## REBRANDING THE NIGERIAN POLITY THROUGH RULE OF LAW AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

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## **Abstract**

This paper examines the current image problem in Nigeria in reference to rebranding Nigeria through rule of law and good governance. The paper therefore examines the concept of rebranding, thus, the problem of image crisis on the nation was also highlighted. The concept of rule of law and good governance was equally highlighted in the light of rebuilding the polity both in Nigeria and other African nations like Zimbabwe. The paper concludes that where there is rule of law and good governance, re-branding is unnecessary because rule of law and good governance will permeate the civil society, private and public sectors and everything will be done according to law.

#### Introduction

Re-branding in most cases is a concept commonly used in the firms, company and commercial transactions in reference to their wares. However rebranding in Nigerian dispensation today goes beyond the already known concept in the company, firm or commercial transactions. Rather re-branding in this case is in reference to re-orientating a nation, that is the citizenry inhabited by the nation to give the nation a rebirth or remedy the anomalies in nation especially when the centre cannot hold.

Re-branding of the polity in this context involves total change from bad to good. Thus doing things according to law and when things are done according to law, good governance is assured. When there is rebranding or what we may call rule of law, poor perception of nation's governance or image crisis both in reference to the nation or citizenry witnessed in negative image of the polity especially by the media, looting of nation's treasury, bribery, kidnapping, corruption, wanton killings and destruction of public property as a way of expressing government neglect as often witnessed in the Niger Delta and the like will be minimized. Thus there will be team spirit or patriotism in the pursuit of nation's goal rather than the end justifies the means attitude witnessed now in the polity. People will make sacrifices because things are done according to law and not according to might.

Re-branding Nigeria is an initiative of the Federal Ministry of Information and Communication propagated by Prof. Dora Akunyili under the leadership of our Late President Umaru Musa Yara'dua now inherited by the present president, President Goodluck Jonathan. In the words of the former Minister Professor Mrs. Dora Akunyili, the re-branding programme is about a new chapter in our attempt as *a* people to take conscious steps at redefining our nation, re-examining our value and character and rededicating ourselves to the ideas of ourfounding fathers.<sup>1</sup>

The re-branding campaign is the right step in the right direction in Nigeria especially in the present dispensation in that a nation's foreign image is a major index in judging her standing vis-a-vis other nations. This paper therefore undertakes to examine rebranding the Nigeria polity through the rule of law and good governance. Some key concepts will be examined, some fundamental issues like Nigeria image crisis, rule of law and good governance in Nigeria and in some African countries are also to be examined. Thereafter recommendations and conclusion will be made.

## **Position of Nigeria before the Image Crisis**

According to Saliu (2002) in Egweni (2010) Nigeria has a good image in the 1960s and the positive image tarnished in a way by the country's civil war between 1967-1970<sup>2</sup> and after the civil war especially under the General MurtalaMuhammed regime. Before the civil war saga, Nigeria was seen as the centre peace of African policy and this was eloquently demonstrated. Nigerian's big brother role in Africa was quite felt and cherished. Consequently, her views were sought on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Culled from Victor Egweni (2010) Managing Nigeria's image Crisis: Akunyili's Rebranding

programme, Department of Political Science, Kogi state University, P. 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid

teething issues concerning Africa by all and sundry especially by herformer colonial masters.

## **Image Crisis**

Image crisis here may be addressed in two perspectives image crisis in reference to the polity and image crisis in reference to the citizenry.

