

AFRICA INITIATIVE GROUP



Second International Africa Conference

« HOW TO STENGTHEN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE STATE IN AFRICA ? »

Yamoussoukro - 16/17/18 November 2012

Summary of debates



Excerpts from the address of the President of Africa Initiative Group during the constitutional assembly on June 2nd 2012 :

«The reason we insisted so much on creating this Group is that Africa suffers from a serious lack of systemized thinking in; we do not reflect enough».

It's not because we are less gifted than others. The problem is that we don't make the necessary time to allow ourselves to come together, to reflect, to build synergies: How can we seek out the real issues, that are ours, that concern us? How can we reach the optimum?

We needn't be shy, we must be open. Furthermore, Africans also have a part to play and something to contribute to global governance. The more one is feeble economically, the more one needs to be present and strong intellectually.

We have the intellectual capacity to be part of this world and to initiate the transgressions and fractures that are needed.

Our initiative is a great initiative. It is a challenge and an opportunity that is offered to Africans, that allows them to truly participate, without reserve, and on an equal basis, to the "universal banquet" as Senghor called it.

This is what inspires me to support this initiative».

M. Charles KONAN BANNY
Former Prime Minister

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'B.' followed by a flourish.

In view of the Europe / Africa Conferences of the ASPEN Institute, France, AFRICA INITIATIVE GROUP, created in 2011 in Yamoussoukro with a group-like participation of African decision makers in the non-profitable, non-partisan and autonomous Annecy debates.

- This constitutes a Platform of dialogue and reflection on the principle of exchanging ideas and sharing experiences among leaders from various fields in different horizons and nationalities: politicians, owners of companies, academia, civil society personnel, etc, with the following goals:
- Helping decision makers easily to identify challenges on the way to solving contemporary problems ;
- Encouraging through dialogue and international informal meetings, a better mutual understanding and a better way of anticipating current evolutions encountered ;

Being a partner at the important reflections on defining ideas and coordinating international politics by expressing a credible point of view in a large African perspective.

The constitutional General Assembly of AFRICA INITIATIVE GROUP was held in June 5, 2012, formalizing the creation of the association under Charles KONAN BANNY as President and Commission's President for Justice and Reconciliation. It has a board of directors, an advisory council (under formation) and an executive office made up of five members, namely: Didier ACOUETEY, Ekoko MUKETE (Vice-Presidents), Pascal PEYROU (Secretary General), Laurence DO REGO (Treasurer) and Léon KOFFI (Organizing Secretary).

A second conference on the theme:

"How to strengthen the effectiveness of the State in Africa ?"

will be held from November 16 to 18 in Yamoussoukro. About sixty personalities from all walks of life are expected to participate at this conference whose recommendations will be addressed notably to the African Union, African Development Bank, ECOWAS, European Union, CEMAC, and other similar organizations.

AFRICA INITIATIVE GROUP held in September 2011 in Yamoussoukro its first conference on the theme **"Peace, Economic Growth and Development solidarity"** whose conclusions were sent to the G20 meeting in Cannes in 2011 and are available on the website.

Today, a number of valuable meetings and publications as well as the originality of the Aspen Institute based method - an international platform for exchange and dialogue - make Africa Initiative Group one of the principal think-tanks on the future of Africa.

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« HOW TO STRENGTHEN THE
EFFECTIVENESS OF THE STATE IN AFRICA ? »

I - State and Society

1.1) A harsh evaluation

The general observation by the conference regarding the quality of the relationship between the African State and its Citizens was particularly **harsh and non complacent** - although significant variations appeared amongst countries – evaluation revolved around **three main issues**:

1.1.1) The Government is not responsive to its citizens

Electoral promises exist essentially to **obtain** power and are quickly put aside. In certain cases one can even speak of the **"thoughtlessness and lightness" of political actors** with real problems of "casting". (High level political responsibilities are not meant for everyone, despite what may be suggested by the upsurge of so many parties and ambitions).

Even when the will exists to anticipate and respond and there is a plan supposed to answer the needs of the population, **the population is not consulted** in the process.

Finally, particularly when it comes to youth, the State is a regularly "absent": Main economic achievements of African origin which have succeeded at the global level, such as Nollywood, for example, have been fully realized without any public involvement, and take into account the preoccupations, aspirations and values of the young population.

1.1.2) The State is generally inefficient and even counter-productive

Focusing much more on its "ruling" function, rather than addressing the fundamental needs of its people (living in security, not being hungry, enjoying good health, getting education and employment), the State has generally failed on the essential which is the economic plan. **The elites have also faltered** while instead of spearheading the State at the head of development, they took advantage of it for their personal needs, maintaining it above everything; even if it meant destroying the power of individuals, and despite slogans in favor of the private sector, destroying the entrepreneur as well (especially the native African private sector, which is even more dependent on the government), which makes the State largely responsible for the economic failure of many countries. (On the contrary, as shown by the spectacular growth of international banking which is allowed to evolve pretty much outside of the local administrations!).

1.1.3) The State is not impartial, in a society where corruption is increasingly taking hold

Impartiality on which should rest the general interest is often absent. We even witness a kind of privatization of the state through corruption which appears as being "normal", along with its private arrangements which have become the norm and tarnish the quality of people involved. This conception synonymous with "mediocracy" is unfit to drive necessary modernization and hampers development. It deepens the injustices, on the other hand, and undermines the normal trust necessary to adhere to "the idea of Nation."



