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Leadership and Political Parties Crisis in Nigeria's Fourth Republic Parties: A Study of PDP and ACN

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Abstract

Since Nigeria transitioned to democracy in 1999, the huge expectations of the Nigerian people for dividends of democracy have been quashed due to crisis and instability in the leading political parties. The struggles to control the political parties have led to continuous distraction that the people who should concentrate on governance devote much of their time to ensuring their interest is safeguarded within the political parties, which culminates in political instability and poor governance. The source of data for the study is secondary and engages the historical method. The paper shows lessons learnt from 2007 & 2011 Aprils' Elections and concludes that in order for Nigeria to minimize its leadership and political crisis, the chief instrument of freedom would be to liberate consciousness, through what Paul Friere, describes as the pedagogy of the oppressed.

Keywords: Leadership, Political Parties, Political Crisis, PDP, ACN, AC

Introduction

Nigeria operates a federal form of government that is made up of 36 states and a Federal Capital Territory. This paper examines the various political regimes and political parties in Nigeria with particular reference to the Peoples Democratic Party of Nigeria (PDP) and the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and two national elections held between 1999 and 2011. Due to the multi party system of Nigeria, the study is based on PDP and ACN; the two domineering parties are examined between 1999 and 2011 due to vastness and broadness of the topic. Leadership crisis has caused the economic and political crises being experienced in Nigeria. Why? Because the various political parties vying for elective positions have made election activities a do-or-die affair which is promoting crisis in the society (Bewaji 2003; Maduiké 2008; Nwosu 2010).

A political party is 'a social group', defined by Herbert Simon, as 'a system of interdependent activities characterized by a high degree of rational direction of behaviour towards end that are objects of common acknowledgement and expectation' (Simon 1962: 1130). It is different from other social groups, such as labour unions and other associations because of the unique functions a political party performs for the system, such as organizing for public opinion, communicating demands to the centre of governmental decision-making and political recruitment. This is why a political party is taken 'as a useful index of the level political development' (LaPalombara et al. 1966: 7). Hence the relationship between a viable party system and a democratic order is axiomatic.

Objectives and Methodology

It is imperative to note that the declining quality of leadership in Nigeria has been attributed to the spatial culture of non-existence of exemplary leadership, which has been described by good leaders as 'role models'. In order to have focus towards achieving remarkable and viable answers to the prevalent issues that is facing Nigeria and the continent of Africa, the paper aims at the following:

- to highlight leadership and political parties crisis in Nigeria
- to discuss the effects of these crises on the economy development.
- to investigate the rivalries and crisis among politicians as it affects development since Nigeria economy depends and rely so much on government actions
- to proffers applicable solution to leadership and political parties crisis in Nigeria.

This paper studies the leadership role, crises and the prevalent issues of political parties within the political terrain of Nigeria. It also aims at understanding the intra and inter-party crisis and how it affects the nation's nascent democracy, political stability and good governance.

It is basically a review and syntheses of literature. However, because of the dynamic nature of politics in Nigeria like other nations of the world, source document from the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), as well as election observers' comment, political parties representative reports during election, polls, and internet resources were carefully selected for review. Moreover, attention was placed on recent issues in the political stage as published in the dailies and other media (both local and international) during the period of study.

Conceptual and Operational Clarification Leadership

Leadership has it is concern; even animal kingdom has its leader with various species to grow. To a large extent, the achievements of organizational goals depend on the quality of leadership. Leadership has been considered as one of the most important elements affecting organizational performance. Leadership theory is no less encumbered by various approaches from 'trait theory', 'great man theory', or 'situationist theories' that is, some leaders are born great, some achieve greatness, and others have greatness thrust on them. There is great confusion about the different types of leadership and leadership styles, for example, we have functional leadership, bureaucratic leadership, charismatic leadership, group-centered leadership, reality-centered leadership, leadership by objectives, relational leadership, self-leadership, volunteering-leadership etc. all these actually confuse even enthusiastic students of leadership. Yet, it is noted that in spite of this confusion, leadership is simply a "process of influence" what leadership is all about is influence, exercised by those who lead their followers. This influence may be good or bad and therefore leadership may be good or bad (Iyorwuese 2002: 1-2)

