

Reshaping Political Leadership in Nigeria in the Light of Ibuanyidanda Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This paper sees the leadership problem in Nigeria (which is motivated by the pursuit of personal gains and comfort) as a major consequence of economic slowdown in Nigeria. It argues that the Nigerian leaders, past and present, have consciously and without any form of regret to its attendant negative consequences built the psychology of polarisation, bifurcation, ethnic sentiment and the growing mind-set of the nearer the better and the safer. The paper argues further that the whole network of operation in Nigeria has been affected as a result of this ugly phenomenon and it proposes that Ibuanyidanda philosophy which seeks to recognise the potency of the collectively of a social enclave would be a therapeutic healing balm for sound leadership recovery and economic prosperity. The choice of Ibuanyidanda as predicated in this paper is very germane as it does not involve itself in the philosophy of isolation, but believes strongly in the unity of components for progress. It aligns itself with the logic and method of “noetic propaedeutic pedagogy” which simply means the re-examination, re-education of the self for optimal progress and development. Within the ambit of Ibuanyidanda Philosophy, an all- inclusive approach to solving a challenge remains the guiding principle. It evidently abhors the seemingly held view of winner takes all that has characterized and orchestrated the present political system in Nigeria which its negative consequences are economic doom and or slow down. This paper rightly contends that applying Ibuanyidanda Philosophy strict sense will not only navigate the process of economic prosperity but will further ensure all-inclusive environmental atmosphere for leadership participation, gender balance, ethnic/religious tolerance and social cohesion in line with global best practice and 21st century logic of peaceful co-existence. The paper shall adopt critical, analytic, expository and rational methods.

Keywords: Ibuanyidanda Philosophy, Democracy, Development, Corruption, Political leadership

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a country with high rate of corruption, mass poverty, high maternal death rate, low life expectancy ratio, low per capita income, low literacy level, high unemployment rate, high political instability and inept leadership (Ikegbu & Akpan 2018; Ikegbu & Bassey 2019). It is a country where millions of unemployable graduates are produced yearly; a country that is submerged almost always in darkness due to electrical power failure; it is a country where roads are mini-lakes and dead traps. It is a country where most youths have given up or are almost

giving up leading to insurgencies in many forms. Considering all these, the question becomes: why is Nigeria the way it is? Why is Nigeria still staggering in spite of the numerous natural and human resources at its disposal? A lot of people have different answers to the above questions, but we rest the blame squarely on bad political leadership that Nigeria has been plagued with. This does not mean that other factors do not contribute to the Nigerian problem; political leadership remains one of the major problems of the country as we will show in the next sub-heading (Ikegbu & Diana-Abasi 2017; Ikegbu & Enyimba 2010). Since it is one of the chief problems of the country, we believe that when Nigeria get it right in terms of leadership, that is the moment things will begin to turn around for good for the country.

There have been many suggestions as to how to correct the Nigerian leadership problem by many theorists. This paper tends to go beyond these suggestions and attempt to nip the problem in the bud through the insight derived from Ibuanidanda philosophy. It is the belief of this paper that for a problem to be solved, it must be tackled from the roots. Thus, for the Nigerian leadership problem to be corrected, the divisive and polarizing mind-set with which it operates need to be obliterated and equilibrated. The minds of Nigerian leaders need to be trained through a process that Asouzu calls the 'noetic propaedeutic pedagogy' for it to overcome the inhibiting tendencies that tend to make it strive for the self in total negation of the other. It is the conviction of this paper, that if this philosophy is understood and put to practice, the Nigerian leadership will wear a new look and Nigeria will begin to be counted among the nations of the world with pragmatic leadership posturing for sound and effective socio-economic, political and religious balancing.

AN OVERVIEW OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP PROBLEM IN NIGERIA