In conclusion, **Institutions exist everywhere, but do not really "function properly"**. This to a varying degree, depending on the country and **much is far more pronounced in Francophone countries**. Countries should perceive the progression of **specific markers** (elections, justice, the constitution, the award of public contracts, level of unemployment, etc.) **so as to be able anticipate** foreseeable changes that could be brutal (as in the case of Mali) and beware of "**false calm**" in others. As a general rule in our global context where the role of the State is considered as being crucial in the process of development (developmental state) and in adapting to globalization, the noted weaknesses of the institutions need to be seriously analyzed and **the slogans blotted out so as to really reconstruct the State**, which is so essential to achieve real development.

1.2) The profound reasons why "the State cannot be taken for granted "

This has to do with the history of these States in Africa. There existed during 12 centuries before colonization, kinds of "professional bureaucracies" such as kingdoms and empires that were taken over by colonial regimes, which by definition reigned over "subjects" rather than "citizens." At independence, not wanting to re-install kingdoms, **existing systems were carried over without having been inventoried, or without any questioning of memories or local practices** (for instance the Senegalese constitution in its article concerning changes of power, doesn't mention the principle of "consensus" which is widely used in traditional Africa...).

Imported constitutions do not reflect local cultural values and do not relate to the citizen, who lives in a kind of ambiguity (e.g. the Wolof term used to translate the word President is "owner of the country"). The State is often viewed by the population as being **a foreign entity**. Many of its representatives or officials extort privileges on behalf of the State. It does not embody genuine values of the people, and lacks the legitimacy to establish the **concept of Nation** which is a slow building process of "living together" that relies heavily on "affect". Sometimes, in certain circumstances, it even helps to explode it.

The reconstruction of the State and its institutions is therefore the **main task at hand**, which is the foundation of any meaningful development and which must begin with an analysis thorough enough to allow properly adapted changes to take place.

1.3) Practical recommendations to revitalize the legitimacy of the institutions

Five axis of intervention were identified:

1.3.1) Put citizenship at the heart of the process

Not in the texts (as it is already there), but in practice. **Its place at the center of the State and the paradigm of the problematic should be restored**, well before the notions of leadership or governance, and considered to be the basis of all legitimacy, "the citizen is more important than the President, because he is the one who makes the President!", thus the importance of the ballot and the significance of equality. **It is citizenship which gives content to the Institutions**, which are none other than the organized and permanent representation of citizenship. With as corollary the notion of responsibility and accountability, and also with a notion of citizenship that surpasses the 'individual' by incorporating the appropriate qualifiers: educated, informed, demanding....

1.3.2) Put in place a process for reclaiming citizenship at the grassroots

This necessary exercise has been undertaken with some success through the **National Conferences, Reconciliation Commissions** and recently through the interesting example of the **Senegalese National Platform**: an extensive participatory consultation begun in 2007, based on a bottom-up dialogue process which included all the components of society, in the different regions right to the capital, complemented by cross commissions examining closely the "sick patient State", the "sick Society" to prescribe remedies that take into account all the concerns of the population, with specific objectives and benchmarks. The results were captured in a national **Governance Charter**, signed by all the stakeholders and more recently by the new President of the Republic between the two rounds of elections.

1.3.3) Re-interrogate scientifically without any hang-ups "history, memories and practices"

The time has come **to dust off ideas**, especially with regard to the logical arithmetic of Western democracy, while refraining from all angelic and primitivist temptations, in order to **revisit constitutions**. Should be taken into account in this study, **whatever is a producer of value**, from the central unit (the family), as well as secondary circles that also are producers of values (schools and businesses ...).

This re-appropriation should be done without taboo, emphasizing for instance the importance of "taking into consideration" **positive determining elements**, in the African context such as "**faith**" and the contributions from religions or "African solidarity" deeply encrusted in tradition.

1.3.4) The fight against "ordinary" corruption

Beyond the vast corruption, against which the struggle has necessarily an exemplary value, the most important is **the gradual eradication of "ordinary" corruption**. In effect this system which functions as a system of give-and-take and private arrangements creates a genuine network of sub-solidarity. It "holds society" because the role model of the State does not, and therefore appears as a kind of **"normality" very difficult to fight against**.

Only a long-term action, **short, determined awareness campaigns highlighting in a targeted manner the major malfunctions that corruption can cause** (ie. the collapse of the military in Mali or the failure of education and health systems), can have **enough impact on the consciousness of the people for them to take decisions**. This is also **the case for all the other aforementioned issues that need to be addressed vigorously**, where actions at the cultural level can help shake the "self-doubt" which is at the origin of the sense of inevitability of this general system of private arrangements. The profound effect of **theater** (as Kotéba in Mali for example) should be emphasized and built on, as well as **the fundamental issue of raising the quality of television programming and other media**.

1.3.5) Improving operational efficiency of the State

a) Giving Priority to the Economic Dimension

This is what touches the most the citizen of today. While the State no longer has the same means as before, it must find its way in a world that is more open and for this, regional integration should be taken as the only paradigm likely to extend its action as well as understanding that it is essential to understand the role of the private sector in Africa.

b) Be a vehicle for change

There is no need to remain hostage of its legacy. The quality of the State's performance must be **its ability to innovate**. The cornerstone should be **the "promotion of talent"** both inside or outside the administration. The right talent in the right places. The problem of "casting" is fundamental and must integrate the notions of professional qualifications and experience strengthened with integrity.

