the Presidency, saying that the formula would ensure equity and fairness.

He said that it is common knowledge that the ruling party had reversed the rotational principle in the past, urging the leaders to be consistent.

Oghoro, who was guest on a television programme in Lagos, lamented that the PDP affair had become a national issue, adding that the controversy was unnecessary.

'Northerners and Southerners who are friends have become enemies because of zoning', he said.

Oghoro also called for true federalism in the interest of peaceful co-existence.

Group lauds Lagos govt over projects

A GROUP 'Northerners in Lagos', led by Alhaji Yahaya Baki Garbawa, has lauded the Action Congress (AC) government in Lagos State, saying that Governor Babatunde Fashola (SAN) had lived to expectation.

The group said that its members will vote for the governor in 2011, if

he is given nomination by the party.

'We are happy about the laudable projects executed by the governor and non-indigenes are carried along by the administration. The Hausaland in Lagos have benefited immensely from the programmes and this is why we are calling for continuity in 2011', he said.

Ohakim urged to render account

THE Alliance for Good Governance (AAGG), a partisan group within the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Imo State, has asked Governor Ikem Ohakim to render account of his stewardship to the people.

The group alleged that the enormous earnings that have accrued to the state have not been adequately channelled to the development of its ailing sectors.

The chairman of AAGG in Lagos State, Mr Isaac Udeh, told reporters that grassroots democracy had been eroded by the governor following his refusal to hold council elections.

Udeh lamented that the media hype about the achievements of the governor is inconsistent with his actual accomplishments.

Many observers perceived the conflict between the governor and the group as the continuation of the state of attrition between the Ohakim and the eroded PDP leaders over control of the party.



• Ohakim

By Emmanuel Odoeun

machinery ahead of 2011.

Udeh who rendered the account of Governor Ohakim to date said that his lack of performance had positioned the state from prosperity.

'We have watched with dismay

what has been presented to Imo people as projects and have come to the unfortunate conclusion that our people deserve a detailed account of their revenue as released from the Federation Account. Its revenue profile presently as well as project index.

'This has become imperative as our painstaking inventory tour of the state has shown a high level of underperformance by the governor', he added.

Udeh said the governor should publish in the newspapers the comprehensive account of all revenues, ecological fund, revenue from crude oil and project locations in the state and their completion dates.

'This is not a threat or political gimmick by the opponents of the governor, but a call for accountable government, a reevaluation of who we are as a people known for honesty, hardwork, intellectualism and fear of God', he added.

Igbo Coalition asks Ndigbo to support govt programmes

THE Igbo Coalition in Lagos State has called the Igbo Community to support the programmes of the Action Congress (AC) ruling government.

The group said that it would mobilise members to vote for the party in 2011 elections.

In leader, Chief Chris Ekwilo, expressed satisfaction with the achievements of Governor Babatunde Fashola (SAN), describing him as a worthy successor to Asojomo Bola Tinubu.

He spoke at a rally organised by the party in Ojo Local Government Area.

'What the governor has achieved so far in the areas of infrastructural and developmental projects cannot be over emphasised. His few years in office have transformed Lagos into a mega city.

'I want to call on all Legislators especially the 'Ndigbo' to rally their support for Fashola in his efforts to transform Lagos State. Igbo congratulate Action Congress for this feat', he added.

He said that the Igbo community in Lagos had benefited, not only from the on-going developmental projects and free medical care but also from political appointments.

Ekwilo appealed to Igbo business men and women whose structures were affected during the sanc-

By Anthonia Njaji and Amidi Arjo

tioning exercise to see it as their contribution to the developmental efforts of the governor.

Ekwilo appealed to Fashola to give more slots to Igbo in the cabinet to boost their sense of belonging.

Another chieftain of the group, Chief Chris Nwankwue, lauded the chairman of Ojo local government, Hon. Durosimi, for his progressive programmes.

He described the chairman as an achiever and a man of peace who ensured that the Igbo in the community were reunited.

'Ndigbo in Ojo Local Government Area after a thorough study of your administration and the landmark and excellent achievements recorded within the two years of your tenure, unanimously and unequivocally resolved to fully identify with you and organised this rally as a solidarity for your good works in office.

'You have redefined leadership and governance and have made the dividends of democracy to be felt in all nooks and crannies of the local government irrespective of tribe and party affiliations. Your giant strides in the road construction, construction of drainages,



• Ekwilo

erection of street lights, construction of blocks of classrooms, the payment of bursary awards to both indigene and non-indigene poverty alleviation programme are but few of your unrivalled achievements which even the worst critics cannot but applaud', he said.

The Eze Ndigbo of Ojo, Chief Jokin Okawa, also eulogized the good work of the chairman and urged him to sustain the tempo of development in the council.

Hon Durosimi promised to expedite action to complete on-going projects for the council.

Group begins voters education nationwide

THE National Co-ordinator of Rights Monitoring Group (RMG) has stressed the need to empower the youth for active participation in the electoral processes of the country through voters education.

He described voters education as 'an enterprise designed to ensure that voters are ready, willing and able to participate in elec-

By Olayinka Odoeun

toral politics'. He spoke at a one-day conference organised by the non-governmental body at the Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU), Ile-Ife.

As a critical mass of the voting population, the youth should be effectively mobilised to participate in the electoral processes at all levels of governance, Aduwo said.

This task, he said, should not be left in the hands of government agents alone. Rather, civil society organisations, including Churches, Mosques, the mass media, etc, should be adequately involved.

Aduwo said that the group would organise enlightenment programmes across the country to educate the people about voting rights.

In his goodwill message, Comrade Femi Aborade, a human rights activist, welcomed the recent changes in the leadership of elec-

toral commission.

He however, said free and fair elections in Nigeria cannot be ensured merely by a change of guard, stressing for the complete democratisation of the electoral body. He called for the prosecution of corrupt Nigerians, who are polluting the democratic political space with their ill-gotten wealth, thereby making it difficult for genuine politicians to operate effectively.

Aduwo said that there was need for a substantial reduction of the salaries and emoluments of political office holders, advocating for payment of allowances, as well as the guarantee and protection of the political, economic and cultural rights of Nigerians, without which corruption could not be stamped out. He concluded by commending the RMG for initiating a process of socio-political transformation of the country.

RMG

# 2011: Imperative of youths' participation in electoral process

At a conference held in Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, recently by Rights Monitoring Group (RMG), Nigerian youths were charged to actively participate in the electoral process towards 2011. Dare Adekanmbi was there and reports.

As the 2011 general election gathers momentum, many aspirants eyeing one position or the other have been throwing their hats into the ring. Closely dogging the announcements of intentions by the hopefuls are resurrected discussions and comments on the need to sanctify the electoral process with a view to ensuring that polls are credible and government enjoys legitimacy. One of the presidential aspirants in next year's election and former military head of state, General Ibrahim Babangida, had hinted his intention to unseat President Goodluck Jonathan through electoral contest on the paucity of capable youths that could propel the nation to prosperity. Following the avalanche of criticisms that greeted the remark, General Babangida has since recanted and said Nigerian youths are competent to lead the nation to greatness, if placed in the saddle.

Generally, apathy and indifference have been observed to characterise electioneering process and programmes in the country. To watchers of political events in the country, the pessimism stems from the do-or-die attitude of the political class, which breeds assassination, thuggery and other violent behaviours. So murky is the nation's political waters that quite a number of citizens have been distancing themselves from active participation in politics, ostensibly to avoid being tainted.

It is also lamentable that many of the youths, who should be seen as tireless liberators of the political administration of the country from its hijackers, have sold their souls to the devil for chicken feed by yielding themselves to unscrupulous politicians as instruments of maiming, wanton destruction, vote-rigging, thuggery and violence.

Against this background therefore, the efforts by a coalition of 45 civil society groups and non-governmental organisations, under the aegis of Rights Monitoring Group (RMG), geared towards voters' education and mass mobilisation of youths in the country for active involvement in the electoral process towards the 2011 elections, deserve commendation.

Setting the tone in his welcome address' the national coordinator of RMG, Comrade Olufermi Aduwo, at a one-day conference held in Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, gave the short-term objective of the programme as the need to galvanise the youth voters, while the development of a critical mass of mature and discerning voters is the long-term plan.

Aduwo, who pointed out that it was necessary for the youths of the nation to reject being used as tools of violence and thuggery in the political game, charged them to support candidate that represent the youth demography and speak to their issues in 2011 elections. He described voters' education as a crucial step in ensuring that voters effectively exercise their political will through the electoral process, stressing that questions might begin to arise

about the legitimacy of elected leaders and institutions, if voters were not motivated or prepared to participate in the process.

He contended that the youth voters had the clout and power to decide national political direction, in view of the fact that they constitute over 50 per cent of the entire voters registered by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

According to the comrade, "it is often said that the youths are the leaders of tomorrow. But in Nigeria, tomorrow never comes. Members of the old guard are not interested in leaving the scene unless they are forced out in a non-violent way."

"Unfortunately, our young people have been used as political tools by politicians for their own personal political goals. It is clear that these young people are pawns in a larger political



Attahiru Jega

bring about the desired *El-Dorado*.

"If those who have been found to have looted the treasury are not brought to justice, there is nothing that Professor Attahiru Jega can do in the INEC because the looters will continue to induce and corrupt the electoral process with their ill-gotten masses' wealth."

"Unless Nigerian youths are gainfully employed, it will be difficult for them to effect any change because the

**"Unless Nigerian youths are gainfully employed, it will be difficult for them to effect any change because the politicians will find them willing tools for perpetration of all kinds of illegalities."**

politicians will find them willing tools for perpetration of all kinds of illegalities," he said.

The chairman of the conference and director of the National Institute of Policy and Strategic

Studies, Kuru, Jos, the Plateau State capital, Professor Ahmed Danfulani enjoined participants to see the task of achieving credible polls as a joint venture, while urging the youth groups attendance to educate their peers on the need to play the role of educated men and women poised to ensure credible electoral process.

The conference, which had in attendance various youth organisations, later dissolved into sessions during which three thoroughly researched papers were expertly presented by academics. In the first paper, *Voting as Civic Duty: Ensuring the Participation of Youths in the Electoral Process in Nigeria* written and pre-

sented by Dr Efemini Andrew of the Department of Philosophy, University of Port Harcourt, the lecturer argued that youth participation in the electoral process was not only desirable but also crucial for sustaining democracy and protecting sustainable development, saying that voting should be situated in the context of building and protecting the democratisation process.

He, however, submitted that it was crucial to address the conditions and challenges such as joblessness, massive poverty, which had alienated the youths from active and constructive participation in the democratisation process.

Dr Efemini argued further that if people refused to vote, they would create social dilemmas and welcome dictatorship, since participation in the process was one way of preventing anarchy and imposition of dictatorship on the people.

To him, "there is a tendency to accept election results with insignificant participation of voters. Voters participation sometimes drops below 10 per cent and yet governments are formed based on their outcome. This is odd and dangerous for the entrenchment of genuinely democratic society. What this means is that a minority government is actually in charge where you have voters apathy of that magnitude."

While noting that voting was part of the inalienable political rights of the citizens, Dr. Efemini charged the youths to take part in the exercise as power and legitimacy of governments must devolve from the people, a development, he said had been a stopgap goal in Nigeria.

The need to consecrate the electoral process by prosecuting those found culpable of electoral offences as a way of shedding the ignominy on the country as one whose electioneering process seems eternally bewitched is the thrust of the second paper entitled: *Protecting the Sanctity of the Electoral Process in Nigeria: The Imperative of Sanctions against Electoral Offenders* written and presented by Professor Olayemi Akinwumi from Nasarawa State University, Keffi.

He noted that the country had never had credible elections, save for the 1993 elections adjudged as free and fair but not delivered to Nigerians. The professor, who said building institutions rather than personalities, was the greatest challenge in the way of credible elections, similarly accented institutional reform on constitutional frame works and electoral reform. To the academic, sanction or punishment for those subverting the process will fall into place automatically once this is done.

Professor Akinwumi suggested the upholding of Uwais committee recommendation for the establishment of Electoral Offences Commission to be headed by a retired judicial officer, who has integrity, as a way forward. He added that offenders should be banned for a number of years and a life sentence for cases classified as serious.

Comrade Aduwo, while appreciating the support of the INEC in making the conference a success, reiterated the resolve of RMG in continuous advocacy as well as opposition to corruption by the political class.

The outcome of the conference organ. led by RMG, for students and youths in the

# 'If this democracy fails, Nigerians should hold the Judiciary responsible'

Olufemi Aduwo is the Executive Director, Probity and Ethics Society, and National Coordinator, Rights Monitoring Group (RMG). During this interview, he speaks on the role the groups played during the controversial third term agenda of ex-President Olusegun Obasanjo, the 2007 general elections, as well as the rerun elections held in a number of states in the last two years. He also expresses the opinion that unlike other stakeholders in the nation's democracy, lawyers and judges have not done enough to help its course. **MUYIWA OYINLOLA**, Head, Political Desk, met him.

### Obasanjo's third term

Our group is an organization devoted to good governance, democracy and anti-corruption. We did a lot of investigation when you first handed over to the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) under Nuhu Ribicki and Robin Lantini. It was a very tough period for us. Our lives were threatened. We did the same thing with many organisations like the American Embassy and many others, trying to expose corruption and how to deal with it.

And one thing I must say here is that if you want to fight corruption successfully, the society must be able to know that security issue is a collective duty. You must engage credible people and serious organisations, all of which we see around these days.

Somebody in your 2005 or 2006, when this was still under investigation, you organised a meeting to former President Olusegun Obasanjo that he could approach the court for interpretation. That is really kind and, was that any corruption in 1999 when you were elected? I mean what law was the 1999 election conducted?

And if you go through the 1999 Constitution very well, it is possible. It is stated there that the 1999 election was conducted in compliance with the constitution to civil rule political programme, Decree 1996. That was the decree they used for the conduct of the 1999 election.

It was purely a Decree, it was not under the constitution. Again, if you go to the end of the constitution, it is stated there that the decree promulgating the 1999 constitution to law, permits for the same constitution to come into law on 29 May, 1999. Hence, the 1999 election was not conducted based on its constitution, but on the Decree.

And is between this fact, I want to see Mrs. Okonjo-Igeja's Trial. She was sacked at the Lagos University Teaching Hospital (LUTH) around February 1999, and she approached the Federal High Court that she was not given fair hearing, and the court granted her prayer. The LUTH authority appealed. And Justice Modupe and others at their judgement emphasized that the 1999 constitution is not retroactive.

In other words, what was appealed before May 29, 1999, but nothing to do with the constitution. So, as it relates to Chief Okonjo-Igeja, we were in line that even if you approach the court and it grants your prayer that you are not corrupt, you can lose all Nigerians that you're not corrupting. And so, we're talking about the thousands of officials worldwide every, every who have suddenly turned modern-day democrats to meet you up.

**Prayer project**  
It is not about having job spot for Obasanjo, I only stand by the truth. On the prayer project, I have concluded that what some people are doing is just to discredit anything that is about Obasanjo's government. Before you can call somebody a thief, you must have your facts.

What Ekeolu said the world that the money spent on power was N 10 billion. Some of Mr. President aides said it was N 10 billion, the Speaker said N 15 billion, Chief Justice Sokoto said the world was N 5 billion, and then N 1 billion will be being kept as overhead in the bank. Okay Ekeolu also said, she said that the money was N 5.5 billion, and that N 1.8 is still in the bank. They called Governor Layan Amaka, who also advised what Sokoto and Mrs. Ekeolu had said, but they were accused of lying, because

### they're Obasanjo people.

Over a year later, the President convened a panel headed by the Vice President, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan to look into the matter which also came up with N 5 billion. You can see how people can be so dishonest. And today, you see the same Ekeolu getting involved in that case, and he is still saying it's that hallowed chamber claiming to be an honourable member.

