

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC: A REFLECTION OF TRIUMPVIRATE SCHOLARS POLITICAL THOUGHTS

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Abstract

Politics is the operation of the state where individuals strive to share power or strive to influence the institution of power. Politics can be said to involve the management of conflicts among various interested groups. The demand of different leaders and citizens will definitely differ about how resources ought to be shared and used. Thus politics deals with who gets what when and how. Politics is concerned with political activities of man in the society. Politics according to V.I Lenin is who does what to whom. While the great Chinese revolutionist Mao-tse-tung sees politics as war without bloodshed. Politics is inclusive of all government activities by political forces while political forces are affected invariably by activities of the government. Usman Dan Fodio led a revolution which resulted in the creation of Sokoto caliphate. The revolution was intellectual and it was determined to establish the Sharia law which will install upright and just rulers. The triumvirate scholars were the product of Sokoto caliphate which was based on classical Sunni Islamic political theory. The Islamic political thought was authored by the theoreticians and ideologists of the jihad movement of the Sokoto caliphate. They contributed greatly in scholarship and revolutionary activities in Nigeria. They produced literary works to promote and defend the masses from the despotic and unjust rulers of the pre-jihad Hausa kingdoms. Their policies on governance centred on piety, justice, exposure and indifferent to governmental positions i.e. leadership should not be bestowed upon anyone that aspire for it. They gave the qualities and principles of a leader. In order to evaluate the ideologies of these scholars and how it relates to contemporary governmental issues with reference to the challenges facing the Nigerian leadership where the oppressive and insensitive nature of the ruling class have caused a decline in good governance.

Keywords: Leadership, Governance, Fourth Republic, Triumvirate,

Introduction

Good governance strives to create public institution that can conduct the affairs and manage public resources. Good Governance anywhere in the world entails processes and decisions that improve the performance of government because politics is an art of governance as such they all encompassed institutions, order, power justice, power structure and equity. To ensure good governance certain requirements have been identified like good standards, good accountability, good process, good people and good performance so that the people of the said government can accept and appreciate the legitimacy and power of the government. Likewise in the Sokoto caliphate which has produced the triumvirate scholars who also implemented the qualities that a leader should have which are being pious, follow the Sunna of the prophet, be kind, more inclined to forgiveness than to anger, tolerant, good in nature and brave which all form the basic of democratic sustainability.

Perhaps the earliest conception of politics is that which posits it as activities having to do with efficient organization and judicious administration of the collective affairs of an organised human community or polis. The purpose of politics is to facilitate secure and prosperous conditions in which everyone wants to realise his full human potential. It was the conception that informed the thinking of ancient philosophers such as Plato (470-399BC) and Aristotle (354-322BC) about politics. Both thought of it, in idealistic terms, an activity having to do with fashioning a structurally and functionally perfect human community that would be motivated at all times by the quest to promote justice and happiness for all her citizens. These early views emphasize what politics ought to be rather than what it actually is, while the striving for ideal political conditions is very important, it never the less, is only one of the concerns of politics. Politics also includes for instance concrete behaviour and activities of real people, groups and institutions having to do with how a political community is actually governed (Akeke, 2:2008).

The canon of political thought was produced in the Sokoto caliphate, which came into being in 1804. The process of emergence of the caliphate involved a jihadist reform movement led by sheikh Uthman Dan Fodio (1754-1817) that commenced in 1774 up to 1804, culminated in the unification of over two dozen sovereign polities by reconstituting them into a single political entity with Uthman fodio being the first and founding caliphate. The main authors of the canon were of course the leading theoreticians, ideologist, executioners of the jihad movement and leaders of the Sokoto caliphate, namely, the triumvirate, sheikh Usman Bn fodio (1754-1817) the main leader of the movement and the first caliph, sheikh Muhammad Bello (1781-1837) who took the mantle of leadership and became the second caliph from (1817-1837) and Abdullahi bn Fodio (1826) who administered the western part of the caliphate. That an Islamic state is the one that is built on the principles and practice of Shariah. Its ideals are to establish justice by the leadership as highlighted earlier on Islam, at least in the case of Sokoto caliphate, it proposes decentralized and federal system of government, multiple structures of government, that is executive (the caliph and his members (Wazir), Judiciary (Kadis), council of ulama (scholars) and build Shura-consultation structures with the people and subject in the running of the affairs of the state (Bako: 1998).

