

THE STATE OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND THE LAW IN AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS

Written by *Daniel Lubowa*

Lecturer of Law, St. Augustine University of Tanzania, Mwanza, Tanzania

ABSTRACT

Some African States are grappling with issues of governance failure. This state of affairs can be traced back to the current model of democracy that the colonial masters bequeathed the Africans upon their departure. Africa's current model of Democracy is shaped by the colonial powers that ran the continent until the period of decolonization that began in the 1960's. Thereafter Africa attempted to follow the European model of Democratic Governance. This colonial legacy has had such far-reaching social, economic and political impact on the African continent. For some African countries, this legacy bequeathed them a weak State apparatus characterized by autocratic rule, human rights abuses, unequal access to opportunities for self advancement and exclusionist politics. Rather than reverse this negative legacy, some of Africa's post colonial leaders for the most part exacerbated this legacy by fermenting undemocratic tendencies; adopting uncompromising approaches to issues of national importance, marginalizing particular groups of citizenry in their respective countries, adopting disastrous economic policies and further weakening an already weak State apparatus. The consequence of such moves is the recurrent economic decline, stagnation and perennial political instability seen today in most of these African States. This article analyses the state of Democratic Governance in Africa specifically highlighting the general meaning of Democratic Governance, the existing Democratic Governance legal infrastructure in place, the development of democracy in Africa, major constraints and impediments to realization of Democratic Governance values and consequences of governance failure. The article is alive to the fact that Africa is experiencing so many Democratic Governance challenges and so it is against this unfortunate state of affairs that the article provides a way forward to Africa's continuous democratic troubles.

Keywords: Democratic Governance, Law, Constraints, Consequences, African continent

INTRODUCTION

Colonial Era Governance Undertones in Africa

Africa's Transition From Colonial to Indigenous Rule[1960's]:

States did not evolve in Africa. Colonial masters imposed them on the population, creating the territories that became modern day Africa.ⁱ The transition from colonial to indigenous rule in Africa was a process. Unfortunately, the departing colonial overlords left the reins of power in the hands of a tiny and educated but highly egoistic, conceited and self seeking African elite groups, who inherited the infrastructures that were designed for economic extraction with no tradition of accountability to those that were governed at the time.ⁱⁱ The failure to address the post colonial power structure led to the reverse wave of democratization in most of Africa.ⁱⁱⁱ The period following the attainment of independence in many African countries was not an easy sail, as the reality soon dawned on the African populace that flag independence did not necessarily entail economic independence too. This was such a rude awakening to many of the African people and ever since this time, Africa's problems have been addressed and solutions proffered, at times with considerable amounts of success and at others with little to no success at all.

Concerted Struggle for Good Governance on the African Continent [Late 1980's, Early 1990's]:

The late 1980's and 1990's were characterized by concerted struggle for democratisation and the clamour for good governance on the African continent. The thirst for freedom and justice, the political fallouts from the structural adjustment programmes and the entrenched autocratic and repressive political systems dominant in the larger part of Africa's post colonial history provided the incentive and legitimacy for many popular democratic struggles in Africa. These democratic struggles triggered constitutional and political changes and reforms in most of Africa compelling the holding of elections and granting of civil and political freedoms. Between 1996 and 2006 for instance, forty four elections were conducted in Sub-Saharan Africa and between 2005 and 2007; Twenty six presidential and Twenty eight Parliamentary elections were held in Africa.^{iv} The Democratic processes took different turns and trajectories in different African countries with different levels of progress. While elections became more regular, and other components of liberal democracy relatively improved compared to the

situation that obtained three decades earlier, the quality of democracy and governance currently still remains suspect in many of the countries on the African continent.^v Along the way many African countries experienced so many challenges and hurdles involving conflicts and disagreements, in their respective bids to achieve independence. The inability to resolve some of these issues has sustained conflict at different levels of intensity over the past thirty five years in many of Africa's States.

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE: AN OVERVIEW

'Democracy' means people-power or rule by the people.^{vi} The word comes from latin words 'demos', meaning 'common people' and 'kratos', meaning 'strength'.^{vii} Democratic Governance is the range of processes through which a society reaches consensus on and implements regulations, human rights, laws policies and social structures-in pursuit of justice, welfare and environmental protection. Policies and laws are carried out by many institutions: the legislature, judiciary, executive branch, political parties, private sector and a variety of Civil Society [CS].^{viii} In this sense, Democratic Governance brings to the fore the question of how a particular society organizes itself to ensure equality [of opportunity] and equity [social and economic justice] for all citizens. Generally Democratic Governance-the decision-making processes that translate citizens' preferences into policy actions-is a crucial component of ensuring that democracy really delivers. Between elections, citizens, must have avenues to participate in decision making processes, stay informed and hold Government accountable for its performance. Strong Democratic Governance is characterized by transparency, open dialogue, efficient regulations and effective rule of law.^{ix}

DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

African Chiefdom and Democracy:

Before Africa was colonised, the continent had its own civilization, with its own traditions and value system, political systems, organizations, religions, languages, and different means of managing and resolving conflicts. All these reflected the spirit of solidarity, harmony and peaceful co-existence for which the African people were renowned.^x In addition to this, the

continent was characterized by a large degree of pluralism and flexibility. The African continent consisted not of closed reproducing entities, equipped with unique unchanging cultures, but of more fluid units that readily incorporated outsiders [even whites] into the community as long as they accepted it's customs, and where the sense of obligation and solidarity went beyond that of the nuclear family.^{xi} An example of such inclusiveness was the *Xhosa* tribe in South Africa which limited *Xhosadom* not along ethnic or geographical lines but along political sentiments. All persons or groups who accepted the rule of the paramount Chief of this tribal entity became *Xhosa*.^{xii}