Koontz defines *leadership as the art of process of influencing people so that they will strive willingly and enthusiastically towards the achievement of groups' goals* (Koontz et al. 1982). Folarin posits

there is lack in leadership in Africa, all we have is ruler ship at best managership (Folarin 2006: 2), if there is anything like that, he further explain that such ruler ship or mis-leadership often carries along with it the excess baggage of more innocuous problems for the continent - from Abidjan to Djibouti, Lagos to Johannesburg, Freetown to Kinshasa, Darfur to Kampala, etc. It has been discovered that any impassioned person about the continent is capable of reading the context of the African dilemma and analysing it - same story of one leadership ineptitude to the other. This does not however mean the expression of Afro-pessimism as some scholars have done (Ayodele et al. 2005: 1-4), but rather an Afro-optimistic approach to developments as they unfold. Defining leadership today is an arduous task as interest developed by the world today in the art and science of leadership has come up with an endless number of definitions and descriptions.

Political Parties in Nigeria

What we have since 1999 in Nigeria as political parties, for instance, the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP), the All Nigerian Peoples' Party (APP) and the Alliance for Democracy (AD) have nothing in common with the political parties of the First or Second or Third Republic. Their manner of origin does not fit into what we know from literature. Their composition is fluid and unstable; they can be viewed as instrument of transition from military to civilian rule and for the future and with the prospect of more parties, they raise more questions than as answers to the lingering political problems of Nigeria.

PDP

The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) arose from four sources. First, were those so-called politicians, who were denied registration by a formal Nigerian Head of States, General Sani Abacha, during his self-succession project. They later combined in their lukewarm opposition through the law court, which was under the military to the self-succession of the military strongman, General Sani Abacha. This group called itself the G-34 Committee from the fact that the petition against the self-succession project, was signed by 34 men and delivered to General Abacha by Chief SD Lar. Included in this group was Dr. Alex Ekwueme who thought the Igbo should use this as their vehicle to the Presidency. Second were those politicians, who were former followers of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) who were

not opposed to the self-succession of the military strongman but were not part of his machine, nevertheless. This group called itself the All Nigeria Congress (ANC) and was led by Chief SB Awoniyi. Third were those who were the followers of the late General Shehu Musa Yar'Adua as the Peoples Democratic Movement (PDM). This group had Chief Tony Anenih and Alhaji Abubakar Atiku. Four were those who called themselves social democrats with the name, Social Progressive Party (SPP). This was a collection of politicians from different parts of the country that failed to make their positions felt today in the party (Omoruyi 2001).

In appreciation of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Alhaji Ghali Na'Abba, the PDP is a mixed bag of persons with diverse political backgrounds with one and only one purpose. It was meant to send a message to the military that the political class meant business with sending the military back to the barracks. To this extent, the founders covered all and sundry political persuasions: conservatives, radicals and progressives (Umar 2011). Did they have any commitment to democracy from their pasts? All of them were of one and only one commitment, the filling of the slot left vacant with the death of General Sani Abacha. The de annulment of the June 12, which they masterminded in the past, the actualization of the mandate of the winner of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election and his release from detention never formed part of their campaign during the period of General Abacha or after his death.

This party was committed to returning power to the south not necessarily the south west. The Yoruba leaders who were in this organization such as Chief Bola Ige who was in the leadership of the Group of 34 wanted an explicit commitment to returning power to the south west (Yoruba), especially after the death of Chief MKO Abiola. This was rejected and the Yoruba leaders led by Chief Ige left the organization to search for an organization that would make that explicit commitment.