The discretionary power of choosing those responsible in high positions must be follow procedures defining the eligibility criteria, and establishing lists, from which the final selection will be made. Of course, this practice of promoting talent must be consistent with the capacity to attract resources to the public sector with appropriate remuneration.

c) Accept being challenged by the population.

This **proximity with the population**, whereby it is easy for citizens to address their leaders directly is more frequent in the English speaking world than in the Francophone countries, where it is practically taboo. Remedying this situation would help to restore "a trusting society" essential for its development.

II - State and Defense

The same causes at the root of the weakness of the State can be found at the level of defense and the military. They are at the origin of the worrisome degradation of security in some countries, the magnitude of which goes well beyond national borders and the African framework itself, **to potentially extend to the neighboring continent, Europe.**

There is need for a new global awareness along with the implementation of a real collective defense strategy to match new challenges.

2.1) African armies to reverse their vocation

The army theoretically the most important organized force among the Institutions and **symbol of the credibility of the State** became in many countries its "Achilles Heel." Unable ensure the defense with respect to external threat it tends to become a real vector of internal insecurity. Supposed to be the symbol and source of social cohesion it is outrageously politicized. There is **urgency to engage in reforms inseparable from rebuilding the state.**

2.2) Mali, a change of security paradigm

The deteriorating situation in Mali was **the result of a combination of several factors:** a geographical area characterized by a structural weakness of the State, under administered, under-equipped, with a long tradition of traffic, a new hybrid threat of terrorist and mafia in full expansion (moving 30% of the European consumption of cocaine, 45 kidnappings since 2009) and the tipping point inked to the Libyan crisis with the emergence of genuine well trained constituted units with heavy weaponry.

In defense of the Malian authorities, it should be noted that **the international community has remained deaf to its requests since 2007** for the organization of a summit of Sahelian countries on trans-boundary threats in the Sahara, such as to the warnings of the African Union on the risks of regional destabilization associated with the war in Libya. On the other hand the payment of ransoms for the release of Western hostages helped to build the capacity of warlords, active in all kinds of trafficking.

This increasing criminalization has transformed these places over the years in **real lawless cross border territories, which now linked to terrorism changes the paradigm, in the same way as did September 11**, introducing a new global threat. This calls for genuine reforms, and collective security systems at all levels, national, regional and international, which should be conducted simultaneously.

2.3) Engaging reforms at the national level

The army must be kept away from the political field and put back in its defense role. Ownership cannot be that of a clan or a portion of the population, it must be national. There is no simple way to achieve this. **It requires real political courage** to engage important reforms be it amongst civilians or the military and must be an integral part of rebuilding of the state.

We mustn't let the military address these issues alone amongst themselves. **Defense issues need to be “de-sacralized” and brought out into the open in a “holistic” approach which takes into account all the other domains:** human rights (otherwise there is no security or peace), ending impunity; gender (**women in particular play an important role in mediation**) ; judicial reform ; intelligence ; the rehabilitation of barracks and prisons, etc.

Ethics must once again be at the heart of military training with the principle of absolute obedience to civilian rule as a point of honor, as well as the core essence of their mission, which is to protect the people.

Looking beyond the immediate task at hand, we should develop **a positive vision and a revalorization of what the military should represent:** a source of social cohesion; a symbol of peace; engaged in development using its capabilities (training youth - especially in areas of technology – the civil service, creating ties with the population etc.).



Thought should be given on how to dissociate the military service (sort of civil service to strengthen ties with the population) and the professional army which implies a high level of professionalism. Finally, the concept of **security needs to be redefined in a “sustainable” perspective** (as with sustainable development) and global (human safety, the fight against poverty and unemployment, which are the best antidotes to dangerous excesses).

2.4) Regional level: The inevitable course of action

The territorial expansion of conflict and the need to share resources requires **collective solutions at regional level**. This can strengthen the regional synergy within the African agenda. This sharing creates other problems linked to coordination and management which along with the costs of operations and the magnitude of the issues at hand for the entire region, **requires a strategic vision developed by Africans**, for Africans. This approach would be lay the groundwork for the creation of:

- An **African strategic think tank** focusing on prospection
- **Local manufacturing** of certain categories of **military equipment**
- A military school with a regional dimension to address new technological challenges.

2.5) International involvement

The world is getting increasingly interdependent and Europe as the closest Continent would be blind if it were to minimize the need to strengthen its strategic defense agreements with Africa. Considering Europe's economic slowdown, it is more than ever before important for to associate strategic partners in mutual sharing of efforts:

- To share the same threat assessments (prevention is always less costly than the conflict).
- To build the capacity to put in place cooperative mechanisms (joint exercises in areas of collective security, regional brigades etc.).
- To finance the reforms which are expensive.
- To fight against money laundering which is at the root of all forms of trafficking.

It seems the time has come to organize under the auspices of Africa, a major Conference on Global Security which would bring together all the stakeholders.

III - State and Development

3.1) Two major challenges for the African State

The state is facing two extremely serious problems, **two real "time bombs": The problem of food self-sufficiency**, and that of **youth employment**. The numbers speak for themselves:

- Africa which represents 17% and soon 22% of the world's population, today supplies only 1.7% of the global agricultural production.
- The population will soon double (two billion in 2040) and young people under 25 will count for 50%, with only a very small portion which has a salaried employment.

These problems of food self-sufficiency and employment, for which the African states are in the forefront are **by virtue of their dimension, becoming potential problems on a global scale**. They can only find a solution if there is a real surge to face the important challenges related to the effectiveness of the States; and that will not be sufficient without a special mobilization on the part of the population.

