An Assessment of Politics without Bitterness, Conflict and War as A Path Forward in Nigerian Politics

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Abstract: Since the emergence of Nigeria as an independent political entity, the nation has gone through an evolutionary system of politics of bitterness, conflict and war: starting from the; first republic to the current Fourth Republic, (Ayemere, 2015). Through the nurturing of such practices within the Nigerian political scene over the decades, it has transformed such abnormal practices in our society to the norm in conducting politics, (Boraine, 1999). Of note, is that the driver of such politics of bitterness, conflict and war especially in Nigeria can be situated in the corruption of the meaning of Kwame Nkrumah adage of "*Seek Ye First the Political Kingdom and every other Thing will be added onto you*" into using politics as a medium for the enrichment and self-serving interest of the political elite, (Bonsu, 2016). Also supporting such is the professionalization of politics as a vocation which ensure there is a difference between the political class and the general public, (Allen, n.d). This gap leads to an erosion in the mindset of the political class of the binding element that ties them ethically and morally into capitalizing on their roles in society to obtain the benefits of the good life for all. The absence of this and its replacement by self-benefits allows for a brand that is represented by politics of bitterness, conflict and war which is antithetical to social development. Hence this study emerged to critic a pathway forward, it does this via a review of raison d'état, politics of bitterness, conflict and war which is shown to curate politics as an access way for ill-gotten enrichment of the political class whose quest to maintain their uncertain position leads to the adoption of tactics that allow the manifestation of fierce competition that does not accommodate others views and ambitions. The modus operandi results to include political violence to perpetuate the self-benefitting politician within the political scene, this has been in practice in the political history of Nigerian from independence till date. A theoretical study presents the theory of democracy, role morality theory and conflict theory as a guide that best explains the framework for this paper. Also from an examination of the crux of the topic a route to ensure politics without bitterness, conflict and war the paper provides five models that proffer for societies: not only in Nigeria but in Africa and other political entities.

Keywords: Politics, Politics of bitterness, conflict and war, politics without bitterness, conflict and war, African/Nigerian democracy

I. INTRODUCTION

In his examination of the way and manner politics is conducted in Africa, Karl Maier (2002) opined that Politics is too serious a business to be left for the Politicians alone. Granted that, a negative factor that has prevented development and stability in the political dispensation in Africa is Politics of Bitterness, Conflict and War: *to them (i.e politician) it's about politicians killing each other, betraying each other because of political positions or appointments*, (Ayemere, 2015). Hence, leading to questions of, do politics teaches us to destroy one another or is it meant for the destruction of each other? is it meant to eradicate integrity and love from one another?.

Drawing from the imagery of how politics is conducted in Nigeria yet another question that arises is why should the loss of positions lead to hatred and bitterness if the purpose of politics is service to the masses? why should contestation over political power and influence lead to politicians betraying each other?. In short, for Ayemere (2015), the political process within the Nigerian setting shows a semblance of the gravitation of these practices as a lack of ethics in politics and deliberate blindness to the true meaning of politics. The essence of politics in its ideal state is to promote one another to higher heights and not a politics of bitterness, conflict and war that connotes nursing the ambition to destroy your opponents, their ambitions or their career, that is the wrong brand of political practice in Nigeria and indeed in many areas in Africa, (Ayemere, 2015).

Likewise, is the aspiration that a politics devoid of Bitterness, Conflict and War will go a long way towards the promotion of peace and national integration within our political process, especially in Nigeria, (Shun Politics of Bitterness, Mud Slinging, 2018). This emerges from the general philosophical framework of Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim (as cited in Mamza) " to achieve peace and national integration within a society, it will stem from a revolutionary attitude of the political players within such societies, via the logic of considering the social and political setting, with an essence towards achieving a peaceful and a well-integrated political system that is anchored on planning, national ideal and orientation that will bring about peace, progress, stability and integration of a nation", (Mamza, n.d).

As such, despite the negative brand of politics promoted by the political class in Nigeria, an alternative model that would contribute to a sanitized political environment which comes about by wider participation of the citizenry and political class in striking a balance to curtail politics of bitterness, conflict

and war as well as to engrave politics without bitterness, conflict and war by citizens rejecting and delegating their problems to the politician to solve alone.

II. CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Firstly, what is politics?, it connotes the structuring of society, the distribution of resources, maintenance of law and order, the protection of lives and properties, provision of socio-economic, agro-industrial and health infrastructure, protection of citizens from external attacks: *in localizing the concept of politics to Nigeria, politics cannot be left as the purview of the professional politicians*, (Maier, 2002). In Hillman, 2017, it can be extrapolated that politics cannot be left to the caprices of politicians as it is the ambience of relationship with each other's that include citizens and politicians (i.e. within their groups or with each other's) and the social context within which political meaning is created. It also leads to a query into the activities of the political class who perpetuate politics of bitterness, conflict and war make every issue political to expand their realms overall space of society and derive self-benefit, (Hillman, 2017).

