

Panorama of Nigerian Political Leadership Since 1960

Zara E. Kwaghe^{1*} Chinyere S. Ecoma²

1. Department of History, Federal University, Lafia, Nigeria, P.M.B 146, Lafia.

2. Department of History and International Relations, Veritas University (The Catholic University of Nigeria), Abuja, Nigeria

Abstract

This paper titled “Panorama of Nigerian Political Leadership since 1960”, dwelt on Nigeria political leadership from 1960 to present. It discussed the different political leaders, their leadership style and how it has contributed to the under development of Nigeria. Fifty-five years after independence, Nigeria is yet to become an industrialised country despite all the human and natural resources she is endowed with. The major reason for Nigeria’s problem is leadership failure. Quite a number of the leaders that led Nigeria for the past fifty-five years lacked the wherewithal to move Nigeria from a third world to a first world country. All they were interested in was how to amass wealth and stash it in foreign countries for themselves and their families. They were not interested in the development of Nigeria and the welfare of her citizens. Their leadership style entrenched corruption and other vices and today Nigeria regularly appears top of the list of the world most corrupt countries. The paper also discussed the major reasons for the failure in Leadership; it is hoped that the present leadership will take cognisance of these factors and make amend so that Nigeria can take its place among other nations of the world.

Keywords: Consequences of bad Leadership, Leadership Failure, Leadership, Stewardship.

1. Introduction

Nigeria has been described as a failed state that works by many writers such as Dowden (2009). It is thus described mainly because the leaders have not been able to maximize the natural and human resources available in the nation to transform the country. Since 1960, Nigeria has gone from one political saga to another. Beginning with the inability of the ‘founding fathers’ to handle the power bequeathed to them by the colonialists to military putsch in 1966, then to civil war and twenty – eight years of military rule that highly encouraged corruption, ethnicity, nepotism and other vices to a democracy that institutionalised corruption. As aptly put by Dowden;

All its institutions- the civil service, the law, hospitals, schools, the army, police, business, academics – had become so corrupt that although Nigeria looks like a functioning state, it is just a shell. It still holds the shape of a nation from the outside, but within, corruption has become the institution. (Dowden, R. 2009)

Nigeria at Independence was seen as a nation with a prosperous future; a nation ready to tow the lines of development and eventually become a first world country. All of Africa looked up to Nigeria as a nation that will bring hope to other African nations. But, unfortunately, Nigeria has not been able to fulfil that dream of becoming an industrialised nation fifty-five years after independence. The question is what exactly is wrong with Nigeria? Why was Nigeria unable to accomplish this feat of industrialisation after five decades and a half? Comparing Nigeria with countries like Singapore which at 1965, was described as a “heart without a body” owing to the fact that “Singapore was not a natural country but man- made, a trading post that the British had developed into a nodal point in their worldwide maritime empire” (Lee Kuan Yew, 2000) but today has surpassed Nigeria in development so much so that it has moved away from third world to first world (industrialised world). Singapore was not endowed with natural and human resources (2 million at independence) as Nigeria was and is still is; but it succeeded in developing. This means that a country could have all it takes to develop but without good leadership it will not succeed in developing. As Chinua Achebe in *The Trouble with Nigeria* rightly pointed out;

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which are (sic) the hallmarks of true leadership (Achebe, C. 1983).

A lot has been written on Nigerian Leadership that anyone reading this article may wonder what new thing will the writer contribute on Nigerian leadership. However, many of the writings on Nigerian leadership concentrates on the actions of the leaders and very little is said on the basic elements that makes a leader. A leader is not a leader because of the position he/she occupies because a title and position do not guarantee performance and productivity. (Munroe, M. 2004) Nevertheless, in an article of this nature it is impossible to exhaust all that could be said on leadership especially with regards to Nigeria. Based on the above therefore, an unbroken view

of Nigerian Leadership from 1960 would be discussed paying close attention to some basic components of leadership that were lacking in Nigerian leadership which have contributed to the failure of leadership experienced in Nigeria.

2 The Concept of Leadership

Leadership is a concept that has attracted different definitions overtime. Studies have been carried out by different scholars to determine what leadership is and what makes one a leader. Writers like Aristotle, Socrates and Plato addressed the subject of leadership and came to conclusion that leadership is a product of natural endowment and traits of personality (Munroe, M. 2004). This idea connotes that some people are born to lead while others are born to follow. This concept of leadership has prevailed for a long period of time; however, history has proven that the above concept on leadership has been disproved by many. There are many great leaders who based on the above concept would never have been accepted as leadership material and yet became some of the greatest leaders in history. Good leaders as posit by Jago (1982) and Munroe (2004) are not born but made. If you have the desire and willpower, you can become an effective leader. Good leaders develop through a never ending process of self-study, education, training, and experience. A cursory look at different definitions of leadership by some scholars of leadership is pertinent. Northhouse (2007) defined leadership as “a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal”. The U.S Military (1983) further defined leadership as “a process by which a person influences others to accomplish a mission”. Zeitchick (2012) described leadership as “inspiring others to pursue your vision within the parameters you set, to the extent that it becomes a shared effort, a shared vision, and a shared success”. To Kruse (2013), “leadership is a process of social influence which maximizes the efforts of others, towards the achievement of a goal” Myles Munroe (2004) posits that leadership;

includes the capacity to influence, inspire, rally, direct, encourage, motivate, and activate others to pursue a common goal or purpose while maintaining commitment, momentum, confidence and courage (Munroe, M. 2004).

He further stated that;

leadership is the organizing and coordinating of resources, energies and relationships in a productive context for an intended result. In its simplest form, leadership is the managing of managers toward a common goal. Therefore, leadership by its very nature incorporates a clear purpose and vision which provide the fuel for inspiration, motivation and mobilization (Munro, M. 2004).

It is important to note that all the definitions on leadership above have a complex of processes in common; ability to influence others not through power but by social influence; possess a positive vision; and accomplish something. Thus, true leadership is impossible without a guiding vision and a purpose that generates passion for accomplishment (Munroe, M. 2004). It is the vision that creates the room for a leader to activate the cooperation, commitment and confidence of others. A visionless leader surely will not accomplish anything worthwhile because he (she) does not know where he (she) is going and for that reason will end up some place else. Vision and values, inspiring and motivating others to work together with a common purpose are basically the components of leadership (Munroe, M. 2004). Effective leadership cannot be achieved without these components.

