

**Expectations of Personality Cult on Democratic Governance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic:
The Case of President Muhammadu Buhari (Part II)**

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Abstract

In politics, force of personality of those into it is consequential. In Nigeria's long historical trajectory, the personality cult images of the likes of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Sir Amadu Bello, etc., are incontestable. General Muhammadu Buhari's brief stay as Nigeria's military head of state between 1983-1985 endeared him to many Nigerians. Expectedly, many Nigerians desire to see Muhammadu Buhari as president of Nigeria. A sort of personality cult was, thus, built around him. Little wonder, when Buhari unsuccessfully contested Nigeria's presidential elections between 1999-2011, the wish of some Nigerians to have him as president became more compelling. Luckily, General Buhari became president of Nigeria in 2015. But, has President Buhari's force of personality impacted on his administration of Nigeria since 2015? Has President Buhari transferred his huge personality cult unto his presidency since 2015? Is it Eldorado for Nigerians under President Buhari after almost eight years in office? The paper cautions Nigerians to look beyond the personality cult of would-be-leaders because indeed governance speaks louder. The paper concludes that whereas President Buhari's personality cult is incontestable, it did not impact on his administration.

Keywords: Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari, Force of Personality, Fourth Republic

Introduction

The force of personality among Nigeria's founding fathers, such as Sir Ahmadu Bello, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo was never in doubt (Otegbeye, 1991). Likewise, the force of personality of General Muhammadu Buhari was simply incontestable. Thus, it was the innate desire of most Nigerians to see General Muhammadu Buhari become the president of Nigeria to showcase his person of a rare force of personality. After several failed attempts between 1999-2011, General Buhari was elected president of Nigeria following his landslide victory in the 2015 General Elections under the party platform of the All Progressives Congress (APC). Following this landmark electoral victory, Nigerians hoped and expected General Buhari to bring his huge personality cult image to bear on his administration; at least to positively impact on Nigerians whose economic wellbeing under successive People's Democratic Party's (PDP) presidents was generally considered deplorable.

President Buhari is into the second tenure of his two-term presidency; yet Nigerians have not seen President Buhari's force of personality come to bear in his governance of Nigeria since the 2015 General Elections. This was the major concern in Part I of the same paper. Consequence upon the enormity of the issues that confronted and still confronting the administration of the President Muhammadu Buhari, it became imperative to do a sequel.

Thus, this paper is Part II of the same paper earlier published in the *Fuwukari Journal of Politics and Development*, Vol. 5, No.1 (July) 2021. It was the overriding conclusion of Part I of the paper that President Buhari's huge force of personality never came to bear on his administration; implying that governance speaks louder. Given this realization, this part further assesses the impact of President Buhari's force of personality on his administration; however, with the same conclusion that his force of personality did not after all come to bear on his administration since 2015 when he became Nigeria's president.

President Buhari's Administration and His Personality Cult Image

President Muhammadu Buhari, following his landslide victory in the 2015 General Elections was accorded heroic praise, a huge welcome and unparalleled expectations. President Buhari's administration is into its last days in office and Nigerians should be pondering if they regretted if Buhari did not become president in the first place. This section assesses President Buhari's force of personality vis-à-vis the administration's handling of the challenges that is confronting it:

a. The Judiciary under President Buhari

The state of the judiciary in Nigeria under the Muhammadu Buhari presidency has come under scholarly investigations (Okeke, & Idike, 2017; Nwabueze, 2018). There are worries that the judiciary as a distinct arm of government is under threat and this manifest in several fronts. The 1999 Constitution explicitly stated in Section 7(1) that "the appointment of a person to the office of Chief Justice of Nigeria (CJN) shall be made by the President on the recommendation of the National Judicial Council (NJC) subject to confirmation of such appointment by the Senate". This provision has been accorded varying respects under the President Buhari administration. Whereas this provision was not followed in the removal of the erstwhile Chief Justice of Nigeria (CJN), Justice Walter Onnoghen and in the appointment of Justice Ibrahim Tanko Muhammad. While this dishonor lasted, many feared that these actions are ominous signs of a return to a

military styled dictatorship (Adekoya, 2019); a trend confirmed by the former CJN Justice Ibrahim Tanko Muhammad, when he said:

In my respectful view, the National Judicial Council has no role to play in the appointment of an acting Chief Justice of Nigeria in the first instance, that is to say on first appointment. The council comes in where the appointment as the acting CJN is to be renewed or extended. I humbly refer to Section 231(4) of the 1999 Constitution. (Onyekwere, et al, 2019, para: 4)

However, in the recent appointment of Justice Olukayode Ariwoola as CJN, due diligence was followed with constitutional requirements dully adhered to.

In fighting corruption, under the President Buhari administration, the sanctity of the prescriptions of the rule of law and separation of powers has been denigrated. In a bid to gather evidence of corruption, the President Buhari administration through the Department of State Security (DSS) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) often forcefully gained entry into the houses of judges by such unholy hours as 2 am which ordinarily disparaged the judiciary in which these personnel represent (Akinkuotu, 2022). In a related development, the President Buhari administration on the occasion of the Opening of the 2019 All Nigeria Judges' Conference of Superior Courts clamored for specialized courts to facilitate the speedy dispensation of cases bordering on criminal matters under the auspices of the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), National Agency for the Prohibition Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), etc. (Onochie, 2019). This represents an indirect attempt by the administration to stampede the workings of the judiciary.

Worried by such developments, Paul Usoro, former president of the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) noted that there is need to ensure a stable mental and physical disposition of judges if justice is to be achieved. He lamented that in recent times, even high government officials blame the judiciary for all the ills of society. He further noted that decisions of judges are cavalierly treated and in other times audacious attempts are made to teleguide the decisions of courts; which in the overall impair the independence of the judiciary. He concluded that the needs of society are only guaranteed when the actions of judges are free from interference even when cases from government departments are involved (Okakwu, 2019).

In relating with sister arms of government, it was expected that the president's huge personality would come to bear in his capacity as the chief executive and commander-in-chief of the country. Instead of being seen as coordinates, the executive under President Buhari has been overbearing on judiciary arm of government. However, the demystified image of President Buhari did not come to bear on inter-organ relations since 2015 when the administration assumed governance. The CJN, Justice Ibrahim Tanko Muhammad recently resigned from office advancing health reasons amidst allegations of corruption brought against him by fourteen of his colleague justices of the supreme court (Anaba, et al, 2022). Given the impromptu and controversial circumstances of the CJN's exit from office, there were calls on President Buhari to institute a panel to investigate the outgone CJN (Iroanusi, 2022). In fact, it was an opportunity the president missed to showcase his integrity.

b. Policy Summersaults

When there are wide gaps between what was said and what is being done, distrust ensues (Kpargoi, 2016). There are obvious inconsistencies in the APC's modus operandi as an opposition party founded in 2013 and the APC as a ruling party since 2015. The following two developments suffice. First, the ruling APC government came to power through the backdrop of a progressive minded party and in the light of that it immensely deployed and profited from the social media. The APC's turn to the social media was instigated by the then prevailing circumstances the party was faced with. For example, government-controlled and even private owned media houses in Nigeria 2014 were not favourable to the course of the APC and Alhaji Lai Mohammed (now honourable Minister of Information and Culture) as opposition spokesperson in 2014 was reportedly harassed by the Department of State Security (DSS) and even accused of 'loitering'. Following these events, the social media was his and the APC's best alternative. However, in government, Mr. Lai Mohammed is resolute in seeing through a couple of anti-hate speech laws intended to gag free speech.

To actualise this agenda, the APC-dominated Senate initiated legislative measures to curtail social media freedom in the country. Expectedly, therefore, two distinguished APC senators from Niger State are each sponsoring separate bills that portend danger for freedom of expression in Nigeria. Senator Aliyu Sabi Abdullahi, Deputy Chief Whip of the Senate, is sponsoring the National Commission for the Prohibition of Hate Speech Bill (NCPHSB) intending to insulate government officials from criticism and to compel unquestioned acceptance of President Buhari's mystified image. Senator Mohammed Sani Musa, representing Niger East Senatorial District, is sponsoring the Protection from Internet Falsehood and Manipulations Bill 2019 (PIFMB) otherwise referred to as the Anti-Social-Media-Bill.