It is only in this country that you see courts that have been exposed still remaining in office. In an ideal society, somebody by now should have resigned until all investigations are completed. But he's still there as chairman of that particular power committee, that is not right.

### Rerun elections

There are many issues involved in this. Take for instance, the Ekiti State rerun election. The Appeal Court did not say they did not win. The judgement was that they had not lost to second round either than whether blue or black, I cannot remember and that to me is rubbish. The electoral law talks about an election being substantially compliant, so what has red or blue had to do with it? The result ended with the people's wish.

What Nigerians were looking at was a situation where if any of those in the opposition lose in the rerun, they would now give votes to INEC. INEC wants to win people's sympathy, it would only have come up with investigations and declare opposition winners in a few instances.

Look at the case in Cross River State, did you not look inside in court which led to the rerun there, was not in the state on the day of the election. And look at what happened, they asked Justice to cut out his document which they said they were not aware of what they gave, and rather than explain the case they awarded a rerun. But upon careful investigation, we learnt what happened was that those judges had had someone they trusted government officials did not come to witness them at the airport when they arrived the state. That was what happened, and look at its implication on the people and economy.

And to give credit to INEC, you ask yourself, how many of those who lost the rerun approached the court again and won. In Kogi State for instance, Abubakar Adams went to court based on your election issue, certificate saga, and it has been from court. In the case of Sokoto State, please go to the rerun, those who lost out, apart from the Peoples Party, Peoples Party (DPP), announced a constitutional meeting that they were meeting up with Wazirado.

In 2007 that people are talking about, the AG mentioned three reruns in the election, but a press conference in 2007, stating that the election was about here instead, they would sue for their case, Oh, and not for their party. A lot of issues got involved. So, in fact, all the reruns have been perfect and credible.

The only area I'm disturbed with is the length of time it takes to get the judgement. Two years, I would say it is too long to determine those sensitive issues. Most of those lawyers and judges were in the country when it took Obasanjo from the tribunal in Onitsha State, so I think in the Appeal, to the late Justice Fatai Williams of the Supreme Court 27 cases to the judgement in the cases of Obasanjo and Akinjo case.

**Time lag for electoral petition**  
We should do something with it so that it doesn't become an issue. What we're saying is that elections should be conducted early enough, at least seven

months before swearing-in the officials, let's have some six months interval to handle all the cases therein. But these lawyers won't allow that, they're the ones that would come up with frivolous injunctions, and when the thing is now truncated they come around to blame the INEC. And if this democracy fails, we should blame the lawyers, the bar and the bench, for the manner they have handled these things.

Take for instance the case of Ondo State. They have finished just of governorship election whereas many of those involving the House of Assembly members are still pending. What does it take? I suppose it would be easier to handle those cases than the governorship, considering the level of material that would be cross checked. So, what is the problem?

**INEC and future elections**  
It is not only about INEC, if the judiciary determines to have credible election, thousands of law cases stop Nigerians.

We talk of the success story of the Ghana and American elections. I was in the two countries as an observer. But the election body in Ghana has been there for 16 years, the chairman, the same commissioners. They have conducted elections where party A has won two times, party B has won two times. People have confidence in the system, regardless of whatever, because the two candidates in the last election accused each other of rigging. However, when there in Ghana, people were not like these. But they managed it.

Then, in our own case, even if INEC has made some mistakes, why can't we allow the system to correct itself as it has been doing? Why should we do the same law to be there for another five years?

Meanwhile, some governments who lose the state will contest again in 2011, and be returned. But when it comes to the issue of the electoral tribunal, the shock is that it should be dissolved. If you say

you should go next year, another person would come in with a fresh idea, maybe two years in the next election. It will not work. We have to be positive in our stance on what has been done. What we need to do is to have a stable system, the way the Ghanaians have done their own. You don't build a system overnight, it takes time, and that is why you're saying law should be re-appraised.

### Amnesty in military

Firstly, let's look at who are the backers of those people? I am from Bayelsa and Ondo State, and probably areas with the largest coastal area in this country. We and the Ijaw people have been fighting for a very long time. We're equally concerned with the issue of kidnapping and that the government should develop, but we have to separate criminality from the genuine desire of the people.

What you are talking is foreign of criminals. Most of these people, Arab and others are like those for some people. At a point in time, people recruited them, they go to them as a militia.

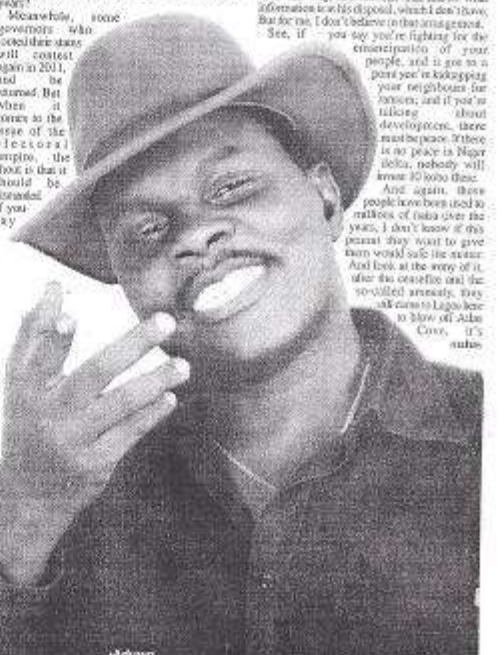
When you're standing disarmed, you can see diamonds worth N 1 billion in your pocket, but to send crude oil worth that amount of money, it's so ridiculous. There must be a ship that would knock it, and they're looking at those things over the years. Those guys they call militia, I call them criminals.

Don't know whether the amnesty would work. And, I'm not surprised that Mr. President is offering that amnesty, because it's a dangerous. Whether looking at the last instance is an aberration. But if the President chooses to do it this way, let's be the one that knows what information to be disposed, which does not have.

But for me, I don't believe in that amnesty. See, if you say you're fighting for the empowerment of your people, and it goes to a point you're kidnapping your neighbour for ransom, and if you're talking about development, there must be peace. If there is no peace in Niger Delta, nobody will invest 10 billion there.

And again, these people have been used to millions of rufus over the years, I don't know if they meant they want to give them would suit the matter. And look at the way of it, after the ceasefire and the so-called amnesty, they all came to Lagos here to blow off Africa.

Over, it's a million.



**Elections should be conducted early enough, at least seven months before swearing-in the officials, let's have some six months interval to handle all the cases therein. But these lawyers won't allow that, they're the ones that would come up with frivolous injunctions, and when the thing is now truncated they come around to blame the INEC. And if this democracy fails, we should blame the lawyers, the bar and the bench, for the manners they have handled these things.**

Aduwo... (Caption text is partially obscured and difficult to read in the image)

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- To acquaint participants with current trends, tools, methodologies and approaches in the practice of industrial relations.
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- To empower participants to adopt a strategic approach in Labour Relations management that will be complementary to business objectives.
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- To educate participants with the new guidelines on Revenue Law.
- To examine Alternative Dispute Resolution Mechanisms and Cooperative Approach to labour-management relations.
- To help participants with practical Negotiation Skills.

**CONTENT**

- Global Trends in Industrial and Labour Relations Practice
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- The Structure of Collective Bargaining in Nigeria: PAST, PRESENT and FUTURE
- Preparing for Collective Bargaining: Issues, Roles and Information Required
- The Partnership Concept and Cooperative Approach to Labour Relations Management
- The Dispute Settlement Machinery in Nigeria: A Critical Analysis and the Prospect of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) Mechanisms
- Overview of the Nigerian Labour Laws: Implications for Industrial and Labour Relations
- Strategic Management of Employees and Industrial Relations in Volatile Business Environment: Aligning Continuity and Labour Relations Issues
- The Pension Reform Act 2004: An Overview of Some Crucial Guidelines, Payments of Benefits- Procedures, Requirements and Implementation Challenges
- How Managers can Effectively Manage HR Manager: What They Need to Know
- Overview of the Nigerian Labour Laws: Implications for Industrial and Labour Relations Management, Workers and Unions: Status, Rights, Obligations and Limitations in the Workplace
- Having Your Own Leadership Skills
- Reputation's License for Labour Contractors: Implications for Service Delivery
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**DATE:** 22<sup>ND</sup> - 25<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER, 2008 **TIME:** 8:30 A.M. - 10:00P.M.

**VENUE:** HERMITAGE GARDENS RESORT, TIYE VILLAGE (NEAR AKODD) LENK, LAGOS

**COURSE FEE:** NECA MEMBERS= N88,000.00 NON-MEMBERS= N 93,000.00

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**Communique issued on governorship  
re-run election of Cross River State,  
held on the 23<sup>RD</sup> August 2008**

The Rights' Monitoring Group and Partners (a coalition of CSOs) arrived Cross River State on the 17<sup>th</sup> August 2008 to observe the pre-election activities of political parties and the election.

The Group was led to the State by the National Coordinator, Comrade Olukeni Akinbulu Adewo. The Group deployed 4000 Observers from National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS), National Council of Women Societies (NCWS), Academic Staff Union Universities (ASUU), Probity & Ethics Society (PES), Christian Associations of Nigeria (CAN), Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO), Campaign for Democracy (CD) Oyo Chapter etc. The Observers were deployed to the (5) Senatorial Districts. The conduct of the re-run election was observed by the Group in accordance with international convention on election observation as issued by the United Nations on 27<sup>th</sup> October 2005 for democratic elections. All the Observers endorsed this statement and the final report.

In this Communique the Rights' Monitoring Group (RMG) and Partners observed as follows:

- Before the election, we took notice that the degree of freedom of political parties and candidates to organize, move, assemble and express their views publicly were unrestricted by the government and security agencies.
- The Governorship re-run election of Cross River State was generally peaceful in all the three Senatorial Districts. There was no reported case of violence at all the Local Government covered by the observers.
- On the Election Day, polling started in many cases between 9:30am and 10:00am. This was due to the early rainfall in some parts of the State. Parties' agents and electoral officials were seen in all polling stations visited. There was no incidents of ballot snatching, hijacking, ballot stuffing, multiple voting and under age voting. Neither was any of the problems listed here reported to us by the parties' agents.
- Regular INEC officials deployed from Imo, Anambra, Benue and Edo States and complemented by ad-hoc staff recruited mainly from the members of the National Youth Service Corps who served as Polling Clerks.
- The Police, Civil Defence Corps, Peace Corps and DSS also provided adequate security before and during the election.

The commitment of INEC to deliver free and fair election was not in doubt. Significantly, the INEC Chairman, Prof. Maurice M. Iwu visited the State on the 18<sup>th</sup> August 2008 along with other National Commissioners and the Resident Commissioners to address the stakeholders meeting. In the attendance were parties' candidates, representatives from the Police, DSS, Civil Defence Corps, Observers and Journalists. He admonished the candidates to conduct themselves within the constitutional.

**Post-Election Observation:**

Following the announcement of the election result declared by the Resident Commissioner, it was noted that the State was generally peaceful which to us was an indication that the election was acceptable to the people.

**DECLARATION:**

Based on facts and evidence available to us, RIGHTS' MONITORING GROUP (RMG) and Partners unequivocally declared that the re-run election held on Saturday 23-August 2008 was substantially acceptable to us to be free and fair.

**SIGNED**

- Olukeni Akinbulu Adewo, National Coordinator, (RMG)
- Jerome Godwin Yon President, Akkad Alliance (NANS)
- Comrade Adu Oluwafemi, Chairman, CD Oyo State
- Comrade Bassey Adukoji, Chairman CLO, Cross River State
- Dr. A. P. Iyoban, Chairman, ASUU (Abimbola Apata University, Ondo)
- RAJA RAMATU USMAN, ex. National President, NCWS
- Deewan Victor Odoko, CWO

*These are some members of RMG.  
These are some members of RMG.*

**Politics**

# Voters apathy high in Abuja, says Aduwo

Mr. Femi Aduwo, National Coordinator of Rights Monitoring Group (RMG) is also a member of the Election Monitoring Board established by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) for the Anambra Election. He spoke on the new assignment of the body and lessons from the Anambra State elections when Assistant Editor OLAYINKA OYEBODE met him.

**G**IVEN the way the National Assembly has handled the issue of appointment which essentially is about electoral reform, do you think there will be any meaningful reform?

The National Assembly has been a real problem for us. The issue of electoral reform has been on for more than five years, now, the 76th session in and set up the United committee, we can take the good aspects of that report. Now that we are approaching the end of the government, the National Assembly is not coming up with an electoral law. And the issues they are talking about are neither here nor there. For many Nigerians, what they are concerned with is that the appointment of INEC chairman should be done by the National Judicial Council. I personally go against that. Now the National Assembly has said no to independent candidates is not new in the country, we did it in the First Republic. The issue of time means for election to be conducted at least six months before, meaning in a set an issue. Look at the case of Ajasin and Omoboriowo, nobody gave them the time frame for the case to be heard. That case went to the late Justice Ojo court, within ten days, it was decided. Omoboriowo went to the appeal court, in seven days, there was judgment. He went to the Supreme Court under the late Justice Fatayi Williams, within 27 days, judgment was delivered, that was when laws people that are created.



**Aduwo**

The report of the Electoral Monitoring Board in Anambra, of which you are a member, is not different from the position of INEC on the election. Is that not a case of saying that you were there to oversee INEC activities?

Our report focused more on all those areas where we think there were lapses. For instance, the issue of disenfranchisement of many voters. The way we saw it is not the same way many people saw it. Before the election, the media has reported it that many prospective voters had sold their cards. What politicians did in Anambra was to buy all these cards and withhold them, so that those people in the area will not be allowed to cast votes. That is why you find that in Anambra, only the old people, who have consciences, were the ones that came out to vote. All the young men were playing football, because they have already sold their cards. That does not mean that some peo-

Look at the case of Ajasin and Omoboriowo, nobody gave them the time frame for the case to be heard. That case went to the late Justice (Olakunde) Ojo court, within ten days, it was decided. Omoboriowo went to the appeal court, in seven days, there was judgment. He went to the Supreme Court under the late Justice Fatayi Williams, within 27 days, judgment was delivered!

Anambra Election, but now that you are going to monitor the PCT election, are you saying it has become permanent?

Under Section 169 of the Constitution, INEC is allowed to set up a board like that or an authority. So, it has not done anything wrong. Let me tell you what we did in Anambra. Usually the INEC office in Abuja rely only on information given to them by the REC. But this time around, the commission had the opportunity of getting information from another body. In fact, right from the field, we will call you and give him situation report. And INEC gave us enough power and facilities. So INEC now said that the board should remain and do the election of PCT. After the PCT election, we don't know what would follow. INEC is thinking along the line of having that board as a permanent feature. Having it at national, state and local levels. I think what INEC is trying to do is to bring it back to the electorate as in you are the voters and the final umpire of the election.

If the board is going to be permanent and some of you are election monitor, how does that conflict?

There is difference between observation and monitoring an election, as an observer, you only make known what you observe, as a monitor, you interfere in the process. For example, the board made it known that the REC for the state must step aside, the director of operation at the headquarters who is from Anambra must step aside. As an observer you cannot do that.

What are your observations in INEC preparations for the PCT elections?

The board will resume this week. Then we go round and this time around we want to ensure that there is an improvement. Abuja is a place where voters apathy is on the high side. In some cases over the year, Abuja only record about ten per cent of total voters. And we really want to go on voters' consciousness in the next four, five days. We will go to the rural areas and educate them on why their votes in their power and we want to ensure that the REC in Abuja display all these voters registration at a polling station, so that people can go there and confirm and if they have any complaint they speak out. We don't want to have a repeat of what happened in Anambra State in Abaja.