## **Origin of Nigeria's Image Crisis**

Between 1980 and 1990 the centre could not hold, Nigeria's image deteriorated. The centre of emulation in 1970 practically became the centre for ridicule. Saliu ascribed this to the negative image which Nigeria projected in the 1990s, though to some extent, it could be argued that the negative image may be part of the biases of the global system towards African continent which Nigeria is part of. Thus buttressing this argument, Saliu opined;

"a section of the international system often derives pleasure in advertising negative occurrences in Africa while positive aspects of the continent are conveniently ignored or half heartedlyprojected.<sup>3</sup>

Continuing, Saliu cited certain breakthrough achieved by African States through the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) under Nigeria leadership bringing to an end the Liberian civil war. The controller of world affairs" at best has only acknowledged this fact grudgingly. ECOMOG has therefore achieved what the West could not do in former Yugoslavia with all its appreciable resources profile. <sup>4</sup>Again the cause of African's image crisis is not helped by the economic weakness of African countries. With the result that most often Africa has not gotten what it takes to show case itself, as such the only hope is to depend on the already biased Western countries to carry on. Consequently, these Western media like British Broadcasting Corporation (BBG) the Voice of America (VOA), the Cable Network News (CNN) and the rest of them are much interested to project to the world negative aspects of Africa. Such as coup d'etat, famine, drought, civil strive and recently kidnappings in the Niger Delta and even preferring

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Victor Egweni Supra p. 132.

their colour of skin to be better than that of Africans. Though United States may claim to be a great nation but it is by no means a perfect nation. Like every other nation it has its own shortcomings or rather failings. Accordingly, no foreign dignitary would dare to come to the United States and speak ill or even lecture American about their ills or failings, be it civil right, police brutalities, Katrina disaster, discrimination against the minority or even racism which has been endemic in United States. Such foreign dignitary may notforget in a hurry what the Americans would do to him, in fact the American press will be the first to deal with him. The numble and grumble by the foreigners about the United States shortcomings will not be in their own soil.

This was exactly the opposite of the reaction of Nigeria citizen when Mrs. Hillary Clinton came to Nigeria in August 12, 2009 talking about Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and other ill of Nigeria in Nigerian soil. Nigerians watched her with rapped attention while the press aired everything as if they have been waiting for the opportunity for the outsiders to speak ill of their leaders. Nigerians could not react as the Paskistanis did on such occasion.

Related to the above was the conspiracy thesis which has been strongly canvassed by Nigerians, that the negative image associated with Nigeria was born out of the cities linked with impressive resources profile of the country. Being the most populous, and mineral rich country in Africa, she was a target of envy of her former colonial master and the west alike. Consequently, President BarackObama could not have meant well for Nigerian and African in general when he visited Ghana and talked down on African leaders while he runs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Egweni Victor Supra

around Asia and Middle East lobbing them to complete his pacifist "Kabieyesi Diplomacy". The main reason why such canoccur is that majority of Africans lack self-esteem and patriotism, in fact for the fact that Obama chose Ghana to Nigeria in spite of Nigeria, being centre for African foreign policy is enough slap on Nigeria.

The Obasanjo administration did not help matters for his continued assertiveness when he nationalized the asset of shell -BP to the displeasure and disappointment of Britain, their colonial master. The ignoring of President Ford of Luanda in 1970 urging Africa states to support a unity government in Luanda in November 1975 is also an experience to be remembered. These experiences may have necessitated the west to believing that there is more sense in projecting a negative image for Nigeria to reduce her stronghold in the international system. Sequel to the above is the attitude of President Obama of United State of America over Abdul Mutallab attempt to blow America Airline on the 25 December 2009, which did not portray Nigeria as being loved by the United States for that singular act of grouping Nigeria among the terrorists and suicidal Afghanistans, Yemenis, Saudis, Iraqis, Iranians, Pakistanis etc.

Yes though some Nigerian leaders may be corrupt, but not all, otherwise why do we applaud such states like Lagos state, Cross River, Akwa-Ibom, Jigawa, Enugu.' What of the Nigerian Army who were able to do in Liberia what the west could notdo in Yugoslavia.

## **Image Crisis in Reference to the Citizenry**

Most Nigerian generally lack self-esteem and have low moral about themselves. The average Nigerians and Africans alike

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid

do not believe that they can achieve what they want to achieve or reach his zenith without copying the Western countries.

