Let us change Africa

15 ways to start …

November 2003

Foreword

Since October 1999, the Network, « Dialogues on governance in Africa » has been working in the Western and Central regions of the continent to promote a radical reform in governance in order to legitimise it and ensure its conformity to the values and needs of the African people. This Network is made up of Africans and non-Africans who have embarked on actions and reflections among African people and in the world as a whole in order to foster dialogue in the management of public affairs in Africa.

Objective of the Network:

- *Firstly, to create a Pan-African public dialogue and reflection forum on governance;*

- *Secondly, to develop and suggest principles that will enable the entrenchment of governance practices suitable for the African realities in view of the challenges of the 21st Century.*

We in the Network are convinced that Africa must use its specific forms of governance to address issues common to all societies of the world. The process initiated is guided by the simple principles of matching reflection with action. In the first phase, the Network focused on the collection of experiences, viewpoints and the expectations of the various fields (group approach) in the various countries (territorial approach) on the different aspects of governance (thematic approach). A significant collection of documents on experiences and analysis has been assembled. In May 2002, the Network embarked on the second phase in which the materials collected were arranged systematically in order to find an African perspective of governance and translate it to concrete reform proposals.

The African Charter for a legitimate governance and sets proposals presented here have been designed with the experiences and analysis of the African realities in relation reflections of the rest of the world and opens the door to a new phase, that of feed-backs from the field.

In deed, these documents are calling for dialogue in all the sectors of the society, institutional or non, in our various countries: dialogues on the relevance of the highlighted principles of governance, dialogue to clarify, deepen and develop reform proposals for designing the entire reform strategies required for their implementation.

The Network, together with all its partners, current and future, will continue to facilitate these dialogues. It will employ all its resources to build a common view of governance in order to change.

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Context and stakes

African crisis is part of the global governance crisis …

For some years, governance has been the topic in vogue so much that, for any speech on the future of Africa (and the other developing continents) to be taken seriously it has to be included.

In our understanding, governance, which is often reduced to a list of general rules that every State has to follow as the basis of its legality, is the art of governing by coordinating the management of public affairs at the various levels of the territories, from the local to the global and to organize the relations within each society.

In deed, Africa is undergoing a governance crisis but it is not the only one in the situation. It is a global crisis because it is that of the principle of nation State as a way of organising the societies. It only has peculiar trends in Africa because of the history and the current position of the continent in the world.

The application of an already prepared « kit » of uniform rules cannot be the solution to the present governance crisis. Africans must formulate their own vision of the future and embark on dialogue with the rest of the world in order to find solutions to the common challenges both in the field of governance and that of development.

…But it has peculiar trends in Africa…

This global governance crisis takes peculiar forms in Africa and is manifested in particular manner in the various levels of social regulations and public affairs management.

This is because the overwhelming majority of the African population are living in extreme poverty. More than a quarter of African countries are directly or indirectly affected by the conflicts that have left more than 10 million refugees and displaced persons. About 150 to 200 million Africans are living in Countries in which internal tensions could escalate to civil wars. The African continent is more and more marginalized on the international arena because it contributes less than 3% to the world trade.

After more than 48 years of « independence », speeches on national sovereignty and unity appear to have become a mere rhetoric for the States which have become so dependent on international assistance, even for their day to day operation. These States are too far apart to allow the joint management of the problems of the societies and too small and weak to constitute one entity and and a forum for exchanges in the era of globalisation. At last the continent is left in situation characterised by a widening gap between the « legal countries » and the « real countries ».

The governance crisis in Africa is also a multifaceted crisis of the society which goes beyond the State to affect the relationship between individuals, households (the family) and the public and weakening every one of them. The issues at stake are the forms of representation, structures, processes, institutions within which the contemporary African societies decide the management modalities of power, distribution of public resources and intervention between the various individual and group interests

Current debates and proposals on the place and fate of the African continent in the world focus on the marginalization processes emanating from the current methods of integration in the global economy, as well as on the need to put an end to it.
The breaking proposals of our day stress the need to promote new partnership systems compatible with the accession of the African continent to a higher position of responsibility at economic, political, and cultural levels.

Africa can only make her voice heard in the present era of economic globalization by being able to design its own project. In deed, in order to survive and be taken into account in the world, Africa must invent or discover appropriate and efficient methods of governance that are capable of confronting the present challenges of the 21st century. The relevance of these new methods of governance will be measured by their compatibility with the modern projects that the elites and African citizens are hoping to promote. In other words, it is to formulate and release codes of conduct, regulation and management methods capable of tackling the present challenges facing the African societies. : to exist and be taken into account with its own cultural values and contributions in a globalized world.

Is this design of a new African governance just an adventure peculiar to Africa and entirely determined by the specificities of the continent? Exchanges of experiences and reflection between the different regions of the world, both in the North and in the South, reveal the emergence of common challenges through the specificities of each situation and that it is possible to tackle them by sharing the problems and joint action. Africans have to know that the solution to an idea is not achieved by identity withdrawal, but rather by exchanges and sharing of experiences and ideas.

The aim of the *African Charter of legitimate governance* that we are proposing to all African stakeholders is to draw perspectives of radical reform of governance in the global, continental, regional levels, as well as the local, and thus, contribute to the elevation of an African continent responsible for its future and for its contribution in the world.