Capt Bolaji Ovedeji is the Chairman Progressives Platform, a political tink tank group. He spoke on the Jonathan presidency and the electoral reform in this interview with Assistant Editor OLAYINKA OYEBODE

## We should accord the constitution some respect



**Ovedeji**

**M**ANY Nigerians seem to have accepted the doctrine of necessity that brought in Acting President Jonathan, but your group is opposed to it. Why?

It is not about accepting the issue. We can't lose sight of such unconstitutional actions. We think and we were able to wriggle out of the situation, we were able to keep the military out of the equation, but now, it has done a lot of damage to our constitution. When are we going to start giving the constitution the respect it deserves. Any constitution is as good as the people wants it to be, even the American Constitution that we adopt, is not perfect, and that is why it has passed through several amendments many times. It has stood the test of time. We should have allowed the constitution to guide us out of the situation and hold us so where we are now, rather than the doctrine of necessity. That is a charge and often to the constitution itself. What I think happened was that the National Assembly and leaders of the PDP at that time wanted to accommodate Yor Adesina so they would not feel rejected, but they should have allowed the constitution to take care of that. If the constitution is not perfect, we cannot change the rule in the middle of the game. We should have allowed the constitution to take care of the situation even if it means impeaching President Yor Adesina. So that there will be precedents and we will

know that our constitution is working. Now, we did not even allow the constitution to work, and that is not right. And it is not good for our nation building and national development. We are just becoming a laughing stock everywhere we have a constitution that brought these people to power, now when it is time for us to use the same constitution to address some aspects of our national life, they suddenly realized that the constitution is not good enough to handle such matters. Isn't that strange? And it is a pity because they did not want to offend the people of somebody or just want to be nice to somebody. Another thing is the angle of the North. It is apparent the North did not want to sack their president.

But section 144 of the constitution empowers the member to decide on the president's state of health.

I think less who defied the constitution did not do a good job with that Section 144. Because they should have known that Nigerians are not that patriotic to the point that they will now sack their boss that appointed them. Because they know that when they sack him they will be out of job. We have not developed to that level where we think less of our personal gain. So, I think that section should be reviewed because an average Nigerian would like to remain in office for as long as possible and would not contemplate sacking

his boss, if it will make him lose his job. But nothing is being said about the section in the ongoing review of the constitution. I think we should do something about that section. Because it is not going to happen. How will it happen? I am the president I appointed all of you and then you will declare me incapable. And you will then lose your job?

The call to have the electoral reform reflected in the constitution has necessitated the amendment of the constitution, but judging from the amendment sections, that might not happen.

I think that the National Assembly should have towed that line of the electoral reform committee and reflected the wishes of the people as expressed through the United panel recommendations. For instance, essential piece that should be amended in the constitution is the appointment of INEC chairman, that should not be the prerogative of the president. Because he who gives the piper dictates the tune. The appointment of INEC chairman and the funding may be taken away from the Presidency. They should certainly look at it so that we can move forward and have better and credible election, look, election tribunal are still sitting three years after the election, is that how we want to continue?

POLITICS

Oshiomhole has our support, says Edo House Speaker

Differences between the Action Congress (AC) government of Governor Adams Oshiomhole of Edo State and the State Assembly have been on the airwaves. But the Assembly Speaker, Mr. Zakariyau Garuba, elected on the platform of the main opposition party in the State (Peoples Democratic Party), insists in this interview with ALEMMA-OZORUVA ALIU in Benin City that the executive gets all the support and cooperation it needs from the legislature. Strikingly, both the governor and the Speaker are from Edo North.

WHAT is your reaction to reports about a conflict-ridden relationship between the House led by you and the Edo State government? I will tell you the composition of the conflict in making policies but because one must be able to understand the motive behind every step everybody takes bearing in mind that the executive arm of government is constitutionally the AC and the PDP dominates the House. I can tell you objectively that these reports that are conflict between the House and the executive are just being put out in the press that the executive has the machinery to prosecute such erroneous belief. I have always thought that we should be able to put things right by simply identifying whether there is conflict between the House and the executive in Edo and I maintain today that the executive that has enjoyed the highest support of the legislature is Adams Oshiomhole-led executive.

I was in the House during Lady Ignatious and I have visited the House occasion. I was the speaker under Garuba. I know what we did to Garuba. We have not even reached that point. We are going to the end of a financial year, you keep referring to a disagreement in the budget which was at the beginning of a year. I have said if we were actually confronted, if only to make a point that we were partners, when the governor

was presenting the budget in February, I would have told him as you said, no longer present a budget because the constitution says the budget must be presented before the end of the preceding year.

We were there when we debated the presentation of the budget in February, only for the House to be shifted to the House which passed that budget in March. That is why honestly I see it as taking position for the AC for anybody to keep maintaining that there is conflict between the House of assembly of Edo state and the executive. I maintain that there is no such erroneous relationship between us, that it is self-inflicted and done to perpetuate the House and destroy the PDP. How about the government Universal Basic Education (UBE) programme, which seems to have been frustrated?

I don't believe we only have to keep saying it that we cannot do anything about the UBE but except the court order on us is vacated. We cannot be seen to be disregarding court orders. Let anybody accuse me of other areas of disagreements we have had with the governor. The other day I was reading a story where in performing our constitutional role, our oversight functions, somebody says we want to be amiable with the governor. He said the first time the House of Assembly is calling commissioners for hearing. We invited commissioners during Prof. Demosetona, which was eleven, a PDP one. We said that the commissioners for hearing and you will recall that it was during that hearing that we discovered that the government had kept loan government funds by one month and the House identified that the funds released within 72 hours. And the funds were a lot released to the account within six hours.

The matter was simple, the commissioners said the governor responded for a lot of projects they wanted to increase and we said that condition for part of the law for release of funds to coincide. We are all living witnesses today that some councils across the state, some that are still being kept by the government as the executive that you have to present your list of projects and that was the highlight upon which we said funds should be released during December time and those funds were released. I hear that each fresh law now being released to chairman that defected to AC and those chairman in PDP their excess credit account is still being held. If the House of Assembly once again goes tomorrow to call on the budget, somebody will say we are being confrontational whereas this is



Garuba

not the first time we will be making this issue.

You are equally aware that it was during the hearing that we discovered that there is the controversy that you expressed in the drainage around the Edo House. We questioned an all-Indec committee based on the report we got from the commissioner. But I was slow reading in the papers that it was because the governor made some statements that we are asking the commissioner to come and account for that. Let us know his thoughts regarding what happened when we confirmed the commissioner to play the top task, we said then we were going to audit them from time to time to give membership of their various activities. I will say it and records will prove me right that this committee has been lucky to have the present House of Assembly as most friendly House with the executive. We have it that the sheet about confrontation is clearly an attempt to destroy PDP. When the governor presented a list of 26 Special Advisers, those advisers appear to have been selected on the basis of their political loyalty to the governor. We have never debated any of them we

have passed all his bills into law. We confirmed his commissions for him, we have confirmed every other board except UBE for which there is no order of court restraining us confirming. How did you react to the news that the President of Nigeria is unwell and presently receiving treatment at a hospital in South Africa?

I believe anything about health is natural nobody has control over how he feels. It is the responsibility of Almighty Allah to give good health and to enable advance and I believe that nobody is a free of it. So I think all we owe the President is to pray for him, let us pray for his quick recovery so that he can face the responsibility of governance of the State. The President just has any other person to whom he can refer the National Assembly should do. I believe honestly should be determined by the Senate President even though one may look at constitution that it's always been in the press chambers. But if the Senate President sees that this news let it be at the Senate chambers. I don't think that should warrant the type of news it generated. I believed that if you have the role of a leadership, then the role is to serve the National Assembly should do. I believe honestly should be determined by the Senate President even though one may look at constitution that it's always been in the press chambers. But if the Senate President sees that this news let it be at the Senate chambers. I don't think that should warrant the type of news it generated. I believed that if you have the role of a leadership, then the role is to serve the National Assembly should do.

I think it is not correct that should have to the level it got to. The constitution is quite clear on who presides over affairs of the National Assembly at every sitting. If the constitution says the Senate President presides, I therefore mean the constitution has vested in the Senate President the responsibility of leadership of the National Assembly and I think no matter the definition you give to it, if you have the role of a leadership, then the role is to serve the National Assembly should do. I believe honestly should be determined by the Senate President even though one may look at constitution that it's always been in the press chambers. But if the Senate President sees that this news let it be at the Senate chambers. I don't think that should warrant the type of news it generated. I believed that if you have the role of a leadership, then the role is to serve the National Assembly should do.

'Politicians are the problems of elections, not INEC'

Mr. Oluwumi Akinkbolé Adedoye, National Convener of The Right Monitoring Group (RMG), a coalition of 45 non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs) spoke with

MOHAMMED ABUBAKAR in Abuja on election monitoring and electoral reforms. Excerpts:

WHAT does The Right Monitoring Group (RMG) stand for? Over our mission is the promotion of good governance, accountability and to promote participatory democracy. We partnered with the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) during the State Election and inaugurated a lot of cases, because we have an aim of probity. We had carried these cases with some confidence before the EFCC came on board. We have been partnering the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in one election observation of elections and other areas we feel we can contribute to the advancement of democratic ideals, deterring the constitution and on anything that can lead to good governance. What is the nature of your association with INEC in election monitoring and observation?

When organising an election, the role of stakeholders does not end with the electoral management body (EMBS). In one case INEC, political parties, electronic security agencies, the media and observers have roles to play. The other stakeholders, important as they are, have shortcomings but nobody wants to challenge them, the imbalance, the skewed law sets a talking agent should have a manual address, which should be registered with INEC, at the crucial level at least eight days before the election. We did a study and discrediting most parties do not comply with this provision, they don't have credible

polling agents. Secondly, most parties do not have credible monitoring, which was some of the candidates emerge. This breeds crisis, which is a reflection of the general election. The issue of money in politics is rampant. If somebody spends N100 million for a senatorial election, and then he would become dependent. Nigerian politicians don't know how to be good losers. Someone has to take the blame it could be the police or INEC. In a situation whereby agencies are fairly and elected materials are not available, INEC must be blamed. Comment on the challenge being the Commission in view of the criticisms that trailed the 2007 elections?

Since independence, no election has been conducted that people have not complained against. People condemn INEC without properly analysing that INEC conducted the election in South State where Adams Okun, lost to his former aide in a senatorial election won by the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) and in Lagos State Babatundé Faduro (SDP) of the Action Congress (AC) won. The council election that was conducted in Kogi State that was contested more than 800 families was not conducted by INEC. All the worst elections ended in chaos and complaints. Even a state were invited to conduct an election in Nigeria, as long as we have the same politicians who will not play according to the rules, we are going nowhere. In the bye election conducted by INEC in Oyo State, the Labour Party won. The same happened in Edo where the AC won the bye-election. This nobody sees the power of membership and the use of government machinery to control the people? If millions of people disapprove but say they don't want to give Nigerian credible election and the politicians say they want credible election, they will get it. If you want credible election and the politicians say they don't want it, then we can get it. If there is a by-election into any State House of Assembly or government election, people should understand that you has no power concerning who announces the results at that level. The Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC) is there, they conduct elections at the state



Adedoye

level, so when people see the role played by each stakeholder and appreciate blame to appreciate them, then we can move. How do you react to calls for Inu to be removed?

People calling for Inu's removal are not sincere. Take for example the Oyo State report. Some of the governors, especially AC governors, conspiring with Coalition of Democrats on Electoral Reform (COMER), who call them out by allowing judicial bodies in their states to appoint the electoral bodies, for the REC? Are people saying that the PDP cannot get a single constituency seat, or Lagos or that the ANPP cannot get a senatorial seat in Kaduna State? The call for the removal of Inu is misplaced. Such appointment is a constitutional matter. Inu has a fixed appointment, five years, which is renewable and I believe that if Nigeria wants to move away from these accusations and counter accusations, we should let Inu be. For instance, at the Senate recent in Kaduna, they invited the Ghanaian Electoral Commission. The 2011 Inu can get a right to make into three things: continue voter education,

experience and continue. The man has been there for nearly 18 years. He has conducted elections across all the sides of political divide have been able to win and the credibility is still there. Before John Abacha (NPP) became Ghana President, he did not have to jump from party to party. He was there conducting until one day he was. Two days to the Ghana elections, the ruling party went to court to challenge that the next election not take place, but the judge threw away the request. If it were Nigeria probably that case would continue, and election would not have held. When Inu returns conduct them, it is nobody that President Y.A. Aducci appreciate that people will not accuse without political conviction. Is either they tell you he is INEC or AC supporter. If there are mistakes, we should learn from them and move ahead. With some sincerity, we can learn and. People are advocating that we learn from Ghana but they forget that Ghanaians have made their own mistakes and learnt from them. Inu's tenure is five years in the first instance. But his country and in Ghana has spent 15 years on the job without anybody saying that he is a person. Why can't we allow Inu to continue. If Inu is any mistake they have made in the past, those mistakes will be corrected. How do you react to talk of Inu to be removed?

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What happened at the retreat you held for religious leaders recently? Before we were asked to leave from Ghana on voter education, the RMG started searching along that line in 2008. The first was held at the Christian Awakening University (CAU) in the Oyo State, while the second and third sessions were held in Abuja. We believe we need a continued voter education, and before we were asked to clarify some segments of the society; private organisations, labour and professional bodies - and we discovered that religious bodies play very critical role in the society at

times of steady credibility and transparency. We said we should go to the forums and conduct one-day conference with the national leaders of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) on the occasion of voter education. The speaker had an original strategy to transparency or litigation and anything that has to do with cheating. We wanted them to use the pulpit to talk to their members and let them know that their votes is their right and they do not need to sell it. They should impress it upon their members that if they don't have correct cards, they cannot have a say on who governs there, so they must go out there to obtain their voters' card, not only that they may be able to cast their votes according to fact details of their conscience. Even if they belong to different parties and they make the candidate in the opposition party a more credible and body to give Nigerians more credible policies and laws, they should vote for the person. In the past, some church leaders were hypocritical and have a lukewarm attitude towards politics, to the extent that some of them discouraged their members from participating in elections. But 10 years ago, I know about you churches who blessed their members not to go away leaving the election and we are saying it cannot happen, people should not stand aloof and say that they are praying for a government, they did not put a place in the first instance. People should just go and vote and make their votes count.

Recently I have been hearing from some religious leaders who said they would no longer pray for our leaders. I don't think it would be so. The most important thing for us to do is to effect a change through a non-violent method, because your vote is your power. The major dividend of democracy so far is the fact that we have had 30 years of uninterrupted democracy. I disagree when people commission make and call it dividends of democracy. If people on have the powers to vote and be voted for, it is an evidence of democracy dividends. And in December, we are meeting with Islamic leaders at National Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies (NISS), Abuja, etc.

**W**hat are your views on democracy and security in Nigeria in the last eight years that Chief Obasanjo brought to the country's affairs?

Democracy and development are two sides of the same coin. A democratic cannot be developed without respect to human rights. We can do incredibly talk of human rights today without addressing ourselves to issues of democracy. The two are inseparable. The security agencies' performance in regard to their general mandate should be assessed using the following indicators to evaluate its management: Accountability and human rights protection.

Looking at Chief Obasanjo's tenure, his political wealth, numbers of competitive democratic presidential and parliamentary elections, number of political detainees, number of judicially suspended members of the government, record of academic freedom as measured by closure of academic institutions, existence of freedom of press and speech, and expenditure on security organs as compared to Millennium Development Goals (MDG) related matters, and number of peaceful demonstrations killed by the police and operatives in the past eight years and without consequent police operations were brought before courts of justice. I am without any fear of contradiction that the intelligence security agencies under President Obasanjo scored very high marks on these indicators.

You just awarded intelligence and security agencies under Obasanjo a pass mark. How then could you rate their performance under successive administrations?