Nigeria is a country that has natural and human resources in abundance but unfortunately it is not so blessed with good leaders. Most scholars arguably agree with this position. According to Abdul-Fatahkila Makinde (2004, p. 222), though the manifestoes and political statements of Nigeria's leaders appear to be people oriented, their actions are directed at self-aggrandisement. Philemon Amanzee (2004, p. 75) agrees with this. He claims that most Nigerians that have been entrusted with positions of leadership have failed to live up to expectations. This has been the case right from independence and even in the days of the colonial masters. According to Kwaghga Beetseh (2011, p. 3), the colonial masters socialized and introduced an authoritarian form of governance to the Nigerian political class. The colonial masters wielded power in an authoritarian manner and monopolized economic resources to the advantage of their home country (Ikegbu, & Moses 2018). After independence, the Nigerian leaders tended to follow in this style of leadership that was the hallmark of their departed colonial masters (Ikegbu et al., 2013). For instance, Nnamdi Azikiwe who was the premier of the then Nigeria's Eastern Region was believed and accused of illegally transferring government funds to service the African Continental Bank, for selfish interest (Imhonopi & Urim, 2013, p. 82). Ogbeidi (2012, p. 13) corroborated this in his assertion that, the First Republic which was headed by Nnamdi Azikiwe (president) and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (prime minister) was tainted with all manner of corrupt practices. He opines that during this period;

Federal Representative and Ministers flaunted their wealth with reckless abandon. In fact, it appeared there were no men of good character in the political leadership of the First Republic. Politically, the thinking of the First Republic Nigerian leadership class was based on politics for material gain; making money and living well.

The widespread corruption in the First Republic, provided impetus for the overthrow of the government through a coup d'état on 15th January 1966. The editorial of the *Daily Times Newspaper* of January 16, 1966 captured this thus:

With the transfer of authority of the Federal Government to the Armed Forces, we reached a turning point in our national life. The old order has changed, yielding place to a new one... For a long time, instead of settling down to minister to people's needs, the politicians were busy performing series of seven day wonders as if the act of government was some circus show... still we groped along as citizens watched politicians scorn the base by which they did ascend... (*Daily Times*, 1966).

Unfortunately the General Aguiyi Ironsi military government desired to correct the wrongs effect positive change and punish the looters in the First Republic was truncated by the Gowon led coup of July 1966 (Okonkwo, 2007). This was a bad omen for the country as the new rulers embarked on white elephant projects, which only served as a means of looting public treasury. This led to a coup d'état that toppled Gowon's government in July 1975. This coup among other things, was geared towards ending corruption in the public service. General Murtala Mohammed who became the next leader, instituted series of probes of past leaders. The Gowon government was indicted of inflating contracts for cement on behalf of the Ministry of Defence for private gain, "the Commission noted that the Ministry of Defence needed only 2.9 million tons of cement at a cost of N52 million as against the 16 million metric tons of cement, it ordered, at a cost of N557 million" (Afolabi, 1993). Several corrupt officials were also dismissed from service for embezzling public funds and many of them were ordered to refund the money they had stolen. Unfortunately, General Murtala Mohammed was assassinated only after six months in office. With the exit of Murtala Mohammed from the leadership platform of the military bent, his exit ushered General Olusegun Obasanjo succeeded General Murtala but unfortunately did not show the same zeal, in the prosecution of wrongdoers. Obasanjo however, heeded to public demand for change by transferring power to civilian government in 1st October 1979 and thereby ushering in a democratic leadership of the Second Republic.

The Second Republic, under President Shehu Shagari, witnessed a resurgence of bad governance and corruption. The administration was tainted by widespread public officials' corruption, as the President did nothing to stop them. Corruption by the political leaders increased because of greater availability of funds. It is believed that over \$16 billion in oil revenue was lost between 1979 and 1983 during the reign of President Shehu Shagari (Dash, 1983). This ugly development did not reflect a good democratic posture coupled with high-level poverty in the midst of plenty. As a consequence, General Muhammadu Buhari on 31st December 1983, led a coup that again rescued the country from the grip of corrupt politicians. The regime convicted state governors and commissioners. However, the Buhari regime was accused of not showing respect for human rights and thus, was toppled by General Ibrahim Babangida on 27th August 1985. In Babangida's regime, corruption reached an alarming rate and became institutionalized. Leaders that were convicted under the Murtala Mohammed and Muhammadu Buhari administrations were restored back to public life and their ceased properties were recovered. Maduagwu captured this vividly: "Not only did the regime encourage corruption by pardoning corrupt officials convicted by his predecessors and returning their ceased properties, the regime officially sanctioned corruption in the country and made it difficult to apply the only potent measures, long prison terms and seizure of ill-gotten wealth, for fighting corruption in Nigeria in the future" (Maduagwu quoted in Gboyega, 1996, p. 5).

