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ANALYSIS OF AFRICA'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP CRISES

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ABSTRACT

Africa and its leadership crises have attracted international attention on how to reduce the frequency or reoccurrence of these crises to achieve cooperation, peace and order. The study examines the causes, effects of leadership crises in Africa and proffers everlasting solutions to it before it gets out of proportion. The study uses qualitative sources of data collection to analyze the level the phenomenon has got to. The study also adopted a conflict theory as a theoretical framework of analysis. Findings pointed out the causes and effects of the leadership crises in Africa to corruption, sit tight power syndrome, lack of opposition, establishment of one party system and ethnicity. The consequences of these were enormous. Most of which were child soldier, human rights violations, internally displaced persons, high level of poverty and unemployment and wanton destruction of lives and property. The paper concludes that leadership crises in Africa have widespread implications especially affecting African economies and citizens' rights. It has also contributed greatly to the destruction of lives and property within the continent. The study discussed the following recommendations: Corruption in African political system should be discouraged by establishing agencies that can fight corruption. One party system should totally be abolished in the continent; electoral empires should be made truly independent; African economies should be made more viable in order to reduce the high level of unemployment and poverty within the continent and compete favorably in the international market.

Keywords: Africa; Political; Leadership; Crises; Corruption; Human Rights

INTRODUCTION

The significance of leadership in a state's development of its institutions, provision of social amenities, administration of justice, external interactions with other states of the world, mobilization and utilization of human, material and capital resources cannot be overemphasized. Leadership is being seen from empirical review and/or as what makes a nation powerful among comity of nations, and where things work more smoothly and in accordance with the laws of the state. It is believed that leadership unifies her diverse people and societies to become formidable force to be contended with. Leadership across the world shows that the western and Asian states cannot be compared with African states because of the nature of African leadership orientation and high level of corruption.

It is notable that the African founding fathers such as Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Nnamdi Azikwe of Nigeria, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Amilcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya held the view that there was urgent need for African societies to become more competitive in the modern states system, a need often expressed as "catching up" with the West (Ake,1996). This could be possible only when our leaders are resourceful, productive and free from manipulation of political system at the detriment of the masses. But again, leadership in Africa, over the years, has been characterized by corruption, nepotistic tendencies, and sit tight power syndrome. According to Ifeoma (2009) impunity is used as instrument of democratic leadership. All these are fashioned in inordinate quest for political power, flagrant disrespect for the rule of law, human rights abuses, corruption, intimidation, political patronage and most painfully, subversion of the election process. These attributes of leadership in Africa have resulted in the death of innocent people in African and destruction.

In the post-revolutionary Libya, the counted death toll was estimated at between 30,000 and 50,000 of the rebel side, the Gaddafi forces exclusive. Yet in the country's morgues, the registered dead from both sides in each area so far is mostly in the hundreds, not the thousands. And those who are still missing were about 1,000 (Nordland, 2011). Leadership crises in Africa have its spill-over effects. These leadership crises started in some African states- to be specific, Libya, Somalia, Egypt, Tunisia, Liberia, Sudan to mention but a few. It has spread to other parts of African. The leadership crisis that took place in Tunisia was caused prominently by the long stay of former Tunisian president, Ben Ali who had spent 15 uninterrupted years in power characterized by inherent maladministration, corruption and highhandedness (Sherrif, 2014).