Current debate on governance reveals a real concern on the part of the Governments and their partners to establish and promote public management rules, efficient and intent on an appropriate use of resources, employed and measured by indicators of good practices.

This debate, which is very timely today in Africa, conveys a legitimate concern for an appropriate management « as a good father should » of the increasingly scarce national and international resources.

But the debate should take the right direction: the definition of measurement and monitoring tools should not replace the prior identification of the changes desired by the protagonists.

As soon as the challenges of change in attitudes and practices are identified and validated with all those concerned, it is possible to define strategies and methods of tackling them. Thus, it is crucial to set indicators or progress markers for the expected changes with which to assess the relevance and the efficiency of the strategies employed to that end.

A new African governance will emerge from a process of collective designing of a system of values, organisations and ways of "doing" that will find its legitimacy in its ability to harmonize the unity needed in every human community with the diversity of an increasingly complex world.

Thus, the issue of legitimacy is crucial in the debates on the definition of principles and new modalities for managing (the rules of the game) public places ; hence the notion, legitimate governance.

We define **legitimate governance as the art of managing public affairs and exercising power for the Common Good of all with the support and under the control of those on whom these powers are exercised.** The fundamental values on which governance is based are: **equity**, which is the principle that guides public action and **mutual respect**, as modality for relationship between all then stakeholders in the public arena.

The legitimate governance approach is also based on a three necessities:

- Firstly, the need to harmonize the initiatives, experiences and proposals from the various levels of governance (from local to global) and to draw a correlation between African debates and other international fora.

- Secondly, that of matching **action** with reflection, that is, basing the proposals on the concrete experiences of stakeholders.

- Finally, the need to take off and satisfy the needs and expectations (material and immaterial) of the people.

Finally, « the ways of doing » of legitimate governance must be:

- Consensual: building consensus (agreement between all parties); is the basic rule of decision-making.

- Inclusive: no group or individual should be excluded.
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- Entrenched in the collective history and memory of the stakeholders and their societies.

The stakeholders of legitimate governance have to **stand together**, brace themselves to fully assume their **responsibilities** and lastly, take control of the situation in order not to be subjected to the changes that the evolution of their societies and the World demand.
These different elements can be assembled together in an " African Charter for legitimate governance "

This Charter lays down the “values” and the “major principles” that must guide the approach of the various stakeholders in the search for the right solutions to the concrete problems of governance.

Objective

1- Legitimate governance is the art of managing public affairs and exercising powers to serve the **Common good** with the support and under the control of those on whom these powers are exercised.

Values

2- **Equity** is the basis for the legitimacy of public action because every feeling of injustice arouses suspicion, resistance and finally exclusion and conflict.

3-Mutual respect makes it possible to listen, dialogue and to accommodate differences, without which the sense of common good cannot be built collectively.

Major principles for the action

4- **Entrenchment** of governance, this is taking into account, the cultural, socio-economic, and political realities of African societies, in their diversities, as matrix of its legitimacy.

5- The **participation** of all in public affairs depending on the needs of each one and the joint research for answer for common interest.

6- The necessary reform strategies for building the future of Africa cannot be dictated from outside or imposed to the whole society by a minority. Governance should enable all the African stakeholders to **manage the reform**.

7- **Responsibility** is the obligation to be accountable for one's words, decisions and actions. Everyone is responsible according to the measure of power he holds.

8-The search for solutions should favour **consensus** if one is concerned about the common good.

9-The management of public affairs should not create exclusion, but rather should promote solidarity and consolidate it.

10- Public stakeholders at the various levels (from local to global) should collaborate in finding solutions to common problems using of the principle of **subsidiarity** and not arrogating exclusive powers to themselves in order to justify their existence.

The Charter intends to serve as a reference point in the search for concrete reform processes. Similarly, its relevance is embedded in its capacity to give clarity to the sense of the reform proposals for legitimate governance.

... Accompanied with 15 proposals on how to change Africa and contribute to the global debate on governance

From the experiences and analysis collected between 2000-2003, the Network, today, wishes to discuss a certain number of proposals for reform in order to establish legitimate governance. They do not cover all the fields where reforms are needed. However, they cover the three levels of governance on which we can act directly: local governance, rebuilding the State and regional integration. The contribution of Africa to the global debate on governance will find material there for its own legitimacy.

The exposition of these proposals is an invitation to dialogue; in other words, they are not concluded proposals: they have to be discussed, deepened, transformed and appropriated.

Establish a legitimate local governance

This theme is based on the assumption that proximity is a factor that legitimizes governance since it brings the social needs of stakeholders and the public decision that addresses those needs into direct contact. It is certain that taking the management of public affairs closer to the people has great advantages: a better knowledge of people's expectations, opportunity for direct dialogue, more flexibility in solutions and citizens control power over public officers. **The local level is where the foundation for « living together»** is built and it is also the place where people enter into alliances and complex conflicts of interests.

