Development of Underdevelopment, Poverty of Political Leadership, the Bane of Sustainable Development in Africa: A Survey of the Nigerian Situation

By

Anthony E. Nkwocha, Ph.D
Department Of History and International Studies
Alvan Ikoku Federal University of Education, Owerri
Email: Tonynkwocha@Gmail.Com
Phone: 07061398206, 08174520213

Achubie Chinedu Remigius
Depatment of Political Science
Alvan Ikoku Federal University of Education
Phone No: 08030745297
&
Durugo, Chikezie
Department Of History and International Studies
Imo State University, Owerri
Phone No: 08038814513

Abstract:

Historians Social Scientists and Experts in Political Economy are in agreement that poverty of political leadership and lack of patriotic leaders are responsible for social and economic stagnation plaguing many countries in the African continent. Thus, leadership failures exhitibited by African political elites have been blamed by political pundits and scholars for their inability to put their nation states on the part of economic growth and prosperity. In short, the poverty of politics amongst African states in the post-independence era has been the root cause of underdevelopment with high inflationary trends, poor Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Per capita Income that is low. Regrettably, roguish political leaders in sub-Saharan African countries have placed their citizens at the receiving end of poverty as was the case with the exploitative trans-atlantic slave trade, colonial imperialism and neo-colonialism perpetuated by European imperial countries. This paper argues that African leadership failure impedes sustainable social and economic growth in African countries due to endemic corruption and squandermania perpetrated by its political leaders. It spot lights Africa's leadership challenges such as canker of corruption and problems posed by political instability that are orchestrated by inept, corrupt and

inefficient leadership. Finally, this paper submits that for African states to overcome the syndrome of acute hunger and starvation, armed banditry and kidnapping, proliferation of arms and terrorist activities against the citizens caused by kleptocratic governance, there is the need for pursuit of a stable political order and exemplary leadership that can promote sustainable economic growth devoid of atmosphere of tyranny, anarchy, social instability and kleptocratic squadermania. For the purpose of achieving this paper's set objectives, historical and thematic research methodologies were adopted. It, also employed inter-disciplinary approach in interpreting findings and equally relied on secondary sources of data.

Keywords, Development, Underdevelopment, Leadership.

Introduction:

…Yet the thing that lives in history, the thing that goes to the credit of man, is not how much wealth he has piled up for himself, is not how comfortable he has loved but how good he has done for the rest of humanity. The present world generally worships power, influence and wealth. It is very easy to find sycophants who will fawn before such and who will pay unreasonable compliments but those who encourage and help the poor are few and when they do engage themselves in such labour there is nothing else transient for them but condemnation.[1]

Sub-Saharan African countries are currently been plagued by poverty of political leadership which has inflicted untold economic hardship, poverty, poor living standard and protracted cycle of insecurity due to kleptocratic government and mismanagement of state funds. Different schools of thought namely the internalist school and the externalist school have tried to excavate the root cause of leadership failure and its unwholesome effect on the socio-economic development of the countries in the African continent. The internalist school with its Eurocentive background argue that continental poverty now plaguing the Black world should be traced to the poverty of African leadership. They postulated that African leaders blindfolded by greed and squardernania have failed to optimally utilize Africa's abundant human, ecological and mineral resources which are the potentials for greatness. There is no gain saying the fact that the political leadership of many African countries seems abinitio to have been hijacked by elites who captured political power as mere protégés of the colonialists. These crop of inglorious leaders who became dictators in their respective home countries

perpetuated the economic strangulation of their nation states by the metropolitan powers through their tacit support of such agencies like Trans National companies (TNC's) and other monolithic capitalist institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the world Bank. Contrarily, the externalist school whose ideological frame work appears 'Afro centric' in nature blame Africa's leadership failure and economic woes on such external historical under currents like the slave trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Most critics of political developments in African countries are of the opinion that political leadership in Black Africa after independence has been replete with poor leadership, bribery, corruption and untold squardermania. Foremost amongst these critics is Chinua Achebe who asserts that 'the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership'. To Achebe, the Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility and the challenges of personal example which are the hallmarks of true leadership.[2] Achebe, blames the failure of political leadership in Africa and particularly in Igbo land on the colonialists who out of sheer recklessness destroyed the Igbo leadership structure and replaced it with mushroom kingship.[3] He buttressed his points by affirming that lack of real leaders in Igbo land goes back of course to the beginning of colonial administration. Once the white man had crushed Igbo resistance, it was relatively easy for him to locate upstarts and ruffians in the community who would uphold his regime at the expense of their own people.[4] Similarly, Lucius Ugorji while acknowledging that Africa's economic woes are self-inflicted, thinks, that western powers have continued to exercise an over-riding influence over, the political governance of many countries in Africa on account of their vested interests in these nations. This have taken the form of behind the scenes manipulative and controlling roles through multilateral agencies such as International Monetary Fund (IMF), imposing leaderships favourable to, and working for, the interests of western imperialism. By this means, they overtly or covertly compromise corrupt political elites who misrule their home countries through the tacit support of powerful western nation.

Furthermore, Claude Ake, in support of Achebe and Ugorji opines that Africa's leadership problems and socio-economic woes can be traced to the trans-Atlantic slave trade, colonialism and the web of neo-colonialism which created room for

such stereotypes like cultural imperialism, political and economic subordination of colonized states even in the post colonial era. Ake', bemoans the evils of colonial imperialism and neo-colonialism in the following manner,

> It is the mode of production associated with colonial imperialism an neo-colonialism which has had the most decisive impact on Africa's history. The integration of Africa into the world capitalist system by western colonialism and imperialism seems to be *historic forces* which had the most serious influence in shaping the economic and political development of contemporary Africa.[6]

This research work hopes to vividly anayse Africa's leadership challenges and its impact on sustainable development in the continent. It will provide valuable answers to certain pertinent questions: To what extent has poverty of leadership legitimized corruption and political ineptitude in the body-politic of African countries in the post-independence era? What are the possible consequences of Africa's leadership failure on the social, political, economic development of African states in the post-independence era? What measures can be taken to stem the tide of poverty of leadership plaguing many African countries in the bid to promote sustainable socio-economic development in the post independence era?

