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# The Indigenous African Criminal Justice System for the Modern World

Olusina Akeredolu



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*To my parents Chief Ojo Akeredolu and Mrs. Ajisomo Akeredolu for being the vessel  
through which I came to this world;*

*AND*

*To all prisoners of conscience and innocent ones around the world who have suffered  
untold pain or died in prison through persecution or by reason of poverty.*



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# Foreword

It is a great honor to introduce this book on criminal justice administration from the African perspective. The book, which is divided into fourteen chapters, covers topics of immense interest.

Chapter 1 is a lucid introduction of indigenous African criminal justice administration with an extensive discussion on the indigenous system with great emphasis on the restorative approach adopted under the traditional system of criminal justice. In Chapter 2, the focus is on land tenure and related issues under the traditional African justice system. The book brings out the different issues that arise under land tenure. The thrust of Chapter 3 is on matters arising from traditional, religious and modern types of marriages and how they are resolved under the justice system. The differences in the way of contracting the different forms of marriages are well laid out and matters of separation and divorce under the different systems are of interest in the chapter. The issue of inheritance is also extensively discussed. Chapter 4 provides an insight into the relationship between Islam and the criminal justice system. This covers crime, procedure, punishments and other issues in Islam vis-à-vis the criminal justice system. The relationship between Old Testament Christianity and the justice administration in colonial and modern Africa is the focus in Chapter 5. Very interesting in this chapter is the discussion on the introduction of new evidence and the use of DNA in revisiting cases that had earlier been determined under the law. The discussion in Chapter 6 is on the New Testament and the criminal justice system. The author brought out the wide differences between New Testament teaching and criminal justice by using examples such as pardons and timing of judgment on an offender. Chapter 7 traces criminal justice administration in Africa from the traditional period to the colonial times. Chapter 8 is an extensive discussion of criminal justice and apartheid in South Africa. The historical discourse of events that led to the white supremacy against other races and the repression known as apartheid forms the basis of this chapter. The procedure and process of the criminal justice in the Rivonia trial is well written in clear language not only for lawyers or law students, but for students of history. Chapter 9 is an analysis of activities of the military and civilian governments and the impact on the justice system in Africa. The chapter provides an insight into the activities of the military in the criminal justice administration in Africa. The issue of labor unionism and parties is the crux of Chapter 10.

In colonial Africa, the trade union movement was the only platform for people to speak out on basic issues involving not only workers' interests but, more importantly, human rights. This led to problems that resulted in criminal justice issues related to arrests, court processes and incarceration. In particular, the author used the illustrations in Nigeria and South Africa. In Chapter 11, the issue of criminal justice, African sit-tight leaders and politics is discussed with reference to the military interventions in some countries in Africa. Chapter 12 is a comparative study of prisons in Africa while Chapter 13 focuses on the regular courts. In this chapter, the author makes reference to the emergence of the people's court, referring to it as a "Save our Soul" (SOS) of the poor people. The book ends with Chapter 14's elaborate discussion on the global effort on peace resolution by the United Nations and other organizations. This final chapter also discusses other bodies that are involved in the move to world peace.

An analysis of the book reveals its uniqueness. Written in simple language, it is a very practical book on criminal justice administration in Africa from the historical, sociological, political, religious and legal perspectives.

It is an indispensable and valuable book for all persons in leadership positions, all cadres of persons in the legal profession, students of law at all levels and for all persons interested in the development of African nations.

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Dean of Law  
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December 20, 2014

