African Culture and Development

Cletus Umezinwa
Bigard Memorial Seminary
Ogbete, Enugu, Nigeria

Abstract

One of the common features of the ethnic groups in Africa is the traditional practice of their leaders to occupy political positions for life. This practice is no longer relevant in the face of the multiethnic nature of the African nations. Indeed it needs to be abandoned for it is albatross to development. The value of dialogue which is prevalent in the cultural African life as well as the African mode of election in which the candidates for elective offices are known to the electorate ought to be emphasized in the modern political practice of the modern African nations. This will certainly enhance the much needed development of the continent.

Keywords: Culture, development, long tenure, dialogue, election

1. Introduction

The belief in the principle of causality is assumed as valid in practically all human endeavors. For Hume, however, this assumption is unwarranted from empirical point of view. Kant endorses this Humean view, that is, that empirical analysis cannot justify the principle. But through his own rigorous analysis, however, he asserts the validity of this principle. He avers that it is one of the synthetic a priori forms of understanding. So, from Kantian point of view, it is justified to think of a thing as a cause of another. When the necessary condition (the cause) is present, an effect inexorably follows. A seed, for instance, germinates when the necessary elements such as water, oxygen and adequate temperature are in place.

The same is true with culture and development. These are contiguous and co-relative terms. Both go together. But the one is the cause of the other. Culture is a catalyst for development. This means the level of development is dependent on the cultural development. Higher culture implies higher development, lower culture precipitates lower development.

In this work we maintain that African development will fast track if there is development in the African culture. But before we argue for this it is necessary to examine the operational words – culture and development. This will let us see an aspect of the African culture that needs to be discarded as well as the values that need to be preserved if the continent is to develop.

2. Culture and Development

Man is said to be the weakest creature on earth. He cannot survive at birth unaided. He needs the support and assistance of his parents or other human beings to remain alive. That man is so weak and vulnerable had led Anaximander to speculate that man originally evolved from other creatures particularly from fishes. In his commentary on Anaximander's claim Plutarch says: "…originally men came into being inside fishes, and that, having being nurtured there – like sharks – and having become adequate to look after themselves, they then came forth and took to land." (S.E. Stumpf, 1983).While this account of the origin of man is unsustainable, it points to the fact that man is incredibly the *ne plus ultra* of a weak creature. Other creatures like sheep, goat, fowl, etc can support themselves unaided at birth. But man cannot do so.

Aquinas affirms the vulnerability and precarious nature of man. He moors his claim on his observation that nature has not provided man with enough materials for survival as much as it has given to other creatures. As he puts it, "For all animals, nature has prepared food, hair as a covering, teeth, horns, claws, as a means of defense or at least speed in flight, man alone was made without any natural provisions for these things."(Thomas Aquinas, 1949) This means that man is unarguably vulnerable.

Even the enervating argument and counter argument by philosophers on whether man is political by nature or by convention confirm also that man is weak and vulnerable. Aristotle, for example, maintains that man is political by nature. That is to say he is made by nature to live in society with others. And for him, anyone who cannot form partnership or live together with others "must be either a lower animal or a god." (Aristotle, 1932).   The implication of this is that lower animals and the gods can survive alone but man cannot. This means man is weak. Even Thomas Hobbes position that man is political by convention has the same implication. Stating his argument on why he believes that man is political by convention Hobbes says: "the agreement of these creatures (bees, ants) is natural; that of men is by covenant only, which is artificial: and therefore it is no wonder if there be somewhat else required, besides covenant, to make their agreement constant and lasting; which is a common power to keep them in awe and to direct their actions to the common benefit."(Thomas Hobbes, 1651). Thus, for Hobbes, something is deficient in man. This is why he requires someone else to make him obey the agreement which he freely made, the agreement which is necessary for his survival.

From the above it is clear man cannot survive easily and comfortably like other creatures. Nature has not been generous to him as a being. Besides this, the environment in which he finds himself is hostile and unfavorable. Because of these reasons, he needs to work in concert with others in order to provide himself with the necessary things required for survival. Nature, however, has given him the needed support to achieve this. That support is the fact that he is endowed with rationality. It is this rationality that makes him aware of his precarious condition and also offers him the leeway out of it.

