

"Man needs society and governments are introduced for the sole purpose of Promoting societal good. If the Government does otherwise, it is a government of armed robbers"

- *ARISTOTLE*

TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICS AND RESOURCES TO REDUCE CORRUPTION AND CONFLICTS IN AFRICA POLITICS

In Cassell Concise English Dictionary (1994 Update English) the word politics is defined as **"any activities concerned with the acquisition apportionment or exercise of power within an organization, maneuvering, intrigue"**. This is the definition in its plural form. In its singular form, the dictionary has words like **crafty, scheming, artful, and specious**. It is also the art or science of civil government. I shall not discuss the elements of power in this paper.

For the purpose of this paper, politics shall be defined as the art of exercising power for the acquisition and apportionment of Resources within an organization. When the word "organization" is replaced by the word "state or nation" then the definition of politics can be extended to the process of which interest groups maneuvered themselves into position to exercise power for acquisition and apportionment. When a particular interest group or a coalition of interests group succeed in getting into that position, they become the governors of the state. I shall talk about what is to be acquired and apportioned later. However, with this definition, politics has to be transformed into governance. Therefore, let me borrow from the wisdom of Claire McQuillan, Director of the Canadian Institute of Governance when she said that "Governance is responsible and responsive exercise of power over matters of public concern" she went on to say that Governance must not only embrace ethics in order to maintain legitimacy and honour public interest but it is also a concept which comprises institutions and processes that determine how authority is exercised, how decisions are made and how citizens have their say.

To buttress her definition, Elinor Ostrom of the US based Associates in Rural Development then extended governance to cover all sectors of our society as "regularized ways of ordering human societies at all levels of organization from family units to entire societies".

She gave the following four principles

- Balancing power with power at many levels within and among many organized structures in a single society
- Monitoring performances and holding designated persons accountable to citizens, shareholders members and communities by a variety of (formal and informal) rule-based mechanisms
- Accepting conflict as an important indicator of problems and reliance on methods of mediation, deliberation and adjudication to reach sustainable resolutions rather than to preempt or eliminate conflicts all together
- Empowering citizens, shareholders and communities with enforceable rights to check abuses of authority over them

My deduction from Elinor Ostrom's principles is that public governance has to embrace all levels of governance in the public sector, private sector and the civil society organizations to determine the level of good governance in a country. Therefore, good governance in any country is not limited to the public sector practices only.

Thus, public governance in African countries with or without crises or conflicts are very weak in terms of

- a. Institutions and processes
- b. Monitoring performances and holding persons accountable
- c. Accepting conflicts as sending a message that must be understood in its fundamentals and using mediation, negotiation and arbitration for transforming these conflicts for sustainable peace and security.

I dare to say that mono-ethnic or homogenous society is usually less prone to crises and conflicts than multi-ethnic or heterogeneous societies or nationalities as they are now known. Not many Africanists will agree with this broad statement because of the examples of Lesotho and Somalia. However, when compared with countries with complex emergencies or near-collapse, then the examples of the two Congo's, Central African Republic, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the two Guineas, Senegal, Mauritania show the difference.

In all cases, whether homogeneous or heterogeneous societies, the above four principles apply, no matter the level of development of the society. It can be said then that those countries in Africa who do not apply these four principles have the tendency to be crises prone because of the weakness mentioned above. Therefore, there is need to transform politics in line with the above principles in those countries to reduce corruption and conflict. When the politics are transformed then, the power to acquire resources and apportion them become regularized and rule-based. And in cases of conflict subject to arbitration, dialogue or mediation to prevent deadly violence.

RESOURCES

The same dictionary quoted above defines “**Resources as means of support and defence especially of a state: capacity for finding or devising means, practical ingenuity**”.

Therefore, the very close linkage between politics and resources are very clear because without resources, power becomes irrelevant. I am limiting myself to resources of two types i.e. the natural i.e. Land with Minerals (liquid or solid) as one type and the second type is the human capacity to devise or find other non-natural means to “support and defend”. These means may include “knowledge” i.e. well-educated and ingenious human capital with good infrastructure and with the necessary socio-political capital to attract local and foreign investors.