# Preface

So many books have been written on criminal justice administration by eminent jurists, erudite scholars in sociology and law, human rights crusaders, and brilliant authors around the world that one may want to conclude that they have said it all. But as Africa and African societies continue to lag behind world efforts and strategies at bringing about poverty eradication, societal egalitarianism, world economic and social development, improvement in continental health matters, modern housing, infrastructure and technology, good climate, promotion of rule of law, self-sustenance in food and agricultural products, sustainable security, and the peace and happiness of the people, little is also being done about showcasing the uniqueness of traditional African criminal justice administration including its documentation and publication. Its comparison with the much-orchestrated criminal justice systems of other continents or regions of the world, particularly the West, will attest to this assertion. Even though the world is moving fast and rapidly changing in the field of news dissemination and communication through the use of the magical tool called the Internet, the impact of this information revolution is still little felt across Africa. This is especially true when it comes to the method and the length of time it usually takes to try and conclude cases in court, prevention and management of crime, adherence to the rule of law, ensuring justice and equity in crisis situations, victim appeasement, tracking of convicts placed on parole, probation or suspended sentence, and, in the war against totalitarianism, impunity and corruption. In Nigeria, for instance, the majority of the people see the police, judiciary, and the other relevant agencies in the administration of justice as pathetically slow, ineffective, lazy, highly compromised, corrupt, manipulative, biased toward the wealthy, affluent, and arrogant and heavy-handed whenever they have to decide critical issues. The Nigerian authorities turn a blind eye to the obvious advantages of modern communication technology and other apparatuses, which developed nations of the world effectively use to prevent and detect crime in both their individual countries and internationally, to deliver judgment or to grant or refuse orders of injunction, mandamus, and habeas corpus. Technology allows the latter to be filed even on weekends, without the practical use of the gavel and physical presence of the judge in the courtroom. It is astonishing to see that these days any witness can give live evidence in a court trial without necessarily being physically present in the courtroom where a trial is being con-

ducted, or in any courtroom, for that matter. Someone in Australia can give live evidence to and be cross-examined by a court in the United States. This is possible through the use of satellite or online video communications. It is still very difficult (if not impossible) to do this in African countries at the moment because of the unreliability of infrastructures for electricity and the Internet, and because of unchecked corruption.

There are reasons why things continue to be what they are in Africa and it is normal to advocate that justice be done to the poor continent by the powers that be who have manipulated the continent for far too long. While asking for such sympathy for the continent, Africans themselves must not close their eyes on another injustice that post-colonial African leaders have mindlessly been doing to the continent over the years by virtue of their greed. In the face of their selfishness and ignominious tyranny, Africans as a people at the receiving end of this impunity need to speak out against the ills and also walk the talk. Postcolonial African political leaders, whether in aberrant or in legitimate government, have continued to let the continent down in matters of probity and accountability in governance, in respect for fundamental human rights of the people they govern, and in efforts at placing African countries on an acceptable developmental rating among the comity of nations. Africa as a continent must for once bid farewell to its leaders' culture of impunity, avarice, and recklessness while in office. Aminu Tambuwal, a Nigerian lawmaker and elite, appeared to agree with this statement at a public lecture he delivered in Lagos, Nigeria in July 2013, where he enumerated the reasons that make revolution imminent in any society: "The most compelling reasons for revolution throughout the ages were injustice, crushing poverty, marginalisation, rampant corruption, lawlessness, joblessness, and general disaffection with the ruling elite" (Opara, 2013). Since no oppressor ever gives freedom willingly, it is usually demanded by those who desire it. If the African people, who are at the receiving end of these inadequacies, impunity, and oppression don't talk, nobody will talk for them—not only about placing Africa on the same page with the rest of the world on criminal justice and other related matters, whose journey is still very far and its road rough indeed, but about letting the rest of the world know that even in spite of all the problems confronting the continent that arose from slavery and colonialism and the selfishness and greed of the successive political leaders in postcolonial Africa, that the continent has never been short of ideas nor intellectually empty after all. When celebrated Western historians and their criminologists continue to maintain that there was no criminal justice system at all in precolonial Africa and that anarchy reigned before the white man came, this long-battered continent has no option but to come out of its cocoon to state it as it is, that the people of Africa had been living in peace and harmony, directing their own affairs, ruling themselves honestly, in love, with respect and in progress, before the colonial powers came with their strange culture, threats, and force. The state of affairs in precolonial and postcolonial Africa cannot be more aptly shown than in this summary of the independent conclusions of Wole Soyinka and Chinua Achebe, related by Professor George Ayittey of the American University in Washington, D.C.:

There are more than 2,000 African ethnic groups but despite the incredible diversity there are striking commonalities among them. Whereas Western jurisprudence emphasizes punishing the guilty, the widespread African tradition

stresses restitution and reconciliation or ‘restorative justice’ — the basis of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission established after the dismantling of Apartheid. Africa’s economic heritage featured free village markets. There were rudimentary free markets in Timbuktu, Kano, Salaga, Onitsa, Mombasa and elsewhere before the advent of the colonial era (Ayittey, 2012a).