ACN

Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) was first known as Alliance for Democracy (AD). The Alliance for Democracy is essentially a Yoruba outfit committed to producing a Presidential candidate in 1999. It did not meet the Federal Character clause in the

Constitution. But the military had to register it on national security grounds. The military had to face the prospect of denying a voice to the Yoruba people after what they went through after the annulment. The military junta appreciated that since the Yoruba decided to act through the AD and the junta concluded that not to register the AD would have amounted to a denial of a voice for the Yoruba. The junta in my view should have forced the Yoruba to seek other venues for making themselves heard and participate in the transition program. The military decided to err on the side of national security and allowed the highly ethnicized political association to continue as a political party (Omoruyi 2001).

It came to the field after jumping in and out of the PDP and the APP. By the time it went into the political market, it was too late to make a dent in the area outside the Yorubaland. The Yoruba people who gave it support from the late period did so because the leaders appealed to the Chief Awolowo's base. Even after about three years after they were declared political parties, they are still in search of a role in Nigeria. They are still different things to different people in different parts of the country. None of them had been able to organize a convention for the purpose of electing national officers to run these parties.

Issues on Leadership and Political Crisis in Nigeria

Starting with, the leadership crisis in Nigeria can be traced to follower-ship (masses), which could be explained thus, that every nation state gets the kind of leaders they want. Visionary leadership will therefore emerge in Nigeria when the volition expressed by the people to be led consists of upward-looking, loving and a desire for justice, peace and harmonious relationships. For, as Achebe notes:

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character. The Nigeria problem is the willingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the personal examples which are hallmark of true leadership (Achebe 1983: 1)

There is scarcely anything which wrecks public confidence in any government as much as the signal, that top officials in the same government work at cross purposes. There is also what is called corporations and lethal conflict. Most parts of the continent are embroiled in independence wars, ethnic conflicts, religious war

(Boko Haram), violent wars for political and resource control, and cross-border conflicts. In a recent study of armed conflicts around the world, the University of Maryland's Centre for International Development and Conflict Management found that thirty three countries were at risk for instability. Of these, twenty were African states.

The prevalent issue of leadership has become a major concern in Nigeria, the challenges being posed to us as regards leadership has made it imperative for scholars to find last long solutions to these prevailing questions and also finding a way out of political parties that actually leads to political upheaval within the society, crisis that goes on without abatement. This is fundamentally a manifestation of persistence and intractable problem of a leadership succession crisis in Nigeria, a crisis that has been besetting Nigeria since the advent of the main wave of independence at the beginning of the 1960s (Nigeria was colonized by Britain). Soon after the achievement of independence, the process began to unfold whereby political parties in Nigeria became mere fiefdoms of their party bosses; and the broad masses of followers, whose political enthusiasm and energy has been aroused during the struggle for independence, found themselves held hostage to the patronage of the party bosses. Moreover, in the absence of internal party democracy, parties began to largely fulfil the role of being instruments of the political ambitions of their leaders, whose preoccupation was now to stay indefinitely in power.

It is unfortunate that leadership selection process in Nigeria takes the imposition pattern, directly or indirectly. Mediocre are either selected or imposed on the masses; the products of such selections turn out to be a burden to the nation as such imposed leadership are usually not prepared for such leadership positions. There is an embarrassing lack of national heroes. Lamenting on lack of support for the grooming of purposeful leadership, Ake 1995 observed that:

The emergent structure of class which cut across the cultural heterogeneity and are expressed in such groups' labour unions; students' associations and professional bodies are deliberately harassed and suppressed. On the other hand, groups which dramatize and reinforce particularism are deliberately promoted to high visibility (Ake 1985: 44-45)

Ake further noted that it was in expectation of the bridging of

these deficiencies, that the first intrusion of the armed forces into political stage was uncritically hailed in the liberal political sociology of the African continent. It is so pathetic and sad enough to know through the empirical results after almost three decades dating back to history in getting the root of these political challenges and crisis, talking about the miniaturization of the political sphere have been disappointing for Nigeria and the continent of Africa as a whole, even self-reckoning of the military itself.

