

CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

EDITED BY
M.K.O Alimi, Ph.D

Prof. I.Walter
Prof. O. A. Lalude
Prof. P.O. Oviasuyi

C.I.N Uche, Ph.D
Erigbe, P. A. Ph.D
Onyema, N.S., M.Sc.

Published by
Oduduwa University Press, Ipetumodu, Ile-Ife,
2018.

Challenges of Democracy and National Development

Pat Erigbe

Edited by:

M.K.O Alimi, Ph.D

Prof. I. Walter

Prof. O. A. Lalude

Prof. P. O. Oviasuyi

C.I.N Uche, Ph.D

Erigbe, P. A. Ph.D

Onyema, N. S., Ph.D

Published By

**Oduduwa University Press,
Ipetumodu, Ile-Ife.**

Preface

This book of reading traces the democratic and development dilemma of the Nigerian nation state since the attainment of flag independence in 1960. Although successive leaders have been embarking upon the gargantuan task of national development ostensibly to launch Nigeria into socio-economic and political prosperity. All efforts targeted at nation building ended up in unmitigated disasters' owing largely to combined factors of corruption and allied unethical behaviours, practices, cultural peculiarities of the Nigerian people, long military dominance in power, poor economic planning and prevalence of soft and unaccountable leadership among others. The book establishes a nexus between democracy and development and maintains that democracy has not delivered the desirable development dividends in Nigeria. It concludes and recommends that positives of good governance and accountable leadership should be adopted, otherwise Nigeria shall continue to be sapping and sagging socially, economically and politically. The book Challenges of democracy and national development arranged in eleven Chapters, is well designed and sequentially arranged with a view to illuminate the readers' understanding of the concepts of challenges of democracy and national development as related to Nigeria in particular and Africa in general. It is carefully packaged to reflect the various socio-economic and political situations in the country, Chapter One appraises democracy and effective leadership for Africa's development, the article posited that there should be organic linkage between democracy, development and effective leadership so as to enthrone a society of political and socio-economic indicators of modernization and development. Chapter two debates federalism and examine the challenges and prospects of power sharing in Nigeria. Chapter three proposes institutionalizing the culture of emergency management in local government system in Nigeria. In Chapter four, the article investigates ICTs, transparency and accountability in electioneering process as a fulcrum for democratic consolidation in Nigeria. Chapter five examines management of phonology in Nigeria's polity and how it revitalizes governance system. Also, Chapter six discusses challenges of democracy and national development from leadership and followership deficit perspectives as well as unethical behaviours and practices, prevalence in Nigerian society. Chapter seven looks at motivation as a walk for employees' productivity and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. In Chapter eight, the author assesses the economic impact of Freedom of Information Act on Nigeria's democratic polity. While Chapter nine focuses on elections and electoral policing in Nigeria and proffered solutions to electoral violence. By the same token, Chapter ten makes a comparative analyses of Nigerian University leadership styles in conflictual situation. While chapter eleven emphasizes the need to reposition the Nigerian Universities' Student Unionism as alternative operational system in Nigeria. All said and done the eleven studies in this book recognize the adoption of the positivities of good governance and accountable leadership as the antidote to bad governance and failure of democratic polity. While chapter eleven proposes repositioning of the Nigerian University Student Unionism As Alternative operational system as a means of strengthening democracy on campus.

Notes on The Contributors

- **Bamisaye, Abiola Olajire, Ph.D** is a Professor of Political Science and current Head, Department of Political Science, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.
- **Fagbohun, F.O. Ph.D** is a Reader in the Department of Local Government Studies, Faculty of Administration, Obafemi Awolowo University.
- **Adewale, I. A. Ph.D** is of the Department of Local Government Studies, Reader in the Department of Local Government Studies.
- **Alimi, Mukaila Kojogbola Olalere Ph.D** is the current Dean of Student Affairs, Oduduwa University and the Head, Department of Political Science and Public Administration.
- **Uche, Charles Ikechukwu, Ph.D** is the current Provost, College of Management and Social Sciences, Oduduwa University, Ipetumodu.
- **Raji, Shittu, Ph.D** lectures in the Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.
- **Mbombo, J.M.K. Ph.D** is a lecturer in the Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.
- **Adegboyega, Abdulkarim Ph.D** is of the Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.
- **Raji, Adesina Abdulfatah Ph.D** is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Fountain University, Osogbo.
- **Hanafi, Dele Ibrahim Ph.D** lectures in the Department of Economics, Oduduwa University, Ipetumodu.
- **Ohiara, Cyril I. Ph.D** is of the Department of Economics, Oduduwa University, Ipetumodu.
- **Akintunde Patrick Adediran, Ph.D** is the current Director of Part Time Studies, College of Continuing Education, Oduduwa University, Ipetumodu.
- **Aguiyi, Nelson Ikemba Ph.D** is of the current Head, Department of Economics, Oduduwa University, Ile-Ife.
- **Garuba, Rasheed O. M.Sc.** is of the Department of Political Science, Fountain University, Osogbo.
- **Olatunji, Akingbola M.Sc.** lectures in the Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.
- **Estebom, John Monday, M.Sc** is of the Department of Local Government Studies, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.
- **Olawoyin, Kayode Wakili, M.Sc.** is a current Ph.D student in the Department of Local Government Studies, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.
- **Lamidi, Kazeem, M.Sc.,** is of the Department of Local Government Studies, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.
- **Yussuf, A. A. (M.A.)** is the current Deputy Registrar, Oduduwa University, Ipetumodu. He also lectures in the Department of General Studies of the same University.

