THE STATES IN THE CONTINENT: DEVELOPMENT BOTTLENECKS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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Abstract

The study interrogated development in the African continent and identified the bottlenecks which have constrained the continent from progressing in spite of the enormous natural resource endowment. It adopted the descriptive study design as a procedure complimented by observations of events in the continent and utilized secondary data, in the analysis. The situation analysis was conducted using both the Elites and Prebendal political framework, which revealed that the rulers of African States govern the states in their interests rather than that of the citizenry and see the state as their prebends, meant to benefit their personal interests and that of their ethnic minority against the larger interests of the entire country. This is further complicated by the pathologies of technical backwardness, fragmented economy and mal-distribution. The other challenges included; blur idea of development, gerontocracy in governance. It recommended benevolent dictatorship, merit in public service rather than ascription and strong institutions among others all of which are functions of leadership which is lacking in the governance of the African states.

Keywords: African continent, development bottlenecks, governance, leadership, prebends

Introduction

The African continent was a victim of the 1884/5 Berlin conference which unleashed the scramble for the continent resulting in the partition of Africa amongst the European powers. After several decades of colonialism, and the onset of proto-nationalism, the 1960s marked the years of decolonization and independence. However, the continent had enclave states such as Ethiopia and Liberia that were not colonized. The attempt by Italy to colonize Ethiopia was rebuffed at the battle of Adwa, whereas Liberia was the settlement for the freed slaves who were returned to Africa from America. The rest 52 sovereign states obtained political independence at various dates with the 1960s being the height of attainment of political freedom. However, the continent is one of the triple heritage – Africanism-animism, Islam and Christianity. It is a rainbow continent wherein Islam, Christianity arrived to meet animism as religion in the continent. It is culturally a very diverse continent, with Arabia belief and values predominating the northern part and Christianity the Western, southern and the Eastern parts respectively. It boasts of some of the most resourceful rivers, ranging from river Nile, Zambezi, Benue and Niger that are under-utilised (Mazrui, 1980 p. 2).

In terms of resources, Africa is one of the best endowed regions of the world but it is still the least developed of the inhabited continents. Estimates of African resources are on the whole tentative. Africa has 96 per cent of the former none - communist world‘s diamonds, 60 per cent of its gold, 42 per cent of its cobalt, 34 per cent of its bauxite and 28 per cent of its Uranium. Africa‘s Iron reserves are probably twice those of United States, and Africa‘s reserves of Chrome are highest in the world outside of the (Committee of Independent States (CIS) or Soviet Union (Mazrui, 1980 p.71). Africa possesses about 60% cobalt use in making car batteries and about 80% the global Coltan reserves (which is an electronic mineral present in all telephone handset).Africa‘s wealth in terms of crude oil

increases by day. Tanzania discovered crude oil in the shore of Zanzibar, Mozambique, Kenya in the East African Rift Valley, Ethiopia and Uganda are already medium term crude oil producers. Nigeria, Ghana, Mali and Chad (Frank, 2014 p. 90) are all producers of crude oil that oils the world's economy. It is very instructive to ask, why have all this crude oil wealth, not translated to the development of the states, continent and its people.

Paradoxically, Africa's agricultural resource potential is amazingly great, but food importation takes greater chunk of the budget and recurrent expenditure across states of the continent with few exceptions. Africa's water resources are a great one with exceptional opportunities for Hydro-Electric Generating potentialities. The outcome of all these, like the case of Nigeria is, _Never Expect Power' Always (NEPA). Another resource this continent possessed and no other continent share is the luxury of being traversed by the Equator, the Capricorn and the Cancer. This present and condensed the meteorological climates of the world into the continent, meaning anything that grows in any weather condition in the world can be grown in Africa. The paradox however is; Africa is the greatest recipient of food aid from the World Food Programme (WFP) as at December 2020, when it ought not to have anything to do with insufficient food.

Evidently, the continent is one in which the twin processes of Nation and State-building have not gained any root, wherein the various nations within the states have not been glued together (united) for each one to have reason to-live and-let-live with the other. The absence of this intangible asset have accounted for continuous tension within African states. The other element is state-building - the processes where the central government intervene continuously within the various nations in the state in an equitable, fair and just manner to indicate that the central government stand for and represent the interest of everyone in the state. This is often a function of leadership which has been alluded to in this study, as being in deficit, in the governance of the continent. The absence of these in the governance of the states in the continent has made the continent one of endemic conflict whether it is in DR Congo, Nigeria, and Cameroon etc.

