Africa Takes Control of its Destiny

AFRICA HORIZON 2060

What does Africa want to be and to become?

How does it want to govern itself?

4 conferences for drafting

a new path towards development

– *An Africa that invents its governance (Praia, Cape Verde - 2012)*

- *An Africa that invents its economy (2013)*

- *An Africa that renegotiates its place in the world (2014)*

- *A project for 2060: Conference on restitution, formalisation and political backing (Addis-Ababa, 2015)*

Africa Takes Control of its Destiny

In the years since many of its countries became independent, Africa has not been the true master of its destiny. Throughout the cold war, the continent was torn between opposing political blocks—in some cases practically made a ward of one block or the other—and forced to adhere to certain political and economic doctrines.. Today, whether with regards to economics or politics, Africa finds itself on the fringes of international relations. Not finding in their own countries or indeed anywhere on the continent the future perspectives to which they aspire, many young people--in particular the best educated--have continued to flee, depriving Africa of the talent and creativity it so sorely needs.

But Africa is now at a turning point in its political, economic and social history. Despite mixed results in State- and society-building, which clearly show how far the continent still has to go in terms of economic, political and social development, Africa does have what it takes to meet the needs of its peoples and play a more important role in the world. Democracy, strengthened by decentralisation and by civil society's contributions to improving State governance, is slowly but surely becoming consolidated; immense reserves of natural resources remain unused; rapid population growth is making the continent a promising market; regional integration processes are contributing to good governance and the creation of shared markets, and changes in international economic relations, with the emergence of new powers, are giving Africa more room to manoeuvre on world markets and providing opportunities to renew and regulate international relations.

And what if Africa took control of its destiny?

To turn these advantages into factors that truly contribute to its success, Africa needs a collective jump-start; it has to stop "sleeping on other people's mats" in the words of the well-known African historian Joseph Ki Zerbo. Across the globe, the construction of modern nations and the definition of development strategies have always taken time. Africa is no exception. Yet Africa is not a hopeless continent. It has energetic young people and the natural, cultural and intellectual resources it needs to emerge in the 21st century with its own world view, its own conception of governance and its own path for development.

This is what the **Africa Horizon 2060 Initiative** is all about.

The Alliance for Rebuilding Governance in Africa (ARGA) invites all African and non-African actors who believe that Africa can take control of its destiny to taken part in this initiative whose goal is to outline a new political, economic, social and cultural path towards emergence and to begin right now to construct a project for the next fifty years, so that the 100-year anniversary of African independence can be celebrated under the banner of true independence.

The Africa Horizon 2060 initiative will be implemented through a series of conferences on the following subjects:

- *An Africa that invents its governance (Praia, Cape Verde – 2012)*

- *An Africa that invents its economy (2013)*

- *An Africa that renegotiates its place in the world (2014)*

- *A project for 2060 (Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia, 2015).*

Conference 1: An Africa that invents its governance

Praia, Cape Verde – June 2012

Governance is **the art of a society inventing and implementing a way of managing itself so as to guarantee cohesion and well-being within its borders, security with respect to the outside world and equilibrium between itself and its environment.**

Up until now, Africa has simply reproduced, at the time of independence, the model of colonial States. It has followed outside recommendations and submitted to outside injunctions, which have changed frequently according to fashion or the demands of 'guardian' powers or international institutions. Its so-called 'modern' institutions, often juxtaposed on traditional management modes that are alive and well--are still like a superficial blanket weighing on societies.

The goal is certainly not to idealise the past and claim, in the area of governance, an 'African exception' to justify dictatorships, nepotism, clanism or a lack of regard for human rights But now it is up to Africa to find its own path forward by taking the best of its traditions—re-examined in the light of 21st century challenges—and the best of international experience, freely interpreted by Africa itself and not imposed on the continent in the form of standards and conditions.

To arrive at an African project of governance, proposals will be organised around ten themes, brought together in 5 workshops:

Workshop 1: Base the 'living together' in societies on shared valeus and principles
     1 - Put values back at the core of the political project and adopt an African charter of responsibilities
     2 - Design new basic principles for managing society

Workshop 2: Use the best of both tradition and modernity

     3 - Use the best of both tradition and modernity by recognising judicial pluralism

Workshop 3: Rebuild the postcolonial African State through decentralisation and regional intergration

     4 - Reconstruct States starting with the local level and base governance on the active subsidiarity principle

     5- Support the project to encourage African regional integration

Workshop 4: Support tailored and inclusive management of public affaires
     6 - Give all actors in society a say in the management of public affairs
     7 - Invent a new way of thinking about the management of public affairs.
     8 - Use active civil society to support equitable public management
     9 - Train the civil servants who are at society's service

Workshop 5: Construct the conditions required for universal security

     10 - Construct the conditions required for universal security and lasting peace

1. Put values back at the core of the political project and adopt an African charter of responsibilities

Traditional African society was built on a foundation of ethical and moral values. Each individual's identity was based on his or her role and responsibilities within the family and the community. These values are still very much alive, but the foundations of traditional African society have been slowly eroded by major migratory movements—particularly to cities—confrontations with other cultures and the individualism encouraged by both the consumer society and the exaltation of competition. Much too often the result is scorn for the good of society, abuse of positions of power (of which corruption is one sign) and indifference with regard to the long-term consequences of our acts and their impact on our descendants. Society is ill at ease with this cynicism because it recognises its destructive potential.

When we look at the point of convergence of the traditional ethical foundations of society, our current religious and community values and the interdependence that connects us to the world, what values do we see that could give African societies, in all their diversity, another chance to take charge of their destiny and build their own governance project? These shared values, with which all actors can identify and to which leaders can formally commit are absolutely necessary, for without them governance is nothing but a technique for exercising power for its own profit.

During the conference, and in association with the international dynamic of the Charter for human responsibilities, an African Charter for responsibilities will be drawn up.

