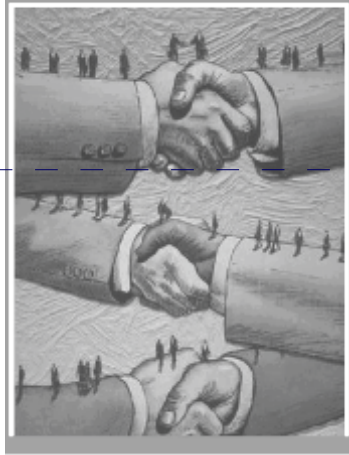

Managing *your political* godfather

Lessons in conflict dynamics
from the Ngige-Uba Imbrogio



Chris 'Mr X' UWADOKA



Political Managing your Godfather

Lessons in conflict dynamics
from the Ngige-Uba Imbroglia

Chris UWADOKA

Answerbank Consulting

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Being a book on conflict management/negotiations and not a documentary on the Ngige-Uba Saga, the author simply adopted accounts of the Ngige-Uba conflict found in public media as working documents. Their use in this book is not intended to validate them, but to employ them as case materials. The author accepts no liability for any defect in the stories. In addition, the reader is invited to view this work as an educational material and not necessarily as professional advice. Anyone desirous of advice in the areas covered in this work should seek appropriate counsel.

*"If anything is worth doing, it is worth
telling someone how to do it well."*

Franklin P. Jones

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to Imo P.K., my classmate and partner-in-pranks at Government College Umuahia from 1974 to 1979. We were also schoolmates at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka in the early 1980s and colleagues during our National Youth Service program in Sokoto (1985/1986).

In Sokoto, I had nicknamed him 'Nwebuleako' (an Igbo allusion to street wisdom) because, contrary to the normal tendency of persons on monthly salaries, Imo P.K. would institute austerity measures immediately salaries were paid, and relax those measures when the month got to 'twenty-hungry'. This upside-down consumption pattern gave him an image of someone who was permanently buoyant. It also conferred on him mega negotiation power when he needed something from any of us. This dependability, in addition to his stoic personal discipline, humour and warmth, crystallized our acquaintance into a close friendship that lasted for decades.

Fabulously creative and resourceful, Imo PK often shared with me snippets from the books he was writing. Regrettably, the writing was going on in his head and he never got to articulate them in print. I write this book for the two of us as I tearfully dedicate it to him - Prince Kanayo Imo of Arondizuogu and to the family he left behind. When he closed his eyes in untimely death a couple of years ago, I didn't have the opportunity to say 'adieu'. This, I hope, can finally pass for one.

Acknowledgment

What advice can one give to a person who desires to ride on the influence of a godfather towards a goal and yet not end up losing control or getting into a bitter patricidal fight? That is the question around which this book revolves.

In writing it, I have been assisted by so many persons and institutions that it is difficult to isolate and name each. There are, nonetheless, some people whose contributions I can't but acknowledge. The first is the duo of Roger Fisher and William Ury whose book *Getting to Yes* kindled my interest in the field of negotiated settlements. The Harvard Negotiation Project of which they are key players provided me with practical training materials on interest-based negotiations (as opposed to position-based negotiations).

The second acknowledgment is to Chief (Barr) Chris Okewulonu, the Federal Commissioner representing the South-East geopolitical zone in Nigeria's Fiscal Responsibility Commission and the *Apex Leader* of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in his native Obowo, Imo State of Nigeria. From the vantage point of serving as his Special Assistant, I have observed, firsthand, the difficulties and thrills of political leadership at the level discussed in this book. I am thus grateful to him for providing me,

unwittingly though, with the best social science laboratory under the circumstance.

My third acknowledgment is to my alter ego, Professor Chinedum Nwajiuba. Since we struck up a friendship thirty years ago in a queue at the University of Nigeria Nsukka, political discourse has constituted the bulk of our discussions, mails and phone calls. Years before email, we exchanged these views by phone and surface mail from our different cities – and even continents - of abode. Gifted with deep strategic insight, he is usually able to effortlessly decipher political intrigues and tell without fail how a pendulum would swing. Prof Nwajiuba has been my sounding board and decoder of seemingly complex jigsaws. I acknowledge his invaluable input into the thinking that brought this book about.

I am fortunate to be close friends with Engr. Gabriel Ogbechie. Since we first met twenty one years ago in Kano, I have watched with amazement how he consistently decrypts otherwise complex situations and always appears to know the right thing to do - In fact, sometimes, the right things seeks him out themselves! In the course of writing this book, it came to me in an epiphany that the human element of this attribute is largely a derivative of the 10,000 hour rule discussed in Chapter 11. His keen sense of congruence, focus and commitment vest him with an overflow from which he thinks, acts and communicates with unrehearsed ease. For earnestly encouraging me to write, I acknowledge Gab Ogbechie's input into the existence of this work.

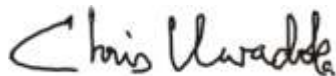
Two more words of appreciation and both to N'dee Uwadoka, my literary partner and spouse. As literary partner, she critiqued and

edited the work, rendering the concept and grammar less tortuous and far more readable; and as spouse, she coped with the lonely bed as I hammered away at my laptop in the dead of the night.

Further, I have but these most memorable words of John Adams to Thomas Jefferson for my dear brother Ebere and his wife Chinedum Uwadoka: "While I breathe, I shall be your friend."

Also, to 'Bishop' Solomon Ihedigbo who took his precious time to read the manuscript and share with me his thoughts and comments, I express my gratitude.

As is customary, I absolve my helpers and motivators of blame for any shortcoming in this work. As we say in Nigeria, 'no be dem send me o!'

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Chris Uwadoka". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial 'C'.

Introduction:

Learning from OPEs

(Other People's Experiences)

"Only some of us can learn by other people's mistakes. The rest of us have to be the other people"

- Anon.

Igbo folklore tells of an incident in which the lion - king of animals - compelled the sheep to volunteer one of its lambs as a nanny for the lion's new cub. To ascertain which of her children could handle that assignment and return to tell the story, the worried sheep asked each of them in turn, "How many times will you pass through an experience before you learn the lesson that it offers?"

Some lambs answered 'twice only' and some responded, 'just once'; when it came to the turn of the ram, he said that he would rather learn from other people's experiences rather than wait to learn from his own experience since he might not survive it. In recognition of this display of unusual insight from a member of the sheep family, the Igbos metaphorically refer to a street-wise person as 'Nwebule ako' – transliterated as *ram-the-wise*.

In 2003, a conflict broke out in Nigeria between two erstwhile political partners, Dr Chris Ngige and Chief Chris Uba. That confusing and messy disagreement forms the case material for this book.

The Ngige-Uba drama offers us OPEs (Other People's Experiences) in the area of conflict dynamics and presents us with lessons to help us perform better than each of them in our own day of reckoning.

Without attempting to be judgmental, the book seeks to improve our understanding of the technicalities of mixed-motive negotiations which took place between the two politicians and continue to transpire between others in politics, business and life.

The book is divided into five sections. Section A provides us a view into the godfather ecosystem. The second section reproduces earlier published materials on the dealings between Chris Ngige and Chris Uba which we shall adopt as essential reference materials for the rest of the work. While Section C employs tools of negotiations and conflict management to deconstruct elements of the Ngige-Uba tango, the penultimate part (Section D) offers practical advice on how individuals can more effectively meet their objectives within a godfather-godson relationship. The final Section is the appendix consisting of further media publications on the Ngige-Uba conflict.

If you are searching for a sermon on the morality of what transpired between Chris Ngige and Chris Uba, you won't find it in this book. But if you are looking for lessons on how to effectively manage godfathering relationships, you are in good company.

Section A:

The GODFATHER Ecology



“As we continue to grow and mature, we become increasingly aware that all of nature is interdependent, that there is an ecological system that governs nature, including society. We further discover that the higher reaches of our nature have to do with our relationships with others – that human life also is interdependent”
Stephen R. Covey

1:

The Godfather as a Political Entrepreneur

god·fa·ther [*gód faathər*]


(plural god·fa·thers) *noun*

1. *Man godparent: a man who is somebody's godparent*

2. *Organized-crime boss: a man who heads a criminal organization, especially a Mafia leader (informal)*

3. *Patron or founder: a man who provides inspiration or support, especially financial help, for a person or cause (informal) e.g. the godfather of the joint venture*

From: Microsoft Encarta 2009

omething between the second and third definitions would be an apt working definition for the purposes of this book. The godfather portrayed in this book is one that heads a family, providing opportunities, support, protection and inspiration to a set of godsons in the process. The title, *godfather*, incidentally, is reserved not only for individuals, as institutions such as Barewa College Old Boys Association and the cryptic *Kaduna Mafia* have – rightly or wrongly - been fingered in the past as playing godfather roles in Nigeria.

Mario Puzo's book, THE GODFATHER – and, especially, the 1972

Francis Ford Coppola blockbuster movie based on it - popularized the term, *godfather* in a context that is somewhat related to that of this book. The movie describes the attempts of the Sicilian Corleone family to maintain its control of the New York Mafia when a group of renegade families set up a drug-smuggling ring. The message of the movie, in essence is that godfatherism is about family-building: A godfather's principal purpose is to build and sustain so formidable a family that it can get whatever it wants or stop whatever it doesn't want within its sociopolitical enclave.

The godfather treated in this work is someone who, in essence, can - predictably and consistently - deploy his position, influence, power and contacts to provide opportunities, favor, support, protection and restraint for the benefit of his protégé(s). In the political arena, the result is that a fledging politician can successfully square up against more experienced and entrenched opponents because of his access to the godfather's massive infrastructure.

Political entrepreneurship:

The godfather treated in this book is a political entrepreneur. He brings together the necessary factors of 'production' and arranges them in such a way that they yield maximal ROI (Return-On-Investment) to him as well as to other *investors* that use his political structure as their investment vehicle. The returns are usually in two sets, consisting variously of the following:

FIRST SET: Public good

- (a) The opportunity to bring development to specific geographic or sectoral communities - including a purposeful effort towards institutionalizing good governance;

- (b) The opportunity to operationalize a given ideology, concept or world view;

SECOND SET: Private good

- (c) The opportunity to improve the godfather's access to funds, power and influence; and
- (d) The opportunity to generally grow the godfather's political family through its improved access to political appointments, control of state instruments such as the police, contracts to members of the political structure, etc.

As is the case with business entrepreneurs, political entrepreneurs serve as mentors, guides, teachers and hand-holders to their subordinates. But as commendable as these functions are, they are only the basic building blocks of the system and cannot sustain the ecology. To survive and thrive, a godfather must move beyond just mentoring his subordinates, to ensuring he posts profitable Returns-On-Investment. In essence, the *raison d'être* of a godfather is not just to raise champions, but to make political profit. It is in defining this *profit* that differences begin to emerge between one type of godfather and the other.

To a *public-spirited godfather*, *profit* would consist of the first set of items in the schedule of returns above (viz. measurable development to specific geographic or sectoral communities; and effectively operationalizing a given ideology), while the second set (i.e. improvement in the godfather's access to funds, power and influence; and growing the godfather's political family) would just be natural results of success in the first set – rather than ends in themselves.

To a *self-centered godfather*, on the other hand, items (c) and (d)

in the list (i.e. improvement in the godfather's access to funds, power and influence; and growing the godfather's political family through its improved access to political appointments, control of state instruments such as the police, contracts to members of the political structure, etc.) are ends in themselves.

As with all major entrepreneurial endeavors, it is the level of trust engendered by the godfather that will determine the speed and cost at which he attains profitability. While discussing “The economics of trust” in his bestseller, *The Speed of Trust*, Stephen M.R. Covey asserted that when trust is low, speed goes down and cost goes up – a relationship which he graphically illustrated as follows:

↓ Trust ↓ Speed ↑ Cost

Stephen introduced the hitherto novel terminologies of Trust Tax and Trust Dividend. Quoting bestselling author Francis Fukuyama to the effect that widespread distrust in a society imposes a kind of tax on all forms of economic activities, he posited that just as the tax created by low trust is real, measurable and extremely high, “so the dividends of high trust are also real, quantifiable and incredibly high.” His example is in the fact that you can say the wrong thing in a high-trust relationship and people will still get your meaning, whereas “in a low-trust relationship, you can be very measured, even precise, and they will misinterpret you.”

Stephen Covey posited that organizations with low trust levels would inescapably witness the following: Dysfunctional environments and toxic culture (open warfare, sabotage, grievances, lawsuits, criminal behavior), unhappy stakeholders, intense micromanagement, excessive time wasted defending

decisions and positions, hidden agendas, intense political atmosphere with clear camps and parties, etc. Expectedly, there is an oversupply of these characteristics in Nigerian godfather families with low trust environments.

Conversely, godfather families having high trust assets are characterized by high collaboration and partnering, high levels of loyalty, effortless communication, positivity, well-aligned structures and transparent succession systems.

In essence, godfatherism as a form of entrepreneurship is not necessarily evil. Like in business entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship (Non-Governmental Organizations), there are good practices and there are poor practices. Godfatherism itself, like other forms of entrepreneurship is simply a tool which can be deployed to either good or evil ends.

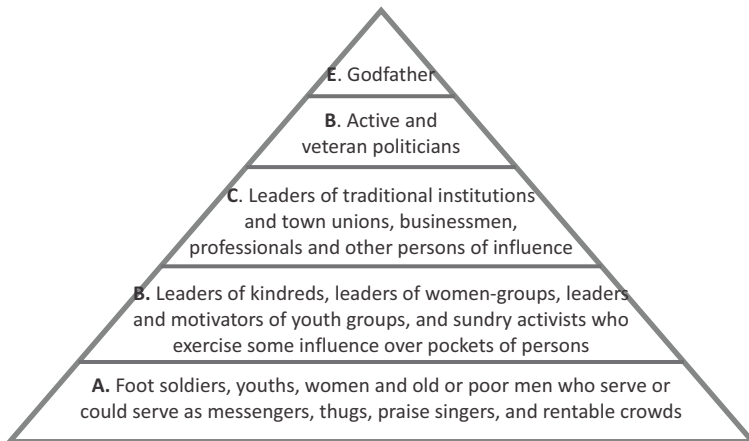
To ensure that businesses are deployed to noble rather than ignoble ends, societies develop laws and social rules which compel players to operate within the boundaries of acceptable behavior. When these tools of social restraint are weak or compromised, socially prohibitive behaviors in the nature of profiteering, counterfeiting, tax evasion, social discrimination, high-handedness and the like become commonplace. In the same vein, the absence of firm and objective controls in the political space warrant players - including godfathers - the latitude to push the boundaries of decency. Just like you don't cure a headache by cutting off the head, it is preposterous to talk of sanitizing the Nigerian political space by totally excluding godfatherism.

The godfather ecosystem:

Political godfatherism operates a layered leadership architecture

such as found in multi-level marketing programs. At least five layers are identifiable in a given ecosystem:

- (a) At the bottom of the food chain are foot soldiers, youths, women and old or poor men who serve or could serve as messengers, thugs, praise singers, and crowds;
- (b) A step above the mass of bodies is found leaders of kindreds, leaders of women-groups, leaders and motivators of youth groups, and sundry activists who exercise some influence over pockets of persons.
- (c) The third layer consists of leaders of traditional institutions and town unions, businessmen, professionals and other persons of influence in their respective communities.
- (d) The penultimate layer is the set of active politicians and veterans;
- (e) The topmost layer is the godfather layer.



The godfather food chain

As is typical of natural ecosystems, no layer can boast of being able to do without the other. The godfather needs the godson as the godson needs the godfather. None, in the true sense of the

term, is doing the other a favor.

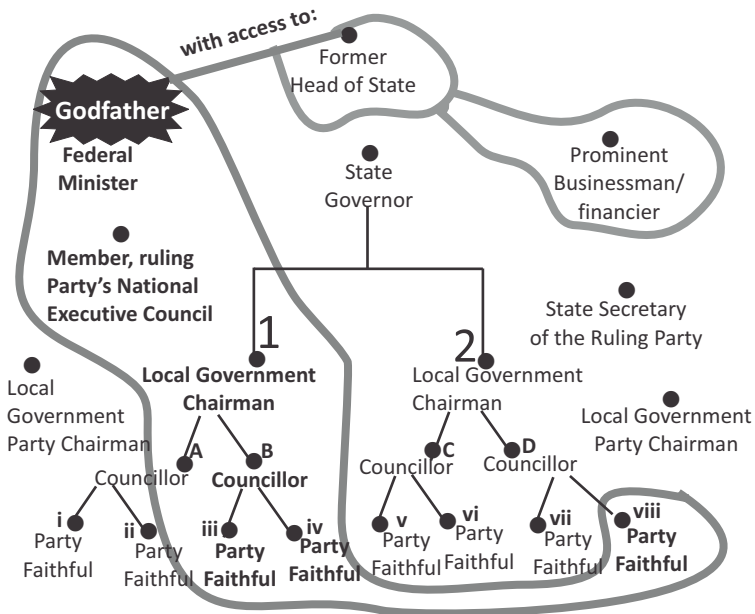
Though no layer in the godfather ecosystem is dispensable and none is more important than the other, it has been ascertained that the second and third layers (i.e. 'B' and 'C') are the most critical for any godfather with interest in deepening his grassroots presence. They are the mobilizers who are usually in one-on-one touch with the 1st layer individuals that perform the roles of voters, workers, thugs, etc. in their respective communities. A corollary of this is that they are also the ones that educate and inform the grassroots-level persons, interpreting, as they deem fit, policies and stories emanating from higher quarters. In recognition of this importance, political godfathers usually work hard at ingratiating themselves with persons who either operate at the 2nd and 3rd levels or have the capacity to operate at those levels by setting up word-of-mouth processes that could engender a social epidemic in favor of the godfather.

The foregoing is not to say that a godfather need not stay in contact with the bottom of the pyramid. On the contrary, he must - in order to guarantee his endearment to the grassroots. He should have direct contact with them and also extend favors directly to them in the nature of scholarships, employment opportunities, micro-enterprise loans, distribution of food, foodstuff, shelter, etc. When, however, he offers these favors that appear to have no relationship with a discernible political aspiration, it is the critical second and third layers of the ecosystem that will appropriately interpret these gifts to the masses (as the bottom of the pyramid people are euphemistically called), thus setting up the perception transfer process that will eventually graduate to a social epidemic.

Similarly, after a politician or an aspiring politician has recorded

considerable deposits in the EBAs (Emotional Bank Accounts) of individuals within relevant communities, it is on the second and third layers of the ecosystem that he would have to rely to draw on the goodwill by getting them to mobilize the masses towards political ends.

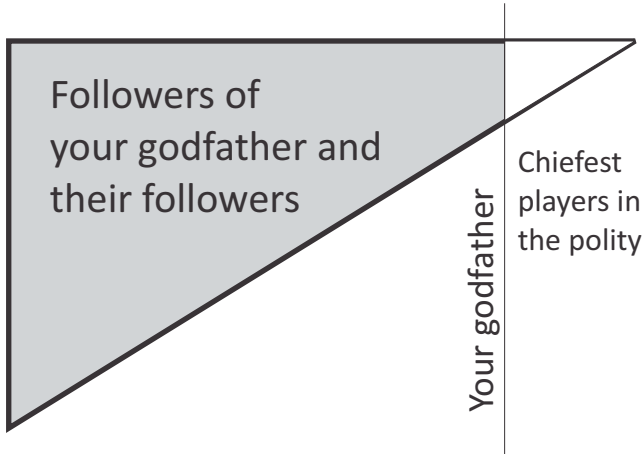
The strategic process by which a godfather recruits persons with predetermined profiles to serve as arrowheads or support personnel within territories of interest creates dependency linkages that are more circuitous than linear as illustrated below.



A schematic illustration of a Federal Minister who is godfather to a Local Government Chairman and is in competition for power with the State Governor

The pressures above and below the godfather plane

Here's another way to look at the godfather ecosystem:



The people to the left are all the prospective godfathers, prospective godsons, active politicians, etc who fall into the A – E strata in our earlier diagram. A godfather would usually have to take his *Next Steps* from somebody to the right; and a godson soon finds out that pressures from both ahead and behind his godfather's decision-making plane can affect his progress.

The farther a godfather is to the right, the more able he is to deliver on his promises to a godson. A super-ordinate of your godfather (who, in the scheme of things is your godfather's boss on the right side of the triangle) can say *yes* or *no* to your political well-being and make it happen without losing sleep. For instance, irrespective of the sacrifices that you and your people have made to get your godfather's endorsement, you can lose that prospect at the drop of a hat if a more 'powerful' person on the right side of the plane asks your godfather to back-off! With that will go your years of hard work, waiting, sacrificing and expecting.

Persons on the left side of the triangle who in effect are subordinates of your godfather lack the ability to say 'yes' and make it happen for you. They can, however, find a way to block your progress even though they have, technically, lower political status and authority than the godfather who has slated you for progress. The age-tested way of blocking a godson's progress is by sending unfavorable signals concerning the godson to both the godfather himself and powerful elements on the right side of the plane.

The lesson, therefore is that since *godsoning* is a form of voluntary servitude, wisdom dictates that one places oneself under the servitude of a godfather who is sufficiently to the far right. As the Igbos love to say, if you must eat a toad, then eat a fat one so that when you are called a toad-eater, you will answer with pride.

In consideration of the fact that there are formal and informal influences from both the right and left sides of the plane which will affect a godson's political progress, if not well-being, he must recognize that being anointed by a godfather is not a guarantee of political success. It behoves him, therefore, to be alert to who his godfather is dealing with, who is dealing with his godfather, and who the constituents of their ecosystem are.

A godson has to work with his godfather (who may also be his direct report) to get to the other people on the right hand side who are higher up in the food chain. It is usually disastrous to attempt to go over one's godfather's head or undermine one's godfather in order to get the support or anointing of somebody in the white region. With time and growth, that gap will be filled. But a premature attempt at bridging the gap usually ends in disaster. As the Igbos say, if a child attempts to throw his father off, the father's large scrotum would blind the child.

Political mileage for the godson:

The godfather system affords budding and struggling politicians the opportunity to come in contact with political ideas, leaders and peers from other families, spheres and territories that they might ordinarily never meet. From the top of the food chain, the godfather builds bridges of strategic cooperation with other godfathers which could result in the expansion of the reach and dreams of an otherwise low-level political operative under him

An ageing, redundant and unpopular politician who, buoyed by his immense wealth and political infrastructure, insists on dominating a given political landscape can be challenged by another godfather or set of godfathers using an articulate, committed, knowledgeable and popular godson as a proxy. Hence, the godson whose personal challenge would have been ineffectual would – thanks to the godfather system – be in a position to rout the deadwood politician and offer his people a far more decent representation than would otherwise have been the case. This highlights the commendableness of the godfather system.

Internal democracy in the ecosystem:

The process of building and sustaining a godfather's political fiefdom is as tasking as that of building any other business of a similar size: objectives are deliberately set and reviewed for the long and short terms; matching strategies are carefully deployed; talent gaps are identified, properly profiled and head-hunted for; funding gaps are identified and planned for; etc. In addition, a considerable part of the political profit is, as a rule, reinvested into the growth and expansion of the political family.

When a godfather sponsors any of his wards for a political appointment, the benefitting godson is, in turn, bound to provide opportunities, recognitions, contracts, funding, citing of projects and more appointments which would further reinforce the group. That way, more members are rewarded by the system itself, resulting in the strengthening of the family's respect, position and influence.

Incidentally, each political family consists of sub-families which compete vigorously against each other for the allocation of these rewards. Thanks to this multilayered competitive environment, propaganda tools such as innuendoes, fiendish rumors, gossips, spins, contrived security reports and similar falsehoods that are frequently deployed by a godfather's group for purposes of destabilizing competing families are also used against fellow *family* members and fed to the same godfather by his own men for purposes of credentialing favored persons or surreptitiously discrediting targeted members. It is thus the lot of the godfather to not only lead his team in the battle against external opposition, but to also simultaneously manage the conflicts within his team.

If, for instance, as a reward for his group's support in an electoral exercise, a godfather is requested by a new government to propose one person for a ministerial position, he would immediately be swamped by pressures from sub-groups within his own political family as each attempts to push its own candidate. Sometimes, as many as twenty names would be suggested by different groups, some of which may be amorphous groups formed for the purpose of proposing a preferred candidate multiple times in order to create an impression of his wide acceptability. The godfather must be able to see through the intrigues and balance the suggestions against his own strategic interests before forwarding his nomination.

Since there is hardly enough reward to go round, some of the godfather's followers would win sometimes, and some would lose at those times; some of those who win will remain in the family, while others would win and choose to change godfathers or to become godfathers in their own rights; some would lose and remain, bidding their time for their own day in the sun, while others would lose and choose to find *greener* pastures.

These internal dynamics put considerable pressure on a godfather to be democratic in allocating the dividends of democracy. Perceived instances of unfairness in the allocation of opportunities create dissonances and dissatisfactions which predispose aggrieved subgroups to sabotage the family. Though a godfather needs a military-style command and discipline to run his vast network, he does not have the advantage of the commitment-to-a-commission which military commanders have in their subordinates. In view of the fact that his subordinates are generally free agents who can pack their bags and leave him without exiting politics, a godfather is compelled – though reluctantly most of the time – to demonstrate considerable democratic tendencies or risk losing his followership.

2:

Godfatherism in the *Maturity Continuum*

*"It is not what we get. But who
we become, what we contribute
... that gives meaning to our
lives."*

Anthony Robbins

Political contests never take the form of classroom assessments where well-behaved students are made to dutifully sit examinations after which the best-performer is rewarded with political power or position. Politics will not be politics if it is as orderly, as decent and as predictable as that. Because these contests necessarily involve some jostling, the more knowledgeable gladiators usually busy themselves fashioning ways of strengthening their positions by seeking (and improving) strategic alliances. The godfather culture serves to meet this strategic need for synergy in the sense that it provides a gladiator with a formidable support structure.

While explaining what he called the *maturity continuum*, Stephen Covey identified this inclination to synergize as an advanced form of being. Listing three sequential maturity levels in an individual's physical, intellectual and emotional growth as *dependence*, *independence* and *interdependence*, he posited that though we each begin life as an infant, totally dependent on others and gradually become more and more independent to the

point where we become inner-directed and self-reliant, we eventually get to the point where we realize that a higher form of being resides, not in independence, but in interdependence.

Godfather politics – whether the godfather is a person, an institution or a concept – obviously falls into the category of *interdependence* because, at the basic level, it involves a collective (as opposed to an individual) in the pursuit of a set of interests. It is clearly a sociological improvement over the arrangement known to the individualistic early man in which, history tells us, there raged a perpetual war of one against all and all against one.

In godfather politics, people can't help but need people. And when, in politics, people begin to need the consent and cooperation of other people, then politics begins to tend towards democracy.

Expanding on his *Maturity Continuum* concept, Stephen Covey described *dependence* as the paradigm of you – you take care of me; I blame you for the result. *Independence*, on the other hand, he described as the paradigm of I – I can do it; I am responsible; I am self-reliant; I can choose. Finally, he defined *interdependence* as the paradigm of we – we can combine our talents and abilities and create something greater together. He posited that *dependent* people need others to get what they want, while *independent* people strive to get what they want through their own efforts and *interdependent* people combine their own efforts with the efforts of others.

Even in the absence of reasonably strong legal and social controls, highly effective persons who operate at the *interdependence* level as explained by Stephen Covey will, by choice, act and communicate with decency and fairness. There

are many examples of business entrepreneurs who have acted and continue to act with considerably high levels of social responsibility and self-control. In the political space, there are equally godfathers – in responsibility, if not in appellation – whose integrity, communications, teamwork and cooperation are at the level of Covey's *interdependence*. While godfathers in this category (whom we referred to above as *public-spirited* godfathers) may possibly constitute a large number, they hardly make enough headlines because good news is hardly good enough for News.

Maturity mismatch:

The bane of godfatherism in Nigeria is easily the preponderance of godfathers who use a paradigm of *dependence* and *independence* to prosecute relationships that are born to run on *interdependence* platforms. It does appear that the typical Nigerian godfather character is that of a wealthy and well connected person who is abysmally poor in integrity, communications, teamwork and cooperation - the very parameters on which *interdependence* thrives. This dysfunction is what throws up ugly tales of greedy, uncouth and socially irresponsible godfathers. When business entrepreneurs exhibit these attributes, their organizations are said to have poor corporate governance.

Imagine the difference it would make in a nation or sub-national entity if a successful political entrepreneur's passion is in some specific area of socioeconomic improvement and he deploys his immense charm and influence to compel his godsons to focus their efforts on achieving that dream. Rather than micromanaging his godsons, the godfather could shield them from political distractions, thus affording them the mental space, time and resources to focus on the developmental imperatives.

The least such a community would record is a purposeful and strategic effort at development.

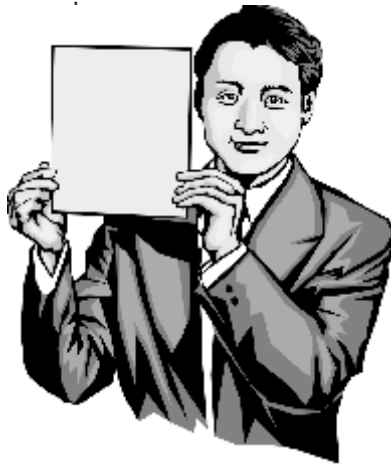
In summary, godfatherism has the potential to be a tool for immense good. If it has been identified with corruption, perversion and ineptitude at the moment, it is not so much the fault of godfatherism as it is the fault of individual practitioners. If someone is hitting you on the head with a hammer, it is not necessarily the fault of the hammer!

Better to light a candle than to curse the darkness:

Like it or hate it, godfather politics remains real and rife in the Nigerian environment. It thus behoves political actors to learn not only to live with it, but also to make the best of it. The Nigige-Uba imbroglio provides us with a good case material for this study. Better to light a candle, they say, than to curse the darkness.

Section B:

Media accounts of the Ngige-Uba conflict



*A man who buries himself
must have one hand left on
the surface*
- Igbo Proverb

Being a book on negotiations and not a documentary on the Ngige-Uba Saga, the author has simply elected to adopt as working documents the accounts of the conflict found in public media.

No deliberate attempt has been made by the author to search out further details of the conflict, or to ascertain the truth in conflicting accounts. Much as there is a possibility that some of the information fed to the public by either party may contain half truths and innuendoes, they are still useful for this work as half-truths, innuendoes and lies play a part in the dynamics of conflicts. In Negotiations, perception is more impactful than reality and attempts at manipulating perception should interest any student of the art of negotiation.

Several accounts and opinions of the conflict accessed from secondary sources have been reproduced verbatim (warts and all) in this section as well as in the appendix at the end of this book with the intent of providing the reader with material details of the conflict. Though we lay no claim to having captured a balanced view of the saga, we believe that the accounts we have here will provide sufficient background for our discussion of the dynamics of conflicts and negotiated agreements.

3:

“The dealer who exposed the President and the PDP”

Culled from: [Http://www.biafraland.com](http://www.biafraland.com)

VANGUARD

NGIGE: The dealer who exposed the President and the PDP

By Ochereome Nnanna
Saturday, January 01, 2005

Background

"There is no art to find the mind's construction on the face", says William Shakespeare, in his fabulous play, *Macbeth*. Appearance, or face value, deceives more than the smartest "419" fraudster can dare try. This is the problem that holds a choke grip on the windpipes of the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and its nominal leader, President Olusegun Obasanjo. A calculation based on face value assumptions has backfired in Anambra State, thus setting the state adrift, the ruling Party in utter chaos and confusion, and the entire nation perplexed and worried for the health of her hard won nascent democracy.

When the self-styled "godfather" of Anambra State politics, Chief Chris Ubah apparently secured the blessing of the powers that be in the PDP to produce the machinery of government in Anambra State, including all its elected and most of its appointed officers at

the local government, state and national levels through the April 2003 polls, he went out of his way to forestall the type of problems he now has hanging on him "like a giant's robe upon a dwarfish thief" (apologies, once again, Shakespeare). He knew the risks godfathers run when they put the wrong people in authority, especially a powerful executive authority such as the post of a state Governor under the 1979 Presidential Constitution of Nigeria.

For one thing, Ubah once worked under the first godfather of Anambra State politics, Chief Arthur Eze, who had the blessing of the late General Sani Abacha. He was mindful of how easily all the Arthur Eze boys, especially himself, quickly deposed their master when the Abuja power base crumbled. For another, he saw how the second godfather, Chief Emeka Offor, who was instrumental to the picking of Dr. Chinwoke Mbadinuju as Governor of Anambra State, was spurned by Mbadinuju on assuming office. Outside the state, he was a living witness to the cavalier manner in which Dr. Chimaroke Nnamani, crippled his benefactor, Chief Jim Nwobodo and reduced him to a persona non grata in Enugu State.