Pre-colonial African societies were of a highly varied nature. They took a Stateless, State run or Kingdom character but most were founded on the principles of communalism in that they were self-governing, autonomous entities, in that all members of these entities took part, directly or indirectly, in the daily running of the tribe's affairs. Land was held communally and could be bought or sold, though other property, such as cattle, was owned individually. In those African societies that were not Stateless, the Chiefs ran the daily affairs of the tribe together with one or more Councils. These Councils simultaneously informed the Chief, checked his powers and made policies by reaching unanimous decisions. If unanimity was not reached, a village assembly would be called to debate the issue and majority ruling would now apply. The Chief would listen silently to all queries during such meetings and every male adult was free to criticize him. The role of the Chief during such meetings was to summarise what had been said and attempt to form some sort of consensus amongst the diverse opinions, hence the African Chief did not rule or dictate but led by consensus. Many tribes, especially those that were Stateless, had no central authority and no class system, and many of those that did could depose a Chief that was thought to have abused his power.^{xiii}

Imperialism and Democracy in Africa:

When in the Nineteenth Century, imperial powers occupied the African continent; they imposed local rules on societies that had long resisted political authority. When they encountered societies that possessed Chiefs, they either displaced these rulers and imposed rulers of their own or forged opportunistic alliances with incumbent Chiefs.^{xiv} Following the global conflicts of the Twentieth Century, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic [USSR] and United States [US] took centre stage globally. While the Two great super powers clashed

ideologically and politically, they shared a disdain for Europe's political pretensions and when local political forces rallied in resistance to colonial occupation, the great powers let Europe's empires collapse and new nations rise from the political rubble.^{xv}

Following World War II, rapid decolonisation swept across the continent of Africa as many territories gained their independence from European colonization August 1941, United States[US] President, *Franklin D Roosevelt* and British Prime Minister [PM] *Winston Churchill* met to discuss their post war- goals. In that meeting, they agreed to the *Atlantic Charter*^{xvi} which in part stipulated that they would 'respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they would live and they wished to see sovereign rights and self Government restored to those whose rights had been forcibly deprived from them. This agreement became the post World War II stepping stone towards African independence and growth of nationalism throughout the African continent.

When the decolonisation process began on the African continent, there were reasons for optimism.^{xvii} The Birth of the then Organization of African Unity [OAU] in 1963 kick started the end of Africa's colonial era. At its inception, the OAU had Thirty two independent member States. They are now Fifty three. From the very beginning, the then OAU recognized the imperfections of national boundaries in Africa The Organisation made the choice that, if Africa was to remain stable, the African boundaries that existed at independence should remain inviolate. This Principle was enshrined in a 1964 resolution and has remained an OAU Policy ever since. As a founding principle, the OAU signaled its intention to 'eradicate all forms of colonialism from the African continent. Many African countries fought hard to attain their independence which they did in the 1960's.^{xviii} The year 1960 was heralded throughout Africa and the West as 'the Year of Africa' for the inspiring winds of change that swept throughout the African continent. Also, in 1960, seventeen African territories attained independence from the strong arm of European colonial rule. These Seventeen nations joined the United Nations General Assembly [UNGA] and gave a greater voice to the non-Western world.^{xix} Fully recognizing the potentiality for the remarkable change that African independence could bring to global politics, on 3rd February 1960, Great Britain's Prime Minister *Harold Macmillan*, made his famous speech, 'Winds of Change,' to the South African Parliament. In his words, he said:

'The growth of national consciousness in Africa is a political fact',

and we must accept it as such.....I believe that if we cannot do so
we may imperil the precarious balance between the East and West
which the peace of the World depends ^{xx}

Macmillan cautioned Western nations to change their behavior towards the African people to prevent the continent from ruling under the sway of the East.^{xxi}

Through the process of decolonization, that began, in most African territories, by the close of World War II, African leaders gained greater political power under European rule. In the decades following independence, African leaders worked towards shaping the cultural, political and economic character of the post-colonial State. Some of these leaders worked against the challenges of continued European cultural and political hegemony, while others worked with European powers in their respective territories to protect their interests and maintain control over economic and political resources. Decolonization then was a process as well as a historical period,^{xxii} yet the nations and regions of Africa experienced it with varying degrees of success. By 1990, formal European political control had given way to African self-rule- except in South Africa. Culturally and politically, however, the legacy of European dominance remained evident in Africa's national borders, political infrastructures, education systems, national languages, economies and trade networks of each African nation.

BASIC EXISTING LEGAL INFRASTRUCTURE ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

African Governance Legal Framework

Africa's existing basic legal regime on Democratic Governance is hinged on a number of regional human rights instruments that promote and protect Democratic Governance on the continent. Africa's Democratic Governance legal framework in its entirety is just an attempt to defeat the efforts by votaries of sovereignty to shield the abuse of power by Africa's autocrats. The whole legal infrastructure on its part fronts civil, political, economic and social rights promoting transparency, accountability, open dialogue, participation, rule of law amongst

others. These are the driving principles on which Democracy should operate in Africa. Highlighted below is Africa's basic existing legal infrastructure on Democratic Governance.