The local setting is where every complexity in the world is projected, it thus, suffers the effects of external decisions and actions, coming from beyond its gate. This implies that many of the problems at local level actually have proportions and stakes that extends outside the local setting and demands an understanding of the references at global level. Local governance can only be efficient if the relationship with the other levels of power are taken into account and if they lead to exchanges, negotiation and co-operation. The revitalization of local economies and their interaction with the other levels constitute the basis for building national economies. Any efficient local governance must be able to consider the diversity of interests, amongst members of the local community and in relation to the other levels and formulate solutions that conform to the shared values.

1. Use consensus building as foundation for local democracy.

The search for majority, as decision-making modality, becomes a permanent quest and prioritized over negotiation between the various protagonists in the local life. Among the decision-making authorities there is a decreasing search to groups united around a shared vision. They are contented with raising the highest number of votes to ensure the adoption of their project. Recourse to consensus is not the rule; it is the exception. This decision-making system brings about misunderstandings, frustrations and generally, leads to the conflicts and tensions that the exclusive use of majority as decision-making modality provokes and perpetuates. The rate of absenteeism and the systematic rejection of decisions by the minorities within the authorities are revealing signs. Using consensus as negotiated management modality for stakes and expectation enables everyone to identify with the decisions and the local level is the right place for that. It is perhaps the price of patriotism, which is lacking today. It is also an essential condition for legitimising public action.

What should be done?

➔ Accept consensus as the rule for decision-making in the local authorities.

➔ Resort to voting only as an exception, to break impasse.

2. Change the approach in the organisation of competences

beginning with the legitimacy of the local level

In all the on-going decentralisation experiences, the transfer of competences and resources is confronted with implementation difficulties. Local stakeholders believe that the State wants to transfer only problems to them. The State is also highly suspected of using decentralisation reforms as a pretext to dump any sensitive duties for which they have problems on the local level. Yet, in the constitutions, the transfer of competences to local authorities is not optional; it is a legal and political obligation.

This situation reveals the serious problems emanating from the current method of distributing competences between the State and the local authorities, which needs to be addressed urgently. The approach must be reversed by first, giving the local level the power and opportunity to take decision on the duties which it can and must carry out. So that it could dialogue in a consensual manner with the State to determine, objectively, what the State must provide, as assistance, to the local authorities. The efficiency of local public action strongly depends on the liberty given to the local level to determine and define its own field of competences as against what is decided by the State.

What should be done?

- ➔ Give priority to the local level to propose the competences it would like to share with the other levels, mainly the State;

- ➔ Change the approach from the concept of shared competences to that of co-operation between the various levels in the fields of competences;

3. Get deliberations on local affairs

out of the exclusive framework of the local government councils

Usually elected by direct universal suffrage, the local government councils have the exclusive mandate to deliberate on local affairs. In the face of certain objectives of decentralization, this choice arouses questions such as: What is the link between the current institutional dynamics and the social dynamics? What validates the exclusive rights of only the universal suffrage in the constitution of the deliberative councils in relation to all the legitimate bodies existing in the local level? Is the monopoly of political parties in local representation in some countries not increasingly excluding stakeholders from local public life? Does representative democracy give visibility to all opinions and allow each individual to identify himself in these elected officials and within the current institutions? In view of establishing a legitimate local democracy, it is important to create the fora and define mechanisms for inclusion and participation for every local stakeholder.

What should be done?

- ➔ Include the representatives of all the authorities (traditional, religious and political) in the local affairs deliberating councils.

- ➔ Identify and encourage the emergence of new deliberation modalities for local affairs such as local referendum and compulsory consultation of certain social or professional groups on certain decisions.

4. Guard public action against the danger of diversion and abuse of power

As soon as the citizens elect their representatives, they cease to interfere in the day to day running of local affairs, which becomes the exclusive domain of local deliberative authorities. In practice, citizens have to wait till the following elections to assess and judge the actions of their elected representatives and decide whether to renew their mandate or not. This situation is all the more dangerous because the representatives always quickly break away from the obligation of making accounts to the people. Consequently, they distort and undermine the credibility of local public action. The uninformed citizens turn their back on the local public affairs. This observation is typical of the current governance crisis at the local level. There is an urgent need for a change of method. A fundamental dimension of control over the action of representatives in-between two elections would be to create time and forum for the people during which their representatives will render account of the implementation and follow up of public action and decisions made.

What should be done?

- ➔ Make the access of citizens to information on time obligatory, according to a quality and regularity that ensures simultaneity between action and control.

- ➔ Define specific and compulsory periods for the elected representatives, during which they exercise their duty of accounting for the mandate given to them, the decisions they took and the choices they made.

- ➔ Plan and organize general and specific control mechanisms in the normal operation of local institutions and local public life.

Building States that will be able to take up the development challenges of the continent.

The nation State that emerged at independence is still struggling for legitimacy as it is finding it increasingly difficult to ensure a sustainable well being and security for the people. Despite four decades of construction, the State, today, does not still have any other means of holding sway the populations except violence, unilateral decisions, and vote catching gimmicks.

