

# Bad Leadership As A Catalyst For Rebel Movement In Africa: A Study Of Sahel Region

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## Abstract

The space at which development occur anywhere in the world is influenced by the level of political culture of the people as well as the style of its leadership and corruption rating of the country. In most African States, corruption has become a major impediment to development. Corruption has ravaged the entire African system, causing the continent to be the most corrupt in the world. If Africa is to be saved from this infection, the endemic presence of corruption must be dealt with. This paper set to examine the activities of bad leadership in Africa as a catalyst for crises and Rebel movement within the Sahel Region; and suggested a way forward for the desired change. The research work recommends that, there should be strong synergy among various stakeholders within and outside the Sahel Region to imbibe the concept of good governance in other to minimize crises and eradicate the activities of rebel movements and the flow of small arms and light weapons into neighboring states.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Africa's poor leadership and dictatorship is a direct byproduct of the society that produces such autocratic leaders. As well the attendance consequence, these in most cases lead to series of crises. As long as the African society remain as it is (and there is no slightest indication it won't) it will continue prolifically producing all sorts of the following rulers that endorsed post-independence wrecking of Africa: Idi Amin Dada of Uganda, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Al-Gadhafis of Libya, Jean Bedel Bokassa of Central African Republic, Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo, Mengistu Hailemariam of Ethiopia and Siad Barre of Somalia.

They ran some of the most corrupt dictatorships in Africa. Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, Abdoulaye Wade Senegal, Paul Biya of Cameroon, Ismail Omar Guelleh of Djibouti, Teodore Obiang Macias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Charles Taylor of Liberia, Arap Moi of Kenya, Isaias Afewerki of Eritrea, Jafer Numeri of Sudan, Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia, Omar Bongo of Gabon, Blaise Campore of Burkina Fasso, Mswati III, King of Swaziland, Yahaya Jameh of Gambia, José Eduardo dos Santos, of Angola, Sani Abacha of Nigeria, Musevenis of Uganda, Idrissu Deby of Chad, Laurent-Desire Kabila of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria and Jonas Savimbi, the Angolan rebel leader, were some of the most vicious, avaricious and capricious totalitarians in Africa.

It is no longer arguable whether most of these African State are developing or under develop economy or not. Even a blind man who does not see can feel the hardship sweeping across the land like a hurricane. This is manifested in the high dependency, poverty, insecurity, brain drain, unemployment rate, the spiraling inflation, decrepit physical and social infrastructure and poverty of governance etc. What is however still in contention is on the strategies to re-engineer these African State, its institutional capacities and operations and more importantly to rejuvenate the economy so that the ordinary African can boast and have confidence in the Black race. Successive administrations had looked for many escape routes, some of them so tortuous that the malaise is even aggravated. Africa and perhaps the Sahel Region is a criminal enterprise route, and the general bad governance, which has precipitated acute hardship, has created room for the youths and unemployed to go into criminality.

In Nigeria, for example, the past rulers of the erstwhile "Giant of Africa," including General Ibrahim Babangida and the late General Sani Abacha, presided over the humiliating slide of Nigeria from affluence to a browbeaten regional power. The insatiable profligacy of these rulers and their sycophantic lieutenants brought Nigeria to her knees. The fraudulent rulers told the people to wait for the light at the end of the tunnel. Today, Nigerians are more miserable than they were decades ago, but the politicians are stealing more than ever.

They are the richest Nigerians, but the only business they have is being in government. Successive regimes promised electricity, potable water, dependable health care, good roads, and food for all by the magical years 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010 and now vision 202020 probably we will say they are visionless vision by visionless visionaries. They failed to keep the promise each time. The corrupt ruling party promised to take the nation to the Promised Land within a given period of time, but what do we get from them Adversity! The Nigerian situation as a case study and has turned many youths into kidnapers, armed robbers, militants and now suicide bombers. Nigerians now live behind metal bars due to lack of security.

It is beyond disputes that Africa's inability to realize these goals stems from the quality of governance in the continent. If in the face of this current global economic challenge, where governments and global leaders are leaving no stone unturned to ensure the sustainability, growth and development of their economies,

Africa could not identify a single distinguished leader who has governed according to the principles of good governance, shown commitments to improving the economic and social prospects of his people and lead an exemplary government worthy of emulation to pick one of the prestigious awards of the continent, the Mo Ibrahim Award, then the issue of governance must be seriously revisited. No wonder, In President Obama maiden speech in sub-Saharan Africa he stressed that good governance is the change that can unlock Africa's potential and emphasized that it is the ingredient which has been missing in many places for far too long.

