

DEMOCRATIC CULTURE, RULE OF LAW AND DESECRATION OF THE ALTER OF NATIONHOOD IN AFRICA

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Introduction

Man, as *Homo sapiens* is created with inherent values and instincts to live a gregarious life. These values persistently find full expression in contrived social relations prevalent in a given society. Thus, as man consistently engages in absorbing search for the needs of the stomach and extension of self-esteem, he constantly seeks to impose his values and predispositions on other social actors during the process of production and reproduction of his social and material existence. Therefore, from the cradle through the dark ages, classical era, Middle Ages to the modern civilization, man had sought and he is indeed seeking to emplace a social order where his innate and group interests is served. Arising from the foregoing, man, quite often, through the platform of his social group and immediate units regenerate clashing and splashing interests tailored towards self-reproduction, survival, extension and preservation. Naturally, when these social nucleuses expand into far-flung arena for group domination, there arose various slants of clashes of civilization, war, enmity, contestations and dominance.

The above abstraction underscores the nature of social relations, pattern of political organization and meanings ascribed to a subsisting political institution in a given polity. Therefore, as the gregarious instincts in man find expression in association of man and woman producing a family, village, town fiefdoms, empires, kingdoms, states, countries, regions and continents, the primary purveyor, as propelled by human values, preference, idiosyncrasies and motivations continue to shape the content, substance and intensity of welfare

needs, reward system and character of governance in a given polity.

Therefore, democracy as we have it today in various socio-formations may appear uniform in terms of the basic principles. But these principles are elastic in terms of its appreciation and applications in various polities. Thus, the end product of democracy as conceived reflect largely the whims and caprices of the actors that give meaning and expression to the concept and its contraption. Specifically, democracy is an aggregate of clashing and splashing values arising from man's inherent desires which, in the long run, conduce into 'mental constructed normative practices' that are foisted feigned to serve as 'collectively reasoned and accepted mode of political organization'. However, in general and contemporary political conception and as stated in the history of democracy in Wikipedia: The Free Press Encyclopedia:

Democracy is conceived as a political system, or a system of decision-making within an institution, organization, or state, in which all members have an equal share of power. Modern democracies are characterized by two capabilities of their citizens that differentiate them fundamentally from earlier forms of government: to intervene in society and have their sovereign (e.g., their representatives) held accountable to the international laws of other governments of their kind. Democratic government is commonly juxtaposed with oligarchic and monarchic systems, which are ruled by a minority and a sole monarch respectively.

In addition, democracy is generally conceived as government that derives from the wishes, expectations and instrumentalities of the people. Thus, democratic government derives from the norms, ideals and cultural values of the dominant actors that define social relations. Therefore, no factual and empirical discussions of democracy can validly be achieved without understanding cultural and material variants associated with established culture and practices. In this paper attempts shall be made to establish the link between democratic culture and level of observance of the rule of law and how these impact on the level of development of nationhood in Africa.

Democracy and Democratic Culture in Africa

Culture, simply put, is the totality of the way of life of the people. It encompasses the values, norms, tradition and shared belief system of the given population. Hence it is the aggregation of those elements which give life to the functioning of a system. To understand a system or society, one needs a

thorough study of a culture. As a system, democracy is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote (Schumpeter, 1943). It is also seen as a type of governance mechanism in which power and civic responsibility are exercised by all qualified adult citizens, directly, or indirectly through their freely elected representatives. According to Diamond, democracy is, literally, rule by the people. The term is derived from the Greek *dēmokratia*, which was coined from *dēmos* ("people") and *kratos* ("rule") in the middle of the 5th century BCE to denote the political systems then existing in some Greek city-states, notably Athens. Fundamentally, Diamond highlighted the various meanings of democracy as follows:

1. a system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives: "a system of parliamentary democracy".
2. a state governed under a system of democracy: "a multiparty democracy".
3. control of an organization or group by the majority of its members: "the intended extension of industrial democracy".
4. the practice or principles of social equality: "demands for greater democracy" of government in which all citizens.

The key elements of democracy as enumerated by Diamond include:

1. A political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections.
2. The active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life.
3. Protection of the human rights of all citizens.
4. A rule of law, in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

Thus, democracy gives people the right, privilege and power to decide or determine their fate in the decision-making process. In other words, all the people should be able to have their say in one or another in everything that affects their lives. Democracy is not only a system of government; it is the way of life. Clearly put, democracy as a system is anchored on a cultural platform. Democratic culture is a sum total of ideas, norms, and practices that guide the smooth operations and functioning of democratic process and its linkage with the wider society. It is the set of cultural elements created by members of the democratic community or movement as part of their endeavor to build or consolidate a democratic system.