The above discussion therefore suggests that a true leader must possess a workable vision or guiding purpose. The vision they possess directs them; define their values; helps them to communicate what they want to others and enables them achieve their goals. History has shown that all great leaders that ever existed had a vision and a purpose. It was that vision that drove them to accomplish what they set out to do. Thus, true and effective leaders as postulated by Munroe (2004) possess the following characteristics; purpose/vision, passion, integrity, trust, curiosity and daring. In light of the above characteristics, an attempt would be made at discussing Nigerian leaders and their leadership style since independence to present.

3. Leadership in Nigeria

Leadership is what makes an organisation or a nation. Without good leadership an organisation or a nation cannot survive. Even when it does seem to survive, it will be surviving on one leg. It is good leadership that propels an organisation, family or a nation. Nigeria since independence has been grappling with leadership and it is that inability to have decent and effective leaders that has given Nigeria a terrible reputation. The saying that Nigeria is a blessed country is no longer news. Nigeria is rich in both human and natural resources but unfortunately impoverished in leadership. Nigerian leaders both past and present have not been able to harness the human and natural resources of the nation in such a way that it would be a blessing to Nigeria, Africa and the world. Richard Dowden pointed out that;

In business, law, science, art, literature, music, sport, Nigeria produces phenomenally talented individuals as if its superheated society throws up brighter, hotter human beings than anywhere

else. The leader who manages to harness and direct all that energy – physical and human – will create a formidable country that will change Africa and the world (Dowden, R.2009).

Leadership in Nigeria is devoid of *positive* vision and passion, without these two ingredients leadership will not succeed. It is vision that keeps the leader on track while passion fuels the vision and makes it succeed. Positive is emphasised because leadership in Nigeria is mainly about wealth accumulation. A leader who fails to accumulate wealth at the end of his/her tenure is seen as a fool and a no-good. Thus, the vision of most leaders in Nigeria is accumulation of wealth and self- aggrandisement. Little wonder corruption became the most celebrated vice in Nigeria. Corruption is open in Nigeria unlike other parts of the world where it is conducted behind closed door or by nods or euphemism (Dowden, R. 2009).

Nigeria's leadership problem did not begin with recent leaders but with our *founding fathers*. In the bid to gain independence from the British, our founding fathers due to their inability to see and build formidable country where ethnicity and nepotism is shunned aided the British in the continual polarisation of Nigeria. They became engrossed in ethnic politics and ended up with regional political parties that encouraged the further polarisation of Nigeria. By 1960 after Nigeria gained independence, despite the promising start, Nigeria was soon engulfed by an intense struggle between the country's main political parties – Northern People's Congress (NPC), Action Group (AG) and National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) for supremacy over the federal government. (Meredith, M. 2006) The struggle continued to degenerate leading to breakdown of law and order and the federal government due to their lack of positive vision and purpose for Nigeria did little or nothing to placate the situation. In the midst of this entire situation as opined by Ojukwu, "the military intervened in a botched *coup d'état*. This failure notwithstanding, power was handed over to a loyalist army." Ironsi who inherited the leadership vacuum created by the coup plotters tried to restore peace and order but at long last 'failed in his interpretation of the term Nigeria" (Ojukwu, E. 2011).

The intervention of the military did not eventually bring the lasting peace that all were anticipating, rather it encouraged violence, civil war and legitimisation of indiscipline. The military ruled for 13 years and handed over to a democratically elected government headed by Alhaji Shehu Shagari. Shagari's government however lasted for only four years before the military re-introduced themselves in 1983. They remained in office 16 years before finally handing over to a civilian government in 1999 making it 28 years of military leadership.

4. Panoramic view of Political Leaders in Nigeria since 1966

Nigeria right from 1960 has not been able to produce good and quality leaders that had the nation at heart. The leaders led the country without well-defined vision / purpose; in a situation where they had managed to state their vision for Nigeria they lack the passion to execute it to the latter. The *founding fathers* for instance adopted the parliamentary system of government which was inherited from the colonialists without taking into consideration the Nigerian peculiar situation – nation building. They were mainly interested in furthering the division that was already created by the colonialists. They failed to give the young nation positive directions that will enable it soar to greater heights. They became more interested in consolidating power in their various regions and equally struggling to control the centre. The control of the centre meant the control of the nation's resources; thus, the inflation of the 1963 census and the eventual breakdown of law and order (especially after the 1964 Federal elections and the 1965 Western Region elections).

The *founding fathers'* lack of well-defined vision and purpose for Nigeria was further manifested in the attitude they displayed before and after independence. They were suspicious of each other. They never trusted themselves. This lack of trust emanated from the fact that they all had their different perception of Nigerian reality. They had no common perception about Nigeria. The Northern leaders feared Yoruba and Igbo domination while the Southern leaders feared that the Northern Region would use numerical advantage to suppress the south (Siollun, M. 2009). In a statement made by Sir Ahmadu Bello expressing his fear of southern domination, he said:

A sudden grouping of the eastern and western parties (with a few members from the north opposed to our party) might take power and endanger so endanger the north. This would of course be utterly disastrous (Schwarz, W. 1968 cited in Siollun, M. 2009).

With the above suspicion which has continued to bedevil Nigeria leadership building a formidable nation was a herculean task. A nation where citizens will not emphasis ethnic and religious rivalry rather come together to form a strong political unit. Nigeria is not the only heterogeneous nation in the world; but because of the leaders' inability to put aside all differences and build a strong nation, Nigeria has remained a crawling country even after 55 years of independence. Singapore by 1965 was also struggling as a young nation. It was and still is a multilingual, multicultural and multireligious society, but its leaders did not see that as a barrier for nationhood; they rather believed that a fair and even- handed policy would get the people to live peacefully together and remain united (Lee Kuan Yew, 2000). Their leaders were vision oriented; it was a vision of a state that would not simply survive but prevail by excelling, thus they pursued their goals with all sincerity and passion; today Singapore has moved from third world to first world, while Nigeria is still grovelling.