Due to serious public opposition to his rule, General Babangida reluctantly handed power to Chief Shonekon, who was three months later ousted from power by General Sani Abacha on 17th November 1993. Abacha's regime did nothing to stop the corruption in the country, instead it increased to an alarming rate. Under General Abacha, corruption became blatant and systematic. General Abacha and his associates looted Nigeria's treasury recklessly. It was estimated that the embezzlement of public funds by General Abacha and his family amounted to USD 4 billion (International Centre for Asset Recovery, 2009). With the demise of Gen. Sanni Abacha on the

7th of June 1998 and in line with avoidance of vacuum in governance, this development gave General Abdulsalami Abubakar the opportunity to replace General Abacha. The Abdulsalami Abubakar government though showed striking commitment to returning the country to democracy, was aloof in the area of corruption. Indeed, General Olusegun Obasanjo who was elected as the President of Nigeria in 1999, made series of attempts to fight corruption, by establishing the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt and Related Offences Practices Commission (ICPC) to combat corruption. Although both bodies aided greatly in the fight against corruption, their efforts did not produce much result, as corruption and gangsterism became the order of the day in Obasanjo second tenure. Estimated 16 Billions of dollars earmarked for power generation project remains a fury tell as nothing can be said of the whereabouts of the money while power supply in Nigeria till this present day has remained a nightmare, when other countries of the world have gone beyond hydro power generation to wind generation and other sources of energy. The sum of 300 billion naira supposedly for road projects also vanished into thin air with no adequate explanation.

Interestingly, Nigerian citizens heralded the victory of Umaru Musa Yar'Adua based on his antecedents and love for the people, but this was not to last as he was down with sickness that eventually killed him. President Goodluck Jonathan who took over from Yar'adua, came amidst high hopes and expectations but achieved nothing in the fight against corruption. He spent about a billion naira per year for food for himself, wife and two kids. In the 2011 election year about 2.6 trillion naira disappeared from the public treasury, which is the highest disappearance of public funds per year in the country's history. This conforms to what Peter Bisong Bisong and Mary Egbai posit that "Nigerians generally ascribe to the philosophy of money acquisition, even if it means killing others" to land at it (2014, p. 838). In the wisdom of average Nigerian citizen, the second coming of Mohammadu Buhari would produce reasonable pragmatic result in the area of stamping out corruption and service delivery. The spate of corruption and its attendant consequences has earned Nigeria the headquarter of poverty in the world today. The pursuit of personal, promotion of personal interests, promotion of parochial, chauvinistic and primordial gains against all-inclusive programme have raised question mark on the credibility and integrity of the leadership class. Ephraim Ahamefula Ikegbu (2015, p. 243) was apt to have argued that Nigerian leadership class remains a deception of reality. According to him;

This phenomenon is altered by the psychology of self-esteem and interest and philosophy of it is my turn syndrome... the ruler-ruled contract has evidently collapsed consequent upon the inability of the ruler to see his leadership position as that of a trust... the bond enshrined in the countries national pledge particularly, the expressed wordings "to be faithful loyal and honest... to defend her unity and uphold her honour and glory" were mere fury words and of no evidential or pragmatic consequence, going by leadership policies and attitudes of the leaders (2015, p. 243).

This brief survey clearly shows that Nigeria has almost always being governed by leaders who had more interest in private, group or ethnic benefits than in the overall good of Nigerians. Political leadership from independence has alternated between the civilian and the military and neither of them has come clean as regards corruption nor good governance. Instead, the political leaders tended to swindle, embezzle, and impoverish the populace and thereby entrenching corruption by providing a fertile ground for it to thrive. Today, because of the activities of Nigeria's past leaders, corruption has become a mark of the country. According to Ikegbu (2012, p. 366-379), "corruption is like an identity tag that every Nigerian puts on his forehead, the old, the young, the infant and even the unborn has element of this identity with which he is known". In 2008 Nigeria sank lower in the corruption rating, a position it has more or less retained till date. It was given

a score of 2.7 to 2.5 in 2009, and 2.4 in 2010 which it maintained in 2011, Nigeria has been ranked as the 3rd most corrupt country in Sub-Sahara Africa and 143rd out of 183 countries surveyed around the world in 2011... it is reported by Transparency International that the level of corruption and other related crimes attract between 4 million dollars and 8 million dollars loss on a daily basis and a loss of about 70.58 million dollar to the national economy annually, and that the country has lost more than 380 million dollar to graft since independence in 1960 (Ogbonnaya Lucky, Omujo and Udofona 2012 , p. 291).