## 2. Scope

This study limits its scope to the period “between” 1985-date 2013. This period is significance in the history of development in Africa and the Sahel Region in particular because; the period witnessed many cases of crime against humanity especially from various African leaders which resulted into the emergence of many Rebel movements in Africa and the attendance proliferations of Small arms and light weapons

### 2.1 Conceptual clarifications

**Leadership;** this can be broadly defined as the relation between an individual and a group built around some common interest and behaving in a manner directed or determined by him.” (Schmidt, 1933)

Leadership can also be defined as the art of motivating a group of people to act towards achieving a common goal.

**Bad leadership;** Bad" leadership can be differentiated from ineffective leadership. It's important to note that bad leadership can be well intentioned, but ineffective. Bad leaders are deliberate and exploitative by design.

According to Oyatogun (2008) bad leadership is defined as decision making that hinders or prevents the achievement of goals and purpose. Bad leadership is transactional; it uses power rather than trust and compliance rather than commitment. It focuses on "me" rather than us and defines success as win- lose rather than win-win, it excludes rather than includes.

**Corruption;** can be defined as any means of abuse of a position of trust in order to gain an undue advantage. This involves the conduct of both sides: that of the person who abuses his position of trust as well as that of the person who seeks to gain an undue advantage by this abuse.

In a related development Khan (1996) defines corruption as an act which deviates from the formal rules of conduct governing the actions of someone in a position of public authority because of private - regarding - motive such as wealth, power or status.

“Corruption is the perversion of integrity or state of affairs through bribery, favour or moral depravity” ... It takes place when at least two parties have interacted to change the structure or processes of society or the behaviour of functionaries in order to produce dishonest, unfaithful or defiled situations”(Otite, 2000).

In other words - corruption is a systematic vice in an individual, society or a nation which reflects favouritism, nepotism, tribalism, sectionalism, undue enrichment, amassing of wealth, abuse of office, power, position and derivation of undue gains and benefits. Corruption also includes bribery, smuggling, fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking, falsification of documents and records, window dressing, false declaration, evasion, underpayment, deceit, forgery, concealment, aiding and abetting of any kind to the detriment of another person, community, society or nation (Ojajide, 2000).

Again careful study of the presentation of Otite shows that corruption transcends bribery but includes “treasury looting and also the deliberate bending of rules of the system to favour friends or hurt foes. It is clearly the evidence of absence of accountability, law and order.”

Corruption exists everywhere in the world and it becomes the norm particularly if the chances of being caught and severely punished are low and if it is a generally accepted or tolerated mode of behaviour. Corruption in

Africa is a development and social issue which becomes an impediment to change and a serious constraint on economic growth and poverty reduction.

Corruption in African countries has become endemic, as such, it is found almost in all aspects of life. Endemic corruption implies a breakdown of the rule of law and in most instances a loss of state legitimacy. It perverts the normal use of connections, networks and reciprocity and leads to increased personalization of power.

As a result, people come to rely on connections and favours instead of formal political, social and economic rules and illegitimate use of state resources becomes acceptable. Where corrupt practices have become entrenched, large scale corruption by which government officials amass large fortunes co-exists with petty corruption by which officials at almost every level request payment to perform tasks or provide services which they should be doing as part of their job. An average African comes to see corruption and the inefficiencies and distortions it creates, as an inevitable facet of life. Over-time, the public sector becomes dysfunctional, the legal system proves ineffectual and the institutions of government lose legitimacy. Such degraded situations cause growing percentages of economic and administrative activity to become informal, thereby further widening the gap between the government and the people.

In the final analysis, corruption can be described as the conscious attempt or deliberate diversion of resources from the satisfaction of the general interest to that of self (personal) interest. The disdain for corruption is clearly felt mainly on ground of morality. There is no doubt that it inflicts some sorts of adverse effects on any society where it exists and persists until such society is purged of its immorality

**Development** can be defined as the process by which change is introduced into a system in order to produce a better production method and improved social arrangement (Ahmed 1999). It involves a structural transformation of the economy, society, polity and culture of a country.