The lack of commitment to nation- building by our *founding fathers* was further manifested in the way and manner they handled the nation's finance. The First Republic under the leadership of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister, and Nnamdi Azikwe, the President, was marked by widespread corruption. Government officials looted public funds with impunity. Federal Representative and Ministers flaunted their wealth with reckless abandon (Siollun, M. 2009). The Finance Minister Chief Festus Samuel Okotie-Eboh was frequently mentioned in corruption allegations. Harold Smith, a former colonial officer said that Okotie-Eboh was:

a fat, jovial character... Those who disliked the Minister referred to him as "festering Sam". ... Okotie-Eboh's name is synonymous with corruption in Lagos. ... Okotie-Eboh was a gross squalid crook who dragged Nigeria down to his own level. ... He had dragged Nigeria into the sewer, but because of his corruption Nigeria has no sewers. The money to pay for them is still in Swiss banks (Smith, H. cited in Siollun, M. 2009).

These Ministers and government officials who looted the nation's treasury were never tried or punished by the leadership of the day. They were not punished because as rightly stated by Michael M. Ogbeyi the thinking of the First Republic Nigerian leadership class was based on politics for material gain; making money and living well (Ogbeyi, M.M. 2012). Perhaps that was why Nnamdi Azikiwe made the following statement earlier on:

that henceforth I shall utilize my earned income to secure my enjoyment of a high standard of living and also to give a helping hand to the needy (James, B. (1981) cited in Achebe, C. 1983).

Obafemi Awolowo also stated:

I was going to make myself formidable intellectually, morally invulnerable, to make all the money that is possible for a man with my brains and brawn to make in Nigeria (James, B. (1981) cited in Achebe, C. 1983).

However, in the interest of fairness it is important to state that not all the leaders of the First Republic were corrupt. There were handfuls that were not steeped in corruption even though majority were. The poor attitude of the First Republic leaders in handling the affairs of the country eventually led to the intervention of the military on January 15, 1966 and transfer of power from the civilians to the military.

The military administration in Nigeria did not fare any better than the civilian administration. Not long after Aguiyi- Ironsi assumed office, he issued what could be said to be the most controversial Decree in the history of Nigeria: the "Unification Decree" popularly referred to as Decree 34. Under Decree 34, Nigeria would cease to be called "The Federal Republic of Nigeria" but would be called "The Republic of Nigeria". The Regions became groups of provinces and the military governors would govern groups of provinces (Siollun, M. 2009). Likewise, the Federal Military Government was renamed the National Military Government and the Federal Guard renamed National Guard and so on. Decree 34 was not fully embraced by all (both the military and the public). In the north it was violently opposed and it led to riots that eventually degenerated into the killings of the Igbo in the north. Also, Ironsi's inability to bring the coup plotters to book and his other excesses climaxed in a counter- coup in July 1966 that took his life and some other soldiers.

Ironsi's death marked the end of his leadership and the beginning of Yakubu Gowon's leadership. Gowon as the Head of State did not go down well with Ojukwu the military Governor of Eastern Region. Ojukwu's refusal to accept Gowon sparked off civil war that lasted for three years. On January 15, 1970 Biafra formally surrendered and accepted the authority of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria. They also formally accepted the political and administrative structure of the country. This action ended thirty months of a grim struggle, sacrifice and national agony (Gowon, Y. 1970).

Gowon not wanting to further deepen the hurt created by the war, declared a general amnesty for all Biafra fighters and for Igbo soldiers and civilians that defected from official posts in Nigeria to Biafra (Gowon, Y. 1970). He declared the "no victor, no vanquished" policy and embarked on reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction. The effort to reconstruct the country coincided with the oil boom that brought massive amount of petrodollars into the government coffers. The oil boom increased the government spending but because of lack of vision cum proper planning the money was highly misappropriated. The Federal Military Government under Gowon embarked on bogus projects that gave room to massive corruption especially among government officials. One of such wasteful ventures was the importation of several million tons of cement by the Federal Military Government for grandiose developmental construction projects. The government ordered over twenty million tons of cement without considering how to unload them. Since the Lagos ports could not handle such a massive order, it caused "a backlog at Lagos ports as over four hundred ships battled for dock space and waited to offload in what was termed a 'cement armada' (Siollun, M. 2009). Quite a number of ships remained docked for a year, waiting to offload and collecting demurrage fee. The tons cement eventually became useless to the government because some sank while a large number solidified. Furthermore, fifty large cranes were imported from the United Kingdom to assist in unloading the cement but because no one knew how to operate them, they were left to rust in the ports.

Gowon had all the opportunity to industrialise Nigeria and move Nigeria from a developing nation to a

developed nation due to the amount of money realised from the oil boom but unfortunately he couldn't. His lack of foresight and positive vision for Nigeria manifested itself in the way and manner his officials amassed oil wealth and his failure to take punitive action on the culprits. Oil wealth gave rise to a group of rich and powerful military men and civilians that controlled the nation's economy leaving the majority of the populace in want and penury. Instead of the Federal Military Government improving the lives of the people by building industries, improving agriculture, educating their citizens and reducing unemployment, they were more interested in self-aggrandisement. Nigeria became a rich country with poor people. Gowon's ineptness made him declare that Nigeria's problem is not lack of money but how to spend to its wealth. He could afford to describe the situation thus because he had no plan or vision of developing Nigeria. Surely a leader who did not assume leadership by chance with a vision and purpose would know how to effectively spend the wealth placed in his hand. Gowon was no such leader. Thus, the oil money was either stolen or wasted on frivolous goods. Furthermore, Gowon's unsteadfastness was further revealed when he had to change the date for return to civilian rule. This and other actions such as corruption scandal, unpopularity of the military government, civilian discontentment over the unruly behaviour of military personnel and many others encouraged division in the military. The climax of which was the July 29, 1975 coup that ousted Gowon and brought in Murtala Mohammed as the new Head of State.

Murtala's regime was short-lived but prior to his death he tried to bring back sanity to the country. His six-month rule has been described by many as Nigeria's 'golden age'. Reasons for this description were rooted in the way and manner he tackled leadership in Nigeria. One of the major steps he took was to retire all the twelve military governors that served under Gowon. The governors were probed and ten out of the twelve were found guilty of illegal enrichment. The ones found guilty were dismissed from the military. Apart from the military governors, majority of the civilian ministers under Gowon's regime were also found guilty of corruption and mass accumulation of wealth. Prominent among them were; Anthony Enahoro, Edwin Clark, J.E. Adetoro, Philip Asiodu, J.H. Bassey, V.I. Bello, I.M. Damcida, O. Ahmadu-Suka and F. A. Ijewere. The above mentioned and the dismissed governors were made to return some of the illegal property acquired.