The other prevalent issues are whether holders of various state powers see it as their responsibility to move the state forwards or otherwise. While the governor or the local government chairman may see himself as a true representative of the people mandated to propel development, the others will see it differently. Thus while Ngige, the former Executive Governor of Anambra State, to him politics can be a mission to pay pensioners; assist in developing road; and even renovating federal roads within his territories, to Uba, his political sponsor and god-father, it may be just business and investments and nothing else. And since they are seen as the stakeholders of the business empire called politics they continue to call the shots.

This actually flows into the issue of quality of representation in our political offices. Since there are many Obas and their mission today hardly agrees with the interest of their people or people oriented development programmes, there is enormous pressure on public office holders from the Governor and commissioners to local government chairmen to perform; performance here means 'democratic dividends'. A democratic dividend here means the ability of public office holders to financially satisfy their sponsors or even their constituents. Once an office holder does not do this well he will definitely be castigated and in most cases threatened with impeachment. This kind of scenario was seen in Kwara State when the former Executive Governor of Kwara State, Late Mohammed Lawal and his god-father Dr. Olusola Saraki had problems as regards the state governance that does not respect his own opinions. Also, in the case of Oyo state, Late Chief Adedibu and the former Executive Governor Rasheed Ladoja (Idowu 2007).

The point to make here is that as rivalries and crisis continue among politicians, they affect development since the Nigerian

economy is not strong and turns to depend and rely so much on government actions. The difference here is that in developed countries, the economies are run and sustained by solid institutions and frameworks, and by well-nurtured experts, professional or economic class. Thus even when political order seems to be in total instability, the economy survives and continues to make some progress. In Nigeria, the economy depends solely on the state, the state in turn is owned by the political class which decides who owns what and does what. The state is seen as supra-powerful. If one opposes the state one may lose right to many things or even his life itself. Thus, crisis among politicians is affecting the pace and process of development as well as the improvement that Nigeria aims at. Making a good and a definitive description of the state or condition which we are now today, it is even better to quote from Chief Audu Ogbeh, the former Chairman of Nigeria's ruling party, the PDP when he said about eleven years ago that:

...the weakest area which seems to have obliterated all these achievements is the economy. The cost of living is very high, unemployment is rising, food supply is inadequate, we are too dependent on import, the national budget is too small, and all the statements we made talking of diversifying the base of the economy have yielded nothing. As a result young graduate can't find jobs, crime rate can never go down and people are generally not happy... (Ogbeh, 2002:15).

Governance of a state entails the politicking of a state and the machinery of states is being controlled by individual political leaders as we have in the normal democratic setting or government. It is however apposite to note that political crisis that we experience in the Nigerian society today stems from the leadership challenges that we have and it is of great importance to take into cognizance that the type of leaders we have had on the corridors of power are such that have lost the moral authority to be the custodian of peoples welfare.

Brief Summary / Analyses of 2007 and 2011 Political Elections held in Nigeria

In the table below, as represented, in 1 April 2007 Nigerian Presidential elections, Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) was called Action Congress (AC). Action Congress AC came 3rd with 2, 637, 848 votes while in 16 April 2011 Nigerian Presidential elections ACN also came 3rd with 2, 079, 151 votes. See table A below:

TABLE - (Source INEC)

Summary of the 1 April 2007 Nigerian Presidential Election Results (Top 5 Political Parties)		
Candidates – Parties	Parties	Votes
Umaru Yar'Adua	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	24,638,063
Muhammadu Buhari	All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP)	6,605,299
Atiku Abubakar	Action Congress (AC)	2,637,848
Orji Uzor Kalu	Progressive Peoples Alliance (PPA)	608,803
Attahiru Bafarawa	Democratic Peoples Party (DPP)	289,324
Summary of the 16 April 2011 Nigerian Presidential Election Results (Top 5 Political Parties)		
Goodluck Jonathan	People's Democratic Party (PDP)	22,495,187
Muhammadu Buhari	Congress for Progressive Change (CPC)	12,214,853
Nuhu Ribadu	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)	2,079,151
Ibrahim Shekarau	All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP)	917,012
Mahmud Waziri	People for Democratic Change (PDC)	82,243

NOTE: The 2007 results did not disclose the total votes scored in the states or the percentages of the scores by the presidential candidates. Yar'Adua was inaugurated on 29 May 2007 (Al Jazeera 2007). The 2011 elections were reported in the international media as having run smoothly with relatively little violence or voter fraud in contrast to previous elections (Nossiter 2011).

