

CrossRef DOI of original article:

1 African Leadership and Tenure Elongation: Implications for 2 Democracy and Development in Africa

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5 Received: 1 January 1970 Accepted: 1 January 1970 Published: 1 January 1970

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7 **Abstract**

8 This work examines the sit-tight syndrome of African leaders who have no respect for the
9 national constitution, preferring to remain in power indefinitely despite tenure limitations by
10 the constitution. The study adopted leadership theory as its theoretical framework and
11 findings show that probe for wrongdoings, the misconception of democracy for the monarchy,
12 strong authoritarian instinct, lack of accountability and transparency, cheap access to state
13 resources and intolerance of opposition are some of the causes of tenure elongation in Africa
14 which has spelt negative implications for democracy and development. The work recommends
15 the building of a strong institution, independent of the judiciary, respect for the rule of law
16 and, constitution establishment of constitutional courts in AU to regulate tenure common
17 language and common market establishment.

18

19 **Index terms—**

20 **1 Introduction**

21 Africa had primarily been home to centralized organizations whose system of leadership was hereditary. Although
22 there were pockets of republicanism, for instance in the Igbo and Ibibio societies, democracy introduced by the
23 Western power, though on a limited scale, was indeed very strange to the people. Despite reluctantly imbibing
24 the western democratic form of organization immediately before and after independence, monarchial instincts
25 had been deeply entrenched in the typical African leader who believed once he was appointed, elected king or
26 elected to political office, particularly at the apex of the polity, it behooved him to rule or hold such office for life,
27 whether elections were conducted at interval or not. In effect, the general impression or mentality of the people
28 was disposed towards perpetual rulership which would terminate only at the death of the incumbent. This is
29 still being widely held today and informs leadership succession plans in Africa. This informs why many African
30 leaders are gravitating towards absolute monarchical tendencies and the continent dominated by sitting tight
31 leaders, demonstrating or parading some levels of democratic insignia.

32 As succinctly captured by Gauba (2007) some leaders assume office on a sober note but, in due course, assume
33 that they are indispensable. They deploy their manipulative skills, including oratory power, persuasion and
34 playing on the sentiments of the people to perpetuate themselves in power. In other words, they become so
35 pronounced by their expertise and experience that it becomes very difficult to replace them at periodic elections.
36 In exercising their powers, they set aside the original aims of the state by amending the constitutions.

37 Most African countries have misconstrued democracy for monarchy and this has given rise to leadership deficit
38 in the continent. The recent history of Africa is replete with leaders who are obsessed with power, constantly
39 engaging in the manipulation of democratic institutions (legislature, executive & judiciary) to suppress opposition
40 and hang onto power. This has stunted socio-economic development in Africa and made our leaders laughing
41 stock in the comity of nations.

42 The leadership of countries vary in terms of size, population, language and level of economic development.
43 Britain and France were the dominant colonizers of Africa, followed by Spain and Portugal. Until 1951 the

1 INTRODUCTION

44 American Constitution did not restrict the eligibility of a president to seek re-election indefinitely. Theodore
45 Roosevelt sought (but failed) to be elected in 1912 for a third term some years after his first two consecutive
46 terms. The tradition was finally breached when Franklin Roosevelt was re-elected for a third consecutive term
47 in 1940 and a fourth in 1944. But this was in a period of a grave emergency, that of the second world war. It
48 is such emergencies that present the strongest argument in favour of indefinite eligibility, and when they occur
49 the prestige and authority of the president's personality might be invaluable in saving the life of the nation.
50 Roosevelt himself professed a desire to adhere to the tradition, and to relinquish office in 1941 to a successor,
51 if only they could do so with an assurance that they would keep the nation intact, a nation at peace, nation
52 prosperous, and clear in its knowledge of what powers it has to serve its citizens, nation which has thus proved
53 that the democratic form and methods of the national government can and will succeed, the nation that is in a
54 position to use those powers to the full to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity.

55 The Americans, after the Roosevelt experience, had to amend their Constitution in 1951 to give the force of
56 law to the tradition limiting the presidential office to two full elective terms or one full elective term plus more
57 than half of another term inherited from a previous president for the president's tenure may be terminated sooner
58 by death, resignation or removal from office following the provisions of the constitution.

59 Given this sit-tight leadership syndrome, what is the causative or driving factor that promotes this leadership
60 style in Africa, and what are the effects of this on democracy, how can African leadership truly imbibe the tenets
61 of democracy, what does this pretend to the people wellbeing of the. This work adopts Burns leadership topologies
62 of transactional and transformational leadership. Leadership has been defined as the ability to influence people
63 towards the accomplishment of goals, associated with the determination of the goal, the vision for the future and
64 the process of change to reach the goals and the future, helping people to do things they would not normally
65 do. Leadership entails one's ability to unite people in pursuits of common objective/goals through persuasion,
66 influence and cooperation, rather than intimidation, power, dominance, social superiority, imposition or snobbery
67 (Okafor, 2006). It has also been looked at as that which does not involve power, dominance, social superiority or
68 anything suggestive of snobbery. Leadership is influence on people, not power over them (Dimock) for as noted
69 by Denis the single defining quality of a leader is the ability to create and realize the vision. A leader is therefore
70 a person who can be looked up to, whose personal judgment is trusted, who inspire and warm the hearts of
71 those he leads, gaining their trust and confidence and explaining what is needed in the language they understand
72 ??Laximiknth, 2006).

73 The concept of transformational leadership according to J. M. Burns, assumes that a leader is a person who
74 stimulates and inspires the followers to achieve an outcome that is beneficial to the generality of the people.
75 He recognizes the needs of the followers and is ever ready to commit available resources to achieve or provide
76 such needs, transforming the followers, developing human capital and making elaborate provisions for leadership
77 recruitment through unmanipulated elections based on democratic principles. The transformational leadership
78 style has been criticized for making the whole population dependent on an individual for direction at all times.
79 Generally, however, transformational leaders perform more optimally, are sensitive to the group's needs, interests
80 and aspirations.

81 On the other hand, transactional leadership is an exchange leadership typology in which the leader seeks for
82 benefit from the followers and once he gets that, he is done e.g votes in exchange for the provision of benefits
83 such as jobs, money loyalty and support in exchange for the provision of amenities. No transactional leader is
84 interested in service but in what he stands to gain in politics. He is usually erratic, rewards loyalty and punishes
85 those who are against him.

86 Transactional leadership, also known as managerial leadership, focuses on the role of supervision, and
87 performance, it's a style in which the leader promotes compliance of his followers through both rewards and
88 punishments. Unlike transformational leadership, leaders using the transactional approach are not looking to
89 change the future, they are looking to merely keep things the same way they get it, that is believe in maintaining
90 the status quo. This type of leadership is effective in crises and emergencies, as well as when projects need to be
91 carried out in a specific fashion.

92 Transactional leaders are concerned with processes rather than forward-thinking ideas. They accept goals,
93 structure, and the culture of the existing organization, and tend to be directive and actionorientated, willing to
94 work within existing systems and negotiate to attain goals of the organization, and tend to think inside the box
95 when solving problems. This leadership style is primarily passive. These transactional leaderships are reminiscent
96 of African leaders who assume the position and are initially friendly to the people, but suddenly because of the
97 paraphernalia of the office plot against his people whenever they may draw his attention to rules governing
98 leadership non-performance. Consequently, authoritarian instincts in most African leadership is unreservedly
99 strong and since 1990 about 24 African leaders had initiated moves to stay in office beyond constitutionally
100 defined terms. With this sit-tight impostor and messianic self-serving leaders intact, democracy in Africa faces a
101 serious threat.

102 Besides Burns transformational and transactional leadership typologies, there are three other schools of thought
103 viz Trait Theory, Behavioural Theory and Situation Theory. The Trait school believes leaders possess special
104 qualities which make them successful, that these qualities are inborn. Such qualities, according to Chiselli
105 (1971), include supervisory ability, desire for occupational achievements and decisiveness. Stogdil (1974) went on

106 to include capacity for self-management, strong inner achievement drive, high sense of responsibility and ability
107 for group work and personal charm.

108 Behavioural theory, on the other hand, was proposed by Kurt Lewin, E A Fleishman, Rensis Likert, Robert
109 Blake, who emphasize leadership styles, whether such styles are democratic, authoritarian or laissez-faire. They
110 believe that leadership consists of what leaders do or say and the way they behave that besides traits, leadership
111 may be acquired through qualifications and experience.

112 Lastly, the situational theory believes leadership is situational, that one could be a good leader in environment
113 A but may not be good in environment B. they opined that leadership is multi-dimensional, differing from one
114 community or situation to another. The proponents of this theory include F. E. Fiedler, Victor Vroom and Philip
115 Yetton, Paul Hersey and Kenneth Blanchard. While we subscribe to those leadership attributes, leadership should
116 be visionary, responsive and guided by the rules

117 The study adopted the descriptive/historical analysis and the materials for the work were generated from
118 secondary sources such as books, magazines, newspapers which contents were critically scrutinized to discern
119 some missing gaps and fill same. The study will be of immense benefit and serve as a guide to policymakers,
120 national leaders and politicians in Africa as well as to scholars in academic and research institutions.

121 The study is premised on the presumption that despite the prescriptions of the constitution and electoral and
122 extant law, power transition in Africa is still predicated upon or greatly influenced by hereditary.

123 2 II.

124 3 Tenure Elongation in Africa

125 African history is replete with leaders who are or were obsessed with power constantly engaging in manipulating
126 democratic institutions, (legislative, Executive and Judiciary), to suppress opposition and hang onto power in
127 perpetuity. The continent parade the highest number of presidential monarchies. Of the 10 longest-ruling non-
128 monarchs in the World as of 2020, 6 are from Africa, and the topmost spot on that roll is held by Cameroonian
129 President Paul Biya who has been in office for 44 years and is not prepared to leave office. ??) of the constitution
130 which restricted the president to two terms Mamadou Tandja of Niger abolished term limits through a referendum
131 even though Article 49 of the Nation's constitution expressly forbade it. In Burkina Faso, President Blaise
132 compare who had already served two terms argued in 2005 that the term limit restriction in Article 37 of the
133 Constitution could not apply retroactively to limit him. He won tenure elongation for another 2 terms and in
134 2014, tried to abolish the term limit but this led to riot and street protest/upheaval which forced him out of
135 the office to exile. Meanwhile, some military adventured led by Gen. Gilbert Diendere tried to cash in on the
136 situation by toppling the country's interim government but the coup was resisted by the people and ECOWAS,
137 African Union.

138 In Senegal, Abdoulaye Wade in 2012 argued that the term limit in his country's constitution could not apply
139 retroactively to his first term in office.

140 Ngueso, 71 has ruled Congo for 25 years, called a national referendum to discuss the extension and scraping
141 two-term limit, announced a referendum to change the constitution to allow him to run for 3 rd term.

142 The uprising that hit the Arab world and North Africa led to the deposition of sit-tight president Sine Abidine
143 Ben Ali of Tunisia (20 years on the thrones, Hosni Mubarak spent about 31 years on the saddle before being
144 forced out.

145 In Togo Gnassingbe Eyedema who ruled for 38 years run Togo as a personal estate. Edwardo do Santos of
146 Angola ruled for 38 years (1979) and has changed Constitution to rule till 2022 and Alassane Ouattara of Ivory
147 Coast 12 years. In 2010, at least 3,000 persons were killed in Cote d' Voire before Ouattara was able to assume
148 office because Laurent Gbagbo, then the incumbent, refused to vacate office after an electoral defeat. Now after
149 two full terms as prescribed by the constitution.

150 President Alassane Quttara has manipulated the country constitution and its institutions, for the third term
151 of office, amid public protests for himself. At least six people have been killed. He is using the death of his
152 chosen successor, Prime Minister Amadou Gon Coulibaly, in July, as a crutch and citing provisions of a 2016
153 Constitution. Such a decision is against democracy and invitation to another round of violence, and political
154 uncertainties which undermine peace and development. Below are selected African countries with perpetual
155 eligibility to office:

156 4 a) Equatorial Guinea

157 Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo became president of Equatorial Guinea in 1979 after unseating his uncle in
158 a military coup. He has ruled Equatorial Guinea for more than 41 years, the longest-serving president in the
159 world. He held a referendum in November 2011 that gave him 2 more terms of 7 years each, this will take him
160 2025. He would be succeeded by his son and has imposed no term limit.

161 5 b) Cameroon

162 President Paul Biya became president of Cameroon in November 1982 when former president Ahmadu Alijo left
163 office. Before then he was the Prime Minister who served as such from 1975 to 1982. Biya won the presidential

164 election in 1992 with 40% of total votes and was re-elected President in 1997 with (92.6%) votes, 2001 (70.92%),
165 2011 (77.9%) 6 th term and (71.3%) 2018. He has ruled Cameroon for almost 40 years connecting the country to
166 France for all its needs. Biya was barred from running for the presidency in 2011 under the 1996 Constitution.
167 He manipulated the legislature and abolished the term limit in the constitution through a referendum that he
168 pooled 157 against 15 votes by his opposition in the Anglophone regions. Election in Cameroon is often marred
169 by manifest irregularities. Every few years, Biya held an election to justify his continued stay in office. He has
170 been described as a creative innovator in the world of the phoney election. Cameroon is still under the clinching
171 fist of Biya who is about 87 years, killing and maiming opposition politicians of the English speaking people of
172 Cameroon, thousand of whom are seeking refuge in South-South Nigeria.

173 **6 c) Zimbabwe**

174 President Robert Mugabe became President of Zimbabwe in 1980 after guerrilla warfare he led which weakened
175 the authority of the whole supremacists in Rhodesia finally forcing the colonialists to grant independence to
176 the country now known as Zimbabwe. He assumed the leadership of the country at independence through the
177 democratic process and under a constitutional government. However, after repeated elections in the country, he
178 developed autocratic tendencies and initiated a self-succession plan that entranced him in power. He criminalized
179 dissent, and views that did not align with his parochial views as the fundamental principle of state policy and
180 turned the conduct of sham election into an art initiated violent land distribution which precipitated harsh
181 international sanction, trickle-down pyramidal corruption and shrinking of government to a personality cult.

182 In November 2017 Mugabe sacked his Vice President, Emmerson Mnangagwa, who was very likely to succeed
183 him. The development angered the Zimbabwe people and heightened the fear of Mugabe's wife, Grace Mugabe,
184 succeeding him. This attracted the military which stepped in and forced him to resign. Mugabe had planned for
185 running for the 8 th term in office in 2018 when he was forced out of office at the age of 94 years after ruling the
186 country for 37 years.

187 **7 d) The Gambia**

188 Yahaya Jammeh became President of Gambia in 1996 after ruling the country as a military head of state from
189 1994 Jammeh lost presidential re-election for the 5 th term to an opposition candidate Adama Barrow who polled
190 363, 515 votes as against 212,099 by Jammeh. He initially conceded defeat but later changed his mind and refused
191 to leave office citing serious and unacceptable abnormalities in the electoral process. But the electoral stood by
192 the result if announced. ECOWAS, AU and the UN insisted that Jammeh must quit.

193 Nigeria and ECOWAS mobilized troops into the Gambia and Jammeh fled the country after ruling for 22yrs.
194 The president-elect, Barrow, who fled to Senegal for safety was then sworn in at the Gambia Embassy in Dakar,
195 Senegal before returning triumphantly to the Gambia as president

196 **8 e) Uganda**

197 President Museveni ruled Uganda for more than 30 years before being re-elected in 2016 after scrapping the term
198 limit in 2005. This pitched him against his former Minister Amama Mbabazi who criticized him for the country's
199 inability to check endemic corruption. Stifling opposition, using state apparatus to suppress popular will and
200 grooming his son, kainerugaba Muhoozi to succeed him anytime his elongated tenure would expire are some of
201 the grounds.

202 **9 f) Burundi**

203 Pierre Nkurunziza ruled Burundi from 2005 until his death in June 2020 making him the longest-serving president
204 in the country.

205 In 2015, he went in for another re-election against the constitution which led to a large-scale protest and won
206 in July 2015. He was crowned supreme Guide of the country in 2018 but he died in June 2020.

207 In 2020 Nkuruziza was reelected president polling more than 90% of the votes.

208 **10 g) Rwanda**

209 The incumbent President, Paul Kagame, became Vice President of Rwanda in 1994 after leading a rebel force
210 that ended the genocidal war which claimed about 800,000 lives in the country. He became President in 2000
211 hoping to lead the country for 40 years. He initiated a referendum on a constitutional amendment in December
212 2015 which allowed him to stand for re-election for another seven (7) years single term. This will take him to
213 2024 with additional two terms of five (5) years each, making that will extend his tenure to 2034. President
214 Kagame polled 98% of the vote in the 2015 referendum in the country.

215 **11 III.**

216 Causes of Tenure Elongation 1. Fear of probe for wrongdoings 2. The misconception of democracy for the
217 monarchy was the prevalent mode of leadership recruitment in the pre-colonial and even the first few years

218 of the post-colonial era when kings wielded absolute powers over their subjects. 3. Strong authoritarian self-
219 serving leaders with messianic instincts for self-succession, 4. Fear of marginalization and suppression 5. Weak
220 political institutions but strong personalities 6. Resentment against opposition 7. Lack of accountability and
221 transparency and fear of prosecution 8. Ethnic cleansing 9. Emergency. civil war/strife, disease or conflict or
222 national calamities or emergencies.

223 The methods adopted by most African sitting presidents to prolong their stay in power vary from one country
224 to the other. However, the commonest ways of tenure elongation include but are not limited to; Tinkering
225 with the constitution, use of the crude method of intimidating opposition, free use of state funds and security
226 apparatus, manipulation of the legislature and the judiciary, frequent use of referendum, inciting ethnic tension
227 and conflict to divert attention and disrespect for rule of law and court orders.

228 **12 a) Tenure Elongation and the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria**

229 That the president can contemplate perpetual eligibility is dependent on the legislature. This is because the
230 constitution, in most cases, does provide that no action of the president is exercisable without the approval of
231 the legislature which may be either a condition precedent or condition subsequent. A condition president is a
232 such action in the appointment and a condition subsequent if it involves an emergency. Certain actions of the
233 president require the acquiescence of both chambers of the legislature where it is bicameral.

234 In Nigeria, President Obasanjo plotted for tenure elongation towards the expiration of the second term in office
235 in 2007 but failed. This is because, in Nigeria, the constitution limits the presidential terms of office to four years
236 although this may be extended from time to time for a period not exceeding six months at a time by a resolution
237 of the National Assembly if the federation is at war involving its territory and the President considers that it is
238 not practicable to hold elections. The four years is calculated from the date of swearing-in, but an incumbent
239 president does not vacate office until his successor is sworn in. The Senate and the House of Representatives shall
240 each stand dissolved at the expiration of a period of four years commencing from the date of the first sitting of
241 the House. If the Federation is at war in which the territory of Nigeria is physically involved and the president
242 considers that it is not practicable to hold elections, the National Assembly may by resolution extend the period
243 of four years mentioned in subsection (1) of this section from time to time but not beyond a period of six months
244 at any one time. Subject to these provisions of this Constitution, the person elected as the president shall have
245 the power to proclaim the holding of the first session of the National Assembly immediately after his being sworn
246 in, or for its dissolution, as provided in this section.

247 Furthermore, in Nigeria, section 64(1)(2)(3), a person shall hold the office of President until when his successor
248 in the office takes the oath of that office, he dies whilst holding such office; or the date when his resignation from
249 the office takes effect; or he otherwise ceases to hold office following the provisions of this constitution. Section
250 135 (1) 1-d (1) and the president shall vacate his office at the expiration of a period of four years commencing
251 from the date, when -(a) in the case of a person first elected as President under this Constitution, he took the
252 Oath of Allegiance and the oath of office; and (b) in any other case, the person last elected to that office under
253 this Constitution took the Oath of Allegiance and oath of office or would, but for his death, have taken such
254 oaths.

255 (2) If the Federation is at war in which the territory of Nigeria is physically involved and the President considers
256 that it is not practicable to hold elections, the National Assembly may by resolution extend the period of four years
257 mentioned in subsection (2) of this section from time to time; but no such extension shall exceed a period of six
258 months at any one time.

259 Once a person has been elected to the office of the president at any two consecutive elections, he is forever barred
260 from holding the office again. This limitation constitutes perhaps one of the most remarkable characteristics of the
261 presidency under the 1999 Constitution. It is a recognition of the dangerous tendency of indefinite eligibility to
262 personalize government, to elevate the president into a cult and an institution, and the office into an inheritance.
263 A holder of the office of president for more than two terms as president by the Constitution is bound to become
264 an institution himself, attracting loyalties of a personal nature. His authority will tend to be all-pervading. A
265 cult of personality is built up around him, generating belief in his infallibility and indispensability ??Nwabueze
266 1984).

267 **13 IV. Implications of Tenure Elongation for Democracy & 268 Development**

269 This propensity to personalize rule and to perpetuate it indefinitely is a disastrous factor in the politics of African
270 countries. It has undermined the quality of democracy on the continent, and exposed government to disaffection
271 and acts of subversion, often culminating in its forcible overthrow by the military, with all the attendant instability,
272 and the disruption in the country's normal democratic evolution. It also deprives the country of the benefit of
273 change in leadership, for change may prevent or check sterility and complacency by enabling a fresh vitality and
274 a fresh approach to be brought to bear upon the problems of government (Nwanbueze 1984).

275 Consequently, tenure elongation is; threat to democracy, leadership and leads to ineptitude, weak institutions,
276 apathy by the citizens, poor governance, corruption, poverty and disease (endemic), dwindling economic fortunes,
277 instability and absence of national cohesion.

13 IV. IMPLICATIONS OF TENURE ELONGATION FOR DEMOCRACY & DEVELOPMENT

278 African leaders have often criticized the limiting of the president to two terms of four years each on the
279 following grounds; (i) that such would stifle zeal and make the president indifferent to his duty; (ii) that a
280 president, knowing he would be barred from the office forever after, might be tempted to exploit for personal
281 advantage the opportunities of the office while they lasted; (iii) that an ambitious president might be tempted
282 to try to prolong his term by perverse means; (iv) that it would deprive the country of the advantage of the
283 president's previous experience in the office, that it would lead to a lack of continuity in policy, and consequently to
284 instability in administration. But indefinite eligibility is beset or wrought with several oddities already discussed
285 above.

286 It has been accepted that tenure elongation could bring violence in societies that rely on coercion to maintain
287 order instead of providing adequate patterns or value satisfying action - (Gur T 1970).

288 Respect for the rule of law ensures stability in any nation because without the security they can be no
289 development, for as noted by McNamara (1968) development means economic, social and political progress. It
290 means the reasonable standard of living and reasonable in this context requires continual redemption; which is
291 reasonable in an earlier stage of development will become unreasonable at a later stage. Most African leaders
292 came to power to execute the constitution of the country and to be limited to a specific period but would want
293 to remain perpetually in power without effecting meaningful development to enhance the living standard of the
294 people. In today's world, development has taken a new dimension, according to Rodney for development involves
295 increased skills and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and natural wellbeing
296 increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relations (Rodney 1986). For Africa to witness growth
297 and development, the leaders should always apply self-restraint and place the interest of their people at heart.

298 Development does not consist of perpetual eligibility but with better health care delivery, long-life span,
299 expectancy, better nutrition, abundant supply of food and energy, good shelter, more and better schools, improve
300 political participation by the people in the political process, poverty reduction, employment generation. If all
301 these have declined from high levels then beyond doubt there is no development for the country concerned. If all
302 one or two of these central issues have been growing worse especially if all these are involved it will be strange to
303 call the resulting development even if per capita income is double ??Seers, 1963). This informs why most African
304 countries under perpetual leaders suffer from civil war, political instability and incessant violence in the system.

305 The World Bank has noted that this negative development retard development which gives rise to virtuous and
306 vicious circles. Where development succeeds, countries become progressively safer from violent conflict, making
307 subsequent development easier. Where development fails, countries are at high risk of being caught in a conflict
308 trap in which war wrecks the economy and increases the risk of further war. ??World Bank, 2003) Generally,
309 tenure elongation in Africa has engendered bitterness, corruption, ethnic tension and rivalry, marginalization,
310 acrimony, oppression, religious intolerance, open confrontation, poverty, disease, civil strife and war, and plunder
311 of the commonwealth by a few elite. These are common features today in the African political landscape.
312 There is usually a frequent forceful change of government through a coup, poverty is on the increase and the
313 gap between the rich and the poor becomes wider on daily basis, leaders are ethnically based, drawing support
314 mainly from their ethnic groups, larger ethnic groups dominate and oppress the minority ethnic groups, loyalty
315 is not to the nation, but powerful individuals and their ethnic groups. The governing elite believes in divide
316 and rule tactics and lives ostentatiously spending and embezzling public funds at will. African countries lack
317 both internal and external unity. The francophone nations prefer France to fellow Anglophone African countries.
318 All these give way to bad governance, unemployment insurgency, violence, kidnapping, armed robbery, drug &
319 human trafficking and proliferation of small arms and light weapons circulating in all parts of Africa today and
320 retard economic development. Thus democracy which strives on tolerance of opposing views, justice, freedom of
321 association and participation in the political process is seriously bastardized in Africa. Instead of free, fair and
322 credible elections, Africa is noted for all manners of election malfeasance, ranging from rigging, impersonation of
323 candidates, impunity, the ballot box and paper snatching, falsification of results and announcement of discredited
324 and corrupt politicians as leaders.

325 It is doubtful if the perpetuity of many of these leaders in power has resulted in meaningful developmental
326 strides for their countries. Worse is that some have had to brutally muscle through the rewriting of their respective
327 country's constitutions to accommodate their regular hold on power. Sit-tight leaders have turned Africa into a
328 wasteland and brought mockery to the continent. The world ridicules Africa and its leaders in their obsession
329 with staying in power for life.

330 It was due to this ugly trend in democracy in Africa that President Muhammadu Buhari (2020) advised the
331 leaders of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to spare their countries political upheavals
332 by keeping to constitutionally prescribed tenure, that African leaders should not only respect constitutional limits
333 of tenure but also respect the law and ensure free and fair elections in their countries.

334 President Buhari pointed out that the attempts to elongate tenure tend to generate crises and political tension
335 in the region, that the challenges facing the subregion are enormous and these range from socioeconomic matters
336 to security issues, which are in themselves difficult enough. When, therefore, another political turmoil is added
337 in the form of tenure elongation, he went on, the result is always a brew of violence and economic disruption
338 which often turns to economic and political disaster.

339 V.

340 **14 Conclusion/ Recommendations**

341 Year 2022 F African Leadership and Tenure Elongation: Implications for Democracy and Development in
342 Africa adopted leadership theory as its theoretical framework and findings show that probe for wrongdoings,
343 the misconception of democracy for the monarchy, strong authoritarian instinct, lack of accountability and
344 transparency, cheap access to state resources and intolerance of opposition are some of the causes of tenure
345 elongation in Africa which has spelt negative implications for democracy and development. The work
346 recommends the building of a strong institution, independent of the judiciary, respect for the rule of law and,
347 constitution establishment of constitutional courts in AU to regulate tenure common language and common
348 market establishment.

349 At independence in the early 1960s, leadership recruitment in emergent independent states of Africa was
350 through, except a few states such as Nigeria, a one-party authoritarian model. The new states believe that it was
351 through a single party system that the country would be able to mobilize and integrate the various internal ethnic
352 diversities into the national ethos. Due to inherent weakness coupled with systemic corruption and nepotism, and
353 the inability to inculcate a sense of national unity and bring about development, most civil one-party democracies
354 in Africa were swept away by the military who made an incursion into politics in Africa. The military leadership
355 recruitment was through coup'd etat that enthroned power-seekers or autocratic life president or head of state
356 who did not only rule with impunity but also plundered the wealth of these nations and further under-developed
357 their countries and people.

358 Today, however, a military coup is no longer fashionable and most African countries are democratizing their
359 political institutions, providing a limit to power and tenure, even though, most leaders are not bothered by these
360 constitutional restraints as they use the resource of the state to bribe their ascension and continued to stay in
361 power and manipulate the legislature to have their way.

362 This has given rise to instability, corruption, poverty and disease, gross disrespect for the constitution and
363 rule of law, human rights abuse, impoverishing the people and further under-developing African countries. This
364 work, therefore, recommends the following as a panacea for indefinite eligibility to political office at the apex of
365 the nation in Africa.

366 1. African countries are noted for strong leaders but very weak political institutions. There is the need then
367 to build strong institutions that would drive the democratic process. 2. The justice system should be overhauled
368 and the judiciary should enjoy substantial independence to enable the dispensation of justice without fear or
369 favour 3. African leaders should do more like the cries or partnership and peer review to evolve a common
370 practice code for leaders.

371 4. There should be aggressive determination and commitment on the part of African leaders to be amended
372 to the rule of law and respect for court decisions. 5. African countries should establish constitutional courts to
373 adjudicate on matters bordering on exercising power beyond prescribed limits, deal with all forms of constitutional
374 infringement and litigations concerning elections. 6. African leaders should be made to always keep in mind that
375 African problems can only be settled by Africans. Some African countries should particularly the French-speaking
376 should realize that their destiny is not in France but Africa and take concrete steps from being continually used
377 by Paris to destabilize Africa economically and politically. 7. Africa should consider, besides the common market
378 that is in the offing, the adoption of a language for Africa to assist in the integration process.

14 CONCLUSION/ RECOMMENDATIONS

1

S/N	Country	President/ Head of State	Date Birth	Assumption of Office	Year of Exit	No. of Yrs.	Means of Exit Spent
1	Equatorial Guinea	Teodore Obiang Nguema Mbasogo	5/6/42	1979	In power	41	
2	Cameroon	Paul Biya	13/2/33	1982	In power	39	
3	Zimbabwe	Robert Mugabe	21/2/24	1980	forced out in 2018	39	
4	Uganda	Yoweri Museveni	16/9/44	1986	In power	34	
5	Sudan	Omar Al-Bashir	1/1/44	1989	Forced out in 2019	31	
6	Chad	Idris Deby	18/6/52	1990	In power	30	
7	Burundi	Pierre Nkuruziza	18/12/64	1994	June 2020 by death	26	
8	Eritrea	Isaias Afewerki	2/2/46	1993	In power	27	
9	Rep of Congo	Denis Sassou Agueso	27/11/43	1997	In power	24	
10	Rwanda	Paul Kagami	23/10/57	2000	In power	20	
11	DRC	Joseph Kabilo	4/6/71	2001	In power	19	
12	Togo	Faure Gnassingbe	6/6/06	2005	Still in power	15	
13	Burkina Faso	Blaise Campalore	31/5/45	1957	Forced out in 2014	28	
14	The Gambia	Yahaya Jammeh	25/5/65	1994	Forced out 2017	23	
15	Jose Edeando dos Sambo	M. Angola	28/8/42	1979	Forced out of office 2017	38	

Figure 1: Table 1 :

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