In the Reith Lecture series on BBC in 1980s, Professor Ali Mazrui offered three explanatory paradigms for the _burden of underdevelopment' in the continent. He posited that considering African wealth and the fact that it is the least developed of the inhabited continents, this can only be *_the pathology of technical backwardness'.* This implies states on continent lack or are unable to develop technical capacity to exploit the natural environment. On the differences in standard of living among Africans within the states, he attributed to the *_pathology of mal-distribution'* and the preponderance of the poorest states in the world being found in the continent, this can only because by the *_pathology of fragmented economy'.* It would be recall that trading among African states is very low but trading with foreign states is very high in spite of regional organizations seeking economic cooperation among the states in the continent. These missed the point in the 21st century.

The international civil society organizations (International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and two others) have in their separate reports, stated that ‒in 2010, a billion Africans went about hungry, because the states in the continent had no sound policy directed at food production‖ (IFPRI, 2010 p. 12). This situation is not likely to have change today but to state that it must have grown worst, no wonder many Africans are undertaking dangerous journeys through the Mediterranean Sea to escape hunger, poverty and deprivation in the continent. It is not uncommon to find the explanatory paradigm that colonialism and its imperialism are responsible for Africa's underdevelopment. However, 60 years of self-governance ought to have shown tangible progress made in the continent. States in Africa are characterized by rule by strong men, pseudo-democratic government; rule of law is vitiated with impunity and does not tolerate dissenting views, they are

embedded in external debts and are deep in corruption. All these have implications for development in the continent.

The Problem Statement

In the exploratory section of this study, the wealth of the African continent has been listed out. The problems to be resolve are, why is a continent so endowed yet remain so poor after several decades of political independence? What are the structural linkages of this lack of development? Why have the universities established in all the states of the continent not found solutions to the continent's numerous problems, when essentially Universities are created to evolve and find solutions out of researches to society's challenges? When the continent possesses the luxury of all climatic conditions embedded in it, which can sustain all types of crops cultivation, which would imply that the continent should have no business with hunger arising from food shortages except for natural act of God. African countries have increased in the number that are crude oil bearing. The solid mineral availability in the continent is in global scale.

The questions to ask therefore, are why a very rich and endowed continent (i) is containing the largest number of poorest nations in the world. Why is it that Africa has almost the lowest human life expectancy of the entire continent in the world? How, could a rich continent have trade deficit on a continuous basis with their former colonial masters and all trading partners? The standard of living in Africa is very low compare to other continents. Why is African known for trading in crude products rather than in processed ones which would generate greater employment and values to the economy? The other questions agitating critical minds are: Why should African states spend more resources buying arms and ammunition, than they do on education as is currently the case? Why should the budget of African states indicate trillions of their currency as in Nigeria, with very little progress to show for it at the end? Why should there be so much inefficiency and corruption with very little law to punish transgressors? How could a continent so blessed contain the overwhelming number of countries defined by United Nations as the poorest in the world? How could a continent with world class minerals resources use by everyone in the world be rated so lowly?

By the end of 1980s the continent was known for its big men, dictators who dominate the political space, who did not tolerate dissenting views or dissent, they constantly rigged election to remain in power, and made themselves rich at the expense of the state. They disobeyed court orders, clamp down on the press, refused to fund their universities with attendant strikes. They often win elections constantly. A few of them ever voluntarily relinquish political power. Africa is slow to embrace e-governance and e-commerce. Why a continent is so richly endowed, yet remained so poor? In addressing the research questions poised in this study, it imperative to clear some of the aged old idea which is often used to explain away the African situation. The scholars in Africa are always quick to conclude, that the continent was a victim of colonisation, after obtaining political independence, imperialism became the hindrance. The second strand of the *alibi* is often that the states in the continent are post-colonial ones, hence dependence on the metropolitan countries.

We consider these trends of explanation as being obsolete, incapable of rationalising the immobility of the African continent, many years after independence. This is because the colonial exercise was not limited to the African continent. The Asian Tigers were also overseas colonies of the colonial masters, yet they seem to have found the right development trajectory. How did they overcome the challenges facing Africa?