African Charter on Human and People's Rights [Banjul Charter], 1981

The *African Charter on Human and People's Rights* [also known as the *Banjul Charter*] is basically a regional human rights instrument that promotes and protects Democratic Governance rights and other basic freedoms on the African continent.^{xxiii} The *African Charter* was the first major collective effort towards taking human rights seriously in Africa.^{xxivxxv} The Charter contains the important right to self-determination. According to the Charter,

[a]ll African peoples shall have the right to existence. They shall have the unquestionable and inalienable right to self-determination. They shall freely determine their political status and shall pursue their economic and social development according to the policy they have freely chosen'.^{xxvi}

The right of a people to determine their 'political status' is a counterpart of Article 13 and involves the right of citizens to be able to choose freely those persons or party that will govern them.^{xxvii} The Charter adds a catalogue of political duties, which are at the core of political participation, and which the Charter describes as 'the obligation of solidarity'.^{xxviii} It provides that '[e]very individual shall have duties towards....society, the State and other legally recognized communities and the International community'^{xxix} He shall also have the duty *interalia*,

[T]o serve his national community by placing his physical and intellectual abilities at its service; [n]ot to compromise the security of the State whose national or resident he is; [t]o preserve and strengthen social and national solidarity, particularly when the latter is threatened; [and] [p]reserve and strengthen the national independence and territorial integrity of his country and contribute to its defence in accordance with the law....^{xxx}

Protocol on African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, 1998

The *African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights* is a continental court established by the Protocol on African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights.^{xxxix} The Protocol was adopted by member states of the then Organisation of African Unity [OAU] in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso in June 1998. The Protocol came into force in January 2004 after it was ratified by more than fifty countries. The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights was established by African countries to ensure protection of human and democratic rights of the people in Africa. The Protocol complements and reinforces the functions of the African Commission on human and peoples' rights. The Court has jurisdiction over all cases including democratic governance disputes submitted to it. Specifically, the Court has two types of jurisdiction: contentious and advisory. The Court officially started its operations in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in November 2006, but in August 2007, it moved its seat to Arusha, Tanzania where the Tanzanian Government provided it with temporary premises pending construction of a permanent structure.

Constitutive Act of the African Union, 2000

The *Constitutive Act of the African Union* sets out the codified framework under which the African Union [AU] conducts itself. The Act was signed on 11th July 2000 at Lome, Togo and entered into force after two-thirds of the fifty three signatory states ratified it. The AU Act contains many aims, some of which relate to Democratic Governance, such as the promotion of peace, security, and stability on the African continent,^{xxxix} and the promotion of democratic principles and institutions, popular participation, and good governance.^{xxxix} The Union also promotes and protects human and peoples' rights, as articulated in the *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* [ACHPR] and other relevant human rights instruments.^{xxxix} It promotes cooperation in all fields of human endeavor, in order to raise the living standards of African peoples,^{xxxv} an implicit acknowledgement that living standards are low on the African continent. Amongst the principles that underpin the AU's activities are the participation of all the African peoples in the activities of the Union;^{xxxvi} promotion of gender equality,^{xxxvii} and respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law, and good governance in Africa.^{xxxviii}

African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, 2007

The African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance [ACDEG] was adopted by the African Union [AU] in January 2007 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The Charter seeks to promote adherence by each African State party to the universal values and principles of democracy and respect for human rights premised upon the supremacy of the Constitution and constitutional order.^{xxxix} There is hope that the ratification of the Charter signals a new era in Africa based on the links between free and fair elections, good governance and promotion of the rule of law on the African continent.^{xl}

MAJOR CONSTRAINTS AND IMPEDIMENTS TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

Currently as we speak the state of democracy in Africa is dismal.^{xli} Many African countries are experiencing governance challenges such as dysfunctional Democratic Governance institutions, conflict and civil unrest, entrenched corruption, human rights violations and endemic Poverty amongst others. What has happened to Africa in the past four decades can be compared to the effects of a world war. Africa's crisis is different from anything else found anywhere in the world. No other continent is suffering such absurdities and nowhere else do institutions and skills lag so far behind the problems. No other region of the world finds itself in such a steep and steady decline as Africa, as opposed to other previously colonized continents of America and Australia. In this section, the paper highlights some of the major constraints to the realization of Democratic Governance in Africa.

Dysfunctional Democratic Governance Institutions in Africa

Africa's institutions of democracy, such as the judiciary, media, civil service, electoral systems, independent commissions, and educational institutions are necessary to Africa's democracy and development. These institutions also provide alternative voices, guaranteeing alternative mechanisms to various groups to get responses from African governments.^{xlii} Sadly, many of these institutions are dysfunctional in a majority of African States largely due to neglect. For example, in every African State, the institution of the judiciary is normally the last hope of the common person. Regrettably, Africa's judiciary is experiencing a multitude of challenges. One

of these is that the is seen not to be independent in many African States. On top of this, they are often understaffed, underfunded, and only remembered by accident, thus placing their survival at the mercy of any Government in power.

Another institution critical to the survival of democracy in Africa is the media and other means of communication. The media plays such a key roles in ensuring freedom of expression, promoting the flow of information and ideas, and assisting the African people in making informed decisions.^{xliii} Sadly, most of African media is constantly being harassed, journalists are often arbitrarily arrested and detained in many African States.^{xliv} Media houses deemed critical of African establishments are victimized, while in the same strength, there are 'inadequate legal frameworks for regulating media, especially the electronic media. Experience shows that most Government-owned media in Africa are simply mouth pieces of the Government in power, rather than services to the collective interest of the citizenry. This makes the media unbalanced and unfair in its role.