2.i. Understanding Culture

What we have said so far helps us to situate the meaning of culture. Culture understood within the context of the above difficult condition of man is simply the strategies which man has formulated to be used to confront the challenges of nature; it is what man has put in place to enable him survive and live a comfortable life. All this is what is described as a way of life. It is what is known as culture.

In the world there are many cultures. One cultural group is different from another cultural group situated in a different geographical environment. The reason for this difference is obvious. The challenges of the environment are not the same. And the perception of the strategies on how to deal with them inevitably varies accordingly from place to place. The climatic condition, for example, is not the same all over the world. It may be clement in one region, benign in some and harsh in others. The perception on how to survive in these different weather conditions is certainly not the same. Besides, some regions have more natural mineral resources and agricultural products more than others. All these have enormous influences on the thinking on how to beat the hostility of nature.

Be that as it may, the different aspects of culture or the life enhancing ways which man put together in order to beat nature and make life easy and comfortable include: politics, religion, morality, language, music, customs, tradition, artifact, handiwork etc. All these were not there originally in nature. Their coming into existence was necessitated by the nature of man's weak physiology and the hostile environment in which he finds himself.

Now since the end of culture is the wellbeing of man, cultural groups borrow cultural elements wittingly or unwittingly from one another in order to meet this goal. The borrowing is facilitated mostly through cultural contacts. Many years ago Aristotle had underlined the need to borrow cultural elements from other cultures. He observed that necessity was usually the reason behind any invention or discovery. And that when a discovery was made it was later improved upon. This improvement was made by appropriating important elements from other places that were more advanced in some aspects of the matter in question. And writing on the need to borrow from other earlier discoveries to improve on what has been discovered he says: "when the necessaries have been provided it is reasonable that things contributing to refinement and luxury should find their development; so that we must assume that this is the way with political institutions also. The antiquity of all of them is indicated by the history of Egypt; for the Egyptians are reputed to be the oldest of nations, but they have always had laws and a political system. Hence we should use the results of the previous discovery when adequate, while endeavoring to investigate matters hitherto passed over."(Aristotle, 1932).

In the same vein, culture, as has being noted earlier, came into existence as a result of natural exigencies. It needs to grow in order to meet the ever expanding needs of man. It is a matter of necessity. True enough, no culture is stunted because no culture is completely insulated from influences of other cultures.

All cultures therefore borrow from one another. Some of the borrowings going on among cultures are articulated by an American, Eugene Nida as he writes:

"Even the simplest cultures are in debt to others for important contributions to their life. Composite cultures such as our own are monumental agglomerations, resulting largely from the process of borrowing. Our language is Germanic, but more than half of our vocabulary has been borrowed from non-Germanic sources. The Christian religion had an origin in Jewish culture and the Bible was written in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek. Our Philosophy came originally from Greece, our coffee from Ethiopia, our Alphabet from Semitic languages, our tea from Asia, our "Irish" potatoes from South America, our tomatoes from Mexico and the signs of Zodiac from Ancient Mesopotamia, which also contributed many of our weights and measures. But we are not the only composite cultures. Japan borrowed Buddhism, a religion developed in India; acquired a system of writing devised in China; and more recently added the industrialism of the western world."(E. Nida, 1986)

Inter-cultural exchanges are many and diverse. The Europeans appropriated the gun powder and printing discovered by China as well as the turbines discovered by Tibetans (J. C. Chukwuokolo, 2011). Many other cultural exchanges go on among cultures. They are too numerous to be mentioned here. But what is important to note is that a cultural group enriches itself when it borrows. And when this is done development follows. What is the development?

2. ii. Understanding Development

Development is symbiotically connected with a better condition of living; it has something to do with the improvement in the quality of life or wellbeing of man. Development is here understood as an improvement or advancement in things in order to enhance the welfare, comfort and happiness of man. Development is a man-centered concept. Without man the concept is bereft of meaning. There are plenty of things that can be improved upon or developed to make the condition of man worthwhile. Oladipo has grouped such things into two. These are what he calls tangible or material and intangible or moral dimensions of development. The tangible aspect of development "involves the control and exploitation of the physical environment through the application of the results of science and technology" and the intangible aspect involves "the reduction of social inequality,…the promotion of positive social values, such as freedom, tolerance, compassion, cooperation."(O.Oladipo, 2009).Oladipo believes that the intangible aspect of development is extremely important. For him, it is much more important than the tangible or material development; its development affects positively the tangible development which ultimately improves human development. Indeed, he maintains that the physical development is dependent on intangible development.