Thus according to Franklin Otorofani, when people exhibit low self- confidence, before outsiders they look down on one another, their government and their institutions and could not be expected to have selfesteem to begin with. Thus, anyone anywhere could easily intimidate them or treat them like second class citizens in their own father land. That is the opportunity that the earlier mentioned Mrs. Hillary Clinton andPresident BarackObama of United State utilized without being cautioned bythe **Nigerians** and Nigerian Government. Accordingly, it is the same attitude of lack of patriotism that motivated theelectoral losers to seek the assistance of foreign embassies and their homegovernment to intervene in Nigerian electoral matters as if their electoraldispute resolution machinery has gone on indefinite holidays.

There are so many good things going on in the private and public sectors in Nigeria, that any good citizen of Nigeria would appreciate and be proud of inhuman resources, telecommunication or even entertainment industry.

For instance who would not be proud of such sons and daughters like Wole Soyinka one of the African Noble Laureate, literary and professional giant like ChinuaAchebe. Equally Chike Obi and GaniFehenmi of blessed memory are personalities to be remembered. Dr. OkonjiIwuala and ObyEzekwesili are doing Nigeria proud at the apex of the World Bank. Professor Dora Akunyili'sactivities in the NAFDAC is ever green in Nigeria's record of who is who in Nigeria. What of EmekaAnyaoku who did Nigeria proud as the secretary of Common Wealth some years past.?

In the telecommunication, Nigeria is fast overtaking South Africa in spite of South Africa's ten years experience as biggest telecommunication in Africa and Far East. Globacom, a Nigerian telecommunication giant was rated as the most innovative and fastest growing telecom company in Africa. The Nigerian Nollywoodare competing favourably with the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Htt:Nigeria-Newspaper.com/rebranding Nigeria-part one. Htm

Hollywood actors of American in spite of the Nollywood newness in the entertainment industry. The Nigerian bank are operating in Ghana, Benin Republic and even United States of America and Britain.

In the citizen's image crisis, Dr. IkediOhakim of Imo State had this to say on the negative attitudes of a frustrated tiny, aging political elites whose past activities messed up the country... "it will be necessary to remind all those who are busy ridiculing this nation that there are also Nigerians out thereour armed forces-men and women,who have place their sacrifices deserve to be appreciated and respected".

Laying the blame of ridicule on the Nigerian media Ohakim further lamented and said "when you ridicule the queen, the symbol of the very essence of the United Kingdom, they show you that you have stepped out of the tune..."8The pages of our local news are most often filled with these negative publications about Nigeria. Nigeria media chose to dwell exclusively on the negative remarks on Nigeria says former US envoys, and promptly headlined those negative remarks, and one such headline reads "Flagship". 9 Such headline published by The Guardian Newspaper reads, "Nigeria becoming "worthless, irrelevantto US Ex-American Envoys".10

Nigerians to the notice of many sell the country's shortcoming before the outside world. The constant negative tunes have greatly lowered Nigerians self-esteem and has taken toll on the general population to the extent that many no longer believe in change and the capacity of the nation to make a change for better. These negative attitudes has fostered a feeling of abject resignation and hopelessness. It would appear that positive developments in the polity are being deliberately forgotten and shut out of limelight and the citizenry fed with nothing but very many poisonous negativities.

The early 70's supremacy, confident, self-assertiveness, self adulation, of Nigerians have gone to exile. Rather Nigerians have evolved to become an abnormal species soaked with self -pity, and self-depreciation who see nothing good in themselves, their government and their institutions too. Probably these may have prompted former US Ambassador to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> lbid

<sup>9</sup> lbid

the UN Andrew Young, to declare that "Nigerians are their worst enemies and the Sun Newspaper quickly carried this news. Andrew Young in the first convocation lecture of the Bells University of Technology in Ota, Ogun State titled "What's wrong with Nigeria" described Nigerians as a gifted set of people, all over the world but they don't appreciate themselves or celebrate themselves. Quoting him he said "you are endowed with both natural and human resources. What's wrong with Nigeria? God has given Nigeria abundant nutrition, we must tap it forthe good of our people. You have geniuses, yet you don't appreciate yourselves, you don't like yourselves what's wrong with Nigeria? He asked rhetorically. 10

