

MOOD AND MODALITY IN NIGERIA'S PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI'S INAUGURAL SPEECH: A STYLISTIC STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Linguistic scholars have subjected Nigeria's President Muhammadu Buhari's inaugural speech of May 29, 2015 to grammatical, socio-pragmatic, semantic, and critical discourse analysis. However, none has given attention to the stylistics of the speech as regards choice of mood and modality. This paper, therefore, examined choice of mood and modality in President Buhari's inaugural speech with a view to determining their functional significance. The researchers based their analysis of the data drawn from the inaugural on M.A.K. Halliday's systemic functional linguistics, because of its emphasis on form-function correlation in language use. Analysis revealed the predominant use of statements and modal auxiliaries expressing intention and obligation. The paper concluded that the choice of these linguistic forms was functionally significant, as it underlined the informative nature of the inaugural and the president's strong commitment to fulfilling his promises.

KEYWORDS: Form-Function Correlation, Functional Significance, Inaugural Speech, Linguistic Analysis, M.A.K. Halliday, Mood and Modality, Nigeria, President Muhammadu Buhari, Stylistics, Systemic Functional Linguistics

INTRODUCTION

An Inaugural speech is a formal speech delivered by an elected leader, usually a president, during a ceremony marking his induction into office. The speech, which follows immediately after his oath of allegiance to office, marks the beginning of his tenure. The inaugural speech serves as a medium for the leader to appreciate the support of those who contributed to his emergence, to unveil the plans and policies of his administration, and to solicit the support of all and sundry. Delivering Inaugural speeches, which was originally the practice of the presidents of the United States of America, has become the norm for elected presidents of most countries of the world.

President Muhammadu Buhari's Inaugural Speech

On May 29, 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari was inaugurated as Nigeria's democratic president following his emergence as the winner in the country's 2015 presidential elections on the platform of All Progressive Congress (A.P.C.), after having contested for the position for three consecutive times without success. Shortly after the swearing-in ceremony, the president delivered his inaugural address. As is the case with most presidential inaugurals, the speech has generated a number of reactions. Linguistic scholars have subjected the inaugural to analysis from various perspectives. Kperogi (2015), for example, carried out a grammatical analysis of President Buhari's inaugural speech pointing out a number of grammatical errors in the speech. He explained that the grammatical analysis was not meant to ridicule the writers of the speech, but to guide people, who might out of innocence, hold up the speech as the paragon of a well-written, grammatically correct and complete speech.

Using as an anchor the president's expression 'I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody', Medubi and Amuda (2016) attempted a socio-pragmatic analysis of President Buhari's inaugural address with a view to elucidating 'the meanings encoded in the inaugural and the functions they perform in an actual context of use.' They concluded that the utterance 'I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody' was a true proposition of the speaker's intent, which was: to seek for cooperation, team work, understanding and support from everyone in order to achieve true federalism, national development and unity.

In his semantic approach, Ademilekun (2015) examined aspects of attitudinal meaning in President Buhari's inauguration speech, using Appraisal theory of Martin and White (2005). His conclusion was that the president had deployed effectual meanings, judgments, and appreciations in order to achieve his aim of connecting effectively with his audience.

Sharndama (2016) as well as Koussouhon and Dosoumou (2015) subjected President Buhari's inaugural speech to critical discourse analysis (CDA). Using Fairclough's 3-dimensional model of CDA, the former tried to show the relationship between language, power, and ideology in the speech. The latter combined the framework of critical discourse analysis and systemic functional linguistics to investigate the political and ideological commitments in the speech. Analysis was focused on mood and modality, as well as recoverable references through personal pronouns.

In its analysis of mood and modality in President Buhari's inaugural within the theoretical framework of systemic functional linguistics, Koussouhon and Dosoumou (2015) has a resemblance with the present study. However, the present study differs in aim and analytical approach. While in Koussouhon and Dosoumou (2015) analysis was aimed at investigating political and ideological commitments in the speech, using the approach of critical discourse analysis, in the present study stylistic approach is adopted in the analysis with the aim of determining the functional significance of mood and modality in the inaugural speech. Systemic functional linguistic theory renders it more appropriate for this stylistic study.