Conflict and Civil Unrest in Africa

The story of Africa is a story of a diverse culture and people who are continuously in conflict.^{xlvi} There are always stories of civil unrest in one part of Africa or another.^{xlvi} Ethnic mistrust and rivalry continues to slow down the pace of development and realization of good governance in Africa.^{xlvii} Africa' wealth is most times spent in quelling one uprising after another. From Nigeria to Zimbabwe, Rwanda to Sudan, Liberia to Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC], cases of ethnic conflict and civil unrest are constantly reported. These African nations are the more impoverished with lots of recorded abuses^{xlviii} In most cases Civil Society Organizations [CSOs] are co-opted into these conflicts and the chain of distrust widens. In some cases, the human rights communities lack the capacity to intervene and their work in the area of human rights protection suffers. Again, violence in Africa destroys the economy and the African people are all the more impoverished.^{xlix} The costs of these conflicts, both direct and indirect are numerous.¹

Entrenched Corruption in Africa

Corruption in many of Africa's States has been entrenched for decades, often through systems of patronage and nepotism.^{li}By its very nature, corruption is an abuse to all internationally

acknowledged human rights.^{lii} Corruption creates a vicious circle where human rights awareness is constantly paired with and undermined by harsh realities of poor economic and political performance. Corruption is endemic in Africa and is the defining feature of its governance.^{liii} Corruption keeps on making so many headlines in African cities such that the citizens are growing weary of bad laws, and feel powerless in relation to this monster. African Government institutions are breeding grounds of paralysis and patronage, turning a blind eye to corrupt practices.^{liv} Corruption especially political corruption is antithetical to democracy, as it denies the State of resources needed to strengthen the institutions of democracy-like the judiciary. Corruption also denies the State of resources needed to bring about democratic dividends, like good roads, communication, health facilities, and water. It denies the state of resources needed to empower the citizens-especially women-through education and other means necessary to play useful roles in the democratic processes of their countries. Corruption brings about moral decay in society and weakens that vital moral fibre that society needs for survival.^{lv} Corruption is both the cause and the consequence of political turbulence, human rights abuses and under development in many of Africa's States.^{lvi} Corruption is a challenge to everyone, and therefore action must be taken in various areas of African society to curb this monster.

Denial of Human Rights in Africa

In most of the Africa's States, the Army and Police are really misusing their powers and violating the basic human rights and fundamental rights of the people in most of the places in Africa.^{lvii} Human rights protection is the main debate in today's Africa.^{lviii} Today everywhere, there is massive violation of human rights taking place, especially in underdeveloped and developing countries of the world.^{lix} Apart from this, many people do not enjoy the basic amenities and needs which must be provided by the State to its people. People don't have proper electricity, balanced diet, good clothing, and good dwellings to live in. Most of the African people cannot even go to School because they cannot afford the exorbitant dues. When some people in Africa go to school and get successful in receiving education, they face the challenge of joblessness. Because of the massive poverty in Africa, many people especially African youth then opt for criminality.

Poverty in Africa

Poverty is the state of being extremely poor.^{lx} Poverty affects civil society in many ways undermining African democracy. Democracy hardly works in conditions where the people are poor and ignorant.^{lxi} The African continent is currently plagued by poverty ‘on a scale never known in earlier times, or even dreamed of. There are serious deprivations in many aspects of African life, as hundreds of millions of African people live in absolute poverty. Bad weather, coupled with bad leaders, has left many African people hungry. A 2002 report ‘estimates that the proportion of the population living on less than one United States [US]dollar a day in the least developed countries of Africa and this has increased continuously since 1965 up to today, rising from an average of 55.8 percent in those years to 64.9 percent in 1995-2020.^{lxii} It is submitted that poverty is a great hindrance to democracy and the enjoyment of human rights in Africa. Poverty leaves many African people susceptible to manipulations by several forces and interests.^{lxiii} Based on past experiences with past elections in Africa, the poor and illiterate may be influenced to sell their votes for a mere pittance.^{lxiv} As Acheampong once said: ‘*One man one vote is meaningless unless accompanied by one man with bread.*’ Apart from the subversion of the independence of the voter, poverty and ignorance do not provide a fertile ground for advocacy and the promotion of rights. The people are either too concerned with the practical details of where the next meal would come from.

CONSEQUENCES OF GOVERNANCE FAILURE IN AFRICA

The current narrative is that some States in Africa are experiencing governance failure. The Consequences emerging from this state of affairs are numerous and dire. With this state of affairs comes the massive discontent, civil disobedience and recurrent cycles of armed violence in some states of Africa. The impact of governance failure in Africa is manifested on Africa’s human toll, social dislocation, and African youth crisis amongst others. This section of the paper highlights some of these daunting aspects on Africa’s democracy.

The Human Toll of Governance Failure in Africa

The most visible consequence of African governance failure is seen on the toll violent conflicts have taken on Africans.^{lxv} Most noted is the alarming level of conflict related deaths and

displacement in Africa. Though estimates vary, it is generally agreed that there have been more than six million conflict related deaths in Africa since 1983. There is an estimated Twenty million conflict related displaced persons of whom fourteen million are internally displaced. These figures constitute close to three percent of Africa's total population. In the Great Lakes region and central Africa for example, they tell of a disruption of societies consisting of thousands of communities with linkages and spillovers that affect still thousands more. In Uganda, for example, internally displaced people [IDPs] account for close to three per cent of that country's population and with exponential impact on others. The problem of internal displacement has not been given the same level of international attention as the problem of refugees, i.e. the externally displaced. In Angola,^{lxvi} one out of every four, in Sudan,^{lxvii} one out of every seven and in Eritrea^{lxviii} one out of every ten persons is internally displaced and destitute. When circumstances and duration of displacement are considered, a bleaker picture emerges. Loss of dignity and diminished hope associated with prolonged displacement erodes self-confidence and optimism-predispositions that are vital for self-reliance and self-organization.^{lxix}