Table of Contents

• Democracy And Effective Leadership For Africa's Development	
*Bamisaye, O. A. *Alimi, M.K.O.	1-24
• Debating Federalism: Challenges And Prospects Of Power Sharing In Nigeria. *Raji, A. A.	25-48
• Institutionalising The Culture Of Emergency Management In Local Government System In Nigeria.	
*Fagbohun F. O., ** Adewale I. A. *** Lamidi Kazeem K.	49-64
• ICTs, Transparency and Accountability in Electioneering Process: Towards Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria.	
*Fagbohun, F. O. *Alimi, M.K.O * Olawoyin, K.W *Etebom, J. M.	65-84
• Management of Phonology In Nigeria's Polity.	
Yusuf, A. A.	85-90
• Challenges Of Democracy And Development In Nigeria	
*Raji S., *Alimi M.K.O, ***Mbombo M.K., ****Garuba R.O. ...	91-100
• Motivation, Employees Productivity And Democratic Consolidation In Nigeria *Hanafi.D.I**Akintunde,P.A ***Aguiyi,N.I****Lasabi,M.O	101-134
Assessing The Economic Impact Of Freedom Of Information Act On Nigeria's Democratic Polity	
Obiara, C.I.	135-140
Focus On Elections And Electoral Policing In Nigeria	
*Raji, S**Adegboyega, A ***Olatunji, D.A.	141-160
A Comparative Analysis Of Nigerian University Leadership Styles In Conflictual Situation	
Uche, C.I.N.	161-169
Repositioning The Nigerian University Student Unionism As Alternative Operational System	
Uche, C.I.N.	170-177
Re-Inventing Agricultural Sector As A Means Of Diversifying Nigeria Economy	
*Hanafi, D. I. ** Akintunde, P. A. ** Nelson, I. **	
*Lasabi, M. O. ** Boboye, O. F.	178-189

CHAPTER ONE

Democracy And Effective Leadership For Africa's Development *Bamisaye, O.A**Alimi, M.K.O*

Introduction

The Fund For Peace (FFP) declared in its Annual Index Data (AID), released on 29th of June, 2012, that Nigeria now ranks among the top failed states in Africa and 14th in the World. Nigeria trails behind Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire and Central African Republic. The index further reveals that the war-torn Somalia tops the global list which comprised 177 countries with Congo Democratic Republic and Sudan rank second and third respectively. Afghanistan which had for several years interchangeably retained number six positions after Chad and Zimbabwe which placed fourth and fifth in that order.

The criteria used by FFP included security apparatus, factionalized elite, external integration, poverty and economic decline, underdevelopment, group grievance, democratic pressure, irrational rule of law, poor public service performance etc.

This Nigerian ranking in particular and most African countries in general, allies with former President Olusegun Obasanjo's query on the so called announcement that, "Nigerian Gross-Domestic Product GDP in the recent years is increasing". Speaking at 40th Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN), he described Nigeria as a toddler in industrialization. He said "if in 2004, the percentage of poor people in Nigeria was 54%, in 2011, it was 38% and now it is 69%. He questioned that: "can we say that the GDP growth is increasing". It means something is wrong". There is no doubt that poverty is still on the increase. Vision 2020 will be an hopeless issue with the rate of poverty in the land. We are not yet there and we are far from getting there.

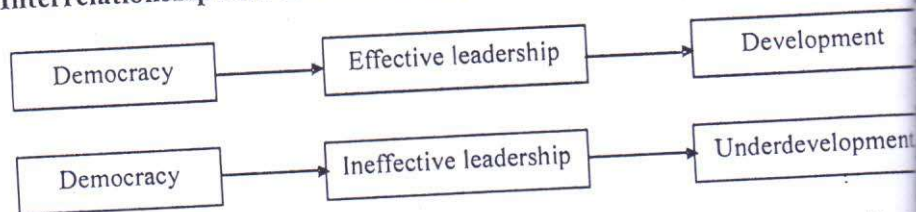
From the above preliminary analysis, one would be correct to say that Africa is yet to fully enjoy the dividends of democracy. A simple question that follows is – what is responsible for the wide gap between democracy and development in Africa if the two issues are considered to be circularly causal? Many reasons may be isolated for this unfavourable gap, but the most pronounced among them is LEADERSHIP PARADIGM. This paper intends to draw the role of effective or ineffective leadership on African democracy in relation to

development. We shall seek to reiterate the special value of democracy vis-à-vis an effective leadership to the developmental process of Africa in general.

Operationalisation of Major Concepts:

The problem in an influential discourse of this nature is, usually, concerned with the definition of terms. In this paper, there are three major concepts for discussions namely: Democracy, Leadership and Development. These three concepts are interwoven as demonstrated in this simple diagram below:

Figure 1
Interrelationship between democracy, leadership and development



The two diagrams above indicate that democracy with effective leadership would lead to development and vice-versa.

Democracy: One of the concepts that are very difficult to define in political literature is democracy. It has no universally acceptable definition. It is an ambiguous concept. Its ambiguity lies in its truism. What is regarded to be democratic in society "A" may be considered as undemocratic in society "B". However, an attempt to simply define democracy according to Abraham Lincoln is that "it is the government of the people, by the people and for the people". This is referred to as an act of government that is based on the principle of 'majoritarianism'. On the other hand, it can be regarded as the government of the people and not by the people but for the people. This is based on the principle of "minoritarianism". Whether "minoritarianism" or "majoritarianism", the remains that, democracy is the most acceptable form of government. No wonder then, it is said that, the worse democratic government is far better than the best Military government. Democracy therefore is seen as the best form of government that can bring about development with effective leadership. A leader, no doubt, can bring about societal development through effective policy formulation and implementation and vice-versa.

vis

The clamour for democracy all over the globe is not accidental. Oyekan (2009) asserted that “those who go about such business of agitating for democratization are convinced that no society truly devoid of development can ignore democracy. The democratic experience of the developed countries of the world lend credence to the truth of this claim. However, the reverse seems to be the case in many of the third world countries, where there has been a huge gulf between the anticipated gains of democracy and the reality on ground. Given the African situation, this then leaves one to wonder, whether democracy brings about development everywhere or not”. This paper shall investigate African state towards democracy in their search for development.