To avoid this type of problem popping up in his face, Ubah developed a watertight plan. Number one was the pattern of selection of people to occupy all appointive and elective offices in the State. In picking Dr. Chris Nwabueze Ngige for Governor, Ubah considered his lack of charisma, political base and his perceived servile disposition to be a great advantage to him in view of the structure of power he envisioned. Just to make assurance doubly sure, he arranged to have one of his elder sisters, Mrs. Eucharika Azodo, to emerge as the Speaker of the Anambra State House of Assembly. This would make the impeachment of Ngige easy if he became recalcitrant. Ubah also appointed another close loyalist, Dr. Okey Ude, as the Deputy

Governor who would take over from Ngige if the occasion arose. Then he reportedly took Ngige and other beneficiaries of his overnight political power base to the fearsome Okija Shrine and made them swear an oath of allegiance to him. He made Ngige sign a resignation letter in advance and to voice it into a recorder. When Ngige was sworn-in, Ubah gave directives that all his principal appointees, including his personal staff, must be cleared by him. He drew an organogram of what he called "The Anambra Political Caucus" in which he was placed at the top of the heap, with Ngige and a handful of others, including his Deputy, occupying the second layer of authority. In other words, Ngige was just one of the boys at the second level. Since Ubah had a free license from Abuja to use the Nigerian Police Force as he saw fit, he retained their services and placed them at his beck and call. He had also forwarded the name of one of his elder brothers, Ugochukwu Ubah, to INEC to swear in as one of the three Senators of the Federal Republic of Nigeria from Anambra State.

Being that most of the people Ubah put in elective and appointive offices did not even contest elections let alone winning or losing, the Ubah democratic magic was unprecedented in the history of Nigeria. The fact that it appeared to be allowed to stand made many people in the PDP to see this young man's clout in the Party and the Presidency of Nigeria as an awesome one that was best cultivated rather than offended.

At first, Ngige himself, who would have felt fulfilled if he had been allowed to go to his dream position at the Senate, appeared happy to work within the structure Ubah had created. On May 29, 2003, he had already been sworn in when Ubah's long convoy impudently stormed the venue. Ngige himself ordered the seated crowd of eminent persons to rise at Ubah's

arrival, eulogizing him for his role in bringing about a new dispensation in the state. In fact, a week later when he paid a visit to Lagos, he wondered aloud why journalists seemed to detest Ubah's political antics, adding: "he's not as bad as you think".

However, a few weeks later, on July 10, 2003 the aborted abduction took place and Ngige only escaped with his life by the skin of a tooth. The Anambra crisis was already in full bloom, barely a month after the new Governor was sworn-in. That crisis was to continue for the rest of the year. But, as the year drew to a close, the National Vice-Chairman of the PDP, Chief Olabode George, made a round of the media houses in Lagos and boasted that the crisis would be solved "before the end of the year", though he refrained from disclosing exactly how that was to come about.

Our democracy mirror

Nigerians looking for an answer to that soon had it - right between the eyes! Rather than end the crisis as the year 2003 ended, the year 2004 was opened with another phase of it. This time, the entire conspiracies, calculations and projections that produced Ubah as the godfather of Anambra politics, Ngige as the Governor of Anambra State, and the roles that the Presidency played in the entire saga, began to unfold in the public arena. On January 2, 2004, one Mr. Nelson Achukwu, one of the suspended members of the Anambra State House of Assembly and under the sponsorship of the deposed Ubah political structure when the abduction saga failed, had sued Governor Ngige at the Enugu High Court presided over by Justice Stanley Nnaji for what he described as the abuse of his rights.

Quaintly enough, he sought the court's relief to order the removal of the Governor from office for having resigned his office on July 6, 2003. On January 2, while Nigerians were still

groggy from the New Year's Day revelries, Justice Nnaji granted Achukwu's prayer by ordering the Inspector General of Police and the Minister of Justice to forcefully remove Ngige from office as he had resigned. However, Ngige quickly went to an Awka High Court presided over by Justice F. C. Nwizu and got a counter-order restraining the IGP from executing Justice Nnaji's order. Ngige subsequently won an Enugu Appeal Court ruling on the matter.

This legal brick-battling led to the withdrawal of police security personnel from the Governor, a situation that persisted until the recent invasion of the state by suspected hired thugs. Before the court ruling, there were media reports that a plot to use this strategy to remove Ngige from office had been hatched at the Ota Farm residence of President Olusegun Obasanjo during the Yuletide festivities, with Nnaji in attendance.

Though some chose to take the report with a pinch of salt, incredulous that the President could descend so low to defend the political interests of his nephew-in-law and younger brother of a trusted personal aide, it was however, becoming more and more evident that the nation's number one citizen had more than a perfunctory personal interest in the matter. After all, many people reasoned, as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the Police, it must require his personal consent for the Ubah camp to so brazenly use the Police Force in feathering its political nest. Secondly, the President had preferred to treat the abduction saga as "a family affair" of the PDP, rather than order the arrest of the violators of the Constitution as many saw the abductors.

Apart from retiring the leader of the abduction team, the now late Assistant Inspector General of Police, Raphael Ige (who was in any case due to retire in a couple of weeks) Obasanjo ordered

the IG, who was also seen to be a culprit in the abduction plot, to probe the incident. This meant that the President was not only bent on sweeping the crime under the carpet but also, by consenting to the withdrawal of Ngige's police security, was interested in his removal from office by any means possible.

In fact, the Federal Government, in March 2004, actually sought Supreme Court injunctions for Ngige's removal, which was not granted. Rumours made the media rounds to the effect that a certain candidate for Governor during the 2003 polls in Anambra State, was being considered to replace Ngige, whether he was removed by a court or through another option on the cards, the imposition of a state of emergency.

Governor Ngige, now obviously fighting back, disappeared from public glare and made himself unavailable for the IGP to remove, and resurfaced on Wednesday, January 7, 2004, to address a horde of his supporters at the premises of the government house, Awka. He quickly organised his own private security and purchased a N40 million bullet-proof Mercedes Benz Jeep in March. It crashed a couple of days later, but the Governor escaped unhurt. That same month, precisely on March 23, the National Judicial Council suspended Justice Nnaji for his obnoxious verdict. It was only a matter of time before he was dismissed from the Bench by the same authority.

The survival strategy

One of the means by which Ngige plotted his own survival in office, apart from tackling Ubah and the Presidency, was the self-recreation as a populist Governor. Ngige had captured the imagination of many Nigerians when he alleged that the primary reason for the attempted abduction of him by his estranged godfather, was due to his refusal to honour a plot to loot the sum of N3 billion from the Anambra State treasury, being a sum that

was allegedly spent in securing the job for him. Ngige also commenced a series of road construction and paid off all salary arrears owed workers. He was gradually getting himself accepted by the generality of the Anambra populace, even though many could not forget that he was ruling the state with a stolen mandate.

However, there was a potentially explosive issue waiting to test the clout of the Ubah and Ngige camps in the State. This had to do with the tussle for the control of the party at the local council levels. Whoever controls the Party in the State and is able to win the majority of the local government areas stands a chance to decide who would occupy the Government House in 2007. Anambra was one of the states where local council polls could not take place in 2003, mainly for the fact that the Anambra State Electoral Commission (ANSIEC) said it was not ready. Besides, Ngige made it clear that he would not okay the local poll unless his police security was restored.

These contributed in creating an atmosphere of impatience in the Ubah camp, which, on November 10th, precipitated the invasion of the state by thugs, who proceeded to burn, bomb and loot the government house, Governor's lodge, state judiciary building, state House of Assembly, state radio, and other public buildings. The Nigerian police was shown on national television clapping for the brigands and giving them covering fire as they moved from one venue to the other. Clearly, the idea was to stage a situation of total breakdown of law and order in the State. President Obasanjo had used the Plateau crisis as an alibi to remove his foe, Governor Joshua Dariye from office for six months. A state of emergency clamped on the heels of the sponsored mayhem in Anambra state would follow the pattern of the Plateau precedent.

On December 6, indications emerged that members of the National Working Committee (NWC) of the PDP was no longer together with the Presidency in its handling of the Anambra crisis. Perhaps, matters had gone beyond the borderline of decency even by PDP standards. The National Chairman of the Party, Chief Audu Ogbeh, an old school democrat, wrote a letter to President Obasanjo, warning of the danger of continuing to treat the Anambra situation without proper regard to good conscience. Obasanjo, a couple of days later wrote him a scathing reply, in which the President himself, unwittingly exposed a can of worms that put it beyond reasonable doubt that he was a pro-Ubah partisan in the crisis. He treated Ogbeh's letter as the work of a traitor, and among others, made a number of disclosures that shocked Nigerians beyond description. These were as follows:

Chris Ubah, in his presence, openly told Chris Ngige that he did not win the election, and that he did not know "how it was done." Ngige admitted he did not win. The President sent them out of his residence. He did not take any action to bring the law-breakers to book, in line with his touted anti-corruption crusade and his duties under the Constitution.

Obasanjo said when two robbers complete an operation, and one of them becomes greedy, he should be condemned and prevailed upon to do justice and equity to his colleague! Meaning that Ngige should compensate Ubah for helping him into office through the robbery of the Anambra people's right to elect a Governor of their choice.

IGP, Tafa Balogun had told him that the thugs that attacked Anambra state had "overwhelmed" his men. Balogun needed to be told to beef up from other states before he did so, and Obasanjo did not spot a display of commonplace incompetence

on the IG's part.

Conclusion

The Anambra crisis was the year's starter for Nigeria, when Justice Nnaji gave his strange ruling that the IG should remove Ngige from office. The Anambra crisis has consumed the careers of two high court judges - Stanley Nnaji and Wilson Egbo-Egbo, for giving verdicts that were widely described as "black market" judgments. It has exposed Governor Ngige as the holder of a stolen democratic mandate and Ubah as rigger of the polls that denied Anambra people their political right to choose their leader. It has exposed the Nigerian Police as a tool in the hands of the Ubah camp, ultimately the President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, as the muscle behind the use of the Party, the Police, some high court judges, and the Presidential office to protect the narrow interests of the chief stealer of the Anambra mandate, Ubah, his in-law.

In all this, Ngige has survived in office. In this wise, he has proved, once again, that his perception as easy and usable by his political sponsors was totally misplaced. But most importantly, every Nigerian now knows, rather than suspects, that the 2003 polls in Anambra State was stolen by the ruling Party, the PDP.

For all these, the man who stands at the middle of it all, Dr. Chris Ngige, is our Man of the Year 2004, for the good, the bad and the ugly heck of it.

4:

“The exchange of letters between Chief Audu Ogbeh and President Olusegun Obasanjo”

Culled from: <http://www.waado.org>

Chief Audu Ogbeh's Letter to President Olusegun Obasanjo

December 6, 2004

His Excellency, The President, Commander-In-Chief, Federal
Republic of Nigeria, Abuja

Re: Anambra and Related Matters

About a month ago, the nation woke up to the shocking news of a devastating attack on Anambra State resulting in the burning down of radio and television stations, hotels, vehicles, assembly quarters, the residence of the state Chief Judge and finally, Government House, Awka. Dynamite was even applied in the exercise and all or nearly most of these in the full glare of our own police force as shown on NTA for the world to see. The operation lasted three days.

That week, in all churches and mosques, we, our party, and you as Head of Government and Leader of this Nation came under the most scathing and blithering attacks. We were singly and

severally accused of connivance in action and so forth. Public anger reached its peak.

Recommendation

You set up a reconciliation committee headed by Ebonyi State Governor, Dr. Sam Egwu, and we all thought this would help calm nerves and perhaps bring about some respite. But quite clearly things are nowhere near getting better. While the reconciliation team attempted to inspect damaged sites in Anambra, they were scared away by gun fire, further heightening public anger and disdain for us.

Bomb explosion in government house, Awka

On Tuesday, the 30th day of November, 2004, another shocking development; a reported bomb explosion in Government House Awka. Since then, the media, public discourse within and even outside of our borders, have been dominated by the most heinous and hateful of expletives against our party and your person and government. It would appear that the perpetrators of these acts are determined to stop at nothing since there has not been any visible sign of reproach from law enforcement agencies. I am now convinced that the rumours and speculations making the rounds that they are determined to kill Dr. Chris Ngige may not be unfounded.

The question now is, what would be the consequences of such a development? How do we exonerate ourselves from culpability, and worse still, how do we even hope to survive it? Mr. President, I was part of the second republic and we fell. Memories of that fall are a miserable litany of woes we suffered, escaping death only by God's supreme mercy. Then we were suspected to have stolen all of Nigeria's wealth. After several months in prison, some of us were freed to come back to life penniless and wretched. Many have gone to their early graves unmourned

because the public saw us all as renegades.

I am afraid we are drifting in the same direction again. In life, perception is reality and today, we are perceived in the worst light by an angry, scornful Nigerian Public for reasons which are absolutely unnecessary. Mr. President, if I write in this vein, it is because I am deeply troubled and I can tell you that an overwhelming percentage of our party members feel the same way though many may never be able to say this to you for a variety of reasons.

But the buck stops at your table and in my position, not only as Chairman but also as an old friend and loyal defender of your development programmes which I have never stopped defending, I dare to think that we can, either by omission or commission allow ourselves to crash and bring to early grief, this beautiful edifice called democracy. On behalf of the People's Democratic Party, I call on you to act now and bring any, and all criminal, even treasonable, activity to a halt. You and you alone, have the means. Do not hesitate. We do not have too much time to waste.

A.I. Ogbeh, OFR National Chairman

cc: Vice President,
Chairman, Board of Trustees
Speaker, House of Representatives

President Olusegun Obasanjo's Reply to Chief Audu Ogbeh's Letter

December 12, 2004

I am amused and not surprised by your letter of December 6, 2004 because after playing hide and seek games over a period of time, you have finally, at least in writing, decided to unmask and show your true colour. Having made this introductory point, let us go over systematically and, in some detail, through the whole episode of the Anambra saga. I must add that I have expressed sadness and condemned the wanton destruction of properties that took place in Anambra recently. When it turned out that Governor Mbadinuju was an unmitigated failure in Anambra, as PDP Governor in our first term, I made it clear to you that I would not go to Anambra to campaign if Governor Mbadinuju was being sponsored as PDP gubernatorial candidate in spite of his calamitous failure. You did not tell me that you were sending a discrete investigation team to Anambra to find out the situation on the ground.

You never said yes or no but I determined that, in good conscience, I could not go to Anambra to campaign for support and seek endorsement for Governor Mbadinuju. About six weeks later, you came to report to me that you have sent two people discretely to ascertain on the ground whether people wanted Mbadinuju or not and you had received report that 66 2/3 of the people of Anambra did not want Mbadinuju.

For me, what we knew about Mbadinuju in terms of failure to pay salaries in some cases for over 7 months which led to school children not being able to take the WASCE did not need any

Chris UWADOKA

discrete investigation. However, your discrete investigation convinced you that I was right and you brought Mbadinuju to me, for you and I to tell him that he could not be a gubernatorial candidate of the PDP in Anambra.

You rightly, I believe, requested that I should work with you to give him a soft landing and we agreed to make him an ambassador after the election and we even agreed on which mission abroad, subject to our success in the elections. Mbadinuju asked for a letter from me and I refused because I said that my word was my bond but that you were free to write him one. A few weeks after that meeting, Mbadinuju decamped from our party to the AD and sought election as Governor of Anambra on the platform of the AD.

When the members of our party started jostling for nomination, as normal with me, I refused to endorse a candidate; it is only after the primaries that the party's candidate becomes my own candidate. And in the case of Anambra, if I had wanted to support anybody at all, it would have been Jerry Ugokwe because he was one man I knew but, of course, I was consistent on my policy. And when Ngige emerged as the candidate of the PDP from the primaries, he was brought to be introduced to me and, of course, he became not only the party's candidate but also mine.

After enquiries about the situation in Anambra and about Ngige himself, I made a point to him that he should go and reconcile himself with his father with whom he was not on talking terms as I believed it was an abomination for an African son to be in a state of enmity with his father to the point of absolute non-communication. I advised Ngige to reconcile with his father and the rest of his family and he reported to me that he did.

The election took place and Ngige was declared the winner. I congratulated him along with other victorious candidates. Realizing that Ngige would need some assistance to help him through the teething problem of his administration, I invited him to consider having a non-partisan honorary committee of elders of the state and he agreed. I talked to Igwe Nwokedi, Chief Mbasulike Amechi and the Anglican Bishop of Awka to get two more people with them to act as such honorary non-partisan advisory committee of elders for the Governor.

For them to maintain their independence, I said that any transportation or administrative funds that they might require would be provided from the Presidency rather than the state. After two months, Igwe Nwokedi, who was supposed to be the chairman, reported that the Governor was impossible to advise or to work with and that was the end of that effort. Mr. Chairman, I reported that effort to you.

When on one occasion, Chris Uba came to report that things appeared to be going wrong between him and the Governor in the presence of Chief Amechi, I asked the latter to go and sort it out for them in his capacity as an elder of the state and veteran politician. I requested Chief Amechi to report back to me. The truth is that as far as Anambra was concerned, I considered it my duty to work with all stakeholders in the area of avoiding conflict and on that ground I promised to act on any report or advice from Chief Mbasulike Amechi.

I never had warning that things were going sour in the state any more until I was in Maputo, Mozambique on July 9, 2003 when I received report that the Governor had resigned. I did what normally I do not do except in an emergency by using government facility for strictly non-governmental purpose. I instructed that an airplane from the Presidential fleet be made

available to a team to rush to Anambra to investigate what was happening. That team went on Friday morning while I was still in Mozambique and returned on Friday evening. You will recall that the team reported to you and I that what was happening in Anambra required urgent party action to resolve it as a family affair.

A Senate Panel that followed in the same vein reopened something similar. Mr. Chairman, the following Sunday, you received and opened a brown envelope in my residence in Abuja that contained three different letters of resignation and a video of announcement of resignation of Governor Ngige. You were as shocked as I was and you promised to do something about it that night. You left with copies of the documents and the next thing you did after that was to insinuate that Ngige's problems were caused by me.

Unfortunately, as in many other instances, you failed to do what you should have done as the chief executive of the party and rather prefer to insult me not only as the President of the nation but also as the leader of the party which you seem never to recognize or acknowledge. From that point on, I only did my job as a President by investigating.

What the police did or did not do and dishing out punishment to be confirmed by the Police Service Commission which in its own report asked for a complete investigation of the matter. That investigation was carried out by the Attorney General and his report was acted upon. After that, I deliberately remained aloof about political events in Anambra except whatever may affect security and loss of life and property.

I, in fact, asked both Ngige and Chris Uba never to come to my office or to my residence and you know this. As far as I could

remember, a childhood friend of yours came with you to discuss the issue of Anambra between you and I on one occasion.

Soon after, I briefed the party caucus in detail on my role, on what I saw and did and the party caucus endorsed every action that had been taken by the executive arm of government in respect with Anambra. A few months later, two members of your Working Committee - Olisa Metu (an Ex-Officio member) and Farouk (the youth leader) - came to appeal to me to specially intervene in reconciling Ngige and Chris Uba, I refused initially because I believed it was really the responsibility of the party. But since you had shirked your responsibility as party chairman, I conceded and asked the two members of the NWC to bring Ngige and Chris Uba to me. That was the only time, after several months, that I allowed them to enter my residence.

I was shocked that a man in the position of aspirant or one elected as Governor could actually resign on three different occasions in writing and on one occasion, the resignation was on videotape. I, also, was of the opinion that for Ngige to have allowed that to happen, there must have been some extra-legal motivation. There has been accusation and counter-accusation as reasons for such ungainly behaviour. When the two of them came to see me, the two young men who had brokered the opportunity for Ngige and Chris Uba to see me wanted to leave. I refused and insisted that they had to be at the meeting because I wanted them as witnesses.

After almost two hours of talk, we dismissed hoping that fences would be mended and reconciliation would be fully established. They left and waited on the corridors for a while. Olisa Metu came back and requested that I should meet with Ngige and Chris Uba alone without witnesses for them to feel free to unwind. Again, I did and that was when I got the real shock of my

life when Chris Uba looked Ngige straight in the face and said, "You know you did not win the election" and Ngige answered "Yes, I know I did not win." Chris Uba went further to say to Ngige, "You don't know in detail how it was done." I was horrified and told both of them to leave my residence.

This incident was reported to you because although constitutionally, Ngige had been declared winner, for me and, I believe, for you there remains a moral burden and dilemma both as leaders in Nigeria and leaders of our party. You did not consider it important enough to do anything or talk about it. I told Ngige that the only way I could live with this moral dilemma since he had been constitutionally declared as Governor is that I will continue to deal with him in his capacity as the Governor of a State in Nigeria purely and strictly on formal basis either until he runs out his term, he decides to follow the path of honour or until any competent authority declares otherwise. That remains my position to date.

That notwithstanding, immediately after the Court of Appeal overturned Justice Nnaji's order, the Police promptly obeyed. That is what rule of law is all about. Furthermore, based on all that I had heard, I told Chris Uba and Ngige that their case was like the case of two armed robbers that conspired to loot a house and after bringing out the loot, one decided to do the other in and the issue of fair play even among robbers became a factor. The two robbers must be condemned for robbery in the first instance and the greedy one must be specially pointed out for condemnation to do justice among the robbers. To me, the determination of the greedy one is also a problem, maybe they are both equally greedy. Justice, fairness and equity are always the basis of peace and harmony in any human organisation or relationship. Anambra issue is essentially a human organizational and human relationship issue.

I was on a tour of five countries in five days going from the UK through Finland and Sweden with a stop-over in Libya to Tanzania last November when the recent issue of violence broke out. The Inspector General of Police who claimed that the crowd was overwhelming for the police strength was instructed to double the number of mobile police unit by bringing additional men and women from the adjoining states. He did so and he reported that 19 looters and destroyers were arrested and charged to court with some vehicles seized. NTA coverage of that unfortunate incident is not the issue, wars are watched like theatrical plays in the contemporary world. The issue is whether or not the police performed or did not perform their duties.

Mr. Chairman, obviously you do not expect me to do less than I have done. I even went out to do more because since you failed to either resolve the political issues that are intra-party matters and they have been spread to engulf the entire state or decisively punish any offender, I decided in consultation with Governor Ngige, to set up a fact-finding and reconciliation committee under the Governor of Ebonyi State to put an end to the violence, create a conducive atmosphere for the Governor to return to his station and to ensure permanent peace, security through reconciliation of the known warring party members - Chris Ngige and Chris Uba - and their supporters. And this was after I had a meeting with both the PDP state chairman and the Governor. Since the Governor of Ebonyi, whom I have asked to keep you fully posted on his findings and progress of his committee has not yet reported to me, and since I have taken every necessary step to ensure a resolution of the political problem in Anambra which you have failed to confront, I consider your letter opportunistic, and only a smokescreen and I believe I should answer it in some reasonable detail as I have done. I also took every reasonable step to beef up security to deal with the

situation.

On Tuesday, December 7, 2004, after the party meeting on the crisis in Kogi State, you told me that you had written me a letter on threat to Ngige's life and you indicated to me, which you did not do in the letter, that one Honourable Chuma Nzeribe was the culprit. As I will not dilly-dally on an issue of security, even before I received your letter, I directed the Director-General of the State Security Service to look into the matter. It may interest you that almost on daily basis letters are received in my office of people alleging that other people want to assassinate them. All such allegations are forwarded to security people for investigation. None has been substantiated yet. But we will not take any issue of security lightly no matter who claims to be in danger.

And contrary to your belief and insinuation, just today, December 9, the Governor of Anambra came to me to seek my opinion and advice on whether or not to constitute a commission of enquiry into what happened in the state. I did not hesitate to advise and encourage him to do so in order that all the facts would be exposed and verifiable truth established rather than trading in rumours.

Let me end on this note: whatever may be your reason for the ambivalent disposition and handling of the party problem in Anambra like you have done in other places and the ulterior motive for your letter, if and when in my capacity as President of Nigeria duty calls on me to act, I will not shirk my responsibility and we will at the end of the day be at the bar of the public both at the party level and national level. Let me also say that it is, indeed, unfortunate that you make so many unnecessary and unwarranted insinuations in your letter about our great country. I have taken judicial note of the ominous comparisons you made between a government in which you participated that was over-

thrown in a coup d'etat and this present administration.

I wonder if that is your wish since you may not now go out penniless. But whatever agenda you may be working at God is always in charge and in control. Warped perception must be differentiated from reality. Perception created and manipulated for a sinister purpose cannot be reality. The greatest danger to any country is putting truth out of favour; extolling evils of lies, deceit, treachery, disloyalty, unpatriotism, corruption and unconstitutionally. That is my greatest fear for Nigeria and it should be yours and that of any right-thinking Nigerian. Not too long ago, I challenged you to think beyond the ordinary, the expected and the self, I still put that challenge on the table.

Let it be on record that I do believe that I have invested the totality of my life in what I may call "Enterprise Nigeria" and if it means that in the process of repositioning our dear country for sustainable greatness, what is dearest to me would have to be sacrificed, I will in good conscience, not hesitate to do so. And if that will enhance Nigeria's development, it is a sacrifice that I will be glad to make. I have reached a stage in life that I have passed the state of being intimidated or being flattered. I can stand before God and man and in clear conscience to defend every measure that I have taken everywhere in Nigeria since I became the President and will continue to act without fear or favour or inducement.

And it does not matter to me what is sponsored in the Nigerian media, in particular, the print media. I believe that our vindication will come through the truth, which is the only thing that can uplift a nation and make an honest man and a sincere believer in God free. May I crave your indulgence to copy this letter to all those to whom your letter to me was copied. In addition, I am copying the President of the Senate, the number

three man in the present hierarchy of this government and a party leader in his own right, whom you deliberately left out of the distribution list of your letter for reason best known to you. One thing I will never stop doing is praying for Nigeria in general and Anambra in particular.

May God continue to bless and prosper Nigeria. In spite of the malevolence of some Nigerians, Nigeria is moving to the cruising level and cruising speed. That is the work of God and what all Nigerians and friends of Nigeria should do is to join hands in hastening the work of God in Nigeria at this juncture.

May God help us to help ourselves. I wish you well.

Signed President Olusegun Obasanjo

cc: Vice-President Atiku Abubakar;
President of the Senate, Chief Adolphus Wabara;
The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Alhaji Aminu Bello Masari; and
The Chairman of the Board of Trustees of PDP, Chief Anthony Anenih.

Postscript:

Nigeria's highest court for electoral matters, the Court of Appeal, ruled on March 15, 2006 that Dr Chris Ngige was not duly elected and consequently removed him from office. Peter Obi who was actually the duly elected Governor was then sworn-in on March 17, 2006.

News reports indicated in 2007 that Chief Chris Uba attempted to present himself (rather than sponsor someone else) as a contestant for the PDP's gubernatorial primary election preparatory to the Governorship elections. Unfortunately for him, the power dynamics had changed and he was no longer as all-powerful. The Party's ticket was won by his brother, Andy Uba with whom he had become political foes to the extent of exchanging brickbats in public media.

Whereas Chris Uba is still influential at the time of writing this book, his overbearing reach has been considerably diminished. He is no longer THE MAN he used to be. He has become, at best, one of the men of Anambra State – an apt commentary on the transience of the external elements of power discussed in this book.

Section C:

Deconstructing the conflict



*“He that eats the genitals of
a ram becomes indebted to the
elephantiasis of the scrotum”*
- Igbo Proverb

5:

On getting chosen by a godfather (How Ngige & Uba may have settled for each other)

*“Good judgment comes from
experience and experience comes
from bad judgment.”*

Barry LePatner

The pre-election landscape in Anambra state in the period under review was one in which there was a plurality of godfathers and pretending godfathers. There, equally, were tens of Governorship aspirants in the ruling People's Democratic Party to most of whom Chief Chris Uba stood out as an evidently more promising godfather. But rather than give serious consideration to those who were seeking his blessing, Chris Uba, it appears, set out to head-hunt a candidate that would suit his purpose and he found that candidate in Dr Chris Nwabueze Ngige.

In Chris Ngige's testimony presented to the special Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) NEC committee on Anambra crises on Monday 10 January 2005 at the Command Guest House, Abuja he stated that when it became obvious that the party would not return Dr. Mbadinuju as its candidate for the Governorship elections, the following persons approached and encouraged him to run: Chief Ben Okoye; Chief Okey Ezibe; Chief Ben Akabueze; Prof A.B.C. Nwosu and Chief Chris Uba. In an interview

with Sahara Reporters posted on their website on April 17, 2006 (<http://www.saharareporters.com/news-page/exclusive-i-am-not-exile-dr-chris-ngige-speaks-thenewssaharareporter>), Ngige further stated that he only consented when Chris Uba approached him with the same request. His reason for honoring Chris Uba's request was that Chris Uba was his friend and they had “worked together and built some political bridges in the past.”

In Chris Uba's testimony presented to the same special Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) NEC committee on Anambra crises, he averred that the Choice of Dr. Chris Ngige, who was already a candidate for the Anambra Central Senatorial District, was based on his reliable professional status and his experience in the Civil Service.

These submissions give us a peep into the conception and embryonic stages of the godfathering relationship. One may surmise that when the position of governorship candidate of the PDP became available, it was only natural within the prevailing political situation that Chief Chris Uba - who had been credentialed as the territorial political godfather – would be the one to produce the person. We note that in making his choice, he settled for someone with whom he had some shared history – i.e. he had known Ngige prior to the time and they had done some things together. We also note his comment to the effect that what Ngige had going for him were his credentials, experience and political involvement. Those qualities, in Uba's reckoning, gave the godson wider acceptability, thus making him an easier sell to stakeholders.

Two lessons stand out here for those who look forward to being godfathers as well as those that hope to someday be chosen by a godfather: first, be effective in your networks. Chris Ngige was

within Chris Uba's network. Their relationship didn't start as one based on dependency. It was just two men living their lives and serving together in some capacities. They may as well have been colleagues in some church choir or any voluntary organisation. People, especially young persons, need to realize that when they volunteer for assignments, they are making themselves available for a possible honorable call-up at some future date.

The second lesson is in the fact that one should build one's credentials before the opportunity appears. As Harvey Mackay once remarked, dig your well before you get thirsty. Go to school; start and run a business; work somewhere; win awards; get recognized; get celebrated; hustle while you dream. Just find yourself doing something where you could be touted as exceptional – even if you, in reality, are not. The background to the choice of Ngige was that Anambra state had become dysfunctional and its citizens were crying for change. Meanwhile, given the extent of Chris Uba's political domination of the Anambra terrain at the time, if he had picked a moron, put a suit on the moron and declared him his candidate for governorship, that moron would certainly have become Governor. But Uba, it appears, chose to respect the spirit of the time by presenting someone with, according to him, reliable professional status and experience in the Civil Service.

Convincing a reluctant Chris Ngige was only the first stage. The next stage, which was more dicey, was that of converting him to a godson. Ngige's initial reluctance gave him some negotiation high ground. You can't plead with a man to accept to be governor and suddenly say to him, “look, these are my terms”. Dr. Ngige's testimony to the special Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) NEC committee on Anambra crises indicates that it was he, and not Chris Uba, that gave some conditions which, according to him, were accepted. His conditions were first that the payment of

arrears incurred by the former Governor would be the first priority on his list if elected and, secondly, that he would work primarily for the interest of Anambra State before considering other interest groups. The implication of the last sentence is that he recognized that there were other interests to meet outside those of Anambra state. The reference was probably to the ROI (Return on Investment) of godfathers.

The process of converting an otherwise strongly positioned Ngige to a leashed godson can be deciphered from Ngige's comment to Sahara Reporters (<http://www.saharareporters.com/news-page/exclusive-i-am-not-exile-dr-chris-ngige-speaks-thenewssaharareporter>) to the effect that when he yielded to Chris Uba's persuasion to run for the position of their party's governorship candidate, "then suddenly Chris Uba wanted to personalize everything."

To the question as to what exactly Uba wanted to personalize, Ngige had replied, "he started chasing away all of the other people who came to speak to me initially; it was supposed to be a collective thing. Not a one man show. He started introducing personal agenda into the whole matter; he said we won't be talking to any of them or fraternize with them anymore..."

The strategy element which Ngige attempted to describe in the interview is that of sequestration. By putting Ngige away from other prospective and pretending godfathers, Uba may have been attempting to ensure that Ngige was left with no doubt as to who was buttering his bread. This is important because in the game of political jobbing, it is common for pretending-godfathers to rush to a man whom they hear has been tipped for a political appointment and give him the impression that they are in the process of sponsoring him for that very position whereas, in truth, they had no idea where or how the

appointment came about. Sometimes, the appointee ends up confused as many contending groups or persons boldly claim to be 'singlehandedly' responsible for the appointment. Sometimes, the trick works and the gratitude is directed to the pretender rather than the genuine sponsor.

Indications are that Chief Uba successfully preempted such misplaced acknowledgements by colonizing Chris Ngige. That explains Ngige's comment to Sahara reporters quoted above to the effect that Chris Uba 'started chasing away' all of the other people who came to speak to him (Ngige) initially and that he (Chris Uba) said "we won't be talking to any of them or fraternize with them anymore..."

Besides isolating Ngige, Chris Uba also needed to keep him on a short leash. With his senatorial ticket gone, Dr Ngige was constrained to continue with the pursuit of the governorship position but, with neither funds nor political reach for the battle ahead, he couldn't help but look to the funds and political muscle of Chief Chris Uba. Ngige, who, in haughty self assurance, had earlier issued conditions for accepting the invitation to gun for the position of the Governor of Anambra State, was now the one to have conditions dictated to him. He apparently advised himself to commit himself to conveying the impression that he was truly subservient to Chief Chris Uba and that he would avail himself as a godson Governor.

The blind man and the cripple:

Godfather-godson relationships are predicated on what economists call *complementarity*: I have something that you need and without which you may not meet your objectives; and you have something that I need without which I may not meet my objectives.