In a related development lawal (2001) argues that development mean not only capital accumulation and economic growth but also the condition in which people in a country have adequate food and job and the income inequality among them is greatly reduced. It is the process of bringing about fundamental and sustainable changes in the society. It encompasses growth, embraces such aspects of the quality of life as social justice, equality of opportunity for all citizens, equitable distribution of income and the democratization of the development process.

Nnavozie (1990) submits that development is all about the capacity of members of the society to actualize their selves by participating actively in the social engineering of their life and destiny. It entails the ability of the individuals to influence and manipulate the forces of nature for their betterment and that of humanity”

Rodney (1972) sees beyond the individual or people’s perception of development and conceived development whether economic, political or social to imply both increase in output and changes in the technical and institutional arrangement by which it is produced. In other words and more importantly, development is a multi-dimensional concept and in spite of the various conceptions, development is basically about the process of changes which lies around the spheres of societal life.

**Rebel Movement;** can be defined as “an organized, armed political struggle whose goal may be the seizure of power through revolutionary takeover and replacement of the existing government destabilizing the existing structure of the state through guerrilla warfare. In some case, however, rebel goals may be more limited. “For example, the Rebels may intend to break away from government control and establish an autonomous State within traditional, ethnic, or religious territorial bounds (Akangbe 2011). The Rebels may also intend to extract limited political concessions unattainable through less violent means.”

It can also be defined as “an armed rebellion by a section of the population against the legally constituted government, with the support or sympathy of the local or international population, obtained voluntarily or by coercion” (Abisogun 1999).

In a related development Beckett (1988) defined Rebels as a section of the population that are against the legally constituted government, with the support or sympathy of the local population, obtained voluntarily or by coercion (Beckett, 1988).

Rebel can also be explained as “a strategy adjusted by groups which cannot attain their political objectives through conventional means or by quick seizure of power. It is a tool used by those too weak to do otherwise.”

**Sahel Region** The name, Sahel, comes from the Arabic work for “border” or “margin”. The region gained this name because it serves as the southern border to the Sahara. It is the transitional zone between the dessert and the more tropical south central Africa.

Sahel Region can be defined as the area of Africa lying between 12°N and 20°N. This area shares two climatic characteristics: one rainy season per year and August as the month of highest precipitation.

Sahel is an eco-climate zone located on the Southern edge of the Sahara desert. The Sahel covers parts of the territory of (from west to east coast of Africa) which includes Senegal, Southern Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Southern Algeria, Niger, Northern Nigeria, Chad, Sudan (including Darfur and the Southern part of Sudan), Northern Ethiopia and Eritrea. And Somalia is sometimes included in the Sahel region (Akangbe 2012).

### 2.3 Characteristics of good governance

\* **Participation;** Participation by both men and women is a key cornerstone of good governance. Participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. It is important to point out that representative democracy does not necessarily mean that the concerns of the most vulnerable in society would be taken into consideration in decision making. Participation needs to be informed and organized. This means freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand.

\* **Rule of law;** Good governance requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities. Impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force.

\* **Transparency;** Transparency means that decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations. It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. It also means that enough information is provided and that it is provided in easily understandable forms and media.

\* **Responsiveness;** Good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe.

\* **Consensus oriented;** There are several actors and as many view points in a given society. Good governance requires mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what is in the best interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long-term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This can only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community.

\* **Equity and inclusiveness;** A society's well being depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their well being.

\* **Effectiveness and efficiency;** Good governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal. The concept of efficiency in the context of good governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

\* **Accountability;** Accountability is a key requirement of good governance. Not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Who is accountable to whom varies depending on whether decisions or actions taken are internal or external to an organization or institution. In general an organization or an institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law.

### 3.1 Insecurity in the Sahel the Western Sahara conflict and Polisario conflict

Attempts by the Algerian government and the separatists of the Polisario Movement to portray evidence of Sahrawi fighters' involvement in terror and illicit activities in the Sahel as Moroccan propaganda seem to be losing steam. Arrests in Mauritania and statements by high-ranking Malian and Mauritanian security officers implicating rogue members of the Western Sahara rebel movement are making it harder for the Algerian officials to dismiss the reality of Polisario fighters sub-contracting for terrorist and bandit groups in the region.

