



GENERAL REPORT OF THE AGI SEMINAR

The African Governance Institute organized a high level Seminar in Dakar, from 10-12 March 2010 on « Current African Thinking on Developmental Governance ». This meeting was in line with AGI's activities in policy dialogue and advocacy for democratic governance and was a follow up to its inaugural workshop held in November 2009.

During the above mentioned workshop, the AGI and its partners had established the objectives of conceptualizing and promoting democratic governance, among others, within a genuinely African perspective, by placing the human being in the centre of the effort to regulate public space in the African countries. The organization of this high level Seminar is a concrete translation of this commitment.

The Seminar's Objectives

This Seminar sought to enable governance experts, governance practitioners in the public and private sectors and civil society activists to embark on a brainstorming exercise relating to the major challenges that Africa has to confront and to propose methods of rethinking the governance process in Africa by responding to the peace, human rights and development aspirations of the populations.

Participants in the Seminar

In all, 131 persons from several countries (Senegal, Togo, Kenya, Benin, South Africa, Nigeria, DR Congo, Ethiopia, etc.) and belonging to several public institutions, diplomatic missions, universities and research centers, consultants, and from civil society, etc. participated in this Seminar.

Opening Ceremony

The Seminar's opening ceremony took place on Wednesday 10th March from 10h.30 to 12h.30. It was chaired by Madam Fatou Danielle Diagne, Minister Counsellor to the President of the Republic of Senegal in charge of Competitiveness and Good Governance. Several personalities took the floor during this opening ceremony.

Ousmane Sy, Chair of the AGI Governing Board first of all recalled the formal commitment made by the Institute at its launching in November 2009, to bring together the various partners in the governance of the continent for a dialogue within an African perspective. This was important because all the problems being experienced by Africa (poverty, insecurity, political instability, constitutional changes ...) constitute the

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manifestation of a governance crisis. Furthermore, the African continent is characterized by a paradox: a potentially rich Africa, but one that is populated by the world's poorest beings. This situation and this paradox should lead to a review of the governance process. This review should also be carried out on the basis of the values, the know-how of the Africans, of the African populations themselves. The current global crisis should be seen as an opportunity for the launching of this exercise.

Hervé Rivière, Representative of the French Embassy in Senegal recalled the support provided under French Cooperation to the Institute since the launching of this project and congratulated the AGI for the exceptional achievements that it is registering. He considered this Seminar as an opportunity for the Institute to network the various personalities and institutions working in the area of governance thereby taking into account the most appropriate mechanisms for governance in Africa. He expressed satisfaction with the fact that the seminar's perspectives were in line with the French strategy for democratic governance, which proposes a broad outlook of governance, and is a process which is at the heart of development policies, and requires the participation of a variety of actors. He outlined the French democratic governance strategy; indicated his own understanding of the objectives of this Seminar and clarified France's strategy in relation to these objectives and expectations to highlight specific African experiences and expertise allowing the drafting of appropriate development policies rather than the imposition of models. He acknowledged the relevance of the themes chosen for this Seminar in relation to the African Union's governance agenda. He also acknowledged the need for Africa to take ownership of the concept of governance and of its development, and requested Africa's development partners to work towards the building of its capacities. He concluded by reassuring the participants that France would support the AGI in its development efforts.

Akwasi Aidoo, Director of TrustAfrica was of the view that governance should be recognized as being at the heart of everything if Africa is to be developed. It is for this reason that it also constitutes the nucleus of the programmes of TrustAfrica. He justified having granted the AGI the necessary funding to organize this Seminar for four reasons: 1) it is an institution which has the potential of becoming a leader on the issue; 2) it is an institution which has the potential of bringing us together often to examine problems of governance; 3) it is an institution which is capable of translating our reflections on governance issues into concrete action; and 4) it is a model of quality considering the successful organization of the Seminar, the quality of its participants, etc. He expressed the wish that in view of the foregoing, everything possible should be done to protect the AGI and to provide it with financial support.

