

VIOLATION OF AFRICAN UNION (AU) RESOLUTION ON GOVERNANCE AND PERTINENCE OF MEMBER STATES' COMPLIANCE

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Abstract

After decades of western political domination and influence, the wind of change and independence set in to disentangle African States from the entrenchment and entanglement of the colonial contraption; exposing the newly emerged states to the sanctity of regional integration that already formed nexus of western socio-political and economic development. Thus, African Sovereign States replicate this epoch concept and established African Union (AU) primarily to peer the region at the same frequency with other regions, securing vintage position globally. Essentially, respect and obligation of member states to international law and various charters became fundamentally imperative to this body. Liberty, freedom and African emancipation was paramount to the initiators of African solidarity thenceforth repealing age-long assumption of the continent as a region endemic in backwardness. Resolve by African leaders to emulate their counterparts in harnessing proceeds of regional conglomeration has obviously pushed the continent a bit further towards the door of democratization and globalism. The hegemonic crisis and ethnic divide prevalent in African States cannot be over-emphasized due to the fact that most socio-political abysmal are linked to these phenomena. This study examined the compliance of African Union Charter on democratic governance by member states. Scholars have investigated the aforementioned subject-matter with subjective view-points on governments' obligation in realizing public interests. They nevertheless fall short at suggesting the political structural balancing as a crucial element for administrative purposes in African States. In our course of analysis, the Group theory was employed in interrogating member states' compliance of the Union's stance on governance. Thus, the paper hypothesized that leadership conspiracy against general interest is the incubator of African pitiable state. Recommending deemphasize on ethno-religious considerations which has become the main tools of governments in most African states.

Key Words: Violation, Resolutions, Compliance, Governance, Member-States

Introduction

The African Union (AU) is better perceived as a geo-political system, somewhat active in entirety of the African continent, exclusive of Morocco. Its genesis can be located to the Union of African states, an early confederation put together by Haile Selassie, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Kwame Nkrumah in the 1960s, cum subsequent design to unite Africa, including the Organization of African Unity

(OAU) that was founded in 1963 and the African Economic Community (AEC) in 1981. The concept of creating the African Union (AU) was revived during the mid 1990s under the auspices of late Muammar Gaddafi of Libya. The assemblage of African Heads of State and Government and the issuance of Sirte Declaration of September 1999, clamouring for an establishment of an African Union created another positive dimensional view on and for Africanists/Africanism. This formal announcement was backed up by the Lome Summit in the year 2000 when the constitutive act of the AU was adopted at Lusaka in 2001 and equally the action plan for implementation of the Union's Programs were adopted. During the same period, initiative for the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was also established (BBC News, 2001).

Colonial powers made the first attempt in designing politically integrated states involving the entire African Continent in 19 century, in order to harness the vast natural and human resources needed for development of empires and/or newly emerged states for the European industrial revolution. Due to the fervent competition amongst countries of Europe; Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Spain and Portugal, total control by one of them was practically unrealistic, rather the continent was carved into colonies and ruled by the European Forces until the second half of the 20th Century when changes in policy/approach brought about relinquishing control over their African Colonies and creation of sovereign states in Africa between 1940s and 1950s and beyond (BBC News, 2004).

Sometime in 1960s, in the West African sub-region, the Union of African states; Mali, Ghana and Guinea were short lived. This association was politically Marxist oriented and was led by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Sekou Toure of Guinea. Prior to this time however, precisely, November 1958, another association was formed; a Liberia-Ghana-Guinea whose physical appearance was Ghanished, by its flag; similar to the Ghana's flag but with only two black stars. May 1959, witnessed renamed of this association to 'Union of African States' with a convincingly identicalness of the Ghanaian flag of many stars. Other states in Africa joined the union and Mali was not left out. Dramatically, the Union's social and political importance depleted. Guinea cancelled her membership while negotiating with United States of America (USA) against the acquaintance of their socialist partner, Union Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) (Washington Post, 2007).

African Union (AU) which came as a result of failure of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in realizing her core objectives represents the image and embodiment of perennial Pan Africanists' yearnings that found notable expression during the 19th century epics of uncoordinated African society.

A philosophy and conviction of self assertion in its budding years, Pan-Africanism progressively evolved into a vision and mission of regional socio-political and economic consciousness, especially the post Second World War when it embarked on continental political congregational integration. From the first Pan-African assemblage in Manchester in 1900 to the Historic Conference of 32 independent African States in Addis Ababa in 1963, numerous attempts were articulated at galvanizing African aspiration for freedom, equality and economic

development. With the experience of imperialism and colonialism, most African leaders saw the continent as a region which must be developed and control by Africans devoid of interference from external powers. Before the formation and operation of the OAU, attempt was made to integrate and conceptualize the destiny of African continent.