Conceptual Clarifications

- **The Concept of Leadership:**

The New Oxford Dictionary of English (NODE) defines leadership as 'the action of leading a group of people or an organization, the state or position of being a leader.[7] A leader is someone who has the ability to direct and influence others and leadership is about guiding the led to accomplish a common task or objective whilst encouraging and helping them throughout the process.[8] Political leadership entails the ability of political leaders to effectively and optimally manage available human and material resources with the sole intent of providing sustainable government structure whereby the welfare, social security and economic well being of the citizenry are adequately catered for. Political leadership that is populist-driven creates room for durable political institutions and economic prosperity because political leaders are accountable to the electorates while political leaders that are not accountable to the people always slide into dictatorship or totalitarian regimes as prevalent in third world African

countries, has a bearing on poor governance and are always bereft of economic development.[9] For instance in many African states, the citizens lack great trust in politicians who showcase inferior leadership style. Chronic absence of innovative leadership brings to bear, poor problem solving mechanisms which seriously affect the social and economic fortunes of the citizens. Quality leadership which is lacking in African states south of the sahara is therefore the manifestation of the leaders influence on followers. The fate of a good leader is always conjoined with that of followers. In short, what makes a good leader is ability to inspire followership without coercive force.[10]

Leadership theorists and scholars like J. Masciulli, M.A Molchanow and W.A Knight have given serious insights on the transformational roles of good leaders in modern democratic governments. Hence they opine that good leaders demonstrate transformational leadership whereby political leaders ensure turn around political fortunes of nations, thereby forstering unity among adversaries and creating an enabling environment for economic and social development in abundance.[11] Many African countries since after the attainment of independence have continued to experience dwindling economic growth and mass poverty, due to absence of purposeful leadership that can create wealth and prosperity through the pursuit of laudable economic programmes. African states have suffered greatly in the hands of roguish leaders who have grossly mismanaged abundant human and material resources thereby plunging their states into conflictual situations and fratricidal wars, these crop of inglorious leaders include the likes of Mobute Sese Seko of Zaire, Emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa of Central African Republic (CAR), Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Sani Abacha and Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, Joseph Kabila of Zaire as well as Idi Amin Dada of Uganda. These kleptocratic leaders who acted brazenly as dictators were never accountable to laws of their countries nor even their citizens ended up as looters of the treasures of their states.[12]

- **Development:**

Michael Todaro conceives development as a multi dimensional process involving changes in structure, attitude and institution as well as the acceleration of economic growth, reduction of inequality and eradication of absolute poverty.[13] In essence, development must represent the entire gamut of change by which an

entire social system strive to actualize diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups within that system moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory towards a situation of life regarded as materially and spiritually better.[14] Development also occurs when a more exploitative social order is replaced by a less exploitative social order or when an exploitative social order is replaced by a non-basic exploitative social order.[15] Development has core values such as the ability to meet basic needs like food shelter and protection, self esteem, freedom from servitude, the sense of emancipation from alienating material conditions of life and from social servitude to nature, ignorance, misery and dogmatic beliefs.[16] A human society is developed when its political leaders optimally harness or exploit the natural resources of the society thereby paving the way for marked improvements in the living standard of the citizenry. Also human societies are deemed developed when political leaders enable citizens of the polity to possess the capacity, skill and entrepreneurial will to realize their inherent potentials and cope with the changing circumstances of their lives. A nation state is developed when the government in power undertakes measures to steer the human instincts for self preservation for the good of all stake holders.[17] Every developed country has a form of government that is good and creates room for increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well being for its citizens.[18]

- **Underdevelopment:**

This is always associated with squalor , diseases, unnecessary deaths, hopelessness, low income, poor housing, premature mortality and under employment.[19] It also encompasses servility towards men whose decisions govern the course of events of hopelessness hunger and natural catastrophe.[20] Underdevelopment also occur when a social organization or individuals lack the will power or freedom to harness natural resources due to the influence of a powerful or dominant interest group. Thus, communities that are prevented from having fair share of bountiful natural resources as a result of corrupt political leadership, suffer from chronic poverty, desperation and despair. For instance, the political leadership of many African states work collaboratively with foreign Multinational Oil Corporations (MNOCs) to exploit the mineral resources of their home countries. In Nigeria, huge revenue that accrue from petroleum resources gotten from the Niger Delta region have not been invested in the region to develop

infrastructure, create wealth and employment opportunities due to kleptocratic governance. In the Niger Delta region, the deeping cases of underdevelopment traits and environmental hazards suggest serious development paradox. The developmental challenges plaguing the Niger Delta region has been very worrisome in view of the fact that the Niger Delta has under its belly 96 oil installation, a petrochemical plant, two refineries and fertilizer plant. Sadly, there are inadequate public service like electricity, pipe-borne water and health services.[21] In spite of the fact that the federal government of Nigeria use Development Agencies like Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) to provide basic infrastructure, wealth creation and reduction of poverty, the fundamental truth is that the Nigerian state and the multinational oil corporations have not done enough to develop the Niger Delta region as the area is still suffering from administrative neglect, crumbling, social infrastructure and services, high unemployment rate, social deprivation, abject poverty, filth squalor and endemic conflict.[22]

Theoretical Framework:

In an attempt to present a vivid analysis of poverty of political leadership, the bane of sustainable development in Africa, the researchers relied on the "Social Contract Theory" formulated by Jean Jacques Rousseau to help us understand how leadership failure in many African states have impeded social and economic development as well as remedial strategies that can stem the tide of Africa's leadership challenges in the bid to promote sustainable economic development.

J.J Rousseau postulates that human society is an organic whole into which each individual transfers his interest to the general will of his group. He opined that an individual's particular will is that which constitutes his or her private and personal interest, which naturally tends only to his or her own advantage. The will of all members of a group is the aggregate of the particular wills of each of that group member. The "general will" in the views of Rousseau would cover such fundamental matters as constitution of the state.[23] To Rousseau, there is an intimate link between our individual characters and the society in which we live. The move to civil society changes our character for the better, and thus obeying the general will is a matter of obeying the worthy and worthwhile style of our nature. *The Social Contract Theory* causes individual members of an organic society

to loose the freedom to follow ones personal inclinaltions. The new thought, however is that this loss is small compared to the gain of real freedom, that is the freedom to operate within the benefits which emerge from the civil state.[24]

Rousseau's *Social Contract Theory* affirms that a community of citizens is unique and coeval with its members, they neither make it nor have rights against it. It is an 'association' not an 'aggregation', a moral and collective personality. Thus, *the Social Contract Theory* idealized the relationship between the people and the state on the basis of rule of law and popular sovereignty. The people are the sovereign body of the state; it is their general will which is the law. However, the people are a cumbersome instrument with which to enact the law and run a state effectively, hence a government is needed. The government is the servant of the people; it is there simply to enact the general will. It possesses no independent sovereign authority and may be changed or abolished at the will of the people.[25] The *Social Contract Theory* equally asserts that human beings must be made citizens before they can be made men, but in order that they may be citizens, governments must give liberty under the law, must provide for material welfare and remove gross inequality in the distribution of wealth, and must create a system of public education by which children are 'accustomed to regard their individuality only in its relation to the body of the state.[26]

