

IGWEBUIKE PHILOSOPHY AND THE ISSUE OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

Right from traditional African philosophy, down to its modern and contemporary era, there has been a strong link between African philosophy and language, underlined by the principle of complementarity. This is not disconnected with Placid Tempels' employment of force to explain being, and Alexis Kagame's NTU, as the underlying principle of reality. Pantaleon Iroegbu explained being as belongingness. In the thoughts of Innocent Asouzu, Ibuanyidanda, was used to explain the complementary nature of reality. In the face of ever growing complexities, African philosophers have continued to employ African categories for the search for solutions to African problems. At a time like ours when many African governments have failed in national development, especially in their ability to improve the social welfare of her people through the provision of social amenities like quality education, portable water, transportation, good roads, good medical amenities, security of lives and property, basic infrastructure, etc., this work employs Igwebuike philosophy, another African category, as a framework for Africa's development. It develops a model of development which is inclusive and holistic, and traces Africa's problem of underdevelopment to the employment of non-inclusive political and economic institutions. For the purpose of this research, the hermeneutic and holistic indigenous method of inquiry was employed.

Keywords: Igwebuike, Philosophy, Theoretical, Methodological, National, Development.

Introduction

A cursory glance at the historical development of African philosophy reveals that in the past fifty years, new philosophical theories and approaches have emerged, providing alternative perspectives to the interpretation and understanding of, not just African realities but realities in general. In the philosophy of Placid Tempels, the Father of modern African philosophy, he employed the idea of force to explain being; for Alexis Kagame, NTU was the underlying principle of reality. With the emergence of Emmanuel Ede, being was explained with the Igbo word *Idi*, and for Pantaleon Iroegbu, being is explained by belongingness. In the thoughts of Innocent Asouzu, *Ibuanyidanda*, another Igbo word was used to explain the nature of reality. With these developments that established a very strong connection between African philosophy and complementarity, and African philosophy and language, new perspectives have continued to emerge in the attempt to understand universal realities from an African perspective.

In more recent times, *Igwebuike* has been employed as a lens for the interpretation of reality. *Igwebuike* is an Igbo word that expresses the heart of African thought, logic and the modality of being in African philosophy⁸⁸. Although it is a word, it is not just a word, it carries within it an entire structure: the structure of African philosophy, traditional religion and culture. It is taken from the Igbo language, and is a composite word made up of three words⁸⁹. Therefore, it can be employed as a word or used as a sentence: as a word, it is written as *Igwebuike*, and as a sentence, it is

⁸⁸Kanu Ikechukwu Anthony, *Igwebuike as an Expressive Modality of Being in African ontology*. *Journal of Environmental and Construction Management*. 6. 3. pp.59-69.

⁸⁹ Kanu Ikechukwu Anthony, *Igwebuike as an Igbo-African holistic response to the problem of evil and human suffering*. *Igwebuike: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities*. 3. 2. 2017, p. 52

written as, *Igwe bu ike*, with the component words enjoying some independence in terms of space⁹⁰. The three words involved: *Igwe* is a noun which means number or population, usually a huge number or population. *Bu* is a verb, which means *is*. *Ike* is another verb, which means *strength* or *power*⁹¹. Thus, put together, it means 'number is strength' or 'number is power', that is, when human beings come together in solidarity and complementarity, they are powerful and can constitute an insurmountable force⁹². Its English equivalents are solidarity and complementarity⁹³. It is anchored on the African worldview, which is characterized by a common origin, common world-view, common language, shared culture, shared race, colour and habits, common historical experience and a common destiny⁹⁴. Life is a life of *sharedness*⁹⁵.

Ours are governments that have failed in national development, especially in their ability to improve the social welfare of her people through the provision of social amenities like quality education, portable water, transportation, good roads, good medical amenities, security of lives and property, basic infrastructure, etc. These are indications that the time has come for African scholars to develop a framework for Africa's development. It is in this regard that *Igwebuiké* philosophy, a holistic indigenous model of development is employed as an alternative technique for the revisiting of the issue of underdevelopment in Africa. These notwithstanding, what is development?

The Quest for a Holistic Model of Development

The question of the meaning of development has become a burgeoning issue in Africa, and it has attracted a retinue of theoretical perspectives from different backgrounds. These perspectives are referred to as models of development.

1. Science and Technology Model

One of the models is the reductionist concept of development, which is also known as the science and technology model. This, according to Bhagavan, is based on the created impression and conviction that science and technology are the keys that unlock the door of development; thus, more scientifically and technologically advanced societies are understood as more developed than the others. It is on this basis that some countries in the world are regarded as developed, others as developing and some others as underdeveloped⁹⁶. This notwithstanding, Oraegbunam avers that the human person is more than science and technology, and to lock up development within the compartment of science and technology is only to limit development⁹⁷. Heidegger, thus, avers that science and technology is only a means to an end and not an end in itself⁹⁸. While development includes science and technology, it does not have the monopoly of development.

2. Economic Model

Economism has also associated development with economic growth. This perspective is evident in Karl Marx who argued that the economy of a nation is the substructure upon which other structures rest. As such, once there is a positive change in the Gross National Product (GDP) of a nation, it is said to be developed, and when it is contrary, the country is said to be underdeveloped. The

- ⁹⁰ Kanu Ikechukwu Anthony, *Igwebuiké as an Igbo-African ethic of reciprocity*. *Igwebuiké: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities*. 3. 2. 2017, p. 127
- ⁹¹ Kanu, Ikechukwu Anthony, "Igwebuiké as a Complementary Approach to the Issue of Girl-Child Education". Published in *Nightingale International Journal of Contemporary Education and Research*. Vol. 3. No. 6. 2017, pp. 11-17. Cf. Kanu, Ikechukwu Anthony, "Igwebuiké as an Igbo-African Philosophy for the Protection of the Environment". Published in *Nightingale International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol. 3. No. 4. 2017, pp. 28-38.
- ⁹² Kanu Ikechukwu Anthony, *Igwebuiké and the logic of African philosophy*. *Igwebuiké: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities*. 3. 1. 2017, p. 9
- ⁹³ Kanu Ikechukwu Anthony, *Igwebuiké and the question of superiority in the scientific community of knowledge*. *Igwebuiké: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities*. 3. 1. 2017, p. 78
- ⁹⁴ Iroegbu, P., *Metaphysics: The Kpim of Philosophy*. Owerri: International Universities Press. 1995, p. 24
- ⁹⁵ Kanu, Ikechukwu Anthony, *Igwebuiké as the consummate foundation of African bioethical principles*. *Igwebuiké: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities*. 2. 2. 2016, p.41.
- ⁹⁶ Bhagavan, M. R. (1990). *The technological transformation of the Third World*. London: Zed Books.
- ⁹⁷ Oraegbunam, I. K. E. (2009). *Journal of the Nigerian Philosophical Association*. 5. 6. pp. 56-81.
- ⁹⁸ Heidegger, M. (1977). *The question concerning technology*. New York: Harper and Row.

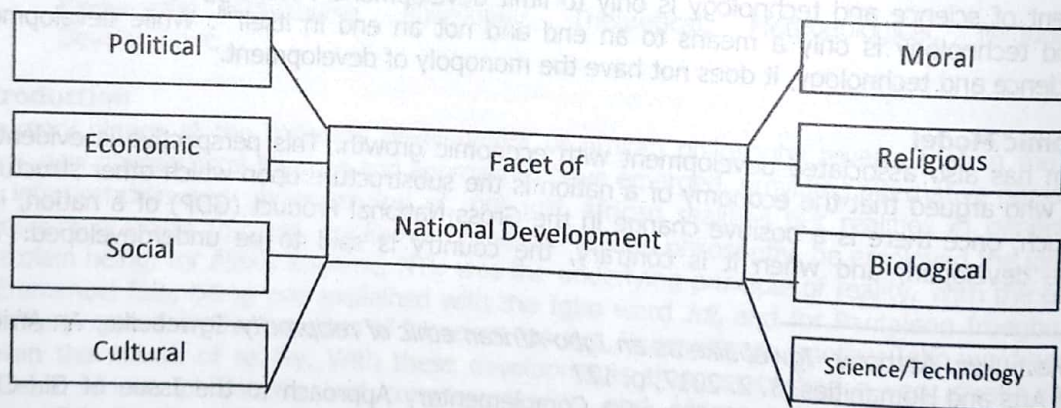
association of economic growth with development has led to what Kim refers to as a cult of money and the dehumanization of the human person. It was this inordinate and reckless drive for development that led to the slave trade and colonialism⁹⁹. In the name of boosting economic growth humanity was dehumanized. Development cannot be anti-people; for development is for the human person.