The second type rarely creates conflicts; it is usually the first type within, the political milieu deprived of the Ostrom’s four principles that corruption and conflicts thrive. Therefore resources in itself do not create corruption and conflict but it is its acquisition and the apportionment of the revenue derived from Land and resources that creates conflict. The fundamental issue is the ownership of land, which determines the ownership of the resources especially the mineral, below the ground. It is a well-known fact that in most if not all Africa countries, any mineral resource below the ground or offshore belongs to the Central Government and that means the land too. It has been so since these countries have been colonies. These laws have remained the same and the Africans successors have refused to repeal those laws and therefore treat those communities who have natural rights over the land with the resources, the same way they were treated by the former British, the French and the Portuguese. These African rulers do this with the support of multi-national companies who succeeded the colonial merchants and missionaries. It is therefore not surprising that most communities with mineral resources in Africa are impoverished. But instead of getting their successors to deal with the fundamental

issue of repealing those laws, the former governors provide development aid and grants and therefore create opportunities for their successors African governors to continue with irresponsible and irresponsive governance with weak institutions and process with suffering non-empowered citizens who are coerced to accept the status quo.

Why does an area like Niger-Delta of Nigeria require development aid or a province like Kivu in DRC be so poor when the communities sit on land with immense wealth below? If economy is built on ownership of all forms of capital especially land as in the Western societies, why should it be different in Africa. How come that the communities of Niger Delta and Kivu have no infrastructure for sustainable livelihood unlike Botswana. Does it mean that in a multi-ethnic society, institutions and processes that determine how authority is exercised, how decisions are made and how citizens have their say are non-existent or they are weak or they personalized by those who get to the state house by any means as long as they are supported by the western world.

It may also mean that citizens and communities are not empowered to participate in decision making, monitor performance and hold designated persons accountable by a variety of (formal and informal) rule-based mechanisms.

There is a clear fundamental delinkage between the ruler and the ruled based on lack of guarantee of economic rights. "Like political rights, economic rights are a bundle of freedoms and protections governing ownership and exchange. Economic rights have received less attention compared with political rights even in empirical literature. The most important economic right is the right to hold property more directly "according to Professor Arthur Goldsmith of the University of Massachusetts, Boston, USA in an article entitled '**Democracy, Property Rights and Economic Growth**'" in the Journal of Development Studies Vol. 32, No 2. He referred to Heritage Foundation publication entitled Index of economic freedom in which one of the factors of the index is property rights. The index gauge the degree to which each national government protects private property and the unlikelihood of expropriation of private holdings. This grading are from 1 to 5 with the lower score depicting the greater the level of protection. Presently, there is no protection over personal or community property once there are mineral resources below the communal or personal land in most African countries. The populace and community with the minerals get once-and-for-all compensation and lose the property. If eventually returned, it is degraded and useless. The result is the unbreakable poverty cycle that we have in resource-rich African countries. By this time the companies are gone and the corrupt politicians have their corrupt gain in western banks.

Therefore in the art of exercising power over acquisition and apportionment, public governance must take a wholistic approach of equal consideration for political, human and economic rights of the individuals and various nationalities that constitute the state. Increasingly, we are seeing a world where without economic

strength, might is not right and where most political decisions are economic driven. If land ownership in its totality by communities is fully accepted then the ownership of natural resources above and below that land has to be recognized, then acquisition and apportionment can be negotiated within the context of a political framework. In Canada, the acquisition and the apportionment by the province and other revenue is negotiated with the Federal Government with other province through contributions to an Equalisation fund. The USA has an extreme system of private ownership of resources. In that case, there is prosperity with increasing opportunity for reducing rural and urban poverty to negligible percentage of the population. Unfortunately, for the Western world and multilateral agencies, there is so much emphasis on the human rights agenda which also include political rights especially anti-coup efforts but a seemingly neglect of economic rights. A good example is the exploitation of oil in Sudan and Nigeria and in both cases, the communities have neither direct say nor direct benefit from the acquisition or apportionment. The same goes for DRC, Sierra Leone and Liberia etc.

Direct say and direct benefit to the communities is a way of preventing the emergence of warlord, violence and reducing poverty to the minimum in resource-rich countries in sub-Saharan Africa. This direct say and direct benefit is dependent on the willingness of multi-nationals who exploit these resources to ensure on direct say and direct benefit to the communities. They can help build communal capitalism. It is far better than grants and aid, because there is direct involvement of the communities in the exploitation of their resources.