3.2) Addressing the challenge of food self-sufficiency

The expected growth potential in this area is huge because beyond fixing critical agricultural populations, it is a whole economic system that will emerge: food processing locally, electrification programs, development of interregional trade etc.

For this purpose **the involvement of the State is fundamental because it would reverse the current trend where Africa consumes what it does not produce and produces what it does not consume!** However, it requires long term investments (with a lack of appropriate financial resources), large investments (as the entire chain of production / logistics / distribution must be controlled) requiring the development of infrastructure and implementation of **a genuine agricultural development policy**:

- **Strategic:** By effectively putting agriculture in the highest priorities, at the budget level (for example, today, it represents only 2% of the overall budget of Côte d'Ivoire), the quality of governmental teams and international cooperation.

- **Constant:** It is necessarily a long-term policy.
- **Courageous:** Reverse current trends and manage price fluctuations which could likely trigger hunger riots, potentially very dangerous and not an easy task. This will require enlightened direction and a truly visible policy that can justify the efforts required as well as their equitable distribution.
- **Innovative:** To solve the problems related to a situation where financing is adapted in such a way that those who have the competence do not have the funding and vice versa, and where the interest rates are very high, it is imperative **to find ways to mobilize savings**



(review regulations regarding insurance and retirement plans; develop capital markets, make a better use of external reserves with the French Treasury, reap the benefits of triple-A of the ADB etc.). **Remain competitive** (break the rigidity of the very high current exchange rates) and have a real **"agricultural SME approach "**

- **Collaborative:** Agriculture is a favored area for public/private partnerships: the State must "accompany" the development of private agribusiness and constructive consultation (notably through a **better use of Social and Economic Councils**) must enable the State to manage the programme effectively.
- **Sub-regional and international:** Complementarity within the regions with regards to agriculture (which requires industrial arbitration) and the multiplication of dialogue in a sector regulated at the global level, imply a constant presence of African policymakers amongst these decision making platforms.

3.3) Addressing the challenges of youth employment

By 2040, Africa will have 2 billion inhabitants, with 50% of young people under 25, **including a female component** which has more and more legitimate demands, autonomy and representativeness.

The issue around **youth employment is therefore becoming a real security concern** more that could be far more devastating than the Arab Springs, unless the State changes the way it considers youth. Because today there exists a **frightening gap between the energy of young people, their creativity and the use being made of this potential**. Youth constitute a major asset for the Continent and not only for the Continent ... (need to design a coherent migration policy).

This entails a **particularly innovative employment policy targeting young people and inclusive**, with the goal of creating a middle class that is sorely lacking today with the following main axes:

- **Priority to local production and the transformation of raw materials** with the aim of creating local jobs, because when "we export raw materials, we export the workforce as well ..."

- **Attention on the development of SMEs, natural breeding ground for youth employment.** Business creation must be easy, free from all the current hassles. Inspiration of a proactive policy in this area could come from **foreign examples** such as the "small business act" in the USA, the Korean model or the effective indigenization policy companies as carried out in Tunisia etc. . . .
- **Understanding the profile of the entrepreneur who is above all a creator** and there are many in Africa (many potential Bill Gates in this large number ...) and the right combination to exploit talents (business incubators). Take a fresh look and without complexes at everything related to creativity that could contribute to the burgeoning of a sector, such as the food sector for example.
- **Develop the start-up spirit** (at the basis of 15% of the growth in France and the largest capitalization stocks in the USA): award bonuses for innovation, do not be afraid of the legal vacuums of these virgin sectors, create frameworks for young sprouts, Avoid taxing heavy loads at startup time, highlight "success stories" which make young people dream, encourage banks including international banks to support this sector, break paralyzing monopolies, support private research.
- **"Fostering champions"** (best emerging entrepreneurs) in strategic sectors (support from regional banks, sovereign funds etc.). Overall, call upon financial institutions to adjust to these "development guidelines."
- **Be very strong on the necessary "transfer of skills"** that must accompany all foreign investments (see the example of China).
- **Consider the field of art and culture**, in which the State has levers of action, its "locomotive effect" on youth employment as well as its contribution to building a much needed "self esteem" for the entire population.
- **Envisioning television and broadcasting as a key sector** at the service of development, emphasizing on "content" and encouraging regulated liberalization.
- **Rethinking the education system** in which the State has a major responsibility in the existing flaws (1500 psychology students in Abidjan for example). Diversify a teaching that remains too exclusively theoretical, to put it in adequacy with the country's needs and growth poles. Promote vocational training, which is the foundation for the future, and fight against a certain snobbishness with regards to manual trades. Consider education as a "determining factor for change" and a way out of chronic assistantship, without inhibition. Explaining that "work must be created ..."

3.4) The fundamental character of "values" to overcome the challenges

Recognizing the highly negative and resistant forces (corruption) which will oppose these changes, **the concepts of empathy, "love"** (of others, neighbors, the country) which also **imply self-love** should not be a taboo subject, and should be mentioned, because they are critical success factors of **these mutations**. The site of Yamoussoukro has been conducive to the introspection needed to reflect on these values. Recalling **the trend to inverse them**, remembering the heated controversy over the cost of the Yamoussokoro Basilica (while no voices speak out today when arms or private jets are purchased!). Introspection which led to an understanding of the concept of "service" ("civil service" as opposed to "self service") and the importance of the "vision." We must fight against mental degradation and cultivate moral values, build a mindset that goes beyond the mere economic and military issues, where man remains at the center. Taken in this sense, this topic deeply connected to the one previously mentioned concerning the reconstruction of the State.