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this narrative are:

1. To show and explicate that it is no longer plausible to attribute African underdevelopment to Imperialism, dependency and the nature of post-colonial state.
2. To evaluate why Africa is the most endowed continent yet contain the poorest countries in the world.
3. To interrogate and submit that the incongruence between the desire of the youthful population in Africa and that of the older ones in control of the continent remained the most conspicuous raison for the underdevelopment of Africa.
4. To establish that the paradox of lack of leadership in the continent is the most critical elements in African race for development.

Method and Materials

Descriptive research design was deployed in the investigation which consisted of identifying the characteristics of the population of African leaders and the populace. It was then focused on obtaining information concerning the current status of governance and determining the nature of the situation of Africans under different governments. The principal aim was to describe what existed in the African continent viewed from observations which were complimented by secondary sources. The design sought data to assist in decision-making while it was not intended to relate _cause and effect‘ relationship. It however indicated trends in the governance of the African continent. Procedurally, the approach entailed clear state of the problem, identification of the variables to be considered which governance was. The data required was the outcomes of development strategies on the populace. Observation and interview was the most prominent component of this design in this case while the target group was the civil population of some of the states. The population sampled across the states, indicated common characteristics from governance, consisting mostly of poverty, conflict and low human development indices (Ndiyo, 2005 p. 70). These constituted the processes through which the study was conducted.

Theoretical Framework: Elites Theory

The preponderance of aged rulers and the absence of the elites mobilising to challenge the *status quo* in the continent as well as the absence of development can only be understood through the perceptual prism of elite theory. The theory posited that there is an existence in the states in the continent of an elite group. This was postulated by Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) as a result of his observation of the trend of political event in his native Italy. He identified the inevitability of small governing elites, emerging in the society, whatever ideology the society adopts, to pursue their own selfish interests. Vilfredo Pareto‘s idea found credence in the postulation of Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929), in which he averred that there is always _a leisure class‘ which emerge in every _capitalist system‘ noted for conspicuous and ostentatious consumption pattern, in which the African ruling elites represents. Roberto Mosca (1875-1936), in his _Iron Law of Oligarchy‘ pointed at few elites in the hierarchy of organization taking decisions for the rest of the organization‘ as the organizational elites correspond with Pareto‘s postulations (Igwe, 2005 p. 133).

The elite in the society are distinguished by their enormous political, social and economic power by which they influence public policy in their favour. The elites therefore select one of their own to occupy the presidency, even if contrary to the desire of the majority of the people. The presidency then rules in favour of the elite group rather than in the interest of the majority of the citizenry. This is the situation across the African states where the average youthful age is 19.5 while the average ruling age is 75 years old. The

incongruence in the desire of the youth and that of the ruling elites means different development trajectories. While that of the elites is the guardianship, the youth requires adaptation to modernity. This means underdevelopment of the continent since the youthful energy of the youth cannot be factored into the development paradigm of the continent by the older rulers.

The above framework was complimented by the principles and practice of prebendal politics. A political arrangement in which elected and government officials assume that they now have right to share public revenue and use same in the interests of their ethnic group and marginally to their supporters to the exclusion of all others in the state. In this context according state offices are regarded as prebends that can be appropriated by officeholders, who use them to generate materials benefits for themselves and their constituent and kin groups (Joseph, 1987). The elites driving prebendal politics in African states exclude a good number of the citizenry in the governance processes in the elite‘s interests. The visible impact becomes few well-to-do persons and an army of poverty stricken persons in African states. The situation generates frustration which ignites political violence; hence the dominant feature of the continent is conflict.

Results and Discussion

It is instructive to note that across the states in the continent of Africa, the retirement age from the public and the civil service ranges from 55 or 65 years in service. This is because at the age, in a continent with low life-expectancy, the law of diminishing returns set into the minds of the persons. Productivity and creativity of the people of this age range would be on the decline; hence, they should retire for younger generation. Paradoxically, at the governance level, it is people who ought to be in retirement because of declining capacity that govern African state as shown below:

Table 1: Ages of African Presidents

Country	**President**	**Age**
*Cameroon	Paul Biya	87
*Sao-Tome & Principe	Manuel Pinto da Costa	83
*Nigeria	Mohammadu Buhari	78
*Ghana	Nana Akuffo Addo	76
Uganda	Yoweri Museveni	76
Cote D‘Ivoire	Alhassan Quatarra	78
Guinea	Alpha Conde	82

Source: Compiled by the author, 2021.