Within the context of this study, an evaluation of democratic culture in Africa would be pursued under the under-listed variables:

1. Participation
2. Election
3. Rule of law
4. Sovereignty
5. Social Justice

Participation: Democracy unlike despotic rule presupposes participatory governance – it avails people the opportunity to *participate* directly or indirectly in decisions that affect their existence. As rightly argued by Verba & Nie (1972, 1), “where few take part in decisions there is little democracy; the more participation there is in decisions, the more democracy there is”. Participation is a major ingredient, hallmark, beauty and by extension, the defining character of democracy. Indeed, the extent and scope of political participation are important-perhaps even more decisive-criteria for evaluating the quality of democracy. Within the minimalist purview, participation is the range of processes and different mechanisms through which people within a given political community express opinions-and ideally wield influence—regarding social, economic and political decisions. Similarly, it is a broad range of activities through which people develop and express their opinions on the world and how it is governed, and try to take part in and shape decisions that affect their lives (Khasnabis et al. 2010). These activities include but limited to voting in elections, protests (civil disobedience), public consultations, joining political parties, petitioning, contesting an election, boycotting etc.

In Africa, democracy is infiltrating and swiftly dismantling established authoritarian regimes across the length and breadth of the continent in the last two decades. Currently, about 25 African countries though at varying degrees are currently practicing democracy, providing platforms for people to take part in decisions that affect their wellbeing. Even many established authoritarian regimes in the continent are conducting parliamentary elections with a view to availing the citizens the opportunity to take part in deciding their fate in the polity. Between 1999 and 2017, 187 presidential/prime ministers’ polls and 170 national parliamentary elections were held in several parts of Africa. Although in most cases, these elections particularly in the non-democratic societies were held to create a semblance of democracy in Africa, they have contributed immensely in arousing the consciousness of the people to demand for good governance and inclusion in the decision making and implementation

processes.

In the same vein, people have participated in shaping public policy decisions in Africa through civil disobedience. The last two decades have witnessed eruption and intensification in protests across the continent. As seen in Fig. 1, a total of 86,486 riots and protests were recorded across the continent between 1997 and 2021 (Sanches, 2022). A further breakdown indicates that 67% of all the riots and protests occurred in a handful of countries, namely South Africa (16.2%), Algeria (9.6%), Tunisia (8.9%), Nigeria (8.5%), Egypt (6.6%), Morocco (5.1%), Democratic Republic of Congo (4.3%), Kenya (4.3%), and Sudan (4.3%). Similarly, more than 90% of the 86,486 riots and protests recorded in Africa between 1997 and 2021 have taken place since 2010 (Sanches, 2022). In 2010, a wave of prodemocracy uprising popularly known as Arab Spring erupted in Tunisia and further spread in Burkina Faso, Egypt, Sudan and Senegal. These protests brought to an end the long-term leadership of presidents Zine El Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia, Muhammad Hosni El Sayed Mubarak of Egypt, Blaise Compaoré of Burkina Faso, Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal and Omar Bashir of Sudan. In fact, nearly 19,816 major protests were registered across the continent between 2011 and 2016 (Mueller, 2018).

Normally, protests are inspired or instigated by peoples' discontent with the prevailing socioeconomic cum political realities. Today's Africa presents a startling paradox – a continent richly endowed in natural resources yet, its people, particularly the youths continue to live in abject poverty due to growing unemployment. Africa has a growing youth population often described as ticking bomb mainly due to rising unemployment and lack of opportunities. A study by Maganga (2020, p.1) notes that:

By 2019, almost 60% of Africa's population was estimated to be under the age of 25 years, making Africa the world's youngest continent. According to United Nations (UN) demographic projections, the median age in Africa in 2020 is 19.8 years. Almost 16 million young Africans – around 13.4% of the total labour force of 15–24-year-olds – are unemployed, more than 40% of young Africans consider their current living situation to be very bad or fairly bad, and 60% of Africans (especially youth) think that their governments are doing a very bad or fairly bad job at addressing the needs of young people. Young people are not represented well and are marginalized and excluded from development processes in many African countries.

Beyond the foregoing, other issues such as growing economic inequality, the implementation of austerity measures, excruciating economic conditions, high cost of living, perceived decline in the quality of representative democracy, environmental rights, bad government performance, climate crisis, political and civil rights abuses, pandemic-induced economic hardship and authoritarianism. Presently, the COVID-19 pandemic is causing extraordinary and multidimensional challenges that have instigated further protests, despite government restrictions on freedom of assembly (Sanchez, 2022).