The features of democracy include the idea that legitimate authority emanates from the people, the rule of law, accountability and removal of a government that fails to serve the desired purpose.

The Concept of Leadership: Leadership is mostly associated with individuals even though, no individual alone leads a nation. Bukola Saraki (2012) said “It is important to stress that the effective exercise of leadership functions in the form of setting a vision, developing an agenda and mobilizing resources at the heart of active transformation management. In this sense, leadership presupposes followership.

What meaning we should attach to “lead”, or “leader”, or “leadership”. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 20th Century edition*, says that “to lead” means “to show the way by going first”, “to guide by the hand”,. According to the same dictionary, “a leader” is one who leads or goes first.

One would agree with Justice Chukwudifu Oputa who said that “in all circumstances, I wonder how many of our so-called or self-styled leaders can fully appreciate the concept of such a simple and straightforward word as “leadership”. Oputa said further that he had often argued with prominent intellectuals as to whether the major problem of Nigeria is that of leadership or that of followership. Everyone has agreed that Nigeria, like most other African countries, faces numerous political, economic and social instability problems, at least in the past twenty years or so. However, when it comes to the question as to whether those numerous problems have resulted from the problem of leadership or followership, these intellectuals have taken different positions. Three of such positions seem to have emerged:

1. That our major problem has been that of poor or bad leadership.
2. That our major problem has been that of poor or bad followership.
3. That our major problem has not been one or the other of these two but a

combination of both.

Furthermore, according to him, those who fall into the third group are divided as to which those who fall into two elements. For our purpose, however, an examination of those views may not be very important. What is important is an examination of the concept of "followership". In his search for this, he had to go back to the same dictionary, from which he made a very interesting discovery. According to him, "to follow" means "to go after or behind", "to imitate", and a "follower" as "one who comes after, a copier; a disciple."

In addition, Major General James Oluseye devotes the first chapter of his book "Military Leadership in Nigeria 1966-1979" to the definition of leadership with particular reference to the subject of his study. We shall concern ourselves with only the part of his definition which we consider relevant to this paper. He says that Webster's Third Law International Dictionary Volume II says that a leader is a "person or animal that leads a person" and that a leader must have the "capacity to lead, having the ingredient of personality which causes men to follow, successful solution of problems and mould individuals into a team". He added to inform us that Borgadus in 1928 defined leadership as "the creating and setting forth of exceptional behavior patterns in such a way that other people respond". He states further that "the leader must possess more intelligence and ability, personality, task motivation, performance and social consequences", than the followers. He then goes on to say that a person may attain the position of leadership in one of several ways.

The first method for the attainment of a leadership position mentioned by Oluseye is self-imposition, which is totally devoid of constitutionality. Secondly, a group of persons may forcefully impose a leader on the generality of people. Even though Oluseye does not say so, such a self-imposed leader may not be an able and worthy leader. We have of course become painfully aware of the African situation. We are told that a person may come into a position of leadership through demonstration of leadership qualities over a long period of time. Here we may cite the examples of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania; Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Seretse Khama of Botswana, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana; and Nelson Mandela of the Republic of South Africa.

I think I may serve some useful purposes, if I attempt to summarize what has emerged from all I have said so far, as the qualities we should look for in a search for a leader and leadership. One crucial attribute of the leader which A

group must search for is the quality of being able to "show the way by going first". In other words, he must be one whose footsteps the followers can follow to the greater glory of our country. He must be someone who can mould all the nations and tribes that make up Nigeria into a unity for example. The leader that area needs is not a semi-educated person lacking in intelligence, ability, and integrity, but one of high intellect, ability and transparent honesty.

In considering leadership as a major concept, there are four major factors that can be considered viz:

- i. **Leader:** You must have an honest understanding of whom you are, what you are, what you know and what you can do.
- ii. **Followers:** Different people that are taking order and movement from their leader are not consistent in their ventures.
- iii. **Communication:** You lead through two ways Communication.
- iv. **Situation:** All situations are different. What you do in one situation will not always work in another. You must use your judgment to decide the best course of action.

Development: The concept of development is equality ambiguous. It has no universally acceptable definition too. This is because what is considered to be development here, may also be seen as underdevelopment there. However, for the purpose of this paper, "development" within the context of democratic process would be seen as art of changes whether-positive or negative change, as the case may be.

Our developmental outfit within the context of our paper shall include infrastructural development, capital formation, industrialization, aggressive service, stable power generation and supply, technological advancement, economic policy initiatives and implementation, standard of living, absence of social vices, food security, state security etc.

Among these three concepts already operationalized above, the most interesting is that of leadership. It is a very interesting statement by Aristotle that, a fool or an imbecile can contest an election and he can equally win, if he is optimally to the challenges, he can at the end of the day become a good leader. For what is best administered is best. A leader is bad when he does not follow the instinctive norms and values of good leadership. To drive home fully the points, some indices for good leadership can be briefly outlined and discussed

person must search for is the quality of being able to "show the way by going first". In other words, he must be one whose footsteps the followers can follow to the greater glory of our country. He must be someone who can mould all the nations and tribes that make up Nigeria into a unity for example. The leader that area needs is not a semi-educated person lacking in intelligence, ability, and integrity, but one of high intellect, ability and transparent honesty.

In considering leadership as a major concept, there are four major factors that can be considered viz:

- i. **Leader:** You must have an honest understanding of whom you are, what you are, what you know and what you can do.
- ii. **Followers:** Different people that are taking order and movement from their leader are not consistent in their ventures.
- iii. **Communication:** You lead through two ways Communication.
- iv. **Situation:** All situations are different. What you do in one situation will not always work in another. You must use your judgment to decide the best course of action.