This is aptly illustrated by the fable of the blind man and the cripple in Igbo folklore who constituted themselves into a thieving team and stole a village blind. The blind man, the story goes, would bear his lame counterpart on his back and ferry him to locations that would have been impossible for him to access in the light of his disability; the lame man, on the other hand, would direct his blind counterpart through paths that would have been impossible for a blind man to navigate. After each theft, all the villagers would be put through a ritual to determine the culprits but the ritual would turn up no culprit because while others would swear that they didn't steal the missing item, the blind man would swear that he had never seen the item in question, while his lame counterpart would swear that his feet had never touched the territory where the item was said to have been stolen from.

Similar to the fable, the choice of each other between Ngige and Uba was consequent upon their complementing differences. Uba brought to the table funds, protection, top-level contacts, electoral knowhow and control of the party structure whereas Ngige brought the promise of converting these kinetic energy-types into future streams of income and power. You win, I win!

Guarding against potential surprise when trust is low:

Having chosen and sequestered Ngige, Chris Uba, by his admission to the special PDP) NEC committee on the Anambra crises, was jolted by comments that cast huge question marks on Ngige's loyalty-quotient. He stated that Dr Ngige's younger brother, a notable lawyer and Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) said to him, "I heard that you want to make my brother, Chris, Governor of Anambra State. You will live to regret making him a

Governor.” In addition, the Igwe of Alor (the Traditional Ruler) in Dr. Ngige's hometown warned him against making Dr. Ngige the Governor of Anambra State on the ground that Dr. Ngige had sold the town's transformer during his tenure as the President of their town union. To cap it, the President of Aka Ikenga, an organization which Dr. Ngige had once served as President also opposed the idea of sponsoring Dr. Ngige, describing him as "very unreliable and deceitful."

Chris Uba further stated that the then National Vice Chairman of the PDP, Nze Ozichukwu Chukwu described his choice of Ngige as “a disaster waiting to happen” and that Chief Tony Anenih who used to be one of the most influential leaders of the party commented that he (Uba) would be Ngige's first victim.

Though Chris Uba was conversant with the Igbo saying to the effect that the road does not pre-reveal itself to the sojourner (which goes to suggest that there is no way he would know if the trap he had set for rats would catch an nkapi - the non-edible rat specie with an offensive smell), he needed no one to tell him that the warnings about Ngige's poor loyalty-quotient were to be taken seriously. By his own admission, he and his group quickly took steps to get Ngige to “show commitment and covenant that he would not betray them.” This, according to Chief Uba's statement to the special PDP Committee on the Anambra Crisis, resulted in the various letters of resignation and undertaking which Ngige wrote and signed to assure them of his loyalty.

Every godfather knows that in this business, loyalty is the Holy Grail. Unfortunately for the otherwise consummate godfather, Chief Chris Uba, he saved his loyalty-audit for last and found to his horror that he had to spend the rest of the period in damage-control mode.

A major reason why Uba may have gone ahead with the deal after he had established, albeit belatedly, the reliability level of Ngige was because he was time-barred and thus had run out of choice. In plotting his complicated godfather schemes, he had played himself out of time and had to, regretfully, one suspects, settle for the imperfect Ngige.

If Uba had tried to swop Ngige with another candidate late in the day, chances are that the Courts may have upturned his decision and he may have ended up losing the ground from which to claim that he produced the Governor. No politician would risk losing such an opportunity. Better an unfit Ngige than no candidate at all. As they say, half bread is better than groundnuts.

Knockout Questions for Screening Prospective Godsons

- Is he in my network - and effective therein?
- Is he adequately credentialed?
- Is he reasonably powerless without me?
- Is he reliable (will he honor his commitments to me?)
- Is he from the right zone, community, religion and family for the envisaged position?
- Does he look like one that can live with the loss of some of his due privileges?

Knockout Questions for Screening Prospective Godfathers

- Does he believe in the things I believe in?
- Is he reasonably powerful (can he deliver me?)
- Is he supportive (Will he stand by me through thick and thin as long as I am loyal)?
- Is he fair?
- Can he muster the funds to bankroll me? (Should you be head-hunted by a godfather and asked to be fielded for an elective

- position, ask for sufficient funds to be made available to you up-front. Many have been enticed out of employments and left to their own means).
- Can he offer protection? (If, for instance, my opponent hangs a murder accusation on my neck, how long will it take him to resolve the case by employing pressures from 'above'?)
- Is he reasonably influential? (Can he get other contenders to withdraw and begin to work towards actualizing my candidacy?)

6:

Ngige, Uba and their Prisoners' Dilemma (PD) games

Everyone seems normal until you get to know them

- Unknown

The Prisoner's Dilemma (PD) game provides us a framework for understanding the Ngige-Uba saga godfathering relationships. The game, in brief, shows two suspects who are taken into police custody and separated. The Police Officer in charge of the case is certain that they are guilty of a felony but he does not have adequate evidence to convict them at a trial. So he points out to each prisoner that each has two alternatives: To confess to the crime the police is sure they have committed or not to confess.

If they both do not confess, the police will have them booked on some very minor charge and they will both receive minor punishment; if they both confess, they will be prosecuted, but he will recommend less than the most severe sentence.

But if one confesses and the other does not, then the confessor will receive lenient sentence for turning state witness whereas the other will receive the maximum sentence. The police then gave them 10 minutes to discuss the situation.

In terms of years of imprisonment, the strategic problem can be reduced to:

OPTIONS	CONSEQUENCE FOR PRISONER 1	CONSEQUENCE FOR PRISONER 2
None confesses	1 year imprisonment each	
Prisoner 1 confesses & prisoner 2 does not confess	3 months imprisonment	10 years imprisonment
Prisoner 2 confesses & prisoner 1 does not confess	10 years imprisonment	3 months imprisonment
Both confess	8 years imprisonment each	

Choices & outcomes in a PD game

The situation-confronting prisoner 1 (which is identical to that facing prisoner 2) is as follows: If he wishes to minimize his stay in prison (3 months), prisoner 1 should confess and hope that prisoner 2 chooses not to confess. If, however, prisoner 2 reasons the same way and equally chooses to confess, each will end up with an 8 year term, whereas, by both choosing not to confess, each could have received only a 1 year sentence.

If prisoner 1 is interested in helping prisoner 2 at all cost, he will choose to make a "no confess" decision because it will result in a minimal sentence (either 3 months or 1 year) for the other prisoner. In negotiation parlance, this is called a Lose-Win or compromising strategy.

If, on the other hand, prisoner 1 is hell-bent on helping only himself or in dealing a blow to the other prisoner, he will limit himself to a "confess" choice which will result in a maximal sentence for the other prisoner (8 or 10 years). This is a Win-Lose or competitive strategy.

Where both prisoners choose to help each other, both will agree

not to confess. That will be a Win-Win or cooperative strategy.

The four quadrants of the PD matrix

As Adam Smith said in his book, *The Wealth of Nations*, It is not to the benevolence of the butcher that we owe our meat. But in the pursuit of his personal interests, he meets ours. This interaction of selfishness is evident in negotiations, including this example in the prisoner's dilemma game.

Expressed in matrix form, the options and choices open to the two prisoners will be as follows:

		PRISONER 2	
		Confess	Don't confess
PRISONER 1	Confess	Prisoner 2- 8 yrs Prisoner 1- 8 yrs	Prisoner 2- 10 yrs Prisoner 1- 3 months
	Don't confess	Prisoner 2- 3 months Prisoner 1- 10 yrs	Prisoner 2- 1 yr Prisoner 1- 1 yr

The four quadrants of the PD matrix

In terms of winning or losing, the four quadrants of the PD matrix can further be illustrated as follows - from the perspective of Prisoner 2:

Lose-Lose	Lose-Win
Win-Lose	Win-Win

The four quadrants of the PD matrix - an alternate representation

The four quadrants are explained as follows:

I Lose-You Lose: The default quadrant

The two prisoners equally lose out by confessing to the crime. None tries to concede a better deal to the other as both opt to suffer the punishment. Any negotiation that is not effectively managed automatically gravitates towards this Lose-Lose quadrant.

The second law of hydrodynamics states that water finds its lowest level. If you put water in two containers and connect them with a pipe, the water in the container with a higher level will migrate to the other container until a balance is struck. Similarly, if you don't deliberately sustain a negotiation relationship in any of the other quadrants, the relationship will gravitate towards the Lose-Lose quadrant where each party will attempt to undo the other, thus leading to joint failure.

I win-You win: Joint venture

This is a situation in which none of the prisoners sees the other as

a threat. Rather, each sees his destiny as linked to the other's. In negotiations, this is the only stable quadrant because mutual goodwill and joint interests keep the party bubbling. Here, you serve your self-interest best when you serve the interest of the other party.

I Win-You lose: Stabbing the other party

From the perspective of Prisoner 2, the lower left quadrant depicts an I Win-You Lose outlook in which he cheats or intimidates Prisoner 1 into going along with certain outcomes that may not be in his (Prisoner 1's) best interest. This is what most people think negotiation is about.

Stephen Heiman and Diane Sanchez of the Miller Heiman sales training firm caution that Win-Lose is short-term and unstable. Given enough time, it always degenerates into Lose-Lose because the party that was taken advantage of will seek his pound of flesh. Playing Win-Lose may avail me some short-term advantage, but it is a disastrous policy in a long-term relationship because it sets the 'winner' up for revenge, big time.

I lose-You win: Playing martyr

Here, Prisoner 2 (from whose perspective we are running this commentary) does the Prisoner 1 a 'favor' at his (Prisoner 2's) own expense. The rationale behind this approach is the belief that moved by one's confidence and generosity, the other party will reciprocate in future.

Lose-Win is sometimes employed as a strategic concession within a Win-Win framework. The difference between making a concession, which creates a Win-Win, and playing outright Lose-Win is, however, that in Win-Win, a concession is understood as a concession by the opponent and acknowledged as a deliberate contribution to a negotiated settlement.

President Obasanjo's letter to Audu Ogbeh for instance, made reference to a deal which they had cut with Chimaroke Mbadinuju, the erstwhile Governor of Anambra State. As part of the deal, Mbadinuju was to concede his pursuit of the party's gubernatorial ticket in the understanding that he would be compensated with an ambassadorial position after the 2003 elections. In essence, he was to Lose his push for a second term and let the Party leadership Win in the understanding that he would later Win through an ambassadorial position. It was therefore going to be a Win-Win in the final analysis if all parties stayed faithful to the terms.

The former Governor was said to have asked for a written commitment, which he didn't get. It is possible that the offer rubbed him the wrong way and, from a perspective of political pragmatism or even personal dignity, he could only see a Lose-Win for himself in the arrangement.

If Mbadinuju had identified the offer as a strategic concession of sufficient worth from his party leadership and if he had sufficient trust in the fact that the other party would keep its word, he may have seen the concession demanded of him as the first leg of a Win-Win – rather than a terminal Lose-Win to be mitigated or avoided altogether. The Win element for Mbadinuju under the circumstance was in the fact that the ambassadorial position provided an opportunity for his continued relevance in the food chain. In his wisdom, however, he chose not to play Lose-Win at all, preferring probably to extract a Lose-Lose by doing battle with his erstwhile compatriots.

If you want your opposite party to yield to a Lose-Win in one round of negotiations, you must show him that you are committed to his also getting a reasonable Win in a subsequent

round as a reward for that concession. In this event, Lose-Win becomes a strategic investment in trust.

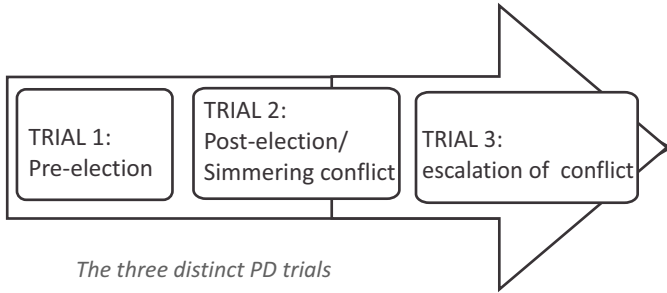
The foregoing is without prejudice to situations where, out of fatigue, weakness, fearfulness or diffidence, a party plays Lose-Win, preferring to end the struggle and close the chapter.

The three PD trials:

The godfathering arrangement involving Chris Ngige and Chris Uba fit very well into a Prisoner's Dilemma framework. Like the thieves in the PD game, the situation between Ngige and Uba was a mixed-motive one in which there was incentive both to cooperate and to compete.

Though in their long relationship, they must have been continuously exposed to these compete-or-cooperate decisions, let's choose to assume, for the sake of simplicity that the relationship consisted of just three interconnected cooperate-or-compete decisions. We regard these decisions as Prisoner's Dilemma game trials in which each player's move in trial n affected the other's move in trial $n+1$ which, in turn, is likely to have affected both players' behaviors in trial $n+2$ and so on. (Note: we are using the term n to represent a number in a sequence and 'trial' to describe a situation where one party plays his hand and the other responds).

The three distinct PD trials, corresponding to three periods in which both Ngige and Uba needed to make this compete-or-cooperate decision are as follows:



First, we have the pre-election negotiations that led to Uba and Ngige adopting each other as members of a political tag team. The Ngige-Uba PD game became more defined after the election with the intensification of the cooperate-or-compete choices that confronted each of them. A graphic illustration is as follows:

Chris UBA

		Chris UBA	
		Doesn't cooperate ↓	Cooperates ↓
Chris NGIGE	Doesn't cooperate ↑	Uba loses Ngige loses	Uba loses Ngige wins
	Cooperates ↓	Uba wins Ngige loses	Uba wins Ngige wins

The choices of Ngige and Uba in a PD framework

It was obviously in their joint interest to cooperate. The cooperate-cooperate quadrant is the Win-Win quadrant, with the win/lose elements here referring to the power and money benefits of the union.

Trial 2 presented an opportunity to test the stability of the outcome of Trial 1. Rather than build on the Win-Win which they appeared to have struck in their pre-elections agreement, the two parties became locked in a destructive contest which climaxed in a Lose-Lose configuration in Trial 3 where, In his presentation to the Special PDP Committee on the Anambra Crisis, Chief Uba recommended that the PDP should “take necessary steps to renounce the incorrect results that ushered in Dr. Ngige as the Governor of Anambra State”.

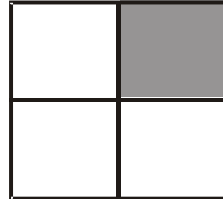
Trial 3: Open Conflict



In frustration & indignation, Uba dragged Ngige into the Lose-Lose quadrant



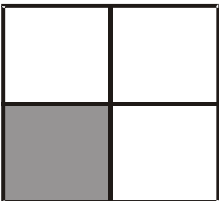
Trial 1: Pre-election



Pre-election, Ngige may actually have played Lose-Win, choosing to bid his time as he put up with Uba's antics



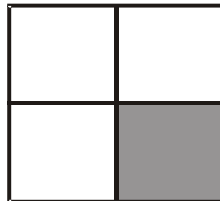
Trial 2: Post-election



Ngige executed a Win-Lose as he chose to remain Governor without giving Uba his own 'due' as apparently agreed pre-election



Trial 1: Pre-election



The appearance was Win-Win: both Ngige & Uba agreed to cooperate

Sequence of Win/Lose choices from Ngige's perspective

7:

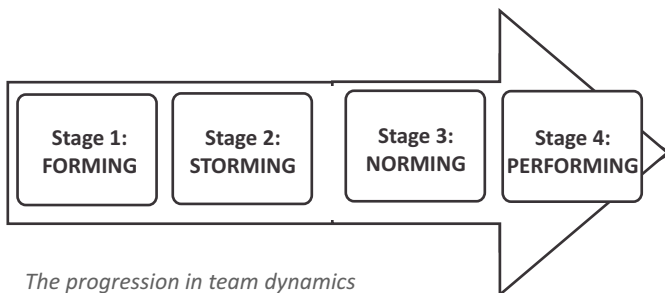
How godfathering relationships evolve - The *Forming*, *Storming*, *Norming* and *Performing* stages

"Conflict is a growth industry"

Roger Fisher & William Ury

The *Forming Storming Norming Performing* model published by Dr Bruce Tuckman in 1965 is a helpful explanation of the development and behaviour of teams in a godfather-godson relationship. Tuckman's model explains that as the team develops maturity and ability, the authority and freedom extended by the leader to the team increases while the control of the leader reduces.

The progression in team dynamics is as illustrated hereunder:



Stage 1: *Forming* (Explaining the initial appearance of cooperation between Ngige & Uba)

Dr Bruce Tuckman's model explains that at the early stage when the team is in the process of forming, it depends highly on the leader for guidance and direction. At this stage when the new roles and responsibilities of members of the godson's group and those of the godfather's group are yet unclear, it is to the leader that they turn for answers about the team's purpose, objectives and external relationships. Processes, where they exist on paper, are often ignored and subjected to the dictates of the leader.

The foregoing is consistent with Chris Uba's overarching presence before the election and just after the election. He it was that determined who went where, who got what and who said what. It was a battle situation with Uba as the General Officer Commanding. Only Uba had the big picture and the best others could do at this stage was to represent themselves well in their own parts of the picture. During the election, Uba literally did all the fighting and footwork on behalf of Ngige. After the election, he was still in *Forming* mode when he literally appointed all the political office holders. The logic from Uba's perspective at this stage is that Uba had invested in a venture in which Ngige could, at best, be considered a staff. In that logic, the owner of the business is the head of the family in the person of Chief Chris Uba.

The *Forming* stage is identical to Trial 1 in our earlier PD illustration. Because it is characteristic of players to concede direction to their leader at this stage of team development, the relationship between Ngige and Uba appeared to run in a Win-Win mode.

A feature of the Forming stage, according to Dr Bruce Tuckman's model is that members of the group will test the tolerance of the system and their leader. Part of Chris Ngige's reluctance to handover presigned cheques to the Uba clan constituted this test of tolerance.

Every social system has its own internal contradictions. The Ngige-Uba arrangement was going to have to deal with the contradictions of a boy being the father of a man. An influential Uba had produced an Ngige that had both executive authority and power. Every godfather's dream is to harness and manage the benefits of such executive power and authority for the improvement of his family. Incidentally, it is a rather tricky dream to pursue because the man whose power the godfather wants to manage has feelings and ambitions which may be rubbed the wrong way.

Even as early as the *Forming* stage, Ngige – having tested the tolerance of the Chris Uba system - may have come to the private conclusion that the system was unsustainable and would surely collapse.

Stage 2: *Storming*

(Why the apparent Win-Win outcome may have regressed into Lose-Lose)

In spite of the initial cooperation between Ngige & Uba, their apparent cooperate-cooperate disposition regressed into Lose-Lose. Why would an otherwise promising relationship go this bad?

Again, we revert to Dr Bruce Tuckman's *Forming Storming Norming Performing* model for an explanation. Dr Tuckman avers that right after the *Forming* stage, team members would

vie for positions as they attempt to establish themselves in relation to other team members and the leader who might receive challenges from team members.

The Ngige-Uba team crossed into this stage at some point after the inauguration of the Governor. The stability of a patronizing father-figure in the person of Chris Uba began to share the political space with the cross-currents created by the ambitions of team members. Cliques and factions must have begun to coalesce and undercurrents of power struggles must have begun to develop and manifest.

Though what eventually played out in the open was a conflict between Chris Ngige and Chris Uba, the truth is that beneath those two individuals were a myriad of groups fighting for their own turfs. As is characteristic of such turf wars, the fighters would reach out to various perceived power centres for cover, pledging their allegiance in the process. It must have been frustrating for Ngige to helplessly watch some of his erstwhile friends and associates drown in political murky waters because he had to defer to Chris Uba, the head of the family. Though these contests initially had nothing to do with a struggle for power between Chris Uba and Chris Ngige, they exposed Ngige as a man who had authority but no power and may have led him to begin to ask himself, 'so what am I doing here?' That question was the firewood for the *Storming* stage.

Given that the *Storming* stage is a logical successor to the *Forming* stage, it coincides with Trial 2 in our earlier PD illustration. It was inevitable that Ngige would attempt at some point to push for more leg room. Accordingly, Uba should have proactively anticipated the stage and planned to ride the wave of change in his ward's disposition by determining what he would give in order to defuse the inevitable conflict and retain the

reigns. Rather, his approach appeared to be a tightening of his grip over Ngige through the use of coercion. The long-term appropriateness of a strategy of coercion in such a situation is doubtful. In the Ngige-Uba case, it was clearly unhelpful.

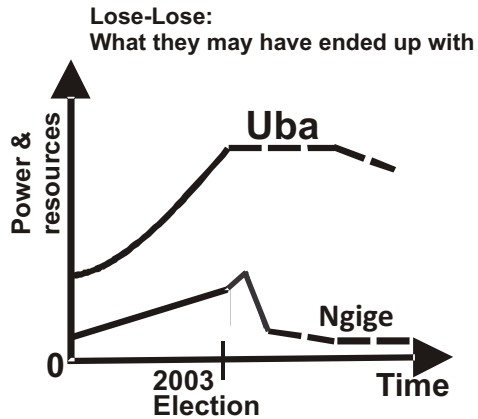
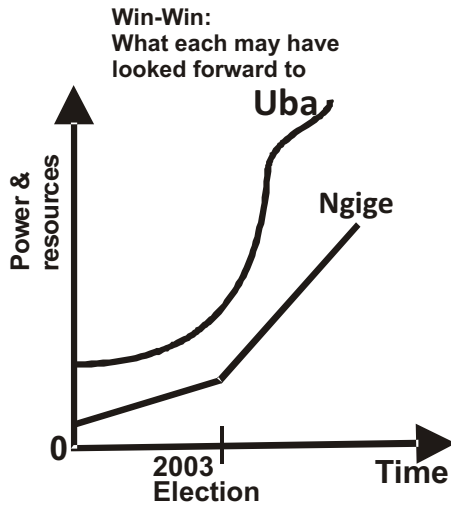
The way to ride the challenges of the *Storming* stage, according to Dr Bruce Tuckman is to be focused on the team's goals in order to avoid becoming distracted by relationships and emotional issues. He also counsels that compromises may be required to enable progress.

For Ngige and Uba, communication and compromises were not achieved at the *Storming* stage, leading to a premature termination of the benefits which the team may have earned from their efforts. The factors responsible for this failure of communication and compromise include the following:

- Pre-election dynamics in the respective groups created room for disharmony;
- The personalities of the players skewed the relationship more towards disharmony than harmony;
- Negotiation dilemmas were poorly resolved;
- The presence of audiences exacerbated the inclination towards tit-for-tat; and
- The combination of high self-concern and low other-concern doomed the otherwise cooperative engagement to a *me-myself-and-I* arrangement.

Pre-election dynamics in the respective groups:

The Nigerian political landscape in the period just preceding an election is a terribly fluid terrain where political families camouflage their core agenda with red herrings, contrived squabbles, contrived 'security reports', rumors and innuendoes. Politicians do not necessarily set out to be insincere for the fun of it. Rather, each family head has simply learnt to ply the tricky



The difference between expectations and realizations

trade with a fair dose of street wisdom.

One may find, for instance, a given political family being involved in alliance talks with three competing groups at the same time without actually intending to go along with any of them at the end of the day. Commitments are honored more in the breach than in the observance. There are even instances where agreements are reached in a meeting that ended, say at 11 pm and by morning the news media would report a different agreement issued by some members of the same group who sat back to hold another 'more serious meeting' up till 3 am before rushing to press.

It is usually only the head of the family that has the full picture. Others have to make do with snippets on a need-to-know basis. Operating under such circumstances, communication between Uba and Ngige may have consisted only of instructions that were issued from the former to the latter, sometimes through third parties. There was thus no existing basis for joint decision making which would have seen the family through the compromise required to survive the *Storming* stage.

It is also feasible that Uba, reckoning that his power was far 'greater' than Ngige's under the circumstance, wittingly or unwittingly ill-treated Ngige. Ngige, at least, claims that he was manhandled and severally threatened by Uba and his associates. In such an event, an embittered Ngige may have asked himself at some point if he had better not forget the pursuit of the Governorship position and retain what was left of his self-respect. If he indeed asked the question, he apparently answered himself by choosing to patiently bear the shame, in the understanding that the power which he stood to acquire would more than make up for the shame.

One imagines that Ngige may have forgone a good number of opportunities to get into justifiable arguments with Uba in order not to risk Uba's ire or escalate his suspicion. He may simply have delayed the day of reckoning, knowing that Uba's power advantage had an expiry date. One of the essential steps in preparing for negotiations is to advise yourself to yield on matters which are relatively painless for you now, but which matter greatly to your opponent. Being a 'boy-boy' (servant) did not matter as much to Chris Ngige as 'not having a 'boy-boy' mattered to Chris Uba. Every dog, they say, has its day and Ngige chose to wait patiently for the arrival of his own day. There's time to fight, they say, time to run and time to lie low - and good negotiators have the wisdom to select which day is for what.

If our suppositions are correct, then the pre-election dynamics had doomed the godfathering relationship to a very difficult *Storming* stage. In other words, the relationship may never have really been as Win-Win as it appeared. It may just have been a game of long knives where Ngige chose the *Storming* stage as payback time.

The personalities of the players:

The characteristics of individuals influence how they negotiate and behave at the *Storming* stage. A sage once remarked that if you really want to know your true character, ask your true enemy. Guided by that advice, we shall attempt to distill the personalities of Ngige and Uba by relying on the profile of one as painted by the other. These characterizations are not necessarily true, fair, proper or correct for as Gerald Horton Bath once remarked, 'opinions are flexible prejudices'. Prejudices these may truly be, but the important thing is that they exist at all.

How the Ngige camp attempted to paint Uba

Uba was profiled by Ngige's camp as greedy, uncouth,

authoritarian, pushy, impatient, bad at listening and bad at sharing. Without accepting or rejecting the veracity of that claim, we simply want to analyze such a persona.

Let's begin by stating that negotiating with such a person from a position of weakness is much like taking orders from a man, his servant and his dog. Such negotiation personalities kill potential goodwill through greed and intransigence; they perpetuate the myth that negotiation is combat and in the process, damage working relationships with their arrogance. Uba's admission that he viewed the election - an otherwise peaceful affair in developed nations - as war is a pointer that this profile may not be too far off the mark.

Negotiators in this mold believe that they are so strong and clever that their opponents can't keep up with them. In any contest, the only option they look at is the superiority of their firepower vis-à-vis their opponent's. Because they truly believe that they are powerful, even their personal relationships suffer. They can hardly sustain enduring relationships based on mutual respect. Nearly all their relationships - personal and official - are based on patronage. They literally have no friends in the true sense of that word. All they have are vassals and their own 'ogas' who serve as their power up-line. In a power-sensitive field such as we have in Nigerian politics, such people also have an impressive retinue of admirers and followers.

Their greatest failing, however, is that they often paint themselves into a corner by taking a very public position too early in the game. Their idea of an attempt at bargaining, usually, is to slap the table and holler, "here, this is what we want; take it or else ..."

If Uba fits this bill, then his trial 1 (pre-election) treatment of

Ngige as a subhuman may have elicited Ngige's adoption of the strategy of the lapsed saint. Such a personality type is also unlikely to be cool, collected and effective in trial 3. He is likely to be in a hurry to prove that his status has not been dented.

How the Uba camp attempted to paint Ngige

Uba's camp portrayed Ngige as a Machiavellian that uses the image of a weak victim to cover up a treacherous side. He is cast as one whom, rather than negotiate better terms for himself, acceded to all his opponent's terms only to turn around at his convenience to break the covenants. He was declared a dishonorable covenant-breaker, not worthy of public sympathy because he cannot be trusted one bit. This mood is captured in President Olusegun Obasanjo's comment to the effect that even among thieves, there is honor.

Again, without intending to accept or reject the veracity of that claim, we hurry to state that negotiation personalities which fit that image kill potential deals with their poor credibility. They damage working relationships with their trickery and perpetuate the perception that a politician's agreement is not worth the paper on which it is written.

Often, such people think they are smarter than the rest and all they need is to "keep them guessing." The fact is that this is an unsustainable position. Before long, they will be labeled as unreliable and at the end of the day, they will be isolated, injured, impoverished, killed or 'rubbished'.

Should the picture of one that is comfortable with reneging on negotiation commitments in order to obtain short-term gains be indeed that of Ngige, then he is doomed to more difficult times in his political future as nobody will be comfortable in an agreement with him without iron-clad guarantees.

If the characterizations of both parties painted above are truly representative, then their personalities may indeed have gotten in the way of successful Win-Win relationships. If the characterizations are, however, untrue, then the wrong perceptions of each of the parties about the other may have informed the way it related to the other at the *Storming* stage, thus creating self-fulfilling prophecies.

Poor resolution of negotiation dilemmas:

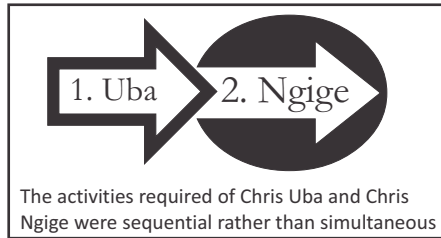
As soon as a person or party opts to pursue a specific outcome, he comes face to face with a number of negotiation dilemmas. Two such dilemmas which must have played out in the Ngige-Uba encounter and which may have been so poorly resolved that they helped to unravel the entire relationship are the Dilemma of Trust and the Dilemma of Toughness.

The Dilemma of Trust

In negotiations, it is dangerous to believe the other party and it's still dangerous not to believe the other party. To believe everything the other party says is to place one's fate in his hands and to jeopardize full satisfaction of one's own interests. On the other hand, to believe nothing that the other says is to eliminate the possibility of accepting any arrangement with him.

One must necessarily walk this tightrope in every negotiation scenario. It must have been a similar tightrope that Chris Uba walked as he evaluated Ngige's promise. Uba was the first to feel the pressure of the Dilemma of Trust because the activities required of the two players (Chris Uba and Chris Ngige) were sequential rather than simultaneous. Chris Uba needed to first play his role before Ngige would be required to play his. Where the first move involves a hefty commitment or opportunity cost, the person or party whose responsibility it is to make it is usually

in the tricky position of seeking guarantees that the other party will honour the agreement.



Sequence of activities

It is apparent, from the media reports reproduced in this book, that Chris Uba's group attempted to resolve this dilemma of trust by introducing certain parameters into Ngige's future conduct over which he (Uba) could have some degree of confidence. This explains Ngige being taken to a shrine to have him swear allegiance to the deal. The fear of what the demons would do to Ngige if he reneged was supposed to keep him cooperative. It also explains the pre-signed notices of resignation.

While it's normal for someone in Uba's situation to attempt to infer Ngige's true intentions, interests and preferences, such a disposition of doubt from Uba has the capacity to estrange Ngige. The problem associated with the dilemma of trust is that if you push one way, it will tilt the other way. Hence, it's conceivable that when Ngige perceived that Uba did not trust him at all and was obsessed with forcing him into a future mould, Ngige began to think of ways of leaving himself some future leg room. Ngige's own revelation of his attempt at secretly neutralizing the power of the demons over him by appearing at the shrine armed with his Bible tells the story. He was clearly uncomfortable with the way and manner in which Chris Uba was going about resolving the trust question.

The Dilemma of Toughness

This dilemma deals with the uncomfortable balance between toughness and kindness or, put in another way, between being 'unreasonable' and 'very understanding.' It is tempting to be tough and demanding in an effort to acquire the personally most favorable agreement possible. In doing so, however, you run the risk of driving the other party away from the negotiating table. It is also tempting to be entirely accommodating in an effort to reach a fair agreement; but in doing so, you run the risk of yielding more resources than absolutely necessary and of settling for less than you might have obtained otherwise. This is the Dilemma of Toughness, an elaboration of which is captured in the description of two different negotiation formats: that of the shopkeeper and that of the warrior.

The negotiating format of the shopkeeper projects a process in which softness yields softness and reciprocal concessions lead to eventual agreement on a mutually satisfactory basis. The warrior, on the other hand, seeks to settle conflicts with a winner-take-all approach, in which the only possible deal is on his own terms.

In the Ngige-Uba example under review, the initial terms of settlement in which Ngige conceded most of the appointments and access to funds to Chris Uba represent the product of a tough approach. And so is the dragging of Ngige to a shrine. It could be argued that the poor management of this dilemma fueled the temptation for Ngige to strive for independence at the first taste of power at the storming stage.

The presence of audiences:

Audiences played an important part in shaping the behaviors of

Ngige and Uba at the Storming stage. This is not to say that people were always listening in on the verbal exchanges between the two. It rather refers to the fact that even though the proceedings may have been held in camera, yet, it was clear to both parties that an audience would eventually know the events that transpired. The fact that details of agreements entered into, personal negotiation styles, concessions made, etc would become public knowledge helped to structure the negotiations. It is possible that Ngige made up his mind to prove to the audiences who saw how he was buffeted before the election that he was good, capable and strong - or at least not incapable, weak and foolish.

Uba, on the other hand, may also have been influenced by the presence of an audience to consider strengthening his brand by making it clear that nobody could mess with the godfather and still go home with a smile. If there had been no audience, Uba may probably have overlooked much of Ngige's 'excesses' in trial 2, in order to continue the relationship up to the point where he could have sprung a tidier counter-offensive. But with the presence of an audience, such a concession would have been read as a sign of weakness which risked opening the floodgate to similar disrespect from other godsons.

Similarly, one is tempted to believe that without the presence of an audience in trial 3, Uba may have taken a less self-damaging track than the bull-in-a-china-shop approach which landed both himself and Ngige in an apparent Lose-Lose outcome.

It is common knowledge in negotiations practice that negotiators who are publicly humiliated by their opponents are very likely, at the first opportunity, to retaliate - with greater severity and self-sacrifice too. The fact that a public learnt or is likely to learn how one party treated the other generates

pressures which would contribute to heightening the disposition of each negotiator towards positions that wouldn't improve joint outcomes.