The Pan-African movement for East Central and Southern Africa which comprises of Burundi, Congo, Zaire, Ethiopia, Kenya etc classified as Casablanca group in one hand and the Monrovia group in the other hand. This pattern was holding sways before the initiative for a common African organization. Some African leaders were concerned over the manner of balkanization / division within the continent and perceived the need to harmonize various interests under the conviction to attain continental cooperation. In this regard, the leaders, notably Nnamdi Azikiwe, took the step after counseling African leaders to organize a conference of African and Malagasy states in Lagos during the 1962 brainstorm for African liberation (Nwankwo, 2004). The intent was to build a bridge to connect the Casablanca and Monrovia groups and possibly neutralize any form of division or conflicting interest. The conference marking first of its kind was fantastically attended.

Ghana notably and other members of Casablanca group boycotted the Lagos conference. Yet, with then crisis engulfed Casablanca and Monrovia groups, states like Ethiopia and Nigeria did not relent in diplomatic approach to resolve the issues causing disharmony amongst those groups. However, the diplomatic approach for reconciliation of the various factions led to a meeting of African Foreign Ministers that was held in Addis Ababa on May 1963. The session preceded the meeting of African Heads of States and Government whose major duty was to draft a charter for a continental body. On the 25th May 1963, with the sitting of 30 heads of states and government, Organization of African Unity (OAU) Charter was signed in Ethiopia Addis Ababa and that gave birth to OAU. Preponderant number of African leaders eventually realized that factionalism which afflicted Pan-Africanism should be addressed and reasonably prevented from reoccurrence if the independence of the states in the continent was to be consolidated and or exploited in advancing African interests in center stage of global politics.

Since the inception of African Union which metamorphosed from OAU, African economic development and harnessing democratic dividend; logical representative structure / desired governance, have been identified as its major tasks to end decades of socio-economic and political retrogression inclined with the continent. Obviously, the association for a long period of time dealt more on politically related challenges in member-states than focusing on economic issues. Notably was the politically inspired dispute that entrapped Sudan categorized by Akpuna (2004) as a colonial structured political defective system, meant to promote and protect certain interests opposed to the common man's socio-political and economic wellbeing? African Union demonstrated serious commitment, articulated an effective military peace keeping option known as the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) to forestall the perennial intractable crisis often described as African longest civil war. Objectively, AMIS was recognized by the United Nations Mission

in Sudan (UNMIS) and this synergy yielded tremendous benefits in surmounting a high grade violence unleashed in the country caused by the colonial inheritance (Boshoff, 2005).

Governance in member-states of African Union has remains a paradox even with democratization of almost 100 percent of the continent. There are cases of outright violation of the Union's Charter on governance from the political leaders. Aside the Sudanese government, Liberia, Sierra-Leone, Nigeria, Mali, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Somalia, Congo Brazzaville, Congo Democratic Republic, Cameroun etc. are good examples where governance has been replaced with caprices of men and privatization of power and public property. Inspired by the objectives and principles enshrined in the constitutive act of the African Union, particularly Article 3 and 4, Nwagu, (2009) amplifies the essence of governance, popular participation, rule of law and human rights already deconstructed under the guise of politics.

Nevertheless, persistent subjugation of democratization principles vis-à-vis governance, popular participation, rule of law and human rights, covered in the African Union Charter, contrary to the universal perspective and rigorous attempts by ordinary citizens to assert themselves, has continually triggered debate in the extant researches. Apparently, the extant researches have outlined some measures to counter or correct this political abyss in the continent. Yet, no systematic investigation has interrogated the psychological disposition of the political leaders that found opportunity in power. Judging the background and intellectual capacity of most of the African men in power, it becomes imperative to evaluate these variables in order to understand the cause of poor resultant effect of African democratic leadership. In specific terms, the paper examined the impact of subsisting colonially induced lopsided political structure in various African states, constantly opposing transformation of status quo, thus undermining democratic values and norms. Essentially, the paper proffered remedies to address the democratic flaws associated to incompetence or absence of ideal leadership.