2. Design new basic principles for managing society

Every country has a constitution; it is often based on the model of the former colonial power. Far too often, these constitutions were drafted by groups of law professors working alone; the society as a whole was not invited to participate in discussions or the definition of founding principles.

Constitutions have of course been formally voted on, but they are still foreign to the society. Instead of bringing States and their societies closer together, they have only helped drive them apart. So it is not surprising that these constitutions--which should give governance a solid and enduring foundation on which to build--are treated lightly, as if they were just pieces of paper to be changed at will to meet the needs of elites in power.

To be legitimate in the eyes of an entire people, the principles of governance should be a reflection of the way the society itself thinks it should be managed. These principles should be alive and well and echoed in collective management at all levels, from the family, village and neighbourhood to the nation as a whole.

Constitutions—written in words that everyone can understand and in national languages, discussed at length and reflecting the way society wants to see itself in the future—should be a vibrant expression of the commitment to live together and the capacity to do so.

Using inter-African and international thinking on constitutions as a basis, the conference will identify the main lines of a new constitutional effort that Africa should impose on itself.

3. Use the best of both tradition and modernity by recognising judicial pluralism

One of the main criteria of legitimate governance is that societies feel they are well governed: constraints imposed on individuals in the name of the common good should refer to clear needs of the society; management modes should conform to the way the society thinks agreements should be reached and conflicts dealt with; leaders should be trustworthy; institutions and public services should be efficient, pertinent and implemented by competent civil servants dedicated to the public interest.

Law and the resolution of conflicts are an important part of governance. But as the Chinese philosopher Confucius wrote 25 centuries ago, "in a properly functioning society, the schoolhouse steps are worn by use and the courthouse steps are full of weeds". African societies once provided an illustration of this 'properly functioning society' thanks to a traditional practice for arbitrating between conflicting interests and managing conflict that was based on customary systems of reconciliation instead of written law. With the arrival of colonisation and then the post-colonial State, most African societies retained the two judicial orders: one 'customary', the other 'modern', one oral, the other written. Far too often these systems work separately, are juxtaposed or compete with each other. Instead of having one system triumph over the other, instead of exalting an idealised tradition or banishing it in the name of modernity, what needs to be done to create an African project of governance is to look for the best in both systems and draft principles for judicial pluralism.

4. Reconstruct States starting with the local level and base governance on the active subsidiarity principle

Since post-colonial States are like a blanket lying atop the reality of African societies instead of being a dynamic and integral part of those societies, it is on the local level, where people actually live—villages, neighbourhoods, towns, provinces—that the African governance of the future must be invented.

It took the decentralisation movement of the 1990's to make "administration come home" in the words of Ousmane Sy, i.e. for administration to once again become an integral part of society. At the same time, we can see that local territories—cities, regions, etc.—across the world are becoming, not vestiges of the past increasingly swept aside by the modern communications systems that instantly link all points on the planet, but on the contrary a basic building block in governance and a pivotal economic actor.

It is on this territorial scale that economic, social and ecological issues can be simultaneously managed. In addition, our economy is increasingly knowledge-based.

As a result, the capacity of local actors to cooperate amongst themselves, what is known as 'the territory's immaterial capital', is becoming the major factor in competitiveness. So an African project of governance must be built from the local level up. The territories must not, however, be considered walled-off, inward-looking entities. Rather, they need to be seen as open to their neighbours and the world.

None of the real problems of our societies can be managed on a single level. Rigid sharing out of competencies to each of the levels of governance, from the community to the entire continent, is bound to fail. What needs to be done, on the contrary, is to invent principles, methods and a culture of shared competencies and cooperation between the various levels of governance. This is what is now referred to as 'multi-level governance'. The idea is facing resistance from long habit and from people attached to the feudal exercise of power--people who want to be absolute masters of their

domains--but it will gradually gain ground. The principle of active subsidiarity describes methods enabling the various levels to cooperate on each societal issue.

The conference will provide an opportunity to identify and promote all the elements in local innovation today that can help invent the African governance of tomorrow, then discuss multi-level governance and make concrete proposals for implementing active subsidiarity.

5. Support the project to encourage African regional integration

Clearly, Africa already has at its disposal a number of institutions that encourage integration and federate the various African countries--from the African Union itself to the many regional organisations and those specialised in currencies, the economy, trade, water management, etc. In any case, national borders inherited from the colonial period rarely correspond to any profound human or historical reality. Exchanges between post-colonial States are nothing compared to the movement of people and goods, the migrations and the contraband that passes across porous national boundaries. Yet States place innumerable obstacles in the way of this reality. Inter-governmental institutions purportedly work for regional integration; transborder communities actually participate in the process. They are two distinct realities with little connection between them.

Africa's historical drama is that it fought for independence in order to construct sovereign States based on the model that former colonial powers left them, while the latter--having understood for themselves the terrible consequences of nationalism--were beginning to construct the European Union! With the African Union and regional organisations, the goal was to simulate this regional and continental integration without following the various steps that would have lent consistency to the project. The result was simply more institutions.

During the conference we will discuss processes to allow us to move toward authentic regional integration and a true African union.

6. Give all actors in society a say in the management of public affairs

A proverb says "You can't pick up a stone with only one finger". It is illusory to expect public action to manage public assets by itself. Partnership between actors is at the heart of modern governance, whether in providing public services such as water, waste management, security, education, health, etc. or in economic development.

African societies have their own traditions of partnership. The modern theory of governance and practices developed in the countries concerned may shed new light on the subject. To this must be added, in many countries, the widespread presence of 'development partners' who also participate directly in the provision of public services. And yet, much too often, partnership modes are not clearly defined and many actors--particularly city dwellers in poor neighbourhoods, farmers, fishermen, actors in the informal economy, etc.--and not sufficiently organised for their voice to be heard. Nor is their competence recognised, even though they are the breadwinners for the majority of Africa's people.

Instead of an abstract speech on partnership that would lead to a consensus with no practical application, the conference will draft a charter for partnership between actors based on concrete cases and actual experience.