Systemic Functional Linguistics and Stylistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a linguistic theory that lays emphasis on form-function correlation in language use. It views language as a network of systems of meaning, and the process of using language as a semiotic process in which people make meanings by making linguistic choices, the available choices depending on the aspects of the context in which the language is being used. Thompson (2004) explains that in any context, there are a number of meanings that speakers might express, and a number of wordings that they might use to express them, as well as factors that make it more or less likely that specific kinds of meanings or wordings will be chosen. M. A. K. Halliday (1985) argues that language has evolved to satisfy human needs, and that's the way it is organized is functional with respect to those needs. According to him, the patterns of language use in a particular social context reflect the function that language is performed in that context. Martin (1997) explains that, in order to demonstrate this form-function correlation in language use, Halliday broadly classifies language functions into three metafunctions: ideational, relating to the representation of human experience; interpersonal, relating to his interaction with others; and textual, relating to organization of texts. He also classifies social context into three variables: field, referring to the experience being represented; tenor, referring to participants in the interaction and the relationship between them; and mode, referring to how language/text is functioning in the interaction.

According to Halliday, the contextual parameters of field, tenor and mode activate choices in the ideational, interpersonal and textual components respectively. Ideational meaning is realised in the clause as Transitivity, interpersonal meaning as Mood and modality, and textual meaning as Theme (Halliday, 1985).

The functional basis of systemic functional linguistics makes it suitable for stylistic study, which concentrates on analysis of form and function of discourse. Stylistics is a study that focuses on issues of choices of style, register, genre, culture and identities in varying contexts (Hall, 2007). It has the goal of describing the linguistic features of a discourse and their functional significance for its interpretation. A combination of systemic functional linguistics and stylistic approach in the study of mood and modality choices in President Buhari's inaugural address is worthwhile.

Mood and Modality

In systemic functional linguistics, mood and modality are aspects of the interpersonal meaning construed by the clause. Mood is a grammatical category that concerns the choices made by a language user from the possible options in the structure of the clause in order to enact basic speech roles or functions such as statements, questions, exclamations, and directives or commands. The mood system offers choices between indicative mood (declarative and interrogative) and imperative mood, and the choice a language user makes from these options is determined by the speech role or function he wishes to enact. The indicative is typically used for exchange of information, while the imperative is used to act on others to get things done by requesting, ordering, and so on (Downing and Locke, 2006). The particular grammatical structures used to perform these speech functions are declarative clauses (for statements and exclamations), interrogative clauses (for questions), and imperative clauses (for commands), though there is no one-to one relationship between form and function. Thompson (2004) explains that only independent clauses in English normally have a choice of mood, with Subject and Finite as the elements of Mood structure. The Subject slot is filled by any nominal group while the Finite is drawn from verbal operators expressing *tense* (*be, have, do*) and those expressing *modality* (*can, may, might, must, will, would, shall, should, ought to*). Variation in the mood structure consists in the presence or absence of the Subject and the ordering of the two elements, leading to the different class types: declarative, interrogative, exclamative, and imperative (Downing and Locke, 2006).

Modality is a semantic category by which, speakers (writers) express their attitude towards and/or confidence in the proposition being presented (Lillian, 2008). Fowler (1985) identifies five categories of modals according to the speakers' or writers' attitudes to the proposition they utter. These include validity (the speaker expresses greater or lesser confidence in the truth of the proposition), predictability (the future events referred to are more or less likely to happen), desirability (practical, moral, or aesthetic judgments), obligation (a speaker's judgment that another person is obligated to perform some action), and permission (speaker allows addressee to perform some action).

Downing and Locke (2006) summarize these into two different kinds of attitude:

- Assessing the truth of the proposition or the potential occurrence of the event in terms of modal certainty, probability, or possibility, and
- Intervening in the speech event by laying down obligations or giving permission.

They call the first epistemic or extrinsic modality, and the second deontic or intrinsic modality.