Countries in the North Africa and the Sahel region, including Morocco, on no account claimed that the Polisario, a Marxist guerilla, is allied to al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). What is becoming abundantly evident are the aptitude of some elements of the Polisario to freelance for criminal groups in exchange for money and the success of AQIM to recruit among Sahrawis living in the refugee camps in Tindouf.

Consequently, after several months of "courteous" diplomacy toward Algerian efforts to halt terrorist activities in the Sahel and the Sahara, Niger and Mali are privately voicing concerns over Algeria sluggishness and inability to secure its vast Sahara and stop illicit activities on its borders including the Sahrawi refugees' camps in Tindouf. Given the recent military cross border attacks by the Polisario in Mauritania and Mali that led to the

death of Malian citizens, it is time for the international community to address the Algerian-Moroccan conflict over the Western Sahara as part of securing the Sahel-Sahara.

Recent incursions of Military units of the Algeria backed Polisario fighters into Mauritania and Mali in pursuit of alleged terrorists are adding to the sense of chaos, confusion and anarchy in the region. The fact that a "foreign" armed militia operating on Algerian soil is conducting unsanctioned military operations that led to death and capture of foreign nationals is provocation that can lead to more bloodshed. Some observers are alarmed about the Algerian Army lax handling of Military operations on its territory and the muted level of control Algiers brings about the Polisario activates on Algerian soil.

If the Algerian Military keeps mum on the movement of the Polisario on territories that supposed to be Algerian, Malian officials are blunt in their statements. In a sharply worded statement, a Malian official warned the Polisario and the Algerian that "Mali will not accept the violation of its territory by the Polisario Front". The Malian source noted that given the nature of the terrorist act in Tindouf, "local accomplices" must have aided the abductors, thus, "those who accuse Malians must first sweep in front of their own home [Algeria]."

Even though Morocco is not in the Sahel and the Morocco Algeria relations do not appear as an explicit factor behind the insecurity in the Sahel, recent events have highlighted the close relationship between the Western Sahara conflict and the proliferation of terrorism, banditry and illicit traffic in the region.

Terrorist and criminal groups will continue to take advantage of the ongoing Moroccan-Algerian conflict over the future of the Western Sahara to run smuggling and kidnapping operations without a serious challenge from local law enforcement agencies, unless the world community takes a new approach to resolving the long simmering quarrel between Rabat and Algiers.

### **3.2 Political Accountability's Central to Democracy, Peace and Prosperity**

United Nations (UN) Deputy Secretary-General, Asha-Rose Migiro, has stressed the importance of political accountability to promote democracy and ensure a more peaceful and prosperous world. She argues that; "Political accountability is central to meeting the generational challenges of today's world. Poverty, crime and violence thrive in States that are not accountable." "Countries with corrupt and repressive institutions - where the rule of law is weak - face a greater risk of civil wars, criminal violence and terrorism," she added. "This was documented in this year's World Bank World Development Report." "But we do not need a study to appreciate the damage caused by repressive governments," Ms. Migiro continues. "The Arab Awakening was a reflection of the fundamental human longing, especially among young people, for democracy, dignity and accountable governments." She stated that political accountability and democratic governance are inseparable, and both are essential to peace, development and human rights. As parliamentarians, you embody political accountability. At your best, you hear citizens and express their will. You check the power of governments. You pass laws that foster just societies. You promote peaceful dialogue to overcome tensions. And you ensure that national resources are distributed fairly." Monday's gathering provided an opportunity to discuss how the UN system can work better with the IPU, the international organization of the world's parliaments. "We share the same goals: to promote democratic governance, and to translate international commitments into national realities," Ms. Migiro noted, adding that there are four ways parliaments can help achieve this. The first is to practice accountability, she said. This means holding regular, credible and transparent elections, and it requires a solid legal framework guaranteeing freedom of speech, assembly and the media.

Second, represent your populations," she told participants, noting that in too many countries, a room full of parliamentarians looks nothing like a sample of the country's people. She highlighted the need to bring in more women and to ensure that minority groups have seats in parliaments. Parliaments must also squarely confront corruption and organized crime. "These erode political accountability and democratic governance," Migiro said. "Like termites, corrupt practices hollow out weak institutions from the inside. And they destroy people's trust in the State."