The intentions behind the two bills call for concern; especially from a political party that claims progressive leanings. This is definitely an attempt by the APC administration to remove the ladder that enabled it to climb to ASO Rock, the seat of power in Nigeria, so that others would not use it. Though the President Buhari government through a press release disassociated itself from the two bills (Nairaland Forum, 2015), the body language of the administration was not abhorrent of the two social media bills even as later actions of the government resulted in the indefinite suspension of twitter in the country that lasted for eight months from 5 June 2021 to 13 January 2022 (Princewill & Busari, 2021).

If reminiscences are ethical here, it may be recalled that former President Goodluck Jonathan said he was the most abused president ever in Nigeria and that it remains a privilege Nigerians would earnestly cherish in the future. Worried, Nigerians are asking: Hate speech vs hate act/silence which is worst? While not condoning hate speech, Nigerians are requesting the President Buhari-led APC administration to deal with the herdsmen killings of entire families and sacking whole communities, acts that represent hate acts than hate speech. The administration is also often mute (act of hate silence) in condemning herdsmen killings; though with messages of condolences that are far in between.

Second, the President Buhari-led APC is Janus-faced in its strategy for election security; especially in the deployment of the military for election purposes. A brief caveat is vital here. The debate on the competency or otherwise of the president of Nigeria to deploy the military for electoral security purposes during elections dates back to the commencement of the Fourth

Republic (since 1999). For example, in *Yussuf vs. Obasanjo* (2005) the judgment of the Court of Appeal held that:

it is up to the police to protect our nascent democracy and not the military, otherwise the democracy might be wittingly or unwittingly militarised. This is not what the citizenry bargained for in wresting power from the military in 1999. Conscious step or steps should be taken to civilianise the polity to ensure the survival and sustenance of democracy. (Adebowale, 2019, para: 8)

However, while the above judicial pronouncement subsists, the subject of military deployment in elections gained ascendancy under the APC as the following instances suffice. First, the APC as opposition party in 2014 was adamant in pressurising President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan from deploying the military for electoral security purposes. To bring home their demands, the APC in a suit filed on its behalf by Femi Gbajabiamila of the House of Representatives representing Surulere Federal Constituency 2 (now Speaker of the House of Representatives) approached a Federal High Court in Lagos State for an injunction to restrain President Goodluck E. Jonathan from deploying military personnel for the 9 August 2014 Osun State governorship election on the grounds that the 1999 Constitution did not make provision for the deployment of armed military to any state for the purpose of elections (News Express, 2014; Ezeamalu, 2015; Kuponiyi, 2015). In his judgment, Justice Ibrahim Buba declares:

The armed forces have no role in elections... The time has come for us to establish the culture of democratic rule in the country and to start to do the right thing particularly when it has to do with dealing with the electoral process which is one of the pillars of democracy... we should by all means try to keep armed personnel and military from being a part and parcel of the electoral process. (Ezeamalu, 2015, para: 3-6)

Second, the APC simultaneously approached the Federal High Court Sokoto which it received judgment on 29 January 2015 by Justice R. M. Aikawa and the Court of Appeal, Abuja on 16 February 2015 (i.e., prior to the 2015 presidential election that was held on 28 March 2015); both of which the APC sought after a declaration to stop President Goodluck E. Jonathan from deploying the military for election security on allegations and evidence that the military prevented free movement, free access and intimidation of voters in Osun, Ekiti and Anambra States' elections. The accompanying judicial pronouncements to these appeals by the APC were resounding.