Conceptual clarification

Violation

Agreeably, violation an English terminology and multi dimensional used in interpreting or expressing nature, state and/or situational position of a given phenomenon. It has impacted tremendously in politics, political science, law, medicine, engineering, art, business, religion, tradition and custom etc. For clarity purpose however, violation here-in is compartmentalized; principle and phenomenal violation. In principle aspect, it has to do with, by omission or commission, contravening, deconstructing or outlawing the basic foundation which is capable of instigating crisis that would upturn or attempts to destabilize certain rule or organization's philosophy/tradition. Uchegbue (2015) stresses further when emphasizing that violation of an institutional foundation is tantamount to reducing such body/institution to a state and stage of mental/tangible incapacitation, thereby creating difficult task for its objectives to be realized.

Agbapuonwu (2009) argues in the vein when he faults the principle(s) of forming political parties in African fledgling democracies. To this source, most parties formed in African post-colonial states, at inception, had already violated/contravened the needed fundamental ingredients of association especially as nepotism, ethnic's consideration, and absence of the will-power to encourage apt political ideology would eventually become the basis of power and material allocation. This equally applies to regional organizations in the range of: African Union, ECOWAS, ECOMOG, Arab League, Conference of American States, etc. if the principles or rules guiding these structures for instance are contravened due to political/economic exigencies or personal regarding interest, the aim(s) for establishing it would be defeated. Therefore, Davidson (2005) strongly affirms that under any guise the principle of a group is shortchanged, it goes a lot further in destroying the entire process, activities and/or tangible outcomes seen as phenomenal violation. In other words, prior to the physically observed defects, retrogression or collapse of a particular group as a result of phenomenal dilapidation, the principle(s) establishing it must have been deconstructed.

A notable example was when the African newly independent states came together under the umbrella of Non-alignment to remain neutral during the Cold War era. The primary aim was to ensure that neither United States nor USSR could build alliance or support base in Africa over the exportation or internationalization of capitalism and/or communism. Regrettably, after a while, the principle(s) of Non-alignment was violated by the group members. This violation did not only stop the aspiration but equally propelled the enthronement of capitalist mode of economic exploitation in Africa.

Resolution

The term can be seen as a formal expression of the decision or opinion of an organization, body or institution. It may authorize action to be taken or served to regulate the organization or simply to publicize the group's views. Resolution is an approach that enhances legislative, Executive and sometime judicial proceedings. For example, United States' Congresses enact joint resolutions that subsequently approved by the president, becomes law in the same manner that bills do. Concurrent resolutions of the congress which the president need not sign are used to submit constitutional amendment to the states for ratification and to record bicameral opinion. Equally, each house passes resolutions concerning its internal matters.

Analogous practices by other states and national legislature are common. However, a legislature may not by resolution assume power over a subject not within the permissible scope of its activity. Thus the French parliament was prohibited from seeking to remove cabinet ministers by resolution of censure, since this infringed upon the executive's constitutional function.

Resolution is equally seen from the angle of political strategic measure as a formality conceptualized or agreed upon to pursue certain goal, usually after voting by a formally constituted /formed group, institution or ally contending on the act of resolving or determining upon an action, course of action, methodology, procedure,

standard etc. Resolution primarily means a decision to do something, behave in a certain manner, finding a solution to a problem. Synonyms: answer, result, solution, solvent, closure, settlement, agreement, decision.

Origin of the Latin word; resolution is traced to 1350-1400 political relationship amongst the city-states and principalities. It's a mental state or quality of being resolved or resolute, firmness of a purpose. Notable features; United States resolution to support Israel if attacked by Iran at the stance of the latter's threat. President D. Trump's administration resolves to protect the state of Israel militarily and economically from the hostility of her Arab neighbors. African Union to send 5,000.00 soldiers to restore peace in Sudan prior to the division of the country. IPOB '2012 resolution' in pursuing the restoration of Sovereign State of Biafra without firing gun shot. Also, United Nations support and cooperation through the involvement of three out of the five permanent Security Council members to dismantle the regime of Mummer Gaddafi of Libya going by its resolution to get rid-off government that promotes extremism or religious fundamentalism on any corner of the globe serves a good reference.

Theoretical Perspective

A good number of scholarly theoretical analyses have been proffered to explain the violation of the African Union (AU) resolution by member-states but we adopt system theory to interrogate the subject-matter here-in. The system theoretical instrument was propounded in 1950s, principally by Talcott Parsons and subsequently it received a scholarly boost with the intervention of David Easton in his assumption that a political entity is basically designed for various activities to ensure an optimal performance of the totality of a given entity.