Theoretical Framework

Structural functionalism or simply functionalism is a framework for building theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. This approach looks at society through a macro-level orientation which is a broad focus on the social structure that shape society as a whole (macionis). Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent elements: namely, norms, customs, traditions and institutions (Derosso). A common analogy popularized by Herbert Spencer presents these parts of society as organs that work towards the proper functioning of the body as a whole. In most basic terms, it simply emphasises the efforts to impute, as rigorously as possible to each feature, customs or practice, its effects on the functioning of a supposedly stable, cohesive system (Uny, 2000).

Structural Functionalism's core concepts are in harness, structure and system. It derived not from German and British precursors but mainly from Durkheimian French sociology with supplementary insights from the Russian geographer and anarchism peter Kropotkin (1842-1921). Structural functionalism emphasized the formal ordering of parts and their functional inter relations as contributing to the maintenance needs of a structural social system. The function of any institutions (or recurrent social activity) was the part it played in the maintenance of the larger structural whole. This assumption attributed to social system as internal integration of parts

similar to that found in organisms (Joan, 2015). Emile Durkheim, another early sociologists applied Spencer's theory to explain how societies change and survive. Over time. Durkheim believed that society is a complex system of interrelated and interdependent parts that work together to maintain stability (Durkheim 1893) and that society is held together by shared values, languages and symbols. He believed that to study society, a sociologist must look beyond individuals to social facts such as laws, morals, values, religious belief, customs, fashions and rituals which all serve to govern social life. For example one function of a society's law may be to protect society from violence while another is to punish criminal behaviour while another is to preserve public health(<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/alamosociology/chapter/functionalism>)

Research Method

The method of data used in this study is the content analysis which is a research method for studying documents and communication artifacts which might be texts of various formats. Content analysis is a research technique for systematically analysing written communication. It has been used to study books, essays, news, articles, and other written materials therefore content analysis technique was used to make replicable and valid inferences by interpreting and coding textual material by systematically evaluating texts, documents which is what the study carried out.

The Aspect of Politics and Governance in Nigeria

Anifowose and Enemu (1999) analysed the politics and Governance in Nigeria From the first republic to the fourth republic.

What we now know as Nigeria started to evolve in 1861 following the annexation of Lagos as a crown colony and as a result of the gradual incorporation of the contiguous area and people into the British Empire. The structures of governance introduced by the colonial authority then were meant to serve specific colonial purposes. For instance, in recognition of the type of political structure in place in the colonised territory, Sir Frederic Lugard, on assumption of office as governor general 1906, introduced the indirect rule system, which essentially was an attempt by the colonial authority to rule through the traditional political structures. From then on, the Northern and Southern protectorates of the country remained separated until 1914 when they were amalgamated by Lugard.

The First Republic Constitution of 1963 is unique in the sense that it repeated the Nigerian's independence Act of 1960 under which the legislative power of the Nigerian parliament was defined in an act of the British parliament and replaced it with the federal act of 1963, thus, removing the imperial basis of the Nigerian constitution and granting complete Autonomy to the Nigerian parliament. Under the republican constitution the president became the head of state and the repository of the federal executive authority while the governors were vested with similar powers at the regional levels. The parliament made laws for the whole country and control public funds. The Supreme Court became the highest court of the land instead of the Privy Council in London. Unfortunately the constitution was not allowed to operate for more than two and a half years due to the turbulent crisis that characterize the period e.g. the Action group crisis of 1962/63, the population census crisis of 1962/63, the Tiv riots of 1960 and 1964, the federal election crisis of 1965. The major political parties in the country were engaged in the struggle not only to win and retain power but also able to control the centre which was recognised as having all the dominant resources in spite of its weakness politically. Hence, all available means were employed to 'grab' power including the blatant rigging of elections, manipulation of census figures, violence, arson, corruption and act of (brigandage). These continued till the army seized

power in January 1966 when it became obvious that the political class had lost control of governmental affairs.