Forfeited Properties

S/No	State	Name	Properties
1.	Benue- Plateau	Chief Superintendent of Police Joseph Gomwalk	6 Developed plots.
2.	East Central State	Ukpabi Asika	5 properties
3	Kano	Deputy Police Commissioner Audu Bako	23 Properties across Nigeria
4.	Kwara	Brig. David Bamigboye	4 Properties
5.	Mid-West	Brig. Samuel Ogbemudia	11 Properties
6.	North- Central	Brig. Abba Kyari	4 Properties
7.	North -East	Brig. Musa Usman	4 Properties
8.	North- West	Police Superintendent Usman Faruk	14 Buildings
9.	Rivers	Lt. Alfred Diete- Spiff	18 Developed plots in Port Harcourt
10.	South- East	Brig. Uduokaha Jacob Esuene	Reimbursed N25,672.00
11		Edwin Clark	16 properties, 8 cinema houses, an undeveloped plot at Ijora, a supermarket and other developed plots in Warri, Benin and Lagos.
12.		V.I. Bello	N59,776.00
13.		F.A. Ijewere	N186,641.00

Source: Siollun, M. *Oil, Politics and Violence. Nigeria's Military Coup Culture.*

Murtala's regime was the only regime that tried to give Nigeria a vision, but because it did not last for too long the vision was not realised. His successor General Obasanjo continued with Murtala's policy especially as it relates to Nigeria's foreign policy. He also handed power to the civilians in 1979 as planned by Murtala. Based on the promise made to hand over power to civilians by 1979, elections were held and Alhaji Shehu Shagari of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) emerged winner. On October 1, 1979, the military under the leadership of Obasanjo successfully transited power to the new President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; Alhaji Shehu Shagari. This marked the beginning of a Second Republic after thirteen years of military rule.

The Second Republic under Shagari was marked with wide spread corruption and grave economic mismanagement. Due to the availability of surplus fund, public servants and politicians made looting a common practice. Shehu Shagari did not do much to either end or curtail corruption. As opined by Michael M. Ogbeidi, it was claimed that over \$16 billion in oil revenues were lost between 1979 and 1983 during the reign of President

Shehu Shagari (Ogbeidi.M.M. 2012). \$16 billion dollars lost to corruption and other frivolous activities; this tells a volume of what was driving the leadership; the leadership was more concerned with self- aggrandisation than the well- being of the citizens that voted for them. Politicians like Joseph Wayas and Umaru Dikko had no problem amassing wealth with reckless abandon. It was alleged that Umaru Dikko the then Transport Minister mismanaged about N4 billions of public fund meant for the importation of rice (Ogbeidi, M.M. 2012).

Shagari's administration was marred with corruption and economic crisis thus making people to lose faith in him. In 1983, the campaign movements were so violent; supporters threw caution to the wind and attacked their opponents with unkind words, machetes, acid and other deadly weapons. The country was almost degenerating into a state of anarchy due to disorder and chaos.

The situation called for another coup thereby bringing back the military to the scene of political leadership four years after hand-over. The coup was led by Major- General Mohammadu Buhari who took over the rein of leadership from Shagari in December 1983.

Buhari accused the civilian administration of ineptitude and mismanagement of the nation's economy 'making Nigeria to become debtor and beggar nation; and making corruption to continue to mar public appointments in complete disregard of the stark economic realities of the time (Emordi, E.C. 2012). Buhari's administration was however authoritarian and draconic and this did not give him the opportunity to right the wrongs that were done by his predecessors. His brutish style of leadership affected the rights of citizens and alienated him from the general public. The Decrees he wielded (such as Decree 2 – State Security and Detention of Persons, 4- A Public Officers Protection against False Accusation and 20- Death Penalty for Drug Trafficking) did not give room for people to express themselves and, make rational choices and propel both self and collective community development (Emordi, E.C.2012). His administration was not aimed at carrying the people along; a good leader must carry people along, he must not drive them but lead them. Unfortunately Buhari's leadership rather than improve the situation in the country worsened it; leading to untold hardship, insecurity and abuse of citizens right. Thus, on August 27, 1985, another coup was staged by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida.

According to Babangida his main reason for staging a military coup was to correct all the wrongs done by the Buhari administration. Due to Buhari's high-handedness, the people welcomed Babangida with open arms with the hope that his leadership will bring succour. He began subtly by releasing political detainees, abolishment of Decree 4, changed the position of military head of state to military presidency. After making people believe in his benevolence he began to exhibit the true intentions of his administration. It was during his regime that extreme military despotism was experienced in Nigeria. He was intolerant of the media, opponents and challengers. His desire was to perpetuate his administration thus all oppositions were clamped down. When in April 1987, *Newswatch* Magazine published an undoctored Political Bureau Report, the Magazine was proscribed. It was followed by the killing of the Editor-in-Chief, Dele Giwa, on 19 October, 1987 via a parcel bomb believed to have been sent by people close to Babangida.

Babangida's regime was characterised by deceit, fear, unexplained deaths, sycophancy and legalised corruption. It was during his regime that senior military officers of Nigerian, Ghanaian and Tanzanian descents and some other passengers (104 Army officers, 17 Naval officers, 17 Air Force officers, eight foreign officers, 11 Nigerian Air Force crew and nine others) (Ajani, J. 2012.www.vanguardngr.com/2012/12/20-years-after-families-of-victims-of-c-130-crash-at-ejigbo-abandoned, dec,23,2012) died in a Hercules C130 Plane, which crashed into Ejigbo swamp in Lagos three minutes after taking off from Ikeja Airport. Multiple engine failure during take-off was said to be the cause of the crash. The plane was scheduled to leave for Kaduna the day before the fatal accident occurred but developed an engine problem for that reason the passengers were not able to travel with the plane; however, the next day they were called back to travel with same plane because it was reportedly fixed. It was a journey that turned sour for many families in Nigeria and abroad. The crash would have been avoided if the authority concerned had taken the right measures or perhaps there are more to what happened that fateful day that are yet to be revealed to the general public.

This period also witnessed a lot of corrupt practices that were not checked. Advanced Fee Frauds otherwise known as 419 (named after the Decree that is supposed to ban them) was very rampant. People especially foreign nationals were swindled and sometimes killed by Nigerians. Nigeria became so notorious that most countries dissuade their citizens from traveling to Nigeria and if they must come to Nigeria, they should be wary of swindlers in Nigeria. Many sycophants were made rich through bogus contracts and in other fraudulent manners while the majority of the citizens wallow in abject poverty. His regime lifted the death sentence decree on drug peddling; thus making hard drug peddling a viable business among many Nigerian youths. Nigeria at his time became a trans-ship point for hard drugs (Emordi, E.C. 2012).