In another view, politics is seen as a process that involves the participation of every member of a society which determines who and what they are through receptive political language or expression of political language via intra or interpersonal communication: *so a society can debate political issues, share feelings of how political affairs should be done, approve and disapprove of their leaders*, (Naswem, 2017). As such, Politics dirtiness or not is determined by the participation of society in its political process and system which give rise to the type of politicians produce by such a system. In Nigeria, if the political process is bankrolled by political god-fathers (i.e Political Boss) that don't have any other source of livelihood and lacks the skills to fit into other areas: *no other option apart from politics* leads to the circulation of politicians within the political space that resonate the same values and spirit de corps which is a political disaster.

Politic can be conceptualized also as exercising and achieving a position of governance organized around the control over a human community particular a state, (Hillman, 2017). Hence, politics can be defined as the practice of the distribution of power and resources within a given community. It's about power, operation of a constitutional system of government and publicly defined institutions, procedures and its appeal in daily life. Also, Harold Lasswell defines it as "*who gets what when getting what when and how*", it is also about power which encompasses the political office, nation-state, economic policies, national and international politics, (Ejik, 2018).

For Kelvin M. Cherry (2012), he interpreted Plato and Aristotle view on the purpose of politics as being "*politics is the bases for nation-building*" and for them, the purpose of politics is the good life for all: *by thinking deliberately in conjunction with others about the good, the just and the advantageous part of what leads to the good life*. As such, in contextualizing politics from a behavioural view it's a non-

lethal way to attempt to drive your agenda within a group that produces the good life for all.

While professional politicians in the context of the topic are in-genuine democrats, non-real patriots, neo-feudalist, contract chasers, callous mercenaries and prostitutes of power who aim to steal, cheat and destroy: *professional politicians in Nigeria domesticate democracy to suit private and economic interests that are ignorant, apathetic and despondent of the ethics and moral aspects of politics*, (Stockdale, 2017). Also, Max Webber defines the professional political class as those who strive to make politics a permanent source of income and live off politics as a vocation thereby transforming politics into an aspect of the socio-economic division of labour that gives political power as a source of social and economic status; *this devaluates politics to a space for which the incentives of joining politics is to make money,* (Palonen, 2006). Granted that professionalization of politics and its resulting snowballing effects on politics as a vocation can be traced to the democratization of suffrage that led to the emergence of new types of politicians no longer restricted to the aristocratic class but that permute the society as a whole but restricts political positions to those seeking to make a living-off politics, (Palonen, 2006).

Another concept to examine is bitterness, which connotes a moral emotion that is a form of unresolved anger involving a loss of hope that injustice or other wrongs will not be sufficiently acknowledged and addressed, it could be perceived, imagined or factual, (Stockdale, 2017). Bitterness is also a deplorable state that makes people long for justice for those who had hurt them and such experiences that were unfair to them are often the result of situations beyond their control, (Simeon, 2018). Such unresolved bitterness leads to the practices of a bitter brand of politics that is used by politicians to motivate people to do what they want them to do and is made manifest by bigotry, bullying and hatefulness in considering others. Bitterness is regarded as a quick part that is utilized by the politicians as a dirty tool they fan up as practically a part of their political messaging and campaign. It's also a setback as people are motivated to violate freedom and justice which does not treat the real issues and problems in society that should be examined.

R. J Rummel, visualized the causes of conflict as differences aggravated by coercive political power status difference, cognitive imbalance and sociocultural dissimilarities, as well as being inhibited by socio-cultural similarities, decentralized or weak political power and is triggered by a perception of opportunity, threat, injustice and surprises, (Ray, 1998). Broomhall (2006), also intimates Conflict as originating from the disagreement between parties where parties perceive a threat to their needs and interest. In a political system, conflict can manifest between parties in power and those in opposition and gets out of hand when the rules and regulations that keep discordant elements separate are violated.

For war it can be epitomized by a rift, tension and violence's that result from an opened, declared, widespread and

intentional power struggle between political entities which requires the mobilization of resources to eliminate or destroy their targets, (Anele, 2011). For Anele (2011) War can also be viewed as a contestation between parties or groups over resources and interests that result from unmanaged conflict.

Politics of bitterness, conflict and war, therefore, connotes unresolved perceptions of wrong or injustice that have not been addressed that leads to disagreement and the mobilization of interest and resources to engage in a fierce struggle for power, interest and needs that is long-drawn and intense. This brand of politics creates for itself self-victims as politicians continuously produce a reason for grievances against and amongst themselves.