In the Second Republic i. e 1979-1983, the country also practiced multipartism. The five political associations that fulfilled the stipulated conditions and requirement for party formation were registered as political parties in December, 1978. These were the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), the Nigeria's People Party (NPP), Great Nigeria People Party (GNPP) and the People Redemption Party (PRP). The NPN dominated the politics of the Second Republic apart from its control of the federal government; the party also controlled most of the state governments. The others, UPN, NPP, GNPP, and the PRP, formed the government in the other states from 1979 till 1982, when the NPN controlled federal government was toppled by another military coup. In the botched Third Republic i. e 1992-1993, the pendulum changed as the country witnessed the emergence of a two-party system, following the sudden cancellation of the eleven political associations formed by the politicians. The Babangida military government imposed two political parties, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), and the National Republican Convention (NRC), on the country. Following the collapse of the Third Republic and the emergence of Abacha's military regime in November 1993, the nation was returned to a multiparty system. Military intervention in the nation's political process in January 1966 terminated the third phase in the constitution making in Nigeria. The first republican constitution was suspended and replaced with military decrees. One of the decrees promulgated by the then head of federal military government, Major-General Aguiyi Ironsi, was the controversial decree 34 which abolished the federal system of government in the country and substituted it with a unitary form of government. The existing four regions were abolished and the country was divided into provinces for purpose of governance. The action provoked violence response in the Northern part of Nigeria and it was interpreted to mean Igbo domination of the country particularly given the preceding event in the country in which several top Northern army officers were (eliminated). The unprecedented crisis generated by this event later led to a civil war following the declaration of the Republic of Biafra by the Igbos led by Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu, the war which lasted thirty months however ended on a no victory, no vanquished note and Gowon embarked on a multi-pronged process of reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction. In order to heal the wounds inflicted by the civil war. This led to his ouster by Brigadier later General Murtala Mohammad on July, 29, 1975. General Mohammed soon announced a four year political transition programme designed to terminate on 1 October 1979. He also embarked on his reformist approach to sanitizing the nation. His tenure was however short as he was assassinated in an abortive coup led by Colonel Bukar Suka Dimka on February 13, 1976. In spite of this, his second in command, Brigadier (later General) Olusegun Obasanjo proceeded with the execution of the transition to civil rule programme.

On October 1st 1979 general Obasanjo handed over power to the newly elected civilian regime of Alhaji Shehu Shagari. The Shagari government put in place necessary democratic structures as provided in the Second Republican Constitution. In the main, the 1979 Constitution provided for an executive president who was also the head of government and commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Nigeria. Following the collapse of the Second Republic and the return of military rule in Nigeria, there was no action initially to move the nation towards a constitutional government. The Buhari regime that took over power concentrated attention on the resuscitation of the battered economy and had no time for any political programme. General Muhammad Buhari made it abundantly clear that the issue of political programme had to wait until the economy has improved (drastically). The Buhari government was later toppled in a palace coup stage by General Ibrahim Babangida on August 27, 1985. On assumption of power Babangida first

task was to abrogate some of the draconian degrees. Also pledge to respect human rights and disengage the military from governance. He then set the machinery in motion to produce a new constitution for the Third Republic.

The annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election was the climax of the intrigues and manipulations embarked upon by General Babangida in order to realise his self- succession bid through a process of transformation from military to civilian president. The two presidential candidates, Chief M.K.O Abiola, of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and Alhaji Bashir Tofa of the National Republican Convention (NRC) contested on the tickets of the two government formed political parties, hence, they both bore the implicit stamp of military consent and (cronyism). The election which was popularly presumed to have been won by chief Abiola was said to be the freest and fairest elected to have been conducted in post-independence Nigeria. In spite of these evidence however, the government of general Babangida on June 23, 1993, annulled the election result and suspended the National Electoral Commission (NEC) on the pretext that the polls had been irredeemably sullied by legal and administrative (complication). The annulment of course generated intense ethnic, populist and regional antipathy particularly in the south-western part of the country where it was felt that injustice had been meted out by the power that be. As tension mounted, there was public restiveness and pressure from within and without, which expelled General Babangida to hurriedly package an Interim National Government (ING) under the leadership of Chief Ernest Shonekan. He later decided to step aside and subsequently handed over government to the head of ING on August 26, 1993. Added to the mounting opposition against the ING was its declaration as an illegal regime by a federal high court in Lagos. Accordingly, General Sani Abacha who was the ING's minister of defence moved swiftly to topple the government and installed himself as the new head of state in November, (1993). Although the 1989 Constitution was not allowed to operate, the military government of General Sani Abacha decided to produce a new constitution that will usher in the Fourth Republic in Nigeria. This represents the sixth phase of constitution making in the country. It was preceded by the establishment in January 1994 of a constitutional conference commission charged with the responsibility of organising a national constitutional conference on June 27, 1994, General Abacha observed that Nigeria since independence, been plagued by vicious cycle of crisis. Although the conference was adversely criticised because of the unrepresentative nature of its membership, it made far reaching recommendations in the draft constitution which formed the bedrock of the Abacha regime's political transition programme. A fundamental recommendation made by the constitutional conference was the division of the country into six geographical zones for the purpose of power sharing at the federal level, notably, the rotation of the office of the president, vice-president, prime minister, deputy prime minister, senate president and speaker of the the house of representatives. The conference also recommended the establishment of a federal character commission as well as the composition of the federal cabinet in proportion to the votes won by each political party at the polls.