Generally, the level and scope of participation as an element of democratic culture is expanding in Africa, and this development is attributed to increased access to internet and other digital devices and innovations. Specifically, social media platforms have become a dominant factor in African electoral processes (Ndlela, 2020), radically transforming the conventional approaches to electioneering, party financing, and grassroots mobilization. People particularly the youths leverage social media instruments and tools to create awareness and support candidates during elections. Despite the low penetration of internet in Africa, Gibaja (2020) observed that the use of social media largely influenced the outcome of national elections in South Africa, Tunisia and Nigeria in 2019. Similarly, various internet platforms like blogging and social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp, and Instagram were used to mobilize and organize several popular protests including the Occupy Nigeria, *Y'en a Marre* (Fed Up) of Senegal, *#EndSars* of Nigeria, *Le Balai Citoyen* (The Citizen's Broom) of Burkina Faso, the *#FeesMustFall* movement of South Africa and the Forces of Freedom and Change of Sudan (Maganga, 2020). These protests are manifestations of widespread injustice, repression, irresponsiveness, corruption, government's highhandedness, inequality, misgovernance, human rights abuses, and socio-economic dysfunctionality in the system. Although the Nigeria's *#EndSars* protest was initially seen as a demonstration against police brutality, it was actually an aggregation of peoples' disenchantment with underdevelopment, corruption and government's insensitivity of the plights of the citizens. However, participation in Africa is limited by compromised electoral and political choices, rising poverty, fragile and compromised civil society organizations, prevalence of hybrid democracy, and militarization of the democratic space.

Election: As noted previously, one of the ways in which people participate in deciding their fate in a democratic system is through election. Competitive election is a critical part of democracy, and most importantly, an essential condition for the sustenance of liberal democracy. Democratic deepening at

least at the theoretical level involves, in part, improvement in the conduct of free, fair, regular and competitive elections (Okolie et al., 2021). Electoral democracy on its part stipulates the *modus operandi* for selecting candidates for elective positions through multiparty, regular and competitive elections. This is perhaps important, because it is believed that a competitive, regular and multiparty system creates and promotes a platform for participation, legitimacy, and orderly succession, germane for democratic survival (Omotola, 2010). Omotola (2010) acknowledges that the regularity, openness and legitimacy of elections signal whether basic constitutional, attitudinal and behavioural foundations are being laid for sustainable democratic governance.

As noted previously, over 370 national elections including presidential/prime ministers' and parliamentary, were held across Africa between 1999 and 2017. These elections afforded the citizens the opportunity to either participate as candidates or voters. Secondly, successive polls have led to a successful transfer of power from one elected government to another. However, elections in Africa likewise other fledgling democracies are usually flawed and marred by irregularities due to high-stakes associated with contestations in the region. These include vote-buying, intimidation of voters, snatching of ballot boxes, the militarization of polls, rigging, falsification of election results and under-age voting (Okolie et al., 2021). They are further characterized by deliberate exclusion of election candidates from participation through various acts of violence, hate speeches, electoral violence, mudslinging, and imposition of preferred candidates by political godfathers. This trend has produced a disastrous outcome and eroded the credibility and sanctity of electoral democracy in Nigeria.

Most importantly, the lack of autonomy of the election management bodies and associated meddlesomeness of the local politicians in the elections as well as the seeming connivance of the commission in providing tacit support to the ruling parties have undermined electoral processes in Nigeria. A lack of internal democracy at party levels facilitates the monopolization of party machinery by godfathers, leading to the emergence of mediocre party candidates. The absence of an internal mechanism for the resolution of disputes has heightened tensions and resulted in numerous litigations against political parties by disenfranchised members. In other words, electoral outcomes in Africa do not necessarily reflect the wishes of the majority; in most cases they are either product of compromised process or ethno-religious considerations. Flawed elections are known to generate legitimacy crisis.

The Rule of Law: Democratic political systems operate under the rule of law. In other words, the rule of law is the foundation, building block, an indispensable tool and beauty of democratic governance. It is a universal value and the United Nations General Assembly often recognizes rule of law, human rights and democracy as universal and inseparable values of the United Nations. In fact, the rule of law sits at the heart of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16 which calls upon Member States to 'Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. Specifically, SDG target 16.3 supports the advancement of the rule of law at both the national and international levels to ensure equal access to justice for all. Generally, the rule of law is a set of democratic governance principles or values for maintaining an orderly and just society. It refers to a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public or private, including the state itself, are accountable to laws that publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independent, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards. It requires, as well, measures to ensure adherence to the principles of supremacy of law, equality before the law, accountability to the law, fairness in the application of law, separation of powers, participation in decision-making, legal certainty, avoidance of arbitrariness and procedural and legal transparency.