Ayittey continued his comparison between the West and Africa before the colonial masters came and gave the type of political system being practiced by the West as majoritarian or democratic system while Africa enjoyed taking decisions through consensus at meetings usually held at village centres. He said that the Ashanti called the African decision making system *asetena kese*, the Igbo called it *ama-ala*, Somali called it *guurti*, Shona called it *dare*, Zulu and Tswana called it *ndaba* and *kgotla*, respectively. In relying on Professor Soyinka’s assertion, Ayittey argued that many pre-colonial African empires like Mali, Songhai, and Ghana constituted themselves as confederacies where authority was not concentrated on any single entity because the empires were decentralized through devolution of authority. Ayittey agrees with Soyinka that much of this knowledge has been hidden where he said:

Myths about Africa came to replace these truths, and the problem was compounded by the failure on all sides to distinguish between form and substance. The institutions of democracy, free markets, money, marriage, justice, can take many forms. Just because there were no ballot boxes or supermarkets or white-wigged judges in pre-colonial African villages doesn’t mean Africans had no conception of those institutions. African tribal cultures aren’t in conflict with the Western; only the forms of institutions are different (Ayittey, 2014b).

Soyinka was apt and Ayittey agrees that there is an area where the West and Africa share exact political ideals and that arena is where they both see the state as an evil that is very necessary. The founding fathers of America noted a threat in that concept and quickly put checks and balances into the business of state. Africans too had not been lacking in the idea of checking autocracy in their societies which they did in two ways. The first way was doing away with centralized authority by abolishing the state and they found example of such stateless societies in the Igbo, the Somali, the Ga, the Gikuyu and the Tallensi. In those societies, you would neither find chiefs nor kings which means embracing the concept of freedom in its most radical way. The second way was creating centralized heads but put councils upon councils around them as checks and balances to prevent abuse of authority. They made sure that such kings did not possess any political power. The kings were only entrusted with a spiritual or supernatural role, which kept them in their palaces and not intruding into people’s business. For instance, the Yoruba Ooni could only go out of his palace in the night when it was already dark. All those traditional democratic forms have been abolished during the colonial and post-colonial era. Ayittey wrote, while affirming the stance of Soyinka and Achebe:

“The gods are angry because Africa’s soul has been denigrated and trashed. As Messrs. Soyinka and Achebe warn us, Africa is doomed unless her rulers discover her soul. Without this knowledge, we cannot traverse the path to devel-

opment. Soyinka and Achebe both conclude “that the solutions to Africa’s problems can be found in Africa—her bosom, her humanity—and that Africans must rebuild their own indigenous institutions” (Ayittey, 2014c).

Eminent African non-criminologists are using music, public fora, treatises, public discourse, debates, conferences, op-eds and articles, seminars, street protests, literature books, public lectures and theatre arts to speak against imperialist crime and the attendant injustice it did to Africa. African criminologists and lawyers, therefore, whose trades have direct links with the administration of criminal justice, ought not to keep quiet on the subject. Rather, they ought to be at the forefront leading the crusade to seek justice for the poor people of Africa.

The dynamics and value benefits of the African criminal justice administration ought to be adequately projected, touted, and courageously displayed to the world so as not to be consigned to the dustbin of history or hung on the backdoor of civilization by those controlling the world, who continue to see Africa as inferior in all matters that affect life. In order to help itself and be its own door-keeper, Africa must henceforth shout with all its strength and voice for genuine recognition of its values, since those who hold the entire world by the jugular are so powerful that any time any of them says no on any issue, it is difficult for the rest of the world to alter the decision. This realization should be enough to prompt any African criminologist or writer to state the African way without any fear of being molested, for the more it is promoted the less atavistic the traditional and African idea of criminal justice will seem to the 21st-century world. It is to continue to showcase a kind of adjudication that is unique in its own way and that is agreeable to all whenever it is applied as a mechanism for settlement of disputes in the African communities. That was why great writers like Biko Agozino and Emmanuel C. Onyeozili have made a case for the decolonization of criminology based on label-free discourse, and for the study of justice itself (Agozino, 2003). They have both argued that Eurocentric criminology has all along been selfish, mono-directional, and self-centered as it has refused to acknowledge the evil effect of Imperialist crimes while justifying the cruel and inhuman punishment of the innocent. These erudite writers both reasoned that interjecting the Afrocentric perspective of criminal justice administration into the world discussion would revolutionize criminology. Agozino particularly tried to expose Edwin Sutherland<sup>1</sup> and the other European and Western criminologists and historians “for focusing so much on individuals’ crimes while ignoring the wider and higher impact imperialist crimes” (Onyeozili, 2005, 80–81).