7. Invent a new way of thinking about the management of public affairs

With the ideological crises that characterised debate in the first decades of independence, and as a result of societies' loss of confidence in their political leaders, somewhat charismatic and providential leaders with generally vague programs have appeared across Africa at election times. In terms of political debate, societal projects that have put together quickly without consulting populations--and that will never be implemented--do a poor job of hiding leaders' rivalry, thirst for power and competition for access to public assets. The multi-party 'representative democracies' imposed by former colonial powers and international institutions, far from bringing authentic, deep-seated democracy to African countries, have at times impeded it. We were told that democracy would bring peace. But in Africa it has often been the cause of violence and wars. Elections--which are rarely honest and whose importance is rarely understood by the entire population--and application of the 'majority rules' concept mean that with just 51% of the vote one can grab 100% of the power and, with it, money from the exploitation of natural resources.

This "winner takes all" principle is foreign to African societies, which have developed tried and true methods for consensus building and sharing.

Africa needs to find another way to develop political perspectives. Programmes cannot be designed by the apparatus of political parties, which are sometimes nothing more than tools for seizing power at the service of leaders only interested in coming to power so they can take advantage of public assets. Societal projects and the resulting political programmes should reflect the desires of the entire society. Suitable methods are needed to achieve such a goal.

During the conference, we will have the opportunity to examine the initial results of the Malian Assembly of Citizens, a novel attempt to construct a political project "from the bottom up" and to examine under what conditions, on the city and State level, the culture of consensus can be rehabilitated and made the rule in public decision-making instead of the exception.

8. Use active civil society to support equitable public management

African society is developing on the fringes of formal institutions and even despite them in some cases. Without the vitality of African civil society, which is incredibly dynamic and inventive despite poverty and despite crises, Africa would be worse off today. Yet this civil society is not always clearly seen and appreciated because African elites and development partners focus their attention on institutional structures. It seems like civil society only comes into existence when institutionalised non-governmental organisations are there to represent it! In addition, these official representations of civil society are often in reality tools of those in power and development partners.

For farmers, fishermen, city dwellers, informal sector entrepreneurs, women and young people to take part in public affairs and have their voices heard, all these sectors need access to a good understanding of issues on the national and international levels. Their leaders need proper training, and the entire society needs access to excellent information on the management of public affairs (use of taxes, development aid and revenues from the exploitation of natural resources, etc.) and the most successful and pertinent international experience.

The conference will allow us to compare various situations in which civil society has been involved in designing and evaluating public policies and to propose tools to provide the necessary training and information.

9. Train the civil servants who are at society's service

The competency and devotion of local, regional and national public service agents is a decisive factor in determining the legitimacy of governance. A society cannot be well-managed without the assistance of well-trained civil servants devoted to the public cause and capable of engaging in respectful dialogue with other sectors of society and colleagues in other administrations. Technical and judicial training is not enough. Setting up an inter-African network for training in governance to share in the development of a bank of case studies, as well as initial and on-going training courses, has become a priority. Such training will help students better understand the challenges that African society must meet in the next fifty years, the conditions required for in-depth reform of States and 21st century principles of governance. This inter-African training network should bring together the association of African cities UCLG-Africa, centres and institutes that train territorial civil servants and existing national schools that provide training in administration.

10. Construct the conditions required for universal security and lasting peace.

Of all the continents, Africa is one of the most torn by conflict. These conflicts always have two dimensions: internal civil war and foreign intervention. Minerals and other natural resources, far from being a source of prosperity for Africa, directly or indirectly fuel most conflicts. Competition for land, aggravated by population growth, the greed of foreign powers and the soil's loss of fertility, is the underlying cause of most conflicts labelled as ethnic or inter-community disputes.

Because States lack legitimacy, they are virtually incapable of preventing the irruption of violence, and are in fact often its cause. The international community developed an entire philosophy for rebuilding the State after its failure, but the methods used and the short length of time they were implemented did not allow it to succeed. And despite the praiseworthy efforts of the African Union, few conflicts have been resolved without the intervention of the 'international community'.

Yet Africa, with traditions going back thousands of years, has its own conflict-resolution and peacemaking instruments which are worth examining in the light of international experience and using to develop a new doctrine. The conference will devote itself to encouraging dialogue between the various institutional and social actors, leading them to think about their practices, pool experiences and come up with new alternatives for conflict prevention and management.

Conference 2: Africa invents its economy – 2013

Is Africa doomed to underdevelopment? Is it meant to be just a reservoir of natural resources that the other powers fight over, or despoil, with the help of the African leaders who happen to be in place? Is the wealth of Africa destined to be transformed into luxurious apartments in Paris and London or private bank accounts in Switzerland and fiscal paradises, never having served the population as a whole? Is this illusory fatality acceptable?

In 1950, experts predicted that China would remain an agrarian society. It is now in the process of becoming the world's leading economic power. Not just 'the world's factory' as it has sometimes been called--implying that it owes its development to the exploitation of its workers--but also a leading technological power, world leader in solar energy, one of the best placed countries in terms of new technologies, etc. Same for India. In the case of both China and India, it was once said that their cultural and social systems were incompatible with a modern economy. Today the same systems are being held up as one of the main factors in their development! Is it written in stone that only African societies are permanently unsuited to development, except when they allow themselves to be led and guided by others?

Those who claim that the current lack of development can be explained by foreign companies' dividing up Africa amongst themselves, do not believe it themselves. They know that Africans themselves are mainly responsible for their unenviable plight.

What Africa needs--and must provide for itself-- is an 'oeconomy', a term that comes from the Greek words 'nomos' or rules of the game and oïkos, management of the shared house. In short, it needs a system of production and trade that allows it, like other countries, to take advantage of globalisation, yet also state its own 'rules of the game', rules that will allow it to protect its ecosystems, progressively develop its own competencies and production system and design its own system of sustainable development.