Relating Rousseau's *Social Contract Theory* to Africa's leadership crisis and failure to the civil state, it is a truism that many African leaders are dictators and their leadership styles fail to recognize the freedom, liberty and constitutional rights of African citizens they govern. Political leaders in Africa neglect the fact that the 'Rule of law' and popular sovereignty espoused by Rousseau's *Social Contract Theory* remain the hallmark of good governance while bad governance subsists when leaders misappropriate public funds by adopting the exploitative blueprints of the colonialists. Thus, African leaders as 'pirates in power' till date do not recognize the fact that the 'general will' of the citizens greatly diminish the importance of sovereign government. Critically, Rousseau's philosophy that sovereignty belongs to the people as a 'corporate body' while government is merely an agent having delegated power which can be withdrawn or modified as the will of the people dictates, thereby reducing psychological egoism and

promoting ethical egoism that is promised on the philosophy of '*impossibillum nulla est obligatio* (nobody has a duty to do what is not possible).[27]

Historical Perspective of Leadership Crisis in Africa.

> …Leadership in Africa must endeavour to come to terms with facts concerning corruption to spot the need for its outright eradication. Africa requires leaders who by virtue of their learning have come to realize that wealth and power are transitory and that the legacy of any achievement lie with what changes one is capable of bringing about to impact on peoples lives and for which they may be fondly remembered.[28]

At the present state of our knowledge, it is very problematic to situate the horizon of good and bad governance within a wider universal framework. Political scientists, economic historians and political philosophers are in agreement that the leader's approach to governance and his relationship with the governed gives a lucid picture of good governance that is people-oriented or bad governance that thrives in non-populist policies or programmes. Hence, Innocent Asouzu asserts that the issue of good governance can be articulated as the capacity for units to build a mutual complementary harmony within any given frame work. This mutual complementarity subsists in the form of 'ibuanyi ndanda'. Good governance entails seeking harmony in complementarities where the leadership leads selflessly and also uses his position to improve the social well being of the led.[29]

Contrarily bad governance, entails absence of complementarity and harmonious relationship between the leader and the led. A bad leader is that leader who adheres to the instincts of self presentation to the extent that they always seek to put their interests first at the expense of the common good. Within the context of Nigerian political experience, good governance in a democratic regime subsists in the mechanism put in place by the ruling political party to address such basic issues as corruption, violence, graft, embezzlement, injustice, nepotism, bribery, tribalism, wastefulness, recklessness, insincerity, negligence, 419, colonialism, imperialism, slavery etc. [30]

Further more, Social critics, political scientists, Pan-Africanists and historians alike blame the absence of transformational leadership in African states on the coercive imposition of colonial structure, the manipulative techniques of the colonial transfer-process and the exuberant air of resignation with which the immediate post-independence leadership accepted to operate neo-colonial institutions without due consideration of their relevance to the local environment.[31] Nigerian Leaders from Tafawa Balewa (1960 – 1966) to Mohammadu Buhari (2015 – 2023) represent 'An Enfooled Generation of leaders' who behaved as amateurs, sought guidance and tutelage from our erstwhile oppressors; and finally spread the falsehood that Nigeria would not move into the future without the continued tutorship (mentorship) of the imperialist countries who were consistently regarded as friends and masters. Regrettably, Balewa's government in Lagos was a visionless government that was ruled from London and Balewa's open-door foreign policy programmes integrated the Nigerian state into the world capitalist system inorder to impress her majesty's government in London. Hence Balewa's woeful failure in the conduct of a head-count for Nigerian citizens as well as conduct of a single orderly election in 1964. Balewa's lopsided foreign policy programme and the pursuit of neo-colonial agenda of western powers culminated in series of inter-communal riots. Balewa's short-sighted neo-colonial foreign policy caused Nigeria to support the murder of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo and the mobilization of international solidarity for the racist minority regime in Zimbabwe.[32]

In the same vein J.T.U. Aguiyi Ironsi in a show of political naivety successfully neutralized the revolutionary clout of Lumumbist forces in the Congo. Equally, Gen Yakubu Gowon's regime (1966 – 1975) mismanaged the oil boom era and supervised native elite's predation of the economy through contract awards and the institution of kickbacks. General Murtala's reformist administration (1975 – 1976) was cut by reactionary elements in the military who believed in incompetence and behavourial calculus of bourgeois enfoolment. Gen. Obasanjo's regime (1976 – 1979) starved universities of funds and taunted the inhabitants of the Ivory Tower with a view to making the fool out of them but midwifed the birth of democratic rule led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1979.[33] Buharia's military administration (1983 – 1985), truncated the Second Republican democratic governance and tried to internalize in Nigerians the spirit of patriotism and

nationalism within the perspectives of War Against Indiscipline (WAI). Buhari's long retrogressive rights of repressive and tyrannical government paved the way for General Babangida's coup de tat (1984 – 1993).[34] The evil and stink that characterized Babangida's military junta truncated nationhood thereby setting in motion other ineffective and corrupt leaders like Ernest Shonekan, who headed the Interim National Government (ING) (1993), General Sani Abacha (1993 – 1998) and General Abdulsami Abubakar (1998 – 1999).

Nigerian transition to democratic governance in October, 1999 ended in producing leaders who lack patriotic instincts and have failed to navigate pathways to overall social, economic and political development. Nigeria cannot be fooled, to believe that political leaders like Olusegun Obasanjo (1999 – 2007), Umar Musa Yar'Adua (2007 – 2010), Goodluck Jonathan (2011 – 2015) and Muhammadu Buhari (2015 – 2023) had led them to the Promised Land. The tragedy of the Nigerian nation-state is a complicated political superstructure whose generation born and yet to be born have been coerced into the syndrome of plunder and loot, who almost involuntarily espouse theoretical justification for those exploitative actions which characterize the managers of the neo-colonial state.[35] Similarly, Marcus Garvey reaffirmed that black leadership failure worldwide is as a result of imposition of political power by colonized societies whose political culture and institutions are quite distinct from pre-colonial political institution of the Black world. Garvey bemoaned uniform pitfalls of political leadership imposed on black societies by imperial west in the following manner;