Furthermore, **the vision and accurate assessment of the challenges** and ways to overcome them is essential if we want to mobilize the population and reinforce the needed "self-confidence" because, as historian Ki-Zerbo said: **"We do not develop our countries, we develop ourselves."**

3.5) Conditions for the implementation of these policies

To succeed in conducting such an innovative, courageous, consistent policy capable of stimulating real change requires:

- **Long-term vision** to win the "battle" of development is long-term that needs: work, discipline, efficient consistency and continuous monitoring to assess where we stand in the process. Hence the need for the Plan.
- **A strategic vision which must be shared** through a consultative process and "inclusive" (including the private sector, considered a privileged partner).
- **A democratic State**, not authoritarian but "**directive**", able to assess what is important and make the necessary choices for the creation of a "coherence and expansion framework" of initiatives (which in certain cases might begin with a "reconciliation" framework...).
- **Credibility on the part of government teams** that could be the driving force of change. This is why it is crucial to identify "talents", choosing profiles that have experience in the relevant field, coming possibly from the private sector (in a spirit of fair compensation which also takes addresses the importance of exemplarity in the fight against corruption ...).
- **The ability to recreate a trustworthy society** which is the most important factor of success and to instill trust among populations by showing visible progress within the coherence framework. Communication on actual indicators of hope, beyond the efforts needed, is possible; **because this capacity of succeeding, using new developments** has already been proven by certain countries such as Kenya (the internet sector), Nigeria and Ethiopia (the agricultural sector); and the growth rate in these countries (between 7% and 10%) compared to those in Europe (0,4 to 0,5%) already illustrate **the exceptional leeway available for improvement, if these two challenges are addressed.**

IV - State and the international Cooperation

Interdependence at the planetary level and rapid economic and political transformations make international cooperation **a key area for State action, where in-depth reforms are needed.** This offers **very interesting perspectives**, under three conditions:

4.1) Strengthening the capacity to negotiate

Today Africa is **kept at the periphery of international** platforms such as the G7 and the G20 and does not really have a voice at the United Nations. Heads of State trips abroad seldom include business leaders; the signing of agreements often lack African expertise; delegations attending major international forums are mostly composed of civil servants, in short **Africa does not value enough its human resources**, and cannot keep them.

There is a need to:

- **Improve the "credibility" of African positions:** institutional strengthening, improved control of the quality of the leaders and the design of a shared long term vision, should enable a better understanding and **expression of what we want** on the international stage and increase "recognition".
- **Undergo an in-depth reform of "diplomacy"** which is at the source of globalization teachings and improved integration, by integrating it in the reconstruction and talent identification context, focusing towards a **"total" diplomacy** (which takes into account economic, defense and security issues) serving the interests of the country and its citizens.
- **Increase "coordination" at the level of African integration** to avoid that the weaknesses of the small States be taken advantage of. We need to create **"frameworks of convergence"** where States can develop the habit of working together and a better understanding of their common destiny within a broader political space.

4.2) Manage foreign aid efficiently

All countries need assistance because there is little margin in public budgetary savings (even China benefited from aid until very recently!). The important thing is to orient it well and make good use of it. International Institutions cannot accomplish development in place of the States, but are likely to sustain and consolidate it; hence the importance of the vision and determination of African options. In this sense two priorities for cooperation seem obvious today:



- **The field of security and of military cooperation** on a regional basis.
- **The agricultural sector oriented towards food self sufficiency**, in priority in northern Sahel, where the military response, in order to bring lasting peace, must lead to a large-scale development programme. **These potentialities exist** (a Marshall Plan for the Sahel?) but require a **"convergence" of efforts from different partners and a "reorientation" of Aid**; because the "Millennium Objectives", forgot to consider rural development...

4.3) Reassessing the negotiating position of Africa

In a world globally dominated by the notion of interest, Africa must first rely on itself. But it can do so today in an uninhibited fashion and with a **certain confidence that the balance of power and interest is evolving in its favor.**

If it can control its governance and create a trusting society which is essential for development, it **possesses real power because it holds the raw materials** (and "that which holds the raw materials, holds the world") and a humongous reserve of growth given the size of its population. In an open and realistic perspective, **Africa's partners are able to understand that everyone has an interest in Africa succeeding**, apart from the risks of terrorism spreading, which are visible today, "putting money in the pockets of the people

of Africa” will contribute to resolving the global crisis and promote growth, exports and investments of developed countries. This is the "piece of World cake” that will increase everyone’s benefits. **Hence the need for massive investments beginning with Africans themselves, who by showing that they believe in themselves** above all and that they love their continent, will for sure create a strong "desire for Africa "especially among youth.





PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE AND LIST OF PARTICIPANTS



The Malian crisis that occurred in the like of several other African state upheavals is a symptom of the institutional fragility that can be found across the continent. It is a particularly significant event since this was a country that served as an example of stability and good governance within its public institutions.

The rapidity with which the country's political authority collapsed and the timid reaction on the part of civil society - as though the population had no inclination whatsoever be it towards the mutineers or the acting political power – was surprising for most observers.

