

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables.....	XXI
Introduction: the emergence of failed governments and underdevelopment in Africa.....	1
Chapter One: Social Contract Theories and the raison d'être of governments	15
1. Social Contracts: the government and the people.....	18
1.1 John Locke and the establishment of government.....	21
1.2 Charles de Montesquieu and the further division of power.....	24
1.3 Rousseau: participation, sovereignty and common will	26
1.4 Political power, authority and democratisation: a brief analysis	28
2. States and governments: the social contract in Africa.....	34
2.1 Preserving life, liberty and property: successful governance in Africa	38
2.2 Politics and states without statesmen: worthless and harmful government.....	45
3. ...and what happens when the government fails?	50
Chapter Two: Political transformations since independence: the false start and governance problems	55
1. From subjugation to post-independence nation and state-building	56
1.1 Africa before independence and then colonisation.....	58
1.2 Independence struggle and the birth of nations	61
1.3 The challenges of nation-state building: the beginning of failure	65
1.4 The reverse wave: consolidating the failure course.....	74
1.5 Failure and emergence of worthless and harmful polities	81
1.6 The malapropos of the social contract in Africa.....	85
2. Governance along a success-failure continuum.....	87

2.1	The success-failure continuum: variables and indicators	90
2.2	The success story: Benin's example	97
2.3	Middling performers: Cameroon's example	99
2.4	The unsuccessful cases: DRC example.....	100
Chapter Three: National and international factors influencing		
	African politics.....	103
1.	National factors	105
1.1	Ethnic divisions, tribalism and neo-patrimonialism	106
1.2	African leadership flaws and fallibility.....	110
1.3	Traditional versus civil societies: between traditional and modern polity	116
1.4	Political culture/mentality: in need of political socialisation	124
2.	International factors	127
2.1	Colonial impact and legacy.....	128
2.2	Neo-colonialism: clients and European patrons	133
2.3	Economic interest, conditioned aid, Cold War and consequences ...	135
3.	Africa and continental governance	141
3.1	The OAU and governance in post-independent Africa	143
3.2	From OUA to AU: NEPAD and APRM: Can the AU succeed where OUA failed?	145
Chapter Four: Empirical Case Studies: Benin, Cameroon and DRC.....		
1.	Republic of Benin	155
1.1	Independence, state constitution and failures	156
1.2	The reverse wave and failed governance	159
1.3	The second liberation and the success of re-constitution	160
1.4	Re-constitution, successful transition and consolidation.....	163
2.	(Federal/United) Republic of Cameroon	165
2.2	The reverse wave and failed governance.....	171

2.3	The second liberation: non-reconstitution and transition failure.....	175
2.4	The dynamics of failures: ethnic divisions, clientelism and the Anglophone problem.....	179
2.4	Success, a farfetched dream?	184
3.	Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).....	188
3.1	Independence, state constitution and government failures	190
3.2	The reverse wave, harmful government and kleptocracy	192
3.3	The second liberation: non-reconstitution and failed transition	193
3.4	Still another attempt and a re-constitution attempt!.....	196
4.	Similarities and differences within the case study countries	198
5.	Lessons from case study countries.....	203
Chapter Five: Conclusions, prospects, and propositions		207
1.	Concluding Remarks.....	209
2.	The democracy advocacy, propositions and future perspectives.....	218
Appendices		229
Bibliography		245