Most constitutions in some democratic African states recognize and accommodate the principles of rule of law. However, there is wide gulf between the recognition and the actual practice. This is because states in Africa are bereft of strong state institutions that adhere to the tenets of rule of law. Rather, African states parade strong individual who are above the law. The erstwhile US President Barack Obama while addressing the Ghanaian Parliament during a courtesy visit to Ghana in 2009, made the following remarks: *"No country is going to create wealth if its leaders exploit the economy to enrich themselves, or police can be bought off by drug traffickers. No business wants to invest in a place where the government skims 20 per cent off the top, or the head of the Port Authority is corrupt. No person wants to live in a society where the rule of law gives way to the rule of brutality and bribery. That is not democracy, that is tyranny, and now is the time for it to end. Africa doesn't need strong men; it needs strong institutions"*. In Africa, the three branches of government (the legislature, executive and judiciary) experienced shrinkage, deterioration, or disintegration. A domineering executive was over and over again the problem. The men in power usually corralled the legislature and

turned it into a rubber stamp. The judiciary is seen as an extension of the executive and served at its whims and discretions. Government businesses are shrouded in secrecy and the fourth estate of realm is gagged. In fact, concepts of accountability and transparency which are key components of rule of law are non-existent.

In the latest report published by the World Justice Project as seen in fig. 2, only six countries (Rwanda, Namibia, Mauritius, Botswana, South Africa, Senegal, Ghana, Malawi & Burkina Faso) scored between 0.62 and 0.50 in the global Rule of Law ranking index in 2021. Others were seen to have performed poorly in the global ranking, having scored below average. The rankings were based on eight factors including, constraints on government powers; absence of corruption; open government; fundamental rights; order and security; regulatory enforcement; civil justice; and criminal justice. In fact, the highest ranked country in the continent (Rwanda) scored 44 out of 137 countries used for the study. Meanwhile, the Democratic Republic of Congo occupied the last position in the global ranking. Whereas countries like Denmark and Norway scored 0.9, occupying first and second positions respectively in the global ranking. The implication of this data is that the greater number of African states does not adhere to the principles and tenets of rule of law, perhaps, due to the prevalence of hybrid regimes across the continent. Strict application of the principles in Africa is constrained by poverty and exclusion, shrinking civil space, lack of judicial autonomy, and state legitimacy crisis.

Sovereignty: In a typical democratic setting, the power of the state is deemed to reside with the people. This is because state's authority is derivative and sustained by the consent of the people, who through periodic elections determine those to steer the machinery of governance. At the theoretical level, the elected representatives are seen to be holding fort the governance of the state on behalf of the people, and by this reason, are meant to be responsible and accountable to those who exercise the ultimate. While this may be feasible in the advanced democracies, this reality does not pertain to most fledging and hybrid democracies where electoral outcomes are usually contested. Africa's chequered history of elections is mostly fraught with irregularities and flaws including rigging, falsification of election results, militarized polls, snatching of ballot boxes and intimidation of voters. What can be deduced from this scenario is that since electoral outcome in Africa do not mirror political choices of the majority, the popular sovereignty is no longer with the people. The few ruling elites have usurped and appropriated the popular sovereignty to themselves.

This explains why African leaders remain unaccountable to the people. It has been common to differentiate between ethno-cultural and civic-republican conceptions of nationhood. The latter are based on citizens sharing political values and ideas, such as **equality and freedom**, whereas the former depend on shared belonging in terms of, for example, ethnicity, language, and religion.