Mohamed H'Midouche, Resident Representative of the AfDB Group was of the view that the African countries had made considerable progress in the improvement of governance practices, for which reason economic growth in Africa is once again being sustained. However, there are still major challenges to be addressed in this area, in particular

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transparency and the need to be accountable in the management of public funds. As a priority, there is need to draw up an African perspective of development governance for the continent, prepared by the Africans themselves. The AfDB, he said, is contributing to this, among other things, through the participative approach which takes priority in its activities, and through its Strategic Direction and the Action Plan on Governance for the period 2008-2012 which it has adopted. AfDB's support in the area of governance is adapted to each country, requires a national vision and is aimed at building local capacities and the efficiency of the institutions at the country level (reinforcing the national public resource management systems), at the sector level (to promote integrity) and at the regional level (to encourage and support initiatives promoting the standards and codes of good economic and financial governance). It is also shown through the co-publication, with the ECA, of the Report on Governance in Africa, as well as the current development of a governance assessment tool. He concluded by re-affirming AfDB's commitment to provide the required support to ensure that the objective for which the AGI has been created, is realised.

Abdalla Hamdok, ECA Representative first of all thanked the AGI leadership. He indicated that the AGI is an initiative being called upon to re-examine the discourse on governance in Africa and to propose solutions. The issue of governance encompasses the broader issue of the democratization of Africa, a condition which calls for the involvement of civil society in governance and social transformation. The ECA, he said, supports the democratization process, in particular through the APRM process, the Reports on governance in Africa, etc. He opined that governance remains a major challenge for Africa, in view of the coups d'état, the violence which results from the organization of elections on the continent, and from the results of the Reports on governance in Africa. This therefore places very high expectations on the work that the AGI has to carry out. While expressing satisfaction with the organization of such seminars, which will facilitate the strengthening of governance in Africa, he reassured the gathering that the ECA would continue to provide support for the AGI and asked the other partners to do as much. He expressed the view that the current financial crisis constitutes an opportunity for a better rethinking of governance and democracy in Africa.

His Excellency Mr. Henrique Rosa Pereira, Former President of Guinea Bissau congratulated the AGI and its interim Director, the Professor Nzongola-Ntalaja, for this involvement on the issue of the double crisis of governance and development of the African continent. This problem is that much more pertinent in that the first decade of the 21st century is considered as a « lost decade », that moreover we live in a period of multifarious crises, and that the 50 years of Africa's independence which we are preparing to celebrate, appear to be characterized by an inability to develop Africa, as the « Founding Fathers » had desired. While expressing satisfaction with this decision of the AGI to examine the failure of the governance mechanisms in Africa, he intimated that it might be better to deal with governance and the lack of development separately, if only to define the respective responsibilities of those involved.

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Finally, **Her Excellency Mrs. Fatou Daniele Diagne**, Minister Counsellor to the President of the Republic of Senegal who chaired this opening ceremony, expressed her satisfaction with the progress made by the AGI, and expressed the support for it by the highest Authorities of the Republic of Senegal. She reiterated the objectives of the seminar and emphasized the need to take local specificities into account in promoting governance in Africa. She invited the AGI to monitor the changes in attitudes and aptitudes of the actors in the governance process, the failure of the various political and social experiments in the establishment of governance and the ensuing results. In her view, governance in Africa should be based on a « contract of confidence » between the State and the governed, which would allow the populations' aspirations to be taken into account and those of the various endogenous actors, as well as respect for the principles and implementation of good governance practices. There is therefore need to review the issue of governance in Africa, taking into account, among other things, the progress which has been registered in various places in the continent.

Introduction to the Seminar

Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, Interim Director of the AGI, thanked the entire gathering for having accepted to participate in this Seminar. He indicated that it was the first in a series of activities that the AGI intended to organize: 1) High level Seminars; 2) Capacity building workshops in collaboration with other regional institutions such as CODESRIA, CAFRAD, AfriMap, etc; 3) Public Forums which would be held successively in Accra, Praia and Kinshasa. He reminded the assembly of the AGI's ambition to promote a truly African reflection on the governance issue.