The poor perception of the polity and low self-esteem of the citizenry to a great extent go to show that the Nigerian polity lacks rule of law and good governance. Though issues may be exaggerated but then there must be some positive lessons to be drawn from it by the common man. This article will then turn the rest of its attention to the effects of rule of law and good governance in re-branding the Nigerian polity.

#### Rule of Law

Historical Evolution of Rule of Law: Evidence show that the rule of law dates back to the theories of early philosophers, probably credited to great philosopher Aristotle who was quoted as saying "The rule of law is preferable to that of any individual". <sup>11</sup> Borrowing this concept in 13th century (Middle ages). Bracton opined that "the king himself ought not be subject toman but subjecttoGod, and the law, because the law makes the king". <sup>12</sup>Later John Lock adding to the concept stated that "freedom of men under government is to have a standing rule to live by, common to everyone of the society and made by legislative powers created in it and not to be subject to the constant and unknown arbitrary will of another man. In criticizing the monarchical system, in 1690, Locke

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Htt:/Nigeria-newspaper.com./rebranding-nigeria-part-one supra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Constitutional law: National Open University of Nigeria (2008) Adesola Prints and Co Ltd. 24 Aminu Kano Crescent Wuse II Abuja, Nigeria Pg 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Law243: Constitutional Law: National Open University of Nigeria(Supra)pg68

opined that it was necessary to control government powers as against citizen's rights. 13

This concept was established in ENTICK VS CARRINGTON<sup>14</sup> The concept ofRule of law gained supremacy in 1885 when A.V. Dicey gave a deeper insight to it in his work titled "Introduction to the Study of Law of the Constitution". <sup>15</sup>Dicey campaigned on the supremacy ofthe law; equality before the law and fundamental rights are secured not by guarantees set down in the constitution but by the ordinary remedies of the private law. <sup>16</sup>

The advent and institutionalizing of the rule in the public and private life in England gradually brought about good governance. That is government which is responsible to the law of the land curtailing excessive arbitrary decisions and accentuating the primordial right of the people. In Nigeria, the supreme Court has emphasized on several occasions the importance and continuing relevance of the idea of the rule of law even in the context of a military government. A very careful analysis of this idea is especially typical in Nigeria going by its implication as provided in the 1999 constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria.<sup>17</sup>

**Definition of Rule of Law:** The concept of "rule of law" seems to lack precision, it is therefore more often explained than defined. The chapter 39 of the Magna Carta in trying to look at the term "rule of law" states;

"No free man shall be taken imprisoned, dispensed, outlawed, banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we proceed against or persecute him, except by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Retrieve op. cit p.80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Bradeiy.A.W&Ewing.K.D, Constitutional and Administrative Law, 11thed Longman New York, 1993 p. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Dicey text is reprinted in the 10th ed. With introduction by E.G.S Wade Good international relations, political stability proportion of property and life. A.V.Dicey's work was influenced greatly by the work of John Lock and the decision in Entick v Carrington using the English constitution as a platform of hypothesis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> National Open University of Nigeria Supra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Magna Carta, 12.15.

the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land" 18

Albert Venn Dicey whose work on rule of law was influenced greatly by John Locke sees rule of law as;

"absolute supremacy or predominance of regular law as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power-English men are ruled by the law and by the law alone; a man may with us be punished for a breach of law, but he cannot be punished for anything else. It means, again equality before the law or equal subjection of all classes to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary courts; <sup>19</sup>"the rule of law" in this sense excludes, the ideal of any exemption of officials or other form from the duty of obedience to the land which govern other citizens or from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals.