The conference will call upon concrete experiences, African reflection and the best of international reflection on the evolution of economic systems in defining an African conception of sustainable development. Clearly, African must no longer blindly imitate the western model of development because this model is based on the use of energy and natural resources from all over the world and cannot be applied to the entire world. Nor is it a sustainable model even for the western world; radical change is required. Africa must not miss this rendez-vous with history.

To design an African way of thinking about the oeconomy, which is considered a major branch of governance, the conference will address nine proposals brought together in 5 workshops:

Workshop 1: Adapt governance of natural ressources
    1. Formulate new rules of governance of natural resources
    2. Adapt the regime of governance of land rights to the realities of African society
    4. Encourage integrated and equitable management of water and coastal areas

Workshop 2: Encourage the provision of public services

    3. Encourage best practices that facilitate the provision of basic public services

Workshop 3: Support the creation of agri-food sectors

    5. Support the creation of stable and sustainable agri-food sectors

Workshop 4: Encourage new views and approaches to the development of territories and economies
    6. Develop a new vision of currency and energy as vectors in the development of territories

8. Use the development of the informal sector to make local economies more dynamic

Workshop 5: Rethink the company in the development strategy
7. Renew the rules of partnership with foreign companies
9. Encourage a management and company culture suited to the realities and needs of Africa

1. Formulate new rules of governance of natural resources

In Africa, people have sometimes referred to the "curse of natural resources". The presence of such resources has indeed led more often to wars, illicit individual enrichment, pillaging and irreversible damage to the physical and social environment than to prosperity for the population as a whole. Populations often wake up one day to find that their mineral resources have been sold off to foreign companies without communities having even been informed, much less consulted. Experience has shown that economic prosperity gained by the sweat of one's brow is the only sustainable form, first of all because the fruits of such success must be fairly divided, and secondly because it leads to the development of competencies, learning, know-how and institutions that perpetuate this prosperity. Inversely, the exploitation of natural resources based on a mining model--take the riches and run without leaving anything sustainable--lends itself to illicit appropriation of wealth.

When the State claims a monopoly on natural resources, it uses them to enrich elites in power and maintain lavish standards for those in power. Why do these riches belong more to the State than to the local community--on the one hand--or Africa and the entire world on the other? Then when States break down, warlords usurp control of natural resources--diamonds, oil, copper, etc.--and use them to firmly entrench their feudal power and enrich themselves to the detriment of populations. Foreign companies take part in this pillage. Europe, the United States, and now China and India as well are so avid to obtain these riches that their economic agents do not look closely at how they are acquired.

Yet natural resources are not an ordinary economic asset. They are a gift from nature before they are the fruit of human effort. Their distribution on and beneath the ground have nothing to do with the merits of any community, no matter what its size. Unlike ordinary industrial assets, which can be infinitely multiplied with the development of techniques and know-how, natural resources are finite in quantity. International companies involved in their exploitation should be subject to laws defined and enforced on the international level.

These specific characteristics of natural resources should lead to the establishment of specific regimes of governance that raise the issue of justice in the distribution of profits from resources and also include local communities in their exploitation, in terms of both protection of resources and the environment and learning for the future. To set up these regimes of governance, we must call upon the support of international public opinion--which is increasingly appalled by the practices of unscrupulous economic operators--and require traceability of all resources acquired when natural resources are exploited, as well as public knowledge of how they are used. A strict international embargo should be imposed on the exploitation of natural resources associated with warlords.

There is now a wealth of reflection and experiences in the field. The conference will provide an opportunity to list the regimes of governance that can be applied to energy and mining resources and to translate these regimes into a set of memoranda of understanding to be used as a model in the future.

2. Adapt the regime of governance of land rights to the realities of African society

Africa has often been depicted as a sparsely populated continent with the vast land resources required to dispense it from the complex rules regulating land ownership and rights in more populated parts of the world. But land good for growing crops is becoming increasingly scarce, while the rural population continues to grow significantly despite migration to cities. Africa is the last of the world's continents to experience a true demographic explosion, and this population boom is stretching traditional mechanism for regulating land rights to their limit. Traditional and modern land management regimes are often juxtaposed and in contradiction. Conflicts between farmers and herders have increased in number and intensity in many regions of Africa and are sometimes the cause of bloodshed. More recently, Africa's political and economic weakness have made it tempting prey for non-African countries and foreign companies anxious to acquire large swaths of land for immediate use. Few arguments against their action can be found if, in fact, land use is very difficient. Finally, in a number of African countries, competition between rich and poor for the control of increasingly scarce land is the economic substratum of social conflicts.

Thus, no matter which way you turn, governance of land rights is an important part of governance in Africa. The conference will provide an opportunity to list the governance regimes best suited to urban and rural land rights management. Isn't it interesting that the last Nobel Prize for economics was awarded to Mrs Osborn for her work on land rights management, which showed that traditional management mechanisms were superior to the privatisation mechanisms recommended by international institutions? And students of customary law are always impressed by the subtlety and diversity of the usage rights that agricultural societies attribute to this basic asset.

The conference will inventory problems encountered in the governance of land rights in Africa today, examine a number of innovative approaches that try to combine customary and modern law, and determine the main points of a governance regime that can be applied to this asset.

3. Encourage best practices that facilitate the provision of basic public services

Societies do not judge their government leaders on the basis of their speeches. They judge them on their capacity to guarantee the well-being of their fellow citizens, the most important component of which is the provision of basic services such as water supply, waste management, availability of basic foodstuffs, education, health, security, energy supply, a healthy environment, etc.

Administrative and political leaders may be occupied with debate on decentralisation, and the power struggle between States and local authorities may seem to be of the utmost importance to those involved, but populations, in particular the poorest, just want to know which system is the most likely to contribute to the proper provision of basic services. The third edition of Africités, a meeting of African cities held in 2005, was dedicated to this issue. From the meeting's many workshops came the 'Yaoundé principles' intended to guide public authorities in designing the provision of basic services in partnership with populations. Since then, the principles have been tested in a number of cases (Bamako in Mali, Cotonou in Benin and Lomé in Togo).