The following factors have served as the driving force to leadership crises in Africa: nepotism, one party system, systemic corruption, ethnicity, colonial legacy, lack of tolerance of opposition, injustice in the system, unfair in the appointment of key officers, negligence of social welfare, making draconian laws and policies and sit-tight leadership. These factors have led to the inestimable deaths of African citizens, military intervention in many African states which began from Egyptian state in 1952; low investment, sexual abuse, child soldiers, violation of peoples' rights, wanton destruction of well-cherished tourist centers and property; internally displaced persons and destruction of educational institutions.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Leadership: Rost (1991 cited in Salami (2012) found that there were 221 definitions of leadership published in books and articles between 1900 and 1990; a number that attracts recent interest in leadership studies, is likely to double since his writings. It is in line with this that Ubegbe (1999:282) defines leadership in the following words: Leadership is the process of creating the subordinates' identification with the group's mission and creating their desires to achieve the group's goal. According to Graig (2005:132 cited in Salami (2012), leadership is defined as a social influence process in which the leader seeks the voluntary participation of subordinates in an effort to reach organizational goals. While Robert et al (2004, cited in Salami, 2012) affirms that leadership involves a complex interaction among the leaders, the followers, and the situation.

According to Hackman (2006) leadership is classified into four different conceptual interpretations, such as:

- (a) Leadership as what you possess as traits and attributes you were born with;
- (b) Leadership as influence of power and mobilization of people. For instance Hersey (1984:14) defines leadership as “any attempt to influence the behavior of another individual or group”;
- (c) Leadership as the role a leader plays and,
- (d) Leadership as a cooperation, team spirit and collaboration with others. This definitional theme emphasizes collaboration. Leaders and followers establish mutual purposes and work together as partners to reach their goals (Poulin, et al 2007 cited in Salami, 2012).

In the views of Aguda (1995:26) a person may attain the position of leadership in one of several ways. The first method is self-imposition, which is totally devoid of constitutionality. Secondly, a group of persons may forcefully impose a leader on the generality of people. Nigeria, for instance has of course become aware of this since 1966. A person may come to the position of leadership through a demonstration of leadership qualities over a long period of time.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical support for this paper is located in Karl Marx conflict theory. The theory that is originally traced to Han Fei Tzu (280 – 233 BC) was popularized by Karl Marx (Martindale, 2010 cited in Obi, 2018). The basic premise of conflict theory is that individuals and groups in society struggle to maximize their share of the limited resources that exist and are desired by humans. Given that there are limited resources, the struggle inevitably leads to conflict and competition thereby, threatening peace and security in any given country. The again theory views society as a system of groups that are not equal, and therefore consistently generate conflict and change. It holds the philosophy that various groups within the society have different interests that can lead to conflict. There are many branches of conflict theory of which Marxism holds a unique position. Marxism highlights the significance of the economic factor. According to Karl Marx, conflicts in society arise due to inequalities and hierarchy of authority among different social classes.

According to Brian (2020) conflict theory views that social order is maintained by domination and power, rather by consensus and conformity. Again, the basic principles of the theory are the concepts of social inequality, the

division of resources, and the conflicts that exist between different socioeconomic classes (Brian, 2020). Ashley (2019) gave the view of conflict theory the same as above that states tensions and conflicts arise when resources, status and power are unevenly distributed between groups in society and that these conflicts become the engine for social change. From all the views presented above that gave direction to the conflict theory. The theory states simply that emanation of this conflict in our society was that of division among different classes of people originally created equally and expected to naturally see them as equal partner to social relations and means of production. And when natural resources that are naturally limited in nature are not enough to be shared by these classes and whereby those who have more access to the means of production conflict emanate from them.

The objective of examining Africa and its leadership crises can therefore, be explained within the context of conflict theory. The reason for the leadership crises in Africa are being hinged on the inequality prevalent in African societies, the quest for power and prestige propelled all these leadership crises within Africa. And this power acquisition so pronounced more within so called ruling classes who often dominate working classes and peasant farm who are totally poor. They are most times manipulated and exploited by capitalists and/or propertied classes. These crises pointed above have led to the destruction of lives and property, high level of unemployment, poverty and thousands of people internally displaced. Attempts to mobilize troops for peace keeping operations cost billions of dollars like that of Liberia cost Nigeria 8 billion US dollars,

CAUSES OF LEADERSHIP CRISES IN AFRICAN STATES

Ethnicity

It was discovered by the study that getting the right definition of ethnicity is difficult and problematic. According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (New 9th Edition) defines ethnicity as the fact of belonging to a particular race. **Ethnicity** refers to shared cultural practices, perspectives, and distinctions that set apart one group of people from another. That is, **ethnicity** is a shared cultural heritage. The most common characteristics distinguishing various **ethnic** groups are ancestry, a sense of history, language, religion, and forms of dress.