These definitions bring to the fore the foremost or benchmark ingredients of law. Supremacy of the law (subjection of "everybody" without exception to the ordinary law) and equality of all before the law. Rule of law implies absence of arbitrary law, rather everybody is subjected to law, that is equality of all before the law and the absence of whims or use of discretion in a particular state.

Rule of law is of great importance, this is because, for many centuries, it was recognized that the state usually possessed enormous power which may be used to oppress individuals. This has been an issue of great concern to political and legal philosophers alike who therefore are in a continuous search for a suitable and somewhat permanent means of subjecting governmental power to control.

Good governance: The concept of good governance like the concept of rule of law is not one subject to a precise definition but one that is indices based. However good governance may be explained as;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Dicey, A. V. Introduction to the study of the constitution 10 ed. 1959,pp.202-203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The world Bank Governance and development Washington (1992) p.3 " '.

The manners in which power is exercised in the management of country's economic and social resources for development.<sup>20</sup>

Good governance is an indeterminate term used in development literature to describe how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources in orderto guarantee the realization of human rights. Governance describes "the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)".<sup>21</sup>

The term governance can apply to corporate, international, national or even local governance. A more working definition by MsibaMbi, prime minister of Uganda puts it this way; good governance is the exercise of political administration and managerial authority and order which is legitimate, accountable, transparent, democratic, efficient and equitable in resources allocation and utilization, positive transformation of society. It manifests itself through the benchmark which a constitution, pillar, of the state derive from the constitution, mechanism for checks and balances on government efficient mechanism of delivery services of government, security, good leadership, the rule of law, participation by the people, expression, transparency, freedom of accountability, legitimacy, devolution of power informed to citizenry, strong civil society, protection of basic human rights regular free and fair election, good international relation, political stability protection of property and life.<sup>22</sup>The concept of "good governance" as many scholars have opined often emerges as a model to compare ineffective economies or political bodies with viable economies and political bodies. The simple reason being that most "successful" governments in the contemporary world are liberal democratic states concentrated in Europe and America, those countries' institution often set the pace and standards comparison with other institutions. state Governance here implies the dynamic interaction between people, structures, processes and tradition that support the exercise of legitimate authority in provision of sound

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Oji E.Aet al Globalization and New perspective in Corporate governance" in Globalization, National Development and the law, ed gruobadia D.A et al Nigeria institute of advanced legal studies, Lagos 2005, p.145

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Professor Nwabueze B, Constitutional Democracy in Africa Voi 3

leadership, direction, oversight, and control of an entity in order to ensure that its purpose is achieved, and there is proper accounting in the conduct of its affair the use of its resources, and the result of its activities. <sup>23</sup>From Nwabueze's work, good governance involves;

- Account of power based on the fundamental belief that power should be exercised to promote human well being:
- ii. Democratic value in respect of the sharing of power, representation and participation,
- iii. The sense of right and wrong, what is fair and just work ethics, and corporate social responsibility
- iv. Efficient and effective use of resources for the production of good services.
- v. Protection of human rights and freedom and security for the person and his property.<sup>24</sup>

Similarly international affairs analysis of good governance may involve any of the following relationship depending on the need

- Between governments and markets
- Between governments and citizens
- Between governments and the private or voluntary sector.
- Between elected officials and appointed officials
- Between local institutions and urban and rural dwellers.
- Between legislature and executive branches and between nation, state and institutions.

## Rule of Law and Good Governance in Nigeria

It is undoubtable that there is a co-relation between the rule of law and good governance. The unimpeachable pillars of rule of law, supremacy of the law and equality and subjection of all to the law of the land have suffered great assaults from successive regimes whether military or democratic from independence till date.