It is important to note that the average age of ten (10) oldest Presidents in Africa is 78.5 years compared to the average age of 52 years in most of the developed countries of Europe. Five longest presidencies in Africa stretch between 29 and 36 years adding a cumulative 169 years of rulership in Africa. Their longevity in office is matched by their old age ranging from 71 to 91 years. Paradoxically, Africa has the youngest population in the world and the median age being 19.5 years according to the United Nations, yet the continent has high proportion of oldest rulers who by implication, cannot convert the natural resources in the continent to better usages other than sell them crude and embark on spending spree in the name of development. The second level analysis is that there is a disconnect between the old rulers and the young population in what is best for the country.

The older rulers are not in touch with what majority of the population desire because when the president came to power, a large proportion of the population were not born thereby creating incongruence on the development trajectory.

The third level narrative is that these rulers are unable to sustain and maintain the alertness required for governance in the 21st century. They have clouded vision of where and how to lead the state and this has serious implications for the continent. These rulers who cannot relate with the younger generations often fail to mainstream the interest of the youth into governance because at their age, they can hardly understand the youth desire. In Nigeria for instance, President Buhari signed the _Not Too Young to Run' law but requested them to wait until it is their time to contest in the ceremony where he assented to the Bill to become and an act of parliament (Arise TV telecast May, 2019).

A fourth level analysis herein posits that these older rulers in African states, often deployed high handedness and brute force through the state security machinery to sustain themselves in power. Closely related to this, is the fact that the older African rulers institute and sustain themselves in power through complex corruption network. In this wise, they forestall the emergence of quality leadership which can grow the economy. This is the real bottleneck against development in the states in the continent rather than _imperialism, dependency and post-colonial economies. They are intolerable of divergent views and therefore very undemocratic even where they profess democracy. One of the *alibi* in which they bandy around is that with age comes wisdom, foresight and experience, hence they are better placed to lead the continent. This is very untrue because the poor economies of the states under their rulership points to the contrary of this view. The fifth level analysis of how African ruling aged elites remain in power was exemplified in Nigeria under President Ibrahim Babangida. As Osoba (2005) puts it, ‒If he corrupted enough Nigerians, there would be nobody to speak out on the issue of corruption or public accountability. And so the matter would disappear from the national agenda‖.

Consequent upon these, the UNDP survey in 1990 concluded that Nigeria had one of the worst records for human deprivation and in 1991 ranked Nigeria as the thirteenth poorest country in the world (Meredith, 2005 p 383). A classical instance of a country with wealth but made poor by leadership. The cumulative effect of all these generate gerontocracy and timocracy as forms of governance which makes Africa the proverbial Tortoise in the race for development. This is because the ideas of these old men are in contrast with reality on ground, where there exists high youthful population against the vision and mission of old men in government. The outcome is often a development trajectory which does not include the interests of the youth in its calculus.

Another challenge in the continent is that of what type of development should be chosen base on the peculiarity of the states in the continent. Whichever is adopted, there are certain elements that must addressed. These are the four fold perspectives of any paradigm which the pursuit of development must subsume in the view of Professor Dudley Seers. He had opined that the questions to ask about a country's development at any time are; what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What have been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned (Gana, 1982 p 92). He later added that any country on the trajectory of development should be able to achieve _self-reliance'. The increasing capacity to live within the means of the available resources within the state concern (Dudley Seers, 1969 cited in Gana, 1982 p.92). Consequently, whichever form of development African states choses, these four (4) elements be incrementally improved upon. These involve leadership who can see the vision and define the strategies to galvanise the citizens towards its pursuit.

Other major challenges to development in the continent are discussed hereunder:

First, the Conspiracy to Misgovern – African leaders seem to have agreed not to be motivated by any incentive towards good governance. This is because in 2006, the Mo Ibrahim Prize for leaders was instituted to encourage African heads of Government to practice good-governance and receive prize far greater than the Nobel Peace Prize. It is worth $ 5million for ten years and $200,000 yearly for life. It is awarded to African leader that meets four main criteria which are: First, be a democratically elected head of state or government; second, having served within the constitutional limits; third, left office at the end of his term; and having done so in the last three (3) years. In eight (8) of the 13 years of the operation of MO Ibrahim leadership Award, no leader has been found worthy of the award (Frank, 2016a p. 9).