The courageous stance of these writers in defense of Africa must continue to attract and propel more Africans, especially lawyers, to write more about the African method of settling disputes, to exhibit its uniqueness and value benefits and to prove to the rest of the world that the African method of criminal justice is not outdated or primitive in outlook and application, as some people in their toga of arrogance want the rest of the world to believe. We must show the world that the African method of criminal justice is all about unity, transparency, love for one another, balance, and peaceful co-

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1. Sutherland was an American sociologist and criminologist active in the 1930s.

existence, respect for tradition and values, and fairness to all the stakeholders when it comes to dispute settlement within an African community or between and among African communities. But it is such a pity that the Europeans came and shoved most of the African traditions and values aside while superimposing their strange culture. Even today, Westerners who have not had the opportunity to visit and physically see Africa in its true sense, nature, and innocence, continue to portray the continent as nothing other than a jungle where people live, eat, and sleep in the trees side by side with wild animals. Some who have visited the continent continue to pretend as if there is nothing good or beautiful in Africa. They are usually quick to publicize only the bad and the ugly in order to perpetually keep the continent in its assumed inferiority status among the rest. But there is no nation on earth, no matter how great it may be, that does not have its own bad and its own ugly. Even though these developed nations know all this, they would also not want to freely acknowledge the fact that there must equally be a disparity between the rich and the poor in Africa, just as in their own countries. They know that the result of this is always an imbalanced structure of human activities which must also affect criminal justice administration and those in charge of it—no matter where it occurs. But who can blame Africa's critics, when Africans themselves continue to behave in manners that suggest that they have lost it all without any hope of retrieval? There is a well-established principle in social psychology known as in-group and out-group bias. This principle strongly believes in the tendency to judge members of one's group more leniently and favorably than members of outside groups. It may be that those from outside who continue to view Africa negatively are just following this theory. To get it right therefore and possibly close the gap in between, Africans in general need an attitudinal change which must result in immediate inculcation of self-discipline, disabuse of privilege, and the spirit of zero-tolerance for greed and corruption. If they could get it right, it would give the greatest good to the greatest number of the African people, who are really the owners of those God-given resources being enjoyed selfishly by a few elites for so many years without any sympathy for the rest. In all societies, those in the lower class are usually in the majority and are treated the same way when it comes to privileges. It does not matter whether they are in the developed nations or not.

William Chambliss once wrote that "The lower-class person is (1) more likely to be scrutinized and therefore to be observed in any violation of the law, (2) more likely to be arrested if discovered under suspicious circumstances, (3) more likely to spend the time between arrest and trial in jail, (4) more likely to come to trial, (5) more likely to be found guilty, and (6) if found guilty, more likely to receive harsh punishment than his middle- or upper-class counterpart" (Chambliss, 1968). And Chambliss was referring to situations not in Africa but in the less chaotic, better developed, and well-structured societies where they truly practice rule of law and genuine democracy, with less corruption and with the advantage of modern communication system and excellent infrastructural facilities. This suggests that criminal justice is unequally applied to the rich and the poor even in the developed nations of the world. In spite of the fact that Western writers know this inequality very well and that it is not peculiar to Africa, they continue to see themselves and their countrymen as perfect people whose ideas