3. Secularist and Historicist Model

The secularist and historicist model of development is associated with the dawn of modernism, animated by the Cartesian anthropological philosophy, which overthrew the theocentricism of the medieval world, giving birth to practical philosophies that undermined religious and supernatural realities and authorities. This perspective is the basis for enlightenment, agnosticism and atheism. Its proponents strongly believe that development is predicated on autonomy rather than hegemony. This perspective features prominently in the philosophies of Hume, Nietzsche, Darwin, etc. The end result of this position is the reduction of man to a chain of evolutionary processes that are devoid of meaning. The human person becomes a kind of machine, a clock, commoditized and depersonalized in the image of a big vending machine; this diminishes his value as a human person. It, therefore, becomes very difficult to reduce development to such a perspective.

4. Igwebuike Model of Development

The foregoing models can be categorized as reductionist, in the sense that they hold perspectival perspectives of the reality of development. From the perspective of Igwebuike model of development, reality is holistic, and if individual, it is in relation to the other which they complement. These perspectival perspectives have created a rowdy atmosphere in the economy of development¹⁰⁰. In the midst of the multiplicity of perspectives, Igwebuike asserts that for development to be development, a positive change in human wellbeing is necessary¹⁰¹. The individual and his quality of life must be the centre of the conception of development. It is in this regard that Schumacher avers that development should not start with goods, but with the people, their education, organization and discipline. It is not all about money, profit and the number of industries¹⁰². Development is an overall social process including economics, social, political, cultural and moral dimensions of life¹⁰³.



⁹⁹ Kim, R. (1982). Development that is total and human. *Origins*. 11. 8. 122.

¹⁰⁰Eliot, C. (1971). The development debate. London: SCM.

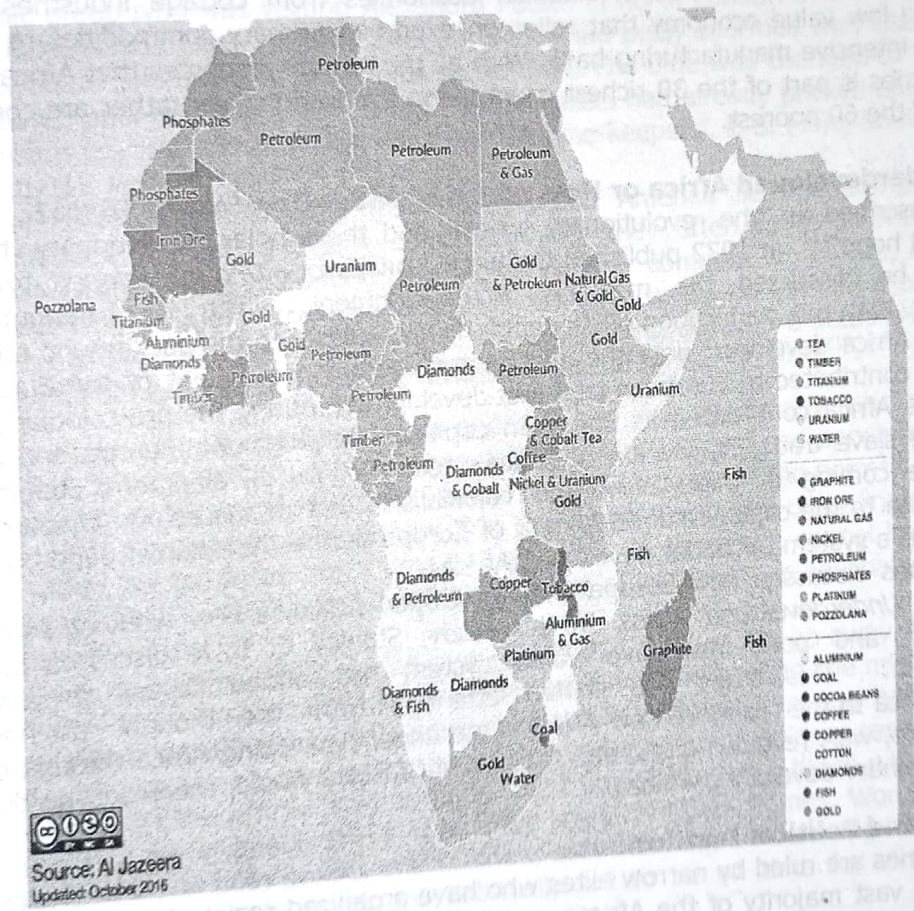
¹⁰¹Onwuliri, C. E. C. (2008). The Church as an agent of progress and development. In I. Onyeocha (Ed). *The Church as agent of progress and Development, CIP Jubilee Essays* (pp. 70-83). Owerri: Imo State University press.

¹⁰²Schumacher, E. F. (1975). Small is beautiful: A study of economics as if people mattered. London: SCM.

¹⁰³Schumacher, E. F. (1975). Small is beautiful: A study of economics as if people mattered. London: SCM.

Development is not only economic in character, because there can be economic growth without development, especially if the majority of the people did not benefit from it¹⁰⁴. Onwuliri, thus opines that development goes beyond the narrow lines of economic and material advancement¹⁰⁵. Development is a multidimensional process involving the totality of man in his political, economic, psychological, social relations, among others¹⁰⁶. Development is not a completed affair, it is an ongoing process. Three concepts necessary for the understanding of development from the Igwebuikwe perspective is: the centrality of the human person in development; the wholistic nature of development; and the ongoing or process nature of development.

Mapping Africa's natural resources



The Paradox of Poverty in the midst of Abundance

¹⁰⁴Nwajiuba (1999). "The relationship between material social status and academic performance of secondary school students in Owerri Educational Zone". Med Thesis, Department of educational Foundations and administration, Imo State University owerri.

¹⁰⁵Onwuliri, C. E.C. (2008). The Church as an agent of progress and development. In I. Onyeocha (Ed). *The Church as agent of progress and Development, CIP Jubilee Essays* (pp. 70-83). Owerri: Imo State University press.

¹⁰⁶ Kanu, Ikechukwu, A. (2014). "African Philosophy and the Issue of Development". *Paripex: Indian Journal of Research. Volume.3. Issue. 7.* pp. 1-5. Cf. Kanu, Ikechukwu, A. (2014). "Kinship in African Philosophy and the Issue of Development". Published in the *International Journal of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education. Volume. 1. Issue. 9.* pp. 1-6. Cf. Kanu, Ikechukwu, A. (2014). "Symbols in African Philosophy and the Issue of Nation Building". Published in the *International Journal of Scientific Research. Volume. 3. Issue. 9.* pp. 35-37.

Africa is a country that is richly blessed with natural renewable resources: water, forestry, fisheries, etc., and non-resources: gold, diamonds, oil, coltan, bauxite, uranium, iron ore and other valuable resources, yet the wealth of Africa does not make Africans wealthy. Its inhabitants have long been numbered among the world's poorest. For instance, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the country holds natural resources worth trillions of dollars but the population is blighted with extreme poverty and violence. That Africa's abundant natural resources can in so many cases have so little effect on its people's quality of life over so many years is one of the great mysteries surrounding Africa¹⁰⁷. With all her resources, Time Magazine casts Africa in a move that could force tears out of the eyes of any lover of the continent. "Nowhere is day more vivid or night darker.

Nowhere are forests more luxuriant. Nowhere is a continent more miserable"¹⁰⁸. It says that "Africa has become the basket case of the planet, 'the third world of the third world', a vast continent in free fall"¹⁰⁹. It goes further to say that Africa has posed a fresh problem for the external world because their interest in it has now become "merely charitable- a matter of humanitarianism, a moral test for the West"¹¹⁰.

Under normal circumstances, natural resources boom should be a catalyst for national development, and the transformation of national economies from cottage industries to factory production, from a low value economy that relies on export of primary commodities to one with a substantial labour-intensive manufacturing base. With all the natural resources that Africa possesses, none of her countries is part of the 30 richest countries in the world. They rather are competing for space in the list of the 60 poorest.

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa or How Africa is Under Developing Africa?