The President enriched himself and family members with the surplus revenue from oil not caring to better the life of the ordinary Nigerian. His overall vision was to acquire more than what will last him and his family for life time. Little wonder the offshore accounts were controlled by President Babangida himself. In 1996, a commission of inquiry discovered that the \$12 billion surplus revenue from oil resulting from the high

price during the Gulf War was missing from the accounts controlled by the President. Up till date none of the said amount was recovered from Babangida (Dowden, R. 2009).

Babangida's regime cannot be forgotten so quickly because it was a regime that used divide-and-rule (just like the colonialists) to cause commotions in Nigeria. He used ethnicity and religion extensively to divide or polarise Nigeria. In 1986, he enrolled Nigeria as a member of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (formerly Conference (O.I.C) without due consultations. It erupted into crisis in the country and within the military. It was one of the major reasons for the removal of his second in command; Rear Admiral Ibitu Ukiwe from political office. It was his wily, dribbling and crafty leadership style that earned him the nickname "Maradona" (after the famous Argentinian football player Diego Maradona). His office eventually came to an end in June 1993, after the famous June 12, presidential elections that he annulled. The unprecedented annulment plunged Nigeria into crisis that almost put an end to the nation called Nigeria. Thus, he was forced to resign. Before he left, he inaugurated the Interim National Government under Ernest Shonekan. Shonekan's administration which lasted for only five months; on November 18, 1993, Shonekan was removed by General Sani Abacha in a palace coup.

General Abacha's regime was equally characterised with fear, abuse of human right, lots of bombing and corrupt practices. Abacha like Babangida also desired to continue to rule Nigeria for a very long time. He cajoled both the traditional rulers and youths (million man march organised by Daniel Kanu in support of Abacha's transmutation plan to become civilian president in October, 1998) to endorse his desire to continue to rule. All who opposed him were either arrested and locked up or killed by his killer squad supervised by Major Hamza Al-Mustapha. Some of his victims were Mrs. Kudirat Abiola and Pa Alfred Rewane while people like Comrade Ola Oni, Bola Ige, Lam Adesina, Don Etiebet, Chief Enahoro, Chief Olu Falae and host of others were arrested. Furthermore, his killing of Ken of Saro- Wiwa and eight others made the Common Wealth Ministerial Action Group suspend Nigeria from Common Wealth until reasonable progress towards democracy is achieved.

Abacha's regime generated a lot of controversy locally and internationally. The tension it generated overshadowed the few achievements recorded by the regime. One of such achievements that touched the lives of the people was the setting up of the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF). The PTF was designed to function outside the mainstream of government bureaucracy; its main objective was resuscitating some collapsed government infrastructure and social amenities (Emordi, E.C. 2012). Abacha's government eventually came to an end on 8th June, 1998 after his demise. His death brought General Abdulsalami Abubakar to power on 9th June, 1998.

General Abubakar on assuming power tried as much as possible to bring calmness and peace in the country. He began by releasing all political prisoners incarcerated by his predecessors (chiefly Babangida and Abacha). Journalists, human right activists and other prominent leaders' were all released. He also tried to release Abiola, the winner of the June 12, presidential elections, but before he could embrace freedom, he died mysteriously in the prison on 7th July, 1998. His other achievements include the abolition of the law allowing for detention of people without trial; proscription of the five registered political parties during the Abacha's regime and the registration of the three political parties that contested for the 1999 general elections and handover to a democratically elected government.

The 1999 elections brought back democracy to Nigeria after 29 years of military rule. President Olusegun Obasanjo who contested under the People's Democratic Party (PDP) emerged winner and was sworn in as the Fourth Republic president. Obasanjo's first term was characterised by his desire to free Nigeria from the huge foreign debt incurred during the military rule. He and his Finance Minister Ngozi Okonjo- Iweala succeeded in getting Nigeria's huge foreign debt cancelled. He also tried to fight corruption by establishing the Economic Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). EFCC's main objective was to clamp down on anyone involved in financial crime. He appointed Nuhu Ribadu to head the Commission; Ribadu. Senior members of the government were arrested for financial crime but in time however, it became clear that only those opposed to Obasanjo were brought to account (Dowden, R. 2009). Other credits of his regime include the establishment of GSM mobile phone networks and privatization policy.

However, despite the above, Obasanjo's leadership was not devoid of high-handedness, bad temper, and dictatorial tendencies. In 2000 he sent troops to level the Odi community in Niger Delta, following the murder of several policemen. He fell out with friends and never forgave his enemies. He treated parliament with contempt and tried to persuade them to change the constitution to allow him run for a third term. The Parliament stood firm and did not grant him his request.

Obasanjo just like Gowon actually had the opportunity of transforming the nation positively because he had all the support he needed locally and internationally after a long period of bad military rule. The international community did not put pressure on him mainly because they needed a powerful ally in Africa that will promote free market reforms and he Obasanjo provided that (Dowden, 2009). However, his leadership style denied him the opportunity of transforming Nigeria and leaving an ever lasting legacy of change. His inability to truly fight corruption which is the main hindrance to transformation in Nigeria even though he established the necessary Commissions (EFCC and ICPC) needed to fight corruption deprived him of becoming a leader of repute. In fact report has it that during the first four years of his government;

federal ministers allegedly stole more than N23 billion from the public coffers. An audit report released by Vincent Azie, acting Auditor-General of the Federation, showed that the amount represented financial frauds ranging from embezzlement, payments for jobs not done, over-invoicing, double-debiting, inflation of contract figures to release of money without the consent of the approving authority in ten major ministries. Rather than cautioning the ministers whose ministries were named in the fraud or invite the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) to further investigate the veracity of the alleged fraud, Vincent Azie was hastily retired by the Presidency for procedural offences (Ogbeidi, M.M. 2012).