S.B.O. Gutto, Director of the Centre for African Renaissance Studies at the University of South Africa (UNISA) started off with several questions to launch the debate on the governance problem in Africa. These questions cannot be avoided when governance is examined through an African prism. This is actually the case of the peoples' position in the governance process; the confiscation of the governance process by the decision makers, for their own interests; the absence of or low level involvement of the local authorities, etc. Thus, whereas constitutions represent one of the instruments of good governance, their challenging or revision by the powers that be is an indicator of the crisis that governance is going through in Africa. The same is true for elections, whereby the challenging of the results is a good reflection of the crisis of democracy and of the participation of the populations in the democratization process. The situation is that much more worrying in that the 2nd generation of Heads of State which is replacing the first generation does not appear to be doing any better, and that the African countries are very weak. It is of even greater concern when one wonders whether parliaments genuinely represent the populations. At the regional level, one wonders whether our institutions like the AU, the ECA give the necessary directives to the States, whether there is any coherence in the regional and sub-regional discourses and approaches; whether programmes like NEPAD are effectively implemented, etc. Finally, whereas the global governance process affects us considerably, to what extent do we

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participate in it? Could we brainstorm on a global level and not at the local one? In conclusion, he expressed the view that if this situation represents a real challenge for the governance process in Africa, it can actually be modified if the individuals who created it have the intention of doing so.

Samir Amin, Director of the Third World Forum was of the view that where democracy is imposed, it can become a handicap to social progress. This is the case in Africa currently where democracy is more of a ritual contributing to something other than development, notably the taking over of power for the personal enrichment of the leaders. There is urgent need therefore to develop a culture, an ideology for the development of the society which will be associated to democratization, and to put an end to this form of democracy which, contrary to the speeches, leads instead to the deterioration of living conditions. Africa, he added, was well on the path of development during the period immediately following independence. Today, it is only considered for its natural resources (hence the conflicts in the countries which have them, in particular in the Great Lakes region) and the availability of its arable lands. Thus there is urgent need to reconcile development and democracy so as to achieve social progress by means of two mechanisms: 1) development by and at the service of the African peasant communities, notably by guaranteeing access to land to all Africans; and 2) acceleration of the entry into industrialization. He concluded that while democratization is imperative today, it should start with the right of the peasant masses to organize themselves and not through elections per se.

The discussions on these two presentations focused on 1) the need to avoid confusion between the relevance of governance and rendering it an instrument; 2) the need to place the citizens at the heart of all considerations, in particular women and the youth; 3) the delicate issue of the sequence between industrialization and governance: where should one start? 4) the path which consists in perceiving the governance process as a management of the coherencies linked to values and principles, to the experience of the actors, to the diversity of the African societies, to the imperative of job creation.

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Thematic Presentations and Debates

Panel 1: The Global Agenda and its Impact on Africa's Development

The participants in this Panel were invited to reflect on the manner in which the global agenda, linked to the dominant liberal ideology, influences the African perspective of governance in Africa, and the possibilities and conditions for a break away from this paradigm. Three presentations were made in relation to this subject. This Panel was chaired by Mbaya Kankwenda (Executive Director of ICREDES), whilst Amadou Tankoano (University of Niamey) and Séverine Bellina (Secretary General, IRG) were the Rapporteurs.

Léonard Kabeya Tshikuku, Professor at the University of Kinshasa, intimated that the relevance of governance should be evaluated in relation to the long history of the struggle for self-determination by the African countries. This struggle was characterized by 1) the refusal of the peasant masses to continue being subjected to colonization and the demand for independence; 2) the confiscation of independence as soon as it was granted by the colonizers and the putting in place of complacent and conniving political systems; 3) the popular tribunals that were embodied in the National Sovereign Conferences ; 4) the arrival of new leaders in power put to the challenge before a destitute population and countries strangled by debt; 5) the requirement for debt repayment and external control over national economic circuits. In this context, governance should be understood as a catalogue of prescriptions prepared by, we know who, for certain States, to place them in a condition to be able to repay the debts, to open markets for raw materials to the multinationals, etc., favoring the interests of the prescribers rather than those of the African populations. The countries subjected to this treatment also submit to this since they have leaders who subject themselves to the same treatment, and who refuse to place themselves at the service of their populations. The new governance know-how of Africa should therefore be that which 1) bases itself on the dream of the Founding Fathers; 2) highlights the African Youth which should take on the new requirements; 3) takes the middle classes out of their marginalization; 4) rehabilitates the African public services.