In a special issue of the London Financial Times on Mining of Monday 19th March 2001, there was an article on “**Africa’s Mining Prospects**” by Gillian O’Connor. In that article, she revealed that USD 293 was spent on exploration in Africa while Africa’s total share has fallen from 16% to 13% even though Africa has wonderful mineral credibility (Mincred). On the other hand, reserves in some of the traditional mining countries like Zambia’s copper have been substantially depleted. Unfortunately for these countries whose minerals reserves are on the reduction scale, there is no Future Generation Trust Fund to enable them cope with the future when the resources of these countries are completely depleted. Most countries have also wasted the revenues generated through corruption, turnkey industries and projects that cannot be sustained, short-term infrastructural projects etc. therefore the post-independence generation of Africans are now frustrated and violent because they see no light at the end of the tunnel. In fact, the same edition of Financial Times did reflect the situation with the headline “**Troubled continent fails to exploit its assets**” The same Gillian O’Connor wrote below the headline “

with commodities prices in decline, African nations (if they are really nations) would do well to ensure their minerals are mined now, because according to her “time may not be running out for Africa yet but it is certainly getting shorter. Some of her problems are simple lack of basic infrastructure, corruption, aids, civil unrest and politics, few range of minerals i.e. low mineral credibility, steady decline in prices and competition for investments by other countries especially in other continents with better environment and conditions. “Africa’s” greatest challenge is the competition from other continents especially Latin America, Asia and even Oceania not to talk of Eastern Europe including the whole of the former Soviet Union and all its former European satellites.

The hope for Africa is that South African mining companies are now reaching out to the rest of Africa. It is only half hope, because neither Botswana nor Zambia has benefited technologically and industrially. In South Africa itself, the big debate about the Mineral Development Bill brings to fore again the issue of property rights as enjoyed in the past under apartheid and the need for the African majority to have the say and the benefit. The debate is within the context of allowing in new global mining companies who can also empower the blacks. This debate does still not resolve the issue of the direct ownership by communities who have claim to this land. How will South Africa handle this issue to prevent conflict in the future, as we are seeing in DRC and Angola, Sierra Leone and to an extent in Nigeria?

TRANSFORMING POLITICS AND RESOURCES

In transforming politics and resources, the aim is for politics to become public governance as discussed earlier and for resources to become the source for building infrastructures, industries and socio-economic prosperity. Except for South Africa, no African country has comparable infrastructure to any South East Asian country with industries like Malaysia or small Singapore. Prof. Mabogunje of the Development Policy Centre in Ibadan, Nigeria emphasised that African countries have highly personalised administration, lack systemic power and are therefore still precapitalist societies.

It is these pre-capitalist societies that pretend to play an active part in WTO and the global trade. Some personalities like Clare Short and many others like her in the western world believe very strongly that “free trade and markets will alleviate the misery of the poor” however, they have to be reminded according to Nick Collin writing in the London Observer dated 4 March 01 entitled “*the Global Altar*”, “that every country from China to South Korea protected native industries in the process, just as we did in the 18th century and France, Germany and US did in the 19th century”. “The first world is trading public services for corporate profits in the third world. On the other hand we do know that there are no global companies in practice because these are big firms with national interests and headquarter in their home countries, which maintain control over key activities of their affiliates. However, these companies earn revenue that are larger than many African countries put together. In fact, Dr. Noreena Hertz Associate Director for the Center for International Business and Management Studies at Cambridge University and the author of a book entitled ‘**Silent Takeover: Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy**’ wrote a preview in the London Observer, 08 May 01 when she asked that “Can we entrust the public interest to consumer and shareholders activists to safeguard? Can shopping really adequately replace voting? No it cannot”. She went on, “remaining mute in the face of corporate takeover degrades the very notion of democracy. Lack of representation now shows itself in protests that go beyond individual acts of dissent”. She gave an example of New Zealand where Prime Minister Helen Clark admitted that market fundamentalism has failed. Therefore, I agree with her that we must put the “**people back into the forefront of politics**” i.e. public governance must have the upper hand by acting in public interest in setting the terms of engagement in the global market. African countries need to consider the statement of the former Chief Economist of the World Bank, Joseph Stiglitz, when he said that “Globalization is like a grant wave that can either capsizes nations or carry them forward, successful localization, however, creates a situation where local entities and other groups in the society – the crew of the boat if you will are free to exercise individual autonomy but also have incentives to work together. “It is the transformation of resources through property rights that can create successful localization. This must include new thinking by Africans in order to fast track the development of political institutions and processes, required to bridge the techno-economic gap that can add value to our resources to provide a boost for the African Economic Community. African politicians, thinkers and academic must develop the skill for linking academia to policy to community. The community with resource ownership can form the bedrock of the new African economic prosperity in line with the World Development Report 1999/2000 “Entering the 21st century “which encourages local communities to come to control more aspects of their future I cannot see how localization can overburden the local government it empowered if people have a direct say and a direct benefit from localization. Peoples everywhere are more usually concerned

with their own community well being before considering the silent majority who struggle to live on daily basis.