However, what Oladipo calls intangible or moral aspect of development is simply one aspect of culture. We noted earlier that morality is one of the cultural elements. While moral development is a necessary condition it is not sufficient for human development or welfare. The other aspects of culture are equally important. The political, religious, traditional aspects etc are all important. For Africa to fast track it has to make improvements in many aspects of culture. This paper, however, will not venture into the discussion of all the cultural elements in order to buttress this claim. It will examine only the political aspect of African culture.

To speak of cultural development ought not to be understood as meaning that all the cultural African values are in need of improvement. There are some primordial African values that are still valid and relevant in our 21st century. They are eternal values and need no improvement. Such values will be highlighted as we discuss the political African practice before the imposition of colonial rule in the continent.

3. *The African Political Culture*

The political African culture being discussed here is that which was in existence before the adventure of the West into Africa. A large part of the political practice of this period, to a great extent, subsists, despite many years of colonial disengagement. Because the practice is engraved in the psyche or rather in the world view of the Africans, some grey areas of the political cultural practice have refused to be supplanted completely by modernity. But ironically some aspects of the political traditional life that need to be preserved in the face of the challenges of our multicultural societies have been allowed to be extirpated by modernity.

Before the advent of the colonial masters, the political traditional practice was not entirely the same in all cultural African groups. So, political African practice was not homogenous.

There were differences in political behavior,notwithstanding a good dose of what the cultural groups shared in common. Some cultural groups were democratic, some were aristocratic and yet others were oligarchic. The Igbo, for example, were described as ultra-democratic. As Oguejiofor notes: "Kings were rare phenomena among the Igbo, giving weight to the saying *Igbo enweeze* (The Igbo have no king)" (J.O. Oguejiofor, 1996). The villages, towns or political units were generally governed by council of elders. Such council existed at kindred, village and town levels. At each of the levels, the oldest man was the *Primus Inter-pares.* He directed the deliberations of the council. The council members arrived at a consensus after exhaustive deliberations. When the matter for discussion was a question of deciding whether to go to war or not, all the male members, and not simply the council members alone, were summoned at the public square for deliberation. Members freely aired their views on the matter. War was declared only after a consensus had been reached.[1]

In the Igbo socio-political life, there was emphasis on the equality of individuals. On account of this, privileges and burdens were shared following strict principles of equality. In sharing a keg of wine, for instance, the same cup was often used and the same cupful of wine was offered to each of those present. In the family, when meat was shared out for the children, the sharing was done by the most junior. Naturally he would ensure as much as possible that the portions were equal in size. The most senior among the children had the privilege of being the first to pick from the portions. The privilege to pick went down in descending order until it reached the most junior. The reverse was the case in the sharing of burdens. In this way, strict equality was maintained in their socio-political life. Justice as fairness which John Rawls is championing in our time was already in practice in the democratic Igbo institution.

The political practice of a cultural group such as Yoruba is not like that of the Igbo. It is rather aristocratic for their political structure recognizes the kingship institution based on merit. There were people empowered to exercise authority at various political units, like kindred, village and towns. The heads at the compound and village levels were called *Baale* while at the town level they were known as Oba. They were elected to their posts on merit. According to Oyeshile "The processes of selecting a *Baale* (compound head), *Baale,* (village head) and Oba (king) show that the subjects are duly consulted. And when a person is eventually picked to act in a certain capacity, he is expected to play down his interest for that of the community."(O.A. Oyeshile, 2007). These heads of political units were highly respected and trusted. This is understandable since their election was a true reflection of the wish of the people. These heads were assisted by the council of elders in the exercise of their function.

Oligarchy as a form of government existed also in Africa before the coming of the colonial opportunists. Oligarchs are people who are elected to govern others on the basis of the consideration of their wealth. Oligarchy exited and still exists in the Northern part of Nigeria. That this still exits is clearly shown in the work written by Peter BaunaTanko entitled "Northern Oligarchy and Arewa Poverty"(P.B. Tanko, 2012). The Northern part of Nigeria is the home of Hausa/Fulani. A good number of the Hausa are found in Cameroon, Ghana, Chad and Ivory Coast.