Yassine Fall, Senior Economist at UNIFEM outlined how the economic policies of the past few decades had been conceptualized outside Africa, in particular by the World Bank and the IMF, under the impetus of the Reagan Administration. The structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) were imposed on the African States to weaken them, to become a « non » or « lesser State ». She indicated how these Bretton Woods Institutions had subjugated the various countries in order to force them to reimburse debts. The conditions attached to the acquisition of loans provide a good outline of the scheme of the submission of African economies to the neo-liberal economy: the reduction of public expenditure, including in the health and education sectors; the liberalization of the markets for goods and services; etc., The initiatives which followed had the same objective, whether it is the HIPC (Highly Indebted Poor

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Countries) Initiative launched in 1996, or the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP). Several other institutions have been used for the same objectives: the GATT, which was supposed to reduce trade barriers, and the unequal trade agreements between the European Union and the African countries, in particular through the Cotonou Accords. The consequence of all this therapy was the strengthening of the power of the Bretton Woods Institutions, the reinforcement of class and gender inequalities, the growth of the informal sector, etc., Neither the Social Sector Adjustment Programmes (SSAP), nor the micro-credit currently distributed, in particular to women, can alleviate their poverty. They are required to do more for the outside world to the detriment of their own interests. And States go to the point of selling or giving up land to foreign agro-food industries to the detriment of women. She therefore advocated that the African leaders consult their populations before taking any such decisions.

Zo Randriamaro, International Consultant, in her presentation entitled « Global Neo-Liberalism from a Women's Rights Perspective: The Marketization of Governance » first intimated that development governance as it is currently featured is far from guaranteeing the rights of women. It instead aggravates gender inequalities by ignoring the contribution of women to labour or to the informal sector, and the difficulties that they encounter in accessing credit, etc. She then focused on the mechanisms that marginalize women through the « Commercialization of Governance », such as the privatizations inherent in the Structural Adjustment Programmes, which drove a good number of micro enterprises into the informal sector, in which women are in the majority, thereby increasing the number of women in this sector. The privatization of health services particularly affected women affected by HIV/AIDS who suffer most from this illness with the resulting related costs weighing more on them. Furthermore, the poorest women depend on the informal economy. She also indicated that the reduction of the role of the State had opened the way to its patrimonialization. Thus, the arable land is granted to foreign companies. She deplored the fact that African regional economic organizations sign political and trade agreements which have a tendency of neglecting the social equality dimension. She outlined contradictions such as the attempts to increase the economic power of women notably through the granting of micro loans, while continuing to marginalize them at the macro level. She proposed that a new model of development be redefined based on regional integration in which women and other marginalized groups could adequately enjoy their civic rights.

Panel 2: The Bandung Project Revisited: Is There a Non-Western Perspective on Developmental Governance?

This Panel was chaired by Robert Dossou, President of the Benin Constitutional Court, while Bernard Founou (Third World Forum) and Simon Mamosi Lelo (Director General of CAFRAD) were the Rapporteurs.

Mbaya Kankwenda of ICREDES felt that the dominating development theory is presented as merchandise offered by the centres in more or less forced agreement with the demand

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emanating from the governments of the South. Nothing astonishing in that, since the development market is consistent with the reality of the system of depredation of the South by the North, which never hesitates to resort to violence as is seen in Tarzan films. The UN system has been compelled to adjust to this concept. The African responses (NEPAD), etc) have not been capable of dealing with the challenge. The alternative lies in the socialization of development as advocated by Samir Amin. This process is supposed to allow the acquisition of a long term credible vision since it emanates from social movements and from an intelligential struggling to find a genuine solution to the development crisis. Whatever the case, liberal premises, and in particular their ideology as to what should constitute the role of the State, should be rejected.

Demba Moussa Dembele, Director of the Alternatives Forum, contends that Africa can draw positive lessons from the experiences of the emerging nations of Asia and Latin America (reference to Bandung). He opposes the excessive weight of economic neo-colonialism in Africa (franc zone as an example) to the robustness of the States in the emerging nations (they practice sophisticated protectionism and refuse to release capital accounts). Effective regionalization is an essential requirement for a renewed thinking of the relations between governance and development.