Between 1978 and 1986 internal security responsibilities in the country were divided among the Nigerian Security Organisation (NSO), a central security organisation reporting to the Head of State/President, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Nigeria Police and the Ministry of Defence. The NSO was the sole intelligence service for both domestic and international security during its ten years of existence. It was charged with the detection and prevention of any crime against the state as well as the protection of displaced materials. Human rights violations were rampant during the period of the NSO, under the Shagari regime, military security was the crux of judicial action, often in the form of military tribunals. The government not only gave the NSO special powers but also normalised military rule, which violated human rights. The military was later reconstituted as a security agency under Decree 2 of 1984, which empowered the Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters or Chief of General Staff to detain anyone suspected of being a security risk indefinitely without trial and Decree 4 which made the publication of any material considered embarrassing to any government official a punishable offence. Activities and movements of individuals were monitored by security agencies. Organised interest groups were monitored also to check the government capacity or engage in demonstrations or strikes were prohibited. Thompson and Kalubi of the Christian Union joined under the Decree. But that was not the last time the security agencies would pay the media. Under Obasanjo and his Ojo who were deposed and put on trial by security agencies under Shagari government on section charges.

When Obasanjo reported duties in 1992, one of his main arguments was the need to restore civil liberties. He observed most of the political detainees and those who were already among jail terms, like Solomon Lof, Newbold and Tom. In June 1992 he issued Decree number 19, dissolving the NSO and restructuring Nigeria's security services into three separate organisations under the office of the coordinator of National Security.

Under that arrangement the Department of State Security (DSS) became responsible for intelligence within Nigeria, the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) for foreign intelligence and counter-intelligence and the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) for military related intelligence outside and inside the country.

Many people are not aware of the existence of National Intelligence Agency.

This is because by the nature of intelligence agencies, people of operations, they are to act always behind the scenes. That is their nature.

Your assessment of the Agency, the SSS in the last eight years.

They have performed creditably well under the present leadership of Col. Kayode Adesida. They operate on a strict policy, engaging the civil society at dialogue and humanistic. The backbone of the organisation is that they go to cooperate them with other security agencies and the civil population. For instance, the case of Mr. Fashola's list that was reported by the APF and independent investigation inquiry as fairly used is a pointer to what has happened. The operations were arrested and changed to coast within 24 hours. He particularly confirmed that they were not looking for the person they were in the SSS file.

What are the views of the press freedom and the media on the information bill, which Chief Obasanjo introduced in the last eight years?

Chief Obasanjo made some observations

**Olufemi Aduwo, executive director, Probity and Ethics Society and South West Coordinator of the Civil Society Partnership for Democracy (CISPAD) in this interview with Felix Nwagwu spoke on issues of national concern, especially as regards national intelligence and human rights in the past eight years.**

The non-operation of the bill itself, he said the bill should have been titled 'Right of Information Bill'. He explained as follows: "All of the bill on the grounds that it talked about the need to withhold information, may be regarded as the face of the country. The bill when passed into law will not normally be the panacea but, the whistleblowers and other Nigerian who need their public information, but we need to be careful."

In America, the issue of secrecy laws, the Secretary of State for Defense has previously invoked "Foreign affairs advice package" which is presented on the notion that some degree of confidentiality is a requisite for effective government. Foreign service regulations prohibit disclosure to any subject except on the authorization of the Secretary. America may be the best of

opposition was designed to induce these officials to engage in various acts of corruption. Besides to monitor the names of those who fall into the trap, many did and were rewarded with prison sentences and were discharged out of office.

Remember this is Nigeria. And we expect new heads of the intelligence and Security agencies.

For consolidation and continuity sake, President Yar'Adua should allow the present DG of SSS, Col. Kayode Adesida to stay. He was brought in



**National security is everyone's business**

**-Aduwo**

freedom of speech, but a also very aggressive in requiring an act of broadly collect or inquiry that they respect person and liberty of their country. We should not forget that the preamble of our constitution says that the constitution is made for the purpose of consolidating the unity of our people. We should not assume so that the law-enforcement agencies are making and obeying us on the DSS's compliance. The manner of our nation should be paramount. The parties involved in the issue, that is, the media, security agencies and government officials should meet and talk.

How can intelligence agencies complement the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) effort in fighting corruption.

In the area of fighting corruption and all types of irregularity capable of destabilising the country, we recommend that the EFCC, SSS and other agencies be allowed to be proactive by establishing a task force with powers to conduct investigations. SSS operatives to fight the evil of corruption in the United States for instance, the FBI in 1978 created a task force to increase the level of conviction amongst high ranking government officials such as senators, congressmen and judges. The undercover

that of their family. In Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the arrest of a woman in a country anywhere in the country is known to the central administration within 24 hours through the system of communication that makes everyone his brother's keeper.

How would you rate President Obasanjo performance.

I am neither a PCP nor any other party's member. As a non-partisan citizen, I do not support any government. About Chief Obasanjo, his policy can please all the people as there will always be some who prefer the alternative option. Today, a lot of what has happened to President Obasanjo is predictable. What was the GDF in 1999 before he came into office, what is it today, what about the debt. We were a parallel nation before he came to office. Nigeria was an isolated, you know Abacha plunged the nation into a paralysed nation with the help of some people who introduced "free boys diplomacy" when they were Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

Obasanjo made a remarkable impact, both in economic and social sectors. He made a remarkable one now democratic endeavour in Nigeria is only a few years old. After a prolonged period of military rule, we have to move on in the process of building an open society out of a country that is noted for its repression, plunder. Our people ask for the children of democracy and want those delivered yesterday, even though the frustration stems was only laid at 10 am this morning for one of the four corners. So many things have to be done and urgently so the people cannot wait. The

divisions of democracy are myriad and only a few can be realized in the short-run.

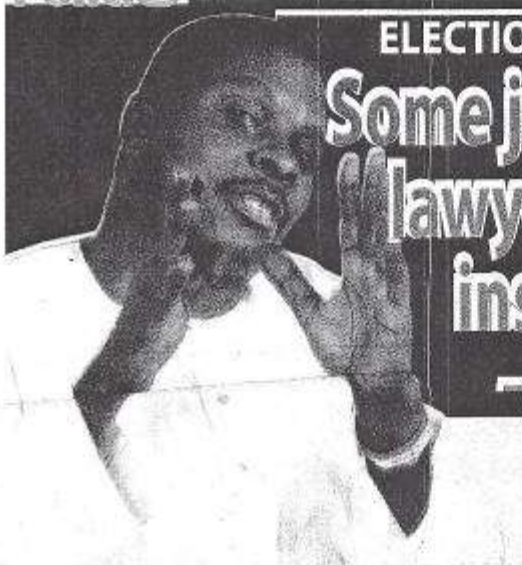
Look, if Nigeria is in crisis today, it is the leaders the people are calling upon to come and resolve. Who are the leaders of the Nation? In a situation where everybody is a master, who is everybody's master? Obasanjo today remains the father of modern Nigeria. You remember Gowon, Babangida, Shagari, Babangida, openly associated with Abacha. Obasanjo never associated with Abacha or Yousuf Council of Ministers, so suggest the formation of National Leaders Forum under his leadership for political credible resolution.

What are your views on democracy and development in the Country.

Ans: Summarized by a justified liberal will wastage of human life out of impatience of his soul. Abraham Lincoln came close to death to make some sense out of what might have motivated Americans to lay down their lives in such huge numbers. Rightly and wrongly, Abraham Lincoln felt that the whole purpose of them was that based that they were fighting for "a government of the people, by the people and for the people". That is how the popular definition of democracy came about. All else no serious attempt has been made to sort this definition in operational terms and so we do not require anybody to explain the component elements of the definition. When can we say that government is by the people, what condition must be operational in order to enable us confirm that a government is for the people? I insisted to practice that democracy is the rule of ignorance. It pays attention to quantity not to quality, votes are counted and not weighed. You saw how the under-aged and always voted for the APF in Board of SSS. You saw them on the day of election following the Buhari to the polling centre and voting for him. An active and informed citizenry necessary for an effective functioning of our constitution. The electronic must be a reasonable and reasonable public, not an indiscriminate people.

Finally, how do you think the Niger Delta crisis could be resolved.

We need peace. One of our own is now the Vice President. All of us in Nigeria have a common problem, especially the coastal areas. I don't want to be an (I am not before I accept Governorship). The FIDM/DEC matter often should be viewed to watch. The law action is a political. The constitution of 1993 must be looked into and let us address local legislation.



ELECTION TRIBUNALS:

Some judges, lawyers are insincere - Aduwo

Olufemi Aduwo, executive director of Probity and Ethics Society, a non-governmental organisation, is also the national co-ordinator of Rights Monitoring Group. In this interview with Deputy Editor **BISIRIYU OLAOYE**, Aduwo spoke on corruption, the election petitions tribunals, other political and contemporary issues. Excerpts:

Olufemi Aduwo

**WHAT** is the contribution of your organization to ensuring probity and ethics in governance in the country?

Thank you very much. It is very painful when the Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill was not passed by the National Assembly. Today, we have about 47 countries worldwide that have passed the information bill. They allow individuals to have access to the way politics, governance and government programmes and all that are being run. If they passed the Freedom of Information Bill, it will give me the liberty to ask my President, the Minister and Governor of my state, where do you get this money to build this house? If tomorrow WACC fails my son, it gives me the access to ask the WACC authorities to give me the script of my son for another examinee's name - but unfortunately, these Honourables or can we call them dishonourables, ganged up and killed the Bill. The cost of the docility of Nigerians is that they thought it is a media affair. No, it may be the media would have informed the public in 1999 that the Bill was not a media affair. It is about the generosity of Nigerians. It involved all of us. Before FOI Bill comes at all and before EFCC (Economic and Financial Crimes Commission) started at all, the Probity and Ethics Society had started war against corruption. When (Abubakar) Ribadu was the chairman of EFCC, we handled not less than 71 cases. We met Lamorde (Ibrahim) and we handled over cases to them.

The one we were very sad of was the case of one man who dodged EFCC. He lived in Santos, he went to the village and along the line, we didn't know what happened to him in Imo State, he ran mad and he died. It is very, very painful. We did a lot of cases but because of the nature, I may not be able to go into details, we have done so much in the areas of corruption, fighting corruption and leadership and all that. Most of the members of our organizations are either retired journalists, active journalists, retired policemen, and most especially, we have many people who left the NSD (National Security Organisation) now SSS (State Security Services). So, by our training and college, we know how to investigate, how to obtain information, how to process. We want more Nigerians to be involved in this kind of organization that is involved in fighting corruption.

**Looking at the President Yar'Adua administration so far, has it conformed to the probity and ethics of governance?**

We must understand the situation Yar'Adua met on the ground. Ours is a society whereby laws don't apply, that they lose. Compare our democracy with that of America, you can see what happened between Clinton and Obama. If Clinton were Nigerian, you could have seen a different scenario, he won't even be on Obama's Convention, it is either he goes there with thugs or just issue a press statement that the Convention was illegal or all that. But he went there with that intention to give a support to the candidate people want. Yar'Adua met this kind of mess. The opposition parties were so

hostile, a group of elites, so to speak, and other activists also made things hotter for this man. It was not easy for him.

What you have to understand again is that even as the President of Nigeria, the way you appoint your ministers and advisers, you consider a lot of permutations and political interests. The POP as it is so state must be the candidate. The candidate may not be the best, but that is the choice of the party. He met all sorts of mess. We must pity him and we should be a little patient with him. But people have been asking for how long must we be patient? I used to say that in the life of a nation, our democracy for a period of eight years, 10 years, is minute. But it is just a question of consistency.

You can be a good leader, but if you have bad advisers, you are going nowhere. I think the problem with Yar'Adua now is like the problem with Abba Shehu Shagari. Shagari was a good leader, so to speak. I have been to his village, he is living in his modest house, he has no house in London or any part of the world, but then, he surrounded himself with hawks in NPN (National Party of Nigeria) and they rubbished the government. The same thing is happening in this government. Yar'Adua means well, I can say it, but people that are advising him, I think many of them don't mean well for Nigeria. I think, this calls for concern.

**How do you see the anti-corruption crusade of this government?**

Any law that is effective depends on the will of the people. If Nigerians today want the rule of law, they can do it. EFCC cannot do it alone, neither ICPC nor the police. A corrupt government, a thief, a hobo, etc, is either a son or a daughter or a brother, an in-law, a father of somebody, someone, who knows? As far as information is not being given, there is nothing government agencies can do. Fighting corruption is a collective responsibility, which we want all Nigerians to get involved.

So far, so good, a lot of things had happened. People condemn Ribadu that he was selective. But I only said that if the man was selective, that means that he was selective in the midst of crooks. He never picked you and me. Nobody Ribadu charged to court that left them free. He has a case against them, the issue of being selective, I don't understand. Today, we thank God that we have started.

We are still studying (Ferdinand) Wako before we start working with him. These days, I'm tired of ICPC, newsmen names everyday that it has 32 governors that have cases to answer for. God's sake, we are tired of that. We want to see action. ICPC should pick them. I think we want to see a vibrant EFCC, KPC and Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB).

It is dangerous to hear a call of \$40 billion against a former Governor who eventually was granted prayer by the court for the release of his passport to travel when his foreign accounts have not been frozen. The judiciary must help

the matter, the lawyer must help the matter. All Nigerians must run to the occasion.

**What is your view on the judgment of the 20 election petitions tribunals so far?**

Majority of the members of the Bench and Bar are crooks. They are just crooks, real crooks. Let's take a case between (Akin) Orobatoro and Ajayi in 1983. They went to the Tribunal under Justice Oso, he gave the judgment within seven days that Ajayi won. Orobatoro appealed to the Appeal Court in Benin under Justice Idrick. Less than 10 days, the man gave judgment that Ajayi won and the case went to the Supreme Court under the late Justice Fagboh Williams. It came to a point that the man issued a press release that he was being pressurized by some bigwigs in NPN (National Party of Nigeria) and that he would call police to arrest them. The man gave judgment that Ajayi won. It took 27 days from the Tribunal to the Supreme Court. That is justice. Today, when you spend one and a half years pursuing a case, at the end of the day, you see cancellation of results and you hold another election. Instead of four-year tenure, Government election will now go up to five years, six years. I think it is a very dangerous signal to democracy. This is a problem mostly caused by the judiciary, the Bar and the bench. We are all Nigerians, all these frivolous injunctions and orders, people should not hide under these and give any kind of judgment.

Look at the case of Loyal Iroko in Cross River State. For God's sake, here is a man at the age of 21, he was the senator of the country. Everybody knows the pedigree of his father. After that, he has served in many capacities as Advisers, Ministers.

The DPP went to court challenging this man on what I can call frivolous accusations of not presenting document that has nothing to do with election result. The so-called tribunal delivered judgment that the election should be cancelled and that they should do re-run. Ten days to the re-run election, I was there but the DPP petitioner was not there, his party was not on the ground. The election went peacefully. The man is now going to spend four beautiful years. We need to be very careful the way we handle things. Iroko believed that he would win the re-run election and he needed not see anybody over anything. The tribunal did not say election was not free and fair but because of frivolous issues, that a paper was not filed. Which paper was that? People should come with reality and do what is sensible enough.

**There is an ongoing controversy over the forthcoming local government elections in Lagos State. While the Federal Government is saying that the poll should be conducted in the 20 constitutionally-recognised council areas, the state government is saying no and that it will conduct elections in 57 local governments. How do you see that?**

First of all, in any democratic government, nation or state, the Constitution is an organic law. Constitution is not the making of government, but of the people, and that is why the lawyers say any law that contravenes the Constitution, remains illegal. So, you can see the preamble of American Constitution which says "We the people of America". Also in our Constitution, but our own is fraudulent, we never set. Some people sit down with the military and give us one document: it is not a Constitution because the Constitution is made by the people. The makers of American Constitution today, see it as their own but this one (the Nigerian Constitution) is a pure Decree. They came with a lot of ambiguous clauses in their Constitution.