The State has remained distant from the African societies, hence its inability to find appropriate solutions to these age-long problems, which have to do with governance in Africa. What root do these States have in the society? Do they work for the good of all?
Beyond the political legitimacy that election by universal suffrage confers, the basic stake of legitimacy of the present African States in the sense required for legitimate governance calls for institutional expansion of public affairs management.
However, this legitimacy cannot be built by ignoring expectations, dynamics and constraints of the local communities. For the State to be a legitimate body, it has to understand and recognize the diversity of its components (territorial, socio-economical, cultural, ethnic, political…). From then, it could design the uniting factors of the national community: common rules, major action programmes, and the vision of society. It also has a special duty in the day-to-day harmonization of diversity and unity. Thus, the State does not only have to coordinate its activities with those of the local governments, even its own efficiency is getting increasingly dependent on regional (regional integration) and international (globalisation) cooperations in which countries are involved.

5. Establish the principle of legal plurality in the constitutions

The recognition of the African State as a plural society would be to acknowledge the legal plurality corresponding to the individual belonging simultaneously to a State and to one or many communities at the same time. Recognizing the communities constitutionally implies the acceptance of the concept of the existence and legitimacy of the specific rights of the various constitutive sociological components of plural nations. Thus, the institutional structure of such plural nations should be designed to create the conditions for the recognition and generation of specific laws beside the general law. The specific taxes for the communities will deal on the strong identity matters (succession law, land property law…) and will be promulgated at the level of authority where the method of representation will allow effective expression of authorities whose legitimacy emanates from the communities (ex. Traditional Chiefs).

What should be done?

- ➔ Restructure the constitutions and entrench them on the African reality and make them an instituting act of the African societies.
- ➔ Organise regional and group consultations on constitution projects.
- ➔ Take inventory and arrange systematically, the use of traditional regulation methods (used in communities) in public life.
- ➔ Make customary law the lively and permanent forum where the communities would formulate their own rules.

6. Create a National Council of Communities and Local Governments

Political representation forms have seldom taken into account the plural nature of the African societies and the need to build nations that will thrive on the diversity of their territories and communities.
In the real sense of legitimate governance, rebuilding the State in Africa calls for expansion of the institutional scope of public affairs management.
In this context, setting up a national council of communities and local governments will go a long way to strengthening the legitimacy of the laws and regulations because of the recognition, in the legislative processes, of the organisation of the nation in local governments and communities.

Building on realities would be done in three ways :

1. By creating a national framework to be in charge of all the territorial and social components of the nation

2. By incorporating into the republican field the traditional rulers who so far have been ignored or neglected by the current institutional frameworks.

3. By setting up a unified national dialogue framework vested with the extensive powers to recommend and call to order .

What should be done?

➔ To set up a representation system for each component of the community in similar existing institutions (Economic and social council and the council of local governments) and define a modality for exercising the mandates.

➔ Mandate this national council with the power to recommend and consult;

➔ Empower this national council to appeal to the highest judicial authorities and to deal with cases on local affairs.

7. Embark on partnership for development

Today, it is possible to establish a partnership framework with the protagonists of official development assistance in order to rationalize development and make it more effective.
On this note, we must admit that no matter who the partners are, it is the countries receiving financial assistance that define the orientations and fix the goals and priorities. The organisations or country « donors » undertake to support these choices by demanding for results in return.
The acceptance of these strategic partnership principles must be codified and systematically organized and that entails the preparation of a development partnership Charter and the establishment of institutional mechanisms at both national and international levels to coordinate the development aid.

What should be done?

- ➔ To agree with our partners on a partnership Charter for the development cooperation.
- ➔ To reverse the view of conditionality on development assistance, that is, the condition of preparing African Charter for legitimate governance;
- ➔ To ensure the transparency of the assistance before the people.
- ➔ To propose long-term development strategy in the countries and source for financing from the various donors;
- ➔ To propose a new aid engineering to replace the project approach;
- ➔ To create common training fora at the continental level in order to promote the importance of aid

8. Strengthen the legitimacy of electoral and representation systems

The notion that the African State is a plural one with different communities poses the problems of finding the principles on which the electoral and representation systems could be based.
Making the universal suffrage based on the principle of "one person one vote" is part of the shallowness of the present institutions of the republic and their lack of contact with the real social dynamics. The on-going democratic processes should be deepened in such a way as to accord them more legitimacy by providing them with representation methods to which the communities can appeal and which «speak to them».
It is essential that the other methods of voting peculiar to the different national communities and which give precise role to the various depositories of legitimacy (traditional, religious and socio-professional) be recognized in the electoral laws.

What should be done:

➔ Ensure the representation of the minorities in electoral law;

➔ Introduce the principle of voters in the electoral laws in order to give them a precise role;

➔ Abolish representation monopoly by political parties from the electoral laws.

9. Strengthen the legitimacy of public action by guaranteeing quality services

As preliminary discussions on the society vision had not been embarked on , the "dismantling of the States" in the 1980's and 90's highly contributed to weakening the government administrations.
The increase of poverty and multiplication of war zones everywhere in the continent are proofs of the need to build credible and respectable States capable of organizing revenue distribution and national cooperation and to ensure the security of goods and persons.
The level of satisfaction of the economic, social, cultural and security demands which are closely linked to the quality of governance says a lot about how far off we are from the path to rebuilding reliable States in the continent.
In this context, the vision of public service must be reviewed, especially, with regard to public administrations.
These administrations must break away from the culture of « occupation and colonization administration » and return to the society: by taking public services nearer to the people, paying greater attention to the needs of the users and to quality service delivery and by making the fora for initiatives and decision-making open to the other stakeholders. By acquiring a recognized legitimacy, social base and usefulness, public action will be in the right position to conduct the transformation needed for development.
This demands focusing interventions on building the capacities of the other stakeholders, strengthening the regulatory and ethical framework of public action, decongesting and decentralizing public services, redirecting the central administrations towards the operation of the kingly mission of the State.