However, the following former Heads of State and government have won it. Honorary Award to Nelson Mandela 2007-South Africa, Joaquim Chissano 2007-Mozambique, Festus Mogae 2008-Botswana, Pedro de Pires, 2011 of Cape Verde, HifikePunye Pohamba 2014 –Namibia and Ellen Sirleaf Johnson 2017-Liberia. A mouth-watering prize lasting 14 years with only a handful of African leaders that have won it indicate the absence of leadership in the continent. This is the real problem, because the functionality of and dysfunctionality of the states in the continent all rest on leadership which is in deficit in this continent and it states. This is not caused by the post-colonial nature of African states but simply the absence of leadership and the absence of the civil-society which should be eternally vigilant watching the leaders and speaking to the political authority when they err.

Second, the other arm of the conspiracy of the elites' corps in Africa and especially in Nigeria takes the form of creating an insecurity phenomenon to advance their poor governance. It takes the form of Boko Haram or Herdsmen, or kidnappers or Terrorists or Bandits many of which are false pretences to expend the resources which would have been channelled to real development to the purchase of arms for fighting these menaces. The reality often is that the contract for the purchase of arms becomes conduits for removing funds from the economy, which would have been invested back in the economy (Frank, 2019b p.5). The case in DRC, Sudan (using the Janjaweed to terrorize Darfur), Egypt, Zimbabwe (Green Beret), Nigeria created the Boko Haram, Herdsmen, Bandits, kidnappers and divert resources away from development is the nature of the states in Africa. The list of this form of phenomenon is endless in the continent which displaces development.

Third, the _discontent with globalization', the promise of which is not reaching all the citizens - hence there is massive alienation and disconnect with the states-which have been unable to guarantee the Socratic and Aristotelian _good life'. The African continent is boldly confronted with the _discontents with globalisation, arising from the failure of the phenomenon to improve their wellbeing. Samir Amin had decried this earlier as _an expansion of capitalism and further opening the continent to unbridled exploitation. Africa through this conference should decide the way out of these nightmares of globalisation. The fourth challenge is the debt peonage**.** The ruling elites have continued to borrow with no objective plan to pay-back. They used the population per capita as a yardstick to continue to borrow without tangible output from the use of resources so borrowed. Is the continent capable of resisting International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans as South-Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and China have declined IMF loans in the past? It would be recalled that IMF loans often come with extensive conditions that subvert the growth of democracy, hampered local economic growth and enrich Multinational Corporations (MNCs), and erect _crony capitalism' in the country. Several African States have travelled this pathway before, without significant changes in their economies. The citizens-*politai* is often made worse than they were before the rush to _free market economy.

Moreover, the followings are relevant about African states' development trajectory: (a) The Sub-Saharan African debt profile is currently at about $625 billion or 38 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP); (b) The current National Economic Strategy of Debt Inspired Economic Growth (DIEG) is not development. Scholars have long discounted growth as development; (c) The new scramble for Africa by China is a dangerous economic step. China is a Shylockas captured in the Shakespearean's _Merchant of Venice'. Africa would not get debt cancellation or forgiveness from China as they may have with Western creditors, especially as they would have with Joseph Biden Jr. as the American President; (d) The outcome of DIEG which is the prevailing political economic strategy in African states, is likely to result into; i) tight annual budget with high ratio for debt servicing; ii) More suffering people in Africa with already 10.6 million out-of-school-children as in Nigeria; iii) create uprising in the form of #EndSARS, #Arab-Spring and many Hashtags etc. iv) Greater migration out of the continent through unconventional routes; v) The return of Coup d'état to the body politics as recently witnessed in Mali and Guinea and is expected in many more African states.