It is true the state can create more local governments, it can start the process - referendum, etc. - and then it will send the letter to the National Assembly for them to amend the Constitution to include the clause that will now reflect that idea. If government's Local government office goes beyond the building, a functional local government office also has the office of INEC. Independent National Electoral Commission office of the National Population Commission (NPC), office of SSS (State Security Services). Today, most of these Council Development Areas created in Lagos State, all these features are not there. Now when you discovered that that process did not end at the state level, the National Constitution has not done so to include all those former Governor Iroko did, it remains illegal and there is no court that can force the National Assembly to pass

any law. Obasanjo has applied wisdom because if Tinubu had gone ahead and established additional 37 local governments, Kano state will wake up one day and create one million local governments because of one issue - to get more allocation. The local governments Iroko created in Lagos state are not economically viable. For God's sake, it does not involve all these things of whether or not Lagos State should conduct elections in 20 local governments.

The reason they won't do that is this: All the money they are being given Tinubu said that the money was shared among those 'bro boys' officers. This, to my knowledge, is not so. That is why Obasanjo applied wisdom. If the effort was to continue doing this one, somebody else in Ondo state can wake up and say I have created one million local governments. Maybe he have to sit down and take away local governments so as not to become a constitutional matter. These local governments what are they doing in Lagos state anyway? Is it their duty to carry wastage or garbage etc. They have created an agency at the state level, their duty is to take care of the market and all that. They have that kind body at the state level. So, if local governments decide to close for one year, nobody knows the impact of local governments. To carry ordinary water now is their duty, do they do it? So, it is come up that if they conduct election in 20 local governments, the secret of looting in the state will become open. Governor Fashola, being a young man, should think twice, he is a lawyer, he knows and he understands that the process started somewhere and does not end there. He has to go and lobby. As of today, if you take any letter from those Council Development Areas to any where, it is illegal and they arrest officers.

**What specific areas do you want the National Assembly to focus on if the Constitution is to be amended today?**

I am an Ijebu man from Ondo State, a typical or core Niger Delta. The core Niger Delta is Delta, Bayelsa, Rivers State and Bays in Ondo state. The Ijebu have the largest coastal area in the federation. Go and confirm from my own area to Gabon, Cameroon, it is 45 minutes by boat. We live in the coasts and swings like my brothers in Ijebu. We want the derivation issue to be addressed. I am not asking that government should give out producing communities or states, 15 per cent, it is not possible. Resource control canvassed for by the law, I don't know what it means, I think never canvassed for 100 per cent control of their resources, neither Ijebu. But what we are saying is that the area we come from must be developed based on the Tullans Commission Report of 1988. The colonial masters put the Commission in place, they went to the swamps and came out with a report that established Niger Delta Development Board to tackle the physical development of the Niger Delta. It is not NDDC (Niger Delta Development Commission). We are talking about now, if it is NDDC, and today we discover oil in Lagos and Sokoto or Benue states, they become members of NDDC, let us have a special Commission like OMPNOC, to settle and take care of the oil communities in the states, and let the NDDC, tackle the physical development of Niger Delta. If we want to amend the Constitution, we must agree. If the National Assembly is very sincere, we can do a lot of amendments to the Constitution in so many areas like local federalism and what type of government do we want because the area we are running now is a very expensive, and we can adjust this to our own democracy.



OLUFEMI ADURU, NATIONAL COORDINATOR, RING IN THE MIDWEST SHARES HONORS WITH CHRISTIAN LEADERS DURING A CONFERENCE ORGANISED BY RING FOR CHRISTIAN LEADERS ON VOTER EDUCATION IN 2009



# A clarion call to enthrone good governance

**A**L has not been well with Nigeria since Independence. Corruption is the bane of Nigeria's development, a result of flowing oil wealth which, revenue is controlled by mostly self-serving leaders. Elections to a greater extent are rigged while unpopular candidates are forced on the people. The situation has got worse over the years, to a point that it requires urgent action by the people to reclaim their country.

Since the creation of modern public administration in the country, there have been cases of official misuse of resources for personal enrichment. Over the years, the country has seen its wealth withered with little to show in living conditions of the common man.

The late sage, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, raised a salient issue that has not been a matter of first holding the cow for the scorpion and most cunning to milk. Under those circumstances, everybody runs over everybody to make good at the expense of others.

To fight corruption, therefore, Christians have been urged to participate in the election process.

This was the focus of a seminar organised by the Rights Monitoring Group (RMG), a coalition of 45 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs/COs) Society Organisations (CSOs) established in March 2008 and devoted to promoting good governance and democracy to uphold the fundamental objectives and principles of the state policy as contained in Chapter 1 of the 1999 Constitution.

Participants of the seminar with the theme, "Christian Leaders and the Challenge of Sustaining Nigeria's Democracy Through Voter Education," charged Christian bodies to occasionally organise seminars/workshops for the general public with a view to transforming and cross fertilising ideas on the best way to achieve common good for the people and build an ordering democratic institutions.

They were challenged to engage the church to sustain the voting process in democratic environment and to change the negative electoral perceptions and attitudes toward endorsement of an enduring democracy and credible electoral system in the country.

The National Coordinator of RMG, Olufen Akintola Adenle, said that apart from government structures that accord to give knowledge to people about politics, there was the need to have civil society awareness of which the church is an important member that would act as a stand post for the mobilisation of the masses, who were largely uninitiated about political activities.

His words: "Political governance will be empty and useless if the citizens are not empowered for active participation in governance through the right to select their leaders in competitive elections and fair electoral systems."

"If the state of the population are to participate effectively in the political process, they need to be well informed in terms of what goes on in the system, institutions have to be created or established in good



Rev. Gabriel Fasanya (left), Rev. Iboh and Rev. Salifu

**Chinoma Pias**  
civics and political education in people about the political environment."

In the first lecture delivered by Rev. Moses Iboh, president, ECLECC, Kogi, who spoke on the topic, "Values and Leadership Development in Nigeria: Christian Road-map," he said democracy in Nigeria had cunningly metamorphosed into a sophisticated vile form of government known as "democracy."

This, he described as a vile government by a vile people for a people, hurting towards self-interest.

Iboh believes Nigeria is suffering from a severe dearth of honest, humane and deliberately transparent God-fearing leadership. Nigeria has the devastating misfortune of allowing up and running wicked leaders. Wicked leaders in my closest definition of word means, morally bad, mischievous, greedy, selfish, inhuman and hostile to the poor. The preponderance of religious leaders in the leadership cadre of Nigeria, he said.

According to Iboh, politics being the proper management of the affairs of humans under righteous leadership is the task of the regenerate while they walk the earth.

"It is politics of providing life and life more abundantly," he added.

According to him, a regenerate believer understands the track about truth, freedom, liberty, justice and mercy which are treasure leadership values and cardinal points for true democracy.

His words: "The polity of Nigeria is in Satan's hands and he develops and decides who leads the country, because Satan has a correct understanding of politics as the management of the affairs of humans. Satan does an evangelise, politics provides sufficient remedy for Satan to wield limitless power in a nation. Through politics, Satan rules over governments and the

control of resources and wealth of a nation. He has succeeded in doing this in Nigeria because the regenerate Christians refuse to confront him in the arena of politics and government. Our politicians and leaders are in Satan's handwagon and they play Satan's politics - politics of the world - stealing, killing and destroying. The thief comes not, not for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy."

Iboh urged Christians to wake up to the knowledge of the political strategies of Satan in Nigeria.

"Christianity in Nigeria has a lot to do in the area of leadership development. Good leadership by example is the key to positive politics and government provide effective platforms for achieving this revolution. Good leaders should be encouraged to vie for and hold powerful positions of leadership," he said.

According to him, a strong Amass enlightenment campaign should be mounted to correct the wrong teaching that regenerate Christians must keep out of partisan politics.

"Every Christian of age must be encouraged and assisted to show great interest in all political and governmental developments in and around his location. Christians must be anxious to obtain a government's voter registration card. Adults and youths should join a regenerate political party of personal choice, the slogan should be 'Politics for Christians, Christians for politics' or 'Every Christian a politician, every politician a Christian.' Every Christian must be regenerate and sees as a potential leader because he is the light of the world, the salt of the earth and the leaven and he trained in so

manifold in the polity. The church in Nigeria will decisively oppose any such form of satanic government in Nigeria and will terminate and replace it," he said.

The Secretary General, Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Rev. Samuel Salifu, who spoke on the topic, "Religion and Challenge of Development in Nigeria," said a democratic country was a nation that had a government elected by the people and "in electing a democracy is a mission or a system in which everyone is equal and has the right to vote, make decisions, while religion a belief in one or more gods."

According to him, believers have men to play in society other than the spiritual, to affect the society positively for Christ.

"Sometimes God places His people in government to minister to the needs of the godly and godly. Whether we like it or not, politics is one of the ways in which we as people depend on and relate to each other, we have responsibility for one another and for the functioning of our society."

"The gospel preaches itself as a word for the world, a word which affirms and desires to redeem all of our natural activities, therefore it is simply impossible to be a Christian and to simultaneously deny the relevance of this Christianity to political life. If we are concerned with the gospel in politics, the gospel is concerned with our political activities, Christ has redeemed our total existence, and redeeded it to God," he said.

He, however, sounded a note of warning. According to him, the church should not run into the obvious risk of secularising the gospel through compromises,

which violate the tenets of the Christian faith.

Quoting from Romans 12 vs 2, he said: "We must be firm and stand free as the brick, the word of God, should ever remain a lamp unto our feet and a light unto our path as our guide."

According to Salifu, it is an understatement to say that Nigeria is corrupt, rather the country has a group of leaders who are public robbers and clear daylight robbers of public funds.

He said the spirit of Christians like William Wilberforce, Abraham Lincoln, and Martin Luther King Jr must resurrect in Christian leaders.

"The engine room of Nigerian politics should be consisted in the hands of persons who practice what they preach and thereby instill the people's trust and faith in the electoral process," he counselled.

Rev. Yakubu Pans, Chairman, CAN, North-Central zone, who spoke on "The Dialectics of Religious Consciousness and Voter Participation in the Democratic Process: A Christian Road-Map," said the ability of a nation to survive and pursue its national interest, no matter its configuration, depended on the efficiency of measures adopted to ensure some degree of stability and a free environment through credible election and voters participation as dialectics.

"A state is secured when the aggregate of the people organised under it has a consciousness of belonging to a common sovereign political community, and enjoy equal political freedom, human rights and economic opportunities to vote and to be voted for," he said.

"To ensure the integrity of votes, he said "we must as a body be able to verify and supervise voter's register, ensure that our votes are counted and that results are openly declared at every polling centre in the full view of our electorate and the appointment of men and women of integrity into the elections process. We must have free and fair elections that will pass all tests."

**A state is secured when the aggregate of the people organised under it has a consciousness of belonging to a common sovereign political community, and enjoy equal political freedom, human rights and economic opportunities to vote and to be voted for**

A feature on the outcome Seminar organised by RMG for Athas leaders in 2009.

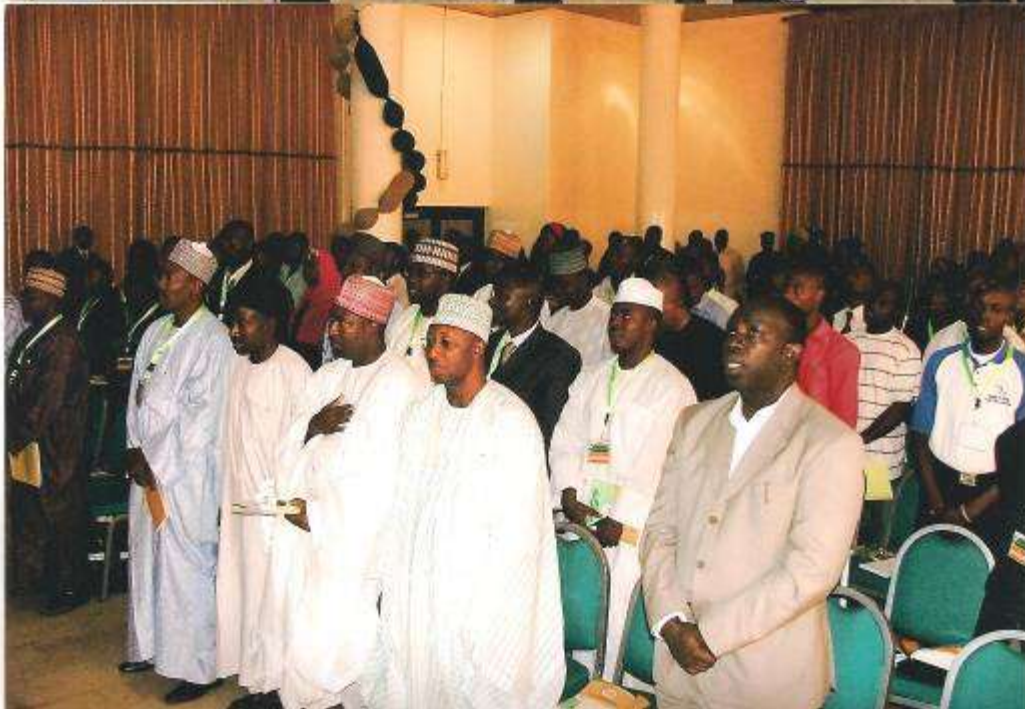


OLUFEMI AGUNDE, NATIONAL COORDINATOR RUS WITH PROF. M. MAURICE IWU, FORMER INEC CHAIRMAN AT CONFERENCE IN 2008





















**RIGHTS' MONITORING GROUP**



*Presents:*

**A ONE - DAY SEMINAR ON "PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY  
IN NIGERIA: THE CHALLENGES OF CONSTITUENCY  
DELIMITATION"**

*Venue:* ROCKVIEW HOTELS, WUSE II, ABUJA  
*Date:* 23RD OCTOBER, 2008  
*Time:* 8:00 AM

**UNDER THE DISTINGUISHED CHAIRMANSHIP OF:  
PROF. YEMISI AKINYEMIJU**  
CHAIRMAN, GOVERNING COUNCIL,  
RUFUS GIDWA POLYTECHNIC,  
OWO - ONDO STATE.

**SPECIAL GUEST OF HONOUR:  
PROF. MAURICE M. IWI**  
HON. CHAIRMAN,  
INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL  
COMMISSION (INEC).



# Honey and sleep problems

TUNDE FABUNMI

**G**OOD health demands good sleep. But are you getting enough sleep? Most adults need about seven to eight hours of sleep each night. If you don't get enough sleep, you may feel tired, irritable, and have trouble concentrating. Sleep is also vital for memory, learning, and emotional balance.

It is in the state of sleep that the body carries out necessary repair. Sleep also boosts the immune system, the body's first line of defence against infection. Sleep is also vital for memory, learning, and emotional balance.

According to William Dement, a pioneer in the field of sleep research at Stanford University, USA, "sleep seems to be the most important indicator of how long you will live." Shakespeare describes sleep as "that sweet rest of life's feast."

There are five stages in sleep and the fifth stage called rapid eye movement REM is the stage of dreaming and it is the healthiest and most restorative of life energies. People that regularly reach the fifth stage sleep deeply and awaken refreshed. But sleep without dreaming is not sound and restorative to most of the human body.

Unfortunately, many people who work long hours and have stress in their lives often do not get enough sleep. Lack of quality sleep can show signs of health problems, a condition that often precedes type 2 diabetes.

The study group led by Dr. Esther Dango of London University Medical Centre observed that over the last 10 years, the average nights sleep in Western societies has decreased, coinciding with a rise in cases of insulin resistance and type 2

diabetes.