According to Houghton (2016), ethnicity refers to shared cultural practices, perspectives, and distinctions that set apart one group of people from another. That is, ethnicity is a shared cultural heritage. The most common characteristics distinguishing various ethnic groups are ancestry, a sense of history, language, religion, and forms of dress. Ethnic differences are not inherited; they are learned.

Most countries today consist of different ethnic groups. Ideally, countries strive for pluralism, where people of all ethnicities and races remain distinct but have social equality. As an example, the United States is exceptionally diverse, with people representing groups from all over the globe, but lacking in true pluralism. The same can be said of the ethnic diversity of the former Soviet Union with its more than 100 ethnic groups, some having more than a million members.

Ethnicity in African states have brought untold pain to Africa rather than bringing social equality and development as seen in other states of the world and thought by the colonial masters who brought together

people of different tribes in Africa, thinking that it will bring greatness. In the light of the above, Adeleye (2011) argues that the major cause of African leadership conflicts has been ethnicity, and it has continued to be so.

The creation of new nation-states at the time of independence was accompanied urgent calls for nation-building by the new African leaders who were well aware of the difficulty in transcending African ethnic and regional loyalties. The European concept of a nation was exported to Africa. Stephen's (2018) definition of a nation as 'a complex web of common cultural, social and economic interests among people, leading to a sense that what they share in common is greater than their regional, tribal or other differences' simply reflects features which many African states did not have. The features of a nation carefully stated above are totally absent in African continent. African leaders manipulate the political system through ethnicity in order to favor their own ethnic groups at the expense of other groups thereby creating artificial conflict in the country. For example, separatist movements causing attempts at secession- Katanga in Zaire, Biafra in Nigeria, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, to mention but a few. Ethnicity has also led to the division of armed forces of some African countries like Uganda under the leadership of Idi Amin and that of Mali under leadership of Keita.

Most of African states that have had leadership crises mainly caused by ethnicity and sectionalism. To be specific, states like Mali which had protracted crises (1963,1990,1996 and 2012), Nigerian civil war (1967-1970), Liberian civil war (1989-1996), Sierra-Leone, Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, Somalia to mention but a few. Because if a particular tribe in a state gets to power the minority ones who are not in power suffer. Similarly, when colonial rule forced African people to live together under one centralized political authority; the relationship among them became one of competition for allocation of resources and other forms of colonial favor. On the attainment of independence the struggles and competition among the groups continued with the majority seeking to control and dominate key positions in government institutions, while the minority groups struggle for recognition and fair deal in the distribution of national resources. Political life in Africa therefore became an organized desire by the various groups to advance and protect their particularistic interest, thereby creating a tug of- war political arena in Africa (National open University Material, 2015).

Ake (1996) in his book Democracy and Development in Africa, posits that:

The increasing competition and conflict among nationalities, ethnic groups, and communal and interest groups was reflected in the ranks. They also tended to separate along those lines; indeed, many of them had sought power by politicizing national, ethnic, and communal formations. Now in office, some of them manipulated ethnic and communal loyalties as a way to deradicalize their followers and contain the emerging class division of political society, which could isolate and destroy them (Ake, 1996).