One thing that these three forms of government had in common in Africa is that those who were at the helm of affairs, that is the leaders, retained and wielded power till death. They held offices for life. This is a political African value. But the pertinent question now is whether this political value is still relevant in our contemporary period more especially now that the African countries are composed of different ethnic entities with differing political structures and ideologies.

4. *African Leaders and Long Tenure*

It is observed that the political history of most of the post independent African nations shows a remarkable tendency on the part of their leaders to perpetuate themselves in office. They do not seem to see anything wrong with this. This attitude is so because it is a hangover from the political African culture. The practice of staying long in office in the pre-colonial days could have, perhaps, contributed significantly in the maintenance of law, order and progress at the time. It could have done so because the political units were small in size. But the situation is no longer the same.

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[1] The decision to choose between war or compensation which was handed down to Mbaino people for killing the wife of OgbuefiUdo was taken by ten thousand men of Umuofia in the market Arena (cf Chinua Achebe*, Things Fall Apart*, New York: Anchor Books, 1994, p.11)

The political units are now much bigger in size and are no longer as homogenous as they were previously; they are now a hotchpotch of multicultural groups. On account of this, they are bedeviled with new problems. And for this very fact they need to have new solutions.

But this reality has not been taken seriously by most post independent African countries. Many of them have had leaders who stayed very long in office. Below are some of them who were or are still in office for 10 years and above.

President	Country	Tenure
MoktarOuldDaddah	Mauritania	1960 – 1978
Mobutu SeseSeko	Democratic Republic of Congo	1965 – 1997
Muammar Gaddafi	Libya	1969 – 2011
Hassan II	Morocco	1961 – 1999
Leopold Sedar Senghor	Senegal	1960 – 1980
Omar Bongo	Gabon	1967 – 2009
Mohamed SiadBarre	Somali Democratic Republic	1969 – 1991
GaafarNimeiry	Democratic Republic of Sudan	1969 – 1985
Julius Nyerere	Tanzania	!961 – 1985
Kenneth Kaunda	Zambia	1964 – 1991
Hastings Kamuzu Banda	Republic of Malawi	1966 – 1994
Sir SeretseKhama	Republic of Botswana	1966 – 1980
MoussaTraore	Republic of Mali	1968 – 1991
Siaka Stevens	Republic of Sierra Leone	1971 – 1985
Juvenal Habyarimana	Republic of Rwanda	1973 – 1994
GnassingéEyadema	Togo	1967 – 2005
Mengistus Haile Mariam	Ethiopia	1974 – 1991
SeyniKountché	Republic of Niger	1974 – 1987
MattieuKérékou	Republic of Benin	1972 – 1991, 1996 – 2006
Manuel Pinto da Costa	Säo Tomé and Principe	1975 – 1991, 2011 till date
OlusegunObasanjo	Nigeria	1976 – 1979, 1999 – 2007
Jean-Baptiste Bagaza	Burundi	1976 – 1987
ChadiBendjedid	Algeria	1979 – 1992
José Eduardo dos Santos	Angola	1979 till date
TeodoroObiangNguemaMbasogo	Equatorial Guinea	1979 till date
Daniel arapMoi	Kenya	1978 – 2002
JoäoBernado Vieira	Guinea-Bissau	1980 – 1999
QuettKetumile Joni Masire	Republic of Botswana	1980 – 1998
AbdouDiouf	Senegal	1981 – 2000
Jerry John Rawlings	Ghana	1981 – 2001
Hosni Mubarak	Egypt	1981 – 2011
Paul Biya	Cameroon	1982 till date
Robert Mugabe	Zimbabwe	1987 till date
BlaiseCompaoré	Burkina Faso	1987 till date
Zine El Abidine Ben Ali	Tunisia	1987 – 2011
Joaquim Alberto Chissano	Republic of Mozambique	1986 – 2005
YoweriMuseveni	Uganda	1986 till date
Omar al-Bashir	Democratic Republic of Sudan	1989 till date
Sam Nujoma	Republic of Namibia	1990 – 2005
IdrissDéby	Republic of Chad	1990 till date
Ange-Felix Patassé	Central African Republic	1993 -2003
Laurent Gbagbo	Ivory Coast	2000 – 2011
Paul Kagama	Republic of Rwanda	2000 till date
Abdoulaye Wade	Senegal	2000 - 2012

To many of these African leaders, their being in office for a very long time was their undoing. Some started well but ended up woefully.