Walter Rodney described as "the revolutionary scholar and the scholar revolutionary, the man of great integrity and hope"¹¹¹, in 1972 published the work *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. In this wonderful piece he discussed the meaning of development, which he distinguished from underdevelopment. With this clarification of concepts, he was preparing the background for his study. He analyzed how Africa developed until the 15th century before the advent of the Europeans. He argued that Africa contributed to European capitalist development during the pre-colonial period, and maintained that as Africa contributed to European capitalist development, Europe underdeveloped Africa through the slave trade, stagnation of Africa's technological development, distortion of the economy and the coming of imperialism and colonialism. He discussed in chapter five, the contribution of Africa to the capitalist development of Europe during the colonial period, and argued that colonialism was a system for under developing Africa.

However, as Africans discussed how Europe underdeveloped Africa, a new work emerged in 2010 titled: *How Africa Underdeveloped Africa*. In this study, Stanley C. Igwe discusses how, Africa, through corruption and poor innovative value system has buried herself in poverty and underdevelopment¹¹². This study has shifted attention from the thought of how Europe ill-focused leadership, war, religious crisis, etc. A couple of factors would, therefore, be discussed to show how Africa is under developing Africa.

Poor Leadership and Political Institutions

Many African countries are ruled by narrow elites who have organized society for their own benefit at the expense of the vast majority of the African people. We have a situation where so many young people are not in the university. Public health conditions are so poor that mortality rates cannot but be on the increase. Mothers have to worry about the rates of infant immortality. There is no access to public amenities. Roads are in bad condition; law and order is even in worse condition. Crime is very

¹⁰⁷ Irwin Arief, If Africa Is So Rich, Why Is It So Poor? <http://www.passblue.com/2015/05/18/if-africa-is-so-rich-why-is-it-so-poor>.

¹⁰⁸ Time Magazine, (September 7, 1992), p.40.

¹⁰⁹ Time Magazine, (September 7, 1992) pp.40-41.

¹¹⁰ Time Magazine, (September 7, 1992), p. 42

¹¹¹ Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (pp. xi-xxx). Lagos: Panaf Publishing. (p. xi)

¹¹² Stanley, C. Igwe, *How Africa underdeveloped Africa*. Professional Printers, Port Harcourt, 2010. pp. 11-12

high and even opening a business is to risk your life: if you do not risk armed robbery, you would go through hell in order to get the permission needed to open the business. Every society functions on a set of political rules created and enforced by political institutions¹¹³. Daron and James argue that: It is the political institutions of a nation that determine the ability of citizens to control politicians and influence how they behave. This in turn determines whether politicians are agents of the citizens, albeit imperfect, or are able to abuse the power entrusted to them, or that they have usurped, to amass their own fortunes and to pursue their own agendas, ones detrimental to those of the citizens¹¹⁴.

The major reason why bad leadership continues to thrive in Africa is because of bad political structures put in place by bad political leaders for a continuous accommodation of their ineptitude. If Africa looks forward to development, then she must get the right leaders who can drive in that direction.

Poor management of Time in Africa

BBC NEWS reported that international journalists in the UK were kept waiting by the king of Ghana's largest ethnic group who was visiting Alexandra Palace in north London at the climax of a Ghanaian trade exhibition, Ghana Expo 2003¹¹⁵. The journalists had been informed that Otumfuo Osei Tutu II from the Ashanti would arrive at the exhibition at 1100. The time was changed to 1400, but the king did not show up until two hours later when the journalists had already packed and left. The incident made the whites to remark that 'Africans are terrible time-keepers'. J. S. Mbiti, an African scholar sees this differently. He writes:

When foreigners, especially from Europe and America see people sitting down somewhere without, evidently doing anything, they often remark, 'These Africans waste their time by just sitting down idle!' Another common cry is, 'Oh, Africans are always late!' It is easy to jump to such judgements based on ignorance of what time means to African peoples. Those who are seen sitting down, are actually not wasting time, but either waiting for time or in the process of producing time¹¹⁶.

The problem of punctuality has become so endemic that lateness to any function is accepted and explained off as 'African time'¹¹⁷. 'African time' is killing Africa, as missed appointments, meetings or even late buses cut productivity in a region where languid tardiness is the norm¹¹⁸. Nyasami observed that "No meaningful progress can be achieved in the absence of a well-co-ordinated programme that is managed within the specifications of time and space"¹¹⁹. It, therefore, cannot be denied that one of the main reasons for the continuing underdevelopment of Africa is her nonchalant attitude to time. Thus, Victor observed that:

African time lingers around like an awful smell that will just not go away. Everywhere you go you see examples of tardiness that can be linked back to the myth of African Time. What is particularly distressing is that the African Time bug has arrived at many schools. As you drive past a school you see a group of children casually walking over well past the official starting time. The tragic thing about those who arrive late is that they are invariably the first to leave school for their homes. Worst still, many senior officials in both politics and business seem to delight in arriving late, as if this confirmed their status. Politicians habitually fail to be on time for virtually every

¹¹³ Daron Acemoglu And James Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins Of Power, Prosperity And Poverty*. Profile Books, London. 2012, P.42.

¹¹⁴ Daron Acemoglu And James Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins Of Power, Prosperity And Poverty*. Profile Books, London. 2012, P.42.

¹¹⁵ Ghana Expo, Tuesday, 28 October, 2003, 16:03 GMT.

¹¹⁶ J. S. Mbiti, *African Religions And Philosophy*, East African Educational Publishers, 1970, P. 19.

¹¹⁷ Ghanaian Chronicle (2004). Progress And Punctuality. Retrieved 21st February 2013. "Http: //Www .Accessmylibrary .Com/Coms2/Summary_0286-21361202_ITM.

¹¹⁸ Wikipedia (2013). African Time. Retrieved 21st February 2013. Http://En.Wikipedia.Org /Wiki/African_Time#Cite_Note-8.

¹¹⁹ Nyasami, J. M. (2010). Philosophy of development: An African perspective: Reflections on why Africa may never develop on the western model. Kenya: Consolata Institute of Philosophy. p. 259

programme- especially given that so many of them whizz past the traffic at the flick of their blue lights and their loud sirens¹²⁰.

The direct consequence of Africa's attitude towards time is Africa's underdevelopment. If Africa must be like other civilizations, she must change her mentality towards time.

Religious Fanaticism and Fundamentalism

Religious fanaticism and fundamentalism has its hands on every dimension of Africa, surfacing and resurfacing its ugly face on various fronts. For instance, it is in Nigeria that men and women keep away from work, waiting in idleness for God's blessings; hours upon hours that should be spent in work are spent in churches and mosques praying. It is in Nigeria that you find a situation where people have no work, and salaries have not been paid, and yet billions of naira are spent on pilgrimages to Saudi Arabia and Jerusalem. It is in Nigeria that every experience is spiritualized; even laziness and the non-use of common sense is explained away as spiritual attacks, thereby creating a generation that are lazy, irresponsible, with an incapacitated ability to reason scientifically who now see God as a rewarder of mediocrity.

Pentecostal pastors will never talk about American scientists who are working daily and tirelessly to ensure the discovery of drugs to cure diseases that have overtaken Africa. They will not talk about Serena Williams or Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie or Dangote Aliko, etc., who have defied all odds and became successful through hard work, creativity, etc. They will rather talk about how a girl who was unqualified for a job got the job through prayers and fasting. They would rather talk about how a man became a millionaire because he used his whole salary to sow a seed in the church. They would rather talk about how nameless men through paying their tithes were able to experience a business boom, or how through the laying of hands, people who didn't study got admission into a prestigious university. We are a nation with more churches and mosques than we have schools, business institutions, hospitals, etc. And because we have refused to draw a line between religiosity and spirituality, the continuous rise in religious activities have not reflected any expected moral elevation of society. Nigeria is still one of the greediest, laziest, corrupt, deceitful and hateful set of human beings on the planet earth, and yet one of the most religious.

Religious fundamentalism has set citizens against themselves, leading to destruction of lives and property. Nigeria is a multi-religious state with Muslims, Christians and adherents of African Traditional Religion, but fundamentalism has not let Nigerians realize this. Ever since the 19th century, when Othman Dan Fodio launched a Jihad on the Northern part of Nigeria, different Islamic terrorist groups have emerged, posing a serious security challenge to Nigerians. In 1980, the Maitatsine radical group sprang up, bringing about devastating human and material losses. The most recent and serious is that of the *Boko Haram* sect¹²¹. They refer to themselves as *Jama'at ahl as-sunnah li-d-da'awati wa-li-jihad* (People committed to the Prophet's teaching and jihad)¹²². In a confession made by Nasir Isiaku, a member of the Boko Haram sect, reported by *Saturday Sun* News Paper on August 10, 2013, he described their agenda thus:

Our agenda is to wipe out Christians; we have governors, senators as sponsors; our sponsors are past Nigerian leaders; we have infiltrated the Nigerian forces. We have our members in the police and the army. Those members help us a lot when we want to fight; if we asked our victim: will you become a Muslim or not? And he or she refuses, then, we will slaughter the victim like a goat. And after killing the victim, we will collect his blood or her blood in a small cup and then drink the blood¹²³.