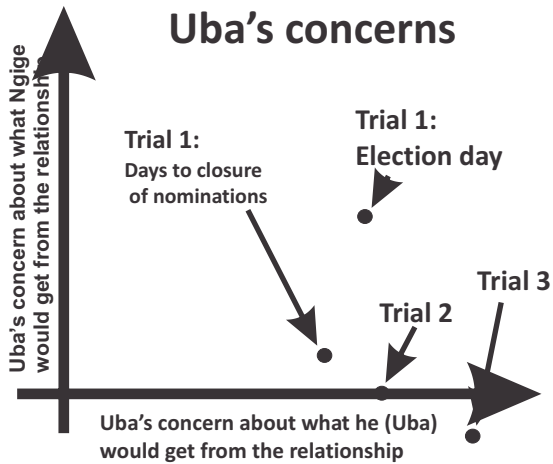
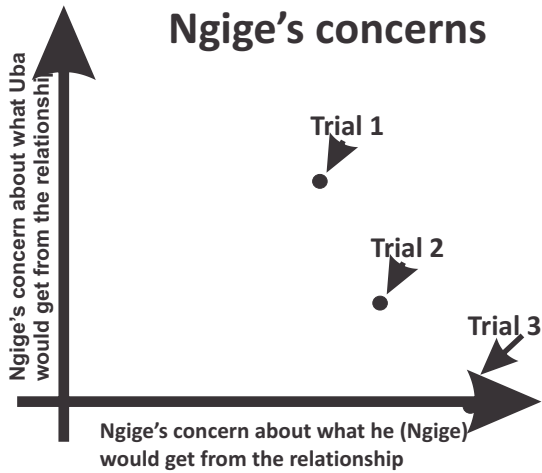
The combination of high self-concern and low other-concern:

Another factor that may have contributed to the failure of the Ngige-Uba relationship to successfully transcend the Storming stage is the apparent concern of each for only his own results to the neglect or exclusion of the other party's desires.

It is generally understood in negotiations that high self-concern coupled with low other-concern encourages contention whereas high self-concern coupled with high other-concern predisposes a negotiator to a problem-solving outlook. The figure next page illustrates the change in the relative levels of self-concern and other-concern in the course of the three Ngige-Uba trials.

The strategic preferences of both Ngige and Uba in trial 1 were for problem-solving, whereas in trials 2 and 3, contention had become the order of the day. As Ngige metamorphosed from being Uba's ward to being State Governor, his strategic choices over how much of Uba's outcomes to be concerned about diminished while his self-concern soared. Uba's outcomes included wealth benefits, control of appointments, and a public show of respect from political stakeholders, including (and particularly) Ngige. These are indices of growth in the power and influence of his political dynasty. Similarly, Ngige's concern in trial 2 consisted mainly of consolidating his position as a power centre and affirming his relative independence from Uba.

Generally, in negotiations, a party's strategic choices tend to change as his conditions change. The position of the Forming



Change in the relative levels of self-concern and other-concern

Storming Norming Performing model is that it was only a matter of time before Ngige would say, "this far and no further" to Uba. The report that President Obasanjo had counseled Uba to drive his godfather vehicle from the back seat is clearly good advice from the perspective of Dr Tuckman's model.

The dual concern model is a tool used by negotiations analysts to understand the undercurrents shaping a given negotiation. Applying it in our case, one immediately observes that though both Ngige and Uba were concerned about each other's outcomes in trial 1, this concern was hardly as strong as the concern that each had for himself.

Uba's low concern for Ngige's outcome, combined with a considerable concern for his own interest is evident at point D. On Election Day, (i.e point E), exigencies must have compelled Uba to become as concerned about meeting his own needs as he was of helping Ngige to meet his. Similarly, Ngige is likely to have equally been as concerned about meeting his objectives in trial 1 as he was of helping Uba to meet his own objectives. In negotiations, such a concern for the other party is sometimes genuine, and sometimes pragmatic but not necessarily genuine. It's doubtful that any of the two had a genuine concern about the other. It must have been pragmatic decisions on either side - an interaction of selfishness, as it were. Adam Smith captured the essence of this enlightened selfish interest with the comment that it is not to the benevolence of the butcher that we owe our meat, but in the pursuit of his personal interests, he meets ours.

In trial 2, Ngige's concerns about Uba's outcomes had dimmed to point B and by trial 3, Ngige no longer cared a hoot if Uba got anything out of the deal or not. Uba's own concern about Ngige's outcomes equally took a dive such that in trial 2, Uba no longer thought in terms of Ngige getting any positive outcome

from the relationship, and by trial 3, Uba's concern about what Ngige would get from the relationship had become negative. The negative figure is equivalent to Uba wishing that Ngige would get less than nothing from the deal. In trial 3, each would genuinely want to see the other lose, wounded, humiliated or even dead. Reminds one of somebody's comment to the effect that the greatest pleasures are found in killing your opponent, burning his house and watching his wife and children cry.

At the same period, each of them was getting increasingly concerned about what he would get out of the relationship. The net effect of this single-mindedness is that each negotiator's mutual-concern graph headed towards the southeast.

If they had known better:

The summary of the godfathering-relationship-gone-sour is a simple one: Chief Chris Uba was an investor who expected - for whatever it was worth - to have the final say (if not the only say) in matters concerning the business. Unfortunately for him, he had invested in a product that breathes, thinks, has emotions and is vested with constitutional authority in his position as an Executive Governor.

Chief Uba must have reckoned it as very unfair and unethical that his Investment (in the nature and person of Dr Chris Ngige) would turn around and attempt to renegotiate the sharing of the outcomes of the investment. As a result, a struggle ensued which not only saw both parties losing their erstwhile access to executive authority and influence, but also left each politically wounded and bleeding.

The Igbo say that a wise man's *Had I known* comes before-the-fact, rather than after-the-fact. In this regard, it is doubtful

whether Ngige and Uba met the criteria for wisdom required to surmount the storms of the *storming* phase.

The greatest undoing of their team at this phase appears to be that each party believed it could achieve more through struggle than through compromise. Chris Uba's power seemed to him greater than Ngige's, encouraging a disposition to exploit and browbeat the seemingly hapless Ngige. Chris Ngige, on the other hand, may have perceived his case as being stronger than that of Uba in the court of public opinion, encouraging him to appeal to the public. The Igbos would describe it as a case of rotten palm nuts that fell into a leaking mortar – a bad case.

If Uba had come to terms with the fact that things would never remain the same, he may have been more willing to share centre stage with Ngige. Unfortunately, it appears, he misread the future. He underestimated the capacity of the human spirit to disdain subservience and trusted too much in the potency of his booby traps.

If Uba's *Had I known* had come earlier than the fratricidal war, he might have perceived the inevitability of his booby traps damaging not only Ngige and dispensable collaterals, but also himself (Uba) and the political family he was striving so hard to build and sustain. If only Chief Chris Uba, for one, had come to terms with the reality that he was later to confront, he just might have been better disposed to communications and compromises.

Equally, if Ngige's *Had I known* had come earlier in the fratricidal war, he might have perceived the inevitability of his No Agreement inclination damaging not only Uba, but also himself (Ngige) and his eventual political profile. Like Chief Chris Uba, if only Chris Ngige had come to terms with the reality that he was

later to confront, he just might have been better disposed to communications and compromises.

How Communications and compromises may have improved the joint-utility prospect faced by Ngige and Uba:

The Igbos warn that if a cock furiously chases you early in the morning, you had better run (rather than wait to ponder the inappropriateness of the cock's behavior), because you never can tell if the cock grew teeth the previous night.

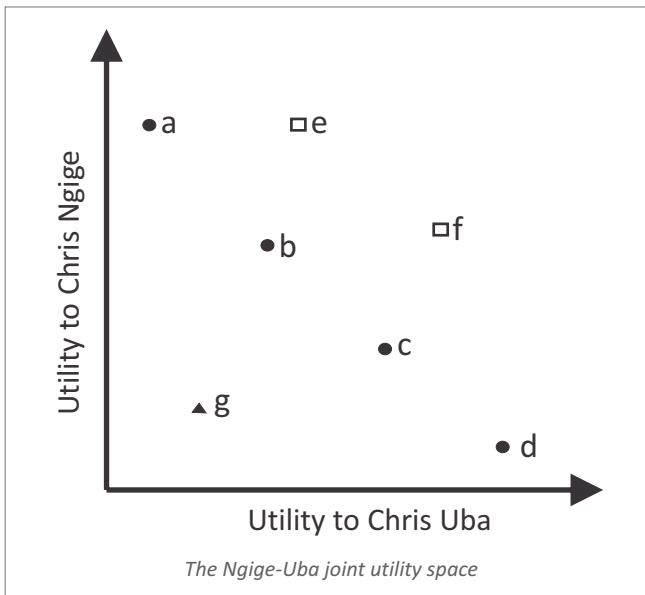
Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, I think it was, who remarked that we have to make war as we must, not as we would like to. Sooner or later, everyone comes to the understanding that the first law of conflict management is that conflict happens.

Life, Rick Warren remarked recently, is a series of problems: Either you are in one now, you are just coming out of one, or you are getting ready to go into another one. As the wordsmith and politician K.O. Mbadiwe would say, 'come comes to the become.' And when one's *come comes*, one can't sit down and sulk at the rightness or wrongness of it. One has to meet it head-on and extract the best outcome from an otherwise unfortunate situation. The Igbos capture it very well in a saying to the effect that one is better off snapping off the tail of one's escaping cow than risk losing the entire cow while one prevaricates.

Though Chris Uba may have felt let down at the turn of events and Ngige, on the other hand, may have felt scandalized at the position of Uba, each needed to step up and make the best of the situation by communicating and compromising rather than stepping away in righteous indignation. As the French would say, *C'est la vie*.

From the narrations of the conflict, we note that the contentious issues eventually came down to: (i) political appointments, (ii) control of party structure and (iii) access to funds. At the forming stage, it was taken for granted in the team that Chief Uba could make binding pronouncements concerning each of these issues on behalf of the team. With the ascendancy of Dr Ngige as an Executive Governor, however, it began to be clear that he too wanted a say in those areas.

In communicating and compromising, Ngige and Uba would each obviously have found himself seriously considering the issues and sub-issues that were important to him as well as the alternatives available to him. What each one needed to move the relationship forward at this stage was to look at the joint utility space as illustrated below with a view to determining which options to pursue doggedly and which to sacrifice when the need arose.



One notes from the illustration that some of the options (such as represented by point g), would definitely lead to *No Agreement*. A second set of options such as 'a', or 'd' would produce *an agreement* that is obviously based on one party's compromise. A third set, such as 'e' and 'f' are capable of integrating the interests of both parties.

Politics, especially with teams at the *Forming* stage, often comes down to horse trading and the joint utility space such as illustrated above would usually serve as a general strategy template. It is likely that a similar template was employed, unwittingly though, in the process that gave rise to the settlement terms enshrined in the Owerri Accord.

Though analysts and observers are wont to categorize the *No Agreement* point as a poor outcome for both parties, this is not always so. Ngige, for instance, may have been so advantaged by the status quo at the *Storming* stage that it made a *No Agreement* identical to a victory for him.

Under the circumstance, Chief Uba had no surviving appointees in the government and was getting no payoffs, leaving Ngige room and funds to feather his own political nest as he filled openings with existing politicians and wannabes who would owe their loyalties directly to him rather than to a godfather. So why would he want an agreement? Chief Chris Uba, on the other hand, may also be curiously viewing the *No Agreement* as a victory for him since it would teach his other followers never to dream of riding to victory on his back and expect to sleep with both eyes closed after dumping him.

Stages 3 & 4: Norming & Performing (moving from struggle to joint decision)

The Ngige-Uba relationship did not survive the Storming stage. If it did, it would have progressed to the Norming stage where fresh agreements and consensus would have developed to stabilize the team and the entire team would have better coalesced under the facilitation – rather than the dictatorship – of its leader, Chris Uba. At this stage, roles and responsibilities would have become clearer and accepted. Big decisions would then have been made by what would appear as group agreement, even when they are actually the finger of the leader.

Dr Tuckman avers that at this stage, commitment and unity is strong. The team discusses and develops its processes and working style. There is general respect for the leader and the leadership is shared by the team. What that would mean in the language of politics is that some local councils or appointments would be left under the control of some other leaders rather than the situation at the Forming stage where all lists of appointees and aspirants had to emanate from Chris Uba before it would be accepted.

The Igbos say that if a brave man is not prepared to tolerate the weaknesses of his kinsmen, he would live alone in his domain. Life is like that. People must live with others' imperfections. That is the reality of the Norming stage. As the cost of storming becomes prohibitive, it loses its allure and as the party that initially considered the struggle advantageous to it realizes that the other party cannot be pushed around forever, it begins to look towards a negotiated settlement. After you install a king, you must learn to live with the fact that you can't boss him forever. You must accommodate the changes that necessarily come with change.

In stage 4, the Performing stage of Dr Bruce Tuckman's model, the team knows clearly why it is doing what it is doing. It has a shared vision and is able to stand on its own feet with no interference or participation from the leader. There is a focus on over-achieving goals, and the team makes most of the decisions against criteria agreed with the leader. Disagreements occur but now they are resolved within the team positively and necessary changes to processes and structure are made by the team. Team members look after each other. Though team members might ask for assistance from the leader with personal and interpersonal development, the team does not need to be instructed or assisted.

Godfathers don't often look towards the Norming and Performing stages with relish. They love the absolute, hands-on, moment-to-moment involvement that characterizes the Forming stage. It gives them a sense of control. Even the battles and subterfuges of the Storming stage give a typical godfather an adrenalin rush. He loves the game of long knives – especially when he is winning. Every godfather relishes the opportunity to make a statement that nobody messes with the godfather and gets away with it.

Much as tales of failed uprisings serve to credential the godfather, what will keep his group relevant in the long run may be his accommodation of his loyal team members in the sharing of the bounties of war. Those are stage 3 (Norming) qualities.

8:

Strategies & tactics used by Ngige and Uba

"Our prayers are answered not when we are given what we ask but when we are challenged to be what we can be"

- Morris Alder

The pre-election interactions between Uba and Ngige appeared initially to have been premised on a Win-Win platform. Applying some literary license, one could state Chris Ngige's perspective in the contract as being something in the nature of: "I choose to cooperate with you and literally place the state and its resources at your disposal to do with as you please if you can please cooperate with me and help me to become the State Governor." Chris Uba's Win-Win promise, on the other hand (permitting some literary license), may have come across to Chris Ngige as, "if you will irrevocably promise to cooperate with me and place the control of the State and its entire resources at my disposal, I will pull all the stops and make you (and also sustain you as) the Governor of this State." Win-Win, apparently.

In typical Igbo phraseology, it would be a case of the left palm washing the right palm in the understanding that the right palm would wash the left palm in return. The Igbos of south-eastern Nigeria (Uba and Ngige's ethnic group)) proverbially refer to such

a relationship as 'dog-play': You fall for me and I fall for you. In operation, the concept of Win-Win is reflected in the fact that both parties appeared to have come away with major gains and minor loses. Note the term, 'Appeared to...' The issue of appearance is important here because in negotiations, things are not always what they appear to be. Motives are weightier than apparent results.

Over time, the cumulative of strategies and tactics deployed in series of negotiation rounds by a negotiating party reveal motives that would otherwise be indiscernible or even deceptive. Let's review some of the motives, strategies, tactics and outcomes evident in the Nigige-Uba struggle.

Mixed motives:

President Obasanjo is reported as having likened the case between Uba and Ngige to 'the case of two armed robbers that conspired to loot a house and after bringing out the loot, one decided to do the other in and the issue of fair play even among robbers became a factor'. By this comment, President Obasanjo was assuming that there was an initial cooperate-cooperate agreement between the two parties. Using the PD illustration, they both began by choosing to cooperate - rather than compete - so as to get the best term on the table.

A slightly different reading of the situation is that rather than a case of two robbers who conspired to loot a house, as Obasanjo concluded, it may rather have been a case of one bully dragging another into a robbery or that of a con man deceiving another into robbing a house and of one of the parties attempting to walk away with the loot. Though the initial exchange of commitments between Ngige and Uba may have resembled a Win-Win, in the reckoning of some folks, the actual inter-play that produced that

agreement was anything but Win-Win.

Camouflaged Win-Lose disposition:

Chris Uba could be said to have earlier played Win-Lose, rather than the Win-Win outlook that appears logical. He had asked for so much that it was apparent he didn't care if Ngige worked for only him throughout his tenure. In his bid to 'recoup his investment,' there appeared to have been no consideration for Ngige being docked someday for mismanaging funds or becoming a pariah for glaring misrule.

Aggressive tactics:

In addition to asking for too much, Chris Uba employed aggressive behavior both by asking for the best offer early in the negotiations (Let's not waste time, these are my terms. Are they OK with you or should I look for another?) and by seeking repeated assurances that Ngige would deliver. Such searches for assurance include the visit to the shrine as well as the written pledges. These hardball approaches could turn an otherwise collaborative venture into a conflict situation where each party would seek only its own advantages to the exclusion of the other party's. If your target is long-term collaboration, you are better off calibrating your hardball approach appropriately. Or better still, your iron fist should be hidden in a velvet glove.

Low-balling strategy:

There are indications that Ngige employed a low-balling strategy at the early part of the relationship. 'Low-balling' in sales negotiations involves fooling the opponent into an apparent agreement with the intention of raising the price after he is lured into the trap. Ngige apparently gave away too much of his self-respect in order to get the opportunity to be fielded by Chris Uba. It's conceivable that in the absence of room for reasonable

communication, Ngige tagged along, using Lose-Win to gain a temporary power advantage. He may have developed this decoy as a defense against losing the opportunity to other equally willing - if not more willing - contenders.

As somebody once remarked, "I must do something" will always solve more problems than "Something must be done." Ngige apparently misrepresented his preferred settlement point and his resistance point, revealing to Uba that he was prepared to settle for less than he really expected.

Falsification tactic:

A related negotiation behavior apparently employed by Ngige in trial 1 is his use of falsification. He falsified the oath taken at the Okija shrine. The report in Uba's mental file was that Ngige had bound himself with an oath. But that was a false report which Ngige sold him because whereas he may have gone through the motion of the oath, he killed the spirit and power of it by deploying superior spiritual power to dismiss the demons that were supposed to be the guarantors and enforcers. That was a technical form of falsification which excluded him from the consequences of the oath while leaving Chris Uba with a false sense of security.

The effect of this deception was that the negotiation was concluded prematurely. There was no room left for further offers and counter-offers because an equilibrium position had been arrived at. This, unfortunately, was a low-level equilibrium. The combination of desperation and fixed pie mentality had created a sub-optimal agreement that was designed to fail or at least, falter.

Strategy of the lapsed saint:

President Olusegun Obasanjo's comment, "I told Chris Uba and

Ngige that their case was like the case of two armed robbers that conspired to loot a house and that their case was like after bringing out the loot, one decided to do the other in and the issue of fair play even among robbers became a factor" suggests that Ngige deployed what in the PD game, is referred to as the strategy of the lapsed saint.

The strategy works this way: A prisoner begins the relationship by giving the impression that he would cooperate and not confess; but as soon as the other party commits himself by not confessing, the lapsed saint executes a competitive agenda, goes ahead to confess and walks away with the best deal on the table at the expense of the other party.

What gives Chris Ngige's actions the coloration of the strategy of the lapsed saint is that soon after he (Chris Ngige) became Governor, he stopped acting out his part of the cooperative agenda. His hitherto servile disposition took a back seat as he unilaterally altered the terms of their agreement with a view to accessing better outcomes than the subsisting agreement acceded to him.

Strategy of deterrence:

Chris Uba responded to Ngige's strategy of the lapsed saint with a strategy of deterrence. Deterrence refers to a threatening response to non-cooperation and a disproportionate counter-attack in the face of attack. Uba's response confirmed the assertion that negotiators respond to each other's level of cooperativeness or competitiveness.

Uba's counterattack was so abrasive that people feared at some point that Ngige wouldn't live out his term. His abduction and his other ordeals were obviously part of a renegotiation program. It is likely that, in addition to whipping Chris Ngige into line, the

strategy was meant to make a clear godfatherly statement on the unsavory cost of nonconformity. Other maverick godsons were supposed to take note.

Part of Ngige's transformation from saint to former saint is evidenced in the fact that his negotiation interest mutated from a desire to be Governor - even if just a footmat Governor - to a desire to exercise control over the apparatus of power and, possibly, to build a parallel power structure.

I

9:

The Ngige-Uba power equation

“If you will work any man, you must know either his nature and fashions and so lead him; or his ends and so persuade him; and his weaknesses and disadvantages and so awe him; or those that have an interest in him and so govern him”

- Sir Francis Bacon

In negotiations, the power equation is not a linear one with obvious parameters and straightforward relationships such as $y=a+bx$. Rather, what you find is a complex mix of complicated parameters which affect, not only the final outcome, but also each of the parties involved.

It is clear that Chris Uba was reckoned as being wealthier, having stronger ties to the Presidency and a tighter grip on the party machinery than Chris Ngige. He was also evidently more able to harness the instruments of coercion - particularly the Police - than Ngige was. In negotiations and conflict management, however, these do not necessarily imply that Uba was more powerful than Ngige.

The assessment of negotiation power does not follow a simple and straightforward route. There are three types of power and it

is necessary that one understands which power type is under consideration at any given time.

Adopting an example offered by Deutch, a researcher on negotiations and quoted by Pruitt & Cavernale, the statement, "Uba is more powerful than Ngige" could be viewed from the following three power perspectives:

1. **Environmental power:** Uba is usually more able to favorably influence his overall environment and/or to overcome its resistance than Ngige is.
2. **Relationship power:** Uba is usually more able to influence Ngige favorably and/or to overcome Ngige's resistance than Ngige is able to do with Uba.
3. **Personal power:** Uba is usually more able to satisfy his desires than Ngige is.

Because negotiation refers to something that people do to and with one another, the power perspective that is most important in a negotiated settlement is relationship power. One party is powerful only relative to its influence on (or its resistance to the influence of) the other party. Abbreviated, negotiation power is the ability of a negotiator to influence the behavior of another.

If Uba has more environmental power than Ngige for instance, it doesn't necessarily mean that he can influence Ngige to do his bidding. It makes no sense in the negotiation equation if Uba can't translate his environmental power into influence over Ngige. Pre-election, Uba had sizable environmental power exemplified by his ability to influence the choice of his party's candidate - and ultimately, the 'winner' of the election. He went ahead to convert this environmental power to relationship power which he exercised over Ngige.

Negotiation power is not static. It changes over time. The equation changed with Ngige's access to opportunities. In trial 2, therefore, Ngige was in a position to hedge himself against Uba's influence. Related to this dynamism is the fact that power is always limited. No one person has unlimited power over his opponent. Every man has, at the very least, a space in his mind where no opponent's power can rule and he operationalizes this independence through his freedom of thought. The thoughts of a man are his most defended cities. However powerful a man's opponents are, they cannot determine what he thinks – unless, of course he lets them. This freedom is important in negotiations and conflict management because it represents a limit to the ravages of a powerful opponent. It is thanks to the freedom of thought that negotiation power is always limited.

Victor Frankl who survived the holocaust has written extensively about how he exercised his freedom of thought in the Nazi concentration camp by affirming to himself that he was the rational, reasonable and mentally sound one while his captors were mentally sick people who rather needed to be pitied. With that frame of mind, there was nothing they could do to break him. He was no longer a victim and could go through each day without being desperate, hopeless and despondent.

A peculiar feature of negotiation power is that it is based on perception. If your opponent perceives that you have it, then you have it. In essence, the effectiveness of power is defined by the behavior of the target person. If the target chooses to ignore you, then you can hardly be said to have power over him. Ever wondered why it's futile to negotiate with a mad man? If your reward or punishment means nothing to him, then you have no power over him - irrespective of your ability to influence the political environment to your favor.

Ngige's comment in the heat of trial 3 to the effect that he was prepared to die may have diluted Uba's expectation of achieving his outcome since it exposed his relative powerlessness over Ngige. Power, in Negotiations, does not necessarily mean the ability to harm. It means the ability to influence. If I'd rather go through your harming me than submit myself to your influence, then you have no power over me.

Personal power does not automatically translate to negotiation power. Though Uba had sizable personal power (i.e. an ability to satisfy his desires), one cannot say for sure if he could satisfy his desires more than Ngige could satisfy his. Desires are personal and relative. In TRIAL 3, there was more pressure on Uba to prove himself a powerful godfather than there was on Ngige to show himself a successful rebel. To the extent that Ngige could defy Uba's resistance and satisfy his own little requirement, he too was powerful. If my desires are smaller than yours and I satisfy them from my meager resources better than you satisfy yours from your larger resources, I may be impervious to your attempts at influencing me. - and that makes me of - at least - equal power as you in certain negotiation circumstances.

For power to become productive in negotiations, it has to be actively used with a view to influencing or resisting the other party. In that regard, negotiation power is like money: it is a means, not an end. You can't eat money, you can't sleep in it, you can't marry it and you can't live in it. It's the same with power. It's only useful to the extent that it enables you to move from your present situation or predicament to your next destination or goal. If it isn't used in the exchange economy, then it could as well not exist.

10:

Negotiation ethics in the Ngige-Uba tango

"When a fearful man is invited to judge a matter, he conveniently finds all the sides guilty"
- Igbo proverb

In spite of this Igbo proverb, this author insists that it's not an act of fear to respond to the query, "Were Ngige and Uba's actions ethical?" with the same old coward's answer: "it depends," meaning that it depends on the evaluation platform employed.

To ensure consistency and reliability of results, an evaluator must stick to one platform for measuring ethicality. The four most-employed platforms are as follows:

1. Ends-result ethics
2. Rule ethics
3. Social contract ethics
4. Personalistic ethics
5. Ends-result ethics

Ends-result ethics:

The ends-result ethics stipulates that how right an action is depends on whether it will give you your desired outcome. In this event, the respective and joint actions of Ngige and Uba can be assessed in the light of how that action helped to arrive at what each or both of them wanted.

Considering that both of them eventually lost control of the coveted seat of power, the ends-result ethics will find it hard to consider their individual actions and/or strategies to have been proper.

Rule ethics:

The rule ethics assesses an action or strategy in the light of what the law says. Were they protected by the law in their specific actions or did they run afoul of the law. If extant laws forbid a given action, intention or utterance, then such an action, intention or utterance, to the extent that it is inconsistent with the law, could be said to have been unethical.

Social contract ethics:

The social contract ethics would base its own assessment on what is acceptable in the cultures of the PDP, Anambra state, Nigeria and perhaps the civilized world. President Obasanjo quoted the team that he sent to Anambra state as reporting that what was happening in Anambra was a family affair. Having framed the ethicality of the negotiation choices, strategies, tactics and outcomes away from a criminal definition to that of a family game, the Peoples Democratic Party to which both contenders belonged saw no crime committed. The only problem, in the eye of the Party's chieftains appeared to be that of the failure of honor among thieves.

Personalistic ethics:

Finally, one who believes in personalistic ethics will consult his conscience (seared or not) and personal convictions to determine the ethicality of his action. Chief Chris Uba, having apologized to the Anambra public, with a view to easing the weight on his conscience, had admitted that what he did failed the ethicality test within the framework of the personalistic ethics.

Flexible ethicality:

To support their positions and obtain the advantage of some moral high ground, negotiators are known to veer from one ethics framework to the other. This inconsistency in the application of ethicality frameworks across time and circumstances is referred to as flexible ethicality. This inconsistency in judging ethicality usually confuses the public and could throw up queer credibility problems in the nature of the 'honor among thieves' issue raised by President Olusegun Obasanjo against Chris Ngige.

Ngige and Uba's parties clearly demonstrated flexible ethicality as they swerved from one framework of ethics to the other, seeking to justify their respective actions. This practice is tolerated because ethics in politics as well as in the workplace has become increasingly associated with compliance. Hence, the question, "did he act ethically?" can be framed in any of the following four ways, depending on the definition of ethicality which the questioner finds better suited: Was his action aimed at giving him his desired outcome? Did he stay within the confines of the law? Is his action acceptable in the norms and culture of his group? Or is his conscience at ease with his action?

Credibility as a better measure:

Credibility, unlike ethicality, has no rules. Should we be

confronted with the question, "Did Ngige (or Uba, as the case may be) conduct himself with credibility in his interactions with Uba?" we can obtain a relatively objective report by passing Ngige's conduct through the four filters of credibility outlined by Stephen M.R. Covey in *The Speed of Trust*. They are Integrity, Intent, Capability and Result.

To make an adaptation of Stephen's own illustration, imagine that you are Dr Chris Ngige and that you have been called as an expert witness in a court of law in a matter concerning someone else. Imagine also that the lawyer for the prosecution is attempting to convince the jury - relying on what transpired between Ngige and Uba in 2003/ 2004 - that you (Ngige) are a credible witness. What will he try to prove?

"First," according to Stephen M.R. Covey, he will try to prove "that you are a person of integrity - that you are honest and congruent, that you have a reputation for being truthful, and that you would not lie.

"Second, that you have good intent - that you are not trying to deceive or protect anyone, that you don't have any hidden motive or agenda that would color your testimony.

"Third, that your credentials are excellent, that you do, indeed, have expertise, knowledge, skill and capability in the area in which you are called to testify.

"and fourth, that you have a good track record, that you have demonstrated your capabilities effectively in other situations in the past, that you produce results, and that there is good reason to believe that you will do so now."

If Dr Chris Ngige's dealings with Chief Chris Uba are filtered

through those four membranes, will he come through as having credibility? The same question pertains to Chief Chris Uba: In the light of his godfathering relationship with Dr Chris Ngige, can he be said to have displayed integrity (honesty and congruence), good intent, excellent credentials and a good track record?

Still following Stephen M.R. Covey's reasoning, the lawyer for the defense is going to attempt to convince the court that you (in place of Ngige, or Uba as the case may be) are not credible. He will try to prove that you lack integrity - that you are dishonest or have lied in the past or have some character flaw that would discredit your testimony; that you have some hidden agenda that would cause you to 'spin' your testimony away from the whole truth and nothing but the truth; that your credentials are lacking; and that your track record is tarnished or weak.

In essence, if this chapter's opening query, "Were Ngige and Uba's actions ethical?" is rephrased as "Did Ngige or Uba act with credibility?" the proper response would no longer need to be that "it depends" since a clear result is discernible from the 4-core test of Integrity, Intent, Capabilities and Results applied on each of them.

Section D:

The lessons



*"It's not a question of who's
going to throw the first stone; it's
a question of who's going to start
building with it"*

Sloan Wilson

11:

Lessons in godfather-management

*“When the hand that feeds you
starts hitting you,
bite it!”
- Anon.*

Lessons in godfather management left us by the Ngige-Uba drama as well as numerous other relevant materials include:

Lesson Number one: All excellence is equally difficult

Ngige's political development cannot be said to have been easier than his development as a medical doctor or his career development in the civil service. There is no such thing as an easier route to fame or fortune. Many who view politics and political jobbing from the sidelines hold the erroneous notion that persons that occupy the places and corridors of power arrive there by sheer chance and amass wealth and influence for little or no work. Sometimes it is sarcastically said of them that they rode on the backs of other people, and nothing more. Nothing could be farther from the truth. As Frank Clark would say, "If you can find a path with no obstacles, it probably doesn't lead anywhere."

Godfathering and its flipside, *godsoning* (if you will permit the expression) is as taxing as the next hard work in the world. Anyone who wants to make a career in this direction had better be prepared for the hard and tedious work that it demands.

In *Outliers*, a provocative book in which Malcolm Gladwell (author of *The Tipping Point* and *Blink*) deployed a wealth of fascinating data and information to discourse why some people achieve so much more than others, he mentioned a study done in the early 1990s by the psychologist K. Anders Ericsson and two colleagues at Berlin's Academy of Music.

The research which had sought to determine the place of innate talent vs. hard work in achieving expertise, suggested that *once a musician has enough ability to get into a top music school, the thing that distinguishes one performer from another is how hard he or she works*. The researchers further realized that the people at the very top don't work just harder or even much harder than everyone else, they work much, much harder. This finding has been so validated by other studies of expertise that researchers have settled on what they call *the 10,000-hour rule*.

Quoting a neurologist, Daniel levitin, Malcolm Gladwell wrote:

The emerging pictures from such studies is that ten thousand hours of practice is required to achieve the level of mastery associated with being a world-class expert in anything. In study after study of composers, basketball players, fiction writers, ice skaters, concert pianists, chess players, master criminals and what have you, this number comes up again and again. Of course, this doesn't address why some people get more out of their practice sessions than others do. But no one has yet

found a case in which true world-class expertise was accomplished in less time. It seems that it takes the brain this long to assimilate all that it needs to know to achieve true mastery.

A godson apparently requires as much presence and practice as the composers, basketball players, fiction writers, ice skaters, concert pianists, chess players, master criminals, etc reported on above to achieve mastery in his own area. Being a godson represents a special opportunity to work really hard.

According to Gladwell, hardwork is a prison sentence only if it does not have the three qualities of autonomy, complexity and a connection between effort and reward. Those are the qualities needed for work to have *meaning* or to be *meaningful*. Because *godsoning* largely fulfils those criteria, hard work provides a godson with tremendous opportunities for growth. A godson who wants to go far must be active in the service of his godfather as well as that of his constituents – he must tirelessly run and be seen to be running political errands as well as participating in meetings (including those that appear to be not too relevant). He should, in addition, have the disposition, tact and patience to tirelessly attend burials and other ceremonies, gobble up news and relevant materials on politics, hang around while the godfather holds his various meetings, and so on. A godson must never shy away from paying his dues. No excellence is cheap.