Parsons for instance recognizes a social entity as comprising of adaptability, goal-seeking, integration and latency; meaning economy, politics, society and family. **Adaptability;** it is the ability of the system to cope with the pressures within the environment. To him, every group or society has to adapt itself to the environment / situation its faces for survival. He believes that a political system, society, or a group, contending with adaptation is actually executed by institutions, agencies, economic factor, scientific-technology, research etc. **Integration;** the concept of integration as performed by a political system or an organization, says that various components should exist and operate in union (dependently) contrary to autonomy or independent of the components or sub-systems. This sort of duty is demonstrated in the three major functions of a system; goal seeking, adaptability and integration. Parson and Easton are inclined of the process and nature in which the political system functions in resemblance of a biological system of a living organism.

In a subtle departure from the above assumption, Ake (2003) argues that every political system cannot harbor these articulated variables due to societal values and cultural orientation. In other words, political values obtained in North American region would certainly differ with that of African region. To him, there cannot be a uniform approach or acceptable norms in terms of obligation of a political system,

implying that structural differentiation, cultural secularization etc already pose as elements impinging duplication / uniformity of political system.

In another circumstance, McClelland assumes that the main thrust of system theory is contained in its pattern or approach in which every nation-state is a participator in international system and is constantly involved in a two way activity of taking from and giving to the international environment of course this is referred to as international political obligation (Bayefsky, 2001).

The mutual cooperation in terms of political and economic relationship between states accounts for the critical area of concern to the theorists of this school. To them, constant behavior-pattern within socio-political international organizations has been identified, implying indispensability of sub-systems in respect to the outcome of the entire system. However, the communication mode connecting the sub-systems is 'feed-back' which could be favorable or unfavorable.

A common ground and understanding uniting system theorists is anchored on unanimous position that posits that 'inter-states' and groups' cooperation' stem from the postulation that distinct interest, culture and tradition, intention and / or purposes inherent at the international environment due to its connectivity globalism, require mutual association and relationship amongst sovereign states cum national, regional and international groups. The nexus of regional groups' actions or inactions in the international system is located to the concept of global political relevance through instrumentality of competition, politicking, strategic maneuvering and state intervention or sponsorship (Onukwube, 2009).

Conversely, Morton Kaplan has been the cardinal exponent of the Systems Approach in International Relations. He assumes that international politics creates the most apt background in measuring or ascertaining the affectivity of the concept of the System as a tool in investigating related phenomena. International system is a major element because it comprises of the variables or sub-systems concerned with the interactions; actors both international and supra-national needed for the functionality of it. He identified six models of international system, vis-à-vis; a) Balance of Power System, b) Loose Bi-polar System, c) Tight Bi-polar System, d) Universal System, e) Hierarchical System, f) the Unit-vote System. Despite the critics' attempts to expose supposed limitations of the model, the Approach have been contributing a great deal in the study and investigating sundry issues of concern.

Going by the System-theoretical analysis, African Union is a regional international group of nation-states, ensuring that her impacts are felt universally and strategically conceived politicking for sustenance of the concept of balance of power. AU has been in the forefront as an international actor, opposing the tight bi-polar and hierarchical systems that could be within the disposal of only the super powers or highly developed nations. But within its composition, the system has been flawed as a result of divergent interest and views amongst the member states. Instead of furthering and pursuing the principles of Pan-Africanism, founded by earliest African political leaders, current African leaders have jettison this vision while promoting member-state's agenda (Cohen & Jean, 2012).

Akpuna, (2010) gave credence to the aforementioned argument and did not absolve political leadership in Africa starting from the inception of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) under which various political crises in African region emanated, speeded and thrived; prominent among them was the Nigerian / Biafran war, that still lingers up till today given to absence of true reconciliation and resolve on the part of ethnic nationalities to build a nation-country where all and sundry would have equal opportunity and from official exclusion. Due to, divergent orientation/background, religious affiliation or inclination, culture and tradition, absence of systemic control and recognition of common interest amongst the composition of OAU/AU, the body could not actually direct or influence affairs concerning the African continent. Until the intervention of the United Nations in the conflict that afflicted Sudan, AU could not settle the African oldest crisis. The bifurcation of Sudan into Southern Sudan and Northern Sudan which eventually ushered in the lasting peace by UNO and other non African based or instituted groups is an indictment to AU. It then implies that AU as an African regional political system could not function as a system integrated and united to install justice and peace in Sudan devoid of external incursion.

In an attempt to forestall plausible distortion of values or norms through imitation or borrowed concept, Ake (2003) re-emphasized the danger in forming a consortium of nation-states under opposing interest and principles, directed towards a goal or objectives. Most often than not, the resultant effect is usually failure. Since member-states of AU are from various distinct background, it would not be uncommon when and if the organization failed to see the need to divide Sudan along ethnic and religious basis. What actually sustained the crisis in Sudan was the composition of the member-states which created internal disharmony and prejudicial consideration predicated on tribalism, religion and economic factors.