> …the destinies of blacks still do not rest in black minds or in black hands for that matter. As recipients of the junk left over from the international power metropoles, black societies still are dependent for the generation of wealth and knowledge on others. Even the resources that are found in black worlds are not controlled by black leaders as these have been either mortgaged out for generations to come, or blacks lack the intellectual to claim their hentage, because they lack the knowledge of what their forebears have done in the past, what they are capable of doing now and what future generations of blacks will be able to do if their profligate tendencies can be tempered with realism of human transcience.[36]

Political leadership in many African countries have promoted neo-colonial "clientelism" instead of good governance and sustainable development. Neo-colonialism encourages pirates to capture political power in many independent African states. These pirates personified as dictators like Samuel Doe of Liberia and Amilca Cabral of Guinea Bissau, possessed the strength to seize power but not the wisdom to control it. These calibre of leaders through the support of their former colonialists like France, Britain and Portugal seized power and greed sets in, whether for more power or its fruits. Consequently, European imperial powers promoted neo-colonial "clientelism", through the establishment of authoritarian bureaucratic structures in Africa who protected their economic interests by making sure that they benefitted from an international trading relationship where the client states exported only primary products.[37] Lending credence to the view that neo-colonialism has consolidated the culture of political kleptocrcy, Muhammad Asadi cited in Ogbunwezeh asserts that, the elite in most of the 'Third world countries are a part of the 'second tier' west, who has translated the western cause in their respective domains to perpetuate' third world poverty.[38] Neo-colonial political elites across Africa lack patriotic zeal for pursuit of genuine social and economic policies that will improve the well being of the citizens they govern, what rather prevailed was political 'clientelism' where citizens engage in dog fight for the spoils of political power. African leaders as hegemons and dishonest bureaucrats toyed with good governance and always tried to maximize the support of local leaders by allocating state resources to them as a form of political patronage as a means of out competing rival politicians. Thus, the race for the spoils of power or of political office became the motive force of political leadership in supposedly parliamentary, presidential or despotic military governments.[39] The overbearing syndrome of political 'clientelism' that are exploited by political 'cronies' 'jobbers' and 'opportunists' posed ever growing threats to committed political leadership and good governance in many African states in the post-independence era.

Africa's leadership Challenges: Issues and Analysis

> …A fool in power cannot awaken resistance against injustice and cannot fight corruption. Once in power (ie the foolish political leader) hatches deliberate mismanagement of the national wealth, that controls the bureaucracy, the educational system, and the

> distributive sector of the economy, the mass media and the entire apparatus of the state. Once in power, the perpetuates his own breed and aborts the revolutionary impulse by engraving nepotism and narrow minded provinicialism on the body politics…[40]

The preponderance of visionless leadership in the African continent has stunted developmental efforts of many African countries. Poverty of leadership in Africa has failed to launch African states on the path of economic prosperity, political stability, technological revolution and moral rebirth. The challenges of leadership in Africa are outlined below;

- **Canker of corruption and institutional malaise:** The tragedy of African Politics since after independence is traceable to corrupt African political elite who are highly involved in squander- mania. Many scholars in Africa and Nigeria are of the opinion, that the leadership class in Nigeria lack moral and administrative courage to tackle corruption. Ugorji, bemoans this unfortunate trend in the Nigerian political scene in this manner;

> …we must acknowledge the existence of poor governance in most countries in Africa because of the sheer incompetence, the moral bankruptcy and lack of vision. We must declare that the corruption level of many politicians in Africa has gone beyond scales and measures. The masses also watch with deep concern how their national resources are stolen by some of their unscrupulous leaders and stashed away in foreign banks with the active connivance of western bank officials.[41]

A leader must not try to cushion himself (by amassing wealth) against the future. Though the temptation is great, there is nothing more counter – productive in leadership than corruption.[42] Similarly, Kwashi in *This Day* accused the political class and Nigerian leaders in all sectors of the society of being responsible for the increasing wave of corruption. Kwashi argued that as long as Nigerians and indeed Africans continue to pay lip service to fighting corruption without purging themselves first, the menace of corruption will continue to live with us.[43]

The first Republic that lasted between 1960 and 1966 was characterized by economic exploitation, social injustice and political authoritananism.[44] Ethnic based political parties that emerged in the first Republic include; Northern People

Congress (NPC) for the North, National Council of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC) for the East and the Action Group (AG) for the west. There were also pockets of minority parties like United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) and Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). These ethnic-based political parties indulged in massive rigging and electoral fraud. These parties over-heated the Nigerian polity by encouraging electoral violence. Having veiled themselves in parochialism and tribalism, selfishness, greed, corruption and sectionalism, they disrupted elections, hijacked electoral boxes, stole electoral materials and printed voting cards. It was during the first Republic that the word 'rigging' got into the political vocabulary of Nigerian politics.[45] Majority of the first Republican politicians engaged in untold squadermania and fraud. The likes of Dr. K. O. Mbadiwe – Federal Representative and Minister of Aviation and Chief Festus Okotie Eboh, then Federal Minster were accused of illegal accumulation of wealth. The Great Zik of Africa was also investigated and indicted by Forster Sutton's Tribunal for siphoning public funds into the African Continental Bank (ACB).[46] In the defunct Western Region, the Cooker Commission Report of 1962 indicted Chief Obafemi Awolowo for economic and financial crimes up to a whooping sum of Six and half million pounds.[47] Thus, electoral fraud, violence, profligacy, total neglect of the Nigerian electorates caused major Chukwuma Nzeogwu too abruptly sack the first Republican government on January 15th, 1966.

Major General J.T.U Aguiyi Ironsi's regime which lasted for about seven months set up different Commissions of Inquiry whose findings indicted government's establishments/parastatals – the Nigeria Railway Corporation, the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, The Nigeria Airways and Nigeria Ports Authority (NPA) over glaring cases of graft. Gen Gowon's regime also instituted the Public Officers (Investigation of Assets)Decree No.5 of 1966 to enforce the forfeiture of corruptly acquired assests.[48] Gowon's anti-corruption strategies was very ineffective because many corrupt-minded politicians and top members of the military elite exploited the opportunities provided by the oil boom to suck the nation's treasury dry. Nigeria had glimpses of Political leadership that sustained civil society, order, good governance, respect for leadership and disciplined citizenry during the short periods of Murtala Mohammed/Obasanjo rule in the mid 1970's and Buhari/Idiagbon rule in the early 1980's as both regimes battled corruption with vigour.[49] However, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) led government which