Social Dislocation in Africa

Linked to the enormous toll on human life and suffering is the impact of governance failure on the basic social institutions in Africa especially those such as the family and other community-level institutions.^{lxx} Governance failure and violent conflicts often lead to the dispersal of people in ways that deeply affects families. Thousands of families are never reunited. There is a problem of the erosion of values stemming in part from declining capacity of the family to function as an effective socializing agent and the collapse of school systems in many African societies. One of the most pronounced signals of the erosion of values is seen in the growing preference for the use of force and artifice than reliance on achievement through merit and mastery. Governance arrangements in Africa that are highly centralized, repressive or characterized by excessive rent seeking are more likely to offer rewards on the basis of factors other than achievement through merit. In circumstances of armed conflict, power and influence become directly related to capacity to use force and association with those who have acquired and are prepared to utilize those skills. African Children choose as models those who carry weapons rather than those who excel in education and demonstrate productive skills. Experience shows that where militia groups dominate Government, youth typically constitute an important element in governance. The roles these African youth play in violent conflicts

including warring upon their own elders and villages, earn them access to power and resources. This generational shift in authority relations exacerbates the decline of the family and further erosion of values and, together with other factors, has become constitutive of the crisis of African youth that now poses a fundamental challenge in the task of reconstituting order to ensure lasting peace and proper governance in Africa, thus, the destructive impact of governance failure in Africa and associated violent conflict on the family as a social institution is deep and profound and requires measures that go beyond what can be achieved through programs of resettlement and the reconstitution of the central State.^{lxxi}

African Youth Crisis

There is a growing body of literature on the impact of violent conflict on African youth,^{lxxii} more precisely, how African children's participation in armed conflict affects their subsequent behavior. *Gable's* study, '*Culture Development Club' in Guinea Bissau*^{lxxiii} shows how youth are a source of change by their use of traditional institutions as institutions of change. While there are many examples of youth self-organizing potentials, *Gable's* view holds more water in the sense that in Africa today, the overall trend seems to support the notion of African youth in crisis. The collapse of educational systems, high levels of youth unemployment as evidenced by the armies of idle African youth to be found in virtually all African cities,^{lxxiv} the Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome [HIV/AIDS] pandemic that is taking a toll amongst African women, children and youth, the rise in African youth criminality and of what *Ibrahim Abdullah*^{lxxv} has aptly called the political rise of the 'lumpen youth', all attest to a crisis whose depth has not been fathomed and whose consequences pose a serious threat to Africa's capacity to development and Democratic Governance ideals.^{lxxvi}

CONCLUSION

In the final analysis, some States in Africa are experiencing governance failure. Despite Africa's extensive legal regime on this aspect, the quality of democracy and governance remains poor in many of these countries on the African continent. The numerous constraints to Democratic Governance and consequences of governance failure as expounded above are testimony that matters regarding democracy in some of Africa's States are seen to take a downward spiral. This is also in addition to the fact that the respective African States' lack of

capacity to strengthen Democratic Governance in terms of Democratic institutional building and the lack of capacity of these African States to manage both the political and economic processes of their societies for developmental purposes remains such a huge challenge for many of these countries. Indeed, some scholars are arguing that the quality of governance in Africa is receding. It is due to this reason that there is therefore a need to reflect on the progress, challenges of democracy and governance project in Africa forging a way forward in this regard. Now that democracy in Africa is an illusion in some African States, it's high time that African democracy delivered on its promises; implementing legal instruments and standards on democracy; ensuring inclusive and sustainable development for all, focusing on poverty reduction and inclusive representative politics. These mentioned aspects are the very much needed core ideals that all the stake holders on the African continent need to address urgently. If harmony, peace and tranquility are to prevail on the African continent from a democratic governance front.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A.Bangura(2012) '*Lumpen Youth, Civil War and Conflict Resolution: Civil Society Before And After War in Sierra Leone,*' Journal of Sierra Leone Studies.
- '*A Brief History of Democracy and It's Benefits*', Skwirk, Available at: http://www.skwirk.com/p-c_s-18_u-492_t-1338/a-brief-history-of-democracy-and-it's-benefits/nsw[Accessed on 10th March 2018].
- '*African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*. Available at: <http://www.achpr.org/instruments/achpr/> [Accessed on 28th February 2018].
- Alhaji AhmaduI brahim(2013) '*Democracy, Political Instability and the African Crisis of Underdevelopment,*' Journal of Power, Politics and Governance, Vol.1, No.1.

- ‘*Armed Conflicts and their Consequences*’-the United Nations Available at: www.un.org/esa/socdev/rwss/docs/2001/15%20Armed%20Conflict.pdf. Accessed on 29th December 2017].
- ‘AtlanticCharter1941’, UnitedNations, Available at:www.un.org/en/sections/history-united-nations-charter/194-atlantic-charter/index.html[Accessed on 8th July 2018] – Benjamin Talton’ *The Challenge of Decolonisation in Africa*’ Temple University, African Age, Available at:exhibition.nypl.org/africanage/essay-challenge-of-decolonisation-africa.html[Accessed on 12th May 2018].
- Communication 102/93, Constitutional Rights Project and Civil Liberties Organisation v. Nigeria, in Twelfth Annual Activity Report of the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights 1998-1999, A.U.Doc.AHG/25(XXXV),AnnexV)Availableat:http://www.achpr.org/12th_Annual_Activity_Report_AHG.Pdf. p.52[Accessed on 12th July 2018].
- ‘*Decolonisation of Africa*, Available at: [https://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/...Dec/... Decolonisation-of- Africa.pdf](https://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/...Dec/...Decolonisation-of-Africa.pdf)[Accessed on 12th May 2018].
- ‘*DefinePoverty*,’DictionaryCom,Availableat:www.dictionary.com/browse/poverty[Accessed on 3rd January2018].
- ‘*Democracy*’ Retrieved from: Online Etymology Dictionary [Accessed on 22nd August 2017].
- ‘*Democratic Governance*, Cipe, Available at: <http://www.cipe.org/topic/democratic-governance>,[Accessed on 20 th July 2017].
- Elabadawi(2000) ‘*Why Are There So Many Wars In Africa*’-World Bank Group.