Hence, Morgenthau (1948) avers that a system comprises of various antithetical systems or sub-units cannot operate a coordinated and unified system. African Union is made up of nation-states and countries with opposing religion, culture, political history and influence, economic ties or partnership, external military and security relationship etc. These variables contribute tremendously poor compliance of the AU's resolution or charter on governance especially having to do with the provision of infrastructural development, consolidating social justice and rule of law through democratic principles.

Political Environment of African Union Member-States

The incursion of colonial administration and subsequent propagation of democratic rule into the African independent states by the inventors of representative democracy distorts some organic principles inclined with Africa. However, good reason's must give way for better one's'. Man's responsibility as a political being has always been to create convenience and comfort through political, socio-economic systems by which realization of these objectives cannot be truncated. Hence, state evolved to guarantee the provision of governance, development and social justice. Meanwhile, African pre-colonial traditional society witnessed unrestrained cum

restrained monarchs with the chiefs, secret societies, body guards, private soldiers in charge of application and administration of law and order. On account of supremacy of the native laws, issues such as land allocation, conflict resolution, punishment of the guilty, etc were resolved. There was a conscious or unconscious concentration of legislative, executive and judicial powers in one man or group of individuals. In effect, anarchy and ill-conceptualization of development thrived to an extent of perceiving Africa as a region synonymous with backwardness. Having been colonized and granted independence/sovereignty by the colonial powers, African political leaders began to test their ability in ushering or encouraging modern political administration (Akpotor, 2001).

Apart from the Ebola health epidemic in 2014, the continent encountered widespread protests, restiveness, civil wars, insurgencies and terrorism. A recent adventure which metamorphosed into deadliest conflict in North-Eastern Nigeria where an Islamic terror group known as Boko Haram, invaded the region and records of human life wasted so far pose threats to the continent. This development provoked concern from international community and its acknowledgement that such situation possesses capacity which could further hinder global security was proactively initiated.

Obviously, it has been presumed that African stability would enhance its' progress and development the same manner its' instability would propel poverty, backwardness and health challenges invariably energizing political opportunists, elements of Boko Haram and al shabaab already in the act of frustrating African prosperity. Unfortunately, disputes currently ravaging the continent instigated by Boko Haram in collaboration with ISIS have induced concomitant effects to surrounding neutral states, intensifying the threat of negative consequences (Bugnacki, 2015).

West Africa: Nigeria in 1960 became an independent state and operated a full blown democratic system of government but could not sustain it. After six years of a parliamentary democracy, there was a military coup staged by young officers of the Nigerian Army. They cited political and economic corruptible tendency of the political class as their principal reason. Then after, the presidential system of government; in which powers were constitutionally distributed among the three main organs of government, was operated and consequently truncated by the military in a coup d'état. For almost twenty years with the sack of democratic government in 1983, the country was ruled through dictatorial proclamation. The return of democracy in Nigeria since 1999 after those wasteful years of autocratic regimes and the running of the country under democratic structure obviously has not addressed the primary objective or expectation of the people. The North-Eastern Nigeria ostensibly the core area of political violence in Africa, given to the disastrous activities by Boko Haram most especially in the border with Cameroun, Chad and Niger. The insurgency cost thousands of lives, countless displaced as well as unmitigated catastrophic impacts (Ogara, 2011). It has become further disturbing that these close-by countries; Chad and Niger specifically, having been saddled or entangled in / with the multiplier effects as a result of refugees and displaced people from Nigeria, there-

by are drawn into the conflict. Hence, African Union that deployed sizable military forces to Somalia and Mali appears to weighing another option in order to contain Boko Haram insurgency. In Ghana, a certain military officer carried out a purported revolution, civilianized himself and took some drastic measures in injecting and sustaining sanity in the country. This approach is responsible for Ghana's seemingly democratic consolidation which has equally translated into socio-economic and political tranquility hence the peaceful conduct of multi-party elections that produced three presidents devoid of post election political conflict cannot be overemphasized (Okoye, 2015).

North Africa: to this end, Libya entrapped in civil war with a faction linked to General Khalifa Haftar and National government controlling the eastern half of the country and a faction linked to Libya Dawn and Islamist group like Ansar al-Sharia controlling the western half. Whereas Boko Haram terror group evidently destabilized the entire North Eastern Nigeria, the nascent second Libyan Civil War threatens to destabilize surrounding Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria. More-so, since power vacuum in the north eastern Syria has turned a critical factor in the rise ISIS, Islamic terror groups could co-join the Libyan Dawn Coalition in the western part of the country or secure their own territorial influence and control. Despite decline in deaths caused by political violence during 2014 in Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, Mali and Tunisia, there are still traces of ethnic and sectarian insurgencies provoked by tribalism, religion and external collaborators / sponsors.