Ahmed Rhazaoui, Professor at Akhawayn University of Ifrane, also wondered about who sets Africa's development agenda. He felt that the first decade of the independence period marked out the path of the problems currently encountered by Africa. Divisions based on the Cold War, ethnic gravities in relation to nation-state building, the militarization of political systems, and single party systems, etc. If during these two first decades of independence Africa had carried some weight on the agenda of the global system and had registered the beginnings of « development », it was rapidly disillusioned with the crisis of the 1980s and the therapy of the Structural Adjustment policies, the consequences of which still perdure today on the social level. He pointed out the various attempts which had been made to revive the economies and the African States and to fight against poverty: the PRSP, the HIPC Initiative, the Human Development Approach (HDI), the MDGs, NEPAD, and now the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). It was also during this period that State and public sector adjustments were launched, and from which issued this concept of governance. This plunged Africa into a decade of poverty (1995-2005). Curiously enough, instead of achieving development we see conflicts here and there, the rigging of elections, constitutional amendments, etc. It would therefore appear that the governance agenda of the African countries is thought out elsewhere and for other interests.

Adebayo Olukoshi, IDEP Director, argues that governance as defined by the centre countries constitutes part of the array of concepts destined to rationalize foreign policies and domination. This definition appears to indicate, and wrongly for that matter, that the African State is ubiquitous in the economy and society whereas Africa is the least tightly governed of all the continents. This governance concept is increasingly being associated with the notion of

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the fragile State, useful only for preparing the ground for the establishment of a kind of « global authority » over States. The emergence of an alternative would have to stem from the fact that the governance issue is universal and very ancient; before Africa can be globalized, its political entities would have to take up the challenge of governance as in other parts of the world. Today we need to draw up our own rules of good governance without trying to either align ourselves or reject the « Western » practice, and we need to link the concepts of development and governance in order to recover from the crisis.

Panel 3: Pan African Institutions and Developmental Governance in Africa (I)

This Panel was chaired by Marie-Angelique Savané (International Consultant) while Adele Jinadu (University of Lagos) and Jean Bossuyt (ECPDM) were the Rapporteurs.

Moïse Niembot, from the APRM Secretariat, outlined the experience of the APRM (African Peer Review Mechanism) as an instrument of developmental governance. Or better still, as a governance alternative in Africa for it is based on the principles of ownership, of participation without exclusion, of transparency and access to information, of process orientation, of accountability and of capacity building. Likewise, the objectives of the APRM appear also to indicate this will for developmental governance: the promotion of the democratic process, the supremacy of the constitution, the fight against corruption, the promotion of the rights of women and children and other vulnerable groups, etc. The appropriation of this mechanism is on course: 29 countries have become members, 12 of which have submitted their evaluation and 7 have started to implement their Programmes of Action. Nonetheless this mechanism is suffering from the fact that 1) it does not take into account certain initiatives, in particular those which aim to reduce poverty (PSRP, MDGs...), and 2) the future funding of the programme remains a problem. Furthermore, certain questions remain unanswered: 1) Is it really different from the therapies from the outside? 2) Can we hope that Africa will one day fund its projects? 3) This exercise is costly; 4) What about the follow up mechanism and its funding?

Evelyne Obonyo Change, also from the APRM Secretariat, wondered about the sustainability of the APRM experiment. Indeed, while accepting the progress made, she felt that the sequel would depend largely on the capacity, and maybe the will, of the African decision makers to guarantee the success of the governance process in Africa, if we recall the fate of the previous experiments, namely the Lagos Plan of Action, the African Conceptual Alternative Framework to the Structural Adjustment Programme, etc. And already, she pointed out, the transformation of the principles of governance into reality remain a bet that is far from being won. She wondered whether Africa has leaders who can allow this bet to be won. Undoubtedly, positions and actions have been taken in the attempt to Africanize governance and even the road which leads to development. But the facts show that there is a wide margin between talk and reality: the return of military coups d'état, challenging of

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electoral commissions and election results, etc. She expressed the hope that the consolidation of democracy will pave the way for Africa to have the leaders who are so sorely needed.