The advent of military rule in Nigeria polity in 1967 which culminated in successive military regimes posed the most

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See Section 2 and 5 of Decree No.5 of 1984

potent threat to the rule of law and concomitantly good governance. These threats expose themselves from the modus operandi of these despotic regimes which subdued everybody to their repressive and obnoxious decrees and edicts some of these decrees and edicts oust the court's jurisdiction to question any act done or purported to be done under them.<sup>24</sup> The legal effect of these obnoxious legislation is that it places the military and their acts above the law of the land which ought to be supreme and shot out the judiciary which ought to stand out as an impartial arbiter from questioning their acts thereby leaving the legislation of the military cabals.

By placing themselves and their acts above the ordinary law and court of the land as Dicey would put it, it renders the military herein unaccountable to anybody or law. The problem of unaccountability creates room for corruption in government evident in organized looting of public treasury with immunity by military personnels. The unprecedented money laundering witnessed in those horrible days sank Nigeria into economic mess which in turn affected all sectors of the nation. Human rights were trampled upon without restraint under the aegis of those decrees and edicts, public utilities like good roads, schools, pipe borne water and other amenities were left in a worse state, even public morals and discipline.

The civilian regimes even from independence till date which ought to ensure the respect for rule of law which in turn brings about good governance suffered its systematic problems. The 1963 constitution in spite of its provision for supremacy of rule of law, equality of every citizen to the law, with its attendant good governance suffered serious breaches as party politics, nepotism, tribalism and religion did a great blow on the attainment of these objectives. Members of political parties in power were above the law and the opposition had the rule of law applicable to them.

The same was the case in the second republic 1979-1983 and recently in 1999 to date. As It is seen in the selective justice of fight against corruption which are mainly targeted at the opposition or voices of decent like in the military dispensation, the democratic governments show brazen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Per Uwaifo JSC in AG Lagos state V AG Federation (2005) 2 W.R.N. p. 89 -90: Paras. 35-20.

contempt or disrespect to court orders/judgment as was witnessed in the President Obasanjo's recalcitrant stance on the withheld funds of Lagos Local Government allocation even after the Supreme court's decision deprecating the seizure. The election malpractices of 2007 is having its toll in the law suits. These and many others constraints preventing operation of rule of law have far reaching effects on our economy as the nation even in the midst of abundance has her citizens plunged into the lowest abyss of poverty due to the abuse of rule of law to the extent that Nigeria today is ranked among the poorest countries despite her large and multifarious mineral deposits.

Nigeria is not the only African country bedeviled with the abuse of rule of law and good governance. Similarly, President Robert Mugabe's party Zanu-PF under the new land acquisition law in mid 90's promulgated by decree under the presidential power act laid to the confiscation of productive land to propitiate ruling party supporters with violent occupation.<sup>26</sup> This arbitrary land acquisition runs contrary to the rule of law in Zimbabwe. This act has caused the Zimbabwean economy a big shock since the mainstay of their economy is agriculture. The arbitrary takeover of the 65% of the country commercial farms from the white farmers all in a bid to bring about an equitable sharing of the agricultural lands has become a major challenge to rule of law in Zimbabwe.<sup>27</sup>

The judiciary is also not spared in the fight of Mugabe's Zanu-PF party to have a tight control over the country. A situation where judges who are brave enough to give judgment against the government are attacked and threatened, others have been down from the bench some have fled the country for their lives.<sup>28</sup>This has prompted the analyst to say;

 $<sup>^{25}</sup>$  Idem, W., "Rule of Law under attack in Zimbabwe", http:/www:lnt. Vol. Co. 20/ index phy 9/23/2005.

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  Idem W. "Impossible Mission" http/ww.hsk. org.zalfocus19/focus igidn.html, 2010  $^{23}$  http/www.int.101.co.za/index.php, 2010

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Grugulethu Moyo cited in..int.101.co.za/index.php, 2010

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Patrick Chinasa cited in http://www.intio1co.za/indexphp.p.2. this even explains why justice Anthony Gubbery, the former supreme court was driven from the bench by the ruling party militant who threaten his lives he resigned when government could not provide him protection.