Development: The concept of development is equally ambiguous. It has no universally acceptable definition too. This is because what is considered to be development here, may also be seen as underdevelopment there. However, for the purpose of this paper, "development" within the context of democratic process would be seen as art of changes whether-positive or negative change, as the case may be.

Our developmental outfit within the context of our paper shall include infrastructure development, capital formation, industrialization, aggressive economic service, stable power generation and supply, technological advancement, through dynamic policy initiatives and implementation, standard of living, absence of social vices, food security, state security etc.

Among these three concepts already operationalized above, the most pronounced or stimulating is that of leadership. It is a very interesting statement by saying that, a fool or an imbecile can contest an election and he can equally win, if he responds optimally to the challenges, he can at the end of the day become a good leader. For what is best administered is best. A leader is bad when he does not possess the instinctive norms and values of good leadership. To drive home fully some indices for good leadership can be briefly outlined and discussed

Indices for good leadership

1. **Integrity:** A leader must be a honest person and access by a strong moral principles.
2. **Credibility:** A leader must be a person in whom people repose trust and believe in.
3. **Discipline:** A leader must be a person of controlled behavior and way of life and steers such to socially acceptable direction.
4. **Selflessness:** A leader must be a person who gives priority to the general interest over personal interest. He or she should be a public spirited person.
5. **Visionary leadership:** A leader must subscribe to leadership. He should focus on, and plan for the future in an intelligent and productive way. This includes taking decision that can have positive impacts for the future.
6. **People Centered Leadership:** A leader must be a person whose leadership is rooted in the people and work to promote their interest.
7. **Grassroots friendly policies:** A leader must be a person who promotes policies that are beneficial to the generality of the people.
8. **Positive policy intervention (in education, health, economy etc):** Where appropriate, he must have demonstrated articulation and implementation of programme, leading to positive improvement in various segments of the society such as education, health and economy.
9. **Respect for the rule of law:** A leader must be a person who has demonstrated respect for the rule of law and must eschew arbitrariness and human rights abuse.
10. **Accountability:** A leader must be a person with willingness to subject his/her actions to the people's scrutiny.
11. **Corruption perception:** A leader must demonstrate aversion to corruption in words and indeed. The person must not be seen to be corrupt.
12. **Guarantee of press freedom:** A leader must not seem to have been in support of muzzling the press.
13. **Courage:** A leader must be demonstrating ability to chart the right and honourable path, defend the right causes, without fear even in the face of opposition and/or persecution.

Emanating from the identified indices above, one can then proceed to what can be considered as dynamism and paradigm of an effective leadership which is the

four discussions in this paper.

The Dynamism of Effective Leadership

Hon. Justice Chukwudifu Oputa (1995) once asserted in a paper, "In search of a Disciplined Society through Law" presented some years ago during the centenary celebrations of the legal profession in Nigeria, that:

Nigeria is great-in size, great in population. Landsomely blessed and richly endowed by a kind and prodigal providence with almost unlimited natural resources. The challenges are for all of us-young and old, men and women-to make us ever greater than nature portended.

What relates to Nigeria is equally applicable to most of the African independent countries. The questions are, can we face up to that challenge? Can we make Africa greater than nature made her remembering that God gave us Africa as a whole, human endeavour gives us the cities? Our answer is yes-but if, and only if, we are disciplined; if we are not merely armchaired cities but totally committed and devoted collaborators, and most importantly, if our leadership is on as hungry for power.

The Problem of Professionalism and integrity of Leadership is mainly to use power in order to avoid its abuse and misuse. Etymologically, to lead means to direct by going in front. Leadership implies a purposeful direction of the affairs of those led. Leadership implies some movement towards a definite and fixed goal which will be for benefit of society.

What Constitutes the Integrity of Leadership?

Imaginativeness: A leader must be a thinker. He must have simple clear vision to which he can sell to the people and which he can formulate into practical policies capable of implementation. This will imply and require considerable keenness, for as Mary Meek Atkeson observed, "the best cosmetic in the world is an active mind that is always finding something new". As a corollary to wisdom and inventiveness, a leader should have a good deal of courage, the courage of his convictions and the courage to stand on his principles and by his decisions.

Leadership must necessarily provide the moral, social and motivational climate that can carry the followership, it must involve an outlook and a conviction, several times above those held by the workaday world. We cannot afford to have the leader leading the blind.

Pyramids of Power

I have discussed in a general way some of the salient characteristics and imperatives of good leadership. There is the problem of leadership at various levels of society. But in every society, there are five easily descendible pyramids of power namely:

1. Economic or Money Power
2. Political Power
3. Religious Power
4. Ideas Power (the News Media)
5. The Bureaucracy or Several Power

All these five pyramids have each at its apex a few fortunate elite who exercise power and take all important decisions. These are leaders and they too face the same leadership problems and are expected to have good leadership qualities as well.

Types of Leadership Nigeria Needs and indeed Africa.

The type of leadership Nigeria (and indeed Africa) needs is the one that reflected in our 1st National Anthems-a leadership that will:

Help us to build a nation where no man is oppressed and so with peace and plenty Nigeria may be blessed.

Secondly, the leadership we seek is that which is motivated by the far-reaching ideals reflected in the preamble to our 1979 Constitution:

To live in unity and harmony as one indivisible and indissoluble sovereign Nation.

To promote the good government and welfare of all persons in our country on the principles of Freedom, Equality and Justice.

A nation should be assembled around the credo of its ideals by prudent and sagacious leadership. And when a cause is identified with these precious ideas, unlimited loyalty and enthusiasm automatically follow. And there are no ideals more precious to the human mind, than Freedom, Equality and Justice.