Nonetheless, Africa has also shown that it can produce leaders with a vision and a capacity for social action and mobilization. In this context, the APRM has the potential of serving as a lever to consolidate democracy and the promotion of a « transformative leadership ». Its principal assets consist in (i) the formulation of a shared diagnosis on the challenges of governance: (ii) the promotion of greater political accountability: (iii) peer review; and (iv) the widening of the democratic space.

Comments by Adele Jinadu (University of Lagos)

The first resource person focused on the contribution of the African Union and that of the APRM in relation to (i) the development of the concept of sovereignty –from a monocentric interpretation towards a polycentric concept; (ii) the promotion of local mechanisms of political accountability; and (iii) the re-defining of “policy” in Africa in terms of a partnership between state and non-state actors. He concluded his intervention by focusing attention on the added value of the APRM, its problems and future challenges (including a better integration into the AU and RECs system).

Comments by Jean Bossuyt (ECDPM)

The second resource person raised the issue of the relevance of the APRM in the context of the deliberations of the first day of the Seminar. These deliberations had focused on several governance-linked challenges: (i) the lack of space for Africa to develop its own vision; (ii) the non-inclusive nature of the policy formulation process; (iii) the absence of basis for the discourse on governance in the actual stakes of power and citizenship; (iv) the gap between declarations and implementation; and (v) the role of aid in the promotion of governance. He then invited the participants to reflect on how the APRM could help in addressing these challenges.

The following questions were raised during the discussions:

- 1) Does the APRM provide a real democratic forum or is it only a façade? Isn't the notion of democracy which underlies the APRM exercise too simplistic in the sense that it excludes the popular classes, social organizations, and countervailing forces? Does it allow the involvement of the average citizen?
- 2) Does aid not constitute the weakest link in the APRM process? How can one strengthen ownership by mobilizing mainly African resources for its implementation?
- 3) What are the challenges which relate to the integration of the APRM into the AU Institutions? Why has the implementation of the APRM cycle been so slow?

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- 4) How can political accountability be guaranteed after the country review? How can one go beyond the diagnosis stage?
- 5) What about the costs involved in the APRM process?
- 6) What has been the impact of the APRM in the countries which have undergone the exercise?

Panel 4: Pan African Institutions and Developmental Governance in Africa (II)

This Panel was chaired by Zenebeworke Tadesse-Marcos (Member of the AGI Governing Board) while Wolfram Vetter (EU Commission) and Kango Laré-Lantone (International Consultant) were the Rapporteurs.

The Honorable Béatrice Kiraso, Deputy Secretary General of the East African Community, spoke about the EAC experience. This regional organization had broken up in 1977 despite its common currency, the free movement of the factors of production and the success which it had been able to register in joint service provision. The different ideologies intensified by the Cold War, the lack of uniformity in the systems of governance between the three countries and the absence of clarity in the equitable sharing between co-proprietors of the benefits accruing from service provider entities, as well as the lack of mechanisms for the settlement of disputes which were likely to arise, constitute as many factors which led to this break up. In 1999 the new EAC was launched, bringing together 5 countries: Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. It deals with global integration in all fields, in particular in the political field: foreign policy, defence, peace, security, peaceful co-existence, good neighbourliness, etc. The EAC has developed a framework of good governance to respond to the above requirements and this will be adopted in the very near future in the form of a Protocol.

For Mohamed H'Midouche of the AfDB, the Bank has invested major resources, both financial and non-financial, in the continent's integration initiatives. It has drawn numerous lessons from this among which figure a tangible working mechanism with the regional communities, mechanism which contributes to the African Union's global integration agenda. AfDB's strategy in support of governance in Africa focuses on a triple role of financial catalyst, of knowledge facilitator and of partner. This strategy is based on the following two key pillars i) regional infrastructure and ii) the establishment of institutional capacities. The anticipated strategic outcomes relate to a) enhanced competitiveness of the continent by attracting foreign investment; heightened involvement of the private sector; and greater economies of scale; b) an increased African presence on the world market and enhanced intra-regional trade; c) the establishment of a more effective African « voice » on regional integration and development issues as well as d) a more efficient supply of public services.