The greatest obstacles to Abacha's transition programme and the democratization process however was the politics of self-succession embarked upon by General Sani Abacha, the head of state who wanted to hand over power to himself in October 1998. Towards the realization of this objective, Abacha and his agents resorted to intimidation, blackmailed and unbridled massive repression and elimination of all internal (Opposition). In spite of the wide- spread opposition to the decision to succeed himself, General Abacha might have succeeded himself had he not died suddenly on June 8 1998. General Abdulsalami Abubakar immediately succeeded general Abacha as the new head of state on June 9 1998. Since then, the general political atmosphere had improved as the self-succession saga was terminated. Until June, 1998, Nigeria had been tagged

a pariah state by the international community owing to human right abuses by the government and the inordinate ambition of Abacha to succeed himself. The first step taken by General Abubakar which received international applause was the release of some political detainees including general Olusegun Obasanjo who was serving 15 year jail term for his alleged complicity in the 1995 coup plot, Beko Ransome kuti, human rights activists, Chris Anyanwu, publisher of the defunct TSM Magazine, Ibrahim Dasuki, the deposed Sultan of Sokoto and the trade unionist chief Frank Kokori. However, the first major crisis arose in connection with Mashood Abiola the acclaimed winner of the annulled June 12 1993 presidential election, who died in detention on July, 7, protest over his death, especially in the South West of Nigeria paralysed economic activities for some days. The inability of Abdulsalami to arrest persistent fuel scarcity, the increase in the prices of petroleum products, the reduction in the announced new minimum wage for workers, the depleted foreign reserve, the devaluation of the Naira, the non-resolution of the Niger-Delta crisis and the failure of his regime to prosecute the family and officials of Abacha's regime who allegedly stole huge sums of money from the public treasury, received loud and bitter condemnation by the (people).

Adebayo (1986) explains further, on independence in October 1960, Nigeria followed the British cabinet system of government under the model of prime ministerial government, the prime minister is regarded as *primus inter pares* and it is generally accepted that he must carry a majority of his cabinet with him on all major issues of policy. This was the practice in the system of government during the First Republic, October 1960 to January 1966 when Alhaji Tafawa Balewa was prime minister. Perhaps the most dominating feature of Nigeria politics under the first and only Nigerian Prime Minister, Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, was the fierce battle among the major ethnic groups to control, or at least have a significant share in this spoils of office in the federal government to attain this objective, the four regions, North, East, West and Mid-West-often engage in bitter altercations over matters such as the sitting of federal projects, allocation of federal grants. In the thirteen years of military regime in Nigeria, there were four successive military heads of state- Aguiyi Ironsi, Yakubu Gowon, Murtala Muhammed and Olusegun Obasanjo. The basic nature and form of government of all. Military regimes are much the same usually these consist of the suspension of the existing constitution while government and administration is by a military junta, which goes under various names. Each of the various regimes in Nigeria during the military era established a supreme military council which was the supreme governing body for the whole Country. In four years of the presidential system of government from October 1979 to December 1983 under Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the country again witnessed the rise of state governors who felt accountable to no one and demonstrated naked display of power and utter disregard for public feelings.

Nigeria's current transition to democracy commenced on May 29, 1999, at the end of General Abubakar's short transition from military to civil rule, when President Obasanjo assumed power as an elected civilian head of state and government. Two and a half years into Obasanjo's presidency, it can be said that Nigeria still requires very strong pillars for the sustenance of its democratization before it can ultimately attain democratic consolidation (Jega, 2007: 141).

Given the background for his return to power, Obasanjo had his job well cut out. Incidentally, this job description is also contained in the basic parameters by which the regime would eventually be judged in historical context. The specific issues at stake included the following: respect for human rights, political inclusiveness, transparency and public accountability, due process, good governance, enthronement of a truly democratic order through the observance of the principle of separation of powers, respect for rule of law and independence of the judiciary, recognition of

the federal essence of the Nigerian nature state etc. In the area of human rights, Obasanjo may not have much choice as an elected civilian leader. Even then, the law and the constitution as the basis for the enforcement and protection of human rights constantly fell victim to OBJ'S frequent recourse to dictatorial methods. He and his government routinely disobeyed court orders and generally treated even the nation's highest court – with utter disrespect or even disdain (Amuta, 2008:17-19).