are always right, faultless, and superior, particularly when compared with Africa. But regardless of their stance about Africa, they still deserve some pat on the back for the way they generally manage themselves and administer criminal justice in their own jurisdictions, because whoever is caught contravening the law regardless of his class and position in those developed nations will face the wrath of their law and this clearly distinguishes them. Although their legal systems may not be perfect, equality before the law as a matter of principle is patently an added impetus to their positive attitudinal credit score in those advanced societies because the majority of their citizens always does the right thing even when nobody is watching them, as far as obeying their laws is concerned. Whenever the few who don't give a damn are caught contravening the law, they are swiftly tried and punished if found guilty of the charge brought against them. This is so because their laws are respecters of nobody. It must be clearly noted that they hold tightly to such a tradition in order to uphold justice and equity in their system at all times so as not to unduly favor one class of people against another class. This is not to wish away Chambliss's postulation that, in criminal justice, the lower class is usually disadvantaged against the other classes when it comes to arrest, detention, trial and punishment. The developed nations always try to avoid anything that can result in selective justice. Unfortunately, it is being done differently in most contemporary African countries, where some people are even above the law as a result of their enormous personal wealth or their prominent social position. This is also because our peculiarity as a people who are so much in love and too obsessed with acquiring the ephemeral things of this world cannot be ignored. That peculiarity has to be brought to bear in considering the disparity between the rich and the poor in the application of criminal law and criminal procedure code, particularly in comparison between African countries and the developed nations on this subject. Those who are supposed to take a definite stand on issues that could be of great benefit to the generality of the African people are easily compromised, either as a result of too much love for earthly things or for fear of threat to their lives and safety if they refuse to yield to undue pressure. Anybody can suddenly become stinking rich and nobody will ask him questions as to the source of his wealth. Instead, the society will begin to praise him and those around him will start to worship his new status. A strictly upright individual within such a society would be perceived as a lunatic whose brain needed to be examined by a psychiatrist. Sometimes such an upright individual, having become helpless and lonely, may be tempted in frustration to join the clique of oppressors through acceptance of political appointment: "If you cannot beat them, join them." The intention of those who offered the political appointment to the upright individual might be to give their government some legitimacy or credibility so as to have some progressive outlook. Usually, they don't give such individuals a free hand to operate, because to allow that would be counterproductive to their reactionary style of governance, which doesn't bother itself about the welfare of the people. Another reason why many offenders in Africa escape justice is because they are related to those in positions of authority who must not be embarrassed by any low behavior of a close family member, friend, or associate. In such instances, what the political leaders usually do is to either give instruction which must be carried out when the issue could be tackled directly

under their authority, or press one or two buttons to cover it up permanently when it is not under them no matter how grave the transgressions are.

Whenever those in positions of authority are themselves guilty of some crime, they use their position and money to evade the claws of justice while they in turn arrogantly display the wealth garnered illegally from office. No matter the severity of the criminal act(s) they may commit while in power, some of them, like the Nigerian president and the state governors and their deputies, are even protected from arrest and prosecution by virtue of the immunity clause in the Nigerian constitution. When they are out of office and no longer protected by the immunity clause, they usually use their influence and wealth to shield themselves from prosecution and punishment. Some will even go so far as to apply for a court injunction to bar any criminal court from trying them, and willing judges have been found (at least in Nigeria) to grant such requests. Whenever any of them is charged in criminal court, there are always eager defense lawyers who will exploit the loopholes in the criminal and civil procedural laws, and use all manner of tactics, including filing frivolous applications and interlocutory appeals to stop, delay, or postpone their trial forever. Legal scholar Akin Oyeboade has averred that:

The greatest problem we have in Nigeria is not corruption, it is impunity. Because once everybody knows that you cannot get away with violating the law, then everybody would sit up. Then, the law would be uniformly applied regardless of whose ox is gored. But in this country, we adopt what in law we call *ad hominem* application. You look at the face of the accused person, if he is from an ethnic group, religious group, or belongs to a group the Indians call sacred cows, then, we don't touch such people. Invariably in other countries, selective enforcement is deemphasised. If you are caught with your finger in the till, you will pay the price. There must be uniformity in the application of sanctions. It is not the severity of the sanction that serves as a deterrent to criminal behaviour; it is the certainty of the punishment. (Baiyewu, 2014)

The common occurrence of this kind of behavior among African political leaders, their cronies and others who are put in positions of trust, is the result of the numerous civil wars, much strife, and deadly unrest in many African countries in the past several decades, and to which there is no end in sight. Often times, especially in Nigeria, petty thieves who ordinarily would not have spent more than a maximum of six months in prison if speedily tried and found guilty have been left to rot in prison, awaiting trial for seven, eight, and even nine years because they are poor and as such have no means of getting freedom while the big shots who were indicted for money laundering and misappropriation of the people's money are allowed to walk free—and even compensated thereafter with big government appointments or contracts because of their influence in society. That is a direct confirmation of the view of Aesop, the Greek slave and fable author (620–560 BC), who is quoted as having said: “We hang the petty thieves and appoint the great ones to public office.” No wonder that newspaper columnist Yomi Odunuga should note that, in the eyes of non-African nations, “our larceny is unequalled. Today those who should be behind bars after surrendering their loot to the State are the ones making and implementing laws for us. I dare say some of them are

interpreting the laws.” Odunuga quotes Justice Mustapha Akanbi, former Chairman of the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC):

Many well-meaning and responsible Nigerians have been crying foul at the turn of events and the apparent cover-up of purveyors of corruption in recent times and the lethargic manner corruption cases are being handled. More often than not, mediocre, incompetent and corrupt officials, rather than resourceful, efficient and competent hands, find their ways into positions of power and authority, which they use and manipulate to their own advantage and not to the benefit of society or the public good.