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The Debate

During the discussions, the debate focused on the shared values on which were the African entities were to be founded, the sources of funding for the African regional communities and other organizations, the possibilities of providing mainly African funding for African initiatives, the place and role of the ADB within the African development scheme and as a catalyst for generating African thinking for African development, the distribution of powers within the Bank, the similarity of the aspirations and values between the European Union and the Pan-African organizations, the place of history and conflicts of interest in the relations between Europe and Africa.

Panel 5: Citizenship, Migration and Economic and Socio-Economic Transformations in Africa

This Panel was chaired by Nana Tanko, Executive Director of OSIWA, while Fatou Mboup (Secretary General of the Union of Women Heads of Enterprises of Senegal) and Okey Onyejekwe (Director General of the Centre for Sustainable Governance) were the Rapporteurs.

Robert Dossou of the Constitutional Court of Benin started off by defining citizenship before situating it in a historical perspective of the development of the African people. The word “citizen” meant « subject » for the colonizers, who were only interested in creating groups on the basis of their positions in their models of colonial governance. Today, the citizen can be examined from two levels. The first is to examine the citizen in relation to the State. The citizen sees the State as 1) a foreign apparatus from which he is completely excluded; 2) a matter for those who have power ambitions; 3) an apparatus in which he has no confidence, a politicised apparatus. The second is to examine the citizen in relation to national institutions. In this context it was his considered view that the State should not interfere in revenue generating initiatives, that its role should be simply limited to providing the framework for these initiatives, and at times providing assistance for the private sector in case of crisis. The third is to examine the citizen at the regional level. Unfortunately, aspects such as the internal movements between States remain a problem.

Ayesha Imam, International Consultant identified the difficulties linked to women’s issues in our African societies. In reality this woman citizen does not sufficiently enjoy all her rights. She indicated that in all African countries, the regulations, the laws have adequately taken the situation of women into account in several aspects, but these regulations are not respected and are even sometimes ignored by those who are supposed to implement them, in this particular case the women themselves. She underscored the inequalities and the discrimination suffered by women, particularly in relation to access to land. These women have to negotiate their rights and struggle on a daily basis to address the realities with which they are faced. As a recommendation she advocated the greater involvement of women in the decision making process at all levels...

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Oscar Alexander Pitti Rivera of UNDP/Guinea-Bissau outlined the experience of the Portuguese speaking countries, an experience which is particularly interesting in that they acquired their independence belatedly, following a process of armed struggle which was relatively long, violent and costly in terms of human life; and that they have undergone a long period of civil war, coups d'états and political instability. He first outlined the constraints and challenges in relation to changes in African societies, notably the lack of a specific development model, the lack or limitations of reference frameworks defining a national, social identity, a tangible policy, the matter of knowing how and around which social project should collective awareness be built, the impact of the dictatorial/authoritarian culture of the former colonizing country, and Portugal's insignificant weight in the international arena. He then presented citizenship as figuring in the centre of the economic and social changes in a society, simply because it establishes the bases, provides access to all the political rights, while creating the responsibilities that facilitate participation in civic matters. The problem is that the space allotted to citizenship remains very restricted since the democratic transition remains incomplete, the formalization of civil society participation is belated, and this civil society is fragmented, etc. With regard to migration, Pitti Rivera indicated that it is quite a major phenomenon in these countries: more than half the population of Cape Verde lives abroad and contributes up to 20 to 25% to GDP through monetary transfers. The question is how can these people be better integrated into their society?

The Debate

The participants felt that this issue is so important that it deserves further consideration. Citizenship is indeed at the heart of the life and existence of the State and it poses the problem of conflicts relating to landownership and politics which confront the African countries.

Panel 6: The respective roles of the State and non-State Actors in Africa's development

This Panel was chaired by Boubou Camara, UNDP Country Director for Senegal while Pascal Kambale (Deputy Director of AFRIMAP) and Vincent Bertout (Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, France) were the Rapporteurs.