"Fourth, make sure individuals let go of power when their time is up," she stated. "And when the separation of powers is under threat, be vigilant and assert yourselves. The peoples of your countries count on you to be front-line defenders of democratic governance and constitutionality." UN General Assembly President, Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser, noted that political accountability is a pertinent theme for the two-day hearing. "All over the world, populations are calling for more responsive government that works for the good of society as a whole." He said that, globally, the issue of accountability is best seen in the workings of the 193-member General Assembly, which he called the most legitimate world body. "It is the only place in the world where all countries come together as equals, regardless of their power and wealth - one member, one vote!" Over the past two days, participants discussed issues related to the situation of youth, the role of civil society and the management of public funds. Mr. Al-Nasser noted these issues are also on the agenda of the Assembly, in one

way or another. He voiced the hope that the discussions would contribute to re-defining current notions of accountability and strengthen the ways in which accountability is effected.

Police officers extort money from even the poor because government pays them next to nothing. One cannot coin a synonym for corruption without thinking of the Nigerian politician. Many patriots have fought and lost everything for democracy, without realising they were clearing the way for “Kleptocracy”. How could the poverty rate of a nation that produces two million barrels of oil daily and the seventh largest natural gas reserve in the world move from 46 to 76 per cent in a little more than a decade?

The nation’s academic institutions now wobble in the shadows of their past splendour. The children of politicians study abroad because schools hardly function at home.

The country remains in darkness without electricity, but the shameless officials run private generators round the clock. Children are dying of treatable diseases, and women are expiring during childbirth because the hospitals are death-consulting facilities. The politicians and their families go abroad for medical care. Many Nigerians die on the road daily because some officials pocketed the money budgeted for road maintenance. The majority of our youths have nothing to be proud of. Many turn to the notorious “Nigerian scams,” in a nation where only the rich is celebrated. The world identifies Nigeria with “scam,” as they identify America with the Statue of Liberty; Egypt with the Pyramids, Greece with the Parthenon, France with the Eiffel Tower, Rome with the Coliseum and India with the Taj Mahal.

To patch the leaking balloon called the Nigerian image, the government blackmails, arm-twists and cajoles those who talk about the woes. Whoever tells the truth about the nation’s despondency is labeled “unpatriotic.” Imagine the bandit-politicians calling people “unpatriotic.” The patriotic people who acknowledge and seek to correct the common good of the people dwell in denial.

Nobody respects Nigerian politicians in the Western world. Apart from stealing money back home, they enjoy visiting America, Europe and Asia to savour their stolen wealth. They relish telling their poor kinsmen that they are travelling abroad, yet people don’t respect them abroad. “Despotic,” “bogus,” “inept,” “indolent,” “gratuitous,” “rapacious,” “visionless,” and “mission-less” are some of the words used for the Nigerian politicians abroad. Western media don’t report the Nigerian president’s visits, but small-town Western mayors are celebrated in Nigeria.

The West should discredit the Nigerian officials who transfer large amounts of money abroad and African politicians who buy mansions in the developed world should be disgraced. I should urge those who are timid to speak up as many things, apart from politicians, kill people in Nigeria these days — armed robbers, militants, kidnappers, religious bigots, road accidents, adulterated medicines, deteriorated hospitals, tainted foods, polluted environments and trigger-happy policemen, among others. It is a big honour to die for one’s country for he who is afraid to die for his country is not qualified to claim his country. Let the ethical revolution begin now

Good governance has become a catchword and has steadily entrenched itself in the development discourse that few bother to consider its implication. According to the World Bank governance is “the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development”. Africa has a large quantity of natural resources including oil, diamonds, gold, cobalt, uranium, copper, bauxite but bad governance has tainted these opportunities and potentials. Being the leading area for diamonds, cobalt, uranium, and many other rare minerals the continent is still wallowing in the dungeons of poverty and plague of underdevelopment. Nigeria with all the oil deposits has not inched up significantly in its developmental goals and objectives. DRC is one of the richest countries in diamonds, gold, timber cobalt yet it has little to show for them. Talk of the gold mines of Ghana, Oil fields of Sudan, Angola but yet the continent has failed to make significant impact in improving the living standards of its people. Despite the Continent’s seemingly abundant resources bad governance has raided the continent of its colorful destiny. By this, the people of Ghana should know that the current oil finds will have little bearing on the socioeconomic development of the country if the present government and future governments do not embrace the tenets of good governance.

Rebellion is viewed as a strategy adopted by the weaker of the two actors involved, as this actor cannot achieve its objectives through conventional means. It is usually a protracted, asymmetric, multidimensional and demanding movement. Its failure and success depends upon a strict regimentation, determination, motivation and blind loyalty from its followers and advocates.