Researchers in UK and Italy have also found that getting less than six hours sleep a night could lead to premature death. The researchers said people regularly having little sleep were 12 per cent more likely to die over a 25-year period than those who got an ideal six to eight hours sleep.

The study looked at relationships between sleep and mortality by reviewing earlier studies from UK, US and European and East Asian research. Sleep deprivation may also lead to Alzheimer's, a disease characterised by tangles of memory, according to a study of Washington University School of Medicine in St. Louis.

Inadequate sleep can cause excessive weight gain because brain interprets lack of sleep as a lack of food. While we sleep, our body wastes leptin, the hormone that normally lets our body know that we have eaten enough. But when we stay awake longer than we should, our body produces less leptin, and we feel a craving for more carbohydrates consumption, which in turn can lead to obesity.

Lack of quality sleep also causes premature aging due to slow metabolism of free radicals, which affect aging of cells and cause cancer. In a study at the University of Chicago, 11 healthy young men were allowed only four hours of sleep a day for six days.

At the end of this period, their body cells were performing like those of 64-year-olds and their blood insulin level was comparable with that of diabetes sufferers.

Deborah Sacks, a researcher at a sleep study center in San Paolo, Brazil said "if people know what is going on in a sleep-deprived body, they would think twice about continuing that sleep is a waste of time or just for the day." Other effects of inadequate or poor sleep are hypertension and increased susceptibility to cold.

In most cases, people tackle sleep problems with pills, which may induce side effects even without solving the primary problem. For instance, prolonged use of benzodiazepines (sleep pills) can cause irreversible damage to the nervous system.

But while solution to sleep problems is not always in the pill, raw honey offers lasting solution to any form of sleep problems. Raw honey is the best sleep tonic or sedative. More importantly, raw honey also improves optimal function of the brain, heart and liver, three organs that facilitate restorative and sound sleep.

Raw honey is the best food of the brain, which always takes

85 per cent of honey consumed at any point in time. Honey rebalances the nerves and it usually brings about a sound sleep. Honey also has amino acid tyrosine that increases the level of neurotransmitter serotonin, a sort of sedative in the brain. Also, honey is rich in potassium, an electrolyte, which conducts nerve impulses and helps the brain's neurotransmitters to work properly.

Honey is also rich in B vitamins, which ensure optimal brain function by delivering oxygen to the brain and protecting it from harmful oxidants. According to researchers at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA, "honey being an inducer of serotonin, a chemical that calms down the brain, it sets the stage for better relaxation and sleep."

The liver also plays critical role in the process of sleep, but its efficiency can be improved by the action of honey. Mike Melnick, a pharmacist and member of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society, said honey improves and lengthens restorative sleep by a three-pronged action on the liver.

A weakened or failing liver will deprive the brain and liver adequate blood supply and this can trigger sleep problems. But the pre-digested sugar in honey are a source of quick and concentrated energy, which the heart needs constantly to work optimally.

According to Dr. Irving F. Berk, MD, "the rapid assimilation of fructose sugars, which honey contains makes it a desirable source of quick energy, a practical food and at the same time, an effective heart stimulant." Honey also improves blood circulation through the coronary arteries by causing the veins to expand.

Besides its positive effects on the organs that govern sleep, honey can also be used to relieve asthma, stress and hypertension that often trigger sleep problems. Stress is a common cause of insomnia, but a study of the University of Waikato in New Zealand found that diet sweetened with honey reduced stress and improved memory.

Honey also contains calcium and potassium, two minerals that are critical to having normal blood pressure and sound sleep. But know that bees do not sleep. They work round the clock to make honey and other hive products which are indispensable to sound and restorative sleep.

Dr. Fabunmi, the founder CEO Bee Conservation Project, lives in Lagos and writes in his [fabunmi@bpcnigeria.com](mailto:fabunmi@bpcnigeria.com)

# Letter to Gen Ibrahim Babangida

OLUFEMI ADUWO

**G**ENERAL, my impression of you when I met you only 1985 at the NWOZA military academy held at the Officers Mess, Oshana, Lagos, was that of a professional and patriotic soldier, considering the role you played during the Demba led coup in 1976. As a young recruit then, I had a lot of respect for you. By 1985, when you betrayed Babani and Abacha, and you took over government from the duo.

Like the father's chest, Nigeria swung to another set of military leaders. In your reaction to Babani regime, you stated that the Babani regime was overthrown because of unbridled action and aggression. To quote you, "Maj-Gen. Babani was too rigid and uncompromising in his attitude to issues of national significance." A close look at the above statement would suggest a conscious effort of personality clash.

You actually chose a pseudo-populist path, abrogating the abrogation Decree # that gagged the press, and presided human rights. These actually won you a stable measure of public support. Later however, our country saw any form of popular support for your administration because of your dutiful handling of the issue of political detainees and the issue of Nigeria's membership of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation.

The April 1990 coup against you and your government by Major General Abacha, turned out to be one of the bloodiest in Nigeria's coup-riddled history. In fact, I witnessed the battle of General Abacha to Obasanjo's role between the Oba group and your loyalist General before the Oba coup, there had been widespread public disaffection about the manipulations of the transition programme.

Early in 1990, you promised a return to civil rule in 1993. By 1987, you shifted the 'end year' of transition by two years leading speculation that you were plotting to succeed yourself or risk a civil death since you, your regime's style of government, became personalised and corrupt. You regularly doled out money and other gifts to military officers, traditional rulers, potential opponents, as well as every day discourse 'settlements'.

The practice whereby the government sets out critical persons and groups and issues then generates language become the major pillar of your government. For example, you made huge financial donations to Nigeria Bar Association, Nigeria Union of Journalists, Performing Artists, Association of Nigerian Artists, and other groups. You regularly doled out money and other gifts to military officers, traditional rulers, potential opponents, as well as every day discourse 'settlements'.

You implemented policies that aimed to curb about the possible Islamisation of the country. In October 1986, you named Nigeria's 200th in UK from observer to full membership, thereby making Islam a state religion. The diminishing impartiality of your government reinforced the antagonistic and uncooperating stance of religious groups all over the country.

Open Christian-Muslim conflict was a regular occurrence. General, the Oba coup was staged against the backdrop. The fact that the soldiers believed to have staged the coup on behalf of a section of the government showed the depth of the crisis you created through reckless policies. Oba, who announced the coup, randomly described your government style as being dictatorial, corrupt, drug baronish, full of evil men, selfish, hypocritically-contrived, prideful and unprincipled.

They underlined your ambition to install

yourself as life president, and criticised the creation of the National Guard. Babani confirmed some years later that a very high-ranking military officer in his government was under investigation for drug and other related matters, shortly before he was overthrown. These grave issues raised by Oba constitute part of what analysts have described as the National question. My good friend, your aide-camp, Col. IB Bello, died in the coup crisis and you personally escaped death. In the coup trials that followed, 69 officers were executed.

Your transition programme, which attracted so much criticism ultimately turned out to be a sham, and more than Babani was hated by the government. Not only did you shift the transition date on three different occasions, you made a mess of the democratisation project, when you decided to annul the presidential election of June 12, 1993, won by Babangida (BJ), Abacha. The election was widely reported to be the fairest and best in Nigeria's electoral history.

The crisis that followed the presidential election was not over on Aug. 26, 1993. But before you left, you staged another coup against the people of Nigeria. Instead of a democratically elected government, the new Nigerian got was an assembly of your appointees known as Interim National Government, headed by the chairman of your Transitional Council, Chief Ernest Shonekan.

General, in my subsequent letter, I shall take on your economic policies, human rights records and more importantly the death of Uncle Dada Oba, and many more. General, leadership must generate and sustain trust. The trust factor is the social glue that binds a nation together and committed. General, Abacha, Ibrahim Tinubu, Awolowo, Nyerere etc. manifested a number of qualities that established trust.

As a self-declared ex-general and political

Madness, the PEOPLE of this great country, Nigeria find it very difficult to trust you again with affairs of this nation. The people of Nigeria are full of heroes who cannot for themselves roles of glorious valour, which they played at decisive moments. These leaders would continue to live in the hearts of men and women the likes of the great Babani. The pages of history are written with leaders who had every opportunity to engrave their names on bill boards of gold, but ended up as mere historical footnotes.

General, with all signs of insanity, you will agree with me that you fall within the category, General, great leaders and heroes are in innumerable numbers in our country today, when we have one man of ambition and will come forward who will take the leadership mantle of the nation. The trouble with some of these self-declared leaders and the billions without adequate resources is that a high amount of ignorant citizens being misled as a covert cause, rather in say that reality has gone to the dogs. The order of the day is money, kill me that would have been understood why some people who are after your pocket are denouncing that you are the favoured president since 2010.

Democracy will only survive liberty and development when the leaders are men of vision, because without vision, democracy will mean a chaotic mess. Martin Luther King Jr. said, "The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in times of comfort and convenience, but where he stands in moments of conflict and controversy." The PEOPLE are in the deadline. The people have been silent in the past. This statement that, "to fight but very legitimately the illegitimacy in our land and reduce our opponents to well-orchestrated political enemies, social ineffectives and social parasites." The battle line is drawn, 2010 is the deadline. If they have anything to best at all, it will only be the show-off.

Mr. Adun, the National Coordinator, Alpha Monitoring Group, writes in his [adun@alphagroup.com](mailto:adun@alphagroup.com)

My letter to IBB, on why he cannot  
C on't let any elections again in  
Nigeria



**RIGHTS' MONITORING GROUP**  
(A Coalition of CSO's) 

7, Omolale Iku Omola Street, Cement B/Stop,  
Dopemu, Lagos. Fax +234-1-4971014  
☎ 0703 627 6797, 0806 072 3477, 0703 5950 388

ID. No: 001

Name: **Olufemi Aduwo**

Rank: National Coordinator

Signature: 



*This is the property of*

 **RIGHTS' MONITORING GROUP**

If found, please return to the overleaf address  
or the nearest police station

  
Chairman Board of Trustees  
Prof. Ola Adeyemi

Issued: 19/05/08



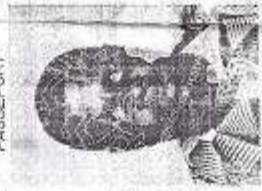
A 00643901

These are to request in the name of the Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, all those whom it may concern to allow the bearer to pass freely without let or hindrance and to afford him or her every assistance and protection of which he or she may stand in need.



FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

PASSPORT  
PASSEPORT



Type / Type: P  
Country Code / Code du pays: NGA  
Passport No. / No. du passeport: A00643901

Surname / Nom: ADUWO

Given Name / Prénoms: OLUFEMI SAMSON

Nationality / Nationalité: NIGERIAN

Date of Birth / Date de naissance: 04 OCT / OCT 63

Sex / Sexe: M  
Place of Birth / Lieu de naissance: ERINJE

Date of Issue / Date de délivrance: 13 OCT / OCT 08

Date of Expiry / Date d'expiration: 12 OCT / OCT 13

Passport No. / No. du passeport

Issued At / Délivré à: ABUJA HQRS

*Olufemi Samson*

PLEASE BRING YOUR PASSPORT WITH YOU

Please bring your passport

LL to 22 Lagos

TEMPERATURE PERSONAL  
7-105/10  
COLLECTION DATE

Time 10-4pm















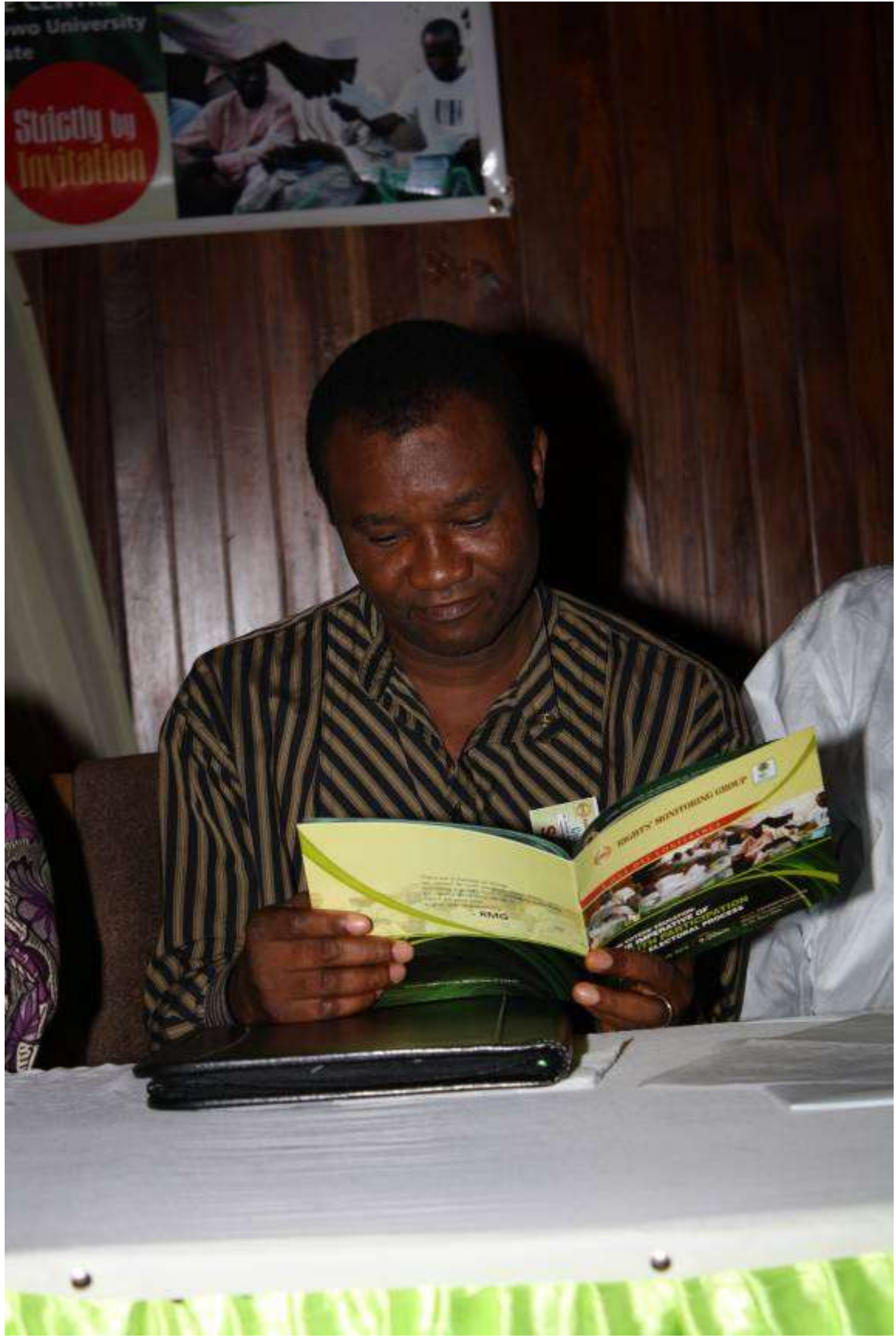
ONE DAY CONFERENCE ON  
DATE: Wednesday 21st July, 2010  
TIME: 9:00am  
VENUE: CONFERENCE CENTRE, Federal Alabulawa University, Oyo State