- E Gable(2000)'*The Culture Development Club: Youth,*' Available at: Neo-Tradition.muse.jhu/article/2066/article /2066/pdf.[Accessed on 21st January 2018].
- Elias Papaioanneou and Stelios Michalopoulos (2010)' *Divide and Rule or the Rule of the Divided? The Effect of National and Ethnic Institutions on African Development,* 'VOX CEPR's Policy Portal.
- Eloa El-Obaid(1996)'*Human Rights In Africa' A New Perspective,* Mc Gill Law Journal.
- Emome Ezekiel Eregha(2007)' *Democratic Governance and Development in Africa: Challenges of African Union* ', Journal of Social Sciences, Vol.14, Issue 3.
- Erin Mc Candless and Tony Karbo(2011)'*Peace, Conflict and Development in Africa: A Reader,* University of Switzerland.
- Frank Myers(2000)' *Harold Macmillan's Winds of Change Speech: A Case Study in the Rhetoric of Policy Change* Vol.3, No.4, Michigan State University Press.
- Harold Macmillan (2011)'*The Winds of Change,*' African Year Book of Rhetoric 2,3.
- *Internally Displaced Camps In Eritrea* ', ICC Briefing No.1 Available at: http://reliefweb.int/...eritrea/icc_briefing-no-1-internally-displaced-persons-idp-camp[Accessed on 4th February 2018].
- Jeffrey Brian Peires(1976)'*A History of the Xhosa c 1700-1885*' (Master of Arts thesis)Rhodes University, South Africa.
- M. Rafiqul. Islam' *The Sudanese Darfur Crisis and Internally Displaced Persons in International Law: The Least Protection for the Most Vulnerable,*' International Law Journal of Refugee Law, Vol.18 Issue 2.

- Nancy Annan(2014)' *Violent Conflicts and Civil Strife in West Africa: Causes, Challenges and Prospects*, International Journal of Security and Development, 3(1).
- Nico Carpentier Culture (2015)' *Trauma and Conflict: Cultural Studies Perspectives On War*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Nsongura J. Udombana(2003)' *Articulating the Right to Democratic Governance in Africa*, 'Michigan Journal of International Law, Vol.24, Issue 4, University of Lagos, Nigeria.
- Peter Von Doepp and Daniel J. Young (2012)' *Assaults on the Fourth Estate: Explaining Media Harassment in Africa* Journal of Politics, Vol.15. No.1.
- ' *Population and Poverty In Sub-Saharan Africa* ' (1985)Habitat International.
- 'Pre-colonialAfrica,' Available at: <https://stiffkitten.wordpress.com/2010/08/13/pre-colonial-africa/> [Accessed on 15th July 2018].
- Richard Lee(2012)' *African Charter on Democracy: New Era For Democracy In Africa* ', Open Society Initiative For Southern Africa(OSISA) Available at: www.osisa.org/hrdb/regional/new-era-democracy-africa,para2 [Accessed on 3rd February 2018].
- Robert H. Bates (2010) ' *Democracy in Africa: A Very Short History* ' Social Research: An International Quarterly, Johns Hopkins University Press, Vol.77, No.4.
- R Keeley(2003)' *Understanding Landmines and Mine Action* '-MIT, Available at: mit.edu/demining/assignment/understanding-landmines.pdf [Accessed on 23rd November 2017].
- Sam Agera(2001)' *Promoting Good Governance Principles, Practices and Perspectives*, Common Wealth Bookshop.

- Stacy Ann Elvy(2013)'*The African Charter on Democracy , Elections and Governance*' Emory International Law Review, Vol.27.
- Steven W. Sinding, '*Population, Poverty and Economic Development*' The Royal Society Publishing. Available at: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2781831> 1[Accessed on 4th January 2018].
- TF Azeng(2013)' *Youth Unemployment and Political Instability In Selected Developing Countries*', Working Paper Series No.171, Available at : [www.gsdrc.org/.../youth-unemployment-and-political-instability-in selected-Countries](http://www.gsdrc.org/.../youth-unemployment-and-political-instability-in-selected-Countries)[Accessed on 9th February 2018].
- Timothy K. Kuhner, (2012)'*The Democracy to Which We Are Entitled: Human Rights and the Problem of Money In Politics*' Harvard Human Rights Journal, Vol.26. No.1, George State University College of Law, Legal Studies Research Paper No.2013-01.
- '*The Causes of Conflict in Africa*' (2001), Department for International Development, 94, Victoria Street, London, United Kingdom, p.7
- '*The Economies of Violence-Conflict and Poverty*,' The Economist Magazine, 28th October 2016.
- '*The War Is Over: The Crisis of Angola's Internally Displaced Continues*' (2002)A Human Rights Watch Background Briefing Paper, Popline, Available at: <https://www.popline.org/node/242453>[Accessed on 12th July 2018].
- '*Two Decades of Democracy and Governance in Africa: Lessons Learned, Challenges and Prospects*' CODESR IA, Available at: www.codesria.org/spip.php?article1219[Accessed on 20th March, 2014].
- Vito Tanzi(1998)'*Corruption Around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope and Cures*: International Monetary Fund, WP/98/63.