What should be done:

- ➔ Reinstate common problems as the focus for the co-operation between institutions instead of making the institutions the focus for the cooperation;
- ➔ Decentralize public services and resources;
- ➔ Publicly and regularly subject public services to the assessment of the legality of their action and the quality of their services.
- ➔ Adapt the content of the personnel training of government officers to the realities of the country and to the needs of users.

10. Promote a republican culture based on African values.

Republican culture is associated with the awareness that the institutional stakeholders, individuals and communities have their rights and duties towards the local authorities and the willingness to effectively demonstrate this awareness in all their public actions. It is a long-term project which is achieved through the consolidation of democracy, expansion of the public zone, the educating citizens and also through the establishment of control and enforcement systems to ensure that all the stakeholders in the public scene conform to all the rules and measures decided by councils.

What should be done?

- ➔ Discard the concept of inherited and solitary power and embrace the concept of collective and cooperate exercise of power;
- ➔ Strengthen the status and the role of the judges and law representatives in order to consolidate the Constitutional State;
- ➔ Give the major national languages official recognition and translate laws and regulations into such languages;
- ➔ Get the various avenues for transmission and evolution of values to contribute to the emergence of a citizenship culture.
- ➔ Make the ethical foundation of Constitution the source of inspiration for the institutions, laws and regulations.

Build an efficient regional governance to deliver Africa out of marginalization

Historically, the Western Africa sub region constitutes quite an advanced social and cultural integration reality. Today, this integration is still evident in the similarities between the spoken languages, customs, the endogenous institutions and in migrations within the vast region.
This historical form of integration is attributed to the people and is founded on a long period of common history. This long tradition of social and cultural intermingling and integration should be used as an interesting model for the economic and political integration attempts initiated by the government and institutional stakeholders.

The competition in Africa's poor economy as a result of liberalisation and globalisation, leads, particularly, to division and social crisis. Yet, the regional market constitutes the most important potential pool for future activities.

The medium and long term expansion of regional exchanges can also take place in this context of regional demographic evolutions. Regional complementarities and competition on national markets are strong stimulants to the development of the regional economy.
The regional institution have to be able to offer the weak States a management framework for exchange of goods and services, harmonizing policies, conflicts resolutions and strategic alliance with the rest of the world.

However, apart from the technical and institutional mechanisms, the success of such a long, expensive and particularly demanding renunciation and loss of sovereignty entails an adequately precise policy plan. This policy plan has to be broadly discussed and gradually ratified by all the stakeholders. This is why regional integration policies should be based on the broader issue of regional governance, which is not restricted to only the economic, financial or institutional dimensions.

11. Manage the territories through conventions between stakeholders.

Spatial planning is one of the fundamental aspects of integration. The double two movement: abnormal development of cities and their environs and the migration of people towards coastal areas have taken their tolls on the continent.

The rate of disorder created this phenomenon is extremely high: pressure on the resources, environmental damage, problems of cohabitation, security, etc.
The concerted management of territories outside the present borders as an important step taken by States in isolation to resolve these problems cannot solve anything. The achievement of major regional integration projects, such as NEPAD also confronted with lack of resources, can only be tackled by pooling available resources together within a concerted regional policy framework.

The proposed approach is that of contracting the management of territories to public and private, institutional and non-institutional stakeholders who can finalize the agreement in the form of territorial development contracts or territorial cooperation contracts.

The "border-zones" approach may constitute an interesting take-off point. The approach adopted in the « border-countries » can be a significant starting point. The management of the « border-countries » which are the convergent points for two or several countries, and are the hubs of human interactions, activities and resources from each side of the borders, can encourage dialogue between the national, local (decentralized), regional authorities and the private stakeholders.
The dialogue have to lead to pooling resources together, joint management of certain infrastructures ((schools, medical centres, markets) and services (administrative acts, environment, and security).

What should be done?

- ➔ Draw a map of each territory with it specificities: resources, environment, population, hazards;
- ➔ Establish an approach that is inclusive of the public, private, institutional, non institutional stakeholders in the preparation, implementation and follow up assessment of projects;
- ➔ Plan development projects specific to each territory;
- ➔ Acknowledge complementarity and solidarity as the foundation for the collaboration between territories through conventions based on an inclusive approach.

12. Guarantee the mobility of persons and goods

Mobility is one of the major targets of integration because of its potentials through economic and human exchanges. It is associated with a broad process of secular exchanges and intermingling of people in the continent. The right to mobility, which is considered as one of the fundamental rights of the citizens in the various regions, is constantly questioned by the States and their decentralized parts. Freedom of movement of goods and persons can only be effective if checkpoints within the internal borders are dismantled or if, at least, reduced. To that end, control mechanisms can be instituted by the regional socio-professional organisations that will prepare an annual assessment report: the number of violations of the right to mobility, to identify the perpetrators and recommend sanctions against the defaulting States. Cases of default shall be referred to the regional courts.