Special Guest of Honour  
Professor Yemisi Akinyemi  
Obafemi Awolowo University

Strictly by  
Invitation













VOTERS' EDUCATION:  
THE IMPERATIVE OF  
YOUTH PARTICIPATION  
IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

Special Guest of Honor  
Professor Yemisi Akin  
Obafemi Awolowo University





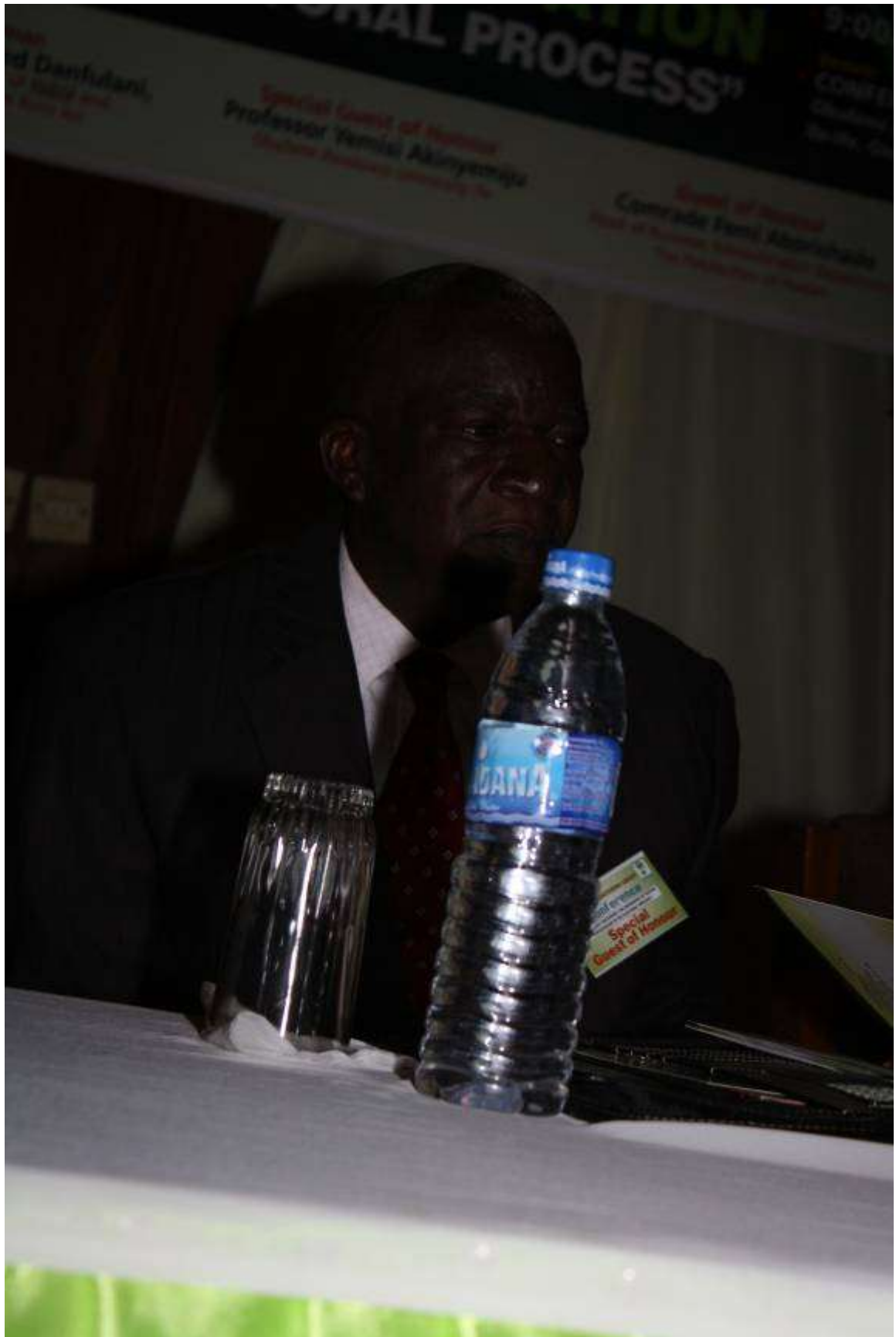


































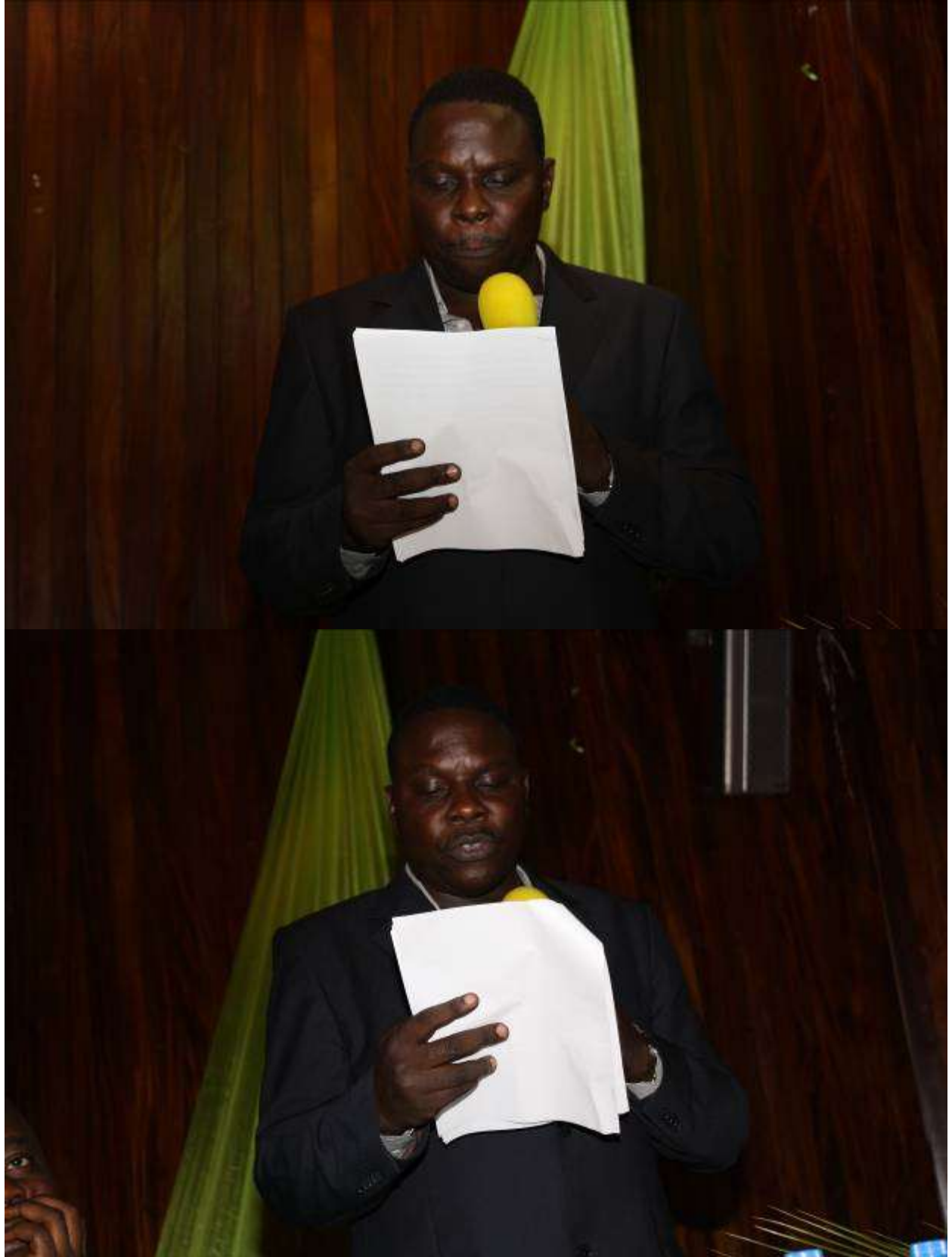


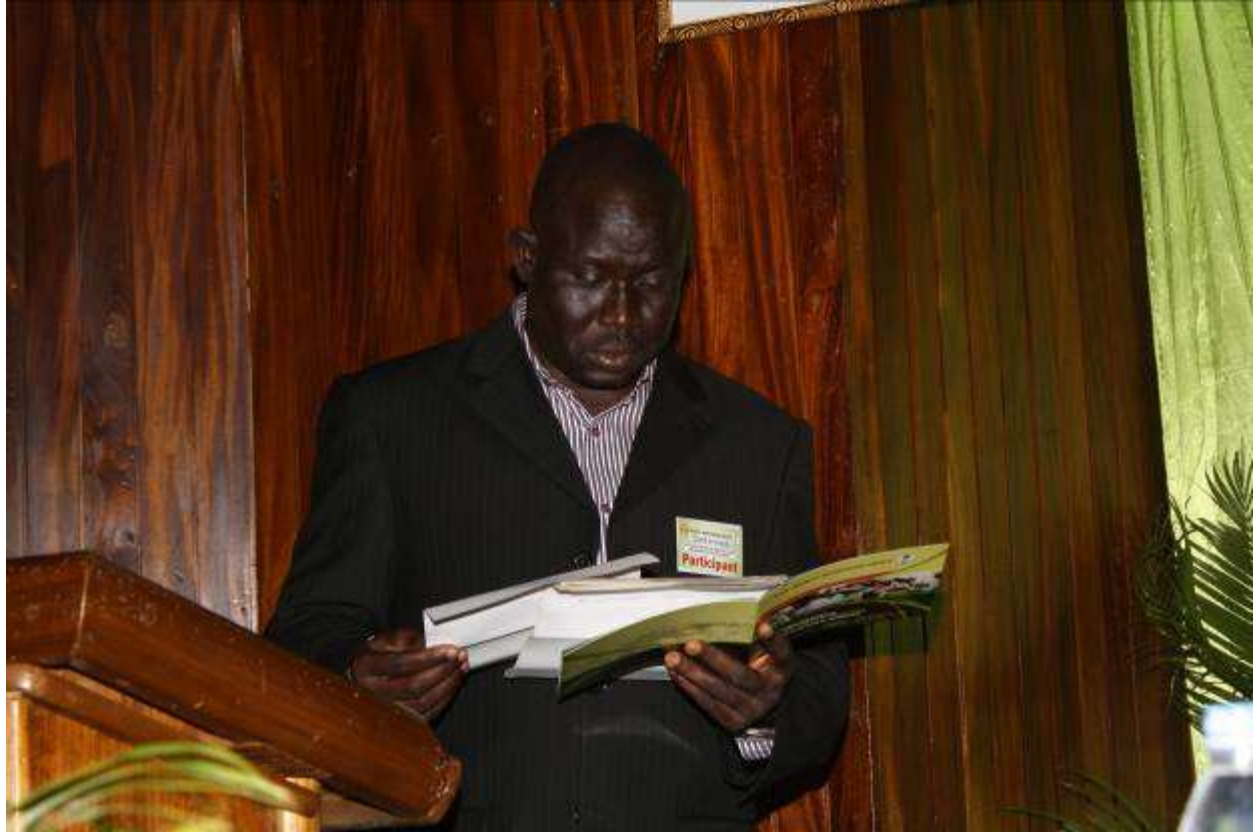


























**RIGHTS' MONITORING GROUP**  
PRESENTS  
**A - ONE DAY CONFERENCE**

**VOTERS' EDUCATION  
THE IMPERATIVE FOR  
YOUTH PARTICIPATION  
IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS**

Date: Wednesday  
21st July,  
Time: 9:00am  
Venue: CONFERENCE  
Obafemi Awolowo  
Ile-Ife, Osun

Chairman  
Professor Ahmed Danfulani  
National Institute of Policy and  
Strategic Studies (NIPSS)