Systemic Corruption

According to Amuwo (2005) and Obayelu (2007), corruption is the exploitation of public position, resources and power for private gain. In their own conceptualization, Fjeldstad and Isaksen (2008) and Ogundiya (2009), corruption is "the betrayal of public trust for individual or public gain. Obayelu went further to identify corruption as "efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expense; or a misuse of

power for private benefit.” Corruption covers a broad spectrum of activities ranging from fraud (theft through misrepresentation), embezzlement (misappropriation of corporate or public funds) to bribery (payments made in order to gain an advantage or to avoid a disadvantage). Sen (1999) defines corruption or corrupt behavior as “the violation of established rules for personal gains and profit.” From a sociological point of view, Altas (1968) sees corruption as a symptom of dysfunctionality of the relationship between the state and the people, characterized by bribery, extortion and nepotism. From a political point of view, Aiyede (2006) views corruption as “the abuse or misuse of public or governmental power for illegitimate private advantages. His view corroborates that of Lipset and Lenz (2000) assertion that corruption is an effort to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private benefit at public expense. Such an abuse of public power may not necessarily be for one’s private benefit. It may be for the benefit of one’s party, class, tribe, or family (Tanzi, 1998, cited in Joseph, 2012).

Corruption is common with African leaders and it has led to the deprivation and rejection of the African citizens in their mother countries. It was corruption that mainly caused Tunisian, Egypt and Libya uprising that led to the deaths of many people.

Some of the major causes of the uprising in Egypt as written by Khamis were:

- a. Thirty years of dictatorship and autocratic rule;
- b. Corruption
- c. The emergency law
- d. The faulty constitution
- e. Economic distress:40% Egyptians living under the international poverty line
- f. Growing calls for constitutional, economic, political and social reform
- g. Forging the latest parliamentary elections
- h. The successful popular revolution in Tunisia.

The fight and struggle for dignity was exemplified by Albouazizi. In Egypt, another man who was inspired by the Tunisia fruit vendor set himself ablaze:

An Egyptian man sets himself on fire outside Cairo’s parliament building after a dispute with local authorities over receiving his monthly coupons for subsidized bread. This fast-food stand owner was apparently inspired by the Tunisian fruit seller whose self-immolation triggered a popular uprising in December, 2010 (Los Angels Times, 2012).

All these uprisings from the three African states described above were brought up by mainly, deprivation and injustice as a result of dictatorship and corruption. Corruption is also seen among political leaders in Nigeria. This is either by diverting public funds to party coffers, or for the personal enrichment of office holders, to the detriment of public welfare. In January 1966, Nzeogwe claimed his coup was aimed at removing ten pet centers from power. Abacha gave similar charge against Nigerian politicians in his coup broadcast of December 1983 (National Open University Material, 2012). Similarly, corruption and ineffective leadership have impacted negatively on Nigeria’s democratic stability and her economic development. The Nigerian legislature is a product

of political corruption as men and women elected into the two legislative chambers got there through election rigging (Joseph, 2012).

Sit-Tight Power Syndrome/Legitimacy issue in Africa

One of the causes of leadership Crises in African states is sit-tight power syndrome. It has caused crises, violations of peoples' rights, bad economics, and existence of child soldiers across African states where there were crises of legitimacy issues. At a public lecture organized by the Media Trust Limited, Nigeria, in January 2008, Rawlings summed up the dangerous democratic practices that are capable of igniting conflicts in Africa. In his words:

They are busy attempting to prolong their stay through foul means, to modify, Sometimes through crudely, multi-party democracy into a virtual one-party state to arrogantly abuse the concept of separation of power, to ignore the rule of law ,to undermine judicial independence, to interfere with the fundamental Human Rights of political opponents, especially, and to capriciously use decentralization To promote parochial or sectarian interest'. It is all about fraudulent electoral Processes perpetrated all over to give the incumbent a "landslide victory" Using their popular parlance (Ifeoma, 2009).

Out of the 53 serving African political leaders, 15 came to power through military coups d'état and then manipulated their ways to become "elected" civilian presidents. The transformation process remains very much uncertain as there visible signs that most of them are not in a hurry to leave the seat of power even against the popular wish of their people. This ' sit-tight syndrome' has been the bane of democratic leadership in Africa since the 1960's and has been greatly responsible for the present spate of conflicts on the continent (Ifeoma,2009).