Buhari/Idiagbon regime toppled thrived seriously in corruption. Shagari's leadership tenure was neck deep into corruption as he never cared whether the moral war on corruption was voted up or down. Chinua Achebe intimated how the then Federal Minister of Communication, Mr. Audu Ogbe, stated that 'the Federal Government lost #50 million every month to non-existent workers and also lost #600 million to racketeers.[50] Many Nigerians querried Shagari's Ethical Revolution programme and the moral war on corruption as he (Shagari) lacked the moral authority to check the excesses of his kitchen cabinet that produced roguish politicans like the Dikkos, Uba Ahmeds, Umaru Shinkafi's and the Maitama Sule's. For instance, Ademolekun affirmed that 'the actions of the government over which Alhaji Shagari presided, contradicted everything that was ethical and the moral tone of the society was at its lowest ebb.[51] In spite of the fact that General Buharia/Idiagbon led junta used the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) to stamp out corruption and economic sabotage, General Ibrahim Babangida overthrew the government of Buhari on August 27, 1985. Babangida's anti-corruption programme called Mass Mobilization for Social Justice, Self Reliance and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), sought to inculcate the virtues of honesty, prudence in financial matters, probity, accountability and patriotism. Babangida's anti-corruption policies like MAMSER, DFRRI, BLP were seen by Nigerian's as avenues for siphoning money from the national treasury. The Nigerian populace saw MAMSER, DFFRI, BLP as waste pipes that never met the aspirations of the people who were weighed down by the regimes patronage of individual or collective aggrandisement.[52]

Equally, the evils of Abacha lived after his death General Abdulsalami Abubakar who succeeded Abacha uncovered and appropriated ill-gotten funds and property stolen by Abacha himself, members of his family as well as those of his cronies like Ishmaila Gwarzo. Thus, Abacha's unbeatable corruption record in human history, coupled with the financial recklessness of other military brigands like Babangida, Abdulsalami and Gowon convinces any skeptic that military regimes in spite of its fake corrective postures can never provide any panacea to the monster called corruption.

With the inception of the Third Republic in May 1999 when Chief Obasanjo took over the mantle of leadership as the second executive President, the monster of

corruption was so high that Obasanjo set up two major anti-corruption institutions – the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practice and other related Offences Commission (ICPC) both EFCC and ICPC – as anti graft agencies worked hard to reduce the rate of corruption. Bolaji, reiterates the culpability of the EFCC and the ICPC by asserting that both commissions always aided constitutional violations and most times politicize the trial of corrupt public officials. For instance, Farida Waziri who took over from Nuhu Ribadu as EFCC Chairman politicized the trial of corrupt governors by telling the nation that EFCC can no longer give account of the files of the governors which were presumed to have been lost in the EFCC office. What a travesty of Justic?[53] Today, in the whole of Africa, almost all the politicians are groomed in the line of "business" politics, a fragile 'statecraft' in the hands of "Parvenu politicians" who engage in politics to get hold of a power-position for the acquisition of wealth. African political landscape is still filled up with a useless bunch of ruffians and looters. These crop of politicians have only the beastly instincts to destroy any individual and national funds thereby affirming the tragedy of post-colonial politics which portends politicians as people with the instinctive logic of the belly (that is "politics of the Belly") are taking the lead in Africa's political leadership.[54] Corruption in Nigeria has passed the alarming and entered the fatal stage and Nigeria will die if we continue to pretend that she is only slightly indisposed especially as Nigerian leadership is using the nation's wealth to corrupt, really to destroy, the country so that no improvement or change can happen.[55] The World Bank recently released numbers indicating that about $400 billion has been pilfered from Nigeria's treasury since independence. This amount $400 billion is approximately the gross domestic products of Norway and Sweden, Nigeria's corrupt ruling class stole the equivalent of the entire economy of a European country in four decades. This theft of national funds is one of the factors essentially making it impossible for Nigeria to succeed. Nigerians alone are not responsible. We all know that this corrupt cabal of Nigerians in power has friends abroad who not only help it move the billions abroad and help them hide the money but also shield the perpetrators from prosecution.[55]

- **Problem Posed by Political Instability**.

The poverty of political leadership has been the bane of Africa's development due to the problem of social instability associated with it. Political instability in many

African countries has taken the form and shape of tribalism, pervasive economic malaise and mass poverty, systemic corruption, increased crime rate, kidnapping activities, overt armed robbery and armed banditry as well as armed insurgency. Political leaders who don't subscribe to good governance through equitable distribution of state resources and provision of social amenities for the governed cause social scientists, political philosophers and historians to associate politics will violence, deceit, corruption, hypocrisy and procrastination. Politicans are also likened to augurs, ventriloquists and sorcerers – 'men skilled in juggling and incantations and in tricks of all kinds.[56] African leaders and politicians wear the garb of ethnic and religious bigots to capture political power for the sake of amassing enormous wealth at the expense of the masses. These selfish, greedy and rapacious politicians lack necessary political will to promote national cohesion in their respective states. The chronic absence of government that lacks transparency, accountability and ineffective bureaucratic workforce and compromised judicial staff paralyses the economic superstructure of African states thereby creating room for political instability that exude the counter culture of armed robbery, ritual killings and kidnappings, gangsterism, political thuggery, rigging of elections and other forms of political violent acts. Equally, another manifestation of political instability traceable to crippled political and economic superstructure in African states is political violence, political turmol, civil wars and coup de tat's which have dominated the politics of many independent African states like Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, Zaire, Guinea Bissau, Ethiopia, Mali, Niger etc. In tune with global trends, African states have witnessed 82 successful coups including 109 attempted coups that failed and 145 coup plots that got nipped in the bud before they could even be attempted. Guns, wars and coups have been the reality of the bottom billion. They have destroyed societies that were confidently expected to develop. The melt down of Cote D Ivorie, one of the most celebrated society in Africa shows all three of these technologies in ruinous action over the course of a decade.[57] Political instability has infiltrated and circumnavigated the body politic of African states in the 20th and 21st centuries like a cataclysmic disaster. In the early 1990's, wars and conflicts intensified in so many African nations: Ethopia, Sudan and Mozambique were embroiled in civil wars, Somalia was torn into ethnic factions by war-lords, Angola heightened the war between the Government and the rebel UNITA, and by 1994, political conflict reached its feverish peak of ethnic cleansing or genocide in Rwanda. Africans in

many nations fled their ancestral homes and became refugees in their own continent.[58]