The conference will examine these experiences and collect others in order to determine an African philosophy and practice and to give the Association of African cities and African States a permanent system for exchanging experiences and sharing learning in this field.

4. Encourage integrated and equitable management of water and coastal areas

Water is another natural asset that calls for a special, tailored regime of governance. A precious asset in Africa, water is more and more scarce as a result of increased consumption, climate change and short-sighted practices that contribute to desertification.

The coasts of the great lakes and oceanfronts also present problems: overfishing, damage to the environment and competition between small-scale fishermen, who are the source of the livelihood of entire sectors of the population, and industrial fishing fleets from other countries that provide the State with foreign currency.

Humanity has a vast amount of experience in managing water, both in Africa and the rest of teh world, because water management is practically at the origin of governance and of the State (consider ancient Egypt). The principles of governance of water are widely known. Everyone in the world talks about "integrated water management" but most of the time, in Africa and elsewhere, it remains just a slogan. There are, in fact, many difficulties to be overcome. To succeed, the various levels of governance--from the village or neighbourhood to the cross-border river basin--must be well articulated and the various administrations that manage infrastructure, water treatment, use, hygiene or health aspects, education, etc. must be capable of cooperating. There must also be just and efficient mechanisms for distributing the use of water between herders and farmers, cities and rural areas, agriculture and household use, economic needs and the needs of everyday life, etc. Good water management is impossible without the input and cooperation of the various types of users; good management of coastal ecosystems is impossible without the participation of fishing communities. Yet this entire rich and complex system of water governance has often been shunted aside in the name of dogmatic principles such as privatisation of public services associated with the supply of water, complete billing of costs, etc., in short all principles that consider water an ordinary economic asset. Water management should be based on the dual principle of social justice and efficiency.

The conference will provide an opportunity to look carefully at experiences that have come closest to this integrated and equitable system of water management, and identify a number of shared principles

5. Support the creation of stable and sustainable agri-food sectors

People are still talking a lot about sustainable development, but they are not giving or getting the resources needed to make it more than just a slogan. One main problem is the very organisation of the economy, which favours one type of economic actor: the company. Yet companies control only a small part of the sector of production, which extends from the supply of raw materials to final distribution and the recycling of the subproducts of consumption.

At the same time, only sustainable sectors--those that use energy and raw materials economically, provide for the equitable distribution of the added value produced by the entire chain of production, and respect the environment during all phases of production and economic exchange--will allow us to construct sustainable societies.

The conference will address this issue on the basis of the sector that touches Africa most directly: the agri-food sector. Food security, agricultural policy, the regulation of production, international trade...these are all important questions for Africa. A multi-actor international forum was recently set up for one of Africa's leading agricultural products, the banana. A governance regime for sustainable sectors is beginning to take shape.

The conference will provide an opportunity to discuss the 'sustainable sector' concept and examine African agricultural policies, the impact of international trade and changes in

preferential regimes with European countries. It will also give us a chance to lay down the major guidelines for sustainable agri-food sectors.

6. Develop a new vision of currency and energy as vectors in the development of territories

It may seem unusual to place energy and currency in the same theme. Yet if we look carefully at energy, which is part of all daily activities and at the heart of international trade, we can see it has three characteristics of an actual currency: it is an accounting unit (everyone knows the value of a barrel of oil), a means of payment on which the international barter system is based and, finally, it is a store of value, both in terms of oil fields and regulatory stock.

After the financial crisis, the dollar lost its position as the one and only international currency. Major regional currencies such as the euro, the Chinese yuan and the Japanese yen, and soon the Indian rupee, now share this position. Where will Africa stand in this new configuration? Should Africa develop local currencies to encourage the fluidity of labour and merchandise on the level of communities smaller than States? Isn't it only out of habit that we manage our exchanges with single dimension currencies (euro, dollar, etc.) when, to move towards a sustainable way of life, what we need to do is consume more human labour and less fossil fuels? How can we, even on a continent like Africa (and Africa is not poor; it is Africans who are poor) use technological developments such as electronic purses to develop a new way of looking at currency? In particular, should the same currency be used to pay for both human labour and energy?

The conference will attempt to provide answers to these questions.

7. Renew the rules of partnership with foreign companies

Views on foreign companies' role in development vary widely. Such companies are omnipresent in Africa. Are they in fact pillaging the continent, or do they represent a way for Africa to acquire more quickly the technological knowledge, know-how, capital and international trade networks that it so sorely lacks? International experience has shown that there is no blanket answer to this question. It all depends on how foreign companies and capital are used.

Among many examples of development, let's consider the two most important in the world: China has developed at dizzying speed by exponentially increasing its exports with the initial support of partnerships with foreign companies while India, for its part, is developing more slowly but mainly with the support of Indian companies. The most important question is how foreign companies can be made to act as much as possible in the common interest? Can we talk about corporate responsibility when companies that operate the world over have a parent company that is subject only to national law? When they can blame subcontractors or suppliers for any activities found to be morally or ecologically reprehensible? Can international companies exist without international law?

These are just a few of the questions that will be debated at the conference, in view of establishing the foundations of partnership protocols that guarantee a balance of advantages to both parties.

8. Use the development of the informal sector to make local economies more dynamic

Development policies imposed from on high can only work if they are supported by local dynamics. Recent world history has borne out the truth of this principle with the contrast between development in China and in Russia after the countries abandoned the Communist-era centralised planning system. The big Russian industrial monopolies were privatised in a rush and they have not engendered more genuine economic development than they did in the preceding Soviet era. In fact, the result is quite the contrary. In China, a very strong fabric of local companies with State capital has managed to convert to the market economy and a fabric of local private companies has rapidly developed. Some of these companies have, with or without partnerships with foreign companies, become multinationals.

In Africa a certain disdain for the informal sector and the tendency to put pressure on emerging economic activities have too often smothered local economic dynamics, which have received little recognition and encouragement. In a dual economic system that focuses narrowly on local auto-consumption yet is open to the winds of international competition for industrial products, little room remains for economic thought based on the development of local potential or on the mobilisation of local savings.