Literature Review

Bako, (1998) comprehensively Espoused the politics and Governance of the Triumvirate scholars:

It is imperative to quickly touch on the canon and their religion influence and the formation of the canon of political thought in West Africa. If the canon is a cultural production, religion more than any ideology has played a vital role in composing, shaping, transmitting and influencing its context and usage. In the first place, there is no political thought without a religious stamp on it, endorsing or rebelling against it. Thus it can be asserted that the classical western political thought of Plato and Aristotle emerged from the unreligious Greece while the medieval political thought was heavily influenced by the Christianity of Europe. Those of the reformation, renaissance and modern periods rose against the dominance of the church and monarchy, through the triumph of reason, liberation and liberal institutions in Western Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Thus, even though not all the European political thinkers are theologians in fact many are anti-religious and orthodox such as Machiavelli, Hobbes, Marx and Nietzsche or even unreligious like the 'founders' plato and Aristotle, there are those that were influenced by Christian political thought such as Augustine, Aquinas, Locke, Mill and Rousseau in the arena of political thought, religion represents a form of cultural power or 'symbolic capital' that articulates ultimate purpose, transcendental meanings and ethical standards. Both religious vocabulary and political discourse communicate interpretations of the public good, justice, virtue, equality, freedom and equity which constitute the major ingredients of political thought.

For the other, Islam which has been present in West Africa since the 19th century, does not only constitute the most important medium for the formation of identities but also the ideology for initiating and galvanising social, political, cultural and intellectual and economic transformation of these societies (Hiskett1957,last,1967).

Bako(1998) continued, the canon of political thought was produced in the Sokoto caliphate which came in to being in 1804 covering an area of about 250,000 square miles, thus composing the substantial areas of the existing Northern Nigeria, Niger and Cameroon republic in West Africa. It was the largest Islamic polity not only in West Africa but Africa in the 19th century. The process of emergence of the caliphate involved a jihadist reform movement led by sheikh Uthman b.Muhammad Fodiyo (1754-1817 AD) that commenced in 1774 up to 1804, culminated in the unification of over two dozen sovereign polities, by reconstituting them in to a single political entity with sheikh Uthman b. Fodiyo being its first and founding caliph (Usman,1979:55:Hiskett,1957).The Sokoto caliphate which survived for a hundred years as a political entity from 1804-1903, had during this period produced eleven successive caliphs, hundreds of emirs, chiefs and their scholars. These leaders did not only develop highly impressive centralized administrative machinery, a strong and balanced economy, but also a sophisticated corpus of intellectual and political thought and ideology through which the entire Muslim communities were governed and likewise related to the non-Muslim communities and systems (last,1967).

It should be noted that the canon which began to flourish from this area since the beginning of the jihad in 1774, was produced specifically in Hausaland, which was the main centre of the jihad and precisely in Degel of Gobir state which emerged as the most powerful state in Hausaland towards the end of 18th century. Being the most developed politically, it also became the jihadist main centre of intellectual and reform activities. Gobir was the Athens of the Hausaland at that material period in time. Thus, right from the introduction of Islam in Hausaland in the first of the 14th century, the centre of intellectual and literary activities has kept on shifting, reflecting the changes in the social, economic and political transformation until it reached its pinnacle in Gobir state towards the end of the 18th century (Kani, 1978; Hunwick, 1996).

The triumvirate produced over three hundred volumes of books in prose and verse as well as dozens of occasional poems in almost all Islamic sciences and disciplines including fiqh (Jurisprudence), tawheed (theology), tasawwuf (Sufism), Tafsir (Qur'anic Exegesis), Hadith (Prophetic Traditions), Luga (Arabic Language), Waz (Paranesis), Adab (Manner), Tibb (Medicine), Tarikh (History), Cosmology and Metrology, and Ilm Siyasat (Political science). Their writing mostly were similar and they intended to elaborate each other as Sheikh Usman dan Fodio detected some specialisation for them when he said

Keep reading the books of my brother Abdullahi because he is mostly concerned with the letter of the sharia, and keep reading the works of my son Muhammad Bello for he is mostly concerned with political affairs of the community. Also keep reading my own works for in most cases I am taking a middle course (Kani, 1978:67).

The triumvirate consider scholars and scholarship as live repositories of societal knowledge and very crucial for its survival, production, reproduction and development.

The main authors of the canon were of course the leading theoreticians, ideologists, executioners of the jihad movement the leaders of the Sokoto caliphate, namely, the triumvirate, Sheikh Uthman bn Fodio (1754-1817) the main leader of the movement and the first caliph, Sheikh Muhammad Bello (1781-1837) who took the mantle of leadership and became the second caliph from (1817-1837) and Abdullahi b. Fodiyo (1826) who administered the western part of the caliphate.

They were of the Fulani ethnic group who contributed greatly in scholarship and revolutionary political activities in West Africa in 19th century. They were small group of highly trained Islamic scholars in Arabic and Islamic sciences (Bello, 1983; Hiskett, 1957). They were erudite scholars of international standards that did all their training and learning activities, including political and literary career, within the Hausaland none of them visited any Arab land for scholarship, or even Mecca for Hajj. This is to say they were born, bred and trained scholars who produced the canons of political thought under consideration (Kani, 1988; Hiskett, 1957).