Abiodun  
Oshin





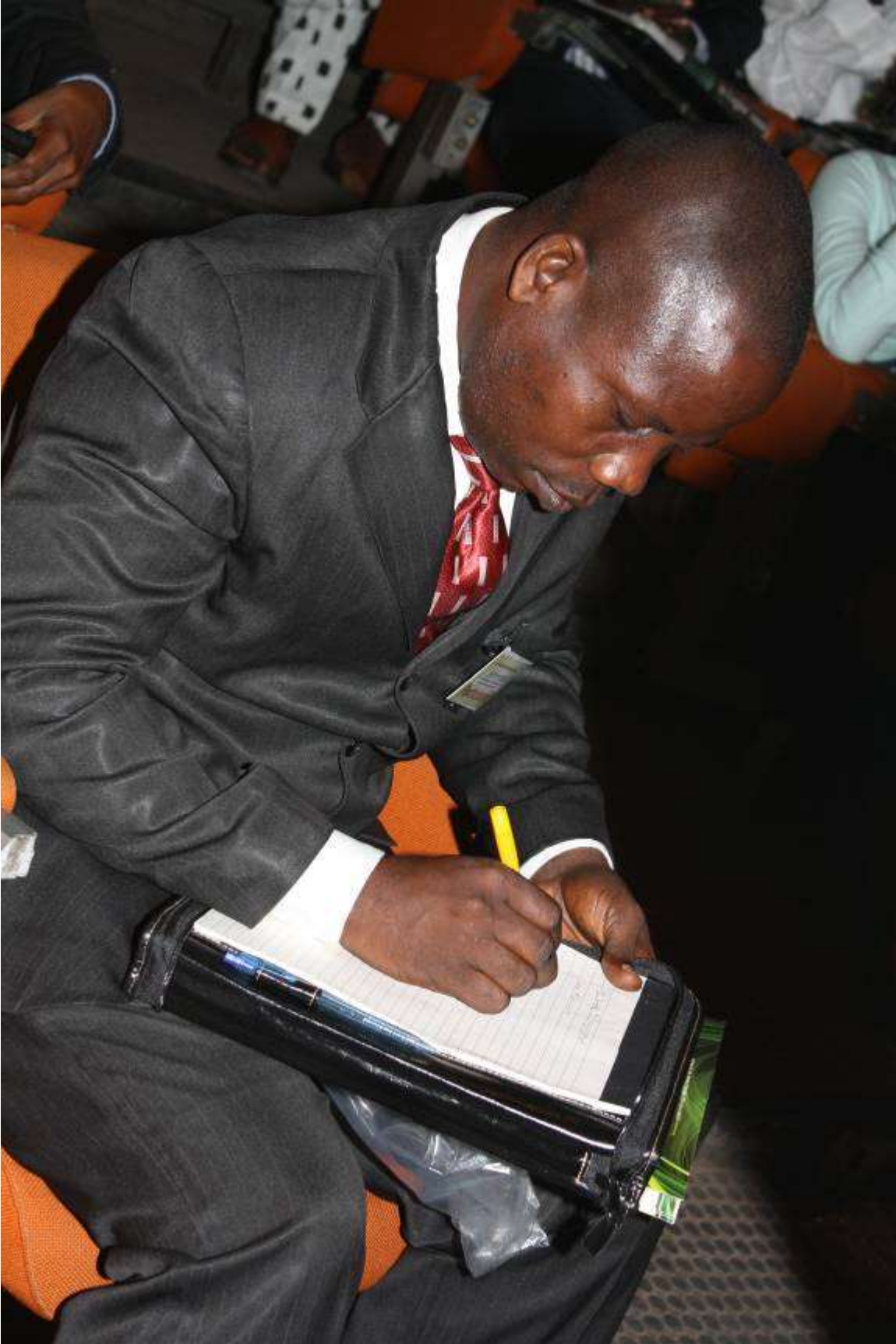


















































































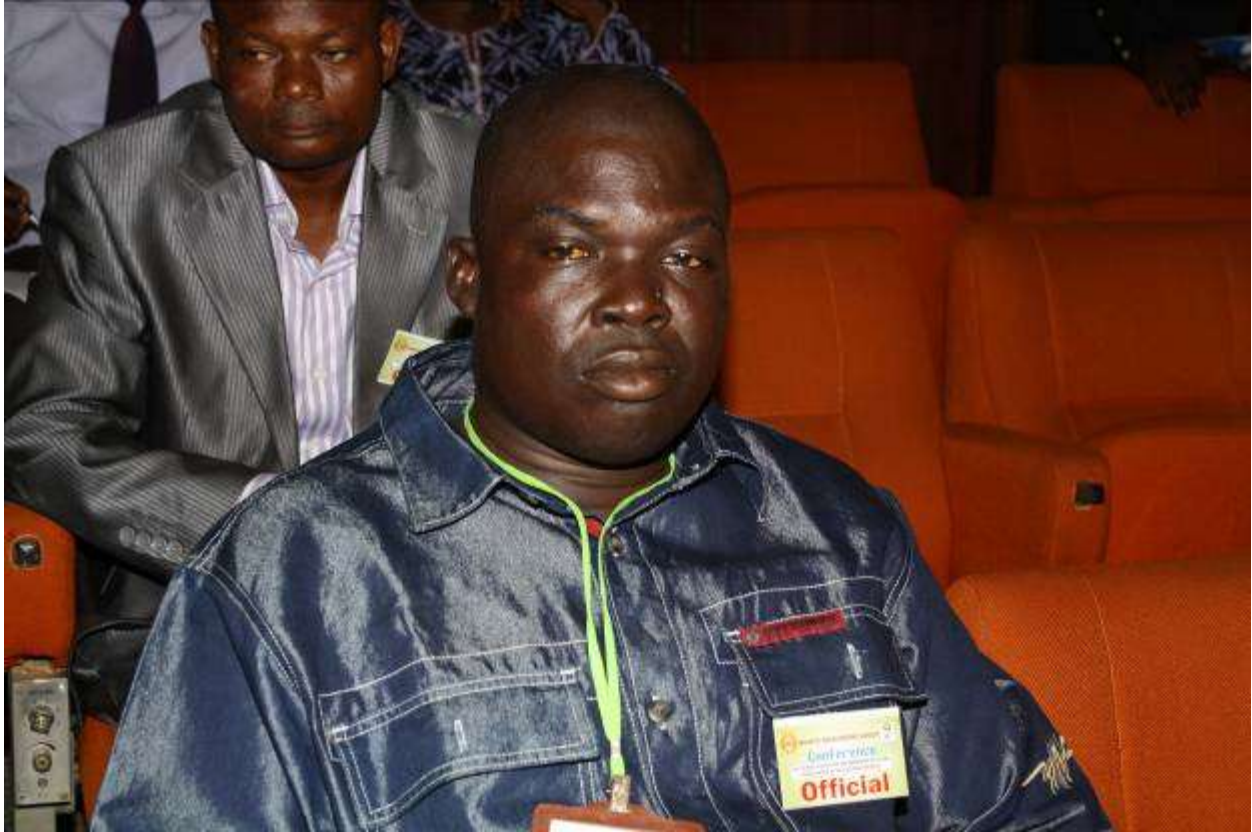












































































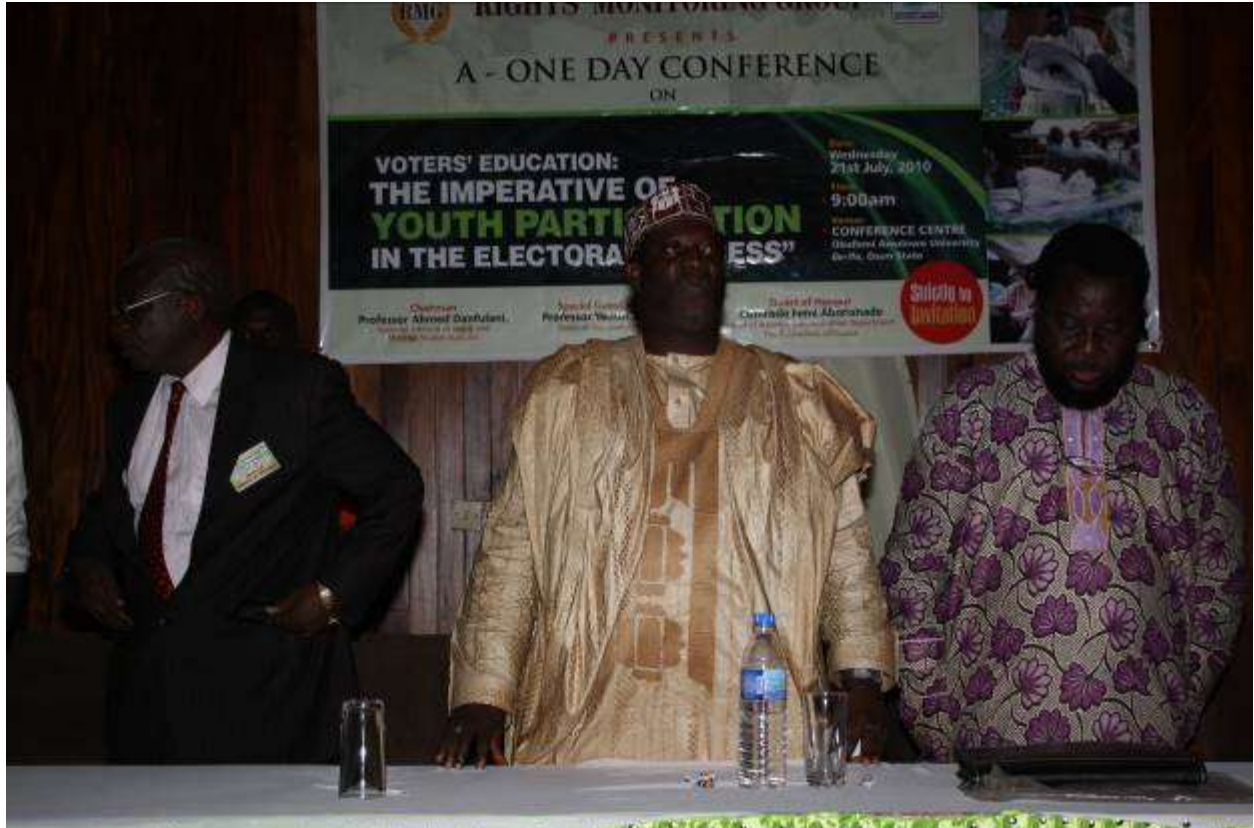














































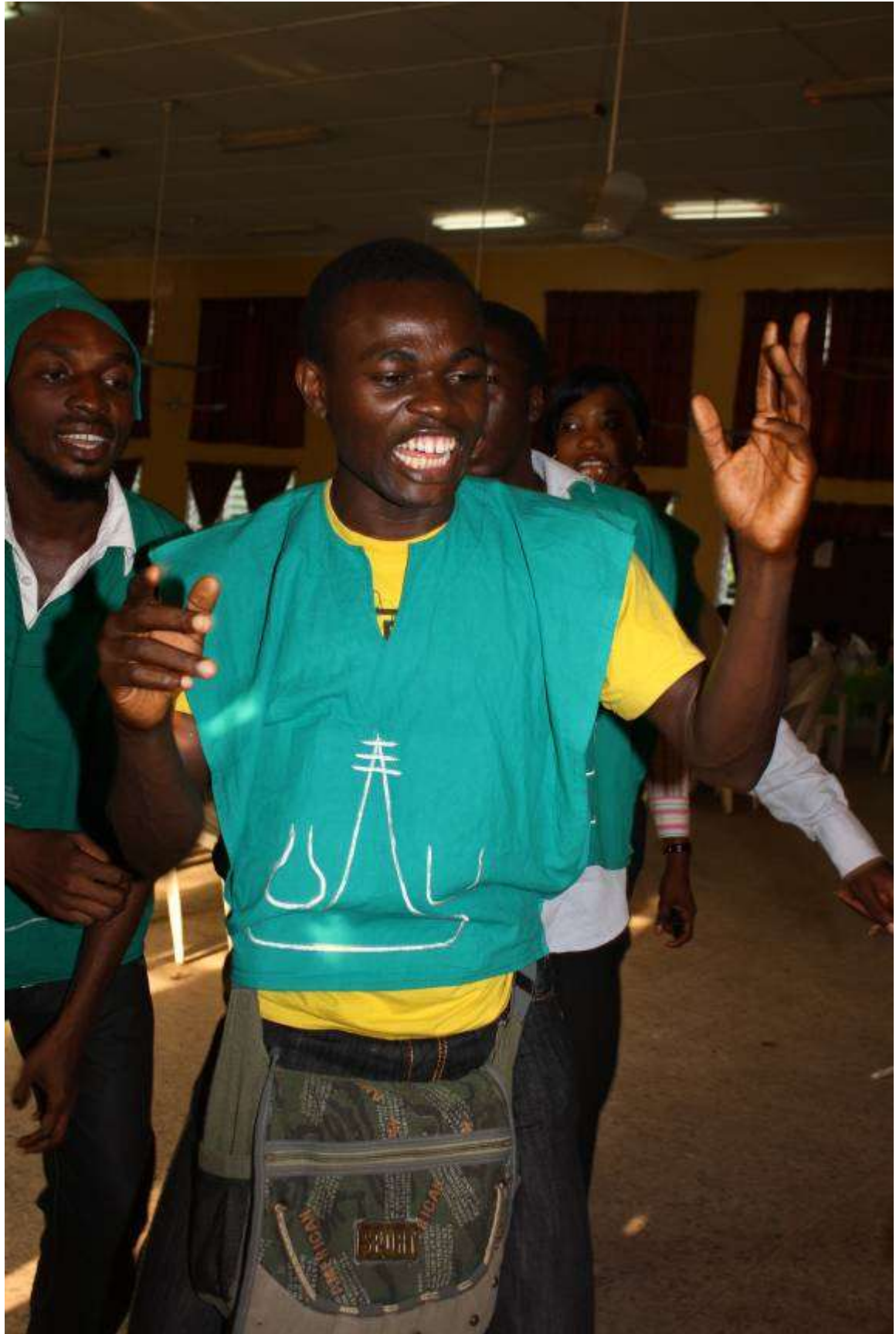










































# Appreciation

The entire family of Olufemi Akinbule Aduwo, National Coordinator, Rights Monitoring Group, wishes to express appreciation to those who stood, mourned with us and shared in our moment of grief especially those who personally attended the burial, paid condolence or sent in their words of solace comfort and prayers for the family.

While it is not possible to mention the names of all those that commiserated with us, it is worthy to mention few, among who are:

1. His Excellency, Engr. Segun Ori, Executive Governor of Ekiti State.
2. His Excellency, Alhaji Sulé Lamido, Executive Governor of Jigawa State.
3. Mr. Chimeria Umo Ezzeke (Jnr), Special Adviser on Civil Societies matters to the President.
4. Prof. Maurice M. Jusu, KSM, Immediate past Chairman, INEC.
5. Prince Solomon Seyebi, National Commissioner INEC.
6. Barni, Jimeh Ibrahim OFR, Chairman Air Nigeria.
7. Otunba Sunday Babatundé Oyojin, Mayegun of Ifoleland.
8. Hajja Ramatu Bala Usman, National President/ Council of Women Societies (NCWS).
9. Chief Fayoyemi Adewale Adeniyi and Kugbo worldwide.
10. Mr. David Asamo, SIA to the INEC, Chairman.
11. Prof. Temisi Akinyemi, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife
12. Comrade Feri Akifikhade, Head of Business Management Department, Ibadan Polytechnic, Ibadan.
13. Comrade Umar Fanni, Transparency Movement, Abuja
14. Comrade Ishaqul Eruibani President, Transitional Monitoring Group (TMG)
15. Comrade Ayedole Abela.
16. Mr. Alapoyina Moses Abo Ope, Hon. Resident Electoral Commissioner, INEC, Lagos State.
17. Pastor & Mrs. Meralayo, RCCG, Radiant Parish, GRA, Ikeja.
18. Members of RCCG, Radiant Parish, GRA, Ikeja.
19. Members of RCCG, Parishes, Ode Erinje, Okiipupa LGA, Ondo State.
20. The United Zionist Musicians Association.
21. The Priests and Members C & S Ajah, Church of Zion, Erinje
22. Chief (Dr) Mike Ezekhona, SAN.
23. Friends from Media.
24. London Hotel
25. Hon. Lawen Ayadi, former Leader, House of Assembly, Oki Ondo State.
26. Mr. & Mrs Opojuwa Ayodi.
27. Hon. (Dr. & Mrs) Dapo Iwabi, Chairman & Chairlady Okiipupa Local Government Council.
28. The Kuye Family from Ikoya, Okiipupa LGA.
29. Engr. Samuel Salisu, Secretary General Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN).
30. Chief Ebenezer Babatope, OFR.
31. Hon. Ayebola Obagbami, Member, Ondo State House of Assembly.
32. TPL Jones Lurogho, Deputy Director, Ondo State Ministry of Physical Planning.
33. Col. Bello Fadila Rod.
34. Chairman and Members, INEC, Observation and Monitoring Board.
35. Prof. Ahmed Pantelen, former, Director General, NPSS, Kuru.
36. Rev. Yakubu Pam, Chairman North/Central Zone, CAN
37. Monsignor Livinus Ukah.
38. His Royal Majesty, Oba Orinban Akinlolu II, Orungbenuwa of Erinje Kingdom.
39. Mr. A.A. Oyemiyi, (SP) DPO, Depensi Police Division, Lagos State.
40. Mr. Bode Ojajue, "CSP Admin." Lagos State Police Command.
41. Comrade Amilolu Smith.
42. Students from Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife Ife
43. INEC, Directors and Members of Staff.
44. Friends at GTB and SKYE Banks Lagos and Kuru Branches.
45. Friends from Santos Estate Akoverinjo, Lagos State.
46. Mr. Jide Adeshinwo, Federal High Court, Ikeja.
47. Mr. & Mrs Christopher Fata Awosika
48. Dr. Dayin Odobowale, University of Ibadan.

*May God Almighty Reward all of you abundantly, Amen.*

Signed,  
**OLUFEMI SAMSON AKINBULE ADUWO**  
National Coordinator, Rights Monitoring Group.



**Mrs. Olayinka Adekemi  
Akinbule Aduwo**

**Born on the 3rd October 1969 - 6th May 2010**

**Died on the 6th May, 2010**

**Buried on the 21st May 2010**

## I WILL ALWAYS LOVE YOU.

Yippee, what happen? You arranged for my journey to London on the 5/5/2010 and we spoke on the 6/5/2010 on phone at 4pm and later you sent text message. I called your telephone number at exactly 11pm that night and there was no respond. My wife that was exactly the time you left me alone. To Love and then to part is the greatest sorrow of one's heart, though time may wipe out many things but some will remain forever.

Your meekness, gentleness, kindness, and those happy times, when we were together will continue to ring bell in my heart.

I shed tears that you were gone and I smile because I knew you live on. I am happy for tomorrow because of yesterday. Continue to sleep on till we meet to part no more, but until then my wife, my love, Yippee - GOODNIGHT.





## THE PRESIDENCY

### OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT ON RELATIONS WITH CIVIL SOCIETY

6th Floor, 1.12 Block C, Federal Secretariat Complex  
Phase II, Bullitt Building, Shehu Shagari Way, Abuja. ☎: 09-8724747

SARCSO/GC/15/Vol.1/185

14<sup>th</sup> May, 2010

**Chief Olufemi Aduwo**  
National Coordinator  
Rights Monitoring Group  
N0. 7 Ikuomola Sreet  
Behind Conoil Cement Bus Stop  
Dopemu, Lagos.

#### CODOLENCE

On behalf of my family and the Civil Society Community in Nigeria, I wish to convey my heart felt sympathy on the demise of your wife, Mrs. O. Aduwo. I received the news of her death with shock.

However, in very difficult times like this, one will have no alternative than to look up to the Lord who gives and takes life and also take solace in the fact that death is not the end but rather the beginning of real life.

Please accept our sincere sympathy as we join many of your friends and well wishers in praying that the good Lord gives you the fortitude to bear this irreparable loss.

Once again accept our sympathy.

**Chineme E. Ume-Ezeoke**  
*Special Adviser to the President.*