Essentially, the transformation needed has to be beneficial to the communities. However, we must build ethical and non-violent communities to avoid conflicts over direct say and direct benefit in order to arrive at a prosperous continent with good image abroad. A community built on ethics is a transformed civil society willing to take up its own responsibilities in governance without coercion thus to building up good public governance. Therefore the empowerment of the civil society must also include the development of a civic society. A civic society is able to transform the crafty, scheming and cunningness of politics into a corrupt-free competition in which politicians are punished for playing dirty games or for not going in the direction where the society leads them.

In summary, transformation of politics and resources are based on three principles:

- a. We need a wholistic approach to governance and not the present division into public, private and civil society including NGOs and CBOs and not the present limitation to the public sector. A corrupt wealthy President of a private company or a corrupt and wealthy military officer or a Director of an NGO, can buy his/her way into the State house and the corruption continues. Such persons are found also on the Board of Trustees of NGOs and CBOs and pretend not to see the corrupt activities of their organizations. Advocacy therefore rests in the hands of pseudo-politicians who pretend that they want to make changes but are not sincerely committed.
- b. To do above we need to develop a civic society that fulfils its own responsibilities in creating the foundation for good public governance. A corrupt and irresponsible civil society cannot expect good public governance. A community with bad community and CBO governance should not expect good governance at higher level.
- c. Community ownership of land and its resources must be recognized by the constitution and community property rights over resources respected. A community with direct say and benefits over its own resources can be convinced to share with other non endowed communities
- d. African governments must be a step ahead with the regulations that can guide the activities of global companies in their countries while at the same time ensuring that social services are affordable by the people. The case of the costs of power transmission in India shows that free market has its limits. In addition these governments must enhance local companies to take on more challenges so as to compete with global companies locally. The Asians did and they are still doing so.

Africa politicians, policy experts and academia need re-thinking in developing and linking theory with best practices worldwide to governance, policy and community. They must come up with the tools for making the communities with resources the bedrock of economic prosperity of their countries.

REDUCING CORRUPTION AND CONFLICT

Corruption is the abuse of office or authority or opportunity for personal or own group's benefit to the detriment of larger group interest while conflict is between parties who may have compatible goals but incompatible approach or compatible approach but with incompatible goals or in the extreme, incompatible approach and incompatible goals. Therefore, a corrupt society has the tendency to be crises and is conflict prone and violent because all the various groups within that society would use every opportunity and means available to them to seek out their own benefits. It follows therefore that corruption and conflicts do have the same condition i.e. opportunities for access to unchecked power over public or group resources when opportunities and means are not subject to accountability, the incentives are there to drive the willing hands and groups into conflict over resources.

Therefore, the conditions for corruption and conflict are common in Africa because of the apt statement by Midgal (1988) that the strength, of the state control it exercises over its society is determined by any of these underlying principles.

Compliance i.e. the use of sanctions and threats to make the society accept those in authority. This is compared to states where there is participation i.e. organizing the populace voluntarily to achieve development and legitimation i.e. the voluntary acceptance by the populace or the society of state control without compliance. It also includes the readiness of the populace to ensure that state policies are executed while supporting their leaders. With his writing Midgal had given the road map for African states and their civil societies to travel i.e. from compliance like in most African states e.g. Kenya, Egypt to participation e.g. Botswana and the final destination which is legitimation. In fact E.K. Quashigah emphasized in his writing, the linkage between the legitimacy of Governments and the Resolution of Conflicts in Africa. He says that while most African Governments may be constitutionally legitimate, they are usually politically and socially illegitimate especially in polyethnic and multinational societies and are therefore prone to instability. He differentiated between legal legitimacy, which has to do with compliance, and functional legitimacy, which has to do with participation and willingness to perform civic responsibilities.