The conference should help change the way these problems are viewed. it will examine the emergence of local dynamics and local productive systems that are the basis of a new African development dynamic .

9. Encourage a management and company culture suited to the realities and needs of Africa

No matter what the status of economic actors (public, private or cooperative), there can be no development without the emergence of a class of entrepreneurs, in the widest sense of the word: people capable of identifying opportunities, mobilising resources and talent and assuming their position in international competition. At the same time, the economic entities they create cannot be managed simply on the basis of abstract international rules applicable to all situations, as the so-called 'science of management' might sometimes lead us to believe. Management of the special community of people involved in the same economic unit is not unlike the way in which the rest of society manages itself. At some point the world was forced to recognise the existence of Japanese-style management, Chinese-style management and Indian-style management, just as it was once recognised that French management was different from German or American management. How should the future entrepreneurs of Africa be trained? How can we come up with an African model of management? How can universities and business schools be drawn away from simply copying Harvard?

The conference should allow us to identify existing resources in this field in African education, from primary schools to universities, to determine whether or not, above and beyond the diversity of African societies, there can be an African model of management and to define a strategy for developing the spirit of initiative and entrepreneurial fibre.

Conference 3: Africa renegotiates its place in the world - 2014

Despite immense natural assets (30% of the world's mineral deposits, 15% of its arable land and 20% of its hydro-electrical potential), Africa is still unable to create enough wealth to provide for the basic well-being of its population. In 2003, the gross national product (GNP) of France (60 million people), was three times that of Africa as a whole (800 million people). In addition, Africa is the most indebted continent in the world in relation to its gross national product. For developing countries as a whole, exterior debt in 2000 averaged 40% of GNP, but for Africa this figure is just over 60%. Within the African continent, the situation in sub-Saharan Africa is even worse, since the total amount owed (230 billion dollars in 1998) represents approximately 70% of the sub-continent's GNP2.

Despite several decades of many types of technical and financial assistance and the presence of many public and private aid organisations, Africa is still in a desperate state of increasing marginalisation. In 1960, when many countries became independent, the African continent accounted for 14% of world trade, while its population amounted to 9% of the world's population. In 2003, its participation in world trade amounted to less than 2%, while its demographic weight was nearly 14%3.

Because of the small amount of wealth created and increasing debt, international financial aid plays an important role in defining and implementing public policy priorities. African leaders, as a result, feel more indebted to the institutions of the 'international community' than to the citizens of their own countries. Reviews by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and the cycle of subsidies, loans, cancellation of the debt and associated conditions...are a standard part of public management in most countries. The high percentage of aid in countries' budgets and the associated conditions in fact deprive the leaders of African governments of the capacity to take autonomous initiatives.

With the beginning of the second half-century of African independence, a real discussion of the conditions for rebuilding relationships between Africa and the other continents, between African countries and other countries in the world, is urgently needed. While working towards a win-win partnership with the world's countries and major regions, Africa must also strive to break out of its current state of dependency and make its voice heard.

To do so, the conference proposes five proposals for discussion, brought together in 2 workshops:

 Workshop 1 Redefine paradigms to give new meaning to international cooperation for development

Workshop 2 Construct the foundations of a dialogue between social actors from Africa and other continents (Europe-Asia-Latin America)

Workshop 3 Encourage the integration of production/trade sectors for goods/services on the level of the continent's major regions

Workshop 4 Make the voice of a united Africa heard in international instances and promote African proposals for world governance

Workshop 5 Create university magnet centres and regional training and scientific research centres to give the continent the human resources it needs to attain the level of performance necessitated by worldwide competition

1. Redefine paradigms to give new meaning to international cooperation for development

Development is first of all a question of responsibility and ambition. The development cooperation built on the current aid logic does not make Africa more responsible. Worse, it gives the illusion that development can only be achieved through State actions and their outside support. For a society to develop, it must have a long-term project that it believes in and supports. But the short-term intervention on which aid is based prevents this long-term vision from developing and separates African societies from their own destiny. Donors do not just provide financial support; they also choose on what to act, and how to act. This contributes to the feeling that development models are simply imposed on societies that do not identify with them and consequently do not feel responsible for their outcome.

Discussion of how to renew the framework of partnerships between Africa and its international partners, to give these partnerships meaning and make them more efficient and pertinent, is urgently needed. The generalisation of cooperation through budgetary support and decentralised cooperation are of course good first steps toward giving more responsibility to States and local authorities with respect to their own choices, but we need to go further.

The definition of new paradigms that give meaning to a cooperation built on the indispensable solidarity required to resolve shared problems of worldwide scope (climate change, free circulation of people and goods and the fight against pandemics) should be placed at the core of the agenda in order to give real weight to the reciprocal commitments formulated in a frame of reference in the form of an 'International charter of cooperation for development.'

2. Construct the foundations of a dialogue between social actors from Africa and other continents (Europe-Asia-Latin America)

The natural potential of Africa in terms of land, plant life, mineral resources and sites for hydraulic power plants seems to be a curse rather than a blessing. It does not serve the African population as a whole, and the continent's young people prefer to seek their fortunes elsewhere in the world. Worse, tensions are mounting from year to year as populations increase, people head pell-mell for the cities, natural resources become rarer and each day the environment suffers a little more damage. No good can come of this situation. For European, Asian and American States and operators, Africa is nothing more than a source of raw materials and a market for their products--and often for their waste as well. For the social actors in these same countries, Africa is worthy only of compassion and charity. In this picture, Africa is like a beggar expecting everything from others and carelessly selling his natural, non-renewable heritage for a pittance while buying all sorts of things he could have produced himself. This situation cannot continue because it carries the seeds of violence and despair that can already be perceived in many African cities.

Above and beyond formal, bilateral negotiations between governments and the efforts of multilateral instances, we urgently need to set up spaces for dialogue where the economic and social actors of the various continents can meet and engage in bilateral or multilateral discussions in view of implementing mutually advantageous forms of cooperation.