¹²⁰ Victor, D. (2013). *What is this thing called African Time?* Retrieved 21 February, 2013. <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2010-01-21-what-is-this-thing-called-african-time>.

¹²¹ Kanu, Ikechukwu A. (2017). *The culture of political corruption and the emergence of terrorism in Nigeria*. In Mahmoud Misaeli and Rico Sneller (Eds.). *The Root Causes of Terrorism: A Religious Studies Perspective* (pp. 280-291). United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

¹²² Kanu, Ikechukwu A. (2016). "Christian-Muslim Relations in Nigeria as a Religio-Political *Locus Theologicus* for *Misericordia Vultus*". Published in the *Harvard Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol. 3. No. 4. pp. 117-128.

¹²³ Nasir Isiaku reported by *Saturday Sun* News Paper on August 10, 2013 (pp. 12-13).

A nation like ours ruled by religious fanaticism and fundamentalism, will find it difficult to be ready for development. For everyone who is interested in development, he must be open to new ideas, new people and alternative models of reality.

Corruption: The 'African Factor'

Corruption is a highly complex with many different manifestations. It can be grand or petty, incidental, systematic or systemic. It can be judicial, administrative, legislative or political in nature. It can occur in the public, private or civil society sector. It can involve groups or individuals. Academics from various disciplines define it in various ways:

1. "the giving, offering, or agreeing to give a benefit to an official or agent and the receiving, obtaining or agreeing to receive or attempting to obtain a benefit by a public official or agent";¹²⁴
2. "the violation of formal rules governing the allocation of public resources by officials in response to offers of financial gain or political support";¹²⁵
3. "the abuse of public roles or resources for private benefit";¹²⁶
4. "the abuse of power, most often for personal gain or for the benefit of a group to which one owed one's allegiance. While the term 'corruption' is most often applied to abuse of public power by politicians or civil servants, it describes a pattern of behaviour that can be found in virtually every sphere of life";¹²⁷
5. "a symptom of something gone wrong in the management of the state where institutions designed to govern the relationships between citizens and the state are used instead for the personal enrichment of public officials and the provision of benefits to the corrupt"¹²⁸.

From the above definitions, corruption appears to be more than bribery (to which it is often reduced in legal definitions), and relates to various forms of mismanagement, abuse or misuse of mainly public authority, office, duties, trust or resources, for private, personal or sectoral interest, benefit or gain¹²⁹. The world sees Africa as one party state that is led by corruption. If there is any social malaise whose notoriety hardly can be paralleled, and which bears an ignoble identity with the geographical construction otherwise known as Africa, then one rarely needs a deep search to discover that which is our point of departure- corruption¹³⁰. The damages it has done to the continent are astronomical. It leads to slow movement of files in offices, police extortion at tollgates and slow traffics on the highways, port congestion, queues at passport offices and gas stations, ghost workers syndrome, election irregularities, among others. Even the mad people on the street recognize the havoc caused by corruption - the funds allocated for their welfare disappear into the thin air¹³¹.

Corruption has become so institutionalized that some now accept it as the African way of doing things. People now speak of the 'African factor' when they speak of corruption¹³². Those associated with criminal records are embraced by the society, while merit, honesty and integrity are hardly recognized¹³³. In the area of election in Africa, it is common site to see purchase of votes by

¹²⁴ South African Corruption Act no 94 of 1992.

¹²⁵ J Nye, "Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-benefit Analysis", American Political Science Review 51, 1967.

¹²⁶ M Johnston, "The search for definitions: The vitality of Politics and the Issue of Corruption", International Social Science Journal 49, 1996, pp 321-335.

¹²⁷ R Stapenhurst & S Kpundeh, "Curbing Corruption: Towards a Model for Building National Integrity", EDI Development Studies, World Bank, 1999.

¹²⁸ "UNDP, Corruption and good governance 1997", Discussion Paper 3, Management and Governance Division, Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, UNDP, New York, 1997.

¹²⁹ Kanu, Ikechukwu Anthony, *The culture of political corruption and the emergence of terrorism in Nigeria*. In Mahmoud Misaeli and Rico Sneller (Eds.). *The Root Causes of Terrorism: A Religious Studies Perspective* (pp. 280-291). United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017.

¹³⁰ Mordi C, & Afangide F., "Corruption: Nigeria's Existential question". *The Quest* Vol. 2.2 June 2001- July 2002. P.21

¹³¹ Victor E. Dike, "Corruption in Nigeria: A New Paradigm for Effective Control". *Africa Economic Analysis*. www.AfricaEconomicAnalysis.org

¹³² Efeturi Ojakaminor, *Nigeria's Ghana Must Go Republic: Happenings*. (Ogun: Ambassador Publications, n.d.), P. 418

¹³³ Shehu Shagari, *The Nigerian Standard*, November 1, 1983, p. 11.

Rank	Country/Territory	2015 Score	2014 Score	2013 Score	2012 Score
76	India	38	38	36	36
76	Thailand	38	38	35	37
76	Tunisia	38	40	41	41
76	Zambia	38	38	38	37
83	Benin	37	39	36	36
83	China	37	36	40	39
83	Colombia	37	37	36	36
83	Liberia	37	37	38	41
83	Sri Lanka	37	38	37	40
88	Albania	36	33	31	33
88	Algeria	36	36	36	34
88	Egypt	36	37	32	32
88	Indonesia	36	34	32	32
88	Morocco	36	39	37	37
88	Peru	36	38	38	38
88	Suriname	36	36	36	37
95	Armenia	35	37	36	34
95	Mali	35	32	28	34
95	Philippines	35	38	36	34
98	Bolivia	34	35	34	34
98	Djibouti	34	34	36	36
98	Gabon	34	37	34	35
98	Niger	34	35	34	33
102	Dominican Republic	33	32	29	32
102	Ethiopia	33	33	33	33
102	Kosovo	33	33	33	34
102	Moldova	33	35	35	36
106	Argentina	32	34	34	35
106	Belarus	32	31	29	31
106	Cote d'Ivoire	32	32	27	29
106	Ecuador	32	33	35	32
106	Togo	32	29	29	30
111	Honduras	31	29	26	28
111	Malawi	31	33	37	37
111	Mauritania	31	30	30	31
111	Mexico	31	35	34	34
111	Mozambique	31	31	30	31
111	Vietnam	31	31	31	31
117	Pakistan	30	29	28	27
117	Tanzania	30	31	33	35
119	Azerbaijan	29	29	28	27
119	Guyana	29	30	27	28
119	Russia	29	27	28	28
119	Sierra Leone	29	31	30	31
123	Gambia	28	29	28	34
123	Guatemala	28	32	29	33

Rank	Country/Territory	2015 Score	2014 Score	2013 Score	2012 Score
123	Kazakhstan	28	29	26	28
123	Kyrgyzstan	28	27	24	24
123	Lebanon	28	27	28	30
123	Madagascar	28	28	28	32
123	Timor-Leste	28	28	30	33
130	Cameroon	27	27	25	26
130	Iran	27	27	25	28
130	Nepal	27	29	31	27
130	Nicaragua	27	28	28	29
130	Paraguay	27	24	24	25
130	Ukraine	27	26	25	26
136	Comoros	26	26	28	28
136	Nigeria	26	27	25	27
136	Tajikistan	26	23	22	22
139	Bangladesh	25	25	27	26
139	Guinea	25	25	24	24
139	Kenya	25	25	27	27
139	Laos	25	25	26	21
139	Papua New Guinea	25	25	25	25
139	Uganda	25	26	26	29
145	Central African Republic	24	24	25	26
146	Congo Republic	23	23	22	26
147	Chad	22	22	19	19
147	Democratic Republic of the Congo	22	22	22	21
147	Myanmar	22	21	21	15
150	Burundi	21	20	21	19
150	Cambodia	21	21	20	22
150	Zimbabwe	21	21	21	20
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154	Eritrea	18	18	20	25
154	Syria	18	20	17	26
154	Turkmenistan	18	17	17	17
154	Yemen	18	19	18	23
158	Haiti	17	19	19	19
158	Guinea-Bissau	17	19	19	25
158	Venezuela	17	19	20	19
161	Iraq	16	16	16	18
161	Libya	16	18	15	21
163	Angola	15	19	23	22
163	South Sudan	15	15	14	N/A
165	Sudan	12	11	11	13
166	Afghanistan	11	12	8	8
167	Korea (North)	8	8	8	8
167	Somalia	8	8	8	8

Tribalism and the Unity of Autonomies

The ethnic diversities that we have in Africa are diversities that have outlived the Medieval era, and the revolutions and reorganizations of the Modern epoch, the upheavals of the 19th century and the classifications of the Colonial period. If they have outlived these periods and still survives to the present era, then they must be put into consideration in every effort towards national unity and development¹³⁷. Most nations in Africa evolved from tribe to nation. The word tribe is used in the sense of an endogamous group descended from the same ancestor, occupying a particular territory and possessing cultural, religious and linguistic homogeneity¹³⁸. It is, therefore, very possible that if these differences are not well managed, there would be a threat to national unity¹³⁹.