Modality encompasses a variety of forms, and these are categorized by Fowler (1985) as the modal auxiliary verbs *may, shall, must, need*, and others; sentence adverbs such as *probably, certainly, regrettably*; adjectives such as

necessary, unfortunately, certain; and some verbs and normalization such as *permit, predict, prove; obligation, likelihood, desirability, authority*. In addition to identifying modal auxiliaries, modal adjectives, modal adverbs and modal nouns, Downing and Locke (2006) include lexical modal auxiliaries composed of *be* or *have* such as *have got to, be bound to, be likely to*; lexical verbs such as *guess, promise, allow, suggest, warn*; semi-modals such as *need* and *dare*; verbs relating to non-factual meanings such as *wonder, wish, hope*; and parentheticals such as *I think, I guess*. In this paper, the classification of modality given by Downing and Locke (2006) will be adopted as it is more specific.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Data for the study are taken from the inaugural speech of President Muammadu Buhari, which he delivered on May 29, 2015 following his election and swearing-into office as the Civilian President of Nigeria. The speech is first read critically to identify the mood structures and modals deployed, as well as their functions in the speech. The models are classified into types according to Downing and Locke's (2006) classification. Classification of the modals into semantic categories is based on the interpretation and judgment of the writer, and so may be open to some differences of opinion. Through frequency count, the frequency of occurrence of the identified mood structures and modal forms is determined and computed in percentages. This is done in order to determine the most recurrent forms in the speech and the reason for the emphasis. Extracts from the inaugural speech are presented to illustrate the discourse functions of the mood and modal forms deployed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Mood in the Inaugural

Only two types of Mood are found in President Buhari's inaugural speech. These are declarative mood and imperative mood, as shown in table 1. Declarative mood is overwhelmingly deployed, gulping 99.03%. Only one imperative clause appears in the speech, and this constitutes 0.97%.

Table 1: Mood Types in the Inaugural

S/N	Mood types	Frequency	Percentage
1	Declarative	102	99.03
2	Imperative	1	0.97
3	Interrogative	-	-
4	Exclamative	-	-
Total		103	100

Declarative mood is deployed in three forms: statements, modalized declaratives, and performatives, as shown in table 2. Of the three, statements have the highest frequency rate of 46.1%, followed by modalized declaratives which constitute 43.1%, and then performatives with 10.8%.

Table 2: Forms of Declarative Mood in the Inaugural

S/N	Forms of Declarative Mood	Frequency	Percentage
1	Statements	47	46.1
2	Modalized declaratives	44	43.1
3	Performatives	11	10.8
Total		102	100

Imperative Mood in the Inaugural

An imperative is generally used 'to tell or ask people to do things, to make suggestions, to give advice or

instructions, to encourage and offer, and to express wishes for people's welfare' (Swan, 2005:242). Its form is marked by absence of overt subject and presence of a finite verb. The only occurrence of imperative mood in President Buhari's inaugural is at the end of the speech, where it is strategically positioned as the last clause:

- Let us take it.

This is a first-person plural imperative demanding a collaborative action of both the President and the Nigerian citizens, who are the targeted audience of the speech. *It*, here, is a pronoun referring to the noun phrase, 'an opportunity,' mentioned in the preceding declarative clause. The noun phrase in turn refers to the goodwill Nigeria enjoys from both home and abroad, which the President has made mention of in the preceding paragraph. Nigerians, including the President, are therefore enjoined to take advantage of this goodwill "to fulfill our long-standing potential of pulling ourselves together and realizing our mission as a great nation." The President has therefore used the imperative to call for a collaborative action to move Nigeria forward. This collaborative action is expected to follow, after the president's inaugural speech, hence, the occurrence of the imperative at the end of the speech.

Declarative Mood in the Inaugural

A declarative sentence is a sentence that conveys information. It usually has the ordering *Subject+Verb*. Declarative mood is the dominant mood deployed in President Buhari's inaugural speech. It occurs as statements, modalized declaratives, and performatives.

Statements

Statements are declaratives that express truth value. They are used to convey factual information to the listener. In President Buhari's inaugural speech, statements are the most prevalent. The president has used them to convey factual information on the state of the nation, especially the challenges facing the country, which the new government is inheriting. Examples 2-7 illustrate the President's use of statements in his inaugural speech.