- ‘What is Corruption?’ Available at: www.transparency.org. [Accessed on 12th December 2017].

ENDNOTES

ⁱ Nsongura J. Udombana(2003) ‘Articulating the Right to Democratic Governance in Africa’, *Michigan Journal of International Law*, Vol.24, Issue 4, University of Lagos, Nigeria, p 1214.

ⁱⁱ Ibid, Nsongura J. Udombana(2003).

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid.

^{iv} ‘Two Decades of Democracy and Governance in Africa: Lessons Learned, Challenges and Prospects’ CODESRIA, Available at: www.codesria.org/spip.php?article 1219 [Accessed on 20th March, 2014].

^v Ibid, *Two Decades of Democracy and Governance in Africa: Lessons Learned, Challenges and Prospects*

^{vi} ‘A Brief History of Democracy and It’s Benefits’, Skwirk, Available at: http://www.skwirk.com/p-c_s-18_u-492_t-1338/a-brief-history-of-democracy-and-it-s-benefits/nsw [Accessed on 10th March 2018].

^{vii} ‘Democracy’ Retrieved from: Online Etymology Dictionary [Accessed on 22nd August 2017].

^{viii} ‘Democratic Governance’, Cipe, Available at : <http://www.cipe.org/topic/democratic-governance>, [Accessed on 20th July 2017].

Also See Sam Agera(2001) ‘Promoting Good Governance Principles, Practices and Perspectives’, Common Wealth Bookshop.

^{ix} Ibid: ‘Democratic Governance’. Cipe

^x See Elias Papaioanneou and Stelios Michalopoulos (2010) ‘Divide and Rule or the Rule of the Divided? The Effect

of National and Ethnic Institutions on African Development’, *VOX CEPR’s Policy Portal*.

^{xi} ‘Pre colonial Africa,’ Available at: <https://stiffkitten.wordpress.com/2010/08/13/pre-colonial-africa/> [Accessed on 15th July 2018].

^{xii} See Jeffrey Brian Peires(1976) ‘A History of the Xhosa c 1700-1885’ (Master of Arts thesis) Rhodes University, South Africa.

^{xiii} Supra, ‘Pre-colonial Africa’

^{xiv} Robert H. Bates(2010) ‘Democracy in Africa: A Very Short History’ *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Vol.77, No.4, pp.1133-1148.

^{xv} Ibid, Robert H. Bates(2010) ‘Democracy in Africa: A Very Short History’

^{xvi} Atlantic Charter 1941, United Nations, Available at: www.un.org/en/sections/history-united-nations-charter/194-atlantic-charter/index.html [Accessed on 8th July 2018] –Two leaders issued a joint declaration to be known in history as the Atlantic Charter. This document was not a treaty between the two powers. Nor was it a final and

formal expression of peace aims. It was only an affirmation, as the document declared ‘Of certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they based their hopes for a better future for the world.

^{xvii} See ‘Decolonisation of Africa’, Available at: <https://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/...Dec/...Decolonisation-of-Africa.pdf> [Accessed on 12th May 2018].

^{xviii} ‘The Causes of Conflict in Africa’ (2001), Department For International Development, 94, Victoria Street, London, United Kingdom, p.7

^{xix} Benjamin Talton ‘The Challenge of Decolonization in Africa’ Temple University, African Age, Available at : exhibition.nypl.org/africanage/essay-challenge-of-decolonisation-africa.html [Accessed on 12th May 2018].

^{xx} Harold Macmillan(2011) ‘The Winds of Change,’ *African Year Book of Rhetoric* 2,3, pp.27-39.

^{xxi} See Frank Myers(2000) ‘Harold Macmillan’s Winds of Change Speech: A Case Study in the Rhetoric of Policy Change’ Vol.3, No.4, Michigan State University Press, pp 555-575.

^{xxii} Supra Benjamin Talton.

^{xxiii} African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights. Available at: <http://www.achpr.org/instruments/achpr/> [Accessed on 28th February 2018].

^{xxiv} Supra, Nsongurua J. Udombana(2003) p.1253.

^{xxv} Ibid.

^{xxvi} Art 20(1), African Charter

^{xxvii} See Communication 102/93, Constitutional Rights Project and Civil Liberties Organisation v. Nigeria, in Twelfth Annual Activity Report of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights 1998-1999, A.U.Doc.AHG/2 5(XXXV), Annex V) Available at: http://www.achpr.org/12th_Annual_Activity_Report_AHG.Pdf. p.52 [Accessed on 12th July 2018].

^{xxviii} Art.10(2) *African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights*.

^{xxix} Ibid, Art 27(1).

^{xxx} Ibid, Art 29.

^{xxxi} Art 1, *Protocol on African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights*.

^{xxxii} Art 3(f) at 484, *Constitutive Act of the African Union*.

^{xxxiii} Ibid, Art.3(g).

^{xxxiv} Ibid, Art 3(h).

^{xxxv} Ibid., Art 3(k).

^{xxxvi} Ibid, Art 4©

^{xxxvii} Ibid, Art 4(1) at 485.

^{xxxviii} Ibid, Art 4(m).

^{xxxix} Stacy Ann Elvy(2013) '*The African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance*' Emory International Law Review, Vol.27.

^{xl} Richard Lee(2012) '*African Charter on Democracy: New Era For Democracy In Africa*', Open Society Initiative For Southern Africa(OSISA) Available at: www.osisa.org/hrdb/regional/new-era-democracy-africa,para2 [Accessed on 3rd February 2018].

^{xli} Emome Ezekiel Eregha(2007) '*Democratic Governance and Development in Africa: Challenges of African Union*', Journal of Social Sciences, Vol.14, Issue 3, pp 205-214.