In some cases, tribal sentiments were the product of the colonial method of administration which was sometimes defined by the divide-and-rule approach. This was very visible in British and French colonies. Thus, tribalism can be traced to Africa's diversity and the colonial administrations. By 1960, even before colonial administration came to an end, political parties began to emerge along tribal lines, and nationalists took advantage of the sympathy of their tribes so as to check their successful rivals from other parts of the country. In Nigeria, for instance, the Northern People's Congress (NPC), which was North-dominated was the major political party in the Northern part of Nigeria; the Action Congress (AC) of 1950, whose tribal strength relied on the Yoruba tribal group's National Union, *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* (1948). In Igboland, the Eastern part of Nigeria, the Igbo National Union, as a tribal association was instrumental to the formation of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) in 1944. With the exit of the colonial government, politicians drew authentic and overwhelming support from their tribesmen. Reflecting on tribalism in Nigeria, Chinua Achebe wrote:

Nothing in Nigeria's political history captures her problem of national integration more graphically than the chequered fortune of the word *tribe* in her vocabulary. Tribe has been accepted at one time as a friend, rejected as an enemy at another, and finally smuggled in through the back-door as an accomplice¹⁴⁰.

This was not the case in every part of Africa. In places like Tanzania, the multiplicity of numerous ethnic groups was unified by the influence of the national movement: Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). No people can rise to an influential position in the community of nations without a distinct and efficient nationality.

Distribution of Political Power and National Development

Politics is not only about the politician, it is majorly about the people being governed; the importance of the people in the political arena springs from the fact that the politician gains his legitimacy from the people. This explains why the management of the people governed is very important, and thus, the distribution of political power in society¹⁴¹. This is even more important in places like Africa where diversity is in abundance, and where diverse groups are still reflecting on the rationale for the colonial division of Africa into nation states without the consideration of the league of culturally and religiously diverse nations. While dealing with people of diverse local nationalities that have formed a nation, the leader must make everyone feel represented. The absence of the feeling of "It is our country", would lead to allegiance to tribe rather than the nation.

Using Nigeria as a case study, an evaluation of the 100 appointments made by President Muhammadu Buhari since he came into office in 2015, reveals that 81 of them are from Northern Nigeria, which is only a region among other regions. This is excluding the Ministerial positions, which are statutory according to the provisions of the 1999 constitution. This research is not saying that the President has made only 100 appointments since he came into office, however, an intensive research down until October 29, 2017, reveals this. Based on the characterization of Nigeria, the appointment can be considered divisive and heavily tilted in favour of the North. This is even against the spirit of the Nigerian Constitution, which states that:

¹³⁷ Basil Davidson, *The black man's burden: Africa and the curse of the nation-state*. Spectrum Books, Ibadan, 1992, P.100

¹³⁸ Nnamdi Azikiwe, *From tribe to Nation*, p.274.

¹³⁹ Nnamdi Azikiwe, *From tribe to Nation*, p.277.

¹⁴⁰ Chinua Achebe, *The trouble with Nigeria*. Heinemann, Nigeria. 1983, p. 5

¹⁴¹ Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*. Profile Books, London. 2012, pp. 42-43.

programme- especially given that so many of them whizz past the traffic at the flick of their blue lights and their loud sirens¹²⁰.

The direct consequence of Africa's attitude towards time is Africa's underdevelopment. If Africa must be like other civilizations, she must change her mentality towards time.

Religious Fanaticism and Fundamentalism

Religious fanaticism and fundamentalism has its hands on every dimension of Africa, surfacing and resurfacing its ugly face on various fronts. For instance, it is in Nigeria that men and women keep away from work, waiting in idleness for God's blessings; hours upon hours that should be spent in work are spent in churches and mosques praying. It is in Nigeria that you find a situation where people have no work, and salaries have not been paid, and yet billions of naira are spent on pilgrimages to Saudi Arabia and Jerusalem. It is in Nigeria that every experience is spiritualized; even laziness and the non-use of common sense is explained away as spiritual attacks, thereby creating a generation that are lazy, irresponsible, with an incapacitated ability to reason scientifically who now see God as a rewarder of mediocrity.

Pentecostal pastors will never talk about American scientists who are working daily and tirelessly to ensure the discovery of drugs to cure diseases that have overtaken Africa. They will not talk about Serena Williams or Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie or Dangote Aliko, etc., who have defied all odds and became successful through hard work, creativity, etc. They will rather talk about how a girl who was unqualified for a job got the job through prayers and fasting. They would rather talk about how a man became a millionaire because he used his whole salary to sow a seed in the church. They would rather talk about how nameless men through paying their tithes were able to experience a business boom, or how through the laying of hands, people who didn't study got admission into a prestigious university. We are a nation with more churches and mosques than we have schools, business institutions, hospitals, etc. And because we have refused to draw a line between religiosity and spirituality, the continuous rise in religious activities have not reflected any expected moral elevation of society. Nigeria is still one of the greediest, laziest, corrupt, deceitful and hateful set of human beings on the planet earth, and yet one of the most religious.

Religious fundamentalism has set citizens against themselves, leading to destruction of lives and property. Nigeria is a multi-religious state with Muslims, Christians and adherents of African Traditional Religion, but fundamentalism has not let Nigerians realize this. Ever since the 19th century, when Othman Dan Fodio launched a Jihad on the Northern part of Nigeria, different Islamic terrorist groups have emerged, posing a serious security challenge to Nigerians. In 1980, the Maitatsine radical group sprang up, bringing about devastating human and material losses. The most recent and serious is that of the *Boko Haram* sect¹²¹. They refer to themselves as *Jama'at ahl as-sunnah li-d-da'awati wa-li-jihad* (People committed to the Prophet's teaching and jihad)¹²². In a confession made by Nasir Isiaku, a member of the Boko Haram sect, reported by *Saturday Sun* News Paper on August 10, 2013, he described their agenda thus:

Our agenda is to wipe out Christians; we have governors, senators as sponsors; our sponsors are past Nigerian leaders; we have infiltrated the Nigerian forces. We have our members in the police and the army. Those members help us a lot when we want to fight; if we asked our victim: will you become a Muslim or not? And he or she refuses, then, we will slaughter the victim like a goat. And after killing the victim, we will collect his blood or her blood in a small cup and then drink the blood¹²³.

¹²⁰ Victor, D. (2013). *What is this thing called African Time?* Retrieved 21 February, 2013. <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2010-01-21-what-is-this-thing-called-african-time>.

¹²¹ Kanu, Ikechukwu A. (2017). *The culture of political corruption and the emergence of terrorism in Nigeria*. In Mahmoud Misaeli and Rico Sneller (Eds.). *The Root Causes of Terrorism: A Religious Studies Perspective* (pp. 280-291). United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

¹²² Kanu, Ikechukwu A. (2016). "Christian-Muslim Relations in Nigeria as a Religio-Political *Locus Theologicus* for *Misericordia Vultus*". Published in the *Harvard Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol. 3. No. 4. pp. 117-128.

¹²³ Nasir Isiaku reported by *Saturday Sun* News Paper on August 10, 2013 (pp. 12-13).

A nation like ours ruled by religious fanaticism and fundamentalism, will find it difficult to be ready for development. For everyone who is interested in development, he must be open to new ideas, new people and alternative models of reality.