D.I. Ajaegbo, writing in 1985 has this to say on Gaddafi: "When Colonel Mummar Gaddafi came to power in 1969, the country was poverty-stricken.

But the young Colonel had a mission, for in a matter of a decade, Libya was significantly transformed from a poverty-stricken nation to a rich and dynamic state holding her head high in the comity of nations."(D.I. Ajaegbo, 1985). In 2011, a popular uprising in Libya occasioned by economic problems led to the ouster and eventual death of Gaddafi. The story is similar with regard to the political life of Mobutu. After a successful Coup d'état, he began well as a leader with a vision and mission. He was looked upon as a charismatic leader who would bring Zairians to their Promised Land. But as the years rolled by he became intoxicated with power and arrogance. He amassed wealth for himself and at the same time made his country suffer political, social and economic hemorrhage. The situation was such that insurrection was inevitable. Laurent-Desiré Kabila led the militia group that forced the almighty Mobutu into exile where he eventually died.

Many of the African leaders who stayed long in office did not willingly relinquish power. They either died a natural death or were overthrown or forcefully made to step down or killed. Their exit often left a sour taste in the mouths of the citizens. Their countries were worse than when they took over power.

There are reasons why staying in office for too long are no longer fashionable:

1. The modern societies are bigger in size than the traditional societies. The latter were malleable and manageable because of their size.
2. The modern societies are medleys of multicultural groups. They are heterogeneous. The composing cultural groups have differing ideas on ideals of government. An oligarch may not have the patience to wait for too long observing how a democrat runs or ruins the state and vice versa. So there is need for a regular election to give other people with different ideologies the opportunity to sell them to the public during the electioneering campaign.
3. Staying too long in office may make a leader become arrogant. On assumption into office a leader tries to show that the welfare of the masses is his priority. Indeed the people are generally happy at the beginning and commend his efforts. Thereafter he feels he has achieved his goal. Consequently he thinks it is now time for him to reward himself. He begins to accumulate wealth with reckless abandon. Any opposition to his unbridled arrogance is whittled down. The result is poverty and misery in the Land. And development is stifled.
4. Staying long in office makes a leader acquire many enemies. In the discharge of his duties, he treads advertently or inadvertently on some toes. And for this reason he incurs their anger and hatred. The number of such people increases as the leader hangs on to power. To forestall any harm to himself he usually diverts the time needed to think out strategic policies on development to how to enfeeble the opposition. The needless amount of time which Mobutu, Gaddafi, Gbagbo and many others spent in fighting opposition could have been used to develop their countries.
5. Staying long in office breeds ethnic tension and rivalry. This seems to be the worst debilitating effect. This is so because development is always halted whenever there are ethnic clashes within the multicultural society as result of the long tenure of leadership from a particular ethnic group. Sometimes the situation may aggravate and result to genocide.

Sit-tight regime is a shibboleth and ought to be resisted or else development in the continent will remain a will-ó-the wisp. This political behavior which is a heritage from our traditional culture has to be discarded in the face of the daunting challenges of the modern time. Each African country ought to decide the number of years within which they expect their leaders to deliver whatever good they have promised them. Whether they achieve anything within this period or not they ought to hand over the mantle of leadership to others.

Having said this, there are some other values in political African culture that need to be retained. These are mode of election and dialogue.

5. *Mode of Election and Dialogue*

Knowledge and love are co-relative terms. Knowledge elicits love because one loves what one knows. The amount of love is dependent on the amount of knowledge. The love that springs up as a result of knowledge inspires trust and confidence. The political traditional practice had a space for the conjunction of knowledge and love. Their mode of electing or selecting their leaders was based on knowledge. The fact that they lived in communities made it easy for them to know themselves sufficiently well.

On basis of their knowledge they voted their officials to elective offices on merit. And for this reason, their leaders commanded their trust, confidence and loyalty.

One of the problems of modern political culture is that the people vote in the candidates they do not know into office. Elections are conducted under party system at the local council, state and federal levels. And the leaders that emerge from these elections are hardly known to the electorate. The modern mode of election is what has given rise to this. To address this problem G. Onah has advocated for a partyless election (G.I. Onah, 2003). That is to say, a political system in which no candidate is to campaign and contest under party platform. A candidate begins to canvass for votes from his village. And from there he proceeds to other political units.