The introduction of the use of the lexicon in Nigeria politics without bitterness can be traced down to Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri of the Great Nigerian Peoples Party of the Second Republic, (Anele, 2011). It was he who canvased the support of the politician to embrace politics without bitterness which he regarded as a political philosophy, (Amenyo, 2013). This clamour stemmed from a political philosophy that sought to avoid bitter politics that Nigeria's checkered political experience since independence (i.e *Census Crisis, Western Regional Crisis, General Election Crisis, Tiv riot, The Coups of 1966, Program in the North, the Civil War, etc*) which was marred by politically motivated violence. Also, he stated that politicians operate by political capitalism; *they view politics in the same vein a capitalists view investment in stocks, with both their ultimate goal and motivation as financial gains as well as a better proposition*, (Amenyo, 2013). The political class gets enticed by bloated remuneration packages attached to a political position that encourages the Machiavellian spirit of doing whatever it takes to achieve their political ambition which also results in a derived narrative of Politics being a Dirty game; *it consistently perpetuates the evil to win at all cost with a sit-tight mentally.*

Politics without bitterness, conflict and war therefore can be examined as a genuine conviction that one can do something for their society that translate to a political class of leaders of selflessness, self-sacrifice and service who aim to achieve the good life for all and they do so without illegally enriching themselves and dividing society or at the expenses of others. It's an ideology that seeks to sanitize the modus operandi of the political space, especially in Nigeria via genuine convictions to seek political office to create a transformed society for the general good of all.

III. RAISON D' ETAT AND MODUS OPERANDI

In analyzing the political class, reasons can be extrapolated for the brand of politics they practise such as an obscuration by politicians of the true meaning of politics and an absence of ethical politics founded on societal values and morals, (Ayemere, 2015). One of the reasons for this brand of politics is leadership failures that result from a leadership system that is based on self-egoism, nepotism, greed, debasement of predecessors, fight for power and political survival, (Mamza, n.d). For Ibrahim Waziri Ibrahim, he posited that such politics

of malice, do or die, make it or break it within the mindset of the Nigerian Political Class result in a myopic reduction of societal progress to the ascension of their kinsmen or relatives to political power with little consideration for national survival. Such, ensure the perpetuation of the use of divide and rule tactics that fuels anger and hatred that ends up with all elements of the society resulting in self-help at the detriment of national coherence, (Mamza, n.d).

It's of note that in Nigeria, Politics is free for all and has led to bitter politics which has been the bane of Nigerian politics from the independence period to the fourth republic and has led to the bondage of military rule in our political development. Granted the freedom given by democracy, it was not to be an open license for recklessness, free ticket for deadly political brinkmanship, the conquest and scalping of opponents, unrestricted gathering of the spoils of war, (Petracca, 1991). Politics that enshrine democracy is about freedom, promoting common goods and free choices, establishing societal order, protecting civilian rights, accepting civil responsibilities, equality before the law, keeping faith with the people's constitution and providing for the weakest members of the society. But in Nigeria, we practice an unsavoury nuance of politics that specifies manoeuvring to gore at political adversaries as it exists in the political class, *as politics of convenience : meaning people are in it for want of an alternative occupation of meaning to do for sustenance resulting in a political profession where survival strategy often attract the rule of unfair competition,* (Petracca, 1991).

For Petracca, another driver of politics of bitterness, conflict and war is the incompatibility of the professionalization of politics by the Nigerian Political class to the essence of politics: *they are representation, democracy and the good life* which can be captured as "*We have no faith no great faith in the Professional Politicians who are jeopardizing the health of democracy*". Hence, the trustee model of representation that is supposed to capture the essence of politics is violated by the translation of politics into small-circled accessibility to resources which they benefit from; *politics as a lifelong career that represents livelihood for its expert practitioners who are detached from the masses by their knowledge of how to manage and influence (i.e. that makes them masters of the operation of politics) the political system to attain their benefit* (Borchert, 2000).This invariable leads to a political process that is disengaged from the citizens as political office-holders are increasingly drawn from a small group of people that compound the distance between the politicians and the general public, (Alexendra, 2005). For Alexandra, 2005, A byproduct of this is that people get angry because they don't get what they want which makes democracy less representative and more unfair.

In bitter politics, one of its modus operandi is the recruitment of armies of youths to be turned into political pallbearers to fight and die for their political mentors and conduct political assassination (Patracca, 1991). The emergence of politicians from such contestation, bloodied, self-immolated process in

Nigeria produce a political class that is propelled to practice politics of bitterness conflict and war. Modern political practice in Nigeria should be about informed debates, the difference of opinion and approach, forging of compromise on issues of governance and not mutual hatred informed by the perceived loss of political opportunities and the impatience to wait your turn.[19] Also such bile in politics is occasioned by the use by the politician in Nigeria of cult groups that are recruited, trained, armed and empowered to harass, intimidate and victimize perceived political opponents as well as opposing views against their political ambition, (Nwakuadu, 2017). Such political culture within our political system is what has embedded and sustained as part of our Nigerian political process the Political behaviour of politics of bitterness conflict and war since independence till the fourth republic and cause the low level of political participation by Nigerian citizens; *all these mitigate against the consolidation of democracy and social co-existence in our society which impacts on the social and economic wellbeing of Nigeria as well as creates imbalances in social relations, disturbs political equilibrium and peaceful co-existence of the system on the influence on the peace and stability of Nigeria which if not checked will reach threshold limits, this can lead to the dissolution of the Nation,* (Adebayo, 2021).