His administration ended in 2007 after eight years (1999-2007) in office. He handed over to Yar' Adua. Yar' Adua's administration did not last too long because he took ill and died before the expiration of his first four years. Nevertheless, he tried to set Nigeria on the part of progress by initiating the Seven Point Agenda. The Seven Point Agenda were the seven goals his regime hopes to achieve. The goals were;

- i. **Power and energy** - To develop an adequate power supply so as to ensure Nigeria's ability to develop as a modern economy by the year 2015.
- ii. **Food security** - The emphasis is on the development of modern technology, research, financial injection into research, production and development of agricultural inputs leading to a 5 to 10-fold increase in yields and production. This is supposed to result in massive domestic and commercial output and technological knowledge transfer to farmers.
- iii. **Wealth creation** - This reform is focused on wealth creation through diversified production especially in the agricultural and solid mineral sector. This requires Nigerians to "choose" to work, as hard work is required to achieve this reform.
- iv. **Transport sector** - The transportation sector in Nigeria with its poor road networks is an inefficient means of mass transit of people and goods. With the goal of a modernized and industrialized Nigeria, it is mandatory that Nigeria develop its transport sector.
- v. **Land reforms** - While hundreds of billions of dollars have been lost through unused government-owned landed assets, changes in the land laws and the emergence of land reforms is supposed to optimize Nigeria's growth through the release of land for commercialized farming and other large scale business by the private sector. The final result is supposed to assure improvements and boosts to the production and "wealth creation initiatives".
- vi. **Security** - An unfriendly security climate apparently "precludes both external and internal investment into the nation". Thus, security will be seen as not only a constitutional requirement but also as a necessary infrastructure for the development of a "modern Nigerian economy". With its particular needs, the Niger Delta security issue will be the primary focus, marshalled not with physical policing or military security, but through "honest and accurate dialogue" between the people and the Federal Government.
- vii. **Education** - The two-fold reforms in the educational sector are supposed to achieve the "minimum acceptable international standards of education for all." With that achieved a strategic educational development plan "will ensure excellence in both the tutoring and learning of skills in science and technology" by students who will be seen as the "future innovators and industrialists of Nigeria." This reform is to be achieved through massive injection into the Education sector (Ola, R. 2009).

His goal setting kind of gave his administration direction and that is one of the marks of a true leader as earlier discussed. He focused on achieving the Seven Point Agenda. He set a December, 2010 target for the generation and transmission of 6000 megawatts of electricity in Nigeria (Ola, R. 2009). He also confronted the Niger Delta problem through the creation of a ministry dedicated to the region. President Yar' Adua on the 25th of June 2009 came up with an unprecedented decision, proclaiming amnesty for all militants in the region. This proclamation and its subsequent acceptance by the militant groups brought some measure of peace and stability to the region (Ola, R. 2009). He also decided to commence the dredging of the River Niger after being on the drawing board for forty years. However, the cold hands of death did not allow him the opportunity to complete his task. His death on 4 May, 2010, led to the swearing in of his Vice President, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan as the new President on 5 May, 2010.

Jonathan after being sworn in promised to continue with Seven Point Agenda Yar' Adua, however, as time passed he declared that all aspects of the economy needed attention not just the seven points. He ended the Yar' Adua period and contested for another four years. He won the 2011 presidential elections and ruled till 2015. Jonathan tried to improve the economy of the country but he was faced with a lot of challenges. Among his major achievements include the revival of the railway transport system that had stopped functioning for the past 28 years; dredging of the Niger, construction of the 2nd Niger Bridge, improved power supply from 2500mw to almost 5000mw and construction of 10 new power plants; introduced cutting edge anti-corruption technology based Public Finance management tools including Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information (IPPI), Government Integrated Financial Management Information System (GIFMIS) and Treasury Single

Account (TSA); halting the spread of the Ebola Virus disease; established 12 federal universities, vibrant democracy (for the first time freedom of speech was allowed, rise of strong rival opposition parties and the use of card readers for elections) gender parity in politics, and many others.

The major challenge faced by Jonathan administration was insecurity. The Boko Haram terrorism in the North threatened the very existence of Nigeria as a nation. The insurgents succeeded in killing, maiming and displacing citizens especially in the North East region of the nation. The terrorists took over some of the towns in the north east and hoisted their flags in these towns. Most of all they abducted women and school girls, prominent among which was the Chibok girls. Jonathan deployed soldiers to fight the terrorists and also released millions of naira for the purchase of ammunitions to fight the insurgents. Try as much as he could, he did not succeed in curbing the activities of the terrorists. The main factors that contributed to the failure were corruption and sabotage. Many of the members of his administration who were entrusted with the purchase of ammunition and making sure that the terrorists were defeated diverted the money assigned for the programme. The former National Security Adviser, Sambo Dasuki for instance was accused of taking advantage of the Boko Haram insurgency to divert huge amount meant for the purchase of ammunition. Aside Boko Haram, there was the Fulani herdsmen attack on villages, Ombatse militia, kidnapping and many others.

Massive corruption was one other factor that affected Jonathan's administration. Corruption has always been a problem in Nigeria but Jonathan's administration witnessed a frightening record. The president allowed corruption to thrive under his administration. He failed to bring corruption cases to a logical end. Corrupt officials were allowed to go without being punished. Examples were; 95 billion naira Maina pension scam, Kerosene subsidy scam, police pension scam, Stella Oduah car purchase scandal, among others. Jonathan as a person may not be corrupt but his inability to call to order members of his administration robbed him of his second term in office. Many took advantage of his simplicity and that is not a mark of an effective leader. An effective leader is expected to be simple and at the same time firm.

Jonathan's regime came to an end on 29 May, 2015 after handing over to President Mohammed Buhari who won the 2015 presidential elections. He became the very first to unseat an incumbent in Nigeria. Buhari on assuming power emphasized that his administration would enact new policies to diversify Nigeria's economy from oil to other sectors such as agriculture, mining and manufacturing (Nwabughio, L. 2016). He also promised to fight against corruption and prosecute all those charged with embezzlement and siphoning of public funds. Meanwhile some top government officials during the past and present administration has been arrested by the anti-graft commissions and are currently facing trials. It is hoped that his war on corruption will not just end with the Jonathan's administration but will extend to all previous administrations before Jonathan because they were all guilty of corruption.

Buhari also embarked on soliciting loans from foreign nations to help finance the 2016 budget. China is one of the countries that have agreed to give Nigeria \$2 billion loan to help finance the 2016 budget. There is nothing wrong in asking for loan, however, why should the President opt for more loans from other nations of the world to increase the nation's debt which is already being serviced with 25% of the Federal Government annual budget? Are there no options? What will happen to the economy in subsequent years if the nation continues to use a large part of its annual budget to service loans? Wouldn't these loans mortgage the future of Nigerians and place Nigerians at the mercy of foreign nations?