The result is that the nation begins to drift and slide dangerously down the slippery road of economic ruination. In the process there is the general desecration of societal and normative values, low level performance in both socio-economic and technological developments and ultimately, a putrefying decadence, the stench of which often puts off or prevents other nations with a record of transparency and probity from wanting to interact or do business with a corrupt nation. (Odunuga, 2014)

The last two decades have been so disgusting and debilitating when it comes to peoples’ observance — or even knowledge — of Nigeria’s once respectable cultural and traditional values. The prestige of African values in Nigeria has hit rock-bottom, with immorality and crime skyrocketing in consequence (especially among the youth). The youth, who are supposed to be the hope of tomorrow, are themselves now mesmerized by the “get rich quick syndrome,” and they have no qualms about what they may have to do to make the money. What matters to them is just to make it big time and move to the upper class, even if it is without dignity. The rate of financial crime being committed in both public and private sectors by those entrusted with managing those sectors for the good of the people has also increased monumentally for this same reason. The effectiveness of criminal justice administrators, for instance in Nigeria, the country with the largest black population in the world, is painfully at its lowest ebb of all time. These administrators could not be effective as expected of them because they too are part of this same society. A negligible number who, through sincere efforts, may desire a positive change are molested, threatened, or intimidated into frustrated surrender.

This book was prompted by the urgency to speak out on all of these issues and more, in a way that has never been done before. This book is also aimed at showing how criminal justice systems through the ages have sustained or otherwise impacted Africa. An attempt has therefore been made to trace the history of criminal justice administration from early times through the colonial and postcolonial eras and down to contemporary Africa. The book discusses and shows how the criminal justice system has fared in Africa in the face of African culture and tradition, in the face of Christianity and Islam, and how military incursion into politics has dealt with the criminal justice system and the rights of poor people of Africa. This book thus discusses the role of the king, the council of chiefs in the African communities, the Koran, the Bible, and military decrees as tools in the administration of justice in generational Africa.

The book critically examines how postcolonial African leaders and governments have, up to the present day, handled the issues of fundamental human rights, the dignity of the person, and the poor on matters of arrest, detention, granting of bail, prosecution, and sentencing of convicted persons, in comparison with the procedure that is fully in place in the free and fast moving democratic Western world. Are African countries, even today, making concerted efforts to be on the same page with Europe and America when it comes to criminal justice administration, or do they still need urgent reformation in their method of administering criminal justice to conform to international practice and standards? Does the law treat the rich and powerful people in the African societies the same way it will treat the poor man in the street when it comes to arrest, investigation, detention and adjudication in criminal matters? Will it be necessary to mix the indigenous style of African criminal justice with the English or other systems to bring about a good result? Or instead, should the African administrators just upgrade the indigenous system of criminal justice to be able to handle the present-day complexities in criminal justice administration? This book discusses all these and the impact that the African economy is having on the criminal justice system in the continent.

The book also brings into focus the role of the press and its persecution by successive autocratic governments in the African countries, especially during military regimes. It also illuminates to the role of the local and international human rights fighters, civil societies, international bodies and philanthropies of the world in carrying the continent along as regards children and women's affairs, human and social development, and democracy as they affect the fundamental rights of the African people. It examines how the mentality of the political leaders of postcolonial African countries has betrayed them in leadership succession and how that has been violating the rights of ordinary people, activists, and civil society leaders. It goes on to discuss whether or not Africa of the twenty-first century is still a dark continent in matters of rule of law and the use of money as they affect the right of the African people to choose their own leaders through transparent balloting. Although the book does not discuss these issues as they affect Africa country by country, it nevertheless picks strategic countries like Nigeria, Mali, Cameroon, Malawi, Congo, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland, and South Africa from sub-Saharan Africa and Morocco from the north of Africa. The readership targets of the book are the students and teachers of law and the political and social sciences in the higher institutions. It is also meant to attract judicial officers, legal practitioners, human right activists, law officers, political office holders, members of the African societies and the world generally. Please enjoy the book.



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