In Africa, political power goes with it immense privileges that those who occupy offices are often reluctant to let go. The rewards of political office in the context of underdevelopment as Smith (2003) posits are so great that there must always be a temptation to manipulate politics to exclude the organized opposition. Being an emerging bourgeoisie, African political leaders cannot look beyond the state for their sustenance. Because the state allow access to import licenses, export permits and foreign exchange, the state apparatus must be captured totally, and prevented from getting into the hands of political opponents (National Open University Material, 2012).

Establishment of one party system

One party system is one of the factors responsible for the leadership crises in Africa. After the independence, African states later created one party system in their various states. Mbah (2000:364) elaborated that the trend towards one party regime in Africa was first noticed in French speaking countries of Guinea, Mali and Senegal among others (Mbah, 2000). Party competition lasted longer in the English speaking Africa. Before independence in 1961, Tanganyika was almost a one party state. In 1965, Julius Nyerere eventually legalized TANU as the sole party for the newly United Tanzania. In Kenya, the Kenya Democratic Union (KADU) dissolved into Kenya Peoples' Union (KAPU). In 1982, Kenya effectively became a one party state. In quick succession, in Ghana, the Convention Peoples' Party (CCP); and in Guinea, the Democratic Party of Guinea transformed into one party for

the state (National Open University Material, 2012). Most of the arguments against one party system are predicated on the premise that it is an antithesis to the principles of liberal democracy. In a liberal democratic society there is emphasis on open competition, recognition of the right to political association and freedom of expression. Because these are not permitted under a one party regime makes it negation of what democracy stands for (Coleman and Rosbeg 1964:691).

Colonial inheritance

Alabi (2006:57 cited in Johnson 2010) and Cammack et al (1988:13) have observed that the colonization of Africa by European powers in the 19th century created political units that divided ethnic groups in some cases and combined rival groups in others. As currently composed, boundaries of most Africa states were arbitrarily drawn without regard to ethnic and cultural affinities. In some cases, European boundaries forced starkly different, rival cultures to cohabit within the confines of a single state. The impacts of these borders were felt to varying degrees from one country to the other throughout Africa. For instance, the Akan speaking peoples were divided between Ghana and cote d' Ivoire; the Ewe ethnic group has also been divided between Ghana and Togo while many Yoruba are found in the Benin Republic. It should be noted that since the 1950's when Africa nations started to gain independence, these arbitrary borders have more often than not become source of conflict (Ifeoma, 2010).

Similarly, when the former colonies emerged as independent states, they found themselves composed of varieties of tribes, social structures and cultures that were emotionally distant from one another. By extension post-colonial states were weak political entities, invested with political independence but lacked the muscles to assert their sovereignty. These states were new to independence and power, but were anxious to prove the legitimacy of their national interests. Forging these diverse people into a single nation was easy because it required more than geographic proximity. The citizens of these states were naturally oriented almost entirely towards their sub-national groups and were loosely identified with their new country or its government. More often than not, an African country becomes an independent state without a nation to provide a foundation. Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, has within its borders at least ten major ethnic groups among which the pull of centrifugal forces led to a civil war in the 60s, and are still potent today (Baradat,2000).

The argument that colonialism has done more harm than good in Africa, remained highly debatable, an academic exercise, until most recently when the destabilizing effects of imperial rule began to manifest in internal flux and cross-border conflicts prior to the arrival of the Europeans and the scramble that balkanized the continent in the nineteenth century, national borders were of no significance as Africans lived in closely-knit communities. The Berlin Conference of 1885 carved out African countries in their present shapes and forms and forced them on the continent without their consent (Ifeoma, 2009). For their own selfishness and administrative convenience, the colonialist created structures that undermined existing and well-cultivated traditional leadership institutions, values and norms. The territories demarcations we have today were drawn to ward off competing colonial powers, and not in any way designed to foster national cohesion and development (Ifeoma, 2009).