The problem with African leaders is that they are so aid-dependent and this has made the generality of Africans to have an aid-dependent mentality. Thus, any little challenge they seek for who will give them loans/aid to solve their problems. Many a times the loans/aid are mismanaged and never used for the purpose for which it was got. As posit by Senator Ben Bruce- Murray (2016) the government can attract more revenue by working with Nigerians in diaspora. According to him Nigerians in the diaspora remitted over \$20 billion into Nigeria in 2015, more than double the combined amount from foreign, direct investments, international aids and foreign loans that came into Nigeria in 2015. It is therefore, pertinent that Buhari's government rather than rush to collect loans from foreign nations thereby increasing Nigeria's indebtedness, should explore other necessary avenues.

Nations like Singapore in 1967 faced economic problems but rather than opt for foreign aid, the government decided otherwise. The leaders were convinced that their people must never have an aid-dependent mentality. If they were to succeed, they had to depend on themselves. To Lee Kuan Yew, the world does not owe them a living. They chose not to live by the begging bowl (Lee Kuan Yew, 2000). If Lee could push his people to believe in themselves rather than depend on others to bail them out, what stops Nigeria from doing the same? How long should we continue to live by the begging bowl?

Although it is too early to judge Buhari's government, nonetheless, some of the basic issues that would be used in assessing his administration at the end of his four year term are; his decision to collect foreign loans; diversification of the economy from oil to other sectors and his fight against corruption.

5. Why Leadership Failure in Nigeria.

The above discourse on Nigerian political leaders since independence reveals the bitter truth that Nigeria's major problem is leadership as pointed by Chinua Achebe. Nigerian leaders so far lack basic qualifications for leadership. It is therefore not surprising to see the society deteriorate overtime. Basically all institutions in Nigeria had become so corrupt over the years so also is the average Nigerian. This problem can only be attributed to the kinds of leaders that led Nigeria for the past fifty-five years. Nigeria has not been opportune to have self-less servant leaders like Mandela in South Africa, Lee in Singapore or John Magufuli in Tanzania that are willing to show the followers the right way to follow. Everything about leadership rises and falls on the leader. Followers often times follow the examples of the leaders. When the leader is good and disciplined, his/her followers will be good and disciplined. As the leaders became vicious and avaricious so were the followers. Today, corruption pervades Nigerian life so much that it is hard to imagine life in Nigeria without corruption.

Leadership in Nigeria has failed because those that were given the grace to become leaders lack the following qualifications:

5.1 *Commitment to Integrity and High Social Standard*

Integrity is steadfast adherence to a strict moral or ethical code. Integrity has to do with someone being faithful to do what he/she said he /she would do. Faithfulness is a virtue of character (Munroe, M. 2004). A leader is expected to be a person of integrity. When that is lacking in a leader, the leader's word cannot be trusted. Over the years Nigerian political leaders (both civilian and military) have demonstrated that they cannot be trusted when it comes to keeping their words. They have promised to develop the nation and better the lives of the citizens but as soon as they assume leadership they do contrary things. They jettison all promises and begin to accumulate wealth. To them politics is a business career and not a place to serve. Beginning from independence till date (probably with the exception of General Murtala whose regime only lasted for seven months) all past leaders were guilty of embezzlement and squandering of Nigeria's wealth. They were also guilty of further under developing Nigeria and leaving the citizens to wallow in poverty. For example, President Sani Abacha alone is believed to have stolen over \$20 billion from the nation's coffers and General Babangida stole \$5 billion; each stole more than net worth of all United States presidents combined (their net worth is about \$2.7 billion) (Ayithey, G. 2016).

5.2 *Moral and Ethical Qualifications*

Leaders must never compromise the standards of truth, honesty and integrity in all walks of life. Once a person becomes a leader, the person is placed in a highly visible position and he/she becomes attractive to many interests. Their position therefore makes them more vulnerable to temptations of all kinds. Thus, it is of utmost importance for a leader to devise means of controlling his/her passion to avoid falling in to temptations. It is rather unfortunate to reiterate that Nigerian leaders so far have failed to demonstrate the above virtues in their art of leadership. Chinua Achebe in his book *The Trouble with Nigeria* lamented as to why we were drawn to concepts like *unity* and *faith* instead of concepts as *justice* and *honesty*. He further explained that virtues like unity and faith are not absolute but conditional; therefore leaders can choose to ignore them because of their potentialities for looseness. But virtues like justice and honesty cannot be easily directed to undesirable ends. He further asked a mind probing question "is it possible that as a nation we instinctively chose to extol easy virtues which are amenable to the manipulation of hypocrites, rather than difficult ones which would have imposed the strain of seriousness upon us?" (Achebe, C. 1983). There is a need for our leaders to have a re-think on their moral and ethical values because that is actually what defines a leader.

5.3 *Stewardship*

A leader must be found faithful in stewardship. A steward is someone who takes care of another person's property. Property here not only refers to money but even the people too. The leader does not own the people, they are entrusted in his/her care; thus, it would be wrong for the leader to treat the people and wealth under his care carelessly. Stewardship is an important virtue that must be possessed by a leader because a leader who cannot be faithful over that which is entrusted to him/her will not excel in the art of leadership. It is the absence of stewardship in Nigerian leaders that makes them embezzle, settle for mediocrity, deny the people of better life and sentence the majority of the citizens to a life of abject poverty in the midst of plenty.

Unfortunately Nigeria is not the only country in the world to have suffered in the hands of military dictators and politicians who care little for their citizens. Howbeit, quite a number of similar leaders have invested in their country and people. Indonesia for instance is an oil producing country that suffered similar dictatorships from the 1960s to 1998. However, when Suharto left power in Indonesia, the national output was \$221 billion after an average twenty-year growth rate of 7 percent. Adult literacy was almost 90% and manufacturing represented 40% of exports. But when Abacha died Nigeria's output was \$33.4 billion after a

2.5% average growth. Adult literacy in Nigeria stood at 60% and non-oil export were less than 5% (Dowden, R. 2009). Eighteen years after Abacha's death the above situation still bedevils Nigeria. As Dowden further posited, the difference between Nigeria and Indonesia rulers was that the Indonesians invested in the country and its people. They developed Indonesia and cared about its future, education and health. While the Nigerian rulers only cared about themselves. They stole whatever they could and shipped the money out of the country, letting schools, universities and hospitals collapse (Dowden, R. 2009).