Justice Rilwan, on his part, declared that President Jonathan lacks the power to deploy soldiers for electoral security and for the Federal Government to do so, it must have taken recourse to the National Assembly, which would enact such law. In the suit relating to the Ekiti State Governorship Election appeal, Justice Abdul Aboki declared on 16 February 2015:

...even the President of Nigeria has no powers to call on the Nigerian Armed Forces and to unleash them on peaceful citizens, who are exercising their franchise to elect their leaders... Whoever unleashed soldiers on Ekiti State disturbed the peace of the election on June 21, 2014; acted in flagrant breach of the Constitution and flouted the provisions of the Electoral Act, which required an enabling environment

by civil authorities in the conduct of elections. (Kuponiyi, 2015, para: 18-20)

Interestingly, while these judgments were coming in their numbers in favour of the APC, General Muhammadu Buhari warned President Goodluck Jonathan against further deployment of soldiers to cities and towns during elections (Kuponiyi, 2015).

However, the APC as a ruling party since 2015 has flouted all the judicial pronouncements it got in its favour as an opposition party. The President Buhari-led APC deployed over 10,000 armed military personnel for both Osun and Ekiti States gubernatorial elections two days to the conduct of the elections (Chukwu, 2019; Adebowale, 2019). President Buhari since assuming office in 2015 and particularly in the 2019 General Elections has continuously deployed the military for election security purposes (Adebowale, 2019).

But the constitution is unambiguous on this subject. Section 218 of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) stated that “(1) the powers of the President as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federation shall include power to determine the operational use of the armed forces of the Federation. (2) The President may, by directions in writing and subject to such conditions as he think fit, delegate to any member of the armed forces of the Federation his powers relating to the operational use of the Armed Forces of the Federation” (FGN, 1999).

Going by the aforementioned provisions of the 1999 Constitution on the deployment of the military, it is apposite to state that the judiciary as an independent arm of government has not fared well at all going by the direction of its pronouncements. Moreover, the deployment of soldiers for election purposes is not peculiar to Nigeria as it is the practice in South Africa in 1994, Bangladesh, and Latvia (Ikeji, 2015). The judiciary may as well, like most sections of Nigerians, become gullible and vulnerable to the false hopes that were raised by the APC through the “Change Mantra” in 2015.

Perhaps, the tenacity of such past developments compelled el-Rufai (2016, p. 2) to say “in very blunt terms, Mr. President, our APC administration has not only failed to manage expectations of a populace that expected overnight ‘change’ but has failed to deliver even mundane matters of governance...overall the feeling even among our supporters today is that the APC government is not doing well”. Thus, going by the abysmal in-office performance of the APC juxtaposed with the force of personality of President Buhari as incorrigible coupled with the highfalutin campaign promises of the APC, it would have been better for President Buhari to have honoured his tearful pledge not to contest for the presidency when he lost to Dr. Goodluck Jonathan in 2011 (Anele, 2018).

c. Religious Intolerance

The administration of President Muhammadu Buhari was in 2015 ushered into office with religiously motivated reckless killings (Sampson, 2012). The murder of Deaconess Eunice Olawale Elisha of the Divine Touch Paris of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), who was murdered while on an early morning preaching around the pipeline area of Kubwa, a satellite town in Abuja on 9 July 2016 (Jannah, 2016). Whereas the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has left the mysterious murder unresolved (Kolawole, 2016), it was considered to have been religiously motivated (Sahara-Reporters, 2016). Rather than abating, religiously motivated killings have instead escalated with impunity under the watch of the APC (Onapajo, 2016).

The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), so worried presented a gruesome account of Christian killings, including the beheading of Rev. Lawan Andini in Michika Local Government Area of Adamawa State because he refused to be converted to Islam. Also, Rev. Denis Bagauri was gunned down in his residence in Mayo Belwa, Adamawa State because of his Christian faith. And not forgetting the beheading of eleven Christians in Maiduguri, Borno State, by Islamic State West Africa on Christmas Day. Ayokunle Samson (2020) in his capacity as the president of the CAN noted that those culpable for religiously motivated killings are in rampage asking motorists to say their religion. In the process, those who say they are Christians irrespective of their status are either killed or abducted for ransom purposes. He concluded by saying Christians has since become endangered species in their land.