Another modus operandi of politics of bitterness, conflict and war is the use of political violence: *the illegal and the unauthorized use of force by the politician to effect decisions against the will or the desire of others in society, this is achieved via the machinery of thugs or thuggery who themselves are a by-product of political violence and aim to achieve the agenda set for by their sponsors*, (Mamza, n.d). The history of political violence spanned for the first republic (i.e. *the western regional election crisis 1962, the census crisis 1963, the general election crisis 1964*) the first military intervention (i.e. *the 1966 coup and counter-coup, the 1966 Progrom, the Nigeria Civil War 1967-70*) in Nigeria politics to the second republic (i.e. *the struggle between competitive federalism and co-operative federalism, the massive rigging of the 1983 election*) to the second military intervention in Nigerian politics as well as the aborted third republic and finally ending in the fourth republic.

Hence, the public domain is where such politics are intertwined with the political, economic and social consequences as this occurs especially during the period leading to an election; *it results from the obsession of politicians with the philosophy that the possession of political power leads directly to the economic power and those who acquire them can determine the location and distribution of scarce resources in Nigeria*, (Nwakauda, 2017). To achieve such goals the politicians (*the incentivized political class*) spend vast sums of money to obtain the power to get into political position and the price for that is the fierce competition which precipitates the utilization of political violence as an employed tool for the struggle for power with its negative implication for the realization of the collective well-being of individual and society as a whole as well as

being disruptive to social life thereby causing division in society that continual support the practice of politics of bitterness, conflict and war, (Nwakauda, 2017). Such actions within the political space are manifested with the use of violence, politically motivated assassination, bomb-blast, intimidation of the politically undesirable, thuggery, rigging of elections, suppression of opponents, snatching of ballot boxes, electoral fraud, murder and the destruction of properties of opponents (Aver, Nnorom and Targba, 2013). All these create the environment for social disintegration of peoples as they retreat into their ethnic and sub-ethnic affiliations as their constituency to seek succour allowing for divisions that separate us from our national unity. Also, another effect lies in the difficulties such politics create for the standard of living of the masses and the restriction it creates for human rights as well as the loss of economic activities and opportunities that gravitates the allowance of the criminal groups (*e.g. Boko Haram, Cult Groups etc*) as a tool for the political class, (Aver, Nnorom and Targba, 2013). Such results from the fallen nature of politics and the frequent transgressions against its purpose of a good life for all are made.

Another gamut that exemplifies why bitter politics exist in Nigeria is the position of Max Webber from his work "*Politics as a Vocation*" I919, he presented the view that the professionalization of politics (i.e. *Politics Professionalization as a Vocation*) leads to consequences such as the transition of political institutions from being economically independent of politics to institutions peopled by professional politicians who live off politics, (Webber, 1919). For Webber (1919) granted that most political powers are derived from the legitimacy given to them to rule and that the agenda of the professionalization of politics is to derive self-benefits it makes their ascribed vocation institutionalized with uncertainty. Hence elections are seen to them as a mechanism to permanent their careers of deriving remuneration and self-benefit from politics, responding to this threat to their livelihood they attempt to gain control over the definition, regulation and access to their craft, hence a need is borne for them to capture and shape political power (*only the voter's power to oust them scares them*) that leads to a do or die mentality. To thwart this Job uncertainty and gain a reliable source of income in politics, they influence the structure of the political system by providing for patronage jobs, interest groups agendas and party positions that are highly incentivized to provide for benefits. And in the off chance of an ouster from positions in politics they provide for themselves a safety net in terms of pension, opposition party position or as contractors to ensure an instrument of career maintenance, (Aver, Nnorom and Targba, 2013). On the issues of the threat posed by voter power (i.e *to oust them*) and the legitimacy needed from other stakeholders, professional politicians can deploy resources to sideline the voters to believe in a consensus of us vs. them (i.e. *divide and rule*).

Kwame Nkrumah exhortation of "*Seek Ye First the Political Kingdom and Every other thing will be added unto to you*" has

been adopted by the professional political class to mean, "*enter the political kingdom and be rewarded with amply material wealth at the expense of other*s" (Kalu, Obuh and Oloowoopejo, 2012). Such a mantra about politics result in politicians seeking office for the aura, prestige and personal wealth they can benefit from holding specific posts, (Alexandra, 2005). Hence, the driving force of entering politics is to acquire wealth: *nobody enters politics and come out a poor man*, as those who try and don't succeed live to regret it. Even the wealthy get into politics and get their eye on the attainment of more wealth, this enables persons who have not participated in any other form of vocation other than politics to get into politics and become immensely rich and influential: *political offices creates a space for the acquisition of ill-gotten wealth and the allure of such encourage their participation in activities that are immoral and does not increase economic productivity in society but encourages conspicuous consumption that does not contribute to social development*, (Alexandra, 2005). Due to the derived gains unscrupulous persons strive to enter politics and on attaining office become entitled and relegate citizens to a place of indebtedness: *the monetary expense they spent to attain office has to be recuperated*. Leadership here is shaped by a caricature of kingmakers and financiers who serve the interest that does not coincide with those of society as a whole. They have forgotten the promise of Nkrumah statement was meant for the political and economic liberation of Africans to achieve a paradise that produces the good life for all, (Bonsu, 2016).