Lesson Number Two: Begin with the end in mind

The Igbo say that when you see a dog diligently following a man with a distended stomach, it is because it knows from experience that the man must either vomit or stool. Whichever way it goes, the man must drop something that will become a meal for the

dog. Similarly, you must have a goal for your voluntarily servitude. And then choose the level of assertiveness that will support your goal. Predetermine what you hope to get out of the relationship and your no-go areas while you are at it. You need to tell yourself ahead of time what you would do if, for instance, your godfather's wife requests that you help her with certain domestic chores. Would you will be willing to do it repeatedly, reckoning it as a necessary sacrifice, or would you say to her, 'this far and no further.' You need to also predetermine what your position would be if, for instance, you are asked to swear to an oath at the shrine of a local deity.

Probably the best advice that can be given to a prospective godson is to know oneself, one's family, one's God, one's limits and what one generally stands for before one gets involved as a godson. If you don't know what you stand for ahead of time, you will fall for everything when the tests come. Much as you cannot pre-envisage all the possible scenarios that may eventually confront you in the relationship, you can, at least, tell how much dignity you will like to come out of the relationship with.

The Igbos, again, say that a grave is not necessarily dug with the understanding that it must take a corpse with it. Begin with the end in mind and if you find out that the price is too high for you, nothing stops you from rethinking the dream.

Lesson Number Three: Loyalty is the Holy Grail

What is paramount to a godfather is that the family be perceived as getting stronger, wealthier and more influential. To achieve that, the family bond must be strong and the members must be loyal. In this business, loyalty is the Holy Grail. Any godson who wants to go the distance must learn to convey the impression that he is loyal to death. The importance of this factor is so high

that in the godfather ecosystem, loyalty is more deserving of reward than even competence.

This philosophy is reinforced by a common understanding amongst godfathers that competence can be learned, but loyalty cannot be learnt. In essence, a godfather would rather support a mediocre but loyal candidate over a competent loose cannon - the justification being that in the game of alliances and secret treaties which politics has become, a person whose reliability is yet uncertain - however professionally competent he is - is a threat to the continuity of the family – any family.

Lesson Number Four: “It is not to the benevolence of the butcher that we owe our meat”

Experience has repeatedly shown that godfathers are not benevolent butchers looking to flood the neighborhood with meat. They are out to pursue their personal interests. Chief Uba was reported as having told the Special PDP Panel of Inquiry that he likened the situation to “a business whereby one buys shares and expects dividends at the end.” He was said to have regretted that even though he used huge resources to make Dr Ngige Governor, he was not benefiting from his investment.

In managing the godfathers' hardly altruistic objectives, one must ferret out those interests and, for the sake of political continuity, relate with them to the extent that the law and decency allow. Once in a while, however, a godfather appears whose interests align with the interests of the society. Those are gifts to that society.

Lesson Number Five: Be assertive

Godfathers seek for godsons to always follow them into battle

blindfolded and any indication to the contrary is often interpreted as ingratitude, disloyalty or insubordination. Even when a godfather issues an instruction that is daft, immoral or both, a godson is usually expected to obey first and complain later – 'acronymed' *OBC* for "Obey Before Complain."

This attitude to authority is not peculiar to godfather-godson relationships. It is actually a default feature of the Nigerian society and a derivative of its cultures which highly promote deference to age and authority. A child that grows up in a typical Nigerian household will 'know' that an elder is always right, that grey hair is synonymous with wisdom and that questioning authority is, at best, rude.

A term used to describe this unthinking acquiescence with authority figures is *high PDI (Power Distance Index)*. The index is a tool developed in the 1960s by a Dutch psychologist, Geert Hofstede for measuring attitudes towards hierarchy. Gladwell reports that to measure PDI in an enclave, Hofstede asks questions like "How frequently, in your experience does the following problem occur: employees being afraid to express disagreement with their managers?" In high PDI ecosystems, decision-making is autocratic and, for fear of rebuke, subordinates are usually unwilling to pose alternatives. This, unfortunately, is typical of godfather family environments.

The standard reluctance of godsons and political subordinates to engage in constructive discussions and arguments with their godfathers robs their respective families of the benefits of viewpoints that may be different from (or even wiser and technically sounder than) those of the know-all, be-all godfathers. Rather than clearly speak up and insist on being heard when they, for instance, see the godfather driving the family towards obvious danger and probable failure, godsons in

high PDI ecosystems would communicate with some weak and flabby language which linguists refer to as mitigated speech.

We mitigate, they say, when, instead of putting our worthwhile points across with sufficient force and persistence, we deliberately downgrade our forcefulness and hide behind weak expressions – all in order not to offend a superior.

A first cousin to mitigation is sycophancy wherein a godson confines himself to telling the godfather only what he (godfather) wants to hear and in fact making it a duty to praise even his daftest of moves. The eventual result of both mitigation and sycophancy is the political demise of the delusional godfather and his timid godson.

The opposite of mitigating and acquiescing with every whim of the godfather is to be audacious, forward and brash. When a godfather makes a move or request that is outright stupid, for instance, an audacious godson would tell him openly that he is wrong. Because it breeds friction, this rather low respect for hierarchy (i.e. *low PDI*) is equally counterproductive when it comes to managing a relationship with a godfather.

If being passive endangers the family and being aggressive poisons the working relationship, the only option left for a godson in managing his godfather is *assertiveness*. Be assertive: Don't be a doormat (and yet, never say an outright *No*) to your godfather. An assertive individual effectively communicates his points and insists on being heard and understood without coming across as disrespectful. Assertiveness is a *sine qua non* (a without-which-not) for managing one's boss, whether it's in politics, business, football, or any other field.

Lesson Number Six: Never outshine your godfather

Godfathers hate to think that a godson could be smarter, richer or more knowledgeable over any matter. The first law of power listed in Robert Greene's 48 Laws of Power is, NEVER OUTSHINE THE MASTER. He supported his advice with the example of the clever Nicolas Fouquet, who was pretty indispensable to Louis XIV as his Finance Minister in the first five years of his reign.

The story goes that at some point in his career, Fouquet attempted to ingratiate himself with the king by staging – in honor of the King - the most spectacular party the world had ever seen. The party also served the purpose of commemorating the completion of Fouquet's chateau, Vaux-le-Vicomte.

The party which featured wonderful displays of cuisine, fireworks and views of the Finance Minister's wonderful garden turned out to be his last. He was arrested the next day, put on trial for stealing and spent the last twenty years of his life at the most isolated prison in France. It didn't matter that most of the stealing that Fouquet was accused of, he had done on the King's behalf and with the King's permission. What mattered was that Fouquet had, unwittingly, attempted to show a class that rivaled that of his *oga*.

Robert Greene concluded the narrative by declaring, “Such is the fate, in some form or other, of all those who unbalance the master's sense of self, poke holes in his vanity, or make him doubt his pre-eminence.” However well-meaning you may be, never outshine your godfather.

Lesson Number Seven: An agreement is not necessarily the end of a deal

As negotiations develop from preparation to negotiation to implementation and post-implementation review, there is a continuous replay of the Prisoner's Dilemma game. Ngige and Uba played, at least, three games as we have seen. The dynamics of reaching an agreement can throw a cog in the wheel, jeopardizing the successful execution of the agreement that was obtained by simplicity, trickery, treachery or intimidation. Examples of this as provided by the Ngige-Uba saga are so blindingly clear.

There is always a pre-implementation introspection phase when parties that feel short-changed in negotiations ask themselves – even if for just a fleeting moment – whether to call for a review, to bear the burden or to unilaterally renege. The more the terms appear inadequate, unfair, unjust or lopsided, the stronger these second thoughts are likely to be.

It is therefore in the interest of any godson to think beyond the wheeling-and-dealing to the possibility or otherwise of implementation. The key lesson here is to never rest on your oars until implementation is complete. A godson that gets anointed must continue reassuring the godfather that he made the right decision until implementation is complete. 'It is not over,' as Rev Mathew Ashimolowo would say, 'until it is over.' An anointed godson cannot afford to slack while still in process. He must follow-up the godfather bumper-to-bumper until the crown sits on his head.

Lesson Number Eight: Be prepared to do the work while your godfather takes the credit

'Monkey dey work, baboon dey chop' is a common saying in Nigeria to illustrate a situation where some persons (particularly, subordinates) do most of the work while some other persons at

higher levels of the pecking order get the recognition and reward. I once heard a junior officer in one of the arms of the armed forces jokingly complain to his superior officer that monkey was working while baboon was chopping. 'So where was monkey when baboon was working?' retorted the superior officer. A *turn-by-turn* philosophy as encapsulated in that question is usually visible – and helpful too – in the godfather ecosystem.

A godson who wants to benefit from the system should keep this philosophy in view and not be overly in a hurry to quarrel over the fact that recognition for his efforts go to his godfather. If he waits long enough and well enough, the day would come when he would feed off other persons' sweat. It's *turn-by-turn*!

Lesson Number Nine: Make the main thing the main thing

As Stephen Covey once remarked, "The main thing is to keep the main thing the main thing." In a godfathering relationship, it's necessary to never lose sight of your own ultimate goal – beyond the immediate position, assignment or pursuit.

As a godfather invests his energy, resources, favors, contacts and opportunity costs, the godson as well invests his independence, respectability, and options. As in any typical social interaction, there will be points of disagreement, warranted and unwarranted suspicions, feelings of disrespect, and other unsavory side effects. But it is necessary to recognize those as side effects and keep the main thing the main thing. Humans are imperfect. And that includes your godfather and the system within which he operates. When you observe those imperfections, keep your eyes on the ball and not on the offense. The ball, meanwhile, should be the service which you were elected or appointed to perform. It's your name that is on the

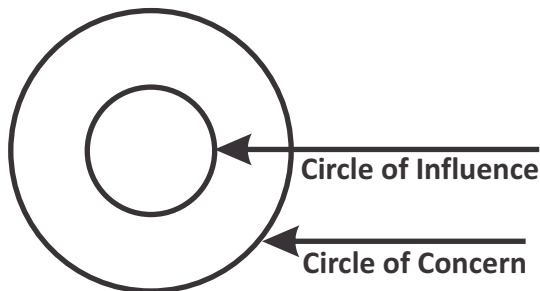
line, not your godfather's.

A practical way of keeping the main thing the main thing is to determine which appointments to play politics with and which to reserve only for your governance engine room. The engine room appointments should be for persons of integrity who are chosen for the professional contributions they will bring to, say, the economic management of the environment. You try to shield these ones from politics as they burrow into the apolitical aspects of government business.

Lesson Number Ten: Own your power

Don't assume that your godfather is all-powerful and will do everything for you. Remember that one constant feature of power is that it is limited. If your godfather is strong in one area, explore other areas in which to build your own strength without flaunting it.

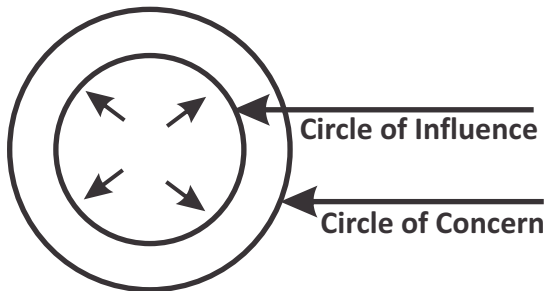
Stephen Covey, in *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People*, makes a revelation which is very instructive for growing your own power, independent of your godfather's. Covey distinguished between one's Circle of Influence and one's Circle of Concern by using the diagram below:



Stephen Covey's Circle of Influence and Circle of Concern

The Circle of Concern are all the things we are wont to worry about, but over which we individually have no control – the election timetable, the brash attitude of the godfather, the lies, half-truths and deceits that are common in the ecosystem, the rate of inflation, mischief by political opponents, the level of corruption in the country, and so on. The Circle of Influence, on the other hand, contains all the things we can change – essentially our own behavior. Covey contends that focusing our time and energy on our Circle of Concern creates a feeling of powerlessness. In counseling leaders on how to be proactive, he asks them to focus their efforts in the Circle of Influence by working on problems involving their own behavior and about which they can do something.

To explain Stephen Covey's dissertation using the language of power which is the subject of this book, one can say that some components of power are external and obvious while others are internal, but effective nonetheless. A godson should explore the development of internal, below-the-radar components which include contacts, cunningness, charisma, skill, knowledge, commitment, self-esteem, personal brand, etc.



Effect of directing one's energy in expanding the Circle of Influence

Covey contends that if one directs one's energy more fruitfully in the Circle of Influence, its relative size will increase while the size of the Circle of Concern would decrease as shown below.

A godson in this situation would be a proactive person who knows how to influence circumstances by working on himself. What else is this but power?

In developing your own power, be careful not to be seen early by the godfather and his lieutenants as capable of independent operations. Until the relationship gets past the Storming stage, always go to him to discuss your programs and secure his approval before you proceed. Discuss, even if just for the sake of updates. Nothing gives a godfather pleasure as the delusion that he is alpha and omega.

Keep quietly building your power while you are carrying him along. If you do it well enough, the time will come when he will begin to leave the fate of aspects of the family in your hand. As Covey would say, private victories precede public victories. He was simply reinforcing a much older saying to the effect that a man who suddenly wakes up to find himself a success has not really been asleep all the while.

Ngige evidently had more pre-election power than was visible to the naked eye. Power is not static. Be patient. Don't give away your power – and don't display it prematurely.

Lesson Number Eleven: Be conscious of the balances in your Emotional Bank Accounts

Politics is about people. Favors are exercised through contributions to persons in interest groups, families, religious associations, professional organizations, business groups, and

even friends and acquaintances. To the extent that people owe you favors in those linkages, you have positive balances in their Emotional Bank Accounts which you can convert to political capital.

The concept of Emotional Bank Account was introduced by Stephen R. Covey in the 7 Habits of Highly Effective People as a metaphor for the equivalent of a financial bank account into which one may only deposit and withdraw units of trust. He explains it this way:

If I make deposits into an Emotional Bank Account with you through courtesy, honesty and keeping my commitment to you, I build up a reserve. Your trust towards me becomes higher, and I can call upon that trust many times if I need to. I can even make mistakes and that trust level, that emotional reserve, will compensate for it. My communication may not be clear, but you will get my meaning anyway...

But if I have a habit of showing discourtesy, disrespect, cutting you off, overreacting, ignoring you, becoming arbitrary, betraying your trust, threatening you or playing little tin god in your life, eventually my

Emotional Bank Account is overdrawn. The trust level gets very low. Then what flexibility do I have?

None. I'm walking on minefields, I have to be very careful of everything I say. I measure every word. It's tension city, memo haven. It's protecting my backside, politicking. And many organizations are filled with it. Many families are filled with it...

Need we say more? Except, of course to add that in attempting to build up your Emotional Bank Account with individuals in various groups and families, care must be taken not to send conflicting messages by mixing freely and openly with individuals and groups whose agendas are in conflict with those of your godfather.

If, for instance, you receive an invitation from a member of another power bloc for even something as mundane as his child's naming ceremony, you must first think of the political interpretation of being seen in his company. In the godfather ecosystem, your first family is your political family. Where your relationship with members of your other families may create confusion as to your loyalty to your political family, you must keep the other relationships below the radar.

Lesson Number Twelve: Short-term gains may compromise long-term gains

A godfathering relationship involves a complex relationship and communication process where one round of negotiations, discussions, votes, etc is just an episode in a longer-term commercial or political relationship. The lesson to politicians - both in political parties and boardrooms - is that the short term gains that we reap through a sharp strong arm tactics or through deception are apt to sow the seeds of disaffection that reduce the chances of any agreement in the future.

Lesson Number Thirteen: Win-Win never comes by default – you must work for it

If you want Win-Win, you have to work for it. It never comes by default. The default negotiation mode of the average Joe is Win-

Lose. It's about the only negotiation that most people know. It's a 'malfunction' quadrant in the sense that once something goes wrong in any of the other frameworks, the relationship first shifts automatically into Win-Lose before descending to Lose-Lose.

In our prisoner's dilemma example, Prisoner 1's Win-Lose will be a situation where he confesses and Prisoner 2 does not confess. Prisoner 1 will, by implication, be attempting to get all the benefits available - to the exclusion of prisoner 2. Where the two prisoners had earlier reached an agreement to play Win-Win by not confessing, prisoner 1 could find himself being sorely tempted to deploy a Win-Lose strategy if for any reason suspicion or discomfort arises as to the intentions, conduct or capabilities of Prisoner 2 to stick to the agreement.

There are three general ways to work towards Win-Win outcomes: Expanding the pie, trading concessions and solving underlying concerns. An experienced negotiator will explore at least one of them with a view to engendering Win-Win.

Lesson Number Fourteen: Improve your BATNA

Ensure you answer the question, 'so what if I fail to meet my objectives?' You are not yet ready for negotiations until you prepare yourself psychologically to accept the next best situation in the event of failure of the negotiation. In *Getting to Yes*, Roger Fisher and William Ury identified this next-best with the acronym, BATNA for Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement. Sometimes, a BATNA is a plan B. At other times, it's a consequence to endure. It's not necessarily a perfect alternative, but it's the best there is of the lot. If you polish up your BATNA, you will not negotiate out of despair and, as a consequence, you are likely to get better results.

Lesson Number Fifteen: '20 children cannot play together for twenty years'

A Yoruba proverb says that 20 children cannot play in the same playgroup for twenty years. People grow up; Circumstances intervene; Interests change; Influences from relations, neighbors and associates redefine things; and so on. A time naturally comes when by accident, death or default, a godson would need to part ways with his godfather. At other times, the godfather, who is only as human as the next man, may have his power fading and weakening. It behoves a godson to prepare for that inevitability and not go down strapped to the godfather's flailing wings.

Lesson Number Sixteen: Godfathers don't take kindly to goodbyes initiated by godsons

Much as the godfather family is not necessarily a cult, it tends to view maverick members and break-off members the same way that cults do. Independence and non-conformity is viewed as a challenge to the supremacy of the godfather and a bad example of rebellion which could lead to the disintegration of the family. For this reason, godfathers wish for 'rebellious' godsons to be worse-off than when they were under the godfather's protection.

To achieve this, a godfather may go to the extent of cutting deals with competing godfathers for the purpose of making the erstwhile godson a pariah. An Igbo proverb holds that if a child does not grow to maturity before he starts enquiring after the cause of his father's death, the thing that killed his father would equally kill him. The lesson is to never attempt to quit unless you have given consideration to life after the family. Here are three ways one may leave and remain strong:

- a. Align strongly with another strong family before you cut out. That way, you still have political relevance as well as a support base. Note, however, that you will live the rest of your life with the branding of a sellout.
- b. Drop out of the sphere of life where the influence of the godfather is relevant. The most worthwhile reason used by persons wishing to quit campus cults is that they have found a new and better life in Christ Jesus. The cult, as well as the godfather family, in this case, would surreptitiously watch the person over time for signs of duplicity. They will even attempt to tempt or coax him back. But if he is true to his new life and understandably effervescent in it, he will be reckoned as no source of threat and left well alone. The only problem would be with how to manage the vengeance of people whom he had hurt in the past.
- c. You may just start making yourself less available and one of the days that you show up you hint that you want to give more time to your business. This is especially relevant if your group lost out in an election.
- d. Never threaten the godfather with quitting. The moment you do that, you have as good as quit on a wrong note.
- e. Under some circumstances, first discuss with the godfather before you walk.

Lesson Number Seventeen: Try not to bang doors when you walk out

In quitting, one must keep in mind the fact that politics is not a sporadic thing which has only to do with elections. It is ongoing and provides the string that holds together other relationships and endeavors. If you think you can afford to quit when elections are over and you probably lost and have nothing to look forward to gaining from the family till the next round of elections, you may need to think again.

Try not to bang those doors when you walk out because people keep needing people. Your next major need may not necessarily be for support towards your political aspiration; it may be for the support of the candidature of your brother who is contesting for your traditional chieftaincy stool. Then you will find yourself needing to walk through doors that you had earlier walked out of.

Lesson Number Eighteen: Make war as you must, not as you would like to

In politics, wars will certainly break out. If you don't go looking for them, they will come looking for you. Though your godfather will help with most of the wars, you must be prepared to do your own bit of the fighting. Don't wait for wars to suit your temperament before you deploy your own artillery to support or complement your godfathers. There are no designer wars anywhere. One must make war as he must, not as he would love to.

By taking up a political position, you have jumped into the fray. You will begin to count and treat as opponents (and possibly enemies) persons whom you have never had any direct disagreement with. It comes with the territory and you are not expected to wriggle out of it. The Igbos say that a machete which

makes a public appearance has invariably expressed its desire to be engaged in a machete handshake (a traditional Igbo handshake where two men noisily slap the flat sides of their raised machetes against each other a total of four times).

Lesson Number Nineteen: Beware of 'autistic hostility'

The autistic hostility hypothesis suggests that as interpersonal conflict becomes exacerbated, communication between the involved parties is likely to deteriorate.

The Special Panel of Inquiry into the Anambra crises identified such autistic hostility, when, in surmising, it stated,

The consequence of the seemingly adamant posture of Governor Ngige has been a pathological hatred for him and his administration by the Chief Chris Uba group whose members have continued to antagonize the government of Anambra State. It would appear the Chief Chris Uba group has consistently embarked on measures directed at dislodging Dr Ngige from office of Governor of Anambra state. The moves have sadly been attributed to bottled-up emotions, which have proven to be rather too costly for the entire polity.

If you find yourself in a conflict situation with your godfather, watch out for hostile impulses which subvert the opportunities for communication - the very mechanism for the reduction of initial hostility.

Lesson Number Twenty: Factor-in God

As C.S. Lewis once said, “Never, never pin your whole faith on any human being: not if he is the best and wisest in the whole world. There are lots of nice things you can do with sand; but do not try building a house on it.” Mortals are, by the circumstances of their being mortal, largely unreliable. It is, for instance, impossible to tell with certainty which godfathering relationship will end in joy, and which will end in disappointment.

The best we can do is to make projections and permutations concerning the suitability of a godfather based on what we think we know about his history. While we are at it, however, it is only God that knows for sure the end from the beginning. He is also the only one who can guide a godson with sufficient certainty through the political land mines and gossips that envious persons tend to employ to disentangle promising godfather-godson relationships.

Beyond and above any advice that has been offered in this book or can be offered anywhere else concerning the management of godfathers, is this one: *Factor-in God*. The overarching importance of this advice stems from the fact that the supernatural controls the natural and to the extent that a godson can access reliable supernatural help, to that extent will he have fruitful political relationships.

12:

Some advice for godfathers

“Everyone wants to participate in decisions that affect them, fewer and fewer people will accept decisions dictated by someone else”

-

- Roger Fisher & William Ury

Advice Number One: Choose to help, rather than exploit

The choice of what a godfather does with the immense influence at his disposal is entirely his. He may choose to exploit the Local Government, State or whatever political unit is under his influence or, in the alternative, choose to provide guidance that will lead to even representation and focused development across the territory. What is certain is that history will bemoan the former and celebrate the latter.

Advice Number Two: The combination of powerful godfather and weak godson never guarantees godson- compliance

It is simplistic for a godfather to expect his ward to remain totally servile after he (the ward) acquires executive power. The godfather must learn to back off and give the godson some

elbow room.

Negotiation research confirms that coalitions formed on the basis of initial perception of power and resources do shift over time. Even a semi-ambitious godson is likely to seek to be unleashed - as he realizes that he too has acquired power. This revolt will be more forceful if the godfather's leash is choking and the godson perceives a probability that he will be successful in obtaining the freedom he seeks.

The following remarks of the Special Panel of Inquiry set up by the PDP set up to investigate the Ngige-Uba face-off are instructive:

One other issue that came to light as revealed in the video recording is the seemingly overbearing posture of Chief Chris Uba, who during the inauguration of Governor Ngige stood right behind the Governor for a considerable period of time, even at the point of oath-taking and signing of the oath-register, as if indicating that he was dictating the pace and tunes. It is not surprising therefore, that His Excellency, Dr Chris Ngige has put up a spirited opposition to free himself from the clutches of this benefactor.

Advice Number three:

There is no such thing as a well-adjusted slave

Because negotiation is something that goes on between people, it is childish to believe that you can treat the other party as very undeserving of trust and respect and still expect his voluntary loyalty. However subservient such a man may appear on the

outside, he will disdain you like mad on the inside. And if he gets a base of support that will make him slightly independent of you, what is inside will come flooding out.

Political roads have twists and turns. After a godson acquires political power, the memories of unfair and indecent treatment meted on him in an earlier period often affect his relationship with his erstwhile *be-all-know-all* godfather. Every social scientist knows that there is no such thing as a well-adjusted slave. Realizing the dangers of subordinates and godsons carrying memories of shabby treatment into the latter stages of the relationship, an intelligent godfather should instruct himself to be more decent in his dealings with them. Unfortunately, we find many godfathers adjusting to this reality when damage has already been done. There's wisdom in Warren Buffet's assertion that what the wise do in the beginning, fools do in the end.

Advice Number Four: Be fair

If people feel a process is fair, they are more likely to make real commitments and less likely to walk away planning ways to wriggle out of the agreement. Make it a point of duty to be fair in your dealings with your godfather and other members of his ecosystem. Situations may arise where, as the Igbos say, you would have both the yam and the knife. You would literally be on top of the world and the question "should I be fair if I don't have to be?" will make sense to you. Roger Fisher and William Ury, suggested in their book, *Getting to Yes* that you answer that question by reflecting on the following:

- Will the unfair result be durable?
- What damage might the unfair result cause to this or other relationships?
- Will your conscience bother you?

Advice Number Five: Let the other party save face

Image is a concern for everyone, most of all, a godson. How your godson looks to himself and to others who matter to him often counts as much as the particulars of any agreement he may reach with you. It's been witnessed over and over that humiliated persons are far more likely to retaliate, and with greater severity and self-sacrifice.

When Chris Ngige said he was ready to die in order to protect his mandate, it was a message that he was going to do all it took to save his face.

Sooner or later, the party that feels distrusted, maltreated or misrepresented in a negotiation relationship becomes progressively less capable of using common sense as anger takes over and he stops regarding his adversaries as fellow human beings and starts seeing them as embodiments of greed and immorality.

Advice Number Six: Avoid washing dirty linen in public

Don Corleone - Mario Puzo's lead character in his bestseller, *The Godfather*, which centred on the Italian mafia - never allowed himself to get into the kind of press war and innuendo that offered us so much free content on the Ngige-Uba saga. There is time to fight and there is time to lie low - the wisdom is in knowing which. Life is a long stream of negotiations that keep going around and coming around. Perhaps there is wisdom in Oliver Wendell Holmes's saying that the young man knows the rules, but the old man knows the exceptions.

Even when all your permutations go wrong as Chris Uba's may have gone, it still pays to 'never get angry, never make a threat.' Never make enemies that you don't need. Just keep negotiating. The balance of power has a funny way of turning and when it does someday in your favor, you will have your laugh.

Advice Number Seven: Everyone has needs, interests

There's an interesting saying to the effect that to the world you may be one person, but to one person you may be the world. To the party at the other side of the table, you may be the whole world in his desire to resolve an issue.

It is, therefore important to seek to uncover - and address his needs. To you, it may be a light thing, but to him, it's the whole world. Rushing through a negotiation without accommodating the needs or interests of an opponent is very likely to produce unstable outcomes.

Advice Number Eight: Better to create value than to claim value

As we ascertained from Dr Tuckman's Forming Storming Norming Performing model, the challenges of the storming stage are inevitable. When that time comes, it is always better to stay ahead of the curve and expand the pie rather than fight over a fixed pie.

Advice Number Nine: Guard against self-deception

Leadership and Self-deception, A 2007 publication of the US-based Arbinger Institute, contains a useful historical account of one Ignaz Semmelweis (pronounced Ignawtz Semelvice) who worked in the Vienna General Hospital as an obstetrician and

researcher in the 1800s.

Troubled that mortality rate among the women that put to bed in the section of the maternity ward where he practiced was a horrendous one-in-every-ten, Ignaz Semmelweis, did everything he could to reduce the rate to no avail. He couldn't even find an explanation as to why the rate in the other section of the maternity which was manned by midwives was, at one-in-fifty, five times cheerier than his which was manned by doctors. In a bid to isolate the relevant factors, Semmelweis standardized all equipment and practices in all sections of the wards, yet the differences persisted. At some point, Semmelweis went on a four-month leave and upon his return, he discovered to his shock that the death rate had fallen significantly in his section of the ward in his absence.

Further enquiry led Semmelweis to discover that the fact that he split his time between dissecting cadavers as part of his research work and handling live patients had a bearing on the mortality rate of his patients vis-à-vis those of the midwives that had no business handling cadavers. Because there was as yet no understanding of germs, he concluded that 'particles' from cadavers and other diseased patients were being transmitted to healthy patients *on the hands of the physicians*.

Semmelweis, the story continued, immediately instituted a policy requiring physicians to wash their hands thoroughly in a chlorine and lime solution before examining any patient. The immediate result was a crash in the death rate to one-in-a-hundred. Though the doctors had been doing the best they knew how, they were nonetheless the very carriers of diseases that were sending hundreds of mothers to early graves. The Arbinger Institute uses the story of Semmelweis to introduce the concept of Self-deception which it likens to a deadly germ that is

innocently spread in organizations.

Many godfathers, like Semmelweis before his discovery, run their political families aground through high-handedness, poor internal democracy, acute self-centeredness and pure greed. They blame political opponents and internal saboteurs for political germs which they (godfathers) actually spread with their own hands. Some godfathers come to this realization at some point and seek to reinvent themselves while they still have a chance. Others walk on till they tip over into the abyss.

Anyone playing a godfather role should guard against self-deception by occasionally detaching himself like Semmelweis did, in order to view his political family from a more objective perspective than his traditional position.

Advice Number Ten: You are not God

When you are sitting on top of the political food chain with the ability to apportion favor, restrain other persons and write history at will, it is possible to lose sight of the fact that you are as much a mortal as the next man. However pervasive your influence is and however potent your power becomes, they will diminish with time.

Wisdom lies, therefore, in operating in such a manner that even after your influence has vanished and your power is history what is left of you can, at least, rest in peace.

13:

You can't not negotiate

*"However big you are,
you cannot clap with one hand"
- Yoruba proverb popularized by Chief MKO Abiola*

The need to negotiate is not an exclusive preserve of politicians and deal makers. On the contrary, civil servants, husbands, wives, students, employers, employees, drivers, passengers, professionals, traders and consumers, indeed all people who are interdependent with others in numerous and complex ways, are often engaged in some form of negotiation. Like it or not, we all must negotiate.

No one person or group can hope to satisfy all his individual needs, interests, wants and greed without in some way negotiating with at least one other person. Unless, of course, he is Robinson Crusoe - in which event, he lives in a book rather than a flesh-and-blood world. For the rest of us who interact with humans, we can't help but negotiate.

Let's just say that you can't 'not negotiate'. People necessarily attempt to complement what they have and who they are by accessing support and resources from others. One will have a need, some day, to court cooperation or to deal with competition, both of which are bases for negotiations. Even the choice not to negotiate - or, as they say, the choice to not deal' - is, in itself, a negotiation move.

Understanding the dynamics of Negotiations facilitates your understanding of why people behave the way they do when they seek advantages for themselves and their groups in politics, business and family. Given this import, one would expect people from all walks of life to seek to better their skills in this area. Unfortunately, this is hardly the case. Rather than work towards developing this skill, people stumble through life attending to situations as they arise without an understanding of the basics.

The few who take the trouble to understand the dynamics of negotiations are better equipped for success in their social, political and business interactions.

Section **CF** :
Appendices -
Media accounts of the
Ngige-Uba conflict (contd.)



*"Circumstances -
what are circumstances?
I make circumstances."
Napoleon Bonaparte*

APPENDIX 1

Culled from: [Http://www.nigerianmuse.com](http://www.nigerianmuse.com)

ThisDay

Anambra: The Dirty Testimonies

At the emergency meeting of January 4, 2005, a special Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) NEC committee on Anambra crises was set up with Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola of Osun State as Chairman and the following as members: Barr. S.O. Ekhabafe (SS); Barr. Ibrahim Shema (NW); Dr. (Mrs.) Nana Aisha Abdulquadri (North); Alhaji Shaba Lafiaji (NC) Alhaji M.B. Kirfi, Waziri Bauchi (NE); Chief (Dr.) Nwajoku O. Godwin (SE) and Barr. (Mrs.) Ime Udom (South). The committee was charged with the responsibility to investigate the root causes of the lingering political crises in Anambra State, especially the alleged confessional statement that Dr. Chris Ngige did not win the Anambra gubernatorial election and make appropriate recommendations to the PDP NEC. The committee had its first meeting on Monday 10 January 2005 at the Command Guest House, Abuja. Published below are excerpts from the 106-page report...

The Testimony of Chris Uba

The Committee invited Chief Chris Uba and he appeared with the following people:

Dr. Okey Udeh - *Former Deputy Governor*; Sen. Ugochukwu Uba; Sen. I. K. Abana; Mr. Uchenna Emodi - *State Chairman*; Chief Dan Ulasi - *Former Chairman, Caretaker Committee*; Chief R. O. C. Okpaleshe - *State Secretary*; Hon. Chuma Nzeribe, *Member, Federal House of Representative*; Engr. Emeka Okeke; Barr. Nobis Elendu; Hon. (Mrs.) Eucharia Azodo - *Former Speaker, Anambra State House of Assembly*; Prince (Dr.) Emeka Eze; Barr. Izu Nwankwo; Chief J. A. Okonkwo - *Founding State Chairman*.