General Characters of African Countries

The general character of African countries lies essentially in their incorporation into the world economy as peripheral states and therefore, a common orientation to foreign trade, aid and investment as the fundamental basis

of accumulation and social reproduction. However, the conditioning impact which this singular process of incorporation has on each member state is mediated by certain forces such as resources endowment, special external ties and the peculiar manifestation of the post-colonial state. This context, the character of national accumulation and social reproduction contain objective specificities which imply peculiar patterns of impact and expectations from incorporation in the world economy. This is a serious problem that hinders the conviviality of many of the Africa Leaders to deliver the dividends of democracy.

The nature of African states in general in relation to their leaders in the effort to make democracy workable has adversely been affected by the underdevelopment syndrome. Underdevelopment is generally recognized as prevalent in most parts of the world—specifically those parts referred to as the third world. This term is usually associated with a pole of general poverty and a high degree of relative deprivation, where there is no consensus as to the agency of the condition it captures, its structures and processes.

The major perspective of underdevelopment can be identified. These are the liberal, the structural and the dependency perspective. The liberal perspective defines under development in terms of the predominance of subsistence production of the international economy in entrenching the condition of underdevelopment. It is that international trade between the advanced industrial economies and the underdeveloped countries (Africa) is biased in favour of the former. The dependency perspective has to do with colonial linkage with African states which has historically assumed different forms, each form having a different conditioning impact on internal structures but reproducing the structure of underdevelopment. This unmediated subjection of various African states to advanced countries. This is followed by financial-industrial dependence which largely retains the colonially derived and externally induced character of primary export production.

Issues of Regional Economic Integration: A simple question that comes to mind is, what are the realities of economic growth and development in Africa? But perhaps, we can put it differently in form of a question that: is there anything one can justify the activities of the various African Leaders towards the anticipation for economic growth and development? This is no doubt a challenging question.

Since independence of most of these Africa states, various [policies]

strategies supposedly aimed at transforming the process into the autocratic path of development have been mostly formulated and executed within the framework of the nation state, in close alliance with foreign governments and international capital. This framework has not only fallen short of expectations, but tended to reproduce and intensify the structures of economic integration and development of African states. Furthermore, it has tended to confirm the reactive character of African economies in the light of external conditioning.

There is a strong argument that the inability to launch the economies of many African countries into the path of self-sustained growth is traceable to the inadequacy of their individual national resources. Hence, pooling such national resources under regional integration schemes is urged as a fundamental strategy for self-reliant development. The underlying assumption is that, an expanded economic size would widen the market for goods and services, stimulate production, induce external economies, and lower the cost of production.

Consequently, countries of Africa are increasingly attracted to regional economic integration as a vehicle for accelerated economic development. In Africa, as Claude Ake (1981) has observed, the idea of regional economic integration as a means of collective self-reliance and development has been lustrous for a long time. What is new however is the current emphasis.

In the past, regional integration was regarded more as a supportive measure rather than a development strategy. What is new now is that regional integration is being talked of rather more seriously as a grand strategy for breaking out of underdevelopment and dependence. As the favourite development strategies failed and the competitive position of the developing countries, particularly in Africa, continued to deteriorate, the idea of regional integration for collective self-reliance has become more attractive.

In this pursuit, African efforts have been quite pronounced. In fact, Kagame (1985) predicates any meaningful economic development in the African sub-region on the outcome of their integration efforts.

As a development strategy, integration schemes among African countries have not borne out their rather optimistic expectations. Vaitsos aptly captures the state of regional integration in underdeveloped areas when he observes that they "find themselves today in various degrees of serious crisis, such as a state of stagnation or in processes of disassociation.

Law in relation to Democratic Leadership and Economic Goals

There is no controversy in acclaiming that democracy; most especially "Liberal democracy" cannot be well sustained without the tenet of the rule of law. The rule of law is a notion of the supremacy of ordinary law as administered by an ordinary court. This presumes no special protection being an Officer, Policeman, the President, Governors, Legislators and even the common man in the street. The doctrine is absolute supremacy of the law. Under this concept, no one can suffer if he does not offend. A person cannot be made to suffer any physical disablement, unless he is duly tried by the competent court and according to the regular law of the land. With the principles of Rule of Law in focus-

- i. Supremacy of the law
- ii. Equality before the law
- iii. Fundamental human right, the potentiality and democracy rests squarely on it.

There are three fundamental questions that can be asked viz-How legal and supreme are laws in most of African continent? In actual sense, does the principle of equality prevail in Africa? To what extent are the Fundamental Human Rights guaranteed in most of the African countries. These are topical questions that need answers when relating the relevance of the rule of law to the operation of democracy in African continent.

If a search-light is directed to most of the political happenings in Africa, one would find out that the rule of law is a sham. Many of the African leaders do not give the rule of law its rightful position in the democratization process. There are cases where judiciary is not allowed to operate independently as constituted. This is no doubt that, this has led to cases of injustice and the denial of justice. On this background that, most of the African leaders had perpetrated various atrocities without any checkmating challenge. This does not augur well for meaningful development in a democratic country.