- A few people have privately voiced fears that on coming back to the office, I shall go after them.
- Boko Haram is a mindless, godless group who is as far away from Islam as one can think of.
- The spate of kidnappings, armed robberies, herdsmen/farmer clashes, cattle rustlings all help to add to the general air of insecurity in our land.
- It is now a national shame that an economy of 180 million generates only 4,000MW, and distributes even less.
- Unemployment, notably, youth unemployment features strongly in our Party's manifesto.
- Nigeria therefore has a window of opportunity to fulfill our long-standing potential for pulling ourselves together and realizing our mission as a great nation.

The above statements reveal factual information on the state of the nation; President Buhari is coming in to lead for the second time, highlighting the major challenges facing the government.

Modalized Declaratives

Modalized declaratives are declaratives that contain modal auxiliaries. They are widespread in the President's speech, and the president has used them to show his attitude to the problems of the country which he has highlighted,

and the degree of his commitment to solving them. Examples 8-15 illustrate the use of modalized declaratives in the speech:

- We are going to tackle them head on.
- We can fix our problems.
- To achieve our objectives we must consciously work the democracy system.
- We shall rebuild and reform the public service to become more effective and more serviceable.
- While the federal government cannot interfere with the details of its [the Local Government Joint Account] operations, it will ensure that the gross corruption at the local level is checked.
- We have to upgrade our dilapidated physical infrastructure.
- The command centre will be relocated to Maiduguri and remain until Boko Haram is completely subdued.

Performatives

Performatives are utterances which are being enacted as they are uttered. Although they have the form of declaratives, they do not describe reality and so have no truth-value. The term was used by Austin (1962) in contrast to the utterances he called *constatives*, which describe reality and have truth-value. President Buhari has deployed performatives in his inaugural speech mainly for the purpose of expressing gratitude for previous support received and making appeals for further support, as illustrated in examples 15-20 below:

- I would like to thank President Goodluck Jonathan for his display of statesmanship in setting a precedent for us that has now made our people proud to be Nigerians wherever they are.
- I thank those who tirelessly carried the campaign on the social media.
- I appeal to employers and workers alike to unite in raising productivity so that everybody will have the opportunity to share in increased prosperity.
- My appeal to the media today—and this includes the social media—is to exercise its considerable powers with responsibility and patriotism.
- I call on the leadership and people in these areas [the Niger Delta] to cooperate with the State and Federal Government in the rehabilitation programme which will be streamlined and made more effective.
- I extend my hand of fellowship to them so that we can bring peace and build prosperity for our people.

By means of explicit, modalized, and nominalized performatives, the President expresses gratitude for support already given to him and appeals for further the support and cooperation.

Modality in the Inaugural

Forms of modals identified in President Buhari's inaugural speech include: modal auxiliaries, lexical-modal auxiliaries, and verbs relating to non-factual meanings, as shown in Table 3. Modal auxiliaries have the highest frequency rate of 70.8%, followed by verbs relating to non-factual meanings whose frequency rate is 16.7%, and then lexical-modal auxiliaries with the frequency rate of 12.5%.

Table 3: Modal Forms in the Inaugural

S/N	Modal Forms	Frequency	Percentage
1	Modal auxiliaries	30	70.8
2	verbs relating to non-factual meanings	8	16.7
3	Lexical-modal auxiliaries	6	12.5
	Total	44	100

The modals deployed fall into four semantic categories: intention, certainty, obligation, and possibility as shown in Table 4. Modals indicating intention have the highest frequency of 50%, those indicating obligation 27%, possibility 18%, and certainty 5%. It is observed that the modal auxiliary *will* is used to convey both intention and certainty.

Table 4: Semantic Categories of Modals in the Inaugural Speech

S/N	Modal Category	Form	Frequency	Percentage
1	Intention	Will, shall, are going to, intend	22	50
2	Obligation	Must, have to	12	27
3	Possibility	Can, might	8	18
4	Certainty	Will	2	5
	Total		44	100

Modals Expressing Intention

Modals expressing intention are the most frequent in the speech, with a frequency rate of 50%, and include forms such as *will, shall, are going to, intend*. These are used by the President to communicate to the people the intentions of his new government, especially, in terms of the actions he is going to take to tackle the problems of the nation. Examples 21-28 illustrate this:

- Having just a few minutes ago sworn to the Holy Book, I *intend* to keep my oath and serve as the President to all Nigerians.
- *We are going to* tackle them [the problems of the country] head on.
- The Federal executive under my watch *will* not seek to encroach on the duties and functions of the Legislative and Judicial arms of government.
- *We shall* rebuild and reform the public service to become more effective and more serviceable.
- The government *will* do all it can to rescue them [Chibok girls] alive.
- *We shall* improve operational and legal mechanisms so that disciplinary steps are taken against proven human rights violations by the Armed Forces.
- *We are going to* erect and maintain an efficient, disciplined people-friendly and well-compensated security forces within over-all security architectures.
- *We intend* to attack the problem [unemployment] frontally through revival of agriculture, solid minerals mining as well as credits to small and medium size business to kick-start these enterprises.

These are in the form of promises and the government is going to be judged based on the extent to which it fulfills the promises made.

Modals Expressing Obligation

Modals expressing obligation is next in high frequency, constituting 27% of the modals deployed in the inaugural. They are *must* and *have to*. Through the use of these modals, the president commits himself and his government to certain actions. Examples 29-34 illustrate this:

- *We must* not succumb to hopelessness and defeatism.
- To achieve our objectives we *must* consciously work the democratic system.
- For their part the Legislative arm *must* keep to their brief of making laws, carrying out oversight functions and doing so expeditiously.
- Elsewhere [erstwhile] relations between Abuja and the States *have to* be clarified if we are to serve the country better.
- *We have to* improve the standard of our education.
- *We have to* upgrade our dilapidated physical infrastructure.

The President has laid down inescapable obligations for his government; the audience sees the indicated actions as binding on the government, and will likely complain if the obligations are not finally fulfilled.

Modals Expressing Possibility

These modals, which constitute 18% of the modals deployed, are used in the President's speech to indicate the possibility of the propositions expressed. The forms deployed are *can* and *might*, and their use in the speech is illustrated by examples 35-39:

- *We can* fix our problems.
- They [our founding fathers] *might* have differed in their methods or tactics or details, but they were united in establishing a viable and progressive united country.
- However, no matter how well organized the governments of the federation are, they *cannot* succeed without the support, understanding and cooperation of labour unions, organized private sector, the press and civil society organisations.
- But we *cannot* claim to have defeated Boko Haram without rescuing the Chibok girls and all other innocent persons held hostage by insurgents.
- No single cause *can* be identified to explain Nigeria's poor economic performance over the years than the power situation.

The use of the modals shows that the President is not strongly convinced of the possibility of the occurrence of the propositions stated in these clauses.

Modals Expressing Certainty

These have the lowest frequency rate of 5%, and the only form deployed is *will*. *Will* expresses certainty in examples 40-41: Modals of certainty used are meant to indicate the President's assurance of the occurrence of the

propositions expressed.

- There *will* be no paying of old scores.
- We *will* not allow this [the power situation] to go on.

There is an indication of assurance that the expressed propositions would actually happen.

CONCLUSIONS

The study of mood and modality in the inaugural speech of Nigeria's President Muhammadu Buhari has revealed predominant use of declarative mood, manifesting mainly as statements and modalized declaratives, with modal auxiliaries expressing intention and obligation dominating other modal categories. The widespread use of statements and modal auxiliaries expressing intention underscores the informative nature of the inaugural, while the high frequency of modals expressing obligation is an emphasis of the strong commitment of the president to tackling his country's challenges. President Muhammadu Buhari's choice of mood and modal forms in his inaugural speech is therefore functionally determined. The study confirms M.A.K. Halliday's claim in his systemic functional linguistic theory that there is a correlation between form and function in language use.

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APPENDIX

The Full Text of Muhammadu Buhari's Inaugural Speech

I am immensely grateful to God who has preserved us to witness this day and this occasion. Today marks a triumph for Nigeria and an occasion to celebrate her freedom and cherish her democracy. Nigerians have shown their commitment to democracy and are determined to entrench its culture. Our journey has not been easy, but thanks to the determination of our people and strong support from friends abroad, we have today a truly democratically elected government in place.