To construct this dialogue, we need to identify shared world goals, common perspectives and the indispensable partnerships to be built between actors from the various continents--after having defined the role and contribution of each party in the place where he lives.

3. Encourage the integration of production/trade sectors for goods/services on the level of the continent's major regions

Uniting African countries in large, regional economic groups is not a new idea. Nor is it an unrealisable dream. Its roots can be found in the mixing of populations from the various regions of Africa as a result of their histories.

African political and economic integration can thus be seen as first and foremost a work of African peoples. This tradition should be used as the starting point for all integration initiatives in Africa.

But regional African organisations such as UMAU, ECOWAS, ECCAS, COMESA and SADEC are paralysed by the immobility and overcautiousness of national governments-- and this despite African actors' great expectations of the integration of countries.

In response to the latest crisis in the rice market, ECOWAS countries designed and implemented their own specific strategies (Malian Rice Initiative, GOANA initiative in Senegal) instead of working out a joint response to the problem. A country-by-country logic was also used to structure the cotton sector when a regional approach would have better for producers and manufacturers in the region.

Another striking example is the agreement on free movement of people and goods which, although it has been signed by governments and ratified by national parliaments, is still not fully implemented for economic sector operators. Merchants arriving at a border crossing with their goods often spend days dealing with the formalities--or the capriciousness--of customs agents, policemen and other law enforcement officials. Such hassles lead to missed opportunities and enormous losses of profit. Result: African economic operators trade more outside the continent (China, India and the Middle East) than within Africa because it is easier to export goods to distant countries by air than to take them into neighbouring African countries by land. In other words, important human, social and economic flows are blocked by 'controls' that are often just an aberrant expression of outmoded sovereignty or simple bribery.

4. Make the voice of a united Africa heard in international instances and promote African proposals for world governance

Africa is increasingly inaudible in the traditional international spaces for debate and decision-making such as the United Nations and Bretton-Woods institutions; it follows much more than it leads as a result of its high level of dependency. Worse, major world decisions are increasingly taken in instances like the G7 and G20, from which Africa is either entirely absent or 'seen but not heard' through heads of State who are present but play no real part in decision-making.

Yet most of the decisions of these instances have repercussions on the daily lives of African populations. Only economically and politically important countries take part in worldwide public decision-making. In these instances, Africa with its assortment of small, weak countries doesn't stand a chance.

To be better heard on the international stage, Africa must grant greater political responsibility to the major regional organisations we have already talked about, and to the African Union Commission, all of which have the merit of existing. This political integration--whose aim is to give Africa a greater voice and more influence on the world level--also requires that big countries like South Africa, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Algeria, Sudan, Ethiopia, etc. play the role of regional leaders and have, in turn, the interests of their respective regions at heart.

5. Create university magnet centres and regional training and scientific research centres to give the continent the human resources it needs to attain the level of performance necessitated by worldwide competition

A few years ago, an essayist who is well-known in Africa stirred up a fuss by comparing Japan to Africa in one of his works (Afrologie, by Stephen Smith) and stating that "Africa is rich but Africans are poor". Indeed, the Japanese, who live in a country practically devoid of natural potential, are richer than Africans, who are sitting on a treasure made up of immense natural resources. The only plausible explanation lies in the quality of human resources.

Aside from a few North African countries such as Tunisia and Morocco, which have made education a priority, most African countries simply do not have human resources of the quality that can survive and succeed in the arduous arena of international competition. The few African professors and scientists of international calibre prefer to take refuge in the universities and laboratories of Europe and North America, where they are given better living and working conditions. The few universities and regional research centres inherited upon independence have been split into smaller universities and national research centres handicapped by the meagre resources their countries can provide. These resources are nothing compared to the means required by an international level research centre or university.

In this field as well, the creation of university magnet centres and regional training and scientific research centres, placed under the responsibility of regional organisations, is the only way in which the continent can obtain the human resources it needs to attain the level of performance required by today's stiff worldwide competition to make use of knowledge and know-how.

International conferences
Africa Horizon 2060 Initiative

1 - Issues

One of the recommendations of the inter-regional forum on governance issues in Africa, organised by the Alliance for Rebuilding Governance in Africa in partnership with the Commission of the African Union (Addis-Ababa, November 2005) stressed the need to set up an inter-regional platform for dialogue on governance in Africa. The decision to hold Annual African Governance Days responds to this need to construct spaces for sharing experiences and initiatives on governance in Africa and for forward-looking reflection on the continent's future.

The goal of the '**Africa Horizon 2060 Initiative: Africa Takes Control of its Destiny'** is in fact to make this inter-African space for dialogue on governance an ongoing reality, and to give its reflection a depth in keeping with the immense challenges that African countries face and will continue to face in the coming decades. The AH2060 initiative hopes to provide a framework for forward-looking reflection and initiative, and to mutualise the various efforts and initiatives now striving towards an African reconquest of African destiny, with regard to both international and African issues.

2 - Framework

An initial cycle of three conferences will address in succession the following major issues, so that in a fourth conference an African development project for 2060 can be put forth:

1. An Africa that invents its governance: the conference is planned in Praia, Cape Verde in June 2012;

2. An Africa that invents its economy in 2013;

3. An Africa that renegotiates its place in the world in 2014;

4. A project for 2060 in Addis-Ababa in 2015.

Follow-up mechanisms will be created at each conference in view of:

(1) taking a more indepth look at analyses and proposals; a think-tank will be set up amongst the participants to continue the systematic and indepth examination of analyses and proposals and maintain the momentum of exchanges with conference participants;

(2) driving synergistic initiatives for change, in view of improving practices in the various fields addressed during the conference; pilot projects will be identified and negotiated in partnership with institutional actors that have participated in one of the conferences;

(3) diffusing the knowledge and know-how gleaned from the various encounters or developed from the pilot projects that have been implemented; documents will be published and small encounters organised on the country level and in the framework of theme-based networks.