The Rebels achieve their objectives by applying techniques such as guerrilla war, psychological war, and political mobilization, etc.

They use both violent and passive means, including demonstrations, blockades, rallies, meetings, bombing and suicide bombing of important installations, shootings of important persons, propaganda warfare and guerrilla warfare tactics and kidnapping. That is because they do not possess the capabilities to fight the regular armed forces of the State. All such kinds of efforts are made to discredit the government. Insurgents may have diverse objectives, e.g., seizure of power, acquiring autonomy, winning the right to self-determination or a greater political role and economic share.

#### 4.1 Conclusion and Recommendation

To understand the enormity and complexity of, the challenges confronting the Sahel Region demands a multifaceted approach in dealing with them but the question is where exactly do we start from? Faced with all these daunting challenges; illiteracy, poverty, instability, where do we take off? The foundation of all the economic policies, poverty reduction strategies and development goals rest on good governance. Ensuring environmental sustainability requires effective and efficient governance. The key to eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, rest on good governance, the catalyst to achieving universal primary education, Promoting gender equality and empowering women is good governance. Our governments and leaders must recognize that, faced with the same economic constraints and economic marginalization in the global economic system, countries like China, India, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea just to mention a few have spurred their economies to appreciable height even though there is still some room for improvement. Today the progress of these countries has shifted the development paradigm and the hegemony in the global economic system has taken a twist. Little did the world know that these countries could emerge economic giants, flex their economic muscles and rival the dominance of the west in the global economic system. Africa's socioeconomic fortunes have hope but this hope will only experience result and witness development on the principles of good governance.

The study made the following recommendations:

- **Restoration of indigenous values and institutions:** Africa's indigenous values and systems were for the most part debunked by first, the missionaries, then the colonialists in a much more forceful manner. Indigenous solutions to corruption must once again be explored followed by the rediscovery of indigenous systems of administration. Rwanda has successfully done the latter through the Gacaca, Abunzi, Umuganda, Umudugudu and other indigenous systems. The above is by no means a call for African Christians and Muslims to revert to African traditional religion as is often perceived whenever the indigenous is mentioned. Far from it. The merging of Africa's social, cultural, and moral values with its religion was the handiwork of some over-zealous missionaries and racist colonialists. Africans have come of age to separate between religion and other causes and to realize that one can be fully functioning in his chosen religion and still abide by several positively rewarding indigenous African values.
- **Formal, Informal and non-formal Education:** The greatest vehicle for cultural transmission towards a transformation of prevailing social paradigm is education. In its formal form, the curriculum of learning across sub-Saharan African countries must be overhauled to make for real mental and intellectual independence. In its non-formal manifestation, conferences, workshops, camps, and other non-formal learning situations must be widely utilized to re-educate citizens on the fact that real living occurs only when individuals have sound moral values, or at least, consistently and seriously aspire to it. Informally, the media will be mobilized as a crucial element of mass mobilization towards an appreciation of the African's authentic social, cultural and economic environment.
- **Religion as a nation building institution:** Africans listen to their spiritual leaders, much more than they do politicians and policy makers. The pulpit ought to be mobilized as a knowledge and faith-based platform for reaching the souls of Africans and in directing them towards nation-building.
- **Promotion of the "African" nation state:** For the past 50 years, Africans have been struggling in vain to assimilate the artificially imposed colonial boundaries. It is time to promote the greater African nation-state and de-emphasize the cosmetic divisions that is filled with antagonistic ethnic groups. Africans must be encouraged, motivated and facilitated to travel widely across the continent in order to overcome the ethnic animosities that was ignited by colonialism, established by the post colonial tussle for power among ruling elites, and strengthened by geographic claustrophobia.
- **Strengthening of anti-graft institutions:** Strong anti-graft institutions are a necessity across sub-Saharan Africa as in any other part of the world. Governments across Africa should appoint credible and determined individuals who may even be nationals of other African countries, to take up the fight against corruption in the high and low places. A strengthened judiciary is a necessity in this respect.

- Economic growth: Poverty breeds vice. African countries should embark on not just the deceptive increment in Gross Domestic Product, but real development in terms of standard of living. Health, education, food security, and infrastructural growth must be given prominence.

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