I would like to thank President Goodluck Jonathan for his display of statesmanship in setting a precedent for us that has now made our people proud to be Nigerians wherever they are. With the support and cooperation he has given to the transition process, he has made it possible for us to show the world that despite the perceived tension in the land we can be a united people capable of doing what is right for our nation. Together we co-operated to surprise the world that had come to expect only the worst from Nigeria. I hope this act of graciously accepting defeat by the outgoing President will become the standard of political conduct in the country.

I would like to thank the millions of our supporters who believed in us even when the cause seemed hopeless. I salute their resolve in waiting long hours in the rain and hot sunshine to register and cast their votes and stay all night if necessary to protect and ensure their votes count and was counted. I thank those who tirelessly carried the campaign on the social media. At the same time, I thank our other countrymen and women who did not vote for us, but contributed to make our democratic culture truly competitive, strong and definitive.

I thank all of you.

Having just a few minutes ago sworn on the Holy Book, I intend to keep my oath and serve as President to all Nigerians.

I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody.

A few people have privately voiced fears that on coming back to the office, I shall go after them. These fears are groundless. There will be no paying off old scores. The past is prologue.

Our neighbours in the Sub-region and our African brethren should rest assured that Nigeria under our administration will be ready to play any leadership role that Africa expects of it. Here I would like to thank the governments and people of Cameroon, Chad and Niger for committing their armed forces to fight Boko Haram in Nigeria.

I also wish to assure the wider international community of our readiness to cooperate and help combat threats of cross-border terrorism, sea piracy, refugees and boat people, financial crime, cyber crime, climate change, the spread of communicable diseases and other challenges of the 21st century.

At home, we face enormous challenges. Insecurity, pervasive corruption, the hitherto unending and seemingly impossible fuel and power shortages are the immediate concerns. We are going to tackle them head on. Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to us. We must not succumb to hopelessness and defeatism. We can fix our problems.

In recent times Nigerian leaders appear to have misread our mission. Our founding fathers, Mr Herbert Macauley, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sarauta of Sokoto, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Malam Aminu Kano, Chief J.S. Tarka, Mr Eyo Ita, Chief Denis Osadeby, Chief Ladoke Akintola and their colleagues worked to establish certain standards of governance. They might have differed in their methods or tactics or details, but they were united in establishing a viable and progressive country. Some of their successors behaved like spoilt children breaking everything and bringing disorder to the house.

Furthermore, we as Nigerians must remind ourselves that we are heirs to great civilizations: Shehu Othman Dan fodio's caliphate, the Kanem Borno Empire, the Oyo Empire, the Benin Empire and King Jaja's formidable domain. The blood of those great ancestors flows in our veins. What is now required is to build on these legacies, to modernize and uplift Nigeria.

Daunting as the task may be, it is by no means insurmountable. There is now a national consensus that our chosen route to national development is democracy. To achieve our objectives we must consciously work the democratic system. The Federal Executive under my watch will not seek to encroach on the duties and functions of the Legislative and Judicial arms of government. The law enforcing authorities will be charged to operating within the Constitution. We shall rebuild and reform the public service to become more effective and more serviceable. We shall charge them to apply themselves with integrity to stabilize the system.

For their part the legislative arm must keep to their brief of making laws, carrying out over-sight functions and doing so expeditiously. The judicial system needs reform to cleanse itself from its immediate past. The country now expects the judiciary to act with dispatch in all cases, especially on corruption, serious financial crimes or abuse of office. It is only when the three arms act constitutionally that government will be enabled to serve the country optimally and avoid the confusion all too often bedeviling governance today.

Elsewhere relations between Abuja and the States have to be clarified if we are to serve the country better. Constitutionally, there are limits to powers of each of the three tiers of government, but that should not mean the Federal Government should fold its arms and close its eyes to what is going on in the states and local governments. Not least the operations of the Local Government Joint Account. While the Federal Government can not interfere in the details of its operations, it will ensure that the gross corruption at the local level is checked. As far as the constitution allows me, I will try to ensure that there is responsible governance at all levels of government in the country. For I will not have kept my own trust with the Nigerian people if I allow others abuse theirs under my watch.

However, no matter how well organized the governments of the federation are, they cannot succeed without the support, understanding and cooperation of labour unions, organized private sector, the press and civil society organizations.