The corruption level in the country points to bad leadership in the country. The feeble electoral process in the country also shows the poor stuff our leaders are made of. Nigeria is a place where political leaders do not believe in elections. It is a place where political parties and leaders instead of strategizing on how to put forth manifestoes that will make the populace vote for them, strategize on how to rig. In order to ensure victory at the polls the political leaders employ all forms of illegal methods, ranging from kidnapping, threats, assassinations, snatching of ballot boxes etc. Anya captures this thus, in Nigeria,

There is an absence of an open, established, competitive and merit-based process for recruitment into leadership position and offices in the polity, hence self promotion has hastily become the prime avenue for access to political office ... a situation that attracts all manner of men – the good, the bad and the ugly but mostly, the bad and the ugly for the good are busy looking for the non-existent rules of the game (and for fear of being mauled by blood thirst and avaricious demagogues (1996, p. 15).

The political leaders take advantage of the poverty and ignorance of the citizens to buy their votes with peanuts. Olusegun Obasanjo and Mabogunje (1992, p. 12) captured this thus:

Because of the past experiences of failed promises and seeming betrayals – by politicians, a perceptible degree has come to permeate the general thinking of most Nigerians and has encouraged the belief that the ultimate goal of political office seekers is to amass wealth. The masses who cast their votes have thus become content to accept the highest bid as the pay off for their votes.

Elections in Nigeria are defective which according to Momoh (2010, p. 45) “lead to malgovernance, democratic regression, dedemocratisation or what I called *authoritarian democracy*”. Both local and international observers of Nigerian elections have always expressed disapproval. For instance, the Transition Monitoring Group describes the 2003 election in these words:

While the voters waited and persevered at the polling station to cast their votes, the political class and the political parties had different ideas. The voters wanted their votes to determine the winner of the election, while the political parties wanted to corrupt the process and rig their way into elective office ... on the whole the result can be said to marginally reflect the choice and will of the Nigerian people (TMG 2003, p. 39).

The Human Right Watch report of 2007 elections was as follows:

The polls marked a dramatic step backwards, even when measured against the dismal standard set by the 2003 elections. Electoral officers along with the very government agencies with ensuring the credibility of the polls were accused of reducing the election to a violent and fraud ridden farce (2007, p. 23).

It is not just the corruption and poor electoral process in the country that clearly reveal how poor leaders have been. The endemic poverty in the country also shows the failure of leadership in Nigeria. According to UNDP, most people in Nigeria suffer from abject poverty, which makes the common man to be “alienated from himself as he lacks the wherewithal to afford the basic

necessities of life such as education, medical facilities and so forth” (2011, p. 27). Comparing Nigeria and India, Nda-Isiah writes

Between then and now (1962-2012), India has been able to lift up 400 million people out of poverty, just as democracy has also flourished in the population of 167 million have slipped into poverty. Statistically about 10 million Nigerians are in absolute poverty, which literally means they cannot afford the basic needs of life (p. 56).

It is clear from above that Nigeria is in dire need of real leaders – leaders who will put the self, the group and ethnic origin aside and work for the good of the whole nation. This could be achieved if the bifurcating and polarising mind-set with which we are operating with is obliterated and brought into the umbrella of one big family called Nigeria. It will help Nigerians achieve the goal of eliminating every negative thought that has beclouded it and build a formidable strong alliance in tandem with the Ibuanidanda philosophy. Within the context of Ibuanidanda, corruption, poverty, maladministration, racial/ethnic chauvinism and all other inordinate acts will be collectively dispelled and shown the way out while it ushers a new dawn that will navigate the process of pragmatic creative development.

AN OVERVIEW OF ASOUZU’S IBUANIDANDA PHILOSOPHY

Innocent Izuchukwu Asouzu is an African philosopher who chose to anchor his philosophy on the Igbo aphorism – *Ibuanidanda*. *Ibuanidanda* is a composite of three Igbo words: *ibu* (load), *anyi* (insurmountable for) and *danda* (a specie of ant). *Ibuanidanda* therefore, etymologically translates to ‘no load is insurmountable for danda the ant’. This means that when ants work in unison, they are able to carry loads that individually they would not have been able to carry. When applied to human beings, it will imply that when people work in unison, they can achieve much more than they would have, if they had worked individually. On their own, humans are not self-sufficient but when they operate in complementarity with other human beings their insufficiency is obliterated. Thus, other humans provide the missing sufficiency to the self, that is why Asouzu enthuses, “anything that exists serves a missing link of reality” (*Ibuanidanda* 2007:329). This implies that other human beings serve as missing link to the self, without which the self will not be able to realize its being.