What should be done?

➔ Abolish control at the borders;

➔ Make provisions for citizens to take court action when their right to mobility is violated;

➔ Establish a system to control non compliance through peer review;

➔ Establish citizen control based on the peer review proposed by NEPAD.

13. Ensure the representation of citizens and socio-professional organisations in regional integration institutions

The approach adopted for regional integration processes is purely governmental and does not adequately take the other stakeholders into account. Consequently, there is a loophole in the legitimacy of the institutional action that can only be filled with the takeover of the integration process by the people. One of the ways to legitimize the actions of regional institutions is to open them up for participation to citizen and their socio-professional organisation; in the decision making processes as well as their implementation and monitoring. There should also be a mechanism for holding the regional integration institutions accountable in cases of dereliction of duties.

What should be done?

- ➔ Make provision for the representation of non-governmental organisations in the regional integration organisations;
- ➔ Plan and organize obligatory fora by which regional integration organisations to give accounts of their activities to the citizens;
- ➔ Make integration organisations accountable to the people.

14. Joint management of collective material and immaterial resources.

Usually, certain resources are collectively owned. They may be classified into two categories: natural resources (waterways, forests, etc.), and some public facilities especially, in trans-border zones (transport, education, health and market). Registering them as regional collective assets can be a way of preventing the many conflicts that emanate from the problem of access to these resources and services.

Ensure joint management of regional resources by establishing conventions between all public and private stakeholders, involving, not only the States governments, but also and most importantly, the local governments and professional organisations. Some examples of the OMVS achievements and trans-border markets can serve as starting points for pooling resources together and for sharing resources and prerogatives

What should be done?

➔ Take inventory of available resources and their conditions for renewal;

➔ Negotiate and define the modalities for using the natural resources;

➔ Co-manage regional public facilities and natural resources.

15. Establish an education and training system according to regional integration needs

School is a place for acquiring knowledge and skills. The major setbacks of the education system in Africa are the high rate of illiteracy, limited financial resources, decline of the image of school as a useful institution and its failure to adjust to the needs on ground. Apart from the issue of access for all to education and training, the challenge confronting the continent is to construct its intellectual autonomy and to develop human resources capable of fostering the development of the continent. It is the definition of the real African values and their harmonisation at the regional level that will ensure the adaptation of education to needs, especially, to the realities of Africa. The two reference points should be: entrench knowledge development and the African principles of life and sufficient openness in order to understand the world and its ways. The development of the human resources of the continent and their optimal use are the determinant factors for economic and social development.

African scientific research is finding it difficult to catch up with the high rate of innovations and the exponential increase of knowledge. It is only African States that are not able to mobilize sufficient resources to follow the pace of changes in this field. Regional integration can intervene in three ways: firstly, it can allow research and training specialisation according to the specificities of each domain (Example: cotton in Mali and Burkina Faso; groundnuts in Senegal; coffee and cocoa in Ivory-Coast, etc.). Secondly, it could allow an increase in resources allocation to innovation by pooling human and financial resources together, facilitate the sharing of profits and their usage at a regional level. Lastly, instituting special mechanisms to harness the skills in Diaspora could enhance role of expatriate human resources based abroad without their having to return home.

What should be done?

- ➔ Prepare training schemes according to the needs and realities of Africa.
- ➔ Specialise research and training according to the specificity of each region;
- ➔ Exchange and share resources and results of research and innovation;
- ➔ Accumulate and develop skills in Diaspora.

Charts of proposals for local governance, rebuilding the States regional governance