President Buhari (2015a, p. 4) at the 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly held in New York 28 September 2015 unequivocally stated that "...one of our major aims is to rescue the Chibok girls alive and unharmed. We are working round the clock to ensure their safety and eventual reunion with their families. Chibok girls are constantly on our minds and in our souls". The President Buhari administration is into its eight-year yet all Chibok girls are not 'recovered' and reunited with their families. Worse still, while the administration was yet to 'recover' all the kidnapped Chibok girls, 109 Dapchi school girls in Yobe State were kidnapped on 19 February 2018. The administration made frantic efforts to recover 106 Dapchi girls but left behind Leah Sharibu, the only Christian girl who refused to convert to Islam (Anele, 2018). It has been over three years since the Dapchi school kidnap incident with no concern for Leah Sharibu's education by her abductors. Leah Sharibu is said to have been married out and has even given birth to a child while in captivity. Leah Shuaibu's continued captivity when her Muslim counterparts had since been released remains a sour one in the annals of the President Buhari's administration. The ease with which the Dapchi kidnap saga was resolved was, however, to bolster Buhari's soaring messianic reputation and electability in the then fast approaching 2019 presidential election (Anele, 2018).

The tenacity of such trends under President Buhari's watch have since attracted scathing remarks. Ele (2018, p. 13) noted that while the three major religions in Nigeria are Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion, the country would celebrate inclusivity and a sort of beauty of strength where the different faiths coexist peacefully. However, if there is intolerance among the different faiths, then religious terrorism becomes the unnecessary consequence. Though Nigeria remains a secular state by the provisions of the 1999 Constitution, religion has played a fundamental role in the course of governance (Akpanika, 2017). Thus, interreligious intolerance in Nigeria is traceable to the integration of religion and politics in Nigeria's governance style.

d. Brazen Partisanship of Security Operatives and INEC Personnel

In his reaction to the 1983 presidential election of the defunct Second Republic (1979-1983), General Muhammadu Buhari qualified the then general elections at all levels as shamelessly rigged and the ensued governments as an imposition on Nigerians (Olagunju, et al, 1993). President Buhari in his Chatham House, London, speech equally promised to deliver quality elections and guarantee basic human rights. He noted further that the sanctity of a democracy is marked by the quality of elections which is intended to enthrone democratic consolidation. He

quickly admitted that “though many African countries now hold regular elections, very few of them have consolidated the practice of democracy” (Buhari, 2015a, p. 3).

Whereas the foregoing aspirations of President Buhari are definitely sacrosanct to any democracy; however, elections under the APC’s watch in mostly opposition states like Ekiti and Rivers States are conducted in a highly militarized atmosphere where security agencies openly assault opposition candidates (Birch, & Muchlinski, 2017; Vergee, et al, 2018). For example, in one of Ekiti State gubernatorial elections Mr. Ayodele Peter Fayose, then sitting governor, was denied his security aids days to the governorship election. Ayo Fayose raised alarm of how he was held incommunicado, if not hostage while the election lasted thereby denying him of his fundamental right of free movement. The then governor went ahead to show on national televisions in the country photo clips of how he was brutalized by security agencies.

Political watchers in Nigeria say such brazen display of brutality by security agencies is rather a display of partisanship where corrupt politicians have possibly infiltrated the ranks of security agencies (Badmus, 2017). The enormity of such partisanship by security forces is that in the 2019 General Elections, 626 Nigerians lost their lives whereas 106 Nigerians died in the 2015 General Elections (Sanni, 2019). The ratio of deaths, which is skewed against the 2019 General Elections, is worrisome in that the 2019 General Elections were conducted under the APC as a government with a solemn promise to do things differently and under a president widely acclaimed with a huge force of personality.