Asouzu’s conception of the world as missing link of realities has the assumption that the world would be a better place if the divisive mind-set which people operate with (which makes the mind to fail to see the service the other is rendering or capable of rendering to it) is bridged. He believes that human existential conditions come in ambivalences and through the influence of the instinct of self-preservation, man seeks to lift himself to an absolute mode whereby his interest would be achieved regardless of what happens to others. Through the influence of the instinct of self-preservation, man tends to see himself as important and the other as unimportant. He sees himself as substance and the other as accidents following the divisive mind-set of Aristotle. This divisive, polarising and bifurcating mind-set with which man is guilty of, according to Asouzu gives rise to all the negative tendencies inherent in the world like violence, killings, maiming, ethnocentrism, tribalism, nepotism, godfatherism etc. *Ibuanidanda* philosophy attempts to redefine, redirect, refine, restructure, remould, and free our system of thought and reasoning from all bifurcating and polarizing tendencies that make the mind tend to exalt its existence over and above that of others. It therefore, advocates for the training of the mind to overcome its bifurcating tendencies and see the world in a global, complementary and totalizing fashion and not in absolute modes. *Ibuanidanda* philosophy admonishes all to “never elevate a world immanent missing link to an absolute instance” (Ibuaru 2007, p. 197). Rather, it advises that reality be captured “in a comprehensive, total and future referential and proleptic manner” (*Method and Principles of Complementary Reflection* 2004, p. 316).

The main drive of Ibanyidanda philosophy is therefore, the obliteration of all kinds of divisive, polarising and bifurcating mind-sets. It aims at eradicating the we-them mentality that has plagued the mind of human beings. Ibanyidanda philosophy is “an attempt to redefine, refine, reconstruct and free our system of thought from all bifurcating and polarizing mindset that makes the mind tend to exalt its existence over and above that of others” (Bisong & Peter Tawor Etta 2015, p. 17). For Asouzu, all realities are windows to other realities; all modes of beings are essential; that the other person is as essential as you are, the other’s idea is as important as yours, no person is less important than the other; no person has more rights than the other and more importantly the other person is not an opposite other but an extension of the self without whom the self cannot exist authentically. This implies that the other person is not inconsequential but a missing part of the self without which the self cannot define its existence. This is why Asouzu believes that “it is within the context of missing links that all human experiences of the world get their full meaning and can be expressed positively” (Ibanyidanda 2007, p. 269). This means that others must be captured and conceived as missing links of reality for the self to have a meaningful existence. The reflective expression by Asouzu and the need to see each person as an indispensable essential part of the whole dominates the argument of Ikegbu (2006, p. 94) thus;

The idea of complementary reflection is born in line with the trite that complementarity of opposites is a driving force for any remarkable development in a socio-political formation. It is in the spirit of the above that superiority, supremacy and antagonism of opposites are to be jettisoned. In this 21st century, the philosophy of complementarity should be widespread in our thoughts and action.

However, for the mind of man to begin to capture others as missing links of reality, Asouzu believes transcendent existential conversion must occur first. Transcendent existential conversion is “a process through which human consciousness attains the highest level of experience or intuition of being, as that on account of which anything that exists serves a missing link of reality” (Ibanyidanda 2007, p. 329). The point of existential consciousness is the point, where the mind no longer sees reality as absolute fragments but would begin to operate in keeping with what Asouzu calls ‘transcendent categories of unity of consciousness.’ These categories include “fragmentation, unity, totality, universality, comprehensiveness, wholeness and future reference” (Ibanyidanda 2007, p. 323). Thus, when existential conversion takes place in an individual according to Asouzu, the mind no longer operates in a divisive and polarizing manner but will tend to grasp being in its fragmentation, unity, totality, universality, comprehensiveness, wholeness and future reference. When being is grasped this way that is, the moment the individual can claim to possess truth and knowledge of the being in question. Grasping being in keeping with the dictates of the transcendent categories is possible through the aid of what Asouzu calls the ‘harmonizing faculty’. This is “a faculty that harmonizes all forces that tend toward bifurcation and exclusiveness” (Ibanyidanda 2007:316). Thus, when the harmonizing faculty is active in a man, the tendency of the mind to be led astray to rob, discriminate or abuse his fellow man would not be there. This is because the harmonizing faculty harmonizes all differences, leaving no room for divisiveness and polarization which are the root cause of all forms of crises and abuses.