To sum it, the politics of bitterness, conflict and war in Nigeria, is due to the lack of political-ideological content in our political disagreement not of ideas or substantial issues of development but on power bases and how to access resources in the service of a personality.

IV. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Self-Interested Theory of Democracy

Jens Borchert (*2000*), posited this theory to conceptualize how academia, citizenry and political agents envisage how democracy ought to work; *which is shaped by the experience of democracy that can alter its practices (i.e. such experiences feeds into our political process)*. Here, political agents are granted a more heightened awareness of the political process (i.e. *conceptualizing actions, thoughts and duties*) than the average citizens which are more important in a democracy. In addressing the political process of a society, such questions like who we are (i.e. *ourselves*), who are our political opponents (i.e. *by political divides, nature of relations*), the structure of our political competition (i.e. *type of game involved, what it means to loss*), citizens and voters (i.e. *relations, leverage and power*) all of which structuralize the working of a political system to a large extent in a nation, (Borchert, 2000).

Hence, ideologies that connote relatively stable belief systems are developed based on the foundations of interest (i.e. *self-interested or the social interest that determines what's possible and can be done*). Such leads to a model that is exemplified with the competition of political organization (i.e. *Political Parties*), Individuals holding Political office or groups that cut across party allegiance and status leading to deviation from being ideal driven to being interest-driven.[21] In Nigeria, the foundational interest is shaped by the personal aspiration of the politician and not on societal or national values. The ideological belief systems become concise to a personalized view of the patronage system that will lead to the fulfilment of the personalized interest of the politician. This result leads to the shaping of Nigeria Political Parties as the engine to capture powers and fulfil a personal ambition and not an Ideology. This justifies the reason for politicians decamping from one political party to the other as well as the power struggle within a political organization to enshrine their interest which promotes such bitter politics; *they compete fiercely to achieve their ambitions*, (Aver, Nnorom and Targba, 2013). This leads the professional political class loyalties and commitment to be short-termed and only anchored to a structure that delivers on their preference interest.

Such structure aforementioned can be changed as a result of internal reforms within the political system (i.e. *parties and politician*) or by their hegemonic consensus of the way democracy amongst the political class and the citizens are conceptualized as a counterweight to the advantage of the professionalized political class *(i.e. refocus to the true purpose of politics and on a national goal*), (Borchert, 2000). If the political class and the citizens have a common interest to effect changes and they collectively agree on their model it will lead to a strong and practical impact on the practice of democracy (i.e. *especially for established democracy*). Such established professionalization and conceptualization of how we are to operationalize our Democracy can be potentially changed by external pressure and low level internal political stimulus within the political systems that can cause change, (Borchert, 2000).

Theory of Role Morality

It was propounded by Michael Walzer who posited that the role of morality that govern politicians require them to be prepared to take actions and risk getting involved in dirty hands situations (i.e. *a scenario that induces politicians to take morally bad decision with a justification of the ends justify the means*) to achieve the political goals to which they are committed even when doing so is morally wrong, (Alexandra, 2005). This theory best explicit why Nigeria politics practice politics of bitterness, conflict and war as well as how they justify their action in the society.[23] Politicians especially in the Nigerian context, embrace the paradox of wrong actions no matter the consequence because of their belief that everything is permissible (i.e. *non-restricted*). As a result of such a belief system, professional politicians will engage in dirty hand situations due to the moral and political environment that occur within such a society which has impacts and consequences (Kalu, Obuh and Oloowoopejo, 2012). If such a society allows for a cesspool of immorality,

the politics will be characterized by a greater propensity to engage in dirty hands situation that leads to terrible competition for power and glory. The role morality of a society is shaped by the moral requirement that applies to people by their occupational role due to the trust component such position they occupy commands: *such moral requirement can range from rendering accurate account of work-done, honesty, fairness, capacity to resist, virtues, proper skills, awareness & capacity to resist corrupt practices, provision of an important public good, the satisfaction of fundamental needs-,* as such a need arises to grasp role morality as a collective to achieve the desire of the community, (Alexandra, 2005).

The presences of dirty hands situation influence the outcome of role morality, as they are powerful consequential reasons for them to take actions or inactions according to their moral rules. Politicians faced with dirty hands situations as it relates to the role morality of the office they hold accepts most time to do what they ought not to do to realize their ends and take actions to fulfil such ambition that is morally bad. It means therefore that politicians when confronted with dirty hands situations, they consider the consequence of getting their hands dirty which is relevant to achieving their ends in the discharges the duties of such roles*; this represents the view that the professional politicians see their role in an office which is tandem with the continued existence of the institutional structure as an obstacle which drive them to commit to testing the limits of their office by doing whatever it takes to win the question mark of a Zero-Sum Game.*

Under role morality, politicians should act to provide fundamental goods, occupy well-paid and prestigious positions that are shaped by the ends they want to achieve (i.e.*Positive or Negative*). In politics, there is a disagreement between the ends of politics (i.e. *for Aristotle the good life for all*) and the ends of professional politicians (i.e. *self-benefits*), the ends of politics propel a consensus for security and the well-being of society that should compel politicians to act in ways that help to bring about and maintains political system which becomes a foundational requirement for role morality for the political class. Role Morality theory posits that the two major political offices in any society are those of the political office holder and those of the citizens, hence citizens demand the production of the public goods and politicians aim to provide such products becomes the societal contract, (Borchert, 2000).