Corruption: The 'African Factor'

Corruption is a highly complex with many different manifestations. It can be grand or petty, incidental, systematic or systemic. It can be judicial, administrative, legislative or political in nature. It can occur in the public, private or civil society sector. It can involve groups or individuals. Academics from various disciplines define it in various ways:

1. "the giving, offering, or agreeing to give a benefit to an official or agent and the receiving, obtaining or agreeing to receive or attempting to obtain a benefit by a public official or agent";¹²⁴
2. "the violation of formal rules governing the allocation of public resources by officials in response to offers of financial gain or political support";¹²⁵
3. "the abuse of public roles or resources for private benefit";¹²⁶
4. "the abuse of power, most often for personal gain or for the benefit of a group to which one owed one's allegiance. While the term 'corruption' is most often applied to abuse of public power by politicians or civil servants, it describes a pattern of behaviour that can be found in virtually every sphere of life";¹²⁷
5. "a symptom of something gone wrong in the management of the state where institutions designed to govern the relationships between citizens and the state are used instead for the personal enrichment of public officials and the provision of benefits to the corrupt"¹²⁸.

From the above definitions, corruption appears to be more than bribery (to which it is often reduced in legal definitions), and relates to various forms of mismanagement, abuse or misuse of mainly public authority, office, duties, trust or resources, for private, personal or sectoral interest, benefit or gain¹²⁹. The world sees Africa as one party state that is led by corruption. If there is any social malaise whose notoriety hardly can be paralleled, and which bears an ignoble identity with the geographical construction otherwise known as Africa, then one rarely needs a deep search to discover that which is our point of departure- corruption¹³⁰. The damages it has done to the continent are astronomical. It leads to slow movement of files in offices, police extortion at tollgates and slow traffics on the highways, port congestion, queues at passport offices and gas stations, ghost workers syndrome, election irregularities, among others. Even the mad people on the street recognize the havoc caused by corruption - the funds allocated for their welfare disappear into the thin air¹³¹.

Corruption has become so institutionalized that some now accept it as the African way of doing things. People now speak of the 'African factor' when they speak of corruption¹³². Those associated with criminal records are embraced by the society, while merit, honesty and integrity are hardly recognized¹³³. In the area of election in Africa, it is common site to see purchase of votes by

¹²⁴ South African Corruption Act no 94 of 1992.

¹²⁵ J Nye, "Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-benefit Analysis", American Political Science Review 51, 1967.

¹²⁶ M Johnston, "The search for definitions: The vitality of Politics and the Issue of Corruption". International Social Science Journal 49, 1996, pp 321-335.

¹²⁷ R Staphenurst & S Kpundeh, "Curbing Corruption: Towards a Model for Building National Integrity", EDI Development Studies, World Bank, 1999.

¹²⁸ "UNDP, Corruption and good governance 1997", Discussion Paper 3, Management and Governance Division, Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, UNDP, New York, 1997.

¹²⁹ Kanu, Ikechukwu Anthony, *The culture of political corruption and the emergence of terrorism in Nigeria*. In Mahmoud Misaeli and Rico Sneller (Eds.). *The Root Causes of Terrorism: A Religious Studies Perspective* (pp. 280-291). United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017.

¹³⁰ Mordi C, & Afangide F., "Corruption: Nigeria's Existential question". *The Quest* Vol. 2.2 June 2001- July 2002. P.21

¹³¹ Victor E. Dike, "Corruption in Nigeria: A New Paradigm for Effective Control". *Africa Economic Analysis*. www.AfricaEconomicAnalysis.org

¹³² Efeturi Ojakaminor, *Nigeria's Ghana Must Go Republic: Happenings*. (Ogun: Ambassador Publications, n.d.), P. 418

¹³³ Shehu Shagari, *The Nigerian Standard*, November 1, 1983, p. 11.

the political class with money, promises of office or special favors, coercion, intimidation, and interference with freedom of election. Votes are bought, people are killed, losers end up as the winners, and votes turn up in areas where votes were not cast¹³⁴. In the area of education corruption has made Africa glide precariously. Endless strikes by teachers whose salaries are not paid for many months and involvement in sinister activities by students who are subjected to very harsh neglect have turned most institutions of learning into dens of potential criminals¹³⁵.

TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL CORRUPTION PERCEPTION INDEX¹³⁶

Rank	Country/Territory	2015 Score	2014 Score	2013 Score	2012 Score
1	Denmark	91	92	91	90
1	New Zealand	91	91	91	90
3	Finland	90	89	89	90
4	Sweden	89	87	89	88
5	Norway	88	86	86	85
6	Switzerland	86	86	85	86
7	Luxembourg	85	82	80	80
7	Singapore	85	84	86	87
9	Netherlands	84	83	83	84
10	Canada	83	81	81	84
11	Germany	81	79	78	79
11	United Kingdom	81	78	76	74
13	Australia	79	80	81	85
13	Iceland	79	79	78	82
15	Belgium	77	76	75	75
16	Austria	76	72	69	69
16	United States	76	74	73	73
18	Hong Kong	75	74	75	77
18	Ireland	75	74	72	69
18	Japan	75	76	74	74
21	Uruguay	74	73	73	72
22	Qatar	71	69	68	68
23	Chile	70	73	71	72
23	Estonia	70	69	68	64
23	France	70	69	68	64
23	United Arab Emirates	70	69	71	71
27	Bhutan	65	70	69	68
28	Portugal	64	63	63	63
29	Botswana	63	63	62	63
29	Poland	63	63	64	65
31	Taiwan	62	61	60	58
32	Cyprus	61	61	61	61
			63	63	66

¹³⁴ Kanu, Ikechukwu Anthony, Corruption in Nigeria as a Socio-Cultural Context for the Extraordinary Jubilee of Mercy. *Harvard Journal of Management Sciences and Entrepreneurship*. Vol. 3. No. 5. pp. 191. 2017

¹³⁵ Kanu, Ikechukwu Anthony, Corruption in Africa and its Challenges for the Enterprise of Christian Theology. *International Journal of Research in Arts and Social Sciences*, Vol. 4. p. 495. 2017

¹³⁶ Transparency International Corruption Perception Index 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.transparency.org/cpi2015>

Rank	Country/Territory	2015 Score	2014 Score	2013 Score	2012 Score
32	Israel	61	60	61	60
34	Malta	60	55	56	57
34	Slovenia	60	58	57	61
36	Lithuania	59	58	57	54
37	Spain	58	60	59	65
38	Czech Republic	56	51	48	49
38	Latvia	56	55	53	49
40	Cape Verde	55	57	58	60
40	Costa Rica	55	54	53	54
40	Seychelles	55	55	54	52
43	Korea (South)	54	55	55	56
43	Rwanda	54	49	53	53
45	Jordan	53	49	45	48
45	Mauritius	53	54	52	57
45	Namibia	53	49	48	48
48	Georgia	52	52	49	52
48	Saudi Arabia	52	49	46	44
50	Bahrain	51	49	48	51
50	Croatia	51	48	48	46
50	Hungary	51	54	54	55
50	Slovakia	51	50	47	46
54	Malaysia	50	52	50	49
55	Kuwait	49	44	43	44
56	Cuba	47	46	46	48
56	Ghana	47	48	46	45
58	Greece	46	43	40	36
58	Romania	46	43	43	44
58	Romania	45	45	47	47
60	Oman	44	43	43	42
61	Italy	44	49	49	45
61	Lesotho	44	42	44	41
61	Montenegro	44	43	41	36
61	Senegal	44	44	42	43
61	South Africa	44	44	42	42
66	Sao Tome and Principe	42	45	44	43
66	The FYR of Macedonia	42	45	50	49
66	Turkey	41	43	41	41
69	Bulgaria	41	38	38	38
69	Jamaica	40	41	42	39
71	Serbia	39	39	38	38
72	El Salvador	39	39	38	36
72	Mongolia	39	37	35	38
72	Panama	39	38	38	39
72	Trinidad and Tobago	38	39	42	42
76	Bosnia and Herzegovina	38	43	42	43
76	Brazil	38	38	38	38
76	Burkina Faso	38	38	38	38