Analysis of African Leadership and Development:

There is one basic question that remains unsatisfactorily answered to date. Have we succeeded in Africa, securing the most capable leadership with indisputable array of integrity that can lead Africa to the promise land? Or the initiatives of most African Leaders today guarantee professionalism and integrity towards development goals? If we go by the words of Late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe during the days of Nationalist struggle in Nigeria, he said, "The God of Africa has created the Ibos to lead the sons of Africa from the bondage of ages". We can further ask. How realistic is this notable assertion from this

peciall
e of la
ered
ficer,
an in
, no o
comprehensive answers.

physic
ig to
leadership? Chief (Mrs.) Obafemi Awolowo (1995) once observed that, in their
ferences and conduct many in positions of authority in post-independent
Nigeria for example have performed below reasonable expectations. This is true
square of almost every facet of our national life. What prevails is clearly a general failure
of leadership, regulated in the evident indiscipline, corruption, arrogance,
legal a
sensitivity, inconsistency and even incompetence of many men and women who
princip
stitute the Nigerian leadership class. Indeed, with the exception of a few,
an R
among whom both friend and foe would include Chief Awolowo, majority of
that ne
Nigerian leaders have been more interested in pursuing their own narrow and
ration
selfish interest than in promoting the welfare of the generality of our people. This
ugly situation in Nigeria is applicable to most of the African countries today.

in Afri
eaders
trust of people in authority and thus, their inability to mobilize the citizenry in
ess. The
task of sustained national development in democratic settings. The prevailing
nstitution
socio-political uncertainty, the sluggish state of our economy, and the
justice. Insurmountable inequalities that blight and threaten our political economy are all
d vari
largely, the consequences of the Nigerian crisis of leadership.

ell for
How fashionable democracy is, cannot in itself lead to development. The
nasty of democracy is to be operated by competent and well reserved leaders.
These leaders can be regarded as key mobilizers for development. It is a common
verd saying that, in any democratic society, let a fool or a moron contests. For, what is
dership
best administered is best. It follows logically that, the role of effective leadership
id? Or,
a democratic setting and in the promotion of economic and political
alism
development cannot be underestimated. Hence, the need for aggressive and
Dr. Nn
competent leaders who are ready to bridge the gap between policy formulation
The Go
policy actuation or implementation.

lage of
One of the moves of some Africa leaders after gaining power is to look
n this g
ward in search for a home grown economic order. It is their desire to develop the
conomy rapidly by initiating certain targeted economic strategies or certain

developmental agenda. The argument follows therefore that, since Africa lacks the technological know-how and the required financial power to drive the economy, the WEST should come to the rescue. Under the guise of globalisation, the thing ails of Western hegemonies are being further sunk into wearing veins of the helplessness economy of African countries. This does encourage the growth of the economy despite the ability of the African leader to develop the continent.

Oyenekan (2009) has said it all and well acknowledged here by saying that: what is responsible for Africa's backwardness is lack of good leadership. What to be emphasized here is the problem of leadership that is manifesting in many ways. The first is greed. For a very long time, Africans, due to factors which stem from its colonial past and others like tribalism, military dictatorship, inter-tribe intra-border clashes and power-grabbing elite among others have not been able to choose their own leaders in a free and fair manner. Those who get to power do so as a result of foreign backing or indigenous elites with vested interests. Power thus, becomes an instrument of enriching themselves and foreign partners through anti-people policies such as reckless deregulation, privatization programmes etc. The second manifestation of the leadership problem is ignorance. A lot of leaders in Africa are greedy, but they would have devised other means for aggrandizement if they were knowledgeable enough to understand the implications of their commitments and deeds. The Structural Adjustment Programmes of the late 80s and early 90s is a case in point. Many leaders throughout the initiative signed the death warrant of their various economies.

All these problems seem, to have got nothing to do with a system of government that insists on the people's sovereignty. If anything, democracy is against all those factors which favour the wishes of a selected few over the majority. That is why many countries in Europe always conduct a referendum on vital issues affecting them. Many of them like Ireland, Belgium, France, Scotland, Wales, have roundly rejected some of the economic proposals of the EU which they consider inimical. It is instructive to know that contrary to those who claim that democracy as alien to Africa, its entrenchment would have saved the continent from the economic disaster it has become. The wasteland that the Niger-Delta region in Nigeria has turned to is definitely not the failure of democracy. It is the absence of democracy in content for example.

By the nature of democracy, the people are entitled to control their own resources. They have to decide whether capitalism is suitable for them, in

can lack the extent they wish to adopt it, if they so choose. To mortgage the people's economic life away under the guise of market democracy without their consent is into the negation of all that democracy stands for.

The solution to Africa's problem therefore, cannot lie in rejection of democracy. Rather, its features should provide the basis for fashioning out an economic model of development that takes into cognizance the people's culture, geographic, beliefs and temperamental. Each country on its own should do this. This is because many people confuse similarity with sameness. African nations have similar problems, but they are not exactly the same.

A country like Zimbabwe for instance, must seek to reconcile the economic interest of the Black majority with the white forming minority, unlike Nigeria where the Niger Delta issue has become a problem threatening the very existence of the nation. Britain like America is a democratic state, but similarity ends in content. They are realistic enough to know that the form of governance differs, and is constantly determined by factors and circumstance available in each society at any given time.

It may well be that, the people will settle for capitalism with variations that reduce the effects of its evils and curb the predatory consequences of foreign economic domination. After all, many Western democracies are also capitalist without blatantly exploiting each other. The relationship they maintain is sustained by mutual cooperation and respect. Also, many of hitherto developing nations in the East now referred to as the Asian tigers, opted to invest in a system that leveraged on its prospects on the path towards development, such that many of them are frantically exploring capital outlets where minimum investment can yield maximum returns. Today, they compete with the West for the remainder of Africa's economic life.

This is the challenge that African leaders face. The people must determine their economic life, given the strategic importance it has for their survival. Doing this however, is a continent on leadership not bogged down by corruption and ignorance. To this end, we are of the opinion that character and competence are the most important factors in solving the leadership problem beset by the continent. Character on the part of the leadership addresses the problem of corruption, which has been the bane of the continent for so long. Leadership anchored on good character places the interest of the people above that of the self. It is apparent that the gale of looting across the continent is as a result of absence of character in leadership. To have is to place a higher premium

on integrity and service than a heartless appropriation of the people's patrimony for self-alone.