A Brief Biography of Usman Dan Fodio

Shehu Usman dan Fodio was the leader of the new vision for revolutionizing the Hausaland and its subsequent transformation towards entrenching the Islamic faith. This in Islam is known as the jihad. He planned and executed the overthrow of the ruling class and later established an Islamic system of administration known as the Sokoto caliphate in the early nineteenth century of the Christian era (19th Century C.E). He was born in Maratta in December 1754 C.E and belonged to the Fulani tribe. His ancestors lived in Konni (located in the present day Niger Republic close to the Nigerian boarder) for seven generations until one of the ancestors namely, Muhammad Sa'ad moved south east of Maratta after raid by one Muhammad Damka, the then Amir of Konni on their family. This left about forty scholars dead and a number of women and children taken as

captives and they later moved to Degel. Danfodiyo's family was a section of Torankawa which was noted as heirs and custodians of a rich heritage of scholarship and piety

Uthman Danfodiyo's writing set the pace for the intellectual aspect of the Sokoto heritage. He wrote mainly in Arabic, Fulfulde and Hausa. The last two languages were largely used in poems which made it easy for his audience to chant and memorise his teachings. Another teaching of paramount importance bequeathed by Usman danfodio was the maintenance of justice by all means. In his *Ujul-al-adl liwulatat umur wa ahlal*, which he wrote for the guidance of his officials. He emphasised the maintenance of justice in dealing with people. He clearly stipulated the rights, obligations as well as the limits of rulers and those of the subjects. He laid down the principles of justice and equity and emphasised the need for good examples of leaders to their followers (Balogun, 1990).

One such scholar was the charismatic Shehu Uthman Dan Fodiyo whose compelling manner of preaching Islam over thirty years in the area (1774-1804) gained for him an ever increasing following. Every able – bodied person in the fodiyo clan gave active support. Principle among those riding in to battle were the Shehu's brother Abd Allah and his son Muhammad Bello, each of whom was entrusted with the oversight of a frontline of the jihad (Boyd and Mack, 1999).

He passed away on 20/04/1817 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Bello as Amirul-muminin (Bello, 2014).

A Brief Biography of Muhammadu Bello

Muhammad Bello was the first son of Sheikh Uthman b. Fodiyo and the second caliph in the usmaniyat Islamic Empire. He was born in the year 1781/82 AD. He grew up in the care of his father and read the Qur'an with him. He received his basic education from the sheik. After reading the Qur'an from his father Bello went to his uncle Abdullahi who taught him Arabic grammar and morphology and read from him some books about theology such as *Ida'at al dajnat*. Muhammad Bello was a famous scholar and God granted him many Qualities such as understanding, Intelligence, comprehension, retentive memory, good reasoning as well as good memory and Eloquence. Bello was an accomplished politician and practical statecraft in dealing with his subjects (Bulletin of Sokoto State History Bureau).

Bello died at Wurno in 1837 C.E at the age of 58. In his lifetime he led forty seven military campaigns, which excluded minor raids. He served as the caliph for 20 years from 1817-1837.

Brief Biography OF Abdullahi bn fodiyo

Abdullahi Ibn Fodiyo, popularly known as Abdullahi Gwandu was the younger brother of Shehu Dan-Fodiyo. He was born in the year 1766-7 C.E. Abdullahi read very extensively under his father, Muhammad Fodiyo. He was then transferred to his elder brother, Shehu dan Fodiyo from whom he studied subjects such as theology, poetry, Islamic law hadith, tafsir, Sufism and mathematics. To understand his attitudes, it is necessary to bear in mind that to Abdullahi and his associates, morality both personal and public was inseparable from Islam. There is no doubt that judging by the standard he was the constant and implacable enemy of all forms of corruption (Bello, 2014).

Abdullahi Ibn Fodiyo was a mine of knowledge and sincerity. Everybody agreed on his vast knowledge. He was a great scholar who engaged himself in writing on every branch of knowledge and succeeded (Aliyu, 1990).

The Canon of the Triumvirate Scholars and their Political Thoughts on Governance and Politics.

Bako (1998) explained and gave in details the political thoughts of the triumvirate scholars: According to Muhammad Bello, there are seven principles of politics, all of them signifying the meaning of justice. He stated that

Know that the principles of policies are seen which all in turn mean justice. Justice encompasses politics. Two principles concern the emirs or governors (wali) or caliph (Imam) and the other two are about the councillors and employees while the remaining three concern the subjects.