Southern Africa: the Congo Democratic Republic catastrophic conflict however has declined even when thousands of lives from the political violence in Uganda have increased. Apart from civil strife in Southern Africa, most of the continent's southern tip saw both low levels of death from violence and little change in respect to death toll compare to the previous year. Nevertheless, off the eastern coast of Africa, Madagascar incurred tremendous death toll, caused particularly by the Dahalo militias.

East Africa: in this instance, the Central African Republic (CAR) has been ravaged in a civil war between Seleka, anti-Balaka and government militia. The Seleka United Islamic military, Anti-Balaka associated to Christianity and animism, in grand style to disintegrate the country in line with ethnic and sectarian divide. In close-by South Sudan, factional civil war between the Dinka and Nuer tribes intensified, where-as the north, conflict between South Sudan separatists and the government of Omar al-Bashir declined yet remain a serious challenge. In Somalia, Eastern part of the country has not ceased to oppose the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) coupled with the Eastern group and the Islamic military group of al-Shabbab.

African Union Member States and the Charter on Governance

Democracy is gradually permeating African region of the world but from independent and governmental reports, more efforts should be directed in ensuring that Africa is not trapped in what could be described as despotic democracy contrarily to the globally cherished liberal perspective. The African Union's treaty on

democratic governance was conceived and nurtured to harness the golden fruits of representative government which could encourage and stimulate the interest of the civil societies, nongovernmental groups, workers union, ethnic nationalities, professional bodies, student union groups and international democracy monitoring groups to participate reasonably in democratic activities (African Union Commission, 2007).

Despite the untold and unimaginable hardship which most African leaders inflicted unto their citizens, under the guise of operating democratic rule, preponderant population of Africans remain resolute to have and protect democracy in the continent. The much touted African post-military era, inclined in dictatorship actually reduced the society to an unenviable standard contrary to the general expectation, thus, provoking ethnic and sectarian crises which largely contribute to the low pace in terms of pushing for socio-economic and political development of Africa (Okolie, 2009). Adoption of the African Union Treaty for democratic consolidation is timely or overdue considering undemocratic background / tendency of most African States. This approach cum mechanism would serve as pillar and catalyst for democracy and its sustenance (A.U.C, 2007). Not less than fifty seven sovereign African States worked assiduously for the resolution on good governance, elections and robust democracy intended to move further in consolidating democracy in the much touted underdeveloped region of the world (Nnoli, 2006). However, recent political development in Gambia, a sub-Saharan tiny populated country held a democratic election in which a sitting president lost and initially conceded defeat but subsequently refused to relinquish power to the winner. The former president was a paradox of democracy as he attempted to introduce political-sit-tight syndrome synonymous with African politics and would not serve a good reference. This undemocratic stance of a man that must have sworn an oath of allegiance, to abide by the rules was vehemently resisted within and beyond Africa, forcing him out of power in line with the concept of Collective Security. The erstwhile Gambian President, after close to 20 years of controlling the country's affairs as a military junta and civilian president, left a legacy of ingratitude predicated on illusion of selfishness, dictatorial tendency and social defiance (Nwafor, 2017). In all, the citizens of Gambia did not have the positive impacts of democratic government rather were treated like un-cherished people. The country remains a pathetic example amongst the poorest states considering the level of poverty, health care, social amenities / infrastructures and human capacity development (Agah, 2017). Timely intervention by the neighboring African States prevented another intended political conflict which was almost ignited since the parties involved were bent on sticking to their claims. The situation analyzed above was a good example of non compliance of the African Union's Charter on democratic principle and governance.

In a similar development, the Nigerian 2011 presidential election, won by the former President Goodluck Jonathan, when he defeated his closest rival Buhari, in which the latter threatened to plunge the country into violence for losing the said election, is often referred to as an attempted rape against democracy. The loser; Buhari who possesses a dreadful record of one of the most virulent anti-democratic

element of this century, that truncated Nigerian democracy in 1983 when he overthrown a democratically elected administration through coup d'état, against every odd, contested a presidential election in the same country when vowed to instigate conflict if he loses. Albeit, he lost, yet did not relent from his threat. The human and material resources that wasted, judging from the crisis that followed after the electoral body declared Jonathan elected, was unprecedented and better imagined than been experienced (Agah, 2012).