Chart of proposals for local governance

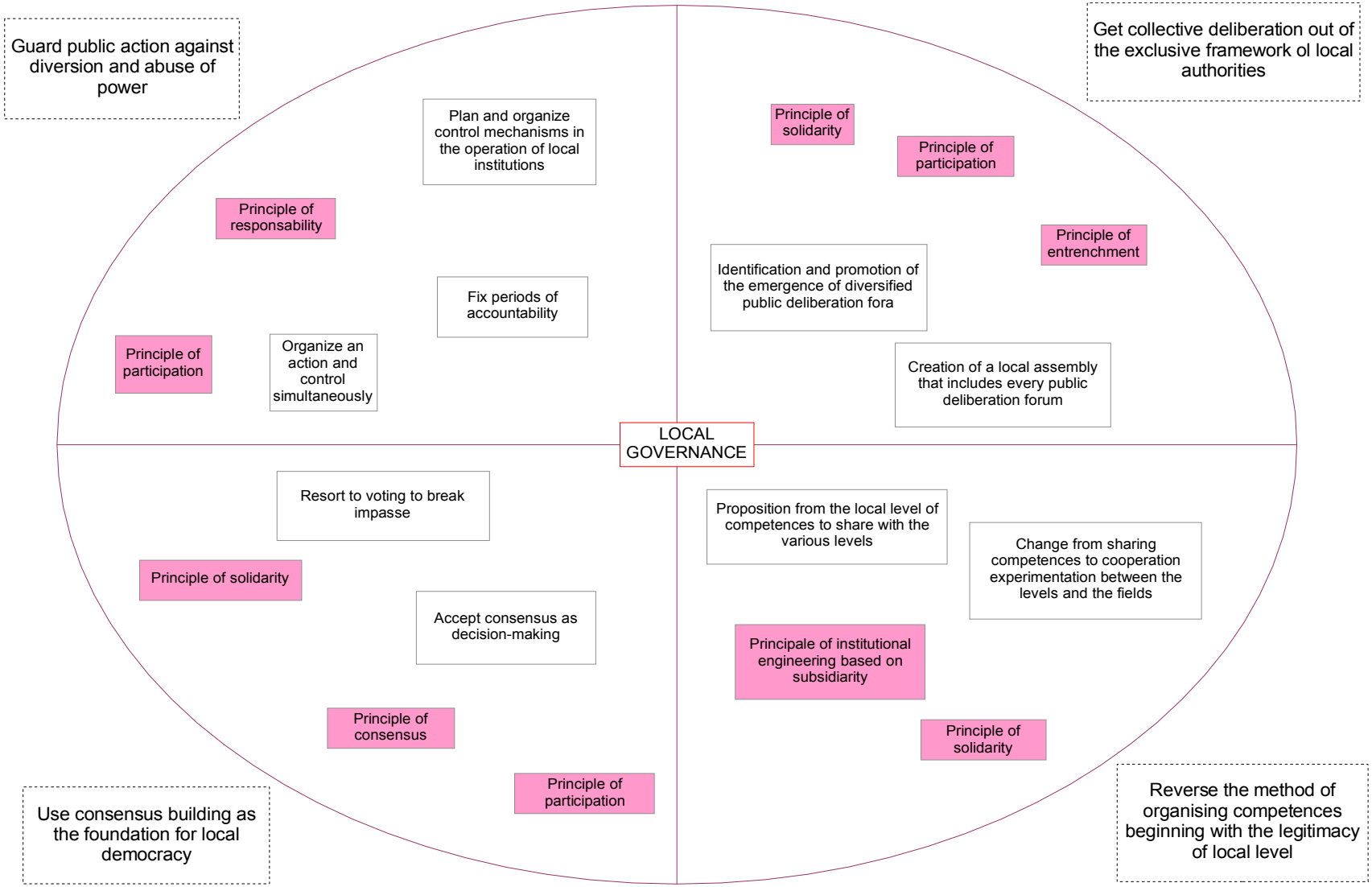


Chart of proposals for rebuilding the State

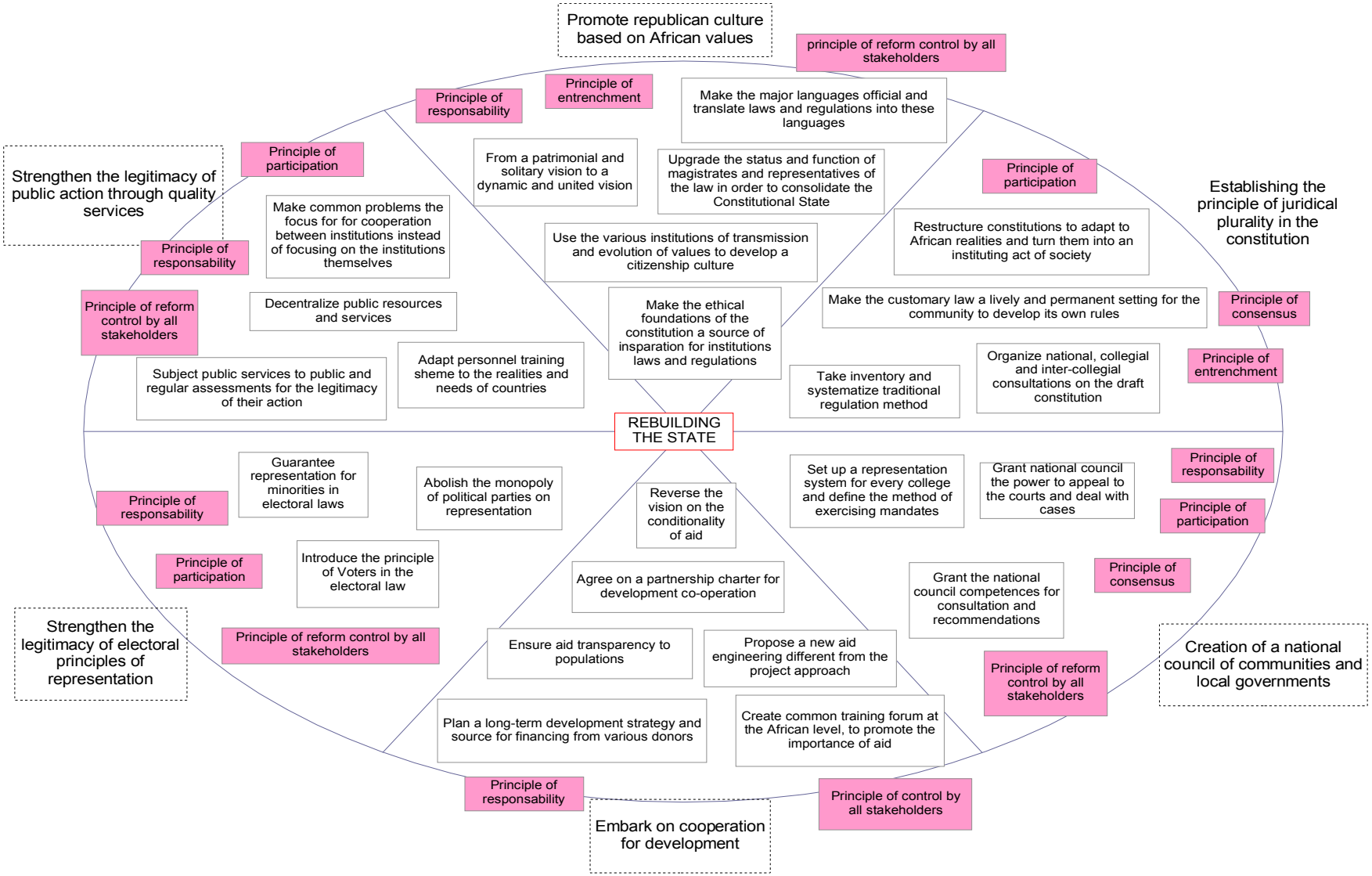