Two principles that concern the emir are as follows

The first principle contains the six qualities of a ruler (1) pious, (2) follower of the sunna of the prophet Muhammad, (3) concern with the affairs of his hereafter (4) free from temporal desire and for liking leadership, let alone being interested in rulership, (5) That leadership should not be given on one who seek it, (6) Forbids asking for it unless one is called upon because of his leadership qualities and he has something good to offer to the society.

The second principle according to Bello is that the leader should have these qualities, the person to lead should be kind, More inclined to forgiveness than to anger, Generous, persevering and tolerant, Good nature to sacrifice self, Brave, stout heart, unshakable and firm in temper as well as steady, Support to his employees and subjects

The third principle is that, the Imam or Emir or Wali should always yearn for religious scholars and be a desirous listener to their advice.

The fourth principles consist of conditions qualifying whoever wants to hold public office; Justice is a condition qualifying whoever wants to hold public office. He is to choose state employers from among his good persons. The happiest and best ruler is one whose subjects become prosperous because of his rule and the worst ruler is the one whose subjects are unhappy with him

The fifth principle is that leader should command his subjects to do justice, be generous and avoid doing wrong

The six principles are about the maintenance of Islamic state. The imam or leader should work hard and provide worldly and religious services for his people. He should work and attract the services of artisans and encourage industry. He should provide security, transportation, market and general prosperity (Bako, 1998).

Ruling according to the rule of law and treats subjects with kindness.

According to sheikh Usman dan fodio in his work *Usuks al-Adl in wallatil umur wa Ahilil fodii* (principles of justice for the people of honour and those to take charge of the affairs) perceived justice in two ways:

First, justice, giving dues to its rightful owner whether from him or from someone else. Second, be a father to every Muslim who is younger than you, be a son to the one who is older than you; be a brother to everyone who is equal to you and punish every animal according to what he does.

Bako (1998) He identifies the principles and qualities of justice as listed by al- Ghazali as follows:

- i. The leader must know the value and importance of leadership as a trust and a favour which he could be called upon to account for his deeds.
- ii. Show love to religious scholars.

- iii. Should not content that he is just but expurgate servants, friendship, employees etc. He should not agree with them pertaining injustice.
- iv. A ruler should not be arrogant as arrogant leader to indignation which instigates vengeance.
- v. For any matter brought to the ruler, the leader should assume that he is one of the subjects and that the leader is another person.
- vi. He should not be accustomed to hedonism.
- vii. Give considerations to the complaint brought to all the time.
- viii. Treat people kindly and gently. He should not subscribe them with severity and harshness.
- ix. Be a righteous leader.
- x. Be a good messenger of God.

Another set of Qualities and principles of Justice according to Danfodio quoting Al-maghili Includes:

- i. A leader must always purify his intention.
- ii. A leader must always portray good manner.
- iii. A leader should be abreast of his domain.
- iv. A leader should be cautious about public offers.
- v. It is obligatory to make inquiries about things concealed to him.
- vi. Equality before the law.
- vii. Transparency, he should not temper with state wealth.
- viii. Depositing state wealth according to the law.

Abdullahi bin folio's thoughts on political affairs which was influenced by the social circumstances of their time such as economic, political and administrative abuses prevalent in the society. His ideologies were also influenced by his Islamic knowledge. He also believed that justice and morality should always replace injustice and corruption.

In his book *Diya al-Siyasat* He perceives that: Politics is a trust. It means the realization and protection of the general welfare of mankind. Any Muslim who partakes in it must accept to work diligently day and night and therefore accept to suffer physically and intellectually all with a view of pleasing Allah and serving humanity (Bako, 1998).

Abdullahi fodio also stated in *Diya al-Sultan* that:

A leader should appoint governors who are to help him lead a state as he cannot be physically present everywhere simultaneously. Judges for settling disputes as well as messengers should be appointed by the leader. He should also appoint secretaries and establish account department, secret service department and security department. Also a trustworthy medical doctor and courageous military commanders should be provided (Abdullahi, 1984). The political thoughts of these triumvirate leaders on politics and governance and the principles they affirm based on Islamic perspective and all fall under the functions of leaders which is Good Governance, Good politics which evolves trust in political power, the idea of human rights, the relationship between the state and its people i.e. the ruler and the ruled, the protection of citizens and their properties, military might, the provision of education and basic infrastructure and the social, economic and political development of the society.

Relevance of the Triumvirate Thoughts on Contemporary Leadership in Nigeria.