Nigerian state became an independent country in 1960 having encountered colonial rule for 66 years under an autocratic dispensation that did not seek the consent of the indigenous people of various tribes and nations prior to the unification which later turned out to be a regrettable adventure (Izueke, 2008). Though the British Colonists eventually left a democratic government in power while winding down the instruments of colonialism which was seen as inhumanity after the meeting of President Franklin Roosevelt of the United States and the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill mainly referred as 'Atlantic Charter'. During the British rule in Nigeria, there was ironical administrative system that condoned official and unofficial insincerity or unprecedented desperation to undermine the rights and privileges of southern Nigerian people, particularly the Igbos. The 1945 Jos Igbo massacre, 15 years to independence, was claimed to be sponsored and stage-managed by the British colonial authority (Obumsele, 2000).

In corollary to the above views, Uwakwe, (2014) located the current political leadership failure in most African countries, with Nigeria as the major culprit, to the process and basis of integrating the people through subjugation and criminal intent to use and dump those fiefdoms after acquiring or securing their interests. In Nigeria context, the irreconcilable differences that manifested and provoked numerous senseless killing of Igbos under the colonial power, were never addressed and no sign that it shall be even with the system controlled by Nigerians rather efforts are made to sustain the alleged British created fiefdom. Governance in Nigeria has been circumvented and tactically distorted compelling the citizens to believe that democracy is not the panacea or capable of guaranteeing socio-economic and political development. The people have continually expressed hopelessness towards electoral process and the political actors due to what Nwachukwu, (2003) perceives as political leaderships' conspiracy against the common people. To that end, the masses have become victims of fate. Preponderant population of the less privilege are facing acute poverty, forcing them to contend with a situation of starvation, ill health and threat to other physiological needs. The preponderance of these variables indicates to large extent maladministration that has a link to governmental deficiency and decried absence of governance in Africa.

The same fate engulfed Ivory Coast during days of Laurent Gbagbo, the former president when he attempted to plunge the country into war. About three thousand persons died in the conflict that followed Gbagbo refusal to hand power over to the current president, Alassane Quattara who was declared the winner of the presidential election by the country's electoral body. Gbagbo, together with his family and persons loyal to his regime did everything to subvert justice and the

constitution in order to achieve their interest which was elongation of rule, had been charged for crime against humanity, ranging from; ordering murder, gang-rape, arson and treason at the International Criminal Court (ICC) in the Hague, however deny the four counts of crime against humanity (Hathaway and Koh, 2005).

The Government Security Forces, floated by the former president were linked to countless disappearance of opposition activists / leaders. Their bodies were later located in morgues even when women active in canvassing and mobilizing voters for certain candidates were gang-raped by government forces and ethnic militia groups on the account of Gbagbo's order. Pro-Gbagbo militia men were equally accused of setting checkpoints to trap the unsuspected anti-Gbagbo elements, and were burnt alive and secretly mass-buried. The western part of Ivory Coast witnessed horrific killing of people based on ethnicity. Opposition forces were not left out concerning the allegation bordering on unspeakable violation of human rights and the charter of African Union (Human Right Watch, 2015).

The scar remains even after the wound has healed. The 1994 Rwanda genocide has come and gone but the consequences or aftermath of the carnage would be forgotten especially those who felt were unjustly conspired / attacked. Looking closely at the socio, economic and political environment of Rwanda since the end of the conflict; Anyanebechi, (2010) states that the country cannot in actuality overcome the negativism which often associate with an entity that encountered such magnitude of aberration and disrespect to resolution on human life and justice. To him, the primary cause of Rwanda's conflict is located to the internally unresolved and highly emphasized primordial sentiment of ethnicity that gained primacy after the departure of the colonial powers. The effect of this caused the people of Rwanda and Africans to a reasonable extent governance and veritable ground to advance or push further regional scientific / technological identity for robust global competition.

In related development, Liberia, Sierra-Leone and Mali all within the Sub-Saharan region of Africa had perceived unmitigated abuse of human rights and perpetration of murderous acts which called for the intervention of global military forces before sanity could be restored. The likes of Samuel Doe, Charles Taylor and Yomi Johnson of Liberia perpetrated heinous crimes against humanity ranging from child soldering, arson, and murder to genocide in attempt to seize and control state's power. The loss of human and material resources which Liberia as a nation-state incurred is better imagined than perceiving the reality (Meredith, 2006).

In what may appear as antidote to the above, African Union Political Department, (2010) states that conflicts of various categories have persisted in Africa even with the adoption and ratification of the African Charter on democracy, elections and governance (ACDEG). The charter was adopted in January 2007 in Addis Ababa and on the 16th of January, 2012 and Cameroon became the 15th member state to complete the ratification process. This suggests that from thenceforth, ACDEG came into force.