I appeal to employers and workers alike to unite in raising productivity so that everybody will have the opportunity to share in increased prosperity. The Nigerian press is the most vibrant in Africa. My appeal to the media today – and this includes the social media – is to exercise its considerable powers with responsibility and patriotism.

My appeal for unity is predicated on the seriousness of the legacy we are getting into. With depleted foreign reserves, falling oil prices, leakages and debts the Nigerian economy is in deep trouble and will require careful management to bring it round and to tackle the immediate challenges confronting us, namely; Boko Haram, the Niger Delta situation, the power shortages and unemployment especially among young people. For the longer term we have to improve the standards of our education. We have to look at the whole field of Medicare. We have to upgrade our dilapidated physical infrastructure.

The most immediate is a Boko Haram's insurgency. Progress has been made in recent weeks by our security forces, but victory cannot be achieved by basing the Command and Control Centre in Abuja. The command centre will be relocated to Maiduguri and remain until Boko Haram is completely subdued. But we cannot claim to have defeated Boko Haram without rescuing the Chibok girls and all other innocent persons held hostage by insurgents.

This government will do all it can to rescue them alive. Boko Haram is a typical example of small fires causing large fires. An eccentric and unorthodox preacher with a tiny following was given posthumous fame and following by his extra judicial murder at the hands of the police. Since then, through official bungling, negligence, complacency or collusion Boko Haram became a terrifying force taking tens of thousands of lives and capturing several towns and villages covering swathes of Nigerian sovereign territory.

Boko Haram is a mindless, godless group who is as far away from Islam as one can think of. At the end of the hostilities when the group is subdued the Government intends to commission a sociological study to determine its origins, remote and immediate causes of the movement, its sponsors, the international connections to ensure that measures are taken to prevent a recurrence of this evil. For now the Armed Forces will be fully charged with prosecuting the fight against Boko harem. We shall overhaul the rules of engagement to avoid human rights violations in operations. We shall improve operational and legal mechanisms so that disciplinary steps are taken against proven human right violations by the Armed Forces.

Boko harm is not only the security issue bedeviling our country. The spate of kidnappings, armed robberies, herdsmen/farmer clashes, cattle rustlings all help to add to the general air of insecurity in our land. We are going to erect and maintain an efficient, disciplined people – friendly and well – compensated security forces within an over – all security architectures.

The amnesty programme in the Niger Delta is due to end in December, but the Government intends to invest heavily in the projects, and programmes currently in place. I call on the leadership and people in these areas to cooperate with the State and Federal Government in the rehabilitation programmes which will be streamlined and made more effective. As ever, I am ready to listen to the grievances of my fellow Nigerians. I extend my hand of fellowship to them so that we can bring peace and build prosperity for our people.

No single cause can be identified to explain Nigerian's poor economic performance over the years than the power situation. It is a national shame that an economy of 180 million generates only 4,000MW, and distributes even less. Continuous tinkering with the structures of power supply and distribution and close on \$20b expanded since 1999 have

only brought darkness, frustration, misery, and resignation among Nigerians. We will not allow this to go on. Careful studies are under way during this transition to identify the quickest, safest and most cost-effective way to bring light and relief to Nigerians.

Unemployment, notably youth un-employment features strongly in our Party's Manifesto. We intend to attack the problem frontally through revival of agriculture, solid minerals mining as well as credits to small and medium size businesses to kick – start these enterprises. We shall quickly examine the best way to revive major industries and accelerate the revival and development of our railways, roads and general infrastructure.

Your Excellencies, My fellow Nigerians I cannot recall when Nigeria enjoyed so much goodwill abroad as now. The messages I received from East and West, from powerful and small countries are indicative of international expectations on us. At home the newly elected government is basking in a reservoir of goodwill and high expectations. Nigeria therefore has a window of opportunity to fulfill our long – standing potential of pulling ourselves together and realizing our mission as a great nation.

Our situation somehow reminds one of a passage in Shakespeare's Julius Ceasar

There is a tide in the affairs of men which,

taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;

Omitted, all the voyage of their life,

Is bound in shallows and miseries.

We have an opportunity. Let us take it.

Thank you

Muhammadu Buhari

President, Federal Republic of NIGERIA

and Commander in-chief-of the Armed forces