Similarly, the multi-ethnic Nigerian state in the post-civil war era is also a victim of series of bloody intractable conflicts that are deeply rooted in political disunity, ethnicity and religious fanaticism. For instance, Nigeria's flawed federal structure and unitary-styled system of government at the centre culminated in the Niger-Delta struggle for 'true federalism and Resource control' in the South-South geo-political zone. In the South East, irredentist and separatist groups like the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) still clamour for a Biafran state due to perceived marginalization of the Igbo ethnic stock since after the Nigeria-Biafra civil war. Both the North West and the North East geo-political zone have been devastated by Boko Haram and ISWAP insurgent groups who want Islamic northern states where sharia and Islamic code of law will replace the secular Nigerian non-theocratic constitution. Some political gladiators in Northern Nigeria have been blamed for sponsoring radical Islamic groups like Boko Haram and ISWAP as well other illicit groups who engage in armed banditry, kidnapping and extra judicial killings in the North East, North West and North Central geo-political zones. Currently, the Nigerian government has spent billions of dollars to purchase arms and ammunitions for the Armed Forces and other Para-military Agencies who are fighting armed insurgency and terrorism in the Nigerian state. Other spates of insecurity include, the violent clash between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Northern Nigerian and the over-bearing activities of 'unknown gunmen' in the South East who butcher Nigerians on daily basis with brazen impunity.

- **Lack of Political will and Transparency:**

> …The bane of governance in Nigerian has been attributed to the recycling of leaders since independence. The status quo has always been the same. This makes it possible for the maintenance of the gang philosophy and enhancement of gangster morality…[59]

Political leaders in Africa lack the political will to enforce the principles of governance, and the means to engage in profitable trading relationship with western countries of Europe due to the fact that their leadership style suffer from

moral and political bankruptcy. African leaders lack the political will to manage the fundamental challenges of nation building. Majority of political leaders are historically blind and cannot be pacesettles in the process of nation building. Poverty of leadership makes the African political elite to be ignorant about the policy thrust of their respective governments thereby making them prone to policy crisis or somersault. The inherent display of political atrophy makes political pundits and citizens to have doubts on the workability of their political manifestoes or policy thrusts. Politicians who are atrophied lack populist support and are deemed to be inept by their followers. Politically naive leaders put citizens under their rule at the receiving end of poverty because they hinder good governance through pursuit of economic programmes that cannot bring about prosperous economy. A living testament of leadership failure amongst African political leaders is poor management of the economy. African leaders due to lack of basic technology and entrepreneurial will operate 'import oriented economies' which make their states to be dumping grounds for manufactured goods from advanced European economies that are export-oriented countries. As clueless leaders, they mismanage and embezzle public funds that would have been used to build industries that will create jobs for unemployed youths. Again, as bourgeoise leaders and agents of imperial west, they deliberately neglect agriculture and engage themselves in the pursuit of the unlimited mineral resources of their home countries with the imperative of collaborating with Multi National Corporations (MNC's) to exploit the abundant natural resources of their respective countries inorder to pacify the capitalist desires of the More Developed Countries (MDC) of Europe and Asia.

Poverty of leadership in Africa has made African societies to look like a jungle reminiscent of the 'state of nature' since the economic superstructure has widened the gap between the rich and the poor. Both political and bureaucratic leadership that are inept breed unemployment because politicians siphon public funds into their own private accounts overseas and will careless about economic and social reforms that will give room for economic prosperity. A poor nation that is ruled by a visionless leader can never rise up to the challenges of unemployment[60]. When greedy politicians hold sway to power, there is always the tendency of increased spate of ethnic militancy that always wreck havoc on the citizenry.

Osikhuemenhe highlights the negative impact of ethnic militancy on the Niger Delta region in the following manner;

> …The current wave of ethnic militancy characterized by killings, kidnappings, raping, maiming and restlessness in the Niger Delta in particular and in Nigeria, in general could be traced to corruption. Ethnic militants in the Niger Delta out of frustration harass oil companies and wealthy Nigerians, because the Nigerian leadership have not deemed it proper to accept imperatives of managing the Nigerian economy efficiently, effectively, equitably, transparently and accountably[61]

- **Insecure Social Environment:** High spate of social insecurity plaguing African countries, leads to macro-economic instabilities. This trend weakens the economic base of the continent and impacts negatively on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the region. The absence of prospective foreign investors in the Nigerian business industry and its stagnating effect on the already ailling economy has inflicted untold hardship on the Nigerian populace which manifests in different forms like graduate unemployment, mass poverty and social insecurity. Political sector corruption and concomitant leadership failure creates room for poor international image for Nigerians and significant reduction in foreign investments. Since 1997, during Sani Abacha's ill-fated military regime, Transparency International (TI) rated Nigeria as the most corrupt country in the world; Nigeria's image overseas reached its lowest ebb. Odey highlights the trauma suffered by Nigerians in overseas countries in this way;

> …Today in Nigeria, corruption has become a structural sin so contagious that it hardly leaves anybody without a smear. And since the country was justifiably stigmatized as a den of corruption, all Nigerians are generally feared like dogs, dreaded like criminals, cautiously approached like dangerous snakes and avoided like lepers…[62]

There has been widespread xenophobia against patriotic Nigerians in Europe, the America's and even African countries like South Africa, Libya and Gabon due to the stereotype of political sector corruption. Foreign capitalists and investors also concluded that the Nigerian business environment was not investment-friendly

due to fear of fraudster (419), social insecurity and political instability. Abacha's poor leadership qualities pushed Nigeria into a polyglot federation of one nation with many destinies. Abacha's political failures were traceable to his insatiable personal greed, moral bankruptcy, political intolerance and anti-democratic principles earned Nigeria the status of a pariah nation in the comity of nations. His unparalleled corrupt administration devastated the Nigerian economy and seriously impeded the pace of industrialization that would have reduced mass poverty amongst the Nigerian populace. As a government in dire need for legitimacy, Sani Abacha compromised the activities of many corrupt business and political elites at the expense of overall national development. Due to economic sanctions from the western world and poor implementation of macro-economic policies of de-regulation, many refineries were shut down and Nigeria imported refined crude from overseas countries. Fuel was constantly in short supply and there were long queues at the filling stations. Fuel scarcity triggered off serious hike in transportation and cost of living was very high. Irresponsible governance by Abacha and his cronies created room for an insecure social environment while majority of Nigerians who were starved of efficient and physically durable infrastructural facilities and amenities ended up very destituted and poor.