The Special Committee having received memoranda from all members of the group called upon Chief Uba to present his memo. Chief Uba's lawyer, Barrister Nobis Elendu, read the memo to the Committee. Highlights of the memo include the following:

That sometime in December, 2002 when it became obvious that the PDP would no longer sponsor the former Governor, Mbadinuju, to contest the 2003 gubernatorial seat, the need to shop for a candidate arose.

That during their search for a suitable candidate, the Choice of Dr. Chris Ngige, who was already a candidate for the Anambra Central Senatorial District, was more acceptable. This was based on his reliable professional status and his experience in the Civil Service.

That having selected him to run for the gubernatorial seat, Chief Uba worked on the other aspirants to step down for Dr. Ngige during the primaries. Accordingly, Chief Uba did not lose sight of the fact that a few aspirants would refuse to step down and he would use his political acumen and structure to defeat them at the primaries. Chief Uba said that his judgment was true as two contestants refused to step down but were beaten at the primaries when he used huge sums of money to execute the project.

Chief Uba said that immediately after the election primaries, he received negative reports about Dr. Ngige describing him as unreliable, dishonest, immoral, greedy, wicked, sadist, vindictive and untrustworthy.

That he received another report that Dr. Ngige had sanctioned his father for 5 years and indeed sued him to court over a family piece of land which his father gave to a younger brother of Dr. Ngige who is now a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN). That he was at the Nnamdi Azikiwe

International Airport, Abuja when the SAN introduced himself to Chief Uba saying "I heard that you want to make my brother, Chris, Governor of Anambra State. You will live to regret making him a Governor".

That at another occasion, he was confronted by the Igwe of Alor (the Traditional Ruler) in Dr. Ngige's hometown who warned him against making Dr. Ngige the Governor of Anambra State on the ground that Dr. Ngige had sold the town's transformer during his tenure as the President of their town union.

That one Edwin Ngige, a brother of Dr. Ngige approached him (Chief Uba) and advised that Dr. Ngige should not be made Governor and not even Senator. That the President of Aka Ikenga, an organization which Dr. Ngige had once served as President also opposed the idea of sponsoring Dr. Ngige to the exalted position and described Dr. Ngige as "very unreliable and deceitful".

That after the nomination of Dr. Ngige both of them went to see Mr. President. During their meeting, Mr. President' told them that he had information that Dr. Ngige is in dispute with his father and family members. That he should go and reconcile with them.

That Dr. Ngige and himself went to visit the National Vice Chairman, Nze Ozichukwu Chukwu after the primaries. During their interaction, Nze Chukwu rejected the choice of Dr. Ngige saying that "Ngige is a disaster waiting to happen" .That after primary election, they also called on Chief Tony Anenih who commended Chief Uba for his support but said "Chris (Ngige) this Youngman (pointing at me) who sponsored you will be your first victim".

Chief Uba said that following the adverse reports and allegations he received about Ngige, he decided to reconcile him with people especially members of his family. That he was successful. At a ceremony in honour of the Governorship candidate, his father was invited to give

vote of thanks and had this to say; "Nwabueze (Dr. Ngige's native/vernacular name), do not deceive this young man. Nwabueze do you hear what I am saying; I said do not cheat this your friend, Eselu Uga, I have said all I have to say".

Undertaking and resignation letters

Chief Uba told the Committee that as a result of series of allegations against the character and behaviour of Dr. Ngige, PDP leaders and members lost confidence in him and resolved that Dr. Ngige should show commitment and covenant that he would not betray them. That this resulted to the various letters of resignation and undertaking, which he wrote and signed to assure them of his loyalty and change of behaviour when he eventually won the seat.

Chief Uba further told the Committee that he made a press statement following the exchange of letters between Mr. President and the PDP National Chairman. He said the intention was to clarify the wrong" impression Dr. Ngige sent to Nigerians that he did not admit that he (Ngige) did not win election when he and himself (Chief Uba) went before Mr. President. That his press statement was not a confessional statement but a clarification to put records straight and to say that Mr. President did not lie.

In presenting his memo, Chief Uba informed the Committee' that he was principally the person who was instrumental to the emergence of Dr. Ngige as Governor of Anambra State. He said that this was done by way of financial sponsorship and political sponsorship.

That initially, Dr. Ngige was running for the Senate but then the decision to make him run for gubernatorial election was taken, Dr. Ngige approached him for funding since he was not financially sound to do so. Chief Uba said, he accepted and made available to him every kobo starting from the primaries to the election of 19th April, 2003.

That Dr. Ngige was not known in the State apart from his Idemili South Local Government Area, where he (Dr. Ngige) consistently failed to realize his dream to be Senator. As a result, Dr. Ngige requested Chief Uba to hand over his political structure and followers, which cut across Anambra State to him, and he (Uba) accepted. This structure, he said, Dr. Ngige used to become Governor of Anambra State. Chief Uba annexed all the documentary transactions between him and Dr. Ngige including a speech he made at his inauguration that he will keep faith to his commitments for the appreciation of members of the committee. Chief Uba told the Committee unequivocally that he did not rig election for Dr. Ngige and if there was any element of rigging, Dr. Ngige should explain to the Party how it happened. He further referred the Committee to a statement Dr. Ngige made and was published in the *Newswatch* magazine of 29th November, 2004 saying "Even when I was working with them (Uba group) I drew the benchmark and the political roadmap, so I am above intimidation". Following this statement Chief Uba said it was most dishonest and blatant falsehood if Dr. Ngige turns round to say that he did not know how the election which he drew benchmark and roadmap was won.

Root Causes of the crises

On the root causes of the crises in Anambra state, Chief Chris Uba said that they can be summarized as follows:

That party members were sidelined and not appointed in Dr. Ngige's cabinet as stakeholders. Instead he' gave such appointments to members of the opposition. Chief Uba cited the appointment of Deputy Governor, SSG and Attorney General and Commissioner of Justice to back up his claim. That he sabotaged elected members of PDP both in the Anambra State House and National Assembly who had cases at the election tribunals. Chief Uba alleged that Dr. Ngige was footing all the legal bills of solicitors handling cases for opposing candidates.

That Dr. Ngige failed to implement the recommendation of an investigative panel headed by Commodore Olabode George. This, he said is because the Governor sacked some officers thereafter contrary to the panel's report. Chief Uba also said that the non-implementation of the Owerri Accord, which was mid-wife by the Senate President, Chief Adolphus Wabara contributed to the crises.

That Dr. Ngige destroyed the PDP structures in the State and jettisoned and indeed rejected party list of candidates for the Local Government election. Besides, he rejected and refused to recognize the elected PDP State Chairman and unilaterally appointed a State Coordinator instead of State Chairman, contrary to the PDP Constitution. He added that Governor Ngige is romancing with the Justice Party a platform he intends to use as alternative to PDP to present his candidates for LGA polls hoping that such candidates will win and help him achieve his gubernatorial desire in 2007.

That he refused to conduct Local Government election in the State thereby causing a lot of hardship to people who left their jobs to seek election. In throwing more light on a multiple of Chairmanship and Councillorship candidate lists, Chief Uba explained that a compilation of list of candidates was made in October, 2002 before Dr. Ngige became Governor. However, upon becoming Governor, the list was adjusted to accommodate his interest. This notwithstanding, he insisted that it must be reharmonised before he would conduct LGA election. Following this, those whose names were dropped complained and NWC accepted yet another fresh list from Dr. Ngige and included the same in the harmonized list. The Committee was however told that Dr. Ngige later changed his mind and branded the NWC list as a "419" list. He rejected the list and personally compiled another list himself and submitted it to ANSIEC. To this end, Chief Uba said, the Chairman of ANSIEC announced through the State Radio that PDP had submitted two different lists of candidates. This made the nominated candidates to call a rally to protest the action, which the Anambra State Vigilante

service of Dr. Ngige disrupted.

Part II of Uba's Submission

In this part, Chief Uba made some clarifications on his press release. He explained as follows:

That his press statement was misunderstood, misinterpreted, misconstrued and gave rise to controversy.

That the letter of Mr. President to the Chairman of PDP was an accurate record of what transpired at a meeting between Dr. Ngige and himself (Chief Uba).

That he knew that Dr. Ngige would turn round to deny what he (Ngige) had said so he decided to give a press statement to state what he (Uba) said at the meeting with Mr. President and Dr. Ngige.

That many commentators misunderstood him by putting it that he claimed he (Uba) rigged election. Chief Uba said that what he asked Dr. Ngige was "you know you did not win election?" which Dr. Ngige replied "I know". This was what Mr. President had told the whole world.

That following rumours that Dr. Ngige did not win election and his victory was challenged at the election tribunal, they decided to look at records on which the results were produced. They discovered that the results were incorrect and that Dr. Ngige did not actually win. He said that explained why he had to disclose the true results to Mr. President, the National Chairman of PDP and the National leader of the Party, Chief Tony Anenih at different time in the presence of Dr. Ngige.

That following his press statement when he regretted his error and activities in putting Ngige to power, it was misinterpreted that he rigged election.

That at the time Dr. Ngige was adopted as Governor, PDP had concluded the screening exercise for Governorship aspirants in the South East Zone and that explains why his name was not among the list of candidates as drawn by the party.

Further to the written submission, Chief Uba played two tapes of recorded transactions regarding the activities of Dr. Ngige and Chief Uba.

The first tape was tagged survival of Anambra State. When the tape was played the following issues surfaced:

That after the declaration of Dr. Ngige as the winner of the elections, the kinsmen and friends of Dr. Ngige paid Chief Uba a visit in his village to congratulate and thank him for making it possible for their son and friend to win the Governorship election.

That during the visit of the kinsmen and friends of the Governor elect, his father (Dr. Ngige) was with them. The father made pathetic statements appealing to his son not to disappoint Chief Uba and offered Chief Uba a coconut to plant in his (country home) residence. The members of the committee watched the activities on tape and listened to speeches and bits of advice urging Dr. Ngige not to disappoint Chief Uba whom they described as Dr. Ngige's godfather and political mentor. In his response, Dr. Ngige confirmed the big roles Chief Uba played in his election right from the very beginning. The Committee watched and listened to Dr. Ngige saying that the two people he cherishes most in his life are his wife and Chief Uba. That Chief Uba was at the heart of his political sojourn and that his election was a one-man project.

In his comments Chief Uba remarked that Dr. Ngige will not disappoint the people of Anambra State. That with the Governorship victory the other elections lined up to be conducted later was a foregone

conclusion.

The second tape had to do with a committee of the Senate and statements relating to Dr. Ngige going to the shrine to take an oath. In answer to a question from the committee, Chief Uba said that he did not go to the shrine with Ngige. He however said that Dr. Ngige told him that he had consulted with his Bishop who advised him to take along with him a Bible and holy oil.

In commenting on the statement earlier made by the former State PDP Caretaker Committee Chairman, Chief Uba said that both of them should not be dismissed from the Party. He said that since Dr. Ngige is already Governor and has enjoyed much, he should be expelled to allow him Uba remain. In answer to another question from the Committee on who went with Dr. Ngige, Hon. Chuma Nzeribe accepted that himself and three others went with him. They left Awka and got to the place at about 3.30 am. That when they were 50 meters to the place, the 3 of them waited while Dr. Ngige accompanied by a man who was riding a bicycle went to the shrine to perform the oath taking rites

In conclusion, Chief Uba recommended as follows:

That the PDP should take necessary steps to renounce the incorrect results that ushered in Dr. Ngige as the Governor of Anambra State; that Dr. Ngige be compelled to comply with all agreements and undertakings he entered into before becoming Governor. However, a member noted that the two issues raised in the recommendation contradict each other since he recommended that the Governor be made to vacate his seat and at the same time asking that he should be compelled to fulfill the agreements he had entered into. On answering a question on whether it will help the party if the results that ushered Dr. Ngige in are invalidated, Chief Uba answered that PDP will still win if fresh election is ordered. On another question from the committee on why he went ahead when they received numerous petitions and warnings against Dr. Ngige, Chief Uba said that Dr. Ngige had already

won the primary election and there was no point going back at that point.

Addendum

On the 15th January, 2005 Chief Uba brought an addendum to his memorandum of 10 January, 2005. According to him the addendum became necessary to enable him state in clear terms his position regarding the admission Dr. Ngige made before Mr. President that he did not win the Governorship election of 19th April, 2003. This statement, Chief Uba said, was made before Mr. President in the presence of Alhaji B. B. Farouk (PDP National Youth Leader) and Barr. Olisa Metu (Ex Officio member of PDP). In the addendum, Chief Uba reiterated that Dr. Ngige also admitted before the National Chairman of PDP that he did not win the Governorship election of the 19th April, 2003.

Chief Uba concluded his addendum with the prayer that since Dr. Chris Ngige had previously resigned his office as Governor of Anambra State and also admitted before Mr. President that he did not win the Governorship election, and with numerous evidences of anti party activities leveled against him, Chief Uba once again said that Dr. Ngige be compelled to vacate his seat as Governor of Anambra State.

The Testimony of Ngige

Day Two Proceedings:

His Excellency, Dr. Chris Ngige appeared before the panel with the following persons:

Rep. (Bar.) N. C. Ughanze (*MHR*)

Hon. Jessie Balonwu (*MHR*)

Chief Hon. Okey Muo Aroh (*SSA - Special duties*)

Princess Uzo Okonkwo (*SA - Liaison*)

Barrister Emeka Okafor

Mr. Uzoma Igbonwa

Mr. Chuks Akunna (*Chief Press Secretary*)

Dr. Chris Ngige apologized for his lateness to the meeting and attributed this to weather condition, which he said delayed his flight. He complained that he was not aware of the terms of reference of the Committee before coming and hence could not prepare any written document, adding that he only received a letter from the National Secretary informing him about his suspension from the party, and setting up of this Committee. He was however informed by the Chairman that the content of the letter he received was not at variance with that of the Committee members, except the portion that dealt with suspension. Dr. Ngige told the Committee that he would not speak on the 'confessional statement' since the matter is in Court. He highlighted that the political crises in Anambra State has to do with the STATE and the PARTY.

He requested that Chief Uba's submissions be made available to him for sighting, but the Committee refused to oblige. He traced his political antecedents - that he was a convener of PDP in Anambra State. That he was an Assistant National Secretary, Ex-Officio member of NEC, and vied for Anambra Senatorial seat in 1999. That prior to this, he had worked in the Civil Service, and resigned as a Director in 1998 to contest for a Senatorial seat.

That after his retirement, from Civil Service, he set up political structures preparatory to elections into the Senate. That during the 2002 Congress, he funded and sponsored some politicians to contest elections. That when nominations were opened, he participated in Senate primaries with Chief Ben Obi and Ebele Okonkwo.

According to Dr. Ngige, when it became obvious that the party would not return Dr. Mbadinuju as its candidate for the Governorship elections, the following persons approached and encouraged him to run:

Chief Ben Okoye;
Chief Okey Ezibe;
Chief Ben Akabueze;
Prof A.B.C. Nwosu;
Chief Chris Uba.

However, he (Dr. Ngige) accepted to run for the position after much persuasion, but not without some conditions. That the payment of arrears incurred by the former Governor would be the first priority on his list if elected. That he would work primarily for the interest of Anambra State before considering other interest groups.

The aforementioned persons leading to the formation of a political union accepted these conditions. Dr. Ngige expressed surprise that after his emergence as the Party's candidate, Chief Uba started making some demands. He reported that one night, Chief Uba came with one Bar. Nobis Elendu to Nicon Hotel, Abuja, with an agreement for him to sign. The said document showed that he (Dr. Ngige) borrowed from him (Chief Uba) the sum of Three billion naira (N3 billion), and when he questioned, Chief Uba said that it was an anticipated sum of money to be used for campaigns. According to Dr. Ngige, he told Chief Uba that the Governorship election in Anambra State would cost only between N300m and N400m, but Barrister Elendu insisted that it would assist them if they run out of money. With this explanation, Dr. Ngige said he signed the document, and later demanded for a copy, which was not given to him.

Party Primaries:

Dr. Ngige told the Committee that Gen. Salihu Ibrahim (Rtd.) headed the Electoral Panel that conducted primaries in Anambra State, while Senator Elayo headed the Appeal Panel. He affirmed that before primaries, Chief Uba and his friend, Hon. Chuma Nzeribe had started collecting various sums of money varying from N5m to N10m from contestants. When his attention was drawn to this development, he

(Dr. Ngige) advised contestants not to give. He then confronted Chief Uba who denied the allegation.

Thereafter, Chief Uba came to him (Dr. Ngige) one morning and requested that they meet with the National Vice Chairman (South East), Nze Ozichukwu in his hotel room at Enugu. Dr. Ngige told the Committee that on getting to the hotel, the National Vice Chairman had checked out. However, they were able to get him on phone while he was driving out, and he (Nze Ozichukwu) stopped, where they met and discussed with him before he left. Dr. Ngige said that when they got to Awka, Chief Uba came with a list for him to sign, alleging that it came from Nze Ozichukwu on Mr. President's directive. Dr. Ngige recalled his question to Chief Uba, "of what use is this list to Mr. President".

Dr. Ngige said that the answer he received was unsatisfactory, and consequent upon that he asked him to keep the list. At a later date, Chief Uba came to him; saying that his brother, Andy Uba called in respect of the list. Dr. Ngige said he signed the list and gave it to him since nomination had already closed.

Dr. Ngige informed the Committee that after his emergence as a candidate, he appealed to the party to allow those who ran with him in the said election to return to their former positions. Hon. Chudi Offodile (from Awka Federal Constituency), Hon. Jerry Ugokwe (Idemilli North and South Federal Constituency), and Senator Ikechukwu Abana benefited from this management. However, that suggestion angered Hon. Jerry Ugokwe who threatened a Court suit if he (Dr. Ngige) did not expunge his name from the list. Dr. Ngige said he expressed surprise when Chief Uba brought one Okeke as a replacement to Hon. Jerry Ugokwe, and he (Dr. Ngige) rejected, saying it was his Constituency.

Campaign

Dr. Ngige denied that Chief Uba sponsored him holistically. He informed the Committee that in preparation for his campaign, he bought three brand new cars - Mercedes bus, Peugeot 504 (Bestline as pilot) and another Peugeot 504. Also, he had a Toyota Lexus Land cruiser and received 5 buses from his cousin. He equally told the Committee that he took care of his campaign expenses.

He narrated that he was staying in Brifina hotel, Awka during the campaign and received a discount of 20 percent from the proprietor. At Choice hotel where he stayed for about $3\frac{1}{2}$ months, Dr. Ngige said he paid all his bills. Apart from that, Dr. Ngige said that he received donations from two PDP Governors (Rivers and Delta), who are his personal friends. The Governors he said donated the sum of N10m each for his campaign, adding that Rivers Governor gave him a 406 Peugeot car for his campaign organization.

Dr. Ngige equally stated as follows:

That he organized a fund raising dinner at Eko Le Meridien hotel Lagos, and realized the sum of N36m in cash and in cheque;

that the fund-raising account and other monies realized for the campaign was paid into a central campaign funds, managed by Chief Uba's cousin, who is also an accountant;

that he was not a signatory to the account;

that they received donation from the legacy house a cheque amounting to N127m or N17m and written in his name for campaigns in Anambra State. He disclosed that he did not cash or touch the money, and did not know how it was expended.

Election Proper

Dr. Ngige told the Committee that he appointed Mr. Sam Okechukwu as his Agent at the Collation Centre. This he said was based on the

information received from the INEC Commissioner that candidates have no business at the collation centre during elections. He affirmed that before the elections, he began to notice funny movement. One day he came back from Onitsha and asked where his Deputy was and was told that he had gone to see the Anglican Bishop. He later joined them at the Archbishop's house, and was shocked to see them with the former Governor, Dr. Mbadinuju who was then contesting on the platform of Alliance for Democracy.

This confirmed his earlier information that Hon. Chuma Nzeribe received money from Dr. Mbadinuju in order to support him during elections. Dr. Ngige said he lost election in Ihiala (Hon. Nzeribe's place), the Deputy Governor's Constituency and would have lost in Oyi, the home place of the Director General of his campaign team, if not for the efforts of Nwanze, hence his conclusion was that the group did not work for him.

Dr. Ngige informed the Committee that throughout the campaign, his erstwhile Deputy did not campaign or accompany him, even when he (Dr. Ngige) went to the Deputy Governor's home-town, adding that he was indifferent. He recalled his meeting with Chief Uba at Awka in May on his invitation where he alleged as follows: That Chief Uba has evidence that he (Dr. Ngige) had negotiated N2b bank loan with Lions bank. That bank officials came to him, (Chief Uba), seeking his consent as a political stalwart in the State.

Dr. Ngige said he took that as a joke, but was surprised when one day members of the National Assembly-elect from Anambra State, Okechukwu Odunze (DG Campaign) and few others con-fronted him on the same issue. The group did a letter to Mr. President, alleging that he (Dr. Ngige) had been implicated in a fraud. Dr. Ngige was amazed that the Deputy Governor's signature was number one on the list, amongst those that signed the letter. This was contrary to what the Deputy Governor told him (Dr. Ngige) that he did not sign the letter. On the

allegation that he was a drunkard, and was in his hotel room on the Election Day, Dr. Ngige said it was untrue. He told the Committee that even on the eve of the election, he transversed 12 Local Government Areas, with heavy rain.

Formation of Government

Dr. Ngige went further to state as follows:

That on a particular date, he met with Chief Uba, Hon. Chuma Nzeribe and a Reverend.

That the Reverend brought a document, which allegedly came from Bishop Chukwuma.

That he had known Bishop Chukwuma before.

That after prayers, the document was given to him.

That he signed the document when the name of the Bishop was mentioned.

That he later discovered that Bishop Chukwuma did not send any document.

Dr. Ngige also narrated his experience at Nicon Hotel, Abuja. He recalled that one day, Chief Uba, Hon. Chuma Nzeribe Odunze visited him at his hotel room and demanded from him personal cheque amounting to N3b. He told the Committee that when he enquired from them how they arrived at the figure, Chief Uba and Odunze answered thus respectively:

“Somebody who invested must make a profit”

- Chief Uba

“It is our own guarantee that you will be loyal”

- Odunze.

Arguing that no bank can pay that wholesome amount at a time, Dr. Ngige said they asked him to break the cheques into N1.5b each. The delay in signing the cheques (amounting to N3b) in lieu of payment to Chief Uba infuriated Hon. Chuma Nzeribe, who told him, "It is either you sign or we face you tonight." At this juncture, he signed the cheques.

He also recalled that Hon. Nzeribe through a lady once told him that if he actually wanted his problems over, he (Dr. Ngige) should negotiate with him saying that he should work out an arrangement so that money would be paid into his account every month. That as a Security Adviser to the former Governor, he was receiving N30m monthly from Mbadinuju's administration.

He also revealed that he stopped two (2) cheques, N11m and N37m respectively paid in Nzeribe's name fraudulently. The payments were to be made from May-June allocation to the State from the Federation Account, adding that the entire allocation for the aforementioned months was all fraudulently shared.

Dr. Ngige told the Committee that Chief Uba made appointments into all the key positions in his government except the Office of Chief-of-Staff. He added that Chief Uba even rezoned the Office of Speaker from Anambra South to Anambra North Senatorial Zone.

On the appointment of Commissioners, he told the Committee that there was an agreement to: reduce the number of Commissioners from 20 to 10; give concession to Local Governments that have not produced Governor, Deputy Governor and Speaker. It was also agreed that the Offices of the Attorney General and Commissioner of Finance attract special qualifications of SAN and Chartered Accountant respectively. Dr. Ngige informed the Committee that when Chief Uba delayed in

nominating candidates for these Offices, he (Dr. Ngige) appointed them having identified some people with the aforementioned qualifications.

Visit to Mr. President

Dr. Ngige also told the Committee as follows:

That during one of these visits to Abuja, Chief Uba told him that Mr. President wanted to see them. That in their private meeting with him, Mr. President, offered to give him advice, saying he received complaints about a frosty relationship that existed between him (Dr. Ngige) and his father.

That after listening to him, Mr. President advised him to reconcile with his father. That following a complaint he made to Mr. President against Chief Uba reporting that President told Uba that as a king maker, he should take the back seat after making the king; otherwise he would be the first victim.

Irrevocable Standing Payment Order

Speaking on this, Dr. Ngige claimed that at one of their meetings, Chief Uba wanted him to sign an Irrevocable Standing Payment Order (ISPO) in respect of his contract (the Ziks place), being handled by his company, and his refusal to sign angered Uba.

He further explained that his decision was based on the directives of the National Economic Council that conferred approval authority only on Mr. President. He said that while the crises lasted, he (Dr. Ngige) constituted the Local Government Transition Committees, and appointed PDP leaders at local level as honorary members of such committees, excluding sympathizers of the July 10 episode.

That in March 2004, he appealed to the National Secretariat of the party to conduct fresh primaries in Anambra State on the premise that the Local Government list had been mutilated and overtaken by events. At one of the expanded National Caucus meetings held in Abuja, he

appealed for a review of the primaries, and the Chairman consented.

That following the inconclusive primaries in the 75 to 85 percent of the Local Governments in Anambra State, the need for harmonization became imperative. That the NWC suggested the harmonization of the various lists and invited him and other stakeholders from Anambra State for the exercise.

Dr. Ngige maintained that four (4) Local Governments were not touched. That he was however surprised to read from the national dailies at a later date the unsigned list of approved Chairmanship and Councilorship candidates for the Local Government elections in Anambra State, including the four (4) Local Governments not touched during the harmonization exercise. His enquiry from the Chairman about the published list showed that the National Chairman had no knowledge about it. Dr. Ngige dubbed the list a 419 list in view of the fact that it was not signed even though it carried the name of the Publicity Secretary.

That his letters to the National Secretariat on the issue were not replied. However, Alhaji Oyedokun assured that something would be done about the list. That two months later, a new list signed by the National chairman and National Secretary was sent to ANSIEC, and a copy him.

That on the receipt of the copy, he complained to the National Chairman and National Secretary respectively. According to him, the National Secretary said, "we are looking into it" while the National Chairman responded thus "we are coming".

That he protested against the list," requesting that the matter be referred to NEC in consonance with Article 21 of the party's constitution. He informed that in the harmonized list, he conceded one of the two Local Governments in Onitsha to Chief Uba, and expressed

surprise that in the new list, he took all the two Local Governments. The same was the case in Awka. He (Dr. Ngige) informed that those who were coming close at Government in Anambra State had their names removed from the new list.

Dr. Ngige denied that neither himself nor the speaker submitted two lists to ANSIEC, as alleged by Uchenna Emodi. He revealed that some members of NWC have vested interest in Anambra State, affirming that some people "took women while others collected money".

This, he noted was responsible for their desperation in having the list ratified. Among those he mentioned that collected money include: Nze Ozichukwu Chukwu, National Vice Chairman (South East), Chief Chris Uba and Hon Chuma Nzeribe. On the non-recognition of Dr Uche Emodi, he said that his election was illegal, adding that there is an existing Order of the Court at Ogidi High Court that nullified the election held in Abuja that produced Uche Emodi.

That the need for the appointment of Dr Fred Oduah as the Coordinator of all PDP activities in Anambra State arose following an order of the Court that the election of a substantive Chairman should not be held pending the determination of the case in the Court at Ogidi. To answer 'Chairman', he said, would amount to Contempt of Court. In its place, therefore, the party in Anambra state adopted the name 'Coordinator'. However, he stated categorically that he does not recognize the office.

Abduction saga

Speaking on the event of July 10, he said he was in his office when the former AIG, late Raphael Ige, walked into his office and told him that he was under instruction to arrest him. Dr Ngige added that he was held hostage for many hours. He also said that he had seen the late AIG in Chief Uba's house two days before the event, disclosing that Hon Nzeribe and Chief Abana led the assault.

Following the July 10 event, Mr President sent a high-powered delegation of party leaders led by Chief Olabode George to Awka to investigate the incident. The National Assembly also sent a delegation, took testimonies and requested that the meeting be continued in Abuja. He stressed that at Enugu High Court, Chief Uba sponsored the suit that sought to remove him from office, remarking that he was lucky to get a Stay of Execution Order.

Owerri Accord

In December 2003, some well meaning persons in Igbo land organized a reconciliatory meeting at Owerri. The meeting facilitated by the Executive Governor of Imo State, His Excellency Chief Achike Udenwa, had the following personalities in attendance: The Senate President, HE Senator Adolphus Wabara; the Chairman of People's Democratic Party in Enugu State, Chief (Dr) Nwajoku Godwin; Senator Arthur Nzeribe; the National Vice Chairman of PDP (SE), Nze Fidelis Ozichukwu Chukwu; the Deputy Governor of Ebonyi State; Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu (BOT Member); the Speaker, Abia State House of Assembly, Rt. Hon Stanley Ohajuruka; etc. one of the decisions of the accord was that Uba should leave governance for the Governor.

That he should present his requests to the Governor for consideration. He said this decision was taken following a report he made to the body that while he was away from the State, Chief Uba and Hon. Chuma Nzeribe deployed a Permanent Secretary and 62 other staff serving in Government House without his knowledge and approval. Dr Ngige said the meeting at Owerri also agreed that Chief Uba should nominate 3 Commissioners and 2 Special advisers. He told the Committee that Chief Uba requested to appoint a Principal Secretary; and he obliged. Unfortunately, the Principal Secretary he appointed was taking official documents from the Governor's file to Chief Uba. He was doing so in connivance with the Secretary to the State Government.

According to Dr Ngige, the Owerri Accord also empowered him to

appoint a Deputy Governor from the same zone of the impeached Deputy Governor. The Accord also provided that the SSG be made Chairman of SPEB; and the impeachment of the Deputy Governor is converted to resignation in order not to destroy his political future. That Chief Uba and Dr Ngige should be meeting regularly.

Encounter with Mr. President

Dr Ngige remarked that the issue is a matter before the Court and did not say much on that. He denied admitting before President Obasanjo that he did not win Anambra polls. In answer to a question whether Chief Chris Uba rigged election for him, Dr Ngige replied thus, "I did my campaigns and won my elections".

On the recent imbroglio in Anambra State, Dr Ngige alleged that it was the party members who perpetrated the act, naming aggrieved Local Government candidates who felt they were being stopped from running elections.

The way forward

On the way forward, Dr Chris Ngige submitted as follows: That the tempo of the polity must be brought down. Party members must be given the opportunity to fraternize again. The 2002 Congress list (reinstated list) should be used. That politics is all about relevance and expressed his willingness to make some concessions to Chief Uba. That some national officers should be excluded from participating in any discussion about Anambra State.

Cross Examination

Committee: What is Chief Uba to you?

Dr Ngige: A very close friend of mine and a younger brother.

Committee: Have you ever addressed him as your political godfather?

Dr Ngige: No, I call him leader, *Eselu* or *Ochi agha*.

Committee: But we have watched a videotape where you called him so.

Dr Ngige: I may have forgotten.

Committee: At the conclusion of elections, a certificate was issued to you. Where is your Certificate?

Dr Ngige: I gave it to Engr Emeka Eze Okeke.

Committee: At the heat of the July episode, your SA Media issued a press statement that you had resigned, and later on said you did not resign. Is it true?

Dr Ngige: Hon. Chuma Nzeribe captured him and promised to elevate him as Special Adviser if he (SA Media) would sign the document he (Hon. Chuma) brought. He said that Hon. Chuma used a gun to threaten him, and forced him to sign the document. But when he escaped, he went on air and announced that I did not resign.

Committee: Is the relationship with Uba achievable?

Dr Ngige: Very achievable.

Committee: Are you not aware that the appointment of a coordinator offends the dictates of the Party's Constitution?

Dr Ngige: I did not appoint anybody.

Committee: Did you admit before Mr. President that you did not win the election?

Dr Ngige: No, I did not.

Committee: Are you aware that Chris Uba rigged elections for you?

Dr Ngige: I did my campaign and won my election.

Committee: You said some members have vested interests in Anambra and also collected money. Can you name some of them?

Dr Ngige: Some people are ready to vow that they sent money to Nze Ozichukwu. Chief Uba once told me that he bought a Peugeot 504 (pilot) and 406 cars from our campaign fund. Others who collected money from candidates are Chief Chris Uba and Hon. Nzeribe. That's why they want the list ratified.

Committee: There is a document from Chief Uba revealing that you were not screened.

Dr Ngige: I was drafted. I got my form on the last day without Chief Uba knowing it. I could not go for screening on the set day because I had diarrhea. Gen. Sabo told me that they would reconvene. On another date, I could not be screened because they did not have the required

membership. However, I was screened by the NWC.

Committee: Why did you sign so many documents for Chief Uba?

Dr Ngige: I was coerced

Committee: Was the PS who used to photocopy your official documents brought by Uba?

Dr Ngige: Chief Uba brought him, even my ADC.

Observation:

The committee observed that the major problem between him and Chief Uba is money. He was asked to find ways and means of appeasing Chief Uba. The meeting resolved to invite him and Chief Uba to a joint meeting on Thursday, 13th January 2005.

Comments by Committee Members

Responding, Governor Ngige told the Committee that he is interested in solving the problem and that is why he always gives concessions at every peace meeting but added that he has problem with Chief Uba which he said is his age and level of exposure. That people take advantage of these attributes to mislead him. Besides, he said, Chief Uba has a temperament of accepting whoever he listen to first.