The relevance of their thoughts regarding leadership in contemporary Nigeria is the emphasis on moral and incorrupt leaders who will raise the hope and patriotism of Nigerians and promote the well-being of the people and it will address the myriad agitation for resource control and state creation. Their thoughts as regard the qualities of a potential leader is centred upon the person's piety, and indifference to political position i.e. leadership should not be bestowed upon anyone who aspire for it but reverse is the case as a result of Nigeria's flawed political culture and orientation which focuses more on personal aggrandizement, dirty politics and use of power to perpetuate evil.

The triumvirate leaders have outlined a number of institutions to help in driving the policy process of the state such as

The prime minister/waziri- He shares in the planning and organization of the state.

The Governors- who are responsible to care for the spiritual and material needs of the people in their territories in the same way that the Imam does for the whole country.

The Qadi/Judges- They must be learned men, or even scholars who might have applied for the office, are responsible for the upholding of the law and securing the rights of the weak.

The commander-in-chief of the army-he is basically responsible for the conduct of war, defence of Muslims territories, and protection of ahimmis (Non- Muslims that are under the protection of the Muslim state) and so on.

Others are chief of police, Radd al- Mazalim (Ombudsman), public prayer, hisbah, the commissioner of revenues e.t.c

The above institutions are also found in the Nigerian Government such as the state governors, presidential advisers, ministers, the police, the public complaints commission, the judiciary, the military, though their functions and exercise of power defer significantly with those of the caliphate.

The machinery to be used in catering for the welfare of the people which is the machinery of the state has been devoted totally to the service of the rich and the powerful in the society while the masses are neglected in the most cruel and degrading circumstances which result in lack of basic amenities such as water supply, electricity supply, medical care, housing, good roads, good schools, securing life and properties.

The Nigerian society is a social system compounded by contested demands on access to scarce resources especially in the political and economic fields. It is a society defined by natural cleavages and man-made conflicts. Natural membership of ethnic groups and occupational specializations threatened by the expanding interest of their multiple users in the same or adjoining ecological zones, surviving administrative attributes of colonialism, states and their political administrative activities, religious practices and fanaticism, expected divergence in the identification and perception of the use of limited resources, etc. provide grounds for the emergence of conflicts. The scale and dimensions of conflicts vary according to the issues involved in relation to the cultures concerned. Nigeria has a typical socio-territorial space in which the elements of consensus, co-operation and conflicts; function to promote its continuity as a social system (Otiye and Albert, 1999: 337-338).

One of the major causes of bad leadership and governance in Nigeria is Corruption. Corruption is a major problem of Nigeria. Although, it is prevalent with varies degree of intensity across

organizations in public and private sectors, it is not to be blamed on manager of these organizations. This is because it is basically an environmental problem (Adagbabiri and Okolie (2016).

Corruption is a huge challenge in the public administration in Nigeria. It is at the core of the crisis of governance and legitimacy, the establishment of a stable democratic order, rule of law, development and welfare of citizens. Of all forms of corruption, political corruption has remained a major obstacle to national progress in Nigeria. Corruption is indeed the major explanation for the seemingly insolvable problem of poverty, diseases, hunger and general acute development tragedy in Nigeria. It has also "seriously Impeded the growth and effective utilization of resources in Africa(Ogundiya, 2014).

Corruption in Nigeria ranges from nonconformity to religious tenets. Imparted values ideas and ideas alien to our culture, ethnicity which encourages favoritism and nepotism, a weak legal system which is honored in the breeds than observance. Other causes of corruption are: poverty, illiteracy, get-rich mania, statism and wrong attitude to public property, absence of a welfare scheme which cushions effect of unemployment, retirement, large families and quest for power, double standards and low level of patriotism". These are important in themselves; it does appear that poverty is the most important single factor that promotes the wide spread of giving and taking bribes i.e illegal financial inducements in the country (Ngwube and Okoli 2013).

Politically, corruption undermines democracy, good governance and rule of law. It flouts or even subverts formal processes, undermines the legitimacy of government and such democratic values as trust and tolerance. This lack of legitimacy in turn creates enabling environment for insecurity to thrive (Okaduwa, 2007).

Conclusion

The leaders of Sokoto caliphate have no doubt played a significant and relevant role in political thoughts of Sokoto and West Africa as a whole and Their ideologies and practices can be applied to the Nigerian state but putting in to consideration that Nigeria is a secular state and circumstances and time have changed. The Nigerian society has been plagued over the years with ethnic and religious sentiments which is the core problem of our individual being.

The mere thought of a combination of the elements of ethnicity, religion and democracy is enough to send shivers down our spinal cord. They are all highly emotive issues over which blood has been spilled, nations, cultures and hopes have been extinguished and now more than ever, new wars were being plotted and executed (Kukah, 1999:94).

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