Rank	Country/Territory	2015 Score	2014 Score	2013 Score	2012 Score
76	India	38	38	36	36
76	Thailand	38	38	35	37
76	Tunisia	38	40	41	41
76	Zambia	38	38	38	37
83	Benin	37	39	36	36
83	China	37	36	40	39
83	Colombia	37	37	36	36
83	Liberia	37	37	38	41
83	Sri Lanka	37	38	37	40
88	Albania	36	33	31	33
88	Algeria	36	36	36	34
88	Egypt	36	37	32	32
88	Indonesia	36	34	32	32
88	Morocco	36	39	37	37
88	Peru	36	38	38	38
88	Suriname	36	36	36	37
95	Armenia	35	37	36	34
95	Mali	35	32	28	34
95	Philippines	35	38	36	34
98	Bolivia	34	35	34	34
98	Djibouti	34	34	36	36
98	Gabon	34	37	34	35
98	Niger	34	35	34	33
102	Dominican Republic	33	32	29	32
102	Ethiopia	33	33	33	33
102	Kosovo	33	33	33	34
102	Moldova	33	35	35	36
106	Argentina	32	34	34	35
106	Belarus	32	31	29	31
106	Cote d'Ivoire	32	32	27	29
106	Ecuador	32	33	35	32
106	Togo	32	29	29	30
111	Honduras	31	29	26	28
111	Malawi	31	33	37	37
111	Mauritania	31	30	30	31
111	Mexico	31	35	34	34
111	Mozambique	31	31	30	31
111	Vietnam	31	31	31	31
117	Pakistan	30	29	28	27
117	Tanzania	30	31	33	35
119	Azerbaijan	29	29	28	27
119	Guyana	29	30	27	28
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154	Syria	18	20	17	26
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The composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies, and the conduct of its affairs must be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also command national loyalty¹⁴².

No	Name	Portfolio	State/Region
1	Tukur Buratai	Chief of Army Staff	Borno/North-East
2	Babagana Mongunu	National Security Adviser	Borno/North-East
3	Abubakar Lawal	Aide de Camp	Kano/North-West
4	Femi Adesina	SA Media and Publicity	Osun/South-West
5	Garba Shehu	SA Media and Publicity	Kano/North-West
6	Lawal Kazaure	State Chief of Protocol	Jigawa/North-West
7	Ahmed Idris	Accountant General	Kano/North-West
8	Abayomi Olonishakin	Chief of Defence Staff	Ekiti/South-West
9	Ibok-Ece Wkwe Ibas	Chief of Naval Staff	CrossRiver/South-South
10	Sadique Abubakar	Chief of Air Staff	Bauchi/North East
11	Monday Morgan	Chief Defence Intel	Benue/North-Central
12	Lawal Daura	DG State Security Services	Katsina/North-West
13	Mahmood Yakubu	INEC Chairman	Bauchi/North-East
14	Hadiza Bala Usman	MD, NPA	Kaduna/North-West
15	Paul Boroh	SA Niger Delta Amnesty	Bayelsa/South-South
16	Dakuku Peterside	DG, NIMASA	Rivers/South-South
17	Umaru Danbatta	Chief Executive NCC	Kano/North-West
18	Babatunde Fowler	Chairman, FIRS	Lagos/South-West
19	Aliyu Gusau	DG, Budget Office	Zamfara/North-West
20	Maikanti Baru	GMD, NNPC	Bauchi/North-East
21	Babachir Lawal	SGF	Adamawa/North-East
22	Abba Kyari	Chief of Staff	Borno/North-East
23	Hameed Ali	CG, Nigeria Customs	Kaduna/North-West
24	Kure Abeshi	CG, Nig. Immigration	Nasarawa/North-Central
25	Ita Enang	SSA, National Assembly	Akwa Ibom/South-South
26	Suleiman Kawu	SSA, National Assembly	Kano/North-West
27	Modedal B. Ladan	Director, DPR	Kano/North-West
28	Ahmed Lawan Kuru	MD, AMCON	Yobe/North-East
29	Mohammed Kari	Insurance Commission	Bauchi/North-East
30	Ibrahim Magu	Acting Chairman, EFCC	Borno/North-East
31	Abike Dabire	SSA, Diaspora	Ogun/South-West
32	Abdullahi Muhammadu	CG, NSCDS	Niger/North-Central
33	Winifred Oyo-Ita	Head of Service	Cross River/South-South
34	Aishah Ahmad	Deputy Gov. CBN	Niger/North-Central
35	Mary Ekpere	DG, NCWD	Cross River/South-South
36	Mary Ekpere	Chairman, BoI	Borno/North-East
37	Dikko AbdulRahman	MD, Federal M. Bank	Kaduna/North-West
38	Ahmed Dangiwa	ED, Federal M. Bank	Anambra/Sout-East
39	Melville Ebo	ED, Federal M. Bank	Kebbi/North-West
40	Dankanne Abdullahi	ED, Federal M. Bank	Edo/South-South
41	Alex Okoh	DG, BPE	Niger/North-Central
42	Ibrahim Goni	CG, National Park	Niger/North-Central
43	Nasiru Ladan	DG, NDE	Niger/North-Central
44	Saliu Alabi	DG, MINILS	Benue/North-Central
45	Saliu Alabi	DG, RICT	Adamawa/North-East
46	Jeffery Barminas	DG, NISER	Borno/North-East
47	Haruna Yerima	Scretary, FCC	Adamawa/North-East
48	Mohammed Tukur	Chairman, FCC	Borno/North-East
49	Shettima Abba	ES, CPP	Kogi/North-Central
50	Tunde Erukera		

¹⁴² 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigerian, Section 13, Sub-section 3.

49	Umar G. Jibrin	ES, FCDA	Bauchi/North-East
50	Muhammed Abdallah	CEO, NDLEA	Adamawa/North-East
51	Garba Abari	DG, NOA	Yobe/North-East
52	Sule Kazaure	DG, NYSC	Jigawa/North-West
53	Jelani Aliyu	DG, NADDC	Sokoto/North-West
54	Bayo Onanuga	DG, NAN	Ogun, South-West
55	Ibrahim Idril	IG, Police	Niger/North-Central
56	Ghaji Bello	DG, NPC	Gombe/North-East
57	Suleh Dunoma	MD, FAAN	North
58	U.S.A. Sadiq	Dir, Security FAAN	North
59	Rabiu Yadudu	Dir, Operations FAAN	Kano/North-West
60	Salisu Daura	Dir, Maintenance FAAN	Katsina/North-West
61	Rahimatu Aminu-Aliyu	ED, Federal M. Bank	North
62	Julie Okah	DG, NAPTIP	South-South
63	Bello Rabiu	COO, NNPC	Kano/North-West
64	Henry Ikem-Obih	COO, NNPC	South-South
65	Bello Gusau	ES, PTFD	Nasarawa/North-Central
66	Isiaku Abdulrazaq	CFO, NNPC	Kwara/North-Central
67	Isa Inuwa	COO, NNPC	North
68	Saidu Muhammed	COO, NNPC	North
69	Babatunde Adeniran	COO, NNPC	South-West
70	Chidi Momah	Secretary, NNPC	-----
71	Modedal Baba Ladan	Dir, DPR	Niger/North-Central
72	Eberechukwu Uneze	ED, AMCON	Imo/South-East
73	Aminu Ismail	ED, AMCON	Kano/North-West
74	Ishaq Oloyede	Registrar JAMB	Ogun/South-West
75	Chidi K. C. Izuwah	DG, ICRC	South-East
76	Bolaji Owasanoye	ICPC	South-West
77	Lenrie Aina	National Librarian	Ogun/South-West
78	Charles Uwakwe	NECO	-----
79	Umaru Maza Maza	Chair, REA	Kebbi/North-West
80	Damilola Ogunbiyi	MD, REA	Lagos/South-West
81	Sanusi Ohiare	ED, REA	Kogi/North-Central
82	Fola Akinkuotu	MD, NAMA	South-West
83	Sani Abubakar Mashi	DG, NIMet	Katsina/North-West
84	Abdulsalam Mohammed	Rector, NCAT	Kogi/North-Central
85	Akinola Olateru	Commissioner, AIB	South/West
86	Abubakar Rasheed	EO, NUC	North
87	Abdulkadir Umar	ES, PPPRA	North
88	Elias Nwalem	RMAFC	Ebony/South-East
89	Marilyn Amobi	NBET	South-East
90	Faisal Shuaibu	ES, NPHCDA	Nasarawa/North-Central
91	Umaru Ibrahim	NDIC	Kano/North-West
92	Uja Tor Uja	NCPC	Benue/North-Central
93	Isa Pantami	DG, NITDA	Gombe/North-East
94	Patience Oniha	DG, DMO	Edo/South-South
95	Nnenna Akajemeli	CEO, SERVICOM	Imo/South-East
96	Falashade Joseph	MD, NAIC	Kogi/North-Central
97	Cecilia Gaya	DG, ASCON	Adamawa/North-East
98	Luci Ajayi	ES, LITFMB	Edo/South-South
99	Lanre Gbajabiamilla	DG, NLRC	Lagos/South-West
100	Usman Abubakar	Chair, NRC	Katsina/North-West

100 Buhari Appointees and their Geographical Zones

It is even more disturbing that all major security and law enforcement positions, with the exception of Chief of Defense Staff and Chief of Naval Staff, went to Northern Muslims. This apparent inclination towards regional preferences in appointments has led to an escalation of regional and ethnic grievances in the country, manifesting in the self-determination agitations and calls for restructuring and true federalism.