Lack of Tolerance of Opposition

It is only natural and expected, therefore, that in a situation where political opponents are clamped down upon, the political space becomes heated and tension-soaked as the opponents strive to 'balance the terror'. During the period under review (especially between 1999 and 2011), election into political offices was constantly secured by those who had the monopoly of weaponry and thuggery, as violence, rather than the electorate determined who occupied what position. Most African leaders engaged in these uncanny democratic practices that ignite conflicts during their tenure or after their retirement, death or forceful exit from office. Taking specific cases, the Republic of Cote d' Ivoire degenerated into anarchy soon after the death of President Houphouet-Boigny in 1993. The anger, denials and intimidation that the opposition suffered in 33 years of his rule exploded into uncontrollable national malaise. And for ten years now, the wheel of progress has turned against the country, still struggling to resolve a seemingly intractable internal political conflict,(Ifeoma,2009). Again, the future of democracy in Togo remains dicey. Even though the situation in that country seems relatively calm, there is still bad blood and bottled-up disenchantment among some members of the Togolese political class who have been deprived and cheated right from the reign of the late President Eyadema. The opposition is still chained by the continued existence of those deceptive structures that ensured President Eyadema's victory at every election from 1967-2005 (Ifeoma,2009).

IMPACTS OF AFRICAN LEADERSHIP CRISES

Destruction of lives and properties

Millions of lives have been wasted as a result of leadership crises in Africa. It is disheartening to note that this unprecedented loss of lives in Africa as a result of wars and conflicts is having debilitating impact on human resources available to Africa. The services of the departed souls whom God has endowed with great skills, talents and potentials are no longer available to be harnessed for Africa's development (Johnson, 2010). Similarly, the Burundi civil war claimed over 200,000 lives as at the year 2000. In Liberia, over 250, 000 lives were lost in the country's fourteen year civil war between 1990 and 2004. The same may also be said of Sierra Leone in which an estimated 200, 000 people were killed during the nation's civil war between 1991 and 2001. But perhaps the most pathetic situation occurred in Sudan. The civil war in Sudan has been one of the longest and costliest on the continent with an estimated two million lives lost to the war (Global Coalition, 2004:10 cited in Johnson, 2010).

On the other hand, Crisis in Mali started in 2012 as a result of failure of leadership of the state as being a corrupt government. For instance, the crisis brought about the destructions of many health care centers, hospitals and pharmacies in the northern region leading to substantial disruption in the service provision and access to basic health care (Dauda, Adie and Nwokedi, 2018). To worsen the situation more, drugs were looted; health professionals were either killed or displaced. This has led to shortage of skilled health workers especially in regions of Timbuku, Gao and Kidal where outbreak of cholera and other diseases have become rampant (Bastagli and Toulmin, 2014:32 cited in Dauda, Adie and Nwokedi, 2018).

Clinics in military barracks were not spared as most of them were burnt down during the crises. Mali now depends on aids from other countries and donor agencies to fix its health sector in order to prevent its citizens

dying from treatable ailments. Leadership crises in Africa have destroyed well-cherished African properties owned by individuals and government from the above discussion.

Human rights violations

It has led to violations of African peoples' rights because most of the leadership crises in Africa have ended up infringing upon the peoples' rights. For example, Cote d' Ivoire's crisis led to the schools deserted since the outbreak of hostilities in September 2002 had been overgrown with wild weeds. A visit to Bouake, the iron grip city of the new forces, portrayed the misery of a city in ruins, and whose inhabitants wore visible signs of deprivation, starvation, malnutrition, with children roaming the streets aimlessly without hope for better tomorrow,(Ifeoma,2010).Apart from education, the war itself, the prevailing insecurity, the political impasse, the continuous violation of human rights and the severe contraction of the economy had led to a serious and precarious humanitarian situation (Ifeoma,2009). For example, the crisis in Mali "the military coup which overthrew the democratically elected president, Amodu Toumani Toure on 21 March 2012, led to serious human rights violations". At least four people were killed by stray bullets, fired by soldiers, in the centre of Bamako, and their bodies were taken to the Gabriel Toure Hospital where thirty or so people, injured during the coup de 'tat were treated (Amnesty International Annual Report, 2012, cited in Stephen, 2019).