Nigeria had a long reign military rule due to the inability or failures of our political leaders and system. The first election that was held in Nigeria was the 1954 Federal election, and then we had the 1959, which was followed also by the 1964, 1965, 1965 and until 1999 when we had our democratic system restored, thus began the 4th Republic also in 2003, 2007 as well as 2011 elections have been conducted. The 2007 April polls came and gone. However, the elections have attracted a lot of criticisms by a cross section of Nigerians, particularly the opposition parties and the election monitors overseas (Usman 2007). For a proper evaluation of the elections, the roles of the various key actors should be examined against the expectations of Nigerians and foreigners alike. These actors include the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the security agents, political parties, politicians, mass media, election monitors and the electorate. INEC as the principal body for

the conduct of 2007 April polls was established by section 153 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The Electoral Act, 2006 further imbued INEC with the powers, functions and the modalities for the 2007 April polls.

The first problem associated with this function was the controversy between INEC and the National Assembly on one hand and INEC and the populace on the other hand on whether to use manual or electronic voters list. Incidentally, INEC insisted on using electronic voting machine. It is on record that the process was marred by various irregularities, first the electronic capturing machine did not arrive to the country early enough. Secondly, the process of registration was delayed either by non-functioning of the electronic capturing machine or power failure. The registration of voters as well as the display of the voters' lists across the country could not be done as scheduled. The inability to display adequately the voters' lists to some extent affected some prospective voters during the elections as some did not know where to vote (Nwankwo 2007).

Furthermore, the issue of those who should be disqualified and the legal action that followed also pitched INEC against the affected political parties and their loyalists. This did not only draw INEC into some unnecessary controversies but also created logistic problems for the body in the conduct of the elections. It is also pertinent to note the problem of security during the elections these were many reported cases of violence and ballot snatching (Usman 2007). These incidents actually created logistic problems for INEC and indeed aided rigging during the elections. It can be noted here that while INEC can ultimately be blamed for this, the political parties, the politicians, as well as the security agents were responsible for such (Usman 2007).

In addition to this, were the observations which show that the security agents, especially the police also facilitated electoral irregularities during the election (Makinde 2007). Section 136 of the electoral Act 2006 empowers every Police Officer on duty to arrest, on reasonable suspicion anyone who engages in the following activities within a distance of 300 meters from the election polling station on election days: Canvassing for votes, soliciting for votes, being in possession of any offensive weapons or wearing any dress or any facial or decoration which in any event is calculated to intimidate

voters, snatching or destroying of any election materials as well as blaring of siren and loitering without lawful excuse after voting or refused to vote. But contrary to this, many polling booths had the police being partisans and lost its role of being the friend of the people. Some polling booths were manned by only one policeman or woman, thus in most cases people provided security for themselves. Where this could not be possible, thugs hired by politicians invaded the polling booths and injured innocent people who wanted to defend their votes and snatching their ballot boxes (BBC NEWS 2007).

The reports from observers indicate that we have again failed in conducting free, fair and credible elections. The reports from across the country show that the mandate of the people was abused, traumatized and brutalized (BBC NEWS 2007). In effect, the evidence from the just concluded general elections (2011) in the country demonstrated that INEC was visibly deficient in logistics and preparations for the elections. It is obviously evident that Nigerians could no longer afford to tolerate this level of vulgar disenfranchisement which is a blatant rape on their will.