What could lead a country reputed for its stability to such an extreme degree of fragility on the part of the state and its institutions? What lessons should be learned from the multiplying number of institutional crisis (military uprisings in Burkina Faso, civil war in Côte d'Ivoire, military coup in Guinea Bissau, on-going instability in the DRC, Islamist terrorism in Nigeria, etc.), while paradoxically the economic growth rate of African societies are showing such vitality? How may we imagine the creation of institutions capable of providing direction to societies and their development?



What economic reforms and programs at the national, regional and international level could meet the current challenges, which would allow for an accelerated and inclusive development, essential for the region ?

As a follow up to the recommendations of the First Conference in 2011, this will be the objective of the Second Yamoussoukro Conference organized by the Africa Initiative Group based in Abidjan which comprises African decision makers brought together initially at the Africa conferences of the Aspen Institute of France..

The conference will provide a dialogue platform for leaders from different horizons and nationalities to share points of view and on-hand(personal?) experiences : political leaders, entrepreneurs, academics, civil society and cultural opinion leaders, in order to formulate concrete recommendations targeting governments, institutions, international organizations, enterprises, NGOs, etc.

SESSIONS

Four successive sessions will help participants through these reflections :

SESSION 1

STATE AND SOCIETY : HOW CAN LEGITIMATE PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS BE RECONSTRUCTED WITH THE DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF THE POPULATION?

Moderator : Didier ACOUETÉY

Speakers : Ginette-Ursule YOMAN, Mamadou Lamine LOUM,
Daniel ETOUNGA-MANGUELLE

The fragility of the connection between public institutions and populations is a problem to a varying degree, in several African countries. A thorough reform of the State and its institutions cannot occur without first conducting an in-depth analysis, free from all taboo, to define the needed remedies based on the principle that the “State is not inevitable ne-va-pas-de-soi » :

- How is the State perceived by its components and by citizens? Do they have a clear idea on what its mission should be? Why is it so difficult for them to fulfill it? Is this situation due in part to the way African States were established?
- How credible is the State in the eyes of the population ? Does it defend the general interest or does it serve private interests? Why? What role does corruption play in the loss of credibility of the State? How does a “lenient” society encourage this? On what basis can the duo of citizenry and public power become more effective given the African context? Why do political parties neglect to educate their followers?
- Does democratic control of the State exist ? Does the media play its role as a counter power ? How reliable is it and what is its role in the education of citizens? Beyond the media, who are the emerging advocacy forces within society ? How should they be regulated?
- Does the parliament really play its role as the democratic controller ? What mechanisms should be put in place to bring citizens closer to their National Assembly and the National Assembly closer to its constituency ? How do citizens in public life understand and engage in national issues and develop a sense of responsibility ? Do political parties have substantial platforms?
- What conditions will favor the credibility and stability of election systems and constitutional rules?
- What are the existing links between these issues and the population’s « values » and « culture » ? How to converge these “values” and “culture” with the so called universal principles? Which national solidarity mechanisms can relay those family and tribal mechanisms (that are?) often backwards and no longer relevant?
- Does the State function in an efficient way ? How effective are the decisions made centrally in the field ? Are civil servants sufficiently competent?
- What are the causes and dangers of corruption at the different levels of the administration ? How can it be fought?
- When considering State reform, how can favorable conditions be created within the justice system that will fight impunity and enforce the stable rules and regulations needed for development ?

SESSION 2

STATE, DEFENSE AND SECURITY: HOW CAN THE NEW RISKS OF DESTABILIZATION, BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL, BE ADDRESSED ?

Moderator : Elisabeth CÔTÉ

Speakers : Lamine Cissé, Jean Jacques KONADJÉ,
Soumeylou Boubeye MAÏGA

National defense and security are fundamental missions of the State. However, the nation suffers the consequences of the State's malfunctions and is threatened by new external dangers that feed underlying regional divisions. The combination of this fragility and its potential dangers highlight a number of issues based on the following considerations:

- The State which is the warrant of national unity, as defined by the border delimitations handed down through colonization, is often confronted with separatist ideals in certain parts of its territory as well as post conflict internal issues related to the consolidation of the nation. Are the measures undertaken by the decentralization processes, maintaining social order or initiating "post conflict" reconciliation initiatives really efficient? How is this expression of a strong national sentiment experienced when the reality shows such fragility?
- The State is responsible for the financing and the control of its armed forces. The situation in Mali shows too well the tragic consequences of high level corruption within such an important state institution. In other countries, problems related to the ethnic composition of the army and their relation to the population, or the integration of militia are crucial. Where does the efficiency of the army and its relations to the civilian population stand? How can the concept of an army focusing on defense coexist with that of an army focusing on the Nation?
- In certain countries such as Mali, Guinea-Bissau, DRC, etc.), mafia style economies, linked to countries in the North (drugs, hostages) are developing instead of the State, creating real zones of lawlessness. Is it conceivable that the State can recover its prerogatives, and under what conditions?
- There are other larger geopolitical influences at play that need to be considered in the context of their potential danger: radical islamist movements; the extension of the Chiite-Sunite conflict; the presence of AQMI, Qatar's increasing influence, etc.
- The fact that many countries are unable to deal with their internal conflicts or secessionist endeavors, suggests the need to involve regional or even inter-regional structures. Much debate is needed on how this should best be carried out, how to ensure the necessary adhesion of the primary stakeholder, the local population and the issue of representation in a fractured society. How and whether the West should intervene, etc.

SESSION 3

STATE AND DEVELOPMENT: HOW TO BEST CONCILIATE RAPID GROWTH
WITH ALL INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT ?