The respect for the rule of law and human rights is still a huge problem in Africa. Journalists and human rights activists at most times have been at the receiving end of intimidation, harassment and even bodily harm by government apparatus, extremist groups and other vested interests on the continent. The International Federation of Journalist 2016 report "Journalists and Media Staff Killed between 1990 and 2015" revealed that 424 Journalists lost their lives on the continent within the reviewed period through targeted killings, bomb attacks and crossfire killings. The report showed that of these number 22 were killed in 2015 (Adebayo,2016). It was described that God Lord made in His image, after His likeness. This is the divine origin of the dignity of the human person. We recall that Pope John Paul II had said that the struggle for peace, justice and equality needs the values religion promotes the dignity and inviolability of the human person, the freedom of conscience, the dignity of work and the right of each person to a dignified and safe life, and , therefore, to a share in the goods of the earth. Violation of these values inevitably leads to conflicts. In recognition of these values, the preamble to the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights accordingly declares that: "...it is essential, if man or woman is not to be compelled to have recourse as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression that human rights should be protected by the rule of law" (Nuhu, 2012).

But looking at the level of violation of human rights in the Darfur crisis questioned the guaranteed of these rights .For instance, in the Western Sudanese region of Darfur, rebels and government forces and pro- government militias have been engaged in serious fighting since early 2003. For over a year now, a 7000 strong force from the African Union (AU), has been trying, rather unsuccessfully to separate the warring sides, but more importantly, the AU troops have not been able to protect Darfur civilians , especially those who live outside the refugee camps which the troops help to protect from the onslaughts of pro-government Arab militias, known as the Janjaweed (Nuhu,2012). According to the UN, the Janjaweed who have attacked Darfur villages often with the active backing of government troops are responsible for the vast majority of the estimated 180,000 lives that have been

lost in Darfur since 2003. In addition, over 2.5 million Darfur civilians are displaced or living as refugees in neighboring countries (Nuhu, 2012).

Internally displaced persons and refugees in Africa

Leadership crises in Africa have caused people to flee from one locality to another within their states. According to the 2004 Report of the Global Coalition for Africa (2004:8 cited in Johnson, 2010) noted that an estimated 700,000 in Liberia were internally displaced as at 2003. The spill-over effects of the Liberian conflicts was felt in neighboring countries through increased refugee flows. About 3000 Liberians were hosted by Nigeria at the height of the crisis while an appreciable number of them also became refugees in Guinea. In Sudan, an estimated 4.7 million Sudanese were displaced during the nation's prolonged civil war. According to UNHCR (2004) cited by Johnson (2010), in 2004, the total number of African refugees was between 15 and 20 million. They became refugees in neighboring countries in the region. As refugees, the affected persons have been exposed to serious risks of diseases and hunger (UNHCR, 2004).

It was captured that as at the mid- 2004, hundreds of thousands of civilians had been displaced, thousands had been killed, and hundreds of villages had been burned and looted in Sudan (Human Right Watch, 2006 cited in Agaba, 2017). A study on Socio-Economic Impact of the Crises in Northern Mali on Displaced people by Etang, N., Hoogeveen, J.G. and Lenderfer, J, identifies a shift towards feeling poorer among IDPs, Refugees and the Returnees which is corroborated by a decrease in the quality and number of meals consumed a reduction in income and employment, and a decrease in assets and livestock. Accordingly, before 2012 crises the poorest IDP was 5%, Refugees 4% and returnees 1% but as at June 2014 the percentage of the poorest IDPs jumped to 16% that of refugees 17% and returnees 7% (Etang, Hoogeveen and Lenderfer, 2015:12). The diets of the displaced people were also compared and the result showed that the IDPs diet was better before the crises than it was in June 2014. Before the crises majority of IDPs (94%) consumed three to four meals a day but by June 2014 and 54% had three square meals a day (Dauda, Adie and Nwokedi, 2018).