On the other hand, if the society accepts the dirty hand situation it will lead to a politician being incentivized to engage in adversarial politics that present and publicize their achievement but publicize their opponent's failure to the public, hence a need for a strong system of public accountability, ways of detecting negative role morality and sanctioning breaches to the system by politicians (i.e. *a self-conscious role morality in society*).

Conflict Theory

This theory exerts that they are a variance of groups in society who have a different interest as well as they exist within every society different social arrangement which tends to benefit some at the expense of others, (Aver, Nnorom and Targba, 2013). Hence, such nuances of variance between group interest as well as the social arrangement of society ensures that the potentiality of conflict is always present, (Aver, Nnorom and Targba, 2013). The ever-present state of the potentiality for conflict derives from the scenario where some groups win for themselves a disproportionate share of societies wealth, privileges and political power as well as utilize it to dominate others who are less powerful, (Borchert, 2000). In the treatment matrix of society's access to political representation, they incriminate the activities of the less power to gain access to political power while they protect their own group's activities even when they are morally or action-wise apprehensible, a culmination of these encourages the fostering of politics of bitterness, conflict and war, (Ray, 1998).

Another source of such bitter type of conflict is the difference in shared values which are threatened when the citizens or the less powerful are coerced by the politicians to abandon their societal values via social controls, non-consensus and conformity which is empathized by the advantaged group; *this group advance their interest at the expense of others hoping to control societies resources and any obstacle to such agenda is treated antagonistically without recourse that ferment a brand of bitter politics characterized by conflict and war*, (Borchert, 2000). Likewise, such promote the ruling or dominant class within the political environment to seek the over-lordship over the political and legal system to ensure they are in operations for the furtherance of their self-benefiting interest; *for them, they are no neutral institutions (i.e as they are intended to be) as institutions works for the furtherance of their goals*, (Borchert, 2000). In Nigeria this can be gleaned within electoral crises where institutions who are designed to be neutral and custodian of the trust are relegated to an appendage of the political class for the persecution of their agenda and to perpetuate their retention to access to political power. The foregone leads to the bittering aspects of Nigeria's social development as the country is diminished to a medium whereby politics is an essential means of achieving economic wealth. Nigerian institutions aid and abet well-placed individuals in society to commit political violence and go unpunished while the less powerful members of the same Nigerian society as persecuted for any of the slight breaches of law harshly.

V. CHARTING THE SOLUTION

Political Ethics

Here one of the solutions is ethics (i.e. *politics*), this is characterized by a politics with ethical standards which induces politicians to govern well, enact laws that favour the electorate, shun corruption and rigging, avoid killing each other's and betrayers, abide by party rules and regulations, seek the welfare of others, promote love, promote unity and

encourage the development of our states as well as leave positive legacies that will outgrow their generation, (Ayemere, 2015). The adoption of political ethics create within the mindset of a society and its political class the ethical standards of adherence to a path that enunciate the philosophy that despite different political parties and spectrums, we share a common nationality and humanity where what affects one person affect the other as such differences should not stop us from seeking national development, strengthening intergovernmental institutions and making government relevant to the governed, (Borchert, 2000). Political ethics also creates within the political system of a society a role for morality which calls on actors to be governed by moral ethics in politics which is to be demanded equally from all political agents, (Alexandra, 2005).

Also, political ethics has to do with the practical arts which bring about valuable changes in world affair by not just our ability and willingness to exercise a practical skill to satisfy fundamental needs but our obligation to do so. In applying this on the political class, it calls for conformity to certain norms in their exercise of power in the allocation of offices; such considerations include citizen's vigilance to prevent abuse, who should be granted political power and why is it needed, (Ochega, 2019).

This role stems from the true meaning of politics which oblige political office holders to act in a way that contribute to the development and effectiveness of their state by practicing politics in good faith, (Adebayo, 2021). To propagate ethical politics, such morally ethical standard should be incorporated in the institutional design that regulates access to political office, constrains actions of those who possess such office and provide institutions with the discretionary power to deal with contingencies they will face, (Aver, Nnorom and Targba, 2013). What will prevent politician from abusing institutions discretionary power is the creation of a standardized template for their use. Hence ethics should be structurally based in order to limit their abuse.

In essence via ethical politics it enhance and promote wisdom, ideals, faithfulness and commitment to every political position as well as compel political office holder to resign from office on a breach of ethical standards and give the political class a sense of commonwealth, (Ayemere, 2015). In indoctrinating political ethics in Nigeria, the political class must accept the ethical standard that the loss of an election or a political contestation does not mean and should not foreclose the opinions, views or ideals of the defeated are inferior to the victor and that all parties can contribute to development, (Aver, Nnorom and Targba, 2013). Another dimension of view the entrenchment of political ethics in Nigeria's political process is to imbibe in politics the ethical standards of tolerance, team spirit and service that will led to an intellectual politics that gives more values to governance and democracy by shunning the politics of bitterness, conflict and war, (Ochega, 2019).