5.4 Patriotism

Patriotism is one's love for his country. Every citizen on earth belongs to a country and membership is not determined by the individual but by Providence. It is God that determines the times set for all and the exact places where we should live. Thus, it is the duty of all to love our country. A patriot is not one who talks about his/ her country but one who cares deeply about the well-being of his/her country and its people. Reciting national anthem and pledge with a sober or sombre attitude is not what makes a person a patriot. A patriot is that person who is determined to see his/her country make progress and the citizens living well; and if given the opportunity to lead in any capacity will go for nothing but the best for his/her country and people. Sadly, Nigeria cannot boast of such leaders since independence.

5.5 Indiscipline and lack of Self-control

Indiscipline and lack of self-control are major factors that contributed to leadership failure in Nigeria. Both the leaders and the led suffer from indiscipline and lack of self-control. Leaders who are expected to be the first to keep and uphold the laws of the land break them at will and are not punished. Discipline is an essential ingredient of leadership, without it a leader will surely mislead his followers because the followers will not hesitate to behave the same way as their leaders. As observed by Achebe:

Leaders are, in the language of psychologists, role models. People look up to them and copy their actions, behaviour and even mannerisms. Therefore if a leader lacks discipline the effect is apt to spread automatically down to his followers. The less discerning among these (i.e the vast majority) will accept his action quite simply as "the done thing", while the more critical may worry about it for a while and then settle the matter by telling themselves that the normal rules of social behaviour need not apply to those in power (Achebe, C. 1983).

Due to the behaviour of our leaders past and present; indiscipline and lack of self-control pervades all aspect of Nigerian life- in the home, in the school, in the public service, in the private sector, in government and in legislative assemblies, on the roads, in the air, you just name it. The leaders who stole encouraged the people to steal, while the violent ones employed the people as thugs and body guards to fight and kill their opponents/critics. They give them licence to kill and become brutal and also encourage them to take hard drugs; when their services are no longer needed they jettison them. Majority of these people end becoming a menace to the society.

6. Consequences of Bad Leadership

Nigeria since 1960 has not been fortunate to have exceptional political leaders that were determined to develop Nigeria and move her away from a developing country to developed country. The leadership style exhibited by all the leaders so far was that of self-aggrandisement. Their motive for leadership (exemplified by their style of leadership) was not to promote the growth of the country and welfare of its citizens but to accumulate wealth for themselves and their children and children's children. This style of leadership which had gone on for over fifty years has succeeded in breeding corrupt; undisciplined; uncultured; violent and hard-hearted citizens. It is important to emphasise that there are many Nigerians that have not given themselves over to corruption and violence but unfortunately they make so little impact on the life of our nation.

Corruption and violence have become so attractive to the people because through such means they can make quick money that ordinarily they would not have been able to make. The rate of poverty in the midst of plenty has driven many into embarking on shady deals, becoming kidnappers, terrorists, money launderers. And so on ad infinitum. About 70% of those involved in kidnapping and terrorism in Nigeria are either unemployed youths who see plenty money being shared by the leaders or youth who are tired of being used by the leaders to perpetuate evil. Therefore, the only way out is to violently get what belongs to them; after all the saying goes "*tif you cannot beat them, you join them.*"

The level of violence and conflict in Nigeria has increased since independence. The people due to poverty, insecurity and indiscipline are aggressive. Thus, the slightest provocation results to violent acts. Perhaps if majority of Nigerians were exposed to quality education, health facilities, employed in different sectors of the economy; good living conditions; enough food to eat; living and working in any part of the country irrespective of his/her ethnic group and religion; fully exercise their political rights in parts of Nigeria where they reside; maybe the level of violence experienced would be minimal.

7. Conclusion

This paper is an unbroken view of the political leadership in Nigeria since independence. After the colonialists handed over power to Nigerians, Nigeria has moved from one political problem to the other. The political problems include; military coup d'état; civil war; military regime; brief democratic rule and so many more. In Nigeria's fifty-five years as a nation one basic problem that has been haunting Nigeria is leadership failure. The leaders that had the opportunity to lead Nigeria unfortunately failed Nigeria and Nigerians in diverse ways. They failed to use the vast human and natural resources endowed on her by God to develop the country and better the lives her citizens. Rather the countless billions poured into the national coffers was embezzled by the leaders and stashed in foreign nations since the past fifty years.

Today, Nigeria is still grappling as a nation; deeply corrupt and saddled with unemployed youths that have adopted violence as life style. Terrorism, kidnapping, cattle rustling, unabated killings and sacking of villages by Fulani herdsmen, rape, murder, displacement, proliferation of small arms and light weapons and so on are the order of the day in Nigeria. As a result of the various attacks experienced in different parts of the country poverty and insecurity continue to increase.

With the level of globalisation and the amount of information that could be processed by an individual or a group today, it is time for Nigeria political class to begin to chart a new way of leadership for the nation. If not, with all that is going on they may wake up one day to realise that the government has been sacked by a group of rebels. Boko Haram started subtly in 2009 and was underestimated by the government; however, before the very eyes of the government it sacked towns, destroyed properties, abducted and murdered the citizens and threatened the very existence of Nigeria as a nation. The lackadaisical attitude of the government encouraged the terrorist group to press on and today they have become the Nigerian government and the entire citizens' worst nightmare. Presently, the Fulani herdsmen are going about killing and sacking people from their towns and the government is pretending not to know how to handle them. It is hoped that a day will not come when the people they are attacked will not get tired and retaliate.

Finally, the present political class need to go beyond mediocrity to bring Nigeria back to track. The leadership must surround itself with intelligent and patriotic Nigerians that are determined to push Nigeria forward. It cannot continue to rely on bunch of illiterates and unethical bigots (Bashir, I.L.2014) and hope to make progress. Fifty-five years of hypocrisy, mediocrity, greediness, corruption, divide-and-rule, ineptitude and under development is enough. This is the time to rise above the devastating problems, stop the blame game and build Nigeria. Political leaders must have a well written vision for Nigeria and make it public so that all Nigerians will see it and run with it. By doing so, they will be held accountable when they derail; likewise, the citizens will be held accountable when they fail to support the government to achieve the vision for the nation.

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