Moderator : Jean Michel DEBRAT

Speakers : Alexandre VILGRAIN, Jean Louis EKRA, Ekoko MUKETE

The 2011 Yamoussoukro Conference thoroughly addressed this core issue : to fight poverty there needs to be economic growth and the main actor is enterprise. However, the State has a fundamental part to play to stimulate and create the required infrastructures, plan strategically and regulate at the national, regional and international levels. It must engage Africa in production and one of the strategic priorities for a population that will double in one generation is the development of agriculture. This won't be possible without serious questioning and real systemic reforms where the involvement of the State is key :

- The relationship between the State and private enterprise is often problematic; companies don't get the reliable and neutral support of the administrations. How can there be a stronger symbolic representation of enterprises vis-à-vis the State and the population, to create a healthier climate favorable to its development?
- Between the State that doesn't always fulfill its duties and independent initiatives (associations, enterprises, individual approaches...) who fosters patriotism, how should the workings of general interest be shared (transportation, culture, health...)?
- Corruption is an evil that goes against poverty reduction : it deprives the collective from getting resources often spent outside ; it creates a poisonous atmosphere where any success is suspicious and it makes inequalities even more unbearable. How can conditions be created that would suppress it ?
- Real economic growth in many countries benefits populations in such unequal ways that the « diffusion effect » doesn't occur and the feeling of injustice plaques social cohesion. Should we not evaluate in what way policies to reduce disparities between the richest and the poorest, and also between thriving and ailing regions, could profit increasingly to the national economy and encourage development?
- The number of have-nots is increasing as is the impatience of youth filled with images and means of comparison with the outside. Notions of "inclusion", professional training adapted to the country's real needs, and imagining new solutions to create jobs for youth are becoming urgent. Are there new ideas emerging on these issues?
- During this last year, it seems as though the option to accelerate the development of local production, especially in the field of agriculture, seems to have been taken by a good number of countries (Senegal, Nigeria, Chad, etc.). What are the obstacles that have been encountered by these new orientations and what results have already been accomplished?

- Major investments made by governments in agriculture related infrastructure are certainly desirable. But given the magnitude of the comprehensive programme underpinning the concept of “green revolution”, are the possibilities of one single country sufficient? Considering the magnitude of the challenge, Is there not a need for support on the part of the regional and international community, both private and public?

SESSION 4

STATE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY : HOW TO BUILD MORE EFFICIENT INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS WHERE AFRICA’S VOICE GAINS IN CREDIBILITY ?

Moderator : Néné TRAORÉ

Speakers : Alioune SALL, Aisha ABDULLAHI, Abdoulaye BIO TCHANE

The 2011 conference had highlighted the need for Africans to define their own strategy and establish less inhibited and more demanding partnerships with the international community, while recognizing the errors of the past.

From this perspective, on the negative side, we can see that during this past year :

- That the “anticipation” which is so necessary to establish prevention policies didn’t really work in the case of Mali, be it in the North or in the South, despite the involvement of very high level experts and advisors from France and the United States. Why is this? What lessons can be learned?
- The serious consequences of the war in Lybia were not avoided despite several warnings to the international community by Africans, that were perhaps not taken seriously. What are the reasons? Because Africa is underrepresented in international platforms? A predominance of the interests of the international community? Uneven means of communication ?

On a more positive front, there are signs of increased commitment on the part of Africa’s external partners (the forecast of important increase in Chinese aid and investments, with an increasing opportunity to internalize employment in Africa), and a new disposition on the part of external partners in the way Africa is considered, notably in Europe:

- Awareness of the current danger linked to the close presence of AQMI and the increasing fragility of the Sahel countries, where demographic forecasts raise fear of massive migrations in case of destabilization.
- The initiation of projects such as « Marshall Plan for the Rural Development of Northern Sahel » that demonstrate a convergence between African visions in the analysis of agricultural as a priority and the need to question and better coordinate donor policies. In the aftermath of the economic crisis, notions of “intelligent protectionism” leading to greater pragmatism vis-à-vis topics that used to be highly ideological, and the emergence of the idea that Africa can be a growth reserve for Europe.

« There are no favorable winds pour he who doesn't know where he goes » However, for those who know what they want - such as going in the direction of food self sufficiency - Are some favorable winds not beginning to blow?

- Has the moment not come to seize certain new opportunities that define new and more efficient international partnerships within a global strategic framework, learning from the NEPAD experience?

SESSION 5

SUMMARY REPORT OF THE DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Moderator : Pascal PEYROU