Abacha's lust for lootocracy and squandermania resulted in poverty of morals and general indiscipline within the Nigerian socio-economic environment. Ogbunwezeh vividly captured the impact of leadership failure on impoverished Nigerian populace in the following manner:

> In Nigeria, political elites have grossly failed to provide adequate social welfare packages for the people because they see governance as an opportunity to loot the national treasury. In Nigeria, government has lost the reason for its existence. Fear and violent deaths lurks on every nook and fissure of our social firmament. Development has gone with the winds. Hunger, ignorance, poverty and disease are presently ravaging the land, while government bulks feebly before it, incapable of arresting its rampaging onslaught on its subjects. Might have reverted to right.[63]

Panacea to Africa's Leadership problems and Promotion of sustainable Development

> …I see a Nigeria where sovereignty and power belong to the people, a Nigeria where the ruler is the servant and the ruled master, a Nigeria, where those who exercise power are accountable to the people, a Nigeria where public servants accept responsibility for inefficiency and bad advice, a Nigeria where abuse of office is severely punished and ill-gotten gains confiscated.[64]

Having x-rayed Africa's leadership problems and its impact on sustainable development of post-independent African states, it becomes worthwhile to outline certain measures that can be taken to stem the tide of leadership failure in Africa and consequently promote sustainable develop

I. Institutionalization of Patriotic Leadership:

Critically, the syndrome of political instability, endemic corruption, inter-ethnic rivalries, armed insurgency and mass poverty bedeviling African countries in general and the Nigerian state in particular can be tackled through the enthronement of patriotic leadership. A patriotic leader is a leader that has transformational character and vision to build a Nigerian society that will be drained of poverty, ignorance and disease, he midwifes a political system where the free development of each is intimately related with the free development of all.[65] Political pundits always allude that leadership failure currently ravaging African states have direct link with political sector corruption. Chinua Achebe thinks that preventing politicians or civilians from having access to petrodollars is probably a major part of a series of fixes needed to reduce large –scale corruption. Achebe highlights remedial strategies to political sector-corruption as a way of promoting quality leadership in this manner;

> …For most people, the solution to corruption is straight forward, if you commit a crime, you should be brought to book. Hold people responsible for misconduct and punish them if they are guilty. In a country such as Nigeria, where there are easy fixes, one must examine the issue of accountability, which has to be a strong component of the fight against corruption.[66]

It is only a patriotic and dedicated leader that can rise above the ills posed by endemic corruption and create a road map that will reduce social decadence, corruption and debauchery of past decades. Hence, Achebe foresees the Nigerian solution to its leadership challenges through radical development of a new patriotic consciousness, not one based simply on the well-worn notion of the unity of Nigeria or faith in Nigeria often touted by our corrupt leaders but one based on an awareness of the responsibility of leaders to the leds on the sacredness of their anointment to lead and disseminated by civil society, schools and intellectuals. It is from this kind of environment that a leader, humbled by the trust placed upon him by the people, will emerge, willing to use the power given to him for the good of the people.[67] Lendence credence to Achebe's viewpoints, Ojukwu, Ribadu, Pini Jason and Bello Bashir argue that poverty of leadership which is now virulent in many African countries can be solved when patriotic Nigerians of impeccable character and moral integrity attain leadership positions in a free and fair election process and elects to be a pathfinder to nation building, national destries and national rebirth. Emeka Ojukwu sums up the qualities of a Nigerian leader who will lead any national crusade against political - sector corruption in this manner;

> …The new leader must not only say but always demonstrate that the power he exercises is derived from the people like every Nigerian public servant, he must be constantly accountable, whether in office or out of office, he must be accountable to the people for the use he made of their mandate. He must get out when the people ask him to get out.[68]

Ribadu thinks that for Nigeria to overcome her leadership challenges, she needs sincere and genuine leadership. Her leaders must subject themselves willingly to scrutiny if any doubt is raised about their conduct in public office. The present obstacle created by the immunity clause in section 308 of the 1999 constitution must be urgently addressed.[69] Similarly, Pini Jason, thinks that a charismatic Nigerian leader can effectively lead the war against ineffective leadership in the Nigerian state by asserting thus;

> …Now we need a leader who will lead by example in all aspects of our life and encapsulates everything good in us. We need a leader that will restore dignity to the high office of the presidency and not one that simply wants it for the immunity it could offer for past

> indiscretions. We need a leader who will be firm on corruption and who will not compromise on the security of the nation. What we face is a credibility burden of leadership…[70]

Bashir, M. Bello harps on the need for credible leadership who will be exemplary in the discharge of statutory functions. Bashir insists that African countries categorized as Least Developed Countries (LDC's) due to mass poverty, lack of basic infrastructure and food insecurity needs leaders who can build a strong and vibrant economic superstructure geared towards eradicating rural poverty. Bashir's views are quoted below:

> …we need leaders that would submerge personal interest for the common interest of the citizens of our nation. We need leaders who should be champions in fighting to liberate our nation out of the shackles of corruption and poverty. An honest and purposeful leadership is one of the vital tools that make a nation to be prosperous and this we cannot afford to toy with any more if we are to achieve any meaningful development…[71]

Pursuit of proper ideals of Democratic governance based on the Rule of Law

The war against political sector corruption that impedes good governance can only be won through the institutionalization of democratic governance that is based on strict adherence to the Rule of Law. For the Nigerian state to forgo the stigma of underdevelopment occasioned by corrupt leadership and walk on the path of greatness, she should inculcate in her citizens the zeal to respect the sanctity of the laws of the land as enshrined in the constitution. The rule of law gives room for a progressive society because it defines the relationships that exist between the three arms of government – the executive, judicial and executive arms. It also defines the civic rights and responsibilities of the citizens of any nation – state. Once the leadership of a state ensures that citizens who indulge in criminal acts are punished, the state will overcome the 'sacred cow syndrome which thrives in selective justice'. Our titanic battle against corrupt and ineffective leadership can be won if successive Nigerian governments can painstakingly conduct free and fair elections. Political leaders in Nigeria should checkmate the evils of electoral violence, election rigging, political thuggery, vote buying and other forms of election malpractice acts. The implication of election malpractice on

responsible governmenance is that it aids the selection of corrupt political office holders who cannot provide exemplary leadership because they are only accountable to their political god-fathers that imposed them on the people.