Bernard M. Lututala, Deputy Executive Secretary of CODESRIA, asserted that it is the failure of the African State which has brought about the involvement or imposition of NGOs and other Non-State Actors in the governance activities of our States. In effect, because of this failure, alternatives had been sought to facilitate the development of these countries. Given the fact that governance, which is claimed to be the therapy that needs to be applied in order to win the development battle, advocates participation, among other principles, the NGOs and other NSAs have therefore become involved in this process. The State is confined to the role of creating conditions for development (peace, security, basic infrastructure, good living conditions for the populations), mobilization and training of the populations, market

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regulation, etc. For him this vision appears to be static, especially where it is considered to be a process. This allows the identification of the role of the NSAs, which is to support the State during the entire process, in other words, to be involved in 1) raising the awareness of the African populations with regard to the situation, 2) the choice of the development model, 3) the implementation of the activities, 4) the evaluation of the process. Only that the NGOs and the NSAs have constraints which liken them to the State: the pursuit of personal interests, the lack of financial resources, corruption, etc. He therefore proposed that 1) the Heads of NGOs and NSAs be sensitized and trained on the relevant values and principles, and 2) NSAs be funded by the States.

Abdou Karim Lo, Delegate for State Reform and Technical Assistance in the Office of the President of Senegal, first outlined the context which had favoured the emergence of civil society as development partners: the ongoing transformations in the world, globalization and the need for integration as a solution to the problem of weak States. He then focused on the role that should be played by the State. He emphasized the fact that this role changes with time. Thus, we have moved from the Welfare State of the post independence years which was doing a little too much (from which sprung the notion of too much State) and which inhibited entrepreneurial spirit, to the notion of « lesser State » imposed notably by governance. In this new context, the State was supposed to play several roles: to safeguard sovereignty, guarantee peace, guarantee good health, education and employment, put in place infrastructure to sustain production, put in place a macro-economic framework to attract investments, and mobilize the population in relation to a specific vision.

Maimouna Isabelle Dieng, Permanent Secretary of the Non-State Actors for the Follow-up to the Cotonou Agreement in Senegal, focused her intervention on the Senegalese experience, which is based on an asset: the fact that the rights to freedom of association and expression are guaranteed. She painted the background which led to the concept of Non-State Actors, formed within the framework of the Cotonou Agreement. She emphasized the fact that the NSAs do not limit their role to being service providers, but extend it to that of civic control without however becoming an alternative power, the role of watching and early warning, and that of mediation and regulation. She outlined the constraints which undermine the credibility of the NSAs: the problem of management, that of financial resources, the weak impact of their activities, the low level capitalization and modelling of their experiences. She proposed, for the improvement of the NSAs' efficiency, that a contract of solidarity be established between the various actors, at the national and international levels.

Pascal Kambale, in his capacity as discussant, raised three points to complete the presentations: 1) the political conditions peculiar to our countries have greatly influenced the emergence and effectiveness of the NSAs; 2) the NSAs play different roles and have different statuses; 3) the capacity of the NSAs to influence policies depend largely on the political conditions which are peculiar to each country.

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For his part, **Vincent Bertout**, the second discussant, indicated that in order to do away with the constraints restricting NSAs, the donors are focusing especially on capacity building which remains a priority for strengthening States but which unfortunately is done piecemeal, even haphazardly.

Panel 7: Local Authorities and Territorial Development

This last Panel was chaired by H.E. Mr. Henrique Rosa Pereira, Former President of the Republic of Guinea Bissau while Cheikh Tidiane Sarr (Director of the Centre for Research on Local development Funding) and Luigi Tessiore (PAQUICO/EU, Cotonou, Benin) were the Rapporteurs.

Jean-Pierre Elong Mbassi, Secretary General of the United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (CGLUA), made five proposals for solving the African crisis. The State should be outpaced from the bottom through decentralization and from the top through integration; for there are three levels of public governance: the local level, the national level and the regional level, from which emanates the notion of subsidiarity for the management of shared powers. The local level is the critical level for the transformation of governance in Africa for several reasons, notably 1) the possibility of re-negotiating relations of confidence between the public institutions and the populations on issues of sovereignty, of access to resources, of *gender involvement*; 2) *it is at this level that the populations can take ownership of the development process*, because the national economy should constitute a congruence of the local economies; 3) the local authorities constitute the basis for the integration from the grassroots and not from the top; 4) the local authorities are at the heart of conflict management; 5) the local authorities figure at the heart of the credibility of the State. However this can only be done under certain conditions, in particular through vigilance over respect for the law, by solving the problem of financing the local authorities through