The large protests, arson, violence and wanton destruction of lives and properties which heralded the announcements of the results of the gubernatorial and states Houses of Assembly elections of Saturday, April 14, 2007, clearly showed that the results announced did not reflect the voting and wishes of the people. There were indications of blatant rigging and falsification of election results with the connivance of some INEC officials, security agents and political thugs. We also had some political parties who felt they were not been treated fair by the INEC going to the electoral tribunal to seek for justice. For instance, we had some presidential candidates of the All Nigerian People's Party, Action Congress etc going to court over the election results also in some States like Lagos, we had the governorship candidates like Jimi Agbaje of the Democratic People's Alliance, Musliu Obanikoro of the People's Democratic Party and many more challenging the election results which was not in their favor.

Reacting against the 2007 general elections Ikimi and Amusu, the representatives of the Action Congress (AC – the party later change its name to Action Congress of Nigeria i.e. 'ACN' in 2011) and the ANPP at the INEC Collation Centre in Abuja, denounced the

results announced by the INEC Chairman. According to Ikimi, "In states like Edo, Enugu, Ebonyi, Imo, Akwa Ibom etc, we know that the elections did not start even as late as 5 pm. The results collated showed that over 80 percent of the votes being counted in favor of the PDP and they are totally flawed. In most of the states, only the Resident Electoral Commissioners and the PDP Agents signed the results. We have been here since yesterday (Sunday) to observe this collation and we only collated eleven states and the INEC Chairman just rushed down to declare the results and declare Umaru Yar' Adua as the winner." According to Ikimi,

The result sheets we viewed so far were not signed by any of our agents at the state level. They were only signed by Resident Electoral Commissioners and only the PDP agents (Ojeifor, 2007).

Also, Admiral Lame Amusu who represented the ANPP at the INEC collation centre concurred what Chief Tom Ikimi said.

I am in total agreement with what Chief Ikimi has just said. Only results from 13 states and they were collated and signed by the Resident Electoral Commissioners in the States and the PDP Agents. Our agents did not sign these results (Ojeifor, 2007).

The National Chairman of the Democratic Peoples Alliance (DPA), Chief Olu Falae, with leaders of the African Democratic Congress (ADC), the Action Congress (AC – the party later change its name to Action Congress of Nigeria 'ACN' in 2011), All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), National Advance Party (NAP) and the National Democratic Party (NDP), has called for the setting up of an Interim National Government to conduct credible elections in the country. Falae explained that the country needed an ING to guard against the emergence of the military on the political scene (Oladoyinbo, *et al.*, 2007).

The Atiku Abubakar Campaign Organization claimed that the INEC deliberately left 70 percent of the ballot papers in a warehouse in Johannesburg, South Africa. They claimed that the contractors could have freighted the entire 200-ton consignment into the country three days before the election (Thursday) but the INEC told them to bring only 30 percent of the ballot papers (Ekugo, 2007). In September 2010, the election commission requested a postponement of the polls citing the need for more time to overhaul the national

electoral register. Critics were upset over the proposal (Poll, Al Jazeera). The election was postponed from January to April due to the release of new electronic voter registration software (INEC).

Lesson from 2007 & 2011 April Elections

In the overall conduct of the years' elections, the following problems were observed. These included; Ineffective movement of election materials which gave room for massive rigging practically everywhere Voter's frustration came after voting exercise, the people discovered that their votes did not count which meant that the candidates had already been chosen. The results sheets were simply passed round to the politicians who filled in whatever numbers they chose. The returning officers were heavily bribed and so were many political agents. The voters were not given the freedom required for open secret balloting; and there was rampant violence at election venues which had intimidating effect on the electorate. As Laitin and Fearon (1996) note:

inter ethnic cooperation is the norm in most political situations. Ethnic leaders evolve institutional mechanisms to encourage their co-ethnics to abide by the terms of implicit agreements between groups (Laitin et al. 1996:715-35)