More so, the INEC characteristically, has ever remained partisan to the ruling government and party. The ruling APC government by dint of recent electioneering processes in state elections has become a beneficiary of INEC’s glaring inconsistencies. For example, the INEC declared the governorship election in Osun State as inconclusive, while it had hitherto declared the election in Lokoja/Kogi Federal Constituency conclusive on similar circumstances. Expectedly, these inconsistencies have elicited reactions. First, Mr. Momoh Jimoh Adiza, the Kogi State chairman of the Nigerian Union of Journalists, wondered the criteria the INEC adopted in declaring the Osun State election inconclusive whereas declaring the Lokoja/Kogi Federal Constituency election conclusive (Obahopo, 2018). Second, Idris Miliki Abdul, the Executive Director of Conscience for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution (CHRCCR), Kogi State, asked the INEC to explain the glaring inconsistencies in declaring the Osun State governorship election inconclusive and that of Lokoja/Kogi Federal Constituency conclusive (Obahopo, 2019).

The ruling APC government choose not to interfere but rather allow INEC to remain independent as its name falsely connotes because the APC remains the beneficiary of these lopsided electoral incidents.

e. Disrespect for Federal Character Principle

Section 4(1b) of the Federal Character Commission Act CAP F7 LFN 2004 stated that the Federal Character Commission (FCC) must monitor, promote and enforce compliance with the federal character principle by ensuring that each region of the country is fairly represented at all levels of government (Adamolekun, et al, 1991; Okeke, 2019; Maduagwu, 2019). However, under the President Buhari administration, the political map of Nigeria is erroneously monolithically a federation with homogenous religion, ethnic and cultural underpinnings.

Political, economic, security, and judicial appointments under the President Buhari administration is blind to all other geopolitical zones of Nigeria except the Northern geopolitical zone. It is no secret that majority of the appointments in President Buhari's administration are either persons from the Northern geopolitical zone or Northern Muslims. Furthermore, against public outcry, appointments have remained skewed against the South geopolitical zone since 2015 when the administration took office. President Buhari's appointments have not demonstrated his memorable inaugural quote, "I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody" (Buhari, 2015c).

Some Nigerians see nothing wrong with this trend so far as these persons can deliver the expected dividends of democracy. However, the ability to deliver on the dividends of democracy is not an exclusive quality of one geopolitical zone. At the commencement of the President Buhari administration in 2015, two senior advisers to the president, Malam Garba Shehu (Senior Special Assistant, Media and Publicity) and Mr. Femi Adesina (Special Adviser on Media and Publicity) both retorted that more appointments were still coming to correct the observed imbalances in appointments. Obviously, to placate restive Nigerians, the presidency in November of 2017 published a list of appointees with seventy-five appointees from the North and eighty-two appointments from the South (Ogunniran, 2018).

Nigerians were unsatisfied with President Buhari's list of appointees and argued instead that the list is rather an insult on the sensibilities of Nigerians. The basis of this reasoning was that key security appointments such as the Chief of Army Staff, National Security Adviser, State Chief of Protocol, Chief of Air Staff, Inspector General of Police and Chief of Defence staff are taken up by the North. Similarly, the main economic offices such as the Accountant General of the Federation, Deputy Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Group Managing Director of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, Comptroller Generals of Customs and Immigration are as well occupied by persons of Northern extraction. Political watchers in Nigeria are worried that the federal character principle has never been this abused as it is currently under President Buhari's administration (Ogunniran, 2018).

f. Disdain for Western Governments and Foreign Election Observer Missions

General Muhammadu Buhari (2015a) was very impressive in his address in Chatham House, London, when he appreciated and welcomed the foreign interests shown by the President Barak Obama and Prime Minister David Cameron administrations for the APC in its 2015 presidential electoral victory. In appreciation, President Buhari, during his acceptance speech on 1 April 2015 said:

I give special thanks to President Obama and his timely intervention and support for peaceful and credible elections in Nigeria and for sending Secretary John Kerry and other United States officials. The European Union—especially the United Kingdom, France, Germany and other nations that were actively involved in ensuring the success of this election are equally appreciated...The U.S support before, during and after the 2015 elections was vital to Nigeria's stability and I will never forget the role they played in the stability of Nigeria (Buhari, 2015b, para: 15).