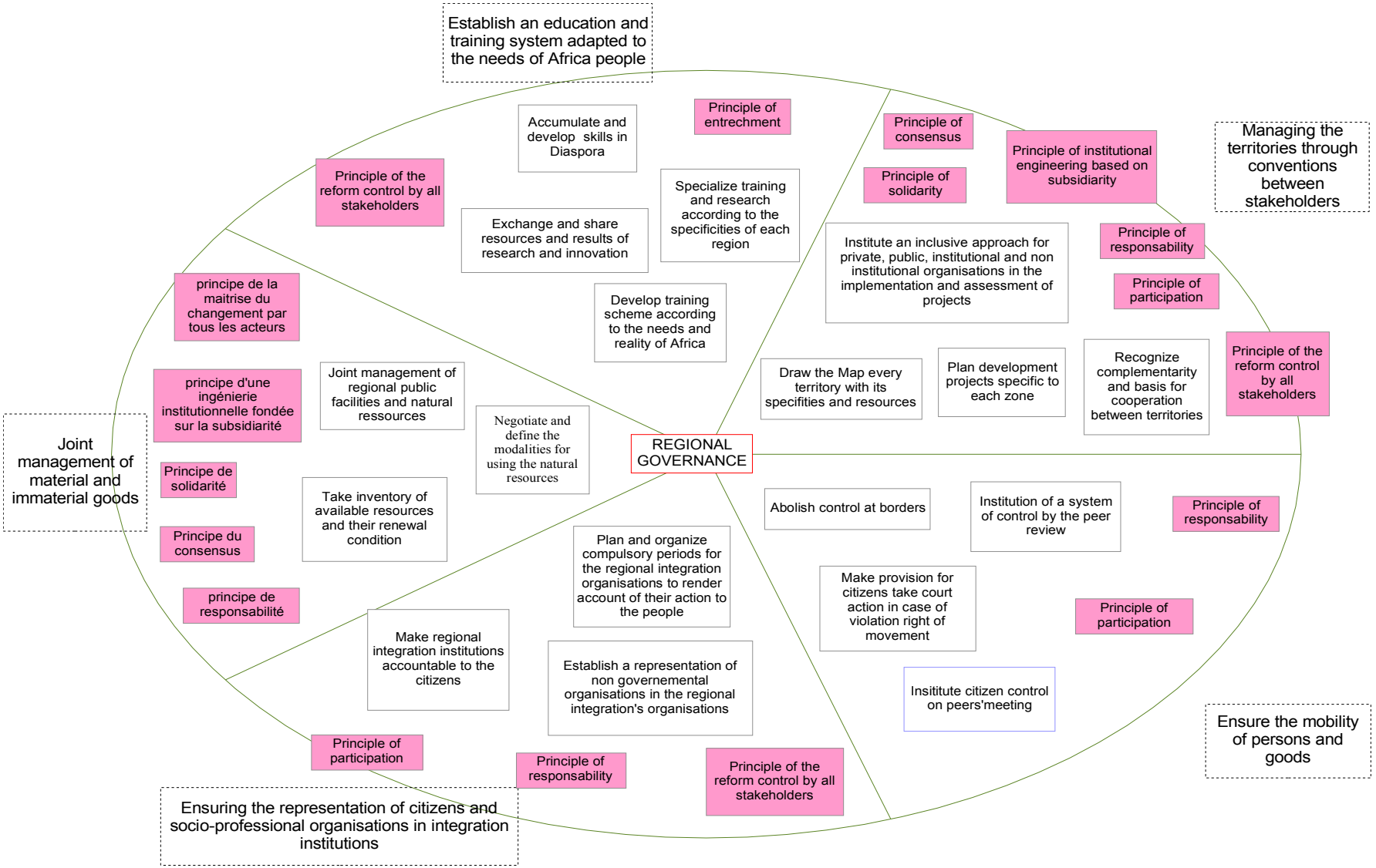


Chart of proposals for regional governance



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The Network

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