3 - Choice of participants

To ensure the legitimacy of the analyses, proposals and initiatives that come out of these conferences, it is vital that participants be judged representative. The themes proposed for each conference must be covered properly by a representative sampling of actors in the public sphere and the body of participants as a whole must be a reflection of the society.

a) Target categories

Observation of societies in Africa has led to the targeting of the following social milieus:

1. States and government institutions (State-level civil servants, military personnel, local civil servants);
2. Private sector;
3. Scientists, universities and think tanks;
4. Traditional and religious leaders;
5. Rural producers (farmers, herders, etc.);
6. Media, communicators and cultural actors;
7. Young people;
8. Women;
9. Professional organisations;
10. Local elected officials;
11. Integration organisations;
12. Political parties;
13. Actors in development (NGOs, development cooperation partners, etc.).

b) Number of participants

Africa is divided into six regions (the five regions corresponding to regional integration institutions and the African community living abroad, the diaspora). Each of the 6 regions will be represented by 15 participants equally distributed amongst the categories of actors identified, which leads us to 15 x 6 = 90 participants for each conference. In all, the Africa Horizon 2060 Initiative hopes to engage approximately 360 persons in Africa and across the world in direct dialogue.

c) Identification of participants

Participants will be selected on the basis of:

1. a database in the form of a directory of persons with, in addition to the usual data (address, email, etc.) the following information: from what region? what socio-professional milieu? what contribution? to what theme? recommended by whom?

2. social networks active in Africa and across the world, including for example East Africa Media, East Africa business community, African think tanks, Common training networks, business clubs, African network of journalists, the Trust Africa network, UNISA, the network of African universities through UNESCO, etc.

3. the diffusion of documents to prepare for the conference as well as actions to communicate with the public at large, which will be carried out before the event.

4 - Method of preparation

In preparing for the conferences, massive use will be made of the ARGA's resources website.

a) Creating theme-based files

One section of the site is dedicated to the '*Africa Horizon 2060 Initiative: Africa Takes Control of its Destiny'* The text corresponding to each theme in the introductory note serves as the **issue text** introducing the theme. A 'theme-based file' will then be created for each theme. A nomenclature, similar to a thesaurus of keywords, will then be created so that all the documents and experience sheets in the ARGA's database can be searched using the corresponding keyword to find texts that are pertinent for the 24 themes.

b) Expanding theme-based files

A number of means will be used to expand theme-based files:

1. requests for contributions from universities: a group of informers (one per theme and per region) will be identified; these informers' commitment to preparing for the conference will give them the honour of participating. A 'documents' database will be placed at their disposal for this purpose.

2. participants will be asked for contributions: persons selected to participate agree to provide, at some point before the encounter and directly on the site or by email, a contribution to the theme in which they will participate: what are the main issues evoked by this theme; what are the most significant experiences; what proposals does the participant put forth?

5 - Organisation of the conferences

a) Division

Each conference will last **4 days** and will be organised as follows.

- opening and sharing in a plenary session on: the Africa Horizon 2060 Initiative; objectives and methodology of the conference: 1 day;
- theme-based workshops: 2 days;
- restitution and conclusions: 1 day.

b) Distribution of workshops

The 24 proposals to be discussed are brought together in workshops that will be used to examine the proposals in depth, and to put them into perspective in view of the challenges the continent must meet in order to get a true start on the road to economic, political and social progress by 2060.[1]

Conference 1: An Africa that reinvents its governance (5 workshops)

- **Workshop 1**: Base the 'living together' in societies on shared values and principles **Proposals 1 and 2)**
- **Workshop 2:** Use the best of both tradition and modernity by recognising judicial pluralism **(Proposal 3)**

---

[1] The fourth conference will be essentially political in nature. It will be a meeting to summarise and support the 'Africa Horizon 2060' project and will be the object of a specific methodological note.

- **Workshop 3:** Rebuild the postcolonial African State through decentralisation and regional integration **(Proposals 4 and 5)**

- **Workshop 4:** Support tailored and inclusive management of public affairs **(Proposals 6, 7, 8 and 9)**

- **Workshop 5:** Construct the conditions required for universal security and lasting peace **(Proposal 10)**

Conference 2: Africa reinvents its economy (5 workshops)

- **Workshop 1:** Adapt governance of natural resources (**Proposals 1, 2 and 4**)

- **Workshop 2:** Encourage best practices that facilitate the provision of basic public services (**Proposal 3**)

- **Workshop 3:** Support the creation of stable and sustainable agri-food sectors (**Proposal 5**)

- **Workshop 4:** Encourage new views and approaches to the development of territories and economies (**Proposals 6 and 8**)

- **Workshop 5:** Rethink the company in the development strategy (**Proposals 7 and 9**)

Conference 3: Africa renegotiates its place in the world (5 workshops)

- **Workshop 1:** Redefine paradigms to give new meaning to international cooperation for development (**proposal 11**)

- **Workshop 2:** Construct the foundations of a dialogue between social actors from Africa and other continents (**Proposal 12)**

- **Workshop 3:** Encourage the integration of production/trade sectors for goods/services on the level of the continent's major regions **(Proposal 13)**

- **Workshop 4:** Make the voice of a united Africa heard in international instances and promote African proposals for world governance (**Proposal 14**)

- **Workshop 5:** Create university magnet centres and regional training and scientific research centres to give the continent the human resources it needs to attain the level of performance necessitated by worldwide competition (**Proposal 15**).

This theme-based work should lead to a summary that answers the following questions: **what are the main issues?; what significant experiences can serve as a source of inspiration?; what proposals were made?; what commitments have been made and what are the first steps?**

c) Reporting on work done in workshops

To systematize the work done in each workshop and manage reporting, **Desmodo software and inverted cards** will be used to determine between 5 and 7 questions and main proposals for each section.

An editing group will be responsible for final drafts of the summary proposals that come out of the conference.