President Buhari was thankful to the Obama administration for the role it played in the 2015 General Elections. However, in the 2019 presidential elections, President Buhari and the APC were no more friends of the Western governments that it saw as friends in the 2015 General Elections. Events leading up to the 2019 presidential election and the positions the Western governments took on such matters as the postponement of the 2019 presidential election, the sack of the then CJN, Justice Walter Onnoghen, among others, have made the APC to see Western governments as either pro-PDP, or meddling in the internal affairs of Nigeria. This was in contrast with the 2015 General Elections where the actions of Western governments were appreciated, and not considered meddling in Nigeria's internal affairs.

The interest shown by Western governments in the 2019 General Elections have elicited reactions from APC stalwarts (Adelani, et al, 2019; Godwin, 2019). Foremost APC stalwart, Nasir el-Rufai, the executive governor of Kaduna State was most agitated and unimpressed by the comments made by international election observers. He said on Nigeria Television Authority (NTA):

As Nigerians, we must understand that these guys can sit pretty in their countries and say things but when crisis breaks, we are here. We are the victims; our wives and children are the victims...We are waiting for the person that will come and intervene. They will go back in body bags, because nobody will come to Nigeria and tell us how to run our country. We've got that independence and we are trying to run our country as decently as possible (Adelani, et al, 2019, para: 8)

g. The Restructuring Debate

In an address on the floor of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), President Buhari encouraged member states of the United Nations to remember the founding principles of the UN; especially the principle on the peaceful coexistence and self-determination of all peoples. President Buhari was, particularly, worried at the unresolved question of the Palestinian people and those of Western Sahara who are qualified for their separate nationhood. He particularly reminded the UNGA of the long list of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions on the Palestinian question insisting that "neither do we have the moral right to deny any people their freedom or condemn them indefinitely to occupation and blockade" (Buhari, 2015c, p. 6).

President Buhari's concern for the Palestinians rather indicts his administration. While President Buhari administration feels uncomfortable with the Israeli-Palestine debacle, his administration has shown reluctance towards agitations for restructuring from the different geopolitical nationalities in Nigeria. The administration is equally selective in branding separatist agitations differently. The administration had declared the Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB) as a terrorist organization; meanwhile the administration through its Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) Program has been negotiating with Boko Haram sect members to repent and accept amnesty through safe corridor program. Separatist groups are confrontational to the state and are therefore unadorable but the message they propagate ought to be noted and acted upon accordingly. The administration while ignoring the messenger should work with the message.

The foregoing sub-themes highlighted political developments in Nigeria under President Buhari's administration that greatly undermined his force of personality. It demonstrated that the afore-discussed political developments in Nigeria rather impinged on President Buhari's force of

personality in several ways, usually with great consequences (Greenstein, 1992). The said political developments generated such contrary-to-fact scenarios as if Muhammadu Buhari had not ruled Nigeria, his force of personality would have been intact. Undoubtedly, President Buhari and the APC are faced with legitimacy problems (Opejobi, 2021).

Conclusion

As it was concluded in Part I, this paper in its Part II also re-stated the wide-spread clamor of Nigerians for Gen. Muhammadu Buhari to become president of the country on account of the force of personality which he undoubtedly commands. However, the governance-induced challenges of the President Buhari administration which it failed to handle squarely such as attack on the judiciary, policy summersaults, lopsidedness in appointments, religious intolerance, etc. had dimmed the heroicness he commands. Amongst these shortcomings of the administration, the paper noted especially in the case of religious killings that in the course of the Muhammadu Buhari presidency, too many unresolved, incomplete, uninvestigated and unprosecuted religiously motivated mindless killings have rocked the personality cult image of President Muhammadu Buhari.

The paper demonstrated that it is the in-between-elections behavior (i.e., actual governance) of a politician in power that matters most, a period which exposes the real qualities or inadequacies of the personality or administration which the force of personality often conceals. Broadly speaking, in politics governance speaks louder than the force of personality. Political actions are most determined by the political environment rather than the force of personality of leaders.

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