National values, on the other hand, have been defined as standards, principles of good behaviour. Thus, national values imply behaviour, attitude exhibited and encouraged by members of the society for the fact that they are both good and desirable to mankind generally as against those behaviours condemned and discouraged. National values can be defined as a representation of the paramount values upheld throughout the common cultural experience of the nation. It is a common knowledge that if any society, nation or state must succeed, she must have certain core values to which she attaches considerable significance. In Nigeria it is generally accepted that the core values of the Nigeria nation inherent in a democracy is respect for the rights and differences of others. There are, however, certain values which citizens of a democracy should internalize if that democracy is to survive. These core values include such values as a belief in the worth and dignity of every human being, personal freedom, equity and justice for all, discipline, integrity, dignity of labour, social justice, religious tolerance, patriotism, self-reliance and a sense of responsibility for and brotherhood with one's fellows. The core values also include: respect for certain governmental principles such as rule of law, due process of law, equal right under the law and the idea of government by representation and consent. It is obvious that consciousness of obligations towards upholding national values inculcates much to citizens beyond the prescribed political freedom and also encourages the development of social behaviours that are beneficial to the society. This explains why maintaining our national values through the identification of the custodians of these values, their roles in promoting national development must attract high level of commitment from all stakeholders involved in the progressive development in Nigeria. The sustainability of these national values will contribute meaningfully not only to national development but will also assist in proffering genuine and workable solutions to various challenges in the country, hence, this study.

Democracy and Fungibility of Nationhood

A nation fundamentally refers to a political entity built on a foundation of cultural affinity. In the modern lexicon, some supposedly State is classified as nation, though erroneously, largely because the political class who craft the

concept believed that a lot has been done to douse ethnic affinities. Hence, the argument remains that over the years ethno-regional claims has given way to a strong feeling of filial bond and ties arising from high intensity of cultural secularization. Thus, such policies are classified as nation-state and/or state-nation.

In the same vein, Wikipedia stated that:

A nation is a community of people formed on the basis of a combination of shared features such as language, history, ethnicity, culture and/or society. A nation is thus the collective identity of a group of people understood as defined by those features. Some nations are equated with ethnic groups (see ethnic nationalism) and some are equated with affiliation to a social and political constitution (see civic nationalism and multiculturalism). A nation is generally more overtly political than an ethnic group. A nation has also been defined as a cultural-political community that has become conscious of its autonomy, unity and particular interests. The consensus among scholars is that nations are socially constructed and historically contingent. However, the assertion is largely on the fray of imagination.

As aptly stated by Moltchanova (2007, p. 259):

Nations are groups whose members share and identify with a particular kind of political culture, or a set of beliefs and attitudes concerning politics. Basic to this political culture is the belief that membership in the group defines the bounds within which political authority can originate meaningfully for those it governs. That is, political power exercised over the group is authoritative only if it derives from the group as a whole. In addition, the members of the group share the corresponding collective end of establishing or maintaining effective agency

Similarly, Nwokedi and Ngwu (2018, p.4) stated as follows:

At the most basic level, nation has been defined as a collective or large group of individuals that are bound together and therefore unified by commonalities like language, ethnicity, habits, behaviours and customs. However, national identities are highly complex and this raises significant questions of what may actually constitute a nation in practice rather than theory. For example, Smith (1999)

argues that a nation is built upon myth and memory because these elements forge a collective purpose, hence inducing a sense of belonging that all too often inspires the 'nation' to defend its identity.

Arising from the foregoing, Moltchanova (2007, p.256) proceeded to remark that Nationhood is a complex phenomenon that includes aspects of personal and group identity, history, culture, and political preferences. All of these features are shared by several kinds of groups, not only by national groups. It is therefore defined as the fact or status of being a nation; national identity or independence.

Meanwhile, some complexities weaved around the concept of nationhood made Walker (n.d., p. 584) to state as follows:

The idea of nationhood is one that has not been defined explicitly in international law. This is perhaps due to the inherent flexibility of the concept; it is multifaceted and loosely defined; nations are "self-defined", meaning that its perception and existence depend on what people make of it. "National identity involves some sense of political community. However tenuous, this allows for loosely defined bonds to be created, marked by affiliation to any number of qualities. Thus, nations are essentially "a self-constituted 'natural' category, a group of people who naturally form a unit with a common past, present and, often explicitly, future; a group of people who share things...that mark them off from other groups..."

Arising from the foregoing, we can decipher as follows:

1. Nation points to cultural affinity, filial ties and strong bond of shared values
2. Nationhood is a by-product and end product of instituting a nation and expected practices arising from the bond
3. Nationhood
4. Nationhood has expected and underlying behavioural currents which bestow obligation of respect, commonality of interests, shared obligations and expected common benefits
5. Nationhood remains a process and reflects accepted cultural patterns in social production and collective ownership of common wealth

6. Nationhood manifests very strong and deep-seated normative practices arising from fundamental cultural fusion and secularization of pattern of existence.
7. *Nationhood is a manifest reflection of the rule of law which projects fairness—that is, accountability, equal rights, and justice for all*
8. Consequent upon the above, nationhood abhors discriminatory practices, strong ethnic cleavages, ethno-regional inclinations, domination of one group by another, disrespect of among constituent nationalities, religious bigotry as well as irreconcilable dissents, among several other negative practices.