The Committee was told of how Hon. Chuma assaulted Dr Ngige by punching him in Chief Uba's presence. To this, he said he wanted to tell Mr. President and later his wife, but Chief Uba Knelt down and begged him not to do so. So he handed over the dress to his wife without telling her why they were torn promising to do so in due course, which he has not done up till now. His remark about Chief Uba's age and exposure did not go down well with the Committee and Dr Ngige was told about it. Dr Ngige also confirmed the statement from one of the members that people who hang around Chief Uba and himself are a problem and they like the strained relationship to continue since they stand to benefit from it. Finally, Dr Ngige admitted that Chief Uba is his friend and that explains why after the July 10 episode, when there were demonstrations, he put a call to the Commissioner of Police in Anambra

State to post policemen to Chief Uba's houses at both Awka and his village to protect them from attack. That Chief Uba is today calling for his resignation and he suspects that it is the people who hand around him that are advising him.

Another member of the Committee pointed out to Chief Uba and Dr Ngige that if they look at the letters inviting them to the meeting, the central thing in the letters is PDP. That what they have done has put the party in disrepute and both of them do not deserve being in the party and therefore advised them to bend backwards.

Certificate of Return:

On the position of Dr Ngige's Certificate of Return, Chief Uba said it was with him, as well as the flag of the party given to him following his emergence as the candidate of the Party. In explaining why it was with him, he likened the situation to a school child, who upon receiving a certificate after completing a course, hands it over to his father who sponsored him for the course for safekeeping. He said that the certificate was given to him by Dr Ngige himself after his declaration. However, Mr Ngige stated that he gave it to Mr Emeka Okeke, Personal assistant to Chief Uba.

Financial Relationship:

The Committee asked Dr Ngige to tell them what he could estimate Chief Uba expended on his elections right from the primaries to the end. In answer, Dr Ngige said it will be difficult to tell the Committee the actual expenditure since Chief Uba kept all records of what was realized and expended. He revealed to the Committee that Chief Uba told him that he incurred some expenditure on the NVP (SE) and purchased Peugeot 406 which was used as pilot vehicle. Also that when the Deputy Senate President, Alhaji Mantu came to conduct Primaries, Chief Uba told him that he (Uba) gave Senator Mantu a sum of N50 million. When contacted, however, Senator Mantu denied receiving that amount. He also mentioned journeys which they made and Chief

Uba handled expenditure. Dr Ngige told the Committee that since Chief Uba was handling the campaign funds, all donations from well wishers were directed to him, including the cheque that he (Ngige) personally collected. In view of the fact that Chief Uba was in touch with all those who contributed to the election, Dr Ngige recalled that one day Chief Uba asked him to thank Chief Nzelu the MD of PPMC whom he said made substantial financial contributions to the election expenses. Chris Ngige told the Committee that soon after he assumed office, Chief Nzelu came to him and asked him to accept one nominee each for the post of Commissioner and Local Government Council Chairman. This he (Ngige) did not oblige because he (Ngige) having come from the same zone as Chief Nzelu felt it was improper to take these positions and leave another zone without any. Sequel to this, Chief Nzelu was not happy and retorted that he spent over N400 million on the Governor's campaign and he did not expect the treatment being meted out to him. He mentioned another instance where someone made a donation of N10 million and N4 million respectively through Hon Chuma Nzeribe and only N1 million was reported. Following all these instances, he said, Chief Uba was in the best position to tell the Committee how much was involved. Earlier, he drew the attention of the Committee to his disagreement with Chief Nze Chukwu NVP (SE) over party accounts at Onisha when he (Ngige) served as Zonal Secretary, adding that they had since reconciled over the issue.

Asked if he had told anybody that Chief Uba spent the sum of N3 billion on his campaign, Dr Ngige said no. but when the Committee told him that Chief Ulasi quoted him accordingly, Dr Ngige likened him to an international blackmailer, telling the Committee to disregard the allegation.

On the allegation that Chief Nzelu had expended the sum of N400 million on Dr Ngige's campaign, Chief Uba refuted this, saying that Chief Nzelu, as a public servant cannot afford to invest that amount on an election project. He highlighted that Nzelu's company was indebted to

him, and was only paying it back. Besides, Chief Uba denied ever receiving a kobo from Chief Nzelu for Dr Ngige's campaign, saying that the money he received from him was part of debts owed to him by Nzelu's company PPMC.

The Committee was also told of how Chief Uba spent money on delegates to stop Dr Mbadinuju from becoming Governor the second time. Chief Uba confessed that he convinced Chief Audu ogbeh to sign a forged Delegate List for him for which he obtained tags and used at the Primaries thereby stopping genuine delegates from coming to vote for Dr Mbadinuju. He confirmed that it is true that Dr Ngige did not know how much was expended on the election. On another question of whether he was indebted to Chief Uba morally and financially, Dr Ngige admitted. Dr Ngige later prevailed on the Committee to ask Chief Uba how much he spent on his election.

The Way forward

A member of the Committee suggested that arguments and counter-arguments will not solve the problem. He therefore asked Chief Uba what he wants as a solution for the crises. Chief Uba responded and once again likened the situation to a business whereby one buys shares and expects dividends at the end. He regretted that even though he used huge resources to make Dr Ngige Governor, he is not benefitting from his investment. He said that in this venture, people have died. Properties have been destroyed. His supporters have nothing to do and most time is found in his house. That this is not convenient to the family but he has no choice. In answer to a question on the way forward, for peace to prevail in Anambra State, he said that the Governor should resign to pave way for election. Asked if he was sure PDP will win if the Governor resigns, and another election is conducted, Chief Uba replied in the affirmative. In the last election he said, APGA did not win. They had no spread. He suggested that upon the resignation of Dr Ngige, Federal Government should appoint a sole administrator for a period of time while they reorganize for election.

To this statement Dr Ngige replied that Chief Uba did not know what had happened and that's why he said that PDP did not win. That he was all the while doing brain work and strategizing for the Party. He cited the role he played during the Salihu Ibrahim-led panel to stop Dr Mbadinuju from winning at the primary election. He also told the Committee that Chief Uba did not know when he (Ngige) purchased his nomination form, which was brought to him through the use of an aircraft from Abuja. Asked by Chief Uba why he (Ngige) did not appreciate people who helped him, Chief Ngige disagreed and submitted that he did.

On the allegation that he was most of the time sleeping in his hotel room, Dr Ngige said that he participated fully in the Campaign and told the Committee that rather it was Chief Uba who only flagged off the campaign and left. He did the rest by going to each local government. He affirmed to the Committee that Catholic Church is predominant in Anambra. As a catholic, he visited the Bishop and Arch Bishop and the entire churches were behind him. That he asked his running mate who belongs to the Anglican church to work on the Anglican churches but he declined. He went to areas where APGA was not too strong and worked on the people and that are what gave them the victory, saying that they got the required spread. He concluded that APGA in their suit are not pleading for nullification but challenging elections in the eight Local Governments where PDP defeated their party.

Having listened to both of them, a member of the Committee asked once again what Chief Uba really wants. Chief Uba said that at Owerri there was an accord and Governor Ngige should implement it. That Dr Ngige should provide quality administration.

He told the Committee that he got a contract from General Ibrahim Babangida-led government worth one billion Naira and when the military left, he made arrangement with the Mbadinuju government to

be paying him N10 million every month. Due to the fact that he was sponsoring Dr Ngige, Mbadinuju stopped payment. His hope was that when Dr Ngige became Governor, he would continue with the payment but he did not oblige. He also complained that while Dr Ngige has constructed a road to his (Ngige) village, he does not care about constructing the one for his (Uba) village.

On whether implementing the Owerri accord will solve the problem, Chief Uba said that part of the agreement was to allow the Deputy Governor to stay but Chief Ngige ensured that he was impeached and they cannot work together anymore. He ended that at Owerri it was agreed that the Deputy Governor should come from Chief Uba's zone but when Dr Ngige wanted to nominate someone to replace the erstwhile Deputy Governor, he did not as a matter of courtesy consult with him. That according to the Owerri Accord, Chief Uba was to recommend the appointment of three Commissioners and two Special Advisers. But Dr Ngige did not implement the decision. Chief Uba told the Committee that Dr Ngige could not even massage his ego by appointing him as a member of the Board of Trustees, which he once requested from him. He insisted on the resignation of the Governor to pave way for peace in the state.

Responding to the non-payment of N10 million for the contract, Dr Ngige said that he told Chief Uba the intention of his government to use only major contractors. According to him, he informed Chief Uba that they would repackage the contract to be handled by a bigger contractor with 20% built-in for Chief Uba as a participating contractor. At this point Chief Uba revealed to the Committee that Dr Ngige awarded a N200 million stadium project to a local contractor in Anambra.

Contributing, a member was of the opinion that if the Governor resigns, the crisis in Anambra will deepen. Huge sums of money will be expended again on elections. He suggested that the two parties should sit and agree on something concrete to which the Committee will serve

as witness.

Observing, a member said that the problem with Governor Ngige and Chief Uba is the people around them. He said that the people around them are benefitting from both parties therefore they want the crises to go on. He said if the two of them reconcile, they will remain friends. That both of them need to make sacrifices in the interest of the people of Anambra state. He suggested that the best thing to do was to look at the issues critically and resolve them and added that if resignation is the ideal that must come, it should not be by coercion. He reminded Chief Uba and Dr Ngige that the world is seeing what is happening as a battle between the two of them, which is not in the interest of the Igbos of Anambra state in particular and the country in general. He told them that the peace and lives of their people should be dear to them. That if the spirit of Dr Ngige is to work for the people of Anambra state, he should have a rethink. He concluded by saying that there is no way Chief Uba should not have his way on one hand and Governor Ngige should not perform his official duties as an elected Governor on the other hand.

Conclusion of the Committee

The Panel of Inquiry instituted to look into the political crises in Anambra state came into existence pursuant to the resolution of the National executive Council meeting of the People's democratic Party which held in Abuja on Tuesday 4th January 2005.

The eight-member Committee was charged with the responsibility of investigating the root causes of the lingering political crises in Anambra state, especially the confessional statement that His Excellency, Dr Chris Ngige did not win the Anambra state gubernatorial election of April 19, 2003 and make appropriate recommendations to the National Executive Council of the People's Democratic Party.

The Committee commenced sitting on 10th January 2005 at the

Command Guest House Asokoro, Abuja. The Panel of Enquiry took oral evidence from various parties to the dispute. It equally received memoranda from aggrieved parties as well as others adjudged capable of helping the committee in its investigations.

In all, nine (9) people testified before the panel while nine (9) memoranda were tendered and admitted in evidence by the Committee.

It must be stated that the Committee which sat in camera conducted its proceedings meticulously and dispassionately, without fear or favor, let or hindrance, and without ill-will or affection. The Committee conducted its affairs strictly in line with its mandate, refusing to be drawn into controversies generated in the media by developments, in an attempt to ensure that the confidence of the citizenry is not eroded, while also ensuring that there is no miscarriage of justice.

It is highly necessary to state in clear and unmistakable terms that any interested party in the Anambra debacle has not in any way compromised our Committee. We have approached our function with the greatest sense of duty, commitment, dedication and sincerity of purpose demanded of patriots and arbiters with the sole objective of ensuring that justice and fair play prevail.

It would seem appropriate to recall that there has been a perpetual rancor and disaffection between members of two rival groups of the People's Democratic party in Anambra State headed by His Excellency Dr Chris Ngige, the Governor of Anambra State and a leader of the Party in the state, Chief Chris Uba.

No fewer than three major attempts have been made in the past to ensure that the crises which have assumed dangerous and shameful proportions are nipped in the bud. These are aside several other peace efforts made by individuals and peace-loving groups to restore peace

to the PDP in Anambra State. Sad enough, the disturbances have featured loss of precious human lives, unwarranted attacks on people and properties and generally, senseless and avoidable carnage.

It needs be emphasized that the People's Democratic Party has by facts of omission and commission been subjected to public ridicule, odium and opprobrium as a result of the action and inaction of some of its members. Without doubt and sadly too, the image of Anambra State and Nigeria has been smeared by the Anambra disturbances which from all intents and purposes have posed great threats to the current democratic experiment in the country.

Perhaps I should assuage the misguided fears of some people that this Committee has been set up as a vindictive body to read a well scripted speech of some influential party members. I make bold to state most unequivocally that we have in no way been teleguided or influenced by anybody, no matter how highly placed in the performance of the duties assigned to us by the National executive Council of the Peoples Democratic Party.

In practical terms, we have allowed our conscience, God-endowed wisdom, the facts available before us and the rule of law to guide the decisions reached by this Panel. In as much as the terms of reference preclude us from examining the technical details of the April 19 2003 governorship elections, the Committee restricted itself strictly to examining the lingering crisis in Anambra state and the confessional statement on the election.

It needs be stressed that the magnitude of the crises and the attendant reverberating effect on Anambra State are tremendous. The calamitous situation is highly condemnable and calls for both caution and a most decisive action. The pertinent question at this point would be: How has the situation arisen and degenerated to such alarming proportions? The answers are not farfetched. The bitter rivalry and

disagreement between His Excellency, Dr Chris Ngige and a chieftain of the party in Anambra State, Chief Chris Uba, form the major crux of the matter. The two major actors in the crises, Dr Chris Ngige and Chief Chris Uba have failed to come to terms with the agreements reached before, during and after the gubernatorial polls of April 19, 2003 in Anambra State. The agreements, written and unwritten, deal mainly with the manner of sharing political patronages in Anambra state.

The Committee has been able to establish that some forces backing the two major actors have ceaselessly instigated them and contributed significantly to widening the gulf between the two peaceful resolution of differences and invariably the crises. Most of these efforts, it should be noted, are for personal and selfish motives.

From all indications, the Governor of Anambra State Dr Chris Ngige fervently wished to emerge the Governor of Anambra State in May 29, 2003. In the process, his Excellency, Dr Chris Ngige virtually threw caution to the wind by entering into all manner of agreements, not minding the practicality of the proposed arrangements on assumption of office. Although Dr Ngige claimed that some of the agreements were signed under duress while other verbal contractual obligations were also made, it is a matter for regrets that the Anambra state Governor, in an attempt to satisfy Chief Chris Uba and obtain his moral and financial assistance for his quest to become the Governor of Anambra State practically literally signed off his authority and responsibility as the Chief Executive of Anambra State. It would appear that Governor Ngige, in the process “sold” Anambra State to Chief Chris Uba who took advantage of the situation to make several demands on Dr Chris Ngige.

It sounds almost incredible, for instance, that the Anambra State Governor would agree to propositions that even his personal staff such as the Aide-de-Camp, Chief Detail, Principal Secretary and Secretary to Government should be single-handedly appointed by Chief Chris Uba. Dr Chris Ngige, undoubtedly made a logical presentation, arguing that

although he made concessions at some points, he however agreed with the Committee that Chief Chris Uba and his group are yet to benefit substantially and meaningfully from political patronages in Anambra State. Some of the decisions reached at the Owerri Accord, for instance, are yet to be implemented.

The consequence of the seemingly adamant posture of Governor Ngige has been a pathological hatred for him and his administration by the Chief Chris Uba group whose members have continued to antagonize the government of Anambra State. It would appear the Chief Chris Uba group has consistently embarked on measures directed at dislodging Dr Ngige from office of Governor of Anambra state. The moves have sadly been attributed to bottled-up emotions, which have proven to be rather too costly for the entire polity.

In the case of Chief Chris Uba, it is apparent that this individual is terribly grieved by the inability of Governor Ngige to meet the contractual agreements reached with the Anambra State Governor when the going was good. Chief Uba regards his participation and involvement in the year 2003 elections in Anambra State as an investment. He is most unhappy that he has not been able to recoup his investments by way of patronage by the Anambra State Government. Furthermore, Chief Uba feels terribly upset that having staked a considerable amount of money in the Anambra project, his ego should be massaged and not deflated by the Governor of Anambra State through whatever means possible. It is therefore not surprising that Chief Uba's only recipe for peace is the removal of Dr Ngige from office and the conduct of fresh elections in Anambra State.

The Committee notes that while it sounds reasonable to some extent for His Excellency Dr Chris Ngige to bend backwards somehow accommodate the Chief Chris Uba group, it seems rather unfortunate that the use of force or coercion has been employed with intent to achieve this objective. The Committee is strongly opposed to the use of

force or coercion as the viable option.

The cassettes tendered as exhibits in support of Chief Uba's submission have proved revealing. The Committee relying on evidence before it believes that Chief Chris Uba rightly contributed tremendously to the electoral success of His Excellency Dr Chris Ngige. There is no doubt about this. Dr Ngige, for instance in the recording, acknowledged specially, the contributions of two people – his wife (Mrs Ngige) and the Eselu, Chief Chris Uba to his emergence as Governor. From all indications, both major actors enjoyed a rosy relationship before and during the elections.

One other issue that came to light as revealed in the video recording is the seemingly overbearing posture of Chief Chris Uba, who during the inauguration of Governor Ngige stood right behind the Governor for a considerable period of time, even at the point of oath-taking and signing of the oath-register, as if indicating that he was dictating the pace and tunes. It is not surprising therefore, that His Excellency, Dr Chris Ngige has put up a spirited opposition to free himself from the clutches of this benefactor.

From the foregoing, the Committee has been able to establish as follows:

Role of Supporters and Hangers on

The Committee notes that one of the causes of the elongation of the crises is the ignoble role played by the supporters of the two major actors, i.e. Chief Chris Uba and Dr Chris Ngige. While supporters of Dr Ngige would love to hold on to power to the exclusion of the other PDP members, the supporters of Chief Chris Uba feel used and abandoned by the regime they believe they helped to install. It is rather unfortunate that the two parties have jettisoned the spirit of give and take.

It is however heartwarming that the two principal actors attempted to demonstrate sincerity in their submissions and appearances before the panel of enquiry. There are, however, some obvious inconsistencies in their representations on the issue of their roles as well as the performances of the PDP in the gubernatorial polls of April 19, 2003 in Anambra State. There are irreconcilable differences in their claims as allegedly made before Mr President, His Excellency Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and the National Chairman, Chief Audu Ogbeh.

The Committee believes the evidence of Mr President Chief Olusegun Obasanjo which claims that Chief Uba alleged and confessed that there were manipulations at the elections in question. Again, the Committee based its evidence on circumstantial evidence and witnesses of truth. Furthermore, the National Chairman of PDP has not denied that he was also duly informed of this development by the parties while attempting to settle the dispute between the duo.

Be that as it may, it appears that Chief Chris Uba and Dr Ngige know more than they volunteered on this disgraceful incident. Both appear to be mindful of the fact that whatever testimonies they give on this subject may very well lead to a possible commencement of criminal prosecution if a case of forgery and electoral malpractice is formally established against them by the police. The Committee believes that the investigation of the technical aspect falls within the purview of the Inspector-General of Police who has been saddled with the responsibility of unraveling and ascertaining this anomaly.

Furthermore, the Panel of Enquiry has refused to be drawn into the contractual agreements that bother on financing the Anambra Elections between chief Chris Uba and Dr Chris Ngige on the grounds that PDP has no hand in the matter. The issue, quite naturally, remains the headache of the two major actors.

The Panel of Inquiry notes in particular, the testimony of the National

Chairman of the PDP, Chief Audu Ogbeh who described the developments in Anambra State as most condemnable and disturbing and a sad reflection of the state and image of the Party. Chief Ogbeh recommended a drastic action, possibly a sanction of the two principal actors in line with the Constitution of the Party. The Committee equally views with great concern the submission of the National Secretary that the Anambra crises pose a threat to peace, democracy and this nation. A decisive step would therefore be required to halt the trend of political disturbances which appear to have over decades been synonymous with Anambra state.

Easily, one of the most disheartening occurrences, which apparently were the fallout of the disagreement between the two major actors, was the mayhem of November 2004. The act is totally condemnable and should be viewed as such. The Committee believes adequate measures should be put in place to prevent a recurrence of the crises, including the apprehension of the culprits. Again, the Inspector-General of Police remains the action officer in this respect.

As to the confessional statement that the PDP did not win the governorship election in Anambra state, an untold damage has apparently been done to the image of the party by this outburst by a frontline member of the PDP in Anambra State. It is a most unfortunate development. This is viewed against the provisions of Article 8(iii) of the PDP constitution which states that the PDP shall ensure genuine restoration, permanent entrenchment and practice of democracy, the rule of law, equity and social justice.

While the two major actors have occasionally granted media interviews which have inflamed passion, the Committee notes that they could conveniently hide under Article 10A(c) which provides that PDP members could offer constructive criticisms of any member, policy, program or activity of the party. The Committee however refuses to believe that such outbursts by the two major actors in many instances

have been done in good faith. The media outbursts have the tendency of inflaming passion, which they actually did.

It should also be noted that Dr Ngige and Chief Uba failed in some situations to obey the provisions of Article 10 (a) and (g) which could have mitigated the crises.

Members of the National Working Committee, a high-ranking organ of the PDP should be seen to be pursuing the interests of the party dispassionately and based on true conviction. From all indications, some members of the National Working Committee allowed sentiments to override other genuine patriotic considerations in their handling of the Anambra crises. They would therefore not escape being found culpable in the whole arrangement.

As to the relationship of Dr Chris Ngige and Chief Chris Uba, the situation appears to have degenerated into an unfathomable and seemingly irredeemable depth and if urgent care is not taken, may assume dangerous proportions.

The Committee has reason to believe in strong terms that the two major actors have not behaved as men of honor. No individual should be greater than the Party or the State. His Excellency Dr Chris Ngige and Chief Chris Uba have both allowed their individual preferences to rock the very foundation of democratic ideals in the society. They have carried on their disgraceful acts as if their lives depended entirely on who in the struggle for the control of PDP and the government of Anambra State even without regard for the sanctity of human lives.

We equally owe it a duty to act on time to send warning signals to the two warring parties in Anambra State as well as other elements in the Party who need to be cleansed and reformed. Before concluding this submission, this Committee wishes to make organizations claiming to have *locus standi* in the matter. The Committee however did not act on

rumor and newspaper publications. We wish to make it abundantly clear that this Committee consists of law abiding and responsible personalities with respect for rules and regulations. We note that rumours and newspaper publications highlighted suits pending at the courts which were purportedly instituted to prevent this Committee from looking into the conduct and outcome of the April 2003 governorship election in Anambra State. However, the Courts served no service of service of any kind on our Committee.

For the avoidance of doubt, this Committee derives its powers from Articles 14 and 16 of the Constitution of the People's Democratic Party which is binding on all members. In this regard, this Committee merely carried out the directives of the National executive Council to look into the political disturbances in Anambra State as it affects members of the PDP. It could be seen that our Committee merely inquired into the degenerating disagreements between two leading members of our Party. The Committee believes that the PDP should not give room to be branded as a party of anything goes. We must be seen as a highly organized political union striving for justice, Unity and Progress.

Arising from the foregoing, the Panel of Inquiry believes that the various parties to the dispute have been polluted. The Panel of Inquiry therefore finds both His Excellency Dr Chris Ngige and Chief Chris Uba guilty of breach of Article 16 (ii-xi) of the Constitution of the People's Democratic Party. Some members of the National Working Committee of the Party are equally guilty of inability to act swiftly, dispassionately and sincerely, owing to divergent interests in the matter. For instance, some members of the National Working Committee including the National Vice Chairman (South-East) were accused of receiving financial inducements to pervert the course of Justice in the Anambra saga.

The Committee therefore recommends as follows:

- (i) Chief Chris Uba – Expulsion from the Party

- (ii) Dr Chris Ngige – Expulsion from the Party
- (iii) Dissolution of the National Working Committee, forthwith
- (iv) An immediate conduct of Local Government elections in Anambra State.

The National Executive Council of the PDP is hereby invited to consider and approve these recommendations, accordingly.

APPENDIX 2

Culled from: <http://www.nas-int.org/new>

How Anambra Governorship poll was rigged

By Tony Edike, Vanguard,

Sunday, December 26, 2004

Nigerians were again stunned last Tuesday when the Anambra political godfather, Chief Chris Uba, opened up on circumstances surrounding the "election" of Dr. Chris Nwabueze Ngige as Governor of Anambra State. Before now, majority of Anambra people both at home and in diasporas, believed that the April 19, 2003 Governorship election that produced Dr. Ngige was massively rigged, but both the Governor and the sole sponsor of the election, Chief Uba, continued to claim that the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) obtained a legal mandate from Anambrarians to rule the state for four years, no matter what happened during the "fraudulent" poll. The political godfather and members of his group had barely settled down to celebrate their "victory" when crisis began to rock the camp, which united behind the Governor in the election.

Prior to the election, as Chief Uba revealed with documentary evidence, Dr. Ngige had signed several agreements and undertakings pledging that he would ever remain loyal to his sponsor. In one of the documents published recently, "Oaths of Allegiance and Conventions", Ngige solemnly swore in the presence of God of Abraham, Isaac and Israel and before his Ordained Servants as follows: that I recognize the fact that God is using Chief Christian C. Uba to prepare me for this great task ahead through his sponsorship; that I will never pick a quarrel with him unduly; that I will never tell him lies but the truth at all times even if I am at fault; that I will take keen interest in Christian's welfare and the welfare of the family as long as the interest is not against the welfare of the state; that I will always accept and abide by those pieces of advice

aimed at peace and progress of the state from Chief Uba as well as other counsel from elders of the state and beyond; that if later contrary to these promises, may the wrath of God who says that vengeance is his, take action against me in the name of God the Father and God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Ngige later confessed that he was dragged to the now destroyed Okija Shrine, Ogwugwu Akpu, to seal the oath in a "spiritual and traditional" way, even though he claimed that he was dragged to the shrine by close allies of Uba.

In another document entitled "Declaration of Loyalty" Ngige declared that "whereas I am financially incapacitated and unable to fund myself for the said election; whereas I have approached, belief (sic) Chief Chris Uba (Eselu Uga) and requested him to sponsor me financially and also support my campaign by handing over to me his teeming followers and political structure in Anambra State; whereas Chief Chris Uba (Eselu Uga) has accepted to sponsor me in consideration of my exercise and manifestation of absolute loyalty to him: Now therefore I hereby declare as follows: That I Dr. Chris Ngige shall at all times during my tenure as the Governor of Anambra State exercise and manifest absolute loyalty to the person of Chief Chris Uba (Eselu Uga) as my mentor, benefactor and sponsor; that I shall at all times during my tenure as Governor of Anambra State consult and seek the consent, understanding and support of Chief Chris Uba (Eselu Uga) in all my actions and activities as Governor of Anambra State; that I shall not run the government of Anambra state as my personal business; and that I shall be unreservedly loyal to Chief Chris Uba (Eselu Uga) throughout my tenure as Governor of Anambra State.

But in spite of the oath of allegiance and subsequent signing of the undated typewritten and handwritten resignation letters, to convince his godfather that he would always do his bidding or be sent out of office, Ngige soon after assuming office, disagreed with his sponsor

over the constitution of his cabinet. Uba claimed that there existed an agreement between him and Ngige that he would produce the Deputy Governor, a number of Commissioners and other principal officers of the government, which Ngige violated. This was the genesis of the lingering crisis that has denied Anambra peace. Before the disagreement, Uba had appointed some members of the cabinet including the Secretary to the State Government, Mr. Uchenna Emodi, who is now the State Chairman of PDP. In the midst of the crisis that resulted to the failed attempt to abduct the Governor, all those appointed by Uba were dropped by the Governor and thereby swelling the camps of his "enemies". Those dropped had since joined hands with Uba to ensure that the Governor does not succeed, hence the crisis lingers.

The 2003 Guber election:

Having obtained the assurance of loyalty from Ngige, Uba went all out to see that the opportunity to install a Governor that he could use as front for the development of the impoverished state does not elude him. First, he deployed his resources and utilized effectively his connections at Abuja, to see to the stoppage of the former Governor, Dr. Chinwoke Mbadinuju from running for a second term. President Olusegun Obasanjo was to confirm this in his controversial reply to the PDP National Chairman, Chief Audu Ogbeh's letter, even though he did not give the credit to Uba. Mbadinuju was stopped leaving a vacuum to be filled. At this point, Uba had become so powerful having succeeded in taking over the structure of PDP in the state. He also cornered the structure built by Mbadinuju to himself. He became the Kingmaker and all the Governorship aspirants on the platform of PDP worshiped him. Even those from other political parties lobbied for his endorsement because of the general notion then that whomever he endorsed would be the Governor.

There were over 12 Governorship aspirants in PDP but Uba succeeded in convincing all of them to step down and support the candidacy of

Ngige, whom he single-handedly nominated and was subsequently endorsed at the gubernatorial primary of the party in Awka. Ngige had before then been nominated as Senatorial candidate of the party for Anambra Central. He abandoned the senatorial contest after emerging gubernatorial candidate. Uba was able to carry other gubernatorial contestants along in the campaign for the election proper with the understanding that they would be compensated should the party win. One of them, Dr. Okey Odunze was appointed Special Adviser on Special Duties on the day Ngige was sworn in, but he was dropped after the "Abduction Saga" along with others nominated by Uba after contributing their quota towards the party's victory in that controversial election. The Governor accused most of them of being loyal to the godfather than himself and as such he could not work with them after the failed attempt to unseat him.

Governorship election:

Prior to the April 19, 2003 Governorship election, opinion polls conducted in Anambra State gave victory to the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) candidate, Mr. Peter Obi, who was highly favoured by the masses to occupy the Government House. With Chief Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, the Presidential Candidate of the party coming from the state, APGA had every chance of clinching the number one seat. Again, many people hated the PDP owing to what they viewed as the "abysmal failure" of the Mbadinuju government. As Obasanjo put it: "It turned out that Governor Mbadinuju was an unmitigated failure in Anambra as PDP Governor in our first term"

It was clear that PDP would find it very difficult to retain Anambra. Mindful of this, as learnt, Uba was given the mandate by the leadership of PDP at the national level, to come to the rescue. Uba thereafter deployed all arsenals, like a General in War, to "deliver" Anambra State to PDP. This he actually did. How he did it is now a subject of confession. There was no doubt that the election was manipulated. But since INEC announced the result and declared Ngige winner of the election, many

kept calm. Even the electorate, whose massive votes for Peter Obi failed to count, kept mute. To them, election is "the more you look the less you see." But the APGA candidate believed to have been robbed of his well-deserved victory continued to shout and he went ahead to challenge it at the Anambra Election Petition Tribunal which is yet to conclude proceedings.

How the election was rigged:

Although, Uba failed to give details of how he manipulated the result of the election in favour of Ngige, it was clear that both the police and INEC in Awka might have effectively collaborated with the godfather to pave way for the rigging. On the election day, all entrances to the INEC office along the Okpuno Road, Awka, were cordoned off by heavily armed mobile policemen who denied everybody except Chief Uba access to the Commission's office. Powerful politicians and contestants from other political parties who attempted to visit INEC to ensure the votes cast for their parties were accurately recorded never had access to the commission.

Even Governor Ngige who "won" the election had no guts to visit the Collation Centre inside INEC state headquarters because the only person known to the security men was Uba. Obi claimed that polling booth results brought from various local government collation centres showed that APGA swept the polls while Ngige (PDP) came second in most local government areas.

But the results were allegedly doctored at the INEC headquarters by the returning officers who were seriously compromised by the godfather. The Resident Electoral Commissioner in Anambra State, Alhaji Hassan Suleiman, who announced the Governorship election result, ran out of the state shortly after through the Enugu Airport.

Uba's confession:

From then on, the people of Anambra State have not known peace and

the general belief is that until justice is done and Obi's stolen mandate is restored to him, Anambra would continue to wallow in chaos. But with Obasanjo's revelation and Uba's confession, Anambra people are expressing hope that justice is about to be done for a lasting peace to reign.

Chief Chris Uba, apparently to corroborate what the President said over Ngige's admittance that he did not win the Governorship election in Anambra State, issued a statement last Tuesday in which he apologized to Nigerians over his role in sponsoring the election of the Governor and its consequences, and pleaded for the "understanding and forgiveness" of all Nigerians particularly the Anambra people who might have been "unduly affected and insulted by the Anambra issue".

"In the presence of the President of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, I asked Dr. Ngige whether he actually won the Election, he confirmed he did not win the election. The President drove us out as from that point, he did not want to listen to our story again," he said point-blank. Admitting his mistakes during the election generally believed to have been won by All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) Governorship candidate, Mr. Peter Obi, Uba, however, said that "my mistakes for which I ask for understanding stemmed from my belief that election is like a battle and since all is fair in war, I believe that the end justifies the means in an election."

The one-page statement duly signed by Chief Uba himself reads:

"As the truth of Anambra issue is being gradually revealed and denials and lies are being traded, I believe that as one of the main activists in the whole issue, the moment of truth and remorse has come.

"First of all, let me express my heartfelt regret for my error and the activities involved with others in Anambra to put Ngige in power as the Governor of the state."In showing remorse, I sincerely ask for understanding and forgiveness of all our people in Anambra State and

those Nigerian leaders and citizens who have been unduly affected and insulted by the Anambra issue.

"My mistake for which I ask for understanding stemmed from my belief that election is like a battle and since all is fair in war, I believe that the end justifies the means in an election. We did everything possible, to put Ngige in power. In the presence of the President of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, I asked Dr. Chris Ngige whether he actually won the Election; he confirmed he did not win the election. The President drove us out as from that point, he did not want to listen to our story again.