Igwebuike Philosophy: Implications for National Development

Having studied some of the challenges to national development, the major thrust of this work is to see how Igwebuike philosophy can contribute to the discussion on national development, that is, how these challenges from an Igwebuike perspective can be addressed for the purpose of national development.

Religious Fanaticism and Fundamentalism: Christianity and Islam in Africa have been associated with conflicts and violence which has dealt a terrible blow on national unity and brought untold hardships on the masses. This is partly because religion has been politicized, manipulated and militarized by unscrupulous people to fan the embers of rivalry, antagonism and ethnic discrimination. Although both major religions have misunderstood themselves by dwelling more on their differences, Igwebuike philosophy calls for dialogue, which does not deny the significant differences between the two religions. So much energy has been dissipated on violence instead of using it for solving the problems of human suffering and other socio-economic and political challenges that face us in the eye. *Igwebuike*, as an indigenous philosophy calls on the adherents of both religions to focus on the things that unite them, that is, the importance of dialogue to our common humanity. Muslims and Christians have so many things in common as believers and as human beings: the adherents of both religions live in the same world, in the same Africa beset by the same socio-economic and political problems. To fight one another is to engage in a futile enterprise and more so, worsen their conditions. Both religions constitute parts of the intricate web of reality and relationships in the ontological order. Their differences is for complementarity and not conflict.

Corporate Responsibility and Corruption: As corruption hinders national development, Igwebuike calls for a corporate approach in the search for a solution. It is not just the responsibility of the government but the responsibility of individuals and private institutions. In Nigeria, where corrupt leaders are viewed as heroes, Churches and mosques, where these men are welcomed and sometimes considered blessed, also have a responsibility towards the fight against corruption. Local communities also have a role to play. After serving his 13 year term in the UK over charges bordering on corruption and money laundering, the former governor of Delta State, James Ibori, arrived the Nigeria aboard the British Airways. At his home state, Delta, it was celebration, as his loyalists and notable personalities trooped to welcome home their hero. To those so-jubilating, Ibori is nothing but a man of the people. For them, Ibori is not corrupt, even though he pleaded guilty to corrupt charges in a London Court. They seem to ask: Is it not our money that he stole? Nigeria is a nation where corruption bears tribal marks?

To fight corruption, the different dimensions of society must play their complementary roles. There is the need for a government that is truthful in her fight against corruption. On September 15 2005, Diepreye Aamieyeseigha, the governor of Bayelsa State was arrested in London's Heathrow Airport and interrogated on allegations of money laundering by the officers of the London Metropolitan Police's Specialist and Economic Crime Unit. From the airport he was taken to his house where a search was conducted and the sum of 920,000 pounds was found. He was also charged for finding 420,000 pounds in his account and for illegally transferring 470,000 pounds to another account, making a total of 1.8 pounds¹⁴³. When he was brought to court he asserted his innocence and was, therefore, granted bail pending the next court hearing. Before the fixed for appearing in court, he disguised himself as a woman and returned back to Nigeria unnoticed and continued his work as a governor; he knew he had a country where the government grants immunity to the President, Vice President and Governors. When the government protects corrupt officials, it becomes difficult to fight corruption.

The Co-existence of Tribal Groups: Tribe is a universal phenomenon and not restricted to Africa. When diversity is properly harnessed, it would bring about national unity and development, however, when mismanaged can wreck national unity and development. The diversities of people, culture,

¹⁴³ Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, *Reforming the unreformable: Lessons from Nigeria*. MIT Press, USA.

language, etc., from the perspective of Igwebuik philosophy enriches the nation and could coexist in a federation; this is possible when the freedom and basic rights of tribes are protected in written and rigid constitution. For tribal diversities to be transformed into strength, the government needs to discover the circumstances which can be superimposed on the natural chains of language and culture, which has linked human beings to enable them develop a feeling of personal security and group preservation¹⁴⁴. There is the need for a government that will concede coexistence to all linguistic groups, on the basis of equality, within a framework of political and constitutional warrantees. Such a government would protect linguistic groups and individual freedom under the rule of law and thus create an atmosphere for respect of their culture and traditions is created¹⁴⁵.

If loyalty to the nation must not be replaced by loyalty to the tribe, citizens must be provided with adequate food, comfortable shelter and a minimum level of subsistence. In this case, rulers must discover the material needs of their people. Once there is a failure in this by rulers, people will harbor grievances about political, economic and social inequalities. This will increase loyalty to tribe and disloyalty to the nation¹⁴⁶. Leaders must do everything necessary to ensure national cohesion and unity, and that no group, religious or other forms, is perceived to be dominating the other. Leaders have the duty to ensure that they are not perceived to be sectional or seen to be representing one group against the others. Leaders of people of diverse religions and culture must ensure that no group feels marginalized.

The Time Management: Time and development have complementary roles to play. Without time, there can't be development, and time in the absence of development is no time at all. And so if the African has time at his disposal and fails through laziness to transform the raw material of time into development, then development would elude his grasp. More so, the African concept of time which is concrete and substantive, should be taken advantage of. Time in Africa is epochal, as it is wrapped around events and activities. According to Mbiti Africans reckon time for a concrete and specific purpose and not just in a vacuum. The African time is either time-for or time-to or time-of. What exists for the African are Phenomenon calendars, in that events which constitute time are reckoned. If time is wrapped around event, it then means that time should not be spent in idleness but in a positive activity.

Moreover, the idea of complementarity in the African universe brings in the idea of responsibility towards the other in the use of time. In the responsible use of time, an African fulfills his responsibility towards the other, in the distant future or the immediate future. Every generation hands over the fruits of its labour to the next generation, and if a particular generation whiles away in laziness, then she has very little or nothing to hand over to the next generation. Why underdevelopment persists in Africa is as a result of the continuous handing over of the baton of laziness and unproductively to successive generations. Every generation that mismanages times, leaves a vacuum that becomes a burden to the next generation.

Conclusion

National development is about the ability of a nation to improve the lives of its citizens through various measures of improvement. From the Igwebuik perspective, this ability to improve the lives of citizens must be comprehensive, all-round and balanced. It includes all aspects of the life of an individual and the nation. It is, therefore, holistic in approach as it full-growth and expansion of our industries, agriculture, education, social, religious and cultural institutions. While national development does not exclude personal development, there is a major difference between national development and personal development. While national development concerns a development project that goes beyond an individual to encompass the diversities evident in nations, the second concerns the individual project of development- the self becomes the centre of focus. It is thus not surprising that issues of diversity and relationships must emerge in a discussion on national development, and usually, the fruit of such developments emerges from a skillful management of differences and the harnessing of different energies for a common goal.

National development in Africa has been one of great concern and it has been plagued by a multiplicity of issues: poor political institutions and thus poor leadership, the mismanagement of time, religious fanaticism and fundamentalism, the issue of corruption, the problem of tribalism and the

¹⁴⁴ Nnamdi Azikiwe, *From tribe to Nation*, p.278.

¹⁴⁵ Nnamdi Azikiwe, *From tribe to Nation*, p.278

¹⁴⁶ Nnamdi Azikiwe, *From tribe to Nation*, p.278

distribution of political power, among others. It is no new issue that today, more than half a century after independence, Africa still typifies poverty and underdevelopment. Using Igwebuiké philosophy, this piece has studied the issue of underdevelopment in Africa, and strongly believes that a complimentary approach to the issue of development would bring about an enormous transformation of Africa. The presence of these problems to development and national unity is also an indication of the possibility of solutions. This work did not only discuss the problems in details, but marked out possible solutions to these problems for the purpose of achieving national development and unity among many African nations.

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