It is important to highlight that where the vices enumerated in item 7 above are the glorifying norm, the content, character and pattern of democratic culture and practices will promote politics of dissent, intolerance, discriminatory practices, social decay, electoral fraud, criminality, violence and **government by deceit**. The foregoing, perhaps, justified why Bernard Crick in 1962 defined politics as an act of governing mankind by deceiving them. Indeed, the definition clearly captured the nature of politics in Africa. Given the declining intensity of cultural secularization among most States in Africa, the character of politics manifests crass intolerance, unprecedented fraud and violence in the electoral process and the people increasingly become differentiated and dissociated from the institutions of governance. Therefore, politics becomes largely a mere ritual for sustaining the inglorious status quo as trust template declines to near irretrievability. Consequent upon the above, democracy in most African States has been redefined as the system of government that promotes domination, religious irredentism and socio-cultural dissents. This explains why some scholars described central Africa as the dark sub-region and other States as simply fraud.

To sustain the inglorious order, political desperados and buccaneers who appropriate the positions of leadership in the affected African States use the instrumentalities of the State to unleash unbridled and unmitigated authoritarianism and disguised democratic affliction that redefine the rule of law and turn same into the rule of rabid cult groups. Therefore, there is a fundamental link between the content of democratic practices and the rule of law in a given social formations. In fact, the *rule of law is a key underpinning of democracy*. An outline of the *World Justice Project's analysis of in-depth survey data in 140 countries and jurisdictions* shows that adherence to the rule of law fell in 61% of countries in 2022. These were outlined below:

- The Index measure of **“Fundamental Rights”** declined in two-thirds of countries in 2022. **“Civil Justice”** fell in 61% of countries, largely due to continued delays, weak enforcement, and discrimination in the justice system.
- The factor that measures the key checks and balances that counter authoritarianism, **“Constraints on Government Powers,”** fell in 58% of countries in 2022.
- **4.4 billion people** live in countries where the rule of law is weaker than it was in 2021”
- Over the longer term, the most dramatic rule of law declines has been in Index factors associated with rising authoritarianism.
- Respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms is down in three-quarters of countries since 2015, and constraints on Government Powers - including oversight by the judiciary, legislature, and media - has fallen in two-thirds of countries studied.
- Since 2015, the Index sub factors that have declined the most widely are freedom of opinion and expression (down in 81% of countries) and freedom of assembly and association (down in 85%).
- Again, the Index sub factor measuring whether transition of power is subject to the law has declined in two-thirds of countries.
- In Africa it becomes axiomatic to contend that the rule of law is held more in the breach. The practice has fundamentally reinforced abuse of political; power, sustained mangled and distorted political culture and institutionalized politics by cult groups, bandits and professional looters/jobbers.
- The implications of the above are that most nations or rather nation-states or State-nations in Africa have become bastions for ethnic and religious contestations, defined arena for banditry, ethno-regional conflicts, kidnapping, theatre and abattoir for mass killings, genocidal sacrileges, arson, electoral deceits etc.

What is to be done?

1. There is an urgent need to redefine democracy taking cognizance of the local conditions of the African Man and autochthonous conditions.
2. Reconstitute the nationhood to reflect the wishes and aspirations of the constituent nationalities.

3. Remodel the education curriculum to emphasize the material existence of African man and emphasize the use of artefacts inherent in African society and demonstration tools.
4. Blend indigenous belief practices with modern orientation and values
5. Decentralize production to reflect specific local economies of comparative advantage and localize security to deal with invading mercenaries in Africa.
6. Promote the fossilization of a new civic culture that respects collegiality, enhance cultural fusion and secularization as well as consolidate social cohesion.
7. Indigenize participation from the clan, village, town, local government to State levels rather than sustaining the prevailing ephemeral top-bottom schema to benefit only the parasitic cult overlords.
8. Build respect for individual and collective aspirations and as well implant the spirit of tolerance at the production level.
9. More importantly, the process of selecting and electing African leaders should start from the micro through semi-macro to macro level. This entails radical tinkering with the institutions and structures for election management.
10. Finally, constituent nationalities should discuss the basis for integration and the goal for such integration. If the outcome entails reconstituting the structure of nationhood and removing it from the altar of desecration and slaughter of the citizens, so be it. **The critical point is the survival of the citizens and protection of life of properties.**

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