"At another occasion soon after that, I had the opportunity, when Chief Audu Ogbeh invited Dr. Chris Ngige and myself to his house to tell the same story. Again Dr. Chris Ngige confirmed before Chief Audu Ogbeh that he did not win the election, when I asked him the same question. Because he was more attentive than the President, I told him that even the certificate of return of the Governorship Election was in my custody and at the appropriate time I will make the copies available to the press. Chief Audu Ogbeh advised that we should all keep quiet on the issue of Governorship Election in Anambra. I obeyed.

"As time goes on, the truth will be more and more exposed and I can only hope that justice will prevail. "Once again, I deeply regret my error and some of my actions in winning the election which in the end have caused some people inconvenience."

Chief Chris Uba (Onwa Aguata, Ochiagha Awka).

APPENDIX 3

Culled from: [Http://www.biafraland.com](http://www.biafraland.com)

Vanguard

Inside story of the coup in Anambra State

By PAUL ODILI

Sunday, July 13, 2003

To understand what is happening in Anambra State, it is best to adopt the famous quip about Nigeria by Sully Abu, a distinguished political writer who noted: "Nigeria is like being on a plane that has just been taken over by hijackers." In the context of Anambra politics, it can be inferred that a hijack operation is in progress. For the second time since the beginning of the Fourth Republic in 1999, Anambra State is in throes of major political crisis. But on the scale of audacity and brazenness that offends basic decency, the latest bust-up has provoked unparalleled outrage across the country. Nevertheless, the common view is unanimous about one thing" this fight was expected, but the question was when.

The godfather's script... Just like in 1999, barely a month after the swearing-in of the new administration, fight broke out between Sir Emeka Offor and the then Anambra State Governor, Chinwoke Mbadinuju, over patronage. As the story went, Offor, as godfather had used his political connection and resources to install Mbadinuju, who it must be said, ran a close and pulsating race against Prof. ABC Nwosu, who lost due to the support the Governor had from powerful backers like Offor. Having firmly settled in office as Governor, Mbadinuju, was reluctant to accede to the demands of Offor, which he considered steep. Angry at the effrontery of the Governor to show signs of independence, Offor mobilised the Deputy Governor and majority of the members of the state Assembly, many of whom he sponsored into office and were therefore loyal to him to begin impeachment

Chris UWADOKA

proceedings.

The Deputy Governor, Prince Chinedu Emeka, was being positioned to assume office as Governor in the event of the successful removal from office of Mbadinuju. In fact, there were stories that Mbadinuju and Emeka had such heated argument and at one time came short of exchanging blows. Meanwhile, Offor, had moved members of the legislature to nearby Enugu State where they were quarantined in a secret location to prevent any defection to the Governor's side. It was from this location that the renegade members of the House attended sittings in Awka, and from where they initiated the impeachment proceedings against the Governor, which never sailed through before outside intervention brokered amity. But the reconciliation was superficial as over the course of time, the truce broke down creating more opportunities for more exchange of fire between the two. Governance of the state suffered.

By the end of Mbadinuju's tenure in April, Anambra was in stasis. It was the only state that had the embarrassing record of shutting down public schools for over a year; salaries of public servants were not paid for nearly 10 months; pensioners were owed; public service virtually collapsed. Onitsha, the commercial nerve centre of the state was overtaken by filth. For the most part the fight was on Mbadinuju. He claimed that Offor was fighting him for no just cause because he had met all the terms of agreement, which included allowing him (Offor) to nominate commissioners of works, finance and some other senior aides in government.

He also said that he had given Offor enough contract to defray his electoral expenses. But Offor was to cast his disagreement on the loft agenda of bringing good governance to the state, which he said was not possible under Mbadinuju, because according to him, the Governor was too corrupt. To show he had no intention to continue to associate with the state government, Offor, withdrew his nominees from serving

in Mbadinuju's government and floated a political pressure group, Anambra Peoples Forum (APF). The group for the most time had the singular duty of causing the Governor nightmares.

Arthur syndrome ...

How did the state come to this sorry pass is the question many Nigerians have been asking. The fact is that the godfatherism in Anambra had its roots in the military under Abacha, when a business mogul Chief Arthur Eze was the dominant political factor in the state. It must be understood that the first civilian Governor of Anambra, Dr Chukwuemeka Ezeife had no such problems. He merely contended with the challenges of governing the state and his own place in history. But as soon as Abacha took over, Chief Eze became the satrap of the Abacha junta in the state and it is said he influenced who was posted as military administrator to the state, and could cause the posting out of such officer if he found reason to suspect lack of co-operation.

And Chief Eze's payoff was getting juicy contracts, many of which are said to have been left uncompleted for one reason or the other. As it were, Chief Eze's influence did not end there. Flushed by trappings of easy money and power, Chief Eze, it must be recalled, moved around in long convoy of cars of mobile police men. He also had a complement of civilian hirelings that he attached to his convoy, one of whom was Chief Chris Uba, who was said to be head of Chief Eze's brown shirt storm troopers. Uba's duties as Chief Eze's factotum was to take care of menial tasks and handle some other assignments. If Chief Eze needed to shake down a fellow, or to squelch an understanding, Uba was the right man and he carried out his duties admirably. Always by his mentor's side, his influence over Chief Eze was such that during Abacha's civilian transition programme, Chief (Mrs.) Joy Emordi, was adopted as Governorship candidate on the platform of UNCP, Uba got his elder brother Chief Ugochukwu Uba to be the running mate to Emordi.

If Abacha had not died and his transition programme not aborted, it was a cinch Emordi/ Uba ticket would have won the gubernatorial race. With what is happening now, it seems clear that Uba learnt his lessons well, the only difference being that Chief Eze was more generous and was known to be expansive in his support without placing undue demands on his candidates.

Accident waiting to happen

Sunday Vanguard learnt that during the hey days of the standoff between Offor and Mbadinuju, Uba was known to snicker that Offor was acting like bumbling illiterate in the way he sought to remove the Governor from office. He was said to have boasted that if he were to move against the Governor, he would adopt a different tactics that would be more effective.

With Mbadinuju losing popular support and the PDP divided over how to resolve the face-off, Uba began flexing his muscle. The first thing he did, Sunday Vanguard, learnt, was to break with Offor, on whose side he was all along, and teamed up with the Governor assuring him that he would use his contact with the Presidency to secure him relief from the Offor assault. His payoff contracts, was one of the uncompleted Governor's lodge. Meanwhile, Uba had remarkable entree to the Presidency on account of the appointment of his elder brother, Dr Andy Uba as the Special Assistant to the President on Domestic Matters. This access to the President was used to maximum effect in the state, where people were easily beguiled into doing things by dropping the President's name. Sunday Vanguard learnt that it was easy to pull this stunt because Andy Uba is married to Mrs. Stella Obasanjo's sister, who is a Special Assistant in the first lady's office.

Indeed, there are indications that for some not particularly known reasons, Andy Uba, appears to exercise far more influence within the Presidency than his sinecure position entitles him to. In such a situation, it was a desperate Mbadinuju looking for ways to ingratiate

himself with the President and procure succor from Offor, latched on to Chris Uba, who shortly, it turned out, had other plans up his sleeves. With elections around the corner and the party set to nominate candidates for various offices, the PDP divided as ever following the contending interest found it virtually impossible to make progress. Again, the state set the record in the number of congresses held to elect candidates for various offices.

The party congress to select the Governorship candidate was conducted three times and the National Assembly candidates' primary was conducted four times.

Ali Baba and the 40 thieves...

Each time candidates emerged, intrigue and disagreement frustrated the acceptance by the national leadership from accepting the outcome. One reason or the other was adduced for the reversal of a freely held state congress. And the ghost at the centre of the confusion at the party secretariat was Chris Uba, using to the hilt, his contact in the Presidency. For instance, on the two occasions congress was held to select the Governorship candidate, Mbadinuju emerged victorious. This was so because despite his troubles, Mbadinuju had firm control of the party structure in the state, yet the national leadership refused to accept his victory and overturned it. But with election time only weeks and allegedly no end in sight to impasse, a new congress was slated under chairmanship of Deputy Senate President Ibrahim Mantu.

Sunday Vanguard learnt that the coup de grace pulled off by Uba was, with the collusion of the party leadership, in Abuja. It was said that in this last congress, the party came up with the novel idea that cards be issued to delegates and this task was entrusted to Mantu, who was to supervise this election. Mantu, Sunday Vanguard gathered left Abuja for the southeast, but rather than head straight to Awka venue of the election, he did a detour to Enugu and allegedly spent the night at Uba's residence where the delegates' tags were given out to the handpicked

supporters of Uba. The following day, Uba stormed the venue of the congress with armed mobile police men and his handpicked delegates wearing a specially designed cap with Obasanjo's face on it, which distinguished Uba supporters from the others. Because tension in the state had built up following the repeated deadlock over the election, the police ostensibly deployed about four hundred of their men to maintain peace, and were given instructions not to allow anyone without the delegate tag or wearing the special Obasanjo cap to enter the hall.

In order not to leave anything to chance, Uba in selecting delegates for the congress sidelined statutory delegates like ward chairmen and local government chairmen of the party, who ordinarily should have voted. It is perhaps the first time such cadre of party officials did not participate in the selection of the flag bearer of the party, due to rigging. Thus, it was under such a setting that Chris Ngige emerged the party candidate barely three weeks to the general election. The confusion did not end there. The National Assembly congress proved thorny as well. Four times it was held , but on each occasion, controversy and disagreements truncated the adoption of the candidates that emerged. Eventually with time for election already upon the party, names of candidates that won were finally allowed to stand.

Thus, people like Ben Obi, Joy Emordi, Nicholas Ukachukwu who won the party ticket found shortly after the senatorial election that they were not the candidates INEC accepted due to what was said to be the court order that overturned their victory for Ugochukwu Uba, Chris Uba's brother who replaced Ukachukwu, Ikechukwu Abana for Emordi and Anosike for Obi. The same court order also affected the six members of the House of Representatives, whose seats were taken away from them and given to another set of people who were not ordinarily on the ballot. All these cases are before the Election Petition Tribunal sitting in Awka.

The making of a coup ...

If today, Chief Uba in press interviews boasts about installing all the political public office holders, there is a good reason for that beyond his installing Ngige and the national legislators. Sunday Vanguard learnt that he also took care of the situation at the state legislature. It was gathered that three days before the State House of Assembly election on May 3, names of candidates cleared by the party were substituted with names of another set of people who were never cleared to seek office.

The fallout of this switch of names is the confusion over the proper constituencies of some state legislators, as some of them were put in constituencies different from where they originally belong. With the entire political system completely sewn up, Uba, felt he was in complete control of the political dynamics of his state. But he did not know that his protegee would show some spunk, although, he has begun to suspect one week before the general election that things might not be as smooth. Sunday Vanguard learnt that sensing he might have miscalculated, Uba approached Ngige and asked him to step down for Abana, but Ngige managed to persuade him that he would be loyal. Two days later, Uba summoned another meeting where he attempted to persuade Ngige to step down for his deputy Dr Okey Ude, but was also prevailed upon to abandon this tack, especially with deadline for any such changes long over.

However, sources very familiar with the Ngige/ Uba political machine informed Sunday Vanguard that one of the reasons Uba did not really push aggressively to have Ngige removed from the ticket was because he had already secured a signed resignation letter from Ngige in the event that he found his conduct unsatisfactory. If Uba thought Ngige was a pushover, he was to confirm his worst fears three weeks ago in Enugu, Sunday Vanguard learnt. But before this fiasco, Uba had never disguised his true intention immediately inauguration ceremony was over. He swiftly moved to make as much appointments without even

courtesy of consulting the Governor. Uba also got his nominees elected Speaker and other principal officers of the state legislature. By Ngige's admission, Uba appointed the secretary to his government and the principal secretary without informing him. Ngige's attempt to show some independence with the appointment of a chief of staff was resisted by Uba. Conversely, Uba's attempt to appoint all the commissioners and special advisers to the Governor was resisted by Ngige.

A stalemate resulted from this face-off. Sunday Vanguard was told that three weeks ago in Enugu, Ngige was summoned by Uba and told to make certain sums available to him on a monthly basis. Ngige was said to have informed him that it was not possible. For his temerity to turn down this request, Sunday Vanguard learnt that Hon Chuma Nzeribe, Uba's sidekick allegedly pounced on the Governor and gave him some slaps and tore his shirt in a scuffle that ensued. By Wednesday, Uba was said to have gotten tired of the intransigencies of the Governor and decided to move against him. He summoned the members of the state legislature and gave the letter signed by Ngige that he was resigning and asked them to accept it, and that the deputy Governor was to replace him. The following day being Thursday, the coup against Ngige was executed. As a sting operation, it was a successful operation with AIG Raphael Ige storming government house, disarming the Governor's security details and abducting him from his office.

If as claimed that the Governor resigned, how could he have been in his office treating files and attending to visitors remains the questions that have not been fully explained. The other thing is the role of the police, the Deputy Governor, and the state legislature. How all of these will impact on the politics of the state is easily predicable, another four years of crisis seem certain. Will the Deputy Governor retain the power he said has been entrusted upon him by the circumstances of Ngige's resignation?

APPENDIX 4

Culled from: www.odili.net/news

Anarchy in Anambra - Thugs, Police abduct Gov. Ngige (AIG leads assault)

For the past two weeks, Chris Uba who said he wanted to appoint all eleven commissioners, special advisers, Aide D'Camp, Chief Detail, Secretary to the State Government even rejected the appointment of my Personal Staff. He said they are not acceptable to him. I do not know why. I told him that I only appointed those we had agreed upon earlier, so, I am surprised. Last week, he redeployed a Permanent Secretary in my office without my approval. - Gov Ngige

AWKA - ANAMBRA State was, yesterday, engulfed in a political crisis after the presentation of a "resignation letter" purportedly from Governor Chris Ngige to the state House of Assembly, and the whisking away of the Governor into "protective custody" by policemen. The Assembly immediately accepted the letter and mandated the state Chief Judge to swear-in the deputy Governor, Dr. Okey Ude, as Governor.

However, the Governor, speaking on telephone from custody, told the National Secretary of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP), Prince Vincent Ogbulafor, that he had not resigned. His Special Assistant (Media and Publicity), Mr. Fred Chukwuelobe, who was also beaten and arrested by policemen managed to send a text message to Vanguard that the "resignation letter" was forged.

Vanguard gathered that trouble started at about 7am yesterday when over 30 anti-riot policemen led by Assistant Inspector-General (AIG) Raphael Ige invaded Government House, Awka, disarmed the security personnel and policemen on duty and cordoned off the complex.

Information later filtered out that the Governor had resigned. For two hours, thereafter, no one was allowed to go in or out of the place. All visitors including the Governor's aides were turned back. The state Assembly later met where the "resignation letter" dated July 9, 2003 was read to the hearing of members. The House accepted it and asked for the swearing-in of Deputy Governor, Okey Ude, as Governor. Press Secretary to the Speaker, Mr. Amamchukwu Okoye, issued a statement entitled, "Ngige resigns as Governor of Anambra State."

The statement: "Dr. Chris Ngige (OON) elected on April 19, 2003 as Governor of Anambra State has resigned. In a letter addressed to the Speaker of the state House of Assembly, Hon (Mrs.) Eucheria Azodo, and read to the House of Assembly in session, Dr. Ngige said that after the consideration, consultation and advice from friends and family regarding events in the state, he has decided to resign as the Governor of the state. He thanked all concern for their support and cooperation during his tenure and promised to make himself available in whatever capacity his services might be needed."

Vanguard learnt that after the reading of the letter, the Majority Leader of the House, Mr. Peter Onuarah, representing Ayamelum moved for its adoption. The motion was seconded by Mr. Anthony Igboka, representing Njikoka II for adoption. The House also moved a motion that the Deputy Governor, Dr Okey Ude, be sworn-in as Governor.

The Chief Judge was being awaited at about 4.30 pm yesterday to perform the swearing-in. A top ranking PDP member and now a member of the House of Representatives was seen in a white jeep accompanied by two Peugeot cars loaded with armed mobile policemen, at the premises of the office of the Chief Judge, ostensibly to take him to do the swearing-in.

However, in a swift reaction, the Press Secretary to the Governor, Mr.

Chuks Akunna, dismissed the resignation letter as a "forged" one. According to him, the Governor never wrote any letter of resignation. Meanwhile, the Governor's Special Assistant on Media, Mr. Fred Chukwulobe, was arrested a few minutes after 4 pm following the airing of the news of the Governor's resignation on the network of Radio Nigeria.

At about 4.15pm, anti-riot police, who had taken over Government House dispersed workers and visitors who had converged to hear the news. The workers promptly closed their offices and headed home. Before Ngige was whisked off in a green coloured 406 Peugeot car, he was said to have come down, looked around and asked: "Where is my driver."

Vanguard gathered that the crisis is a twist to the face-off between Dr. Ngige and Chief Chris Uba, PDP caucus leader in the state who was said to have literarily enthroned the Governor. The Governor was said to have refused to pick certain people recommended for political appointments by Uba. © 2003 vanguard

APPENDIX 5

Culled from: <http://www.iol.co.za>

Nigerian mafia controls politicians

By Ibiba DonPedro

Despite the return to civilian democracy in 1999, Nigeria's political godfathers, men who accumulated huge wealth under the country's massively corrupt former military rulers, still wield extraordinary power behind the scenes.

The bizarre tale of Chris Ngige, the embattled Governor of Anambra state, has confirmed the worst suspicions of a nation jaded by tales of corruption. Ngige's tale, still unfolding, has also alarmed Nigeria by exposing just how fragile its civilian democracy remains.

At the time of writing, Ngige is still clinging precariously to his office and his life, having survived an apparent assassination attempt - an abduction in which he was forced to read out a resignation speech - one or two court injunctions, the withdrawal of his official bodyguards and several political attacks, including an attempt to declare a state of emergency in the state to remove him.

His nemesis is Christian Uba, 37, a very wealthy businessman, and self-styled godfather of Anambra state. Uba was until recently an unknown figure in political and business circles in the country. Now he has been revealed as a highly influential figure with close connections in Nigerian politics that go all the way up to the Presidency in Abuja.

He is believed to have singlehandedly financed the elections and ensured the victories of Chris Ngige and over two-thirds of the Anambra legislature in April last year - an election widely suspected to have been rigged. His backing apparently came at a price. The elected politicians -

especially the Governor - were expected to make regular financial returns to enable their sponsor to recover his investments - plus profit margins that would elicit the envy of any banker. Ngige himself apparently entered into what can only be called a Faustian pact with Uba before the elections. Ngige, a medical doctor, was made to swear secret oaths at the shrine of a witch-doctor that he would pay Uba three billion naira (about R13-million) from the state treasury after being elected. He also reportedly swore to cede to Uba his official powers of appointment of political officers, including commissioners for the various ministries. And he agreed to step down at a certain point, to be re-placed as Governor by his deputy, Kingsley Udeh, an acolyte of Uba. This is now being regarded as perhaps just a slightly colourful variation on standard political practice.

Where Ngige departed dangerously from precedent was that he reneged on the pact. Since then he has endured an extraordinary campaign to get rid of him. The battles in the campaign include:

Barely three months after the election, on July 10 last year, a team of policemen led by an Assistant Inspector-General of Police acting with "orders from above" removed Ngige from his official residence in the state capital. Uba had filed a suit with Nigeria's federal High Court, getting an injunction suspending Ngige from office on the grounds that he had signed a letter of resignation.

The Anambra State House of Assembly announced that the Governor had tendered his resignation and swiftly swore in his deputy, Kingsley Udeh, as Governor. But just hours later, Ngige emerged, screaming that he was still Governor and informed the shocked nation that he had been abducted; Later he was forced at gunpoint into a hotel toilet and forced to read out a resignation speech before a video camera.

He was stripped of his official bodyguards on January 2 - despite being the state's chief security officer, constitutionally. He now gets by with a

private security company. Some weeks after the failed attempts to remove him politically, Ngige's convoy was driven off the road in the state capital Awka in an apparent assassination attempt.

Recently Uche Chukwumerije, a senator from Anambra in the Igbo-speaking southeast of the country, raised the alarm by claiming that Arthur Nzeribe, a controversial and influential Igbo politician, was secretly lobbying other senators to pass a motion declaring a state of emergency to end Ngige's 10-month old tenure in the state. Nzeribe did not deny the charges, saying that a state of emergency was the best option for resolving the Anambra crisis. But, according to reports, the senators had been offered bribes of 500, 000 naira (about R23 000) each to back the state of emergency move.

Ngige now lives in fear of his life and is apparently in hiding to avoid being forcibly removed from office by police again, on grounds of court injunctions that he believes have been obtained illicitly. He has good reason to fear for his life as political assassinations are becoming common in Nigeria. On February 7, Aminasoari Dikibo, the Vice-Chairperson of the South-South zone of the ruling People's Democratic Party - and a good friend of Ngige - was killed by unidentified gunmen along Asaba Road in Delta state. Several other politicians, including the former Attorney-General and the Justice Minister, Bola Ige, and Marshall Harry, a leading figure of the opposition All Nigeria People's Party, were before that killed in mysterious circumstances that have yet to be unraveled.

APPENDIX 5

Culled from: <http://www.nigerdeltacongress.com>

The comedy of absurdities

By Prof. Chike I. D. Anamdi,
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Nothing illustrates better the anomaly that is Anambra today than the story of the Ubah brothers themselves. According to reports, Chris Ubah is the youngest of the three known Ubah brothers. The oldest, Senator Ugochukwu Ubah is a physician, who was practicing in Jos, in Plateau state before his venture into politics under the failed Abacha Transition Program. The other brother, Dan Ubah, is a PhD in political science, recalled from America in 1999. Dr. Dan Ubah serves the President as Special Assistant on Domestic Matters. The two elder Ubahs are obviously pre-civil war standard Anambra products. They both had the best of what higher education has to offer. Hardly, however, does anybody hear of them outside the escapades of their younger ravaging sibling.

The youngest of the siblings should have had the best opportunity to obtain the best education available in Nigeria or in USA courtesy of his elder brother Dan who was resident in USA. However, if the press reports are anything to go by, Christian did not even have a High School education; He allegedly flunked out at second or third year of High School. Yet, it is the scion, Chris, who is rocking Nigeria today. It is this sibling who allegedly controls billions. It is Chris who allegedly sponsored all elected office holders in Anambra. It is Chris who set the country on its head by trying to topple an "elected" sitting Governor!

How could this semi-literate younger brother lord it over his obviously more gifted siblings? Your answer is as good as mine! This is the tragedy that mirrors Anambra of 2003. That is the "Nigerian way."

Chris UWADOKA

A lot has been written on recent events in Anambra. This write-up will not rehash the events and their absurdity. Instead, I will explore some issues, which in my opinion, in our rush to condemn the actions of some, we have been glossing over. If I were not from the heart of Anambra, I would not believe what has befallen the cradle of Igbo civilization (if you go by Enugu-ukwu or Igbo-ukwu anthropological history): the home of such titans as Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (Father of the Nation), Prof. Kenneth Dike (Education), Prof. Okigbo (Economics) Achebe (Literature), Prof. Philip Emeagwali (Science), Francis Cardinal Arinze (papabel!). These are players on international level any day. Reading of the events in Anambra today, one might be tempted to think of Anambra today only in terms of "spare parts" and contracts. But, despite recent drop in male educational interest, it still boasts of the highest density of PhDs in the country.

Today, we are led by High School drop-outs. Before the House Committee investigating the Anambra show of shame, the members of the caucus claim: "In Anambra, politics is played as a business deal. I am a businessman not a philanthropist. I single-handedly sponsored all elected office-holders in Anambra. "In other words politics is just like spare parts and contracts deals. You invest and expect your returns to matures as soon as the election results are announced.

Assuming that the group actually spent 30 billion Naira to elect a candidate contrary to the provisions of the Constitution, is this debt chargeable to the innocent citizens of Anambra, who apparently voted for an opposition candidate?

Section 221 of the 199 Constitution provides:

"No association (or groups or individuals), other than a political party, shall canvas for votes for any candidate or CONTRIBUTE to the funds of any political party or to the election expenses of any candidate at an election."

Can a candidate therefore be sponsored by the so-called Godfather of Caucus Group? In view of this provision, the first question is, have such individuals committed any crimes simply by breaching this constitutional verbot. What is the penalty for these people who have admitted this in many press statements, and before a committee of the National Assembly in the past? Why are members of this caucus still walking the streets?

Second, accepting that the candidate was sponsored by groups/caucus other than a recognized political party, can such a candidate be duly elected as Governor, Senators, Assemblymen or House Members under the 1999 Constitution?. Is godfatherism legal under the 1999 constitution?

Section 176 of the 1999 Constitution provides that the Governor is the Chief Executive of the State and as such the Chief Security Officer and under Section 195 through his Attorney General also the Chief Law Officer of the State. Yet the Governor has no operational control over the police in his state. He can even be "arrested" "kidnapped" by his own police.

The actions of his political godfather in trying to forcefully remove him have been adequately condemned by all and sundry. Nothing in this write-up is intended to convey the impression that I condone their action.

But, there is the case of Dr. Chris Ngige himself. I do not know him personally, but I do know the family well enough to be aghast at his revelations before the House Committee. Dr. Ngige is a medical doctor and like this writer an obstetrician and gynecologist. His wife is a pediatrician. He is at least 10 years older than his Godfather. His family is a very strong Catholic family .Dr. Chris Ngige is also a national orders holder of OON. He also has worked in both the public service at the

National Theatre and the Aso Rock clinic. He has led the Aka Ikenga and he has held a political position at the national level. So he has all the educational, preparatory and spiritual foundations to make an excellent Governor.

Initially, when he addressed the press at Awka, he claimed: "This letter they are banding about my signature is in a black ink. As a sign of being in government business and protocol, Governors write in red. I reference my letters. This letter did not say Dr. Chris Nwabueze Ngige or Dr. Chris N. Ngige, because I like my Ibo name. This letter also does not have wordings' of Governor of Anambra State', which is my own appellation. I don't use the word 'Executive Governor' ABOVE ALL THE SIGNATURE ON THIS LETTER IS NOT MY OWN. Even the forgers tried but it is still very far from away from my own." For him to admit in the committee that it was his signature, albeit signed under duress pre-inauguration smacks of irresponsibility unbecoming of a Governor of a state like Anambra.

By his own admissions, he went with the caucus to swear to an oath of allegiance to a deity in Okija, in Ihialla Local Government Area. He was beaten twice by both Chief Chris Ubah and Mr. Nzeribe! He was locked up in toilets to sign and tape resignation letters! He called the caucus "a ring of dangerous men." Yet, at his inauguration, he called on all Anambrarians to emulate the sterling qualities of his very best Friend, Chief Chris Ubah! He initially told the world he did not at any time sign any letters of resignation, but before the committee, he admitted signing a number of 'meaningless' letters they presented to him. He admitted to signing a check for 870 Million of state funds and two other cheques totally 3 billion transferring state funds to private accounts. He had to genuflect more than twice as Governor to a semi-illiterate more than ten years younger than he!

He says he did all these as a "tactic": that there are different ways of doing things under such circumstances. One can elect to confront his

nemesis frontally or wear them down. He chose the latter. He told a press conference at Awka how he confronted the AIG and his DSP offering to die rather sign the acknowledgement letter of his sack and again in his refusal to be packaged to Alor or be alone with the two police officers in his room. He claimed, "I told the AIG that I had already told you (earlier) to bring your guns and I haven't seen any gun. I am not going to Alor, I am not yet retired and I m telling you that I'm still the Governor of this state. From the foregoing, I am telling you and you are not done with keeping me under arrest for five hours. You are now also trying to abduct me to an unknown destination, because you said you are taking me to Alor... I am a sitting Governor, this a violation of my immunity under the constitution." Bravo, what a courageous man!

Yet, he was kowtowed into signing some five resignation letters by civilians! His explanation is that he chose to wear the opposition out, to draw them out! In this tactic anything to hold on to power goes, at least until he has consolidated his power!

Dr. Ngige's letter simply did not add up. He swore to an idol at 3.00AM, he says. He says he carried his Bible and Holy water with him to the shrine and never entered the shrine. Dr. Ngige swore to this idol before he took his oath of office. He says that his Archbishop authorized him to take the oath as long as he took his Bible and Holy Water. Well, his Archbishop is either the retiring Archbishop, His Grace Dr. Obiefuna or the Co-adjudicator Archbishop Most Rev. Dr. Okeke of Onitsha Archdiocese. I can confirm that neither of these prelates ever gave Dr. Ngige the clearance to do what he confessed to doing!

Is there no limit to what one can do to survive or be a Governor? Is survival all that is required of a Governor? Is there nothing like honor and principle? Is there no morality in the governance of Anambra? By signing all those documents of the caucus, and not intending to keep them, what picture of a Governor is he telling Anambrarians he is? This is exactly what Anambra cannot afford. Even the National Working

Committee of his party in rebuking him failed to point out these character defects, only that he failed to appreciate the power he has.

It is, however, not simply a moral issue when the Governor-elect precedes his oath of office with a 3.00 AM oath at a shrine. What are the wordings of the oath? What promises were elicited from the Governor-elect? Are such promises compatible with his oath of office? If they were, why would the caucus demand it?

There is also a constitutional aspect to the oath taking before a shrine in secret at the dead of night. Section 182(h) of the 1999 prohibits a member of a secret society from occupying the exalted office of the Chief Executive of a state of Nigeria. What are the ramifications of the oath taken? Who administered it? Why was it made at the unholy hour of 3.00AM? If it was innocent, why must it be taken at night?

Then, there is the question of the cheques given to the caucus. Initially he appeared to be saying that he never signed any cheques. That only his Accountant-General was abducted to Abuja and forced to sign a check for 870 million Naira for Chief Ubah. That he gave two cheques for a total of 3 billion Naira but neither signed or dated them. They took the unsigned cheques and were satisfied with them. It is difficult to believe that a shrewd businessman would accept unsigned cheques for any security. Again, on whose account were the cheques drawn? At a point he indicated that the cheques were drawn from his personal company account but that he did not have that kind of money in the account. The question arises as to how he expected or from where he expected the funds to make good the cheques? If it is drawn on state account as he later implied, under what budgetary allocation are the funds to be drawn?

Is the alleged cost of funding elections recoverable from the electorate, who were never consulted and who voted another candidate? If recoverable, how are such costs verifiable, or is it to be handled as one

of our government contracts? Much more important is what does the state do to those cabals, who in contravention of the provisions of Section 221 of the constitution financed and funded candidates for elections in Anambra? The Anambra comedy is far from over. This is still Act I. What with the promise of the caucus to make further disclosures in camera? What with its promise of a dossier on how it won or failed to win elections in Anambra? What with the Election Tribunals still hearing cases of how those who contested elections and won, lost to those who never were on the ballot on Election Day?

Lessons:

There is immediate need for a Campaign Finance Reform Act to clarify the provisions of Section 221 of the 1999 Constitution. This Act should make it clear that no one individual or group of individuals may sponsor or finance the campaign of a candidate outside a political party. The act should limit an individual, a family or a group contribution to a candidate beyond a certain amount, say 100,000 Naira. All political parties and candidates will be required to file updated reports of their finances indicating donors and amount at intervals. Infringements should be severely sanctioned. This is what is obtained in civilized countries.

The issue of operational command of the state commissioners of police or zonal police commands needs to be revisited. I do not wish to canvass the need for police states. That issue is being handled by better informed commentators and deserves a distinct treatise on its own. It simply makes no sense to impose on the Governors the responsibility of Sections 176 and 179 of the 1999 constitution without giving them operational command of the instruments of coercion or enforcement. The directive powers on security matters by state/regions as provided in both the 1960 and 1966 constitutions, which was deleted by the military, in 1979 must be restored.

Finally, time has come for a spiritual revival in Anambra. The culture of

mercantile and spare parts politics has made the state a laughing stock in the nation. There needs to be a self-examination of the structural and cultural defects that has landed us into the abyss that we find ourselves. Our adulation of money to the exclusion of any other more enduring values will continue to haunt us till we rediscover our true culture and tradition. It is no excuse that our graduates are without employment! It is a shame to see the desperation with which we pursue money leaving academic pursuit to our womenfolk. It is not surprising that Anambra today is the cradle of banditry and moral decadence. We, Anambrarians must return to the values that produced the Ziks, the Chike Obis and the Kenneth Dikes of the Golden Age of Anambra. Only in our tested cultural values of respect for our elders and pursuit for the Golden Fleece can we redeem our image as the heart and soul of the Igbo heartland.
July, 2003.

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Chris' exposure to politics, in addition to his background in business journalism, sales management and business process consulting give him the right mix of experience, exposure and tools with which to do justice to a treatise on political *godfatherism*.

Issues addressed by this book

This book explains the technicalities of the mixed-motive negotiations which took place between Chris Ngige and Chris Uba and continue to transpire between others in politics, business and life. It will help the reader to confront questions such as:

- How best does one ride on the influence of a godfather and yet not end up losing control or getting into a bitter patricidal fight?
- Given that a godfather is a political entrepreneur, who sets the limits and rules for his profiteering?
- How do you respond to a reneged-upon agreement?
- Do negotiations within long-term relationships require a different set of attitudes from 'touch-and-go' negotiation?
- In managing conflicts, what is ethical and what isn't?
- What are the best strategies and tactics to deploy in a mixed-motive relationship?
- How does the full knowledge of the other's vulnerability affect your own stance?
- Who really has negotiation power?
- As the dynamics of power shift, is there a stable outcome which is less likely to be challenged?

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