Furthermore, the greatest missing link in the continent is qualitative leadership with the intellectual and mental capacity to govern and pursue the form of development which would seek the elimination of poverty through massive investment in the exploitation, processing and manufacturing of the enormous natural resources in the continent. The pursuit of poverty elimination would translate to the reduction of unemployment, inequality and the advancement of self-reliance in the continent. When leadership emerge in the states in the continent within the social structure of the population which is in the majority, then national development plan would be focused on programmes that would benefit the youths. A leader is one who understands the resources available to him and convinces himself that when they are harnessed, the people and society would be taken from a level to another. Thus, a leader has the capacity to foresee what no one else can. They must always look forward, further than anyone else, in order to anticipate the future, predict the challenges, and prepare their people to face them. A leader must have the mental and physical qualifications that enable him to carry out his duties. He must always be alert and must be fluent enough to express them. This is where Africa got it wrong with the preponderance of government of elders (gerontocracy).

The East Asia experiences revealed that there is nothing as the _Asian Miracles,' the factors which led the Asian states were; well thought out public policies which were not subjected to rapid changes. The connections between the government, private sector and the market were developed and the monitoring mechanism to determine functionality established. These states ensured that strong institutions were created and the occupants were recruited on merit to drive them towards their goals. Almost all loans were managed to repay it in most cases. This is a lesson for African.

Conclusion

In this study, we set out with four intentions: First, to show and explicate that it is no longer plausible to attribute African underdevelopment to Imperialism, dependency and the nature of post-colonial state; second, to evaluate why Africa is the most endowed continent yet contain the poorest countries in the world; third, to interrogate and submit that the incongruence between the desire of the youthful population in Africa and that of the older ones in control of the continent remained the most conspicuous reason for the underdevelopment of Africa; and fourth, to establish that the paradox of lack of leadership in the continent is the most critical elements in African race for development. After their critical evaluation, it is herein submitted that indeed imperialism has taken the back seat in the race for the development, while dependency persists. This is because the leaders of African states adopted erroneous concept of development, which is not focus on the

conversion of the enormous natural endowment of the continent through, processing, manufacturing and exportation. The economic activities inherent in these development programmes would curtail poverty and unemployment. They rather pursue that which consigned the continent to that of exportation of crude resources and net importer of manufactured goods with concomitant balance of trade deficit of the continent.

Incidentally, the states in Africa have not benefitted from the triad processes of nation, state-building as well as governance based on Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and J.S. Mill (1826-1873) famous maxim, ‗the greatest happiness for the greatest number', earlier pushed by Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BC) in the dictum ‗*Sallus Populi Suprema Lex'* translated to mean, ‗let the welfare of the people be the supreme law'. Clearly, governance in African states has never had this as the driving ideology, rather, the alienation of the populace. The social structure of governance in African states as indicated in Table 1, has older population in governance with majority youthful population discounted from the focus of the government. This leaves a large chunk of the population out of the development calculus, hence the massive youth unemployment in the states of the continent. The absence of articulate leadership is, therefore, the most critical bottleneck, among others. This leadership deficit translates to pathologies of fragmented economy, technical backwardness and absence of development in the midst of humongous corruption.

Recommendations

In view of the goals of the discourse and findings derived, the following steps pursuant to development in Africa are recommended:

1. The study revealed that most developed and fast-developing states in the world had in some cases benevolent dictators, who were relatively authoritarian in exercising absolute political power over the state to the benefit of the entire population, hence the advocacy for adoption by African states.
2. African states should ensure that strong institutions are created to develop well-thought out public policies which are not subjected to rapid changes and to administer development in the various states. The ultimate goal of public administration is to choose the best policies and decisions from the options available, and convert them into targets for which results can be measured. This is only feasible if the public administrative system recruits its personnel on merit rather than on ascriptive values basis.
3. African states must stop playing games of neglect with their tertiary institutions that are closed half of the time because of strikes such as the case in Nigeria. This is because tertiary institutions are the solutions centres for national development. East Asian states accumulated enormous physical and human capital from their tertiary institution investments. However, it should be noted that there is no single East Asian model to emulate. Each state adopted what was appropriate to its socio-economic situation with certain general principles.
4. The civil population must be ready to continuously demand for good governance from the government whether democratic or military government. This is because eternal vigilance is the price to be paid in any governance. This is because political power is only a trust obtained from the citizens. It is only then that we can expect to obtain the Aristotelian ‗good life' from the state because ‗happiness is the highest good sought by men in the society. African states cannot grant African anything less. It is important to understand that all these are function of purposeful leadership, which is lacking in the African continent.

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