PAYS	NOM ET PRENOMS	FONCTION
Nigeria	ABDULLAHI, Aisha	Commissioner to political affairs, African Union
Togo	ACOUETHEY, Didier	Founding partner of AFRICSEARCH, 1 st vice-president of Africa Initiative Group
Côte d'Ivoire	BAROAN, Joel	Project manager HOTTER Côte d'Ivoire
Côte d'Ivoire	BENDJO, Noel	Mayor of The Plateau district, Chairman of SIR
Benin	BIO TCHANE, Abdoulaye	CEO of Alindaou Consulting
France	BOUQUET, Christian	Professor at Université Bordeaux III
Senegal	CISSE, Lamine	Army General, former manager of the security reform
Côte d'Ivoire	COFFI, René	Chairman of FILAO
Canada	COTE, Elisabeth	IFES Guinea regional manager (International foundation for election systems)
France	DEBRAT, Jean Michel	General manager AFD South Africa
France	DERREUMAUX, Paul	Honorary chairman of Bank of Africa
Côte d'Ivoire	DIAKITE, Louis	CEO of ALINK TELECOM
Côte d'Ivoire	DIARRA, Bakary	Head of division at BOAD
Mali	DIARRA, Sidi Sosso	Former Verificateur General of the Republic of Mali, founder of PANAUDIT
Côte d'Ivoire	DJEDJE, Pierre	Legal Counsel
Côte d'Ivoire	DOSSONGUI, Koné	Chairman of Atlantique Group
Benin	DOSSOU, Yannick	Founder of Manus-Fran C.E. Institute
Côte d'Ivoire	EKRA, Franck Hermann	Art critic and independent curator, Advisor of the President of CDVR
Côte d'Ivoire	EKRA, Jean Louis	Chairperson of AFREXIMBANK
Cameroon	ETOUNGA MANGUELLE, Daniel	CEO of SADEG
France	GOLDBLATT, François	Ambassador of France to Madagascar
Côte d'Ivoire	GRAH MEL, Frederic	Journalist
Mali	IFRA NDIAYE, Alioune	Director of Blonba Culture
Côte d'Ivoire	KIE, Charles	Head of Corporate banking at ETI
Côte d'Ivoire	KODJO, Leonard	Professor of Semiology and chief of staff of the President of CDVR
Côte d'Ivoire	KOFFI, Léon	President of AFG Central Africa and East Africa, event manager of Africa Initiative Group

PAYS	NOM ET PRENOMS	FONCTION
Côte d'Ivoire	KONADJE, Jean Jacques	Professor specialized in geopolitics
Côte d'Ivoire	KONAN BANNY, Charles	President of CDVR, former prime minister of Côte d'Ivoire
Côte d'Ivoire	KOUADIO BOUMBOUYA, Raymond	Manager research, planning and international relations at AFREXIMBANK
Senegal	LOUM, Mamadou Lamine	Former prime minister of Senegal, International consultant
Mali	MAIGA, Souleymane Boubeye	Former minister of Defense of Mali, President of Observatoire Sahélo-Saharien de Géopolitique et de Stratégie
Benin	MISSAINHOUN, Joel Eric	General manager of AfricSearch CI
Cameroun	MUKETE, Ekoko	General manager of Spectrum Group, 2 nd Vice-President of Africa Initiative Group
Côte d'Ivoire	NEMBELESSINI-SILUE, Victor Jérôme	Director at AFREXIMBANK
Nigeria	ONIKEKU, Qudus	Dancer -choreographer
France	PEYROU, Pascal	General Manager of SOPAT, secretary general of Africa Initiative Group
Cameroun	POUT, Christian	International consultant, general manager of ECAM
Benin	RAIMI, Ahmadou	Chairman of Deloitte France
Senegal	SALL, Alioune	Director of Africa Future Institute
Senegal	SARR, Papa Amadou	Advisor at OECD
South Africa	SELELE, Ipeleng	Président de Khumo Group
Côte d'Ivoire	SY SAVANE, Ibrahim	President of HACA, former minister of Communication - Côte d'Ivoire
Senegal	SY, Karim	Founder of JokkoLabs
Mali	SYNSI COULIBALY, Mamadou	President of KLEDU Group, Vice-President of the employers' organization in Mali
Mali	TALL, Madani	Former special advisor to President of Mali, President of Avenir et Developpement du Mali
Côte d'Ivoire	TOURE, Yah	Consultant
Mali	TRAORE, Néné	General Manager of MCA Mali
France	VILGRAIN, Alexandre	CEO of SOMDIAA
Côte d'Ivoire	YOMAN, Ginette-Ursule	Former Ivorian state secretary for capacity building and good governance

AFRICA INITIATIVE GROUP

Africa Initiative Group is made up of a body of decision-makers from Europe/Africa conferences (organised every two years in Annecy by the ASPEN Institute France for the past 17 years).

It operates on the principle of the exchange of viewpoints and shared field experience between leaders from various backgrounds and nationalities: politicians, heads of business, academics, and leading figures with a view to formulating concrete recommendations destined for governments, institutions, international organisations, and NGO's etc.

Africa Initiative Group was officially formed on 9 September 2011 in Yamoussoukro under the presidency of the Chairman of the Truth, Reconciliation and Dialogue Commission, Charles Konan Banny, and under sponsorship of Mr Koffi Annan and President Kuofor.

Plans for affiliation with the Aspen Institute are underway.

Directions for Africa Initiative Group:

- 1 Work on the dialogue between generations and preparing youth for leadership and responsibility.
- 2 The demographic factor without taboos: evolution, issues, stakes.
- 3 Evaluate gauging systems for political, economic and social governance, and in particular warning scales in case of deterioration and threat to peace – deepen the issues of the right to intervention in Africa and its enforcement.
- 4 Self image and external image:
 - Definition of cultural factors
 - Managing image
 - Communication
- 5 Reinforce dialogue between anglophones and francophones of Western Africa with a view to regional integration.
- 6 Enculturation of policies, of methods of organisation to resist the temptation of copying models.
- 7 Involving civilian society, reshaping the role of women in political and social life in West Africa.

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- SOPAT (Société de Promotion et de gestion des droits de la COPAT)

For any further information concerning Africa Initiative Group
(statutes, by-laws of organization, conference proceedings,
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and about membership and support terms :

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