^{xlii} Supra, Nsongurua J. Udombana(2003).

^{xliii} Supra, Nsongurua J. Udombana(2003), p.1274.

^{xliv} Peter Von Doepp and Daniel J. Young(2012) '*Assaults on the Fourth Estate: Explaining Media Harassment in Africa*' Journal of Politics, Vol.15. No.1, pp.36-51.

^{xlv} Elabadawi(2000) '*Why Are There So Many Wars In Africa*-World Bank Group.

^{xlvi} Ibid.

^{xlvii} Erin Mc Candless and Tony Karbo(2011) '*Peace, Conflict and Development in Africa: A Reader*', University of Switzerland.

^{xlviii} Nancy Annan(2014) '*Violent Conflicts and Civil Strife in West Africa: Causes, Challenges and Prospects*', International Journal of Security and Development, 3(1), p.3.

^{xlix} '*The Economies of Violence-Conflict and Poverty*,' The Economist Magazine, 28th October 2016.

^lThe cost of armed conflict in twenty three sub-Saharan African countries between 1990 and 2005 has been placed at US two eighty four billion. This is an average of US eighteen billion per year and represents an average loss of fifteen percent of GDP, which is one-and-a-half times the average African spending on health and education combined. These macroeconomic impacts are massive, but do not tell the story of the dramatic human impacts in affected regions. Compared with peaceful countries, sub-Saharan African countries in conflict have on average fifty percent more infant deaths; fifteen percent more undernourished people; twenty percent more adult illiteracy; and two point five fewer doctors per person. In addition, Government spending, which could have otherwise been directed to social sectors, goes into military spending during times of conflict.

^{li} Supra Hilal Ahnmad Wani,(2014).

^{lii} '*What is Corruption?*' Available at: www.transparency.org. [Accessed on 12th December 2017].

^{liii} Supra Nsongurua J. Udombana(2003)' p.1282.

^{liv} Ibid.

^{lv} Ibid.

^{lvi} Vito Tanzi(1998) '*Corruption Around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope and Cures*: International Monetary Fund, WP/98/63.

^{lvii} Supra, Hubert Williams, '*Core Factors of Police Corruption around the World*'.

^{lviii} Eloa El-Obaid(1996) '*Human Rights In Africa*' A New Perspective, Mc Gill Law Journal.

- ^{lix} Supra Hubert Williams, *Core Factors of Police Corruption around the World*.
- ^{lx} 'Define Poverty,' Dictionary Com, Available at: www.dictionary.com/browse/poverty [Accessed on 3rd January 2018].
- ^{lxi} Also see Steven W. Sinding, 'Population, Poverty and Economic Development' The Royal Society Publishing. Available at: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC27818311> [Accessed on 4th January 2018]. Also See 'Population and Poverty In Sub-Saharan Africa' (1985) Habitat International.
- ^{lxii} Supra, Nsongurua J. Udombana (2003) p.1277.
- ^{lxiii} Ibid.
- ^{lxiv} Timothy K. Kuhner, (2012) 'The Democracy to Which We Are Entitled: Human Rights and the Problem of Money in Politics' Harvard Human Rights Journal, Vol.26. No.1, George State University College of Law, Legal Studies Research Paper No.2013-01.
- ^{lxv} 'Armed Conflicts and their Consequences'-the United Nations Available at: www.un.org/esa/socdev/rwss/docs/2001/15%20Armed%20Conflict.pdf. [Accessed on 29th December 2017].
- ^{lxvi} 'The War Is Over: The Crisis of Angola's Internally Displaced Continues' (2002) A Human Rights Watch Background Briefing Paper, Popline, Available at: <https://www.popline.org/node/242453> [Accessed on 12th July 2018].
- ^{lxvii} M. Rafiqul. Islam 'The Sudanese Darfur Crisis and Internally Displaced Persons in International Law: The Least Protection for the Most Vulnerable,' International Law Journal of Refugee Law, Vol.18 Issue 2 pp 345- 385.
- ^{lxviii} 'Internally Displaced Camps In Eritrea', ICC Briefing No.1 Available at: http://reliefweb.int/...eritrea/icc_briefing-no-1-internally-displaced-persons-idp-camp [Accessed on 4th February 2018].
- ^{lxix} R Keeley (2003) 'Understanding Landmines and Mine Action'-MIT, Available at: mit.edu/demining/assignment/understanding-landmines.pdf [Accessed on 23rd November 2017].
- ^{lxx} Nico Carpentier Culture (2015) 'Trauma and Conflict: Cultural Studies Perspectives On War', Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- ^{lxxi} Alhaji Ahmadu Ibrahim (2013) 'Democracy, Political Instability and the African Crisis of Underdevelopment', Journal of Power, Politics and Governance, Vol.1, No.1.
- ^{lxxii} TF Azeng (2013) 'Youth Unemployment and Political Instability In Selected Developing Countries', Working Paper Series No.171, Available at: www.gsdrc.org/.../youth-unemployment-and-political-instability-in-selected-Countries [Accessed on 9th February 2018].
- ^{lxxiii} E Gable (2000) 'The Culture Development Club: Youth,' Available at: Neotradition.muse.jhu/article/2066/article/2066/pdf. [Accessed on 21st January 2018].
- ^{lxxiv} Supra, TF Azeng (2013).
- ^{lxxv} A. Bangura (2012) 'Lumpen Youth, Civil War and Conflict Resolution: Civil Society Before And After War in Sierra Leone,' Journal of Sierra Leone Studies, In Abdullah Ibrahim (ed) (2004).
- ^{lxxvi} Supra, Amos Sawyer, (2003) p.3.