However, it will be enough for such a leadership to be willing to serve the people. It must have a proper understanding of the dynamics of the continent's underdevelopment in a rapidly globalizing world. It must equally be wary of alliances and agreements that look harmless on the surface but portend harm to its people. Of course, there will also be internal challenges which if not deftly handled, erode the much needed support of the followership that must necessarily be galvanized if sustainable development is to be achieved. The leadership must put in place measures anchored on democratic tenets, in which the people chart the course of economic recovery that will significantly reduce the gulf between haves and have-nots. Intellectuals must also insist on the entrenchment of democratic principles capable of setting the people free. Democracy, like any other theory should not be shielded from criticism, but then it must be done in a way that strengthens it rather than provide the intellectual ambience convenient for despots to exploit.

Observations, Suggestions and Conclusions

It is a clear manifestation that most of the African leaders in the past and even present are not competent enough to lead their people. The incompetence has nothing to do with educational background or lack of conviviality to discharge their administrative duties rather, inability to dance correctly to the tune of modern functions. That is to say, inability to adhere strictly to their expected administrative functions. Instead of ruling according to the rule of the game, they perpetrate unlimited atrocities. Forgetting that no evil can go unpunished. Every evil done by man will be redressed. If not now, then certainly later; if not by man then by God for the victory of evil over good can only be temporary.

It is on the basis of the above preliminary observation that African leaders in the recent past have made public commendations to be aware of the lessons drawn from the conviction of two former African leaders. Sixty-four-year-old former Liberian President, Charles Taylor, was on May 30, 2012 sentenced to 50 years jail term for committing war crimes in Sierra Leone by the International Court of Justice sitting in The Hague, Netherlands. Also, an Egyptian court sentenced 84-year old former Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak, to imprisonment in June 2012. African Heads of State and Government have a lot to learn from the misfortunes of Mubarak and Taylor. For me, the main lesson is

imon

Abuse of power will no longer be condoned by the international community. The conviction of Mubarak as an "accessory to murder" because he failed to stop the killings of his people who were demanding for justice, fairness and equity shows that indeed Nigeria leadership could be held to account for the numerous deaths and injuries of unarmed protesters during the June 12, 1993 political crisis, the several labour organized protests over fuel price hike and indeed, a weeklong January 2012 anti-subsidy removal revolt.

Also, considering that Taylor was convicted for aiding and abetting crime in another country, African leaders need to be careful henceforth in intervening in conflicts in other countries. The Economic Community of West African States, the African Union and other regional and sub-regional groupings like ECOWAS need to impress it on their members to respect supremacy of their countries' laws, equality of all citizens before the law as well as fundamental human rights as enshrined in their constitutions. It is most unfortunate that, Africa has been the theatre of crises with coups and counter coups, wars, repressions, famine, droughts, endemic corruption, pandemic diseases and misgovernance. African leaders owe it a duty to their citizens to run open society where civil liberties are guaranteed and rule of law obeyed in truth and indeed.

African states suffer a crisis of identity as a result of the insensitivity, dishonesty, fraud, injustice and force with which her existence was birthed and maintained without the consent of the people. This reality has created a stillborn administration that lacks definition which many people feel no sense of belonging.

We need to set out, to create a constitutional structure that would support a robust democratic government. Such national dialogue might bring us more by meaningful discussion of public issues than that provided by opinion polls. We should encourage programmes to bring together a cross section of citizens for an exchange of views with experts and advocates on issue of major public importance, such as the rule of law, economy, power sector, tax policy, security, foreign policy, etc. We should publicize the evidence and the arguments they considered, as well as the conclusions they reached. This sort of deliberative assembly might produce more meaningful, deliberate polling and also provide a basis for more trenchant responses to public issues. Sincere electoral reforms should be a major concern for those who seek a more effective popular democracy. At a minimum, a healthy democracy and a vibrant political system require more than lip service and political "big mouthing". The problems with the present system are more obvious than the solutions. Because the problems are important and complex, the work of

those seeking to address the situation genuinely deserves our careful attention.

Under our current political arrangement in Africa, if the political leaders continue their free ride of corruption, misrule and insecurity, the rising wave of antagonist and disappointment will predictably bring untold consequences. The aftermath is unpredictable but it could include the final burial of a nation that never was. In the end, the gluttonous political leaders who refused to learn from history will have only themselves to blame.

In Africa, it is very much doubtful, if we shall break the vicious circle of poverty. Our level of industrialization is still very low and thus, promotes unemployment. I therefore advise that, urgent action should be taken to address the problem of policy gap between policy formulation and implementation. Governments should work assiduously towards an actionable industrial policy and a robust industrial revolution plan, tailored along specific sectors in order to promote special incentives to each sub-group in the manufacturing sector. This, without doubt, will accelerate the growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and hence reduction to the minimum high cost of living in Africa.

Furthermore, Bukola Saraki (2012) made a very useful observation that was of the opinion that, effective leaders are very aware of the impact of their words. What a leader does and what a leader says, are amplified and exaggerated by their constituents. Given this, if leaders don't take charge of their words and carefully shape their messages, it has the potential of being misinterpreted by the people. Communication is the greatest tool in the hands of transformational leaders. He observed further that African Leaders are expected to increase the frequency of media chats, for more opportunities, with people. They should be more assertive and resolute in their words without becoming a dictator. But more importantly, leaders must ensure that any promise they make to the people is kept so as to increase their trust. Without that, leaders will be seen, as taking without action. Great leaders are made by their litany of vows and promises.

He stated finally that leadership that can develop Africa must build bridges and not walls. Leaders are in the business of building bridge to the future. This requires the breaking down of wall! These walls include walls of distrust, intolerance, sectarian chauvinism, bigotry, nepotistic leadership and dereliction of merit. Change will always require the destruction of walls and the building of bridges. One of the best ways to do this is through effective and regular conversations. Our leaders must learn to talk more about the change they desire to make. Influencing people and not foisting positions down their throat is the

ion.

leader Africa awaits the emergence of this leadership for economic transformation and wave development.