The judicial arm of government plays vital role in ensuring a committed and corrupt free political leadership that promotes good governance. African countries that have leadership challenges and corrupt laden politicians require an impartial judiciary whose primary duty will be to fearlessly interprete the laws/constitutional provisions of the state and as well punish political office holders who commit economic and financial crimes. The Nigerian state should strive hard to overhaul its judicial institutions. To this end, the judicial workforce whether legal or para-legal should be trained to be independent and impartial. There is the need to pay living wages to members of the Bench-Judges, Magistrates and other judicial workers so as to help them resist the temptation of graft and also maintain their integrity and impartiality. Different tiers of government whether federal or state should provide adequate security to shield judicial officers from the wicked machinations of corrupt men. Anti-graft Agencies like EFCC and ICPC should operate in all ministerial Departments and parastatal since it pays better to take the corrupt bureaucrat by surprise. Quality leadership and good governance are achievable in Nigeria if the Nigerian leadership and followership uphold the doctrine of 'free press' as enshrined in the constitution. The mass media (whether print or electronic) should be given necessary incentives to carry out their constitutional roles in exposing corrupt public servants as well as kleptocratic politicians to the members of public.

Institutionalization of Open and Populist-Oriented Government:

Political leaders will become very effective and more sincere in the discharge of their duties when they run an open and populist oriented administration. In this regard, the leadership of African countries of which Nigeria is inclusive should strive to maintain open-door policies in her relationship with opposition parties as well as other people who adopt critical views on government policies. The act of tolerating opposing views as well as other spectra of opinions in the spirit of dialectics of class struggle can help political actors in government to harmonize class interests. Hence, Nigerians of opposing persuasions should be allowed to contribute meaningfully on how the nation should be governed. They should not

be labeled "Radicals" or their views seen as confrontational. Conflict of ideas in any social formation is a sign of life and vitalitiy.[72] Quality leadership and good governance requires some modicum of popular support because without reasonable popular support and approval of government policies and programmes, any such programme is doomed to failure sooner than later. A government action emanating from popular wishes of the people is likely to endure more than imposition.[73]

Institutionalization of Good Economic Policies and Programmes: Since warped political leadership and endemic corruption have demonstrated the structural defects of the capitalist mode of production in Neo-colonial Nigeria, political leaders should strive to restructure our social, political and economic system whereby extreme and nihilistic capitalist mode of production will be de-emphasized and social-welfarism promoted. The Nigerian political leadership or political leadership in Nigeria should work towards developing an economic superstructure that will provide high quality of life for the led and not an economic policy that will make the rich get richer and the poor getting more and more destituted.

African countries including Nigeria should strive towards getting over her economic dialysis by encouraging an export-oriented economy that will be based on indigenous and scientific breakthrough. Ojukwu believes that the only panacea to corrupt and inept political leadership is a booming national economy which can be achieved through a technological revolution propelled by quality and visionary leadership. He argues that:

> …Such technology should aim at broadening the base of our economy making the nation to a much larger extent self-reliant and freeing the nation from the inexorable grip of neo-colonialist exploitation. We not only have to produce, we must produce what others (our neighbors) want. To do this we need to bring into our system, a culture of science and technology, a habit of curiosity and inquiry, a reflex for innovation and constant improvement, Japan has done so, so have the two Koreans, Taiwan and India, this is the queue which Nigeria must join…[74]

Since abject poverty, penury, squalor and untold hardship predisposes people to corrupt acts in the bid to pacify the instinct of survival, Nigerian political leaders should fight mass poverty through the adoption of Poverty Alleviation Programmes (PAP) in the interest of the poor. Genuine political leadership must henceforth initiate populist-oriented economic policies that will tax the rich excessively to subsidize basic infrastructure inorder to improve the social well being of the poor. To stem the tide of leadership failures in African countries, political leaders should accept harsh realities of managing the economies of their respective countries in the most efficient, effective, prudent, equitable, transparent and accountable manner by opting for and implementing economic policies that will not impact negatively on the people such as the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), privatization and monetization. Poverty of leadership in Nigeria can be combated through responsible governance that provide its citizens with full employment, adequate social security, housing facilities, good road network, well-equipped hospitals as well as educational institutions with the state-of the Art-facilities. Osikhuemenhe highlights certain characteristics of a responsible and people centered government to include;

> …national allocation of revenue should be maintained, derivation of resources and their optimal utilization, maximization of individual satisfaction 'where nobody is worse off and no one is better off and of corporate profit orientation and a very high (propensity) to save and invest.[75]

Conclusion:

This research work has critically appraised Africa's leadership challenges and its impact on sustainable development in the continent. From our analysis, one can assert that political leadership in many African countries has promoted neo-colonial 'clientelism' instead of good governance and sustainable development. The tragedy of African politics since after independence can be traced to corrupt African political elites who coveted the culture of kleptocracy and squandermania thereby lacking moral and administrative courage to tackle the monster of corruption that infected the body politic of their home countries. Since, corrupt and ineffective political leadership that have ravaged the political leadership of post-independent African states is anti-development; it creates serious dysfucntionality in the operations of governmental institutions. It kills the spirit

of accountability, transparency and good governance and encourages, squardarmania, embezzlement and mismanagement of public funds which impedes social and economic development on African States through wastage of public funds and reduction in the quality of government services.

Poverty of leadership and endemic corruption have dented Nigeria's international image. Foreign industrialists who are scared by the activities of Advance fee fraud syndicates in Nigeria (419) have concluded that the Nigerian business environment is not investment-friendly. Poverty of leadership has paved the way for corruption in high and low places in Nigeria, has seriously eroded traditional values of honesty, truthfulness, industry and hard work. These traditional virtues have been replaced by counter-culture of savagery and nihilistic vision of the world. Many Nigerians today act irresponsibly and have grossly abandoned the labours of our past heroes by taking to such vices as armed robbery, ritual killings and kidnapping, gangsterism, bureaucratic and institutionalized squandermania, political thuggery, rigging of elections and lootoratic approach to governance.[76]

In spite of the obvious fact that leadership failure prevalent in many African states breed economic underdevelopment, political instability, endemic corruption, inter-ethnic rivalries fratricidal wars, armed insurgency, kidnappings, religious uprisings and mass poverty in the continent, the moral war against political ineptitude can be won through the institutionalization of patriotic democratic governance that is based on the rule of law as well as the conduct of free and fair elections. The existing Anti-graft Agencies – EFCC and ICPC should be given necessary constitutional backing to execute their duties without fear or favour and undue interference by the executive arm of government. The judiciary should remain impartial in the adjudication of justice and interpretation of the laws of the state.

Finally, since ineffective and corrupt leadership create room for abject poverty, penury, squalor and untold hardship which predispose citizens to engage in corrupt acts that contravene the letters of the constitution, the present authors think and wisely too that the Nigerian state should eschew extreme capitalism and embrace a socio-economic and political – super structure that encourage social welfarism. It is still rationale to believe in Emeka Ojukwu's ideas which insists

that the only panacea to political sector corruption and its concomitant leadership failures is a booming national economy that can only be achieved through a scientific and technological revolution.

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