It is at this point of existential conversion where the mind operates in keeping with the transcendent categories that, the mind could be said to be operating in a global or transcendent mind-set. It is through this global or transcendent mind-set that we are capable of recognising and grasping the opposite other in its otherness and see this otherness as an extension of the self without discrimination. It is from operating in this global mind-set that the mind will begin to recognize that the ruled are not an “opposite other” but extension of the ruler. It will recognise

that harm to the ruled is indirectly harm to the ruler. Asouzu calls this the ‘ontological boomerang effect.’ To rob the populace is indirectly to rob the self, due to the surety of the boomerang effect.

SOLVING NIGERIA’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP PROBLEM IN THE LIGHT OF ASOUZU’S IBUANYIDANDA

An average Nigerian including the leaders operate based on what Asouzu calls the super-maxim – ‘the nearer the better and safer’. This means that whatever or whoever is nearer and closer to the self is better and safer to be with and work with. That is, one from my family, village, local government, state, country, and other such categorization is better and safer than one who is not so fortunate to be in such enclave. This is what Asouzu calls kins and kith (*ndia bu ndi nke anyi*). This mind-set makes the self to tend to segregate, bifurcate and polarize. Those who are perceived as belonging to the same enclave are seen by the mind as ‘we’ and those not so perceived are ‘them’. Whoever is not included in the category the self sees itself as belonging to, tend to be seen as an external other and thus not worthy of the same privileges and rights that the self and the members of it enclaves enjoys. Following this bifurcation, the mind tends to fight to protect and preserve the rights and privilege of the ‘we’ category not minding whether the ‘them’ are denied of such rights or not. This tendency of the mind to negate the rights and privileges of those it sees as external to it and exalt that of the self and those closest to it, is very evident in most of the leaders that Nigeria parades, both the past and the present.

A leader who loots billions and trillions of naira meant for the common good for himself, family members and cronies alone, arguably does not see others who claim the right to that treasury as deserving of such rights and privileges. He is blinded by what Asouzu calls the ‘phenomenon of concealment’ (*ihe mkpuchi anya*) from seeing the intrinsic connectedness that exists between all human beings regardless of tribe, race or language. This phenomenon of concealment yokes the mind and thereby impedes it from seeing the world in a complementary mode – that all that exist are missing link serving others in the complementary whole. It impedes the mind from understanding that without ‘you’ there will be no ‘I’, and without ‘them’ there cannot be ‘we’. Thus to destroy ‘you’ is invariably to destroy the ‘I’ and to rob ‘them’ is invariably to rob the ‘we’. This is what Asouzu calls the ‘ontological boomerang effect’. He contends: “within any framework of action ... when any units constituting the whole undertakes to hinder the realization of the interests of other component units, makes the realization of the interests of the offending unit difficult if not impossible” (Asouzu, 2007, p. 397).

When our leaders come to terms with this understanding of reality, that is the moment, they will begin to see beyond the self, family, community, ethnic group to the entire population of Nigeria. At this point they will begin to understand that those not so close to the self are not the ‘opposite other’, but merely external part of the self. Others though are not physically attached to the self, are part of the self in as much as they contribute to make the self, sufficient. An individual on his own is not self-sufficient; others contribute to bring him the sufficiency he quests for. These services provided by others to make the individual sufficient, makes the others to in a way become a part of the self, which implies that to destroy them is to destroy part of the self. To destroy them is to lose the services they ought to provide to the self. To rob them is to render them incapable of providing the best services to the actor. Thus, whatever is done to others boomerang albeit indirectly on the self. Godffery O, Ozumba and Ikegbu align holistically to this stream of thought when they contend;

It has been observed that relationships between and among humans have degenerated owing to the fact that they have taken isolationist posture with the wrong conviction that truth and solutions cab attained through this process. This method of reasoning has actually led to utmost deception. . . humans are products of evolutionary process and

mutual complementary unity upon which progress and development are realised. It is markedly observed that it is practically impossible at least for now to live a life of isolation since attempting such obvious difficulty would retard the mental and economic development of beings in the practical world of existence...(2012, p. 4).