On corruption, something drastic should be done to put an end to it. A country can never witness any rapid development. Most of African leaders (past and present) are corrupt. For example in Nigeria, corruption is seen as the biggest problem facing the nation. Despite the many promises made by the President to fight corruption, his actions and body language, a term which has become hackneyed in the Nigerian parlance, do not show that he is angry at the administration's governance at all levels. What the people have seen is occasional dismissal of a government official by the President with no official reason given and no prosecution is done. In a matter of weeks or months, the dismissed official is assigned a new post by the same government that dismissed him or her. That has not given the people the needed belief that the fight against corruption, the economy will not meet the projected vision of being among the 20 biggest economies by 2020, because much of the resources will be stolen, while the needed foreign direct investment may not come as required.

Our leaders should know that the cost of living in most of our African countries today is at alarming rate. Many are living in abject poverty without hope words describing the present economic crunch. Worst still, the rate of unemployment is very high and uncontrollable in most of our countries. More importantly to note, a leader who has led to the emergence of "Boko Haram" to mention a few. African leaders should recognize that if not checked in time, our desire for change or a better life in our economy would be a mere dream.

It is doubtful to say that Africa has arrived! We are yet to get to our destination and our hope is still hanging and that, our anticipated development has gone with our way. Time is running fast and we are not moving with time. We, as a state of emergency should start to address the sustainability of the following-

Formation and implementation of coherent public policies that can guarantee socio-economic development.

Communication gap must be bridged and leaders should endeavour to carry people along in the course of policy imitative and implementation

The issue of corruption must be vigorously tackled in order to maintain a decent society.

The rule of law must be allowed to flourish in all ramifications.

Independence of the judiciary must be maintained and Fundamental Human Rights must be guaranteed at all costs.

- (v) Policies should be put in place vis-à-vis appropriate strategies to fight various social canker-worms or vices in our society.
- (vi) There should be free and fair election so that those people considered competent and capable are allowed to taste power.
- (vii) The issue of security should be taken seriously. Food security and security should be seen as circularly causal. To this end, effective policies should be formulated to address the problem of food insufficiency. This is because, an hungry nation is an underdeveloped one.
- (viii) There should be a change in our mono-cultural economy-that is to say agrarian economy should be diversified at all cost.
- (ix) Economic integration of African Countries through comparative typology should be put in place so as to make Africa free of external domination.
- (x) I would rather suggest that what Africa needs mostly now-is TRADE not AID. Most of the aids coming to Africa are bait to usurp our economic potentialities. We need to encourage more indigenous investment through rapid trade to temper down the present trend of economic domination by the developed countries.

All the suggested points raised above should be given priority by the Leaders of Africa. Democracy, no doubt, has been firmly instituted but what we need mostly now, is how to utilize the gains of democracy through effective leadership. This must be done without any further delay. The time has come.

To conclude this paper, we can narrow down our suggestions for a quest for a true leadership in Nigeria. We should not close our eyes as if Nigeria has the rewarding leadership expected. This with other reasons invoked my thought to make a reference to an interesting piece written by Dan Amor (2012) recently. His suggestion goes thus: Nigeria needed a man whose personality might transcend the contradictions and mysteries which could reach into the alienated circuits of the underground. This is because only a hero can capture the secret imagination of the people, and be so good for the vitality of his nation. A hero embodies the future and so allows each private mind the liberty to consider its fantasy and find a way to grow.

The implication is that, without such a hero, the nation turns shallow. Ibrahim Babangida, for example, was not such a hero. He was not sufficiently larger than life. He inspired familiarity without excitement. He was a chameleon while in power, but his proportions came from cunning. And because of his

of fight to use of insincerity, Babangida as a national leader was full of salty commonsense and small-minded uncertainty. Little wonder he declared himself "an evil genius". He is full of tragic-comic mix-ups.

On the other hand, Sani Abacha has been the anti-hero but he was only the under-as-regulator. Nations do not necessarily and inevitably seek for heroes. In times of dull anxiety such as we are, one is more likely to look for security than dramatic confrontation. And Abacha could stand as a hero only for that small number of Nigerians who are bereft of imagination.

Talk of Shehu Shagari, in Nigerian national life, the unspoken emptiness of the Second Republic took place between the large city of corruption and the small town of Hypocrisy: corruption was dynamic, orgiastic, settling, explosive and accelerating to the psyche. But hypocrisy was narrow, cautious and planted in the life-logic of the lazy yes-men and political jobbers. Rather than retard the expansion of these two weapons of failure, Shagari could not but beautify them with colour and character, thus elevating them into a novelty.

It was Muhammed Murtala who was close to a national hero but was prematurely expired by the evil machinations of imperial forces. Obafemi Awolowo made the list at the regional level but he was stopped by feudal rulers. Muhammadu Buhari was a twin-faced Janus who was neither here, nor there. Nigeria needed him, not Nigerians. What was even worse, he did not come! While the nation as a hero might with a dramatic dialogue as the result (which is for a season what Olusegun Obasanjo had pretended to do in 2005). He merely excluded one part of the nation from the other by banning free speech. The result was the silencing of the best minds and bravest impulses from the faltering history that is presently in the making.

For Obasanjo, his regime was not the first to witness corruption, but it culminated in its proliferation. An epoch of colorless, sanctified modes and styles was the nation's fate. He knows that he cannot be counted as a hero in the true sense of the world. The failure is because, corruption continued to escalate, unemployment was in increase, and a water failure was unlimited etc during his eight years presidency (1999-2007).

Nigeria's desperate need between now and 2015 is to take an existential plunge, to walk into the nightmare, and face that terrible logic of history which demands that the country and its people must become more and more extraordinary and more adventurous in search of good materials for leadership.

The search for a national hero must be sincere and total and it must begin with the late President Umaru Yar'adua would have made a good leader but for