" There is no doubt that the government has manipulated the legal structure to keep its iron grip on power that actually what we are seeing is the rule of law itself under attack.".<sup>29</sup>

President Robert Mugabe and his Zaun-PF party ignored court ruling. They do not adhere to the rule of law just as President Obasanjo of Nigeria did in the case of AG Lagos VAG Federation (supra). Mugabe was quoted as saying;

"If judges are not objective do not blame us when we defy them."

On the other hand the justice Minister Zimbabwe, Patrick Chinamasa who implemented the changes to the judiciary said judges had to be politically correct hear him.

"Eurocentric judges who were regarded as being in conflict with other arms of government and perceived as constituting to the ruling party would have to go, if judges behave like unguided missiles, I wish to emphatically state that we will push them out.

From a brief analysis of the rule of law and good governance in the above cited countries of Africa, one can agree with President Obama's speech concerning Africa when he visited Ghana; that what Africa needs is not strong men, it need more strong democratic institutions that will stand the test of time. Without good governance, no amount of oil or amount of aid, amount of efforts can guarantee Nigeria's success. But with good governance, nothing can stop Nigeria. The same message was what President Obama carried to all the African countries he visited.

Consequently a redefinition of good governance is paramount in Nigeria, because studies have shown that the concept of such issue as civil society, decentralization, peaceful conflict management, and accountability are often sine qua non in defining the concept of good governance. The redefinition of good governance promotes many ideas closely akin to effective democratic governance. According to the UN, good governance has eight characteristics.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Wikipedia supra

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Patrick Chinasa cited in http://www.intio1co.za/indexphp.p.2. this even explains why justice Anthony Gubbery, the former supreme court was driven from the bench by the ruling party militant who threaten his lives he resigned when government could not provide him protection.

That is good governance is Consensus oriented Participatory Following the Rule of Law Effective and Efficient Accountable Transparent

- Responsive
- Equitable and inclusive

In the words of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), three institution can be reformed to promote good governance, the state, the private sector and civil society. However, among the various cultures, the need and demand for reform can vary depending on the priorities of that country but in Nigerian case, the three sectors all need redefinition to rinse them from the effect of military regime and greedy politicians.

The International Monetary Fund declared in 1996 that "promoting good governance in all its aspects, including ensuring the rule of law, improving the efficiency and accountability of the public sector, and tackling corruption are essential elements of a framework within which economy can prosper. The IMF believes that corruption with the economy is caused by the ineffective governance of the economy for there may be either too much rules or too little rule. It is also noteworthy that to be able to obtain a loan from this institution, countries concerned must have certain good governance policies.

Thus if Nigeria redefines her rule of law and good governance and follow standards as obtained in developed countries like United States of America and in Europe, good governance will permeate through our sick economy, reduce electoral manipulations, image crises both from the polity and the citizenry. Corruption and poverty which has reduced Nigeria next to nothing will be controlled. There will be complete judicial independence, military will not be allowed to seize power at random, one does not need to know anybody before government assistance is given to him because everything will be done on merit. This issue of re-branding will not arise because everything will be done according to merit and not according to might or political leanings, patriotism will take its place as it is in the western countries.

## Conclusion

This paper deals with re-branding the Nigerian polity through the Rule of Law and Good Governance. As such the concept of re-branding was examined in the light of the Nigerian good

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old days, the present image crises in reference to the polity and that of citizen's perception were also re-examined.

The issue of rule of law and good governance was discussed vis-a-vis rebranding and other African polity like Zimbabwe. The paper concludes that where there is rule of law and good governance, there will be independent of the judiciary, military will retire to the Barracks perpetually, there will be operation of constitutionalism instead of God Fatherlism, there will be adequate machinery for protection of human rights, government will be accountable to the citizenry, free and fair election and quality leadership are assured and corruption will be controlled. In fact re-branding will be unnecessary, because rule of law and good governance will permeate the civil society, the private and public sectors and the country's economy will be rebuilt and low esteem and self-confidence of the Nigerian citizenry will have a rebirth and everything will be done according to law.