A leader who loots the treasury thinking himself smart does not escape the boomerang effect of his actions. Such a leader will deprive himself and his cronies of the joy and peace of living in a developed and safe environment. He or his close persons may lose their lives in accidents due to bad roads; their lives and properties will become very insecure as they may become targets of criminals. When one impoverishes others materially and educationally, he makes himself a prisoner of fear, for such deprived people may be unruly and could cause chaos and havoc as is the case of Boko Haram and other similar insurgencies that Nigeria has experienced. On the contrast, when leaders equip the populace and provide for them, they are in effect building a country that is safe for themselves and families and not merely for others. This is what Asouzu mean by; "to be is to be in complementary existence with others. To live a meaningful life is to accord others the chance to live a meaningful life also".

When leaders come to the realization that to affirm ones existence is to affirm the existence of others – there is no 'I' without the 'you', that is the moment they will understand that the best way to serve the self is to serve others (Ikegbu 2006; Ikegbu 2012; Ikegbu 2015). At this moment, they will no longer think that the smartest thing to do is to loot the treasury for the self and family, but to provide an environment where all will grow to their full potentials; since the better they develop their potentials, the higher will be the service they will be capable of rendering to the self (leaders). When an individual is weak and poor, the service rendered by him will be low in quality and quantity but when he is strong, happy and fully actualized; he will be more capable of rendering better services. This phenomenon demonstrates itself in the educational sector, poor policies, teachers' welfare and poor quality of graduates. A wise leader will seek to build people who will be capable of rendering better services to the complementary whole. Such an energised people will better be able to bridge the insufficiencies of the leaders and thereby making them more sufficient, complete and fulfilled beings – no one is sufficient on his own, others make him sufficient and it takes those who are well energized to bring about this sufficiency.

A wise leader is therefore, one who is able to rise against the influence of super-maxim, 'the nearer the better and safer'. He is one who knows that the nearer is not always better and safer. The farther could sometimes be better and safer. He is one who sees all as nearer and better. He is able to wade off the influence of the phenomenon of concealment which impedes the mind from seeing the rights and privileges others share with the self. He brushes off the "we-them" mentality and replaces it with the "we-we" mentality. This is the kind of leader needed by Nigeria - one who will bring forth the unity and transformation desired by Nigerians. This kind of leader cannot be gotten by chance but through what Asouzu calls the noetic propaedeutic pedagogy-rationalizing and educating the minds of the people, equipping them with appropriate tools of leadership.

The noetic propaedeutic pedagogy is a self-conscious effort to obliterate the bifurcating, polarizing and hegemonic tendencies inherent in the mind that tends to make us operate in a 'we-them' mentality. It is a positive effort to re-educate, re-socialize and redirect the mind to see the world in a complementary mode rather than in absolute fragments. This training will aid the mind to begin to see others as not necessarily opposite others but as complementary part of the self, whose rights and privileges need to be protected and preserved alongside that of the self. It is the belief of this paper that when the Nigerian leaders undertake this noetic propaedeutic pedagogy, things will begin to turn around for good in the country. When they make conscious efforts to free the mind of bifurcating and polarizing tendencies, they will be able to overturn the

negative indices (high poverty rate, high mortality rate, high corruption etc) that presently accompany Nigeria into positive ones.

CONCLUSION

This paper identifies the problem of Nigeria leadership as stemming from the mind and therefore recommends a therapy Asouzu calls the 'noetic propaedeutic pedagogy'. It is the belief of this paper that when this therapy is sufficiently administered to the minds of our leaders, that is the moment their minds will begin to embrace all as belonging to a single enclave called Nigeria and treat all as such. It intends to provide a proper ground for overhauling of the system by adopting Asouzu's therapy. All efforts therefore, need to be geared towards erasing the bifurcating and polarizing mind-sets we and our leaders operate with; for unless this is done, no meaningful progress will be possible. All conscious actions are instigated by the mind and when the mind is defective, the actions and values that come from it are bound to be defective. This is the reason we daily witness defective actions like embezzlement of public funds, appointments to positions based on ethnic sentiments and not on merits, awarding of contracts not on competence but on favouritism, rigging of elections, corruption and assassinations and a host of others from our leaders. This is a clear pointer to the fact that their minds are defective and therefore need to be corrected through a noetic propaedeutic pedagogy.

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