Onah's political arrangement is certainly commendable for its aim is to ensure that credible and well known people are elected into office. However, there is a chink in his armour – a serious fault in his argument. He fails to take into account the African factor – the kith and kin factor. Villagers can vote for someone among them whom they know to be unworthy for a political office especially when the office in question is outside their immediate political units. They are more interested in the fact that one of their villagers is going to occupy an enviable and lucrative political post than in any other consideration. Apart from this point, partyless mode of election may not lead the electorate to know the candidate sufficiently well in multicultural societies. The party system can do it much more effectively. The party system offers the individuals from different cultural groups the opportunity to belong to a political party. The party members help to make an office aspirant known outside his own cultural group. Compared with the non-party system, the party system offers the electorates more opportunity of knowing the political office aspirants than the non-party system.

Nevertheless to know more on the character of the political office aspirant in a party system in the multiethnic African nations, there is need to borrow the practice of public debates and interviews that are already in place in many countries in the West. This ought to be enshrined in the African countries' constitutions as one of the conditions for standing for an elective position. The modalities are to be clearly spelt out. The exercise ought to be performed with honesty and transparency. When it is well done, the electorates will be *au fait* with the character of the aspirants and they will cast their votes appropriately. And the pretending candidates will crash out.

On account of the way public debates have helped positively to sway the opinion of voters, it has been observed that in certain places in Africa where public debates had taken place, some dubious aspirants had carefully absconded with the flimsiest excuses. They would not like their political immaturity to be exposed through the searching questions of accredited journalists. It is therefore necessary to make it compulsory for political aspirants to take part in public debates. The debates help to produce good leaders which the African countries need desperately for the development of the continent.

Another political African value that is still relevant today in our multicultural societies is dialogue. The Africans have an extraordinary capacity for dialogue; they cherish it. Dialogue is used at the kindred, village and town gatherings. Even the elders who gather to deliberate on issues which affect others use dialogue as well to arrive at a consensus. In a dialogue it is the person with the superior argument that prevails. Among the Igbo, for instance, "everyone retains the right to air his views and make his own contributions…Only well-argued and irrefutable points are taken."(M.P.B. Ebo, 1997).Habermas' characterization of principles of argumentation was already captured and practiced by the Africans. For him: "Argumentation insures that all concerned in principle take part, freely and equally, in a co-operative search for truth, where nothing coerces anyone except the force of a better argument."(J.Habermas, 1995). These features of argumentation are found in superabundance in the way the Africans carry on their dialogue.

Dialogue has some important benefits:
1. It makes the stakeholders feel that they are carried along.
2. It offers them opportunity of knowing the reasons or arguments behind the decision that is made.
3. It provides them also the opportunity of knowing why other propositions were rejected.
4. The decision that is based on the superior argument is certainly going to improve the welfare of the stakeholders more than the proposals that were discarded because of the inferior arguments upon which they were based.

If Africa is to live in peace and develop fast, it has to retain the value of dialogue. The military incursion in the politics of post independent African nations did untold harm to African value of dialogue. The politicians who took over from them have not done any better. Indeed, they behave like the military. They adopt serious political and economic policies without wide consultations. They behave as if to say they are wiser than the rest of the population. This is the height of foolery. Many African leaders have incurred the wrath of their subjects by their neglect of dialogue in running the affairs of the state.

6. Conclusion

African countries are trailing behind other continents of the world in terms of development. The situation appears to be getting worse by the day. This downward trend needs to be halted before everything turns topsy-turvy. No other country outside the continent will be able to do it as effectively as the Africans themselves. The Africans, especially their leaders must have the political will to shun the culture of long tenure. It is albatross to development. It must be discouraged in strongest terms if African countries hope to join the comity of progressive and developed nations.

In many developed nations, their officials are sometimes removed in office before the expiration of their tenure either because of inefficiency, highhandedness or corruption etc. Even some may decide on their own to resign before they are booted out. This is hardly the case in Africa. That tendency to hang on to power as if it is a birth right emboldens the African leaders to stay tight in the face of mounting opposition to their misrule. In places where there is regular election, they muster all machineries to rig the election just to give some kind of legitimacy to their hook on power. Such leaders who emerge in this manner feel they are on top of the world. They do not consider again dialogue or wide consultation as necessary in administration. Constitutional provisions ought to be made to prevent the emergence such rude leaders.

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