Some empirical research points out as much that voting in Africa is not based on ethnic motivations per se, but on evaluations of whether or not a politician can be held accountable (or has acted accountably) for bringing resources into the constituency, something that is given a lack of state and legislative capacity in most African countries, is likely to happen through patronage networks based in Ethnic ties (Lindberg et al. 2008). Both the southern and northern branches of the PDP draw effectively on religious symbolism. In the south, it is intertwined with godfatherism and the presence of militia and vigilante groups that legitimate their actions (and implicitly, the actions of their patrons) in terms of local religious institutions meant to provide security and protection (Pratten et al. 2003: 211-240). Immediately upon taking office in 1999, Obasanjo was faced with an assertion of regional autonomy by the states of the North, who began implementing legal reforms in order to enact Islamic Sharia law, spearheaded by Governors from the (formerly APP, now) ANPP, and only reluctantly supported by most PDP Governors. Demands for an additional share of Federal oil revenues by the South-Eastern oil-producing states were also a pressing concern, as they had long-term

implications for the way resources were distributed within the federation (Suberu et al. 2005). As Sesay also noted:

Coupled with demands for a "national conference" to renegotiate the federal bargain or for a reconstituted federalism" based on Ethno-Federal principles (the latter from Obasanjo's own South west), and the proliferation of ethnic vigilante militias who did as much to beget violence as they did to stem crime (Sesay et al. 2003)

In outlook, structure and conducts, there is no any fundamental difference between the PDP and the AC. This of course, is said without being oblivious to the constant and sometimes deadly contest for powers and positions between these two sections of this same capitalist class. The "fight to finish" over the "third term plot" by Obasanjo to remain in power beyond May 29, 2007 and the subsequent "Do or Die" 2007 general elections are just two recent examples of a never ceasing ferocious intra-class and regional competition that dominate the day to day activities of these elements.

Conclusion

In order for Nigeria to minimize its leadership and political crisis, the chief instrument of freedom would be to liberate consciousness, through what Paul Friere, describes as the "pedagogy of the oppressed". This liberation pedagogy is achieved by dialogue between God-centered leader and the led. The new God-centered leader of Africa, then, will, instead of using Africa as a silent recipient of western mercy and humility both in the exercise of state power as well as the market place and boardroom. It is also important to note that to make the political terrain to be what it ought to be, there is a clear difference between leading and managing. Managing denotes average performance with the risk of failure or chance of success. Leadership is the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute towards the effectiveness and success of the organizations of which they are members.

Nigeria need leadership endowed with courage, determination, tolerance and honesty. Creating and promoting the process of endowing political institutions with the necessary legitimacy which is their ultimate safeguard against violent throw. The crucial elements in the good governance being called for in Nigeria and the rest of Africa are accountability, transparency, predictability, human rights and so on.

No external impositions or prescriptions will work as we have seen in the past. The new leader must himself achieve personal liberation through God centred-ness and dialogue with the general populace. An inaccurate understanding of the conditions under which the people of Africa live and think may merely result in producing a leadership whose ignorance may be activated.

One of the problems of politics in the country is the absence or refusal of conscientious persons to join the fray. There is the fear that decent persons cannot afford to present themselves for elective posts because they may be muddied or strained with the filth of practitioners. There is also the view that except one is rich or has a rich patron, there will be no election victory. The time has come for 'good' persons to rescue the nation from the hands of scoundrels (Eghagha 2007: 186)

What more can be said of the general elections held between 1999 and 2011, the deeds have been done, it is left for Nigerians to answer this question for how long can we continue to be ruled by the same set of people and how long can we continue to be used as objects for some politicians to satisfy their needs and finally, what then is the use of election if the people will is not been heard or that it does not count?

Nigerians can only ensure the sustenance of democracy by insisting that the rule of law be observed by all political leaders. Democracy holds a strong appeal among the ordinary people. This centre, therefore, propagates the promotion, encouragement and establishment of good governance and respect for the Rule of Law.

In order for development to occur in Nigeria, the country has to come to the reality of good leadership and good governance and work towards development in all ramifications of the state's economic activities most especially in all fields that cover health, industry, transport, communication, energy, agriculture, education Etc.

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