Hence an understanding and adoption of ethical politics will stigmatized as well as ostracize any degradation to violence as a lack of knowledge and immaturity in the political process and as such a lack of ethic that can lead to the creation of societal threats especially in Nigeria such as Boko Haram, Herdsmen Terrorist, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (*MEND*), Niger-Delta Avengers (*NDA*), Indigenous People Organization of Biafra (*IPOB*), Movement for the actualization and Survival of Biafra (*MASSOB*) and others.

Dis-Incentivizing Centers Propelling Negative Political Practice

In another guise, Politics without bitterness, conflict and war can be promoted via dis-incentivizing the centers propelling their negative practice. This can be done by making political office less attractive via the reduction of the monetary lures of political positions to moderate means and the prohibitive cost for vying for political position and getting trampled by vicious god-father in order to join politics will be abandoned, (Cherry, 2012). Also for Max Webber, by having a broader social base which universal suffrage allows for a democratized system; *this allows for a self-understood preconditions of leadership and politicking that regulates the reliable income that will accrue to those who manage politics, such income include fees, salary and other benefits*, (Webber,1919). So for the recruitment of political office holders instead of an elitist recruitment from the political class strata society must have a larger base participating, (Kalu, Obuh and Oloowoopejo, 2012). Also another disincentive to politics of bitterness, conflict and war is the promotion of issue based political campaign and not political smear campaign meant to attack opponents or the mobilization of religious, ethnic and regional sentiments, (Muhammed, 2015). This will occur with internal reforms within political parties as the main vehicle for the production of politicians which should evolve as a mechanism of democratic governance rather that serving as an organized criminal enterprise used for seeking, gaining and retaining power in order to rob the treasury or victimized foes, (Kalu, Obuh and Oloowoopejo, 2012).

Also, such dis-incentivized can also result from the entrenchment of democracy in the political fabrics, this allow for a discouragement of the culture of impunity by prohibiting political violence and enforce the punishment and sanctions attached to such breach of law. In support of this, the Nigeria National Orientation Agency should enlighten the masses and the participant in the political process of the ideal status of political participation. Also civil society organization can complement the National Orientation Organization to intensify their efforts for civic education to caution against overzealous political activities and ambition as well as lust for power, (Bakassi, 2018). Such activities that encourage divisive and hateful messaging during political campaigning can be helped to have a different narrative both by the National Orientation Agency and Civil Society via creation of the environment of issues based political campaigns by politician and political parties. Also, another incentivizing factor for

bitter politics is the remuneration package and access to enrichment that is alluring such can be dissuade by an evaluation of the participant of politics in Nigeria and by questioning their ability to participate in politic if the monetary benefit was not so great: *if the litmus test is to the affirmative then citizens should identify with the right and condemn the wrong*, (Aver, Nnorom and Targba, 2013).

Citizen Participation in the Political System

Another nuance of avoiding politics without bitterness, conflict and war is to encourage citizenry participation in their political system. Here, citizenry participation in the Political system of Nigeria will help us achieve this mission and not just complaining of the dirtiness of politics; *citizens involved in the political life of their society helps to check Politicians excess tendency "politics is too important to national life to be left to professional politicians*, (Cherry, 2012). Also, citizens should reject candidates for political position presented to them if they have questionable character; *which constitute citizens right to reject political rascal*, (Kalu, Obuh, and Oloowoopejo, 2012). Ayisha Osori viewed 80% of the battles for decent political leadership has been lost after a political parties primary leading to the loss of better choice of candidates for the citizens, (Bakassi, 2018). Such suggest that the citizenry must pay more attention and participate actively in the internal working of the political parties and systems as the structure on ground are design to produce a particular crop of leaders that will not assist with producing politics above bitterness, conflict and war, (Bavier, 2011).

Likewise, citizenry participation would also be strengthen through the roles of civil society organization to educate voters to make more enlighten choices and avoid the supporting politician who are of the school of Bitter Politics, (Anele, 2011). Via such citizenry participation, it will mean conducting elections and accepting the outcome of other winner or the loser when a politician join politics, it will also mean that politicians will view themselves either as winners or losers of a political process in good fate and not just to winners that take all in a political process; *e.g. character assassination, media trial, divided and rule messaging, ethno-religious divide messaging, hate speech*, this view point will lead stakeholders of a community to view any winner of a political contestation as a lucky person who is saddled with the responsibility a political position, (Bakassi, 2018).

Linked up with citizenry participation is social development ethos by citizens and the politicians that entails and encourage a process of citizens and politicians interaction that produces a mindset that develop and perceive their individuality within their community as a tool that helps people develop friendship as well as handle conflict in a manner that influence the quality of life. Such leads to people centered qualitative changes in the structure and framework of their politics that helps society to better realize its aims and objectives, (Aver, Nnorom and Targba, 2013). Here, citizens participation in their political process acts as a check on politicians engagement in bitter politics by holding them to account for their actions, decisions, campaign promise and tactics as well as to create an environment for stakeholders to interact and communicate with each other and process their actions to ensure an end of a politics without violence conflict and war.