But Agbo & Mukum-Mbaku (2012) observe that African Union member states cannot disentangled themselves from primordialism of ethnic, culture and religious diversity which are variables instrumental to the manifestation of public

maladministration. It further assumes that political transitions in Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa have persistently problematic due to the fact that incumbent heads of state are obsessed with the project and ambition of retaining political power endlessly. For instance, Omar Bongo (Gabon), Felix Houphouët (Ivory Coast), Eyadéma Gnassingbé (Togo) and Lansana Conté (Guinea) remained presidents of their respective countries until death. Except in Gabon, where the death of President Bongo resulted a peaceful transfer of power to his son, political transitions in Africa had been accompanied by a preponderant degree of political violence. Alston & Crawford (2013) observe that Togo, just hours after the death of President Eyadéma, the military violated the constitutional provision requiring the speaker of the Togolese National Assembly to take over power in the event of vacancy in the presidency by appointing the late president's son, Faure Eyadéma, interim president. He later contested and won a highly controversial election during the period in question. However, a more destabilizing scenario occurred in Guinea following the death of President Lansana Conté. Few hours after his death, the young soldier, Moussa Camara seized power, dissolved the government and suspended the constitution / republican institutions. The country then plunged into deep political chaos for about two years until the 2011 democratic elections.

Omenma, (2012) queried if Cameroon shall possibly avert repeat of violent and contested transitions of these countries if the sitting President Paul Biya, 82 and has been in power since 1982 dies in office? In spite of his countless pronouncements that he would democratize Cameroon's politics, Biya has twice; in 1996 and 2008, manipulated the constitution to pave way to elongate his term in office by so doing, discouraging democratic governance. Meanwhile, no election since his reign was conducted devoid of governmental bias against the opposition. No question that Biya has used power of incumbency cum the control of state's institutions and agencies; military, police, media, judiciary and legislature to guarantee success at the polls. Thus, reaffirming general belief that political transition in Cameroon is going to end the manner others ended or if Biya is butted from office via military implosion.

Conclusion

The compelling substance and focus of the system theoretical framework of analysis is located on its assumption that the impairment of any unit or sub-system would affect the entire life of the system in question. This instrument (system theory) had been employed to observe and study the behavior of actors; states and non-states in relation with African Union Resolution on democratic governance. Obviously, the atrocious nature and practices of African political leaders were investigated and found to be insurmountable given to incompatibility of ethnicity and substances of system theory.

Our sources of data; books, journals and internet could be reasonably adjudged incontrovertible due to the universality of the materials and cannot be fabricated by unauthorized person or group(s); thus, relying enormously on their accuracy and authenticity.

The Kaplan, (1957) argument that all organizations must conform with general binding interest to achieve desired objectives, has not been reasonably observed by African Union Member States; adaptive subsystem, attainment subsystem, integrative subsystem and pattern of maintenance subsystem. Cultural norms and expectations in conducting international affairs by various states in A.U umbrella had been posing heavy threat to the overall interest of the organization.

Obvious bounds of domestic and or national political discontentment which most of the A.U's members had been saddled with, had equally been transferred or injected wittingly or unwittingly into the affairs of African Union, thereby diminishing the expectation or achievement in terms of good governance and development of Africa.

From our investigation, it has been discovered that preponderance cases of African political violence which mostly result to mass murder and other related crimes against humanity were principally provoked by ethnicity and religion. In other words, democratic stipulations/principles were often sacrificed on the altar of ethnic consideration/interests by the privileged and opportunistic self-serving individuals.

Recommendations

All cases of African political violence and ill-governance/maladministration should be formally referred to the International Criminal Court of Justice in Hague for hearing and adjudication. The implication of this is that sovereignty of African countries has to be partially revoked to ensure total compliance and adherence of democratic principles which obviously have been eroded by the purported leaders.

United Nations Organ on African affairs should be created if none already exists and given full mandate to decide on every electoral issue and when still in contest by parties/candidates, such situation should be heard by ICCJ if it has taken a high grade dimension of political conflict. In these cases, all African heads of state and government should sign a pact with the UN Organ which must contain in the domestic African states' constitution.

There should be a centralized regional military command for the entire Africa, supervised and operated through the mandate of the Security Council. State's military should be abolished in Africa. Institution of Politics and Administration should be established in countries of Africa, supervised by UNESCO. It should be made compulsorily for all political office seekers to attain this institution which minimum entry requirement would be master's degree in a related discipline.

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