High level of unemployment and poverty

Wars and conflicts in Africa have combined to compound the problem of unemployment in the continent. Today, throughout Africa, high rate of unemployment, particularly of youths, is a major source of concern. It has been growing at an annual rate of 10%. In countries coming out of conflict, many young people not only lack employment; they have also been denied education and economic empowerment because of war. It is instructive to note that without other means of economic support, there is a danger that unemployed former combatants will engage in criminal behavior, especially with the many small arms in circulation in war-torn countries (Johnson, 2010). This was captured in the argument of Smith (2002), when he designated that the consequence of the leadership crises in Africa was repression for Zimbabwe, which is not an isolated case but a common feature in Africa, is to create economic crises: large section of the population living below poverty line, unemployment and over 10,000 percent inflation level. As captured by Okechukwu (2012), the inhumanity of poverty could be seen from its indices of deprivation and denial of choices and opportunities most basic to human development, as well as lack of the ability to make choices and use available opportunities purposefully. As he further stresses:

The destructive seeds sown by poverty are written large in any Human society it affects. These include political instability, social Unrest, corruption, criminal violence, prostitution, drug abuse, and Moral bankruptcy. Poverty is also the harbinger of hunger, malnutrition, low life expectancy, homelessness (including vagrancy), life of misery and squalor, subservience, dependence, exploitation, alienation, human and political rights abuse, disease, illiteracy, ignorance and superstition. This scourge of human kind is, equally, the source of despair, hopelessness, Pessimism, disillusionment, despondency, uncertainty and all the feelings That negate the resilience of the human spirit and the blithe expectation Of a better tomorrow (Okechukwu, 2012).

Child Soldiers

Child soldier is when a child below 18 years is prepared to be used by an opponent to fight and win a war and control a state. For instance, in Mali, children were victims of the terrorist activities as some lost their parents and caregivers in the crises while some were recruited as child soldiers serving at check points, guarding prisoners and gathering intelligence .Girls were equally recruited and most were used as sex slaves (Szczerba, 2014:10). It will be difficult for most of these children to get back to their normal states before the beginning of crises (Dauda, Adie and Nwokedi, 2018).

Military Intervention/incursion

The military in African politics is the manifestation of instability. Military putsches are not only a disservice of the larger civil society. Incessant coups create high turn-over which the victorious coupists view as a tactical necessity to assure them of the loyalty of the rank and file. Mass executions that normally follow abortive plans and the forceful retirements of soldiers whose loyalties cannot be guaranteed constitute a drain on the national resources already spent to train them (National Open University, 2012).

CONCLUSION

The leadership crises in Africa have widespread effects on the states' economies and citizens' rights. It has contributed greatly to the destruction of lives and property within African states as a result of the crises it resulted in. Varieties of these crises in Africa were attributed to the Leadership failure. These crises began immediately after the decolonization of most African states because of the nature of the handover of power to them. The study discovered that long stay in power by most of African leaders worsened already worst situation. It has kept Africa backward and undeveloped. The study revealed that the causes of leadership crises in Africa were caused by the following: corruption, ethnicity, sit-tight power syndrome and one party system practiced by African leaders after independence which contributed greatly to the crises. The consequences were enormous. Most of the crises that have taken place in Africa whether Liberia, Sudan or Sierra-Leone led to waste of material and human resources.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on its Findings, this study recommends that:

- i. Electoral empires should be made to totally be independent and impartial in their organization of free, fair and credible elections;
- ii. Corruption in African political system should be discouraged by establishment of viable agencies that will fight it;
- iii. Colonial inheritance should be abolished and discouraged so as to adapt to their own cultural practices;
- iv. One party system should totally be abolished in the continent and;
- v. African economies should be made viable in order to reduce the high level of unemployment and poverty within the continent and compete favourably in international market

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