Imbided African/ Nigerian Democracy

Another gamut to remedying politics of bitterness, conflict and war is a proposed enshrinement of African/Nigerian Democracy, although the proposal was taken in the wider African context but it will be rolled backed to represent nigeria. This model is taken from the pan-african ideal expressed by Kwame Nkrumah for the formation of a unified African government, (Tigner, 2016). Kwame programme was an appeal to unite and create a political kingdom for economic and political emancipation which called for an African democracy tenet; *a philosophy which arises from the creation of the right form of unification "A federation of modern African States and Traditional African States (i.e ethnic nations) being a meaningful separation of geo-politics powers all guided by african centric ideology of neo-Africanism that will lead to a benefit of peace for all, prosperity for all african and prestige that address our unique social and geo-political structure that we can accept,* (Bonsu, 2016). Hence, African democracy/Nigerian democracy constitutes the right political structure, right political system and right political ideology. Within the Nigeria context we can localize this tripod by encouraging the creation of the right political structure that enhance true federalism in Nigeria, as the current masquerade of federalism does attend to the political and economic interest of the masses as such in their current structure and are deficient hence allowing for politician to engage in political of bitterness, conflict and war.

From Nkrumah view point; *this occurred because of the fusion of African ethnic groups into newly independent states that did not serve the political and economic interest of the citizenry as such it led to the institutions of politics being hijacked by professional politicians to suit their own agenda*, (Bonsu, 2016 and Tigner, 2016). It is via true federalism in Nigeria that the political structures of the country can translate to an end to conflict, an end to socio-political and geo-political powers dominance, promote neutral and just politics, enhance people trust in their politicians, eliminate a winner take all political environment. This Nigerian political structure will be built on the philosophy of a balance of power amongst socio-political and geopolitical entities which ends the potential for the monopolization of dictatorial power by any socio-political and geo-political jurisdictions. The second of the tripod of Nigerian Democracy is the right political system of co-equal; *this is a political system of effective institutional balanced between the executive, legislature and judiciary to form neutral institution that eliminate authoritarian tendencies by majority or powerful political group that leads to the winner takes all scenario by the majority, such political system destroys the state,* (Nwakauda, 2017). Such neutrality institution includes Justice Institution, the Civil Service Institution, the Monetary Institution and Military Institution who are never to become an arm of any political group, any

economic group and social group, these neutral non-political institutions are vital to the sustainable politics without bitterness, conflict and war. It ensure that no one can live above the law or utilized the institution to further their aim as everyone is treated with equally. The third tripod of such democracy is a right political ideology, this ideology would oppose individualistic and antagonistic brand of politics for politics that embraces the doctrine of community good in Nigeria Political, Economic and social Life that reduce humans propensities for inordinate economic and political power so that the society can maintain social order and progress.

As democratic practice discourages the monopolization of economic and political power which can be achieve by using social harmony, mutual interdependence and a strong community via the application of the tripods in Nigeria's Politics to achieve politics without bitterness, conflict and war.

Institutionalized Democracy

Yet another is to strengthen democratic institutions, which connote the separation of personality and offices from structured institution. Professional politics and political class has via political developments segmented the democratic institution into personalized edifices that relies on their political patronage and their strongman personalities to function leading to weak institutions, (Borchert, 2000). It will be remedied by the institutionalization and building of institutions (i.e. *Senate, Judiciary, Internal Parties structure diffused from god-fathers and moneybags*), (Aver, Nnorom and Targba, 2013). Within parties themselves mass democratization by suffrage to members to choose their candidates, elect their officials, would contribute to stifle the patronages and apprenticeship system of political money bags: this allow for party solidarity and democracy, (Borchert, 2000). Such institutional neutrality allow for the believe in justices for all which is a strong motivator to douse bitter politics as such institution function in the way they are put in place by government to function and build on better service delivery and governance, (Bonsu, 2016). Here strong institution does not have any ownership collar to personalities or government other than to the society and to their functions. These institutions are allowed to be built-up when there are complimented by an efficient, well remunerated and equipped corps of men and women of character and compassion staff such agency as well as ensure that their values are upheld.

VI. CONCLUSION

Enshrining the essence of politics without bitterness and war is of essence to a state development as the true meaning of politics according to Aristotle's and Plato is the good life for all; *which translate to political, economic and social development*. It result in the aforementioned because enshrined politics without bitterness, conflict and wars leads to the gains of the promotion of the interest of peace and overall development of the state due to it desirability, pricelessness, non-negotiability and utmost necessities for the

development of any society. Nigeria and African countries can learn for the above to achieve the good live for all. To do that, two class of political office needs to be reinitialized, that is the office of political officials and the offices of citizens who then interact and thereby set the tone for the nature of the shape of the political organization. Also, no matter how well thought out a system is or well thought out its design and structure made it is the persons that are to mount those system that will determine their out-come, thereby at the core of the reforms for politics without bitterness, conflict and war should be committed and selfless persons which aim for the true essence of politic

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