In participatory or legitimate governance, the people must lead for the leaders to follow. The emphasis in the Western approach to governance in Africa is that the leaders must lead for people to follow. This is why civil societies are prone in Africa to allow their leaders to be corrupt and sit tight, but, like the "Times of

India” Commentary of 10 May 64 said people’s acceptance of corruption as a fact of life, not as culture and therefore their general despondency need to be tackled first. African cultures and traditions, do not accept lying, cheating, promise-breaking, abuse of office etc. The culture and traditions also impose internal curbs on violence, deceit and betrayal if not African societies could not have survived.

Societies must undergo changes by internal situations and external effects in its traditions and cultures. Some authors have written about global village with global society with global culture, which is moving towards the global ethical society with ethical culture. It means that the products of ethical society must be ethical leaders. That is why when the ethical society leads; the leaders have no alternative but to be ethical. It is not that the Western leaders are not corrupt; it is because the Western societies have very low tolerance for corruption. The 21st century is the century of transparency and accountability. It is the ethical century. The century that ethical nations will continue to be strong and corrupt ones will collapse.

Furthermore, it is not that western societies are not crises or conflict prone but they have informal and formal institutions and processes to prevent and manage them from escalating into deadly conflicts.

Corruption and conflicts feed on poverty especially where there is lack of prosperity with weak economic systems structured on weak social capital. However, in our quest for development Prof. Amos of Sawyer of Liberia reminds us that achieving higher levels of development simultaneously with democratization are conflict ridden because most African leaders have not tried enough to develop homegrown methods and practices needed to cope with the constant breakdown of “normal politics” in their developing multi-nationalities states. African states have not been able to translate the strong social capital at the community level to the national level because they have neglected the communities.

The administration of a state needs the wholistic approach of public governance, which consists of the public sector, the private sector and the ethical civil society starting from community level. The public sector manager in Africa unlike their Asian counterparts has taken too long to realize with the private sector that they are like “**weights on either ends of a seesaw**” with ethical civil society as the fulcrum for creating wealth and prosperity. The weights need a good and stable fulcrum to balance but we are still neglecting the fulcrum while concentrating on the weights

As I have discussed earlier and in line with the new wisdom of institutional economists, institutions and policies must be pragmatic in setting the rules of the game that cover the fundamental political, legal and social basis for development and for guiding the indispensable relationship between the multi-ethnic or the multi-nationalities groups. In line with the above, the institutional scientists and economists have identified three layers namely:

- a. Policies, regulations, laws, customary laws and courts decisions which respect political and economic rights as incentives for development.
- b. The second layer are the guidelines or framework for institutions like the Parliament, Independent Commissions, the Professional Civil Service and the Independent Judiciary etc
- c. The third layer and the ultimate is the constitution that constrains the two layers. These layers are both informal and formal and are important enough to be referred to as social capital since they arise from social interaction. When these layers are weak there is corruption and political instability, which leads to coup d'états, civil unrest and deadly violence.

On the other, even where these national layers are strong and tested, the safeguards provided by these layers are under stress and may lead to political crises and/or deadly violence like in Northern Ireland or Sierra Leone. The same goes when these layers are extended to sub-regional, regional and international environment. Therefore, conflict cannot be caused by resources and poverty alone but sometimes do have to do with “ideology, ideas, opinions, beliefs and traditions” according to AC Grayling. (The London Newspaper Guardian 3 March, 01) He illustrated his argument by the example of an Islamic Caliph who burnt down the great Library of Alexandria by saying that if these books agree with the Koran; they are unnecessary, if they are false, they must be destroyed so either way they must perish. “Therefore you cannot but agree with him that as long as human continue to invent differences in politics and faith, the more they will continue to disagree with one another. Because they disagree, there will be more conflicts as in Indonesia or Northern Ireland. In most cases the reasons for the readiness of people to die for various causes have less secure grounds. However, it is also common with African and Asian states that unless there is violence and many dead, their leader and the world do not react. The state persons and the world also expect as Grayling says that when conflicts cannot end in outright victory for one side, they tend to end in weariness and a growing sickness at the waste they cause “but he countered that

expectation, by saying that **“if this were so, conflict world be self-limiting...”** But human conflicts seem to defy this hope and expectations.

Therefore, just like conflicts, corruption tend to defy hope for total elimination. The alternative is to keep trying to transform not only acquisition and apportionment but also the human mindset because it is in the human minds that corruption and conflicts start and end.

It is also part of human experience that prosperity built on solid socio-economic foundation can also create an environment for the human mind to search for human security within a collective effort through organizations like ECOWAS and OAU. Unfortunately those organizations are also plagued by the cumulative weaknesses of the member's nations. Therefore, for the collective effort to be successful, there is dependency on external support. That is why in reducing corruption and conflict to the minimum, the western countries have the greater responsibility because increasingly there are difficulties facing Africans in :

- a. Getting western banks to stop accepting illicit fund or in recovering these illicit funds.
- b. Getting Western and Eastern arms traffickers, to stop supply to “warlords” who use natural and mineral resources as barter for weapons and arms through western and eastern business houses.
- c. Reducing the influence of global companies on their home government policies on conflicts and corruption in Africa.
- d. Providing resources especially the UN, OAU and sub-regional bodies to do more in reducing and preventing corruption and conflict.

Having said the above, the transformation process must start with the African themselves who must seek creative ways to develop new political structure with the appropriate institutions and processes that can overcome intra and inter-African challenges including globalisation.

We need to strengthen the 3 layers mentioned above through action oriented studies by economists, political scientists and sociologist who can link national governance institutions to policies to communities and vice versa. These studies can be used, by the public sector and the private sector operators and the communities in maximizing benefits from their resources. Therefore, the perpetrators and victims of corruption and conflict are made to build the essential

interface between the weights on the balance and the fulcrum in order to achieve successful localisation in Africa, if not Africa shall continue to be weak link in the global chain. Therefore, unlike the optimists who strongly believe that strong global economic growth offers the way out for poverty and conflicts, they will soon realize like Nick Collins said that it is not only the third world that is scarified to the God of world trade, it is their own northern schools and hospitals too. The National Health Scheme (NHS) in Great Britain and the power outage problem in California are examples for Africa to look at before leaping at privatization or accepting all WTO rules and regulations.

The new Labour Party led by Tony Blair are linked with Anthony Giddens “third way” as an example of action-oriented studies linking academia and the government with respect to policy formation and its implementation.

In concrete terms, can federalism be adapted to suit Burundi or Rwanda or DRC. The “communes as a political unit was once used in Burundi. Will equalization fund instead of derivation fund be useful in transforming Nigeria’s fiscal crises? Has Ugandan system of no-party system given undue advantage to Museveni’s National Resistance Movement, which is a psedo-political party? Can federalism be suitable to a mono-ethnic, multi-clan Somalia already divided into two territories.

With respect to conflicts, how do Africans deal with themselves with respect to intra-Africa hidden interference in the internal affairs of their neighbours e.g. Ethiopia government in opposition to the post Djibouti government of Somalia. The bigger issue is the open external political and economic influence and subtle interference by the western world especially the Belgians in DRC as an example. Sometimes there is the open economic rivalry, which leads to the overt and covert support of rival groups. This is why it is difficult for the UN and OAU to cope with the non-state actors who use corruption to fuel conflict in Africa. Many countries in Eastern Europe and Asia turn a blind eye to the activities of their business persons and groups. These persons and groups can only be discouraged if we use resources to create communal capitalism as discussed in details earlier on. When communities control their destinies, warlords are difficult to come by. Unlike the beliefs of the North, and African leaders, strong prosperous components do not necessarily secede because small but rich states command respect but rarely wield influence in sub-regional, regional and world affairs. Therefore prosperous components with big geographical space and population wield greater political and economic influence.

Many African countries have these potentials if corruption and conflicts can be reduced to the minimum.

CONCLUSION

Let me conclude the discussion by two quotations. One is for the western prosperous countries to remember the sayings of an anonymous Franciscan Monk who told an audience that “poverty can be dignified if you choose it. Wealth is only ever worthwhile if you share. Therefore depriving Africa of prosperity through informed ban on technology acquisition at affordable costs goes contrary to this quotation. Also aid grants have not reduced because we lack the technology and the scientific research infrastructure. Africans are not poor because they are endowed with the resources and the human capital. Therefore it is left for Africans to heed the biblical saying that says that “any country that divides itself into groups which fight each other will not last very long. The second quotation and the final word for fellow Africans is, the wise sayings of the Chinese Lu Shao Ch’I that “only through the peoples own struggles and efforts can their emancipations be achieved, maintained and consolidated. It cannot be bestowed or granted by an outsider”

Africa has to look east for technology and support to use the resources in the continent to transform its mindset from poverty to prosperity needed to strengthen existing institutions and processes and build new ones to reduce corruption and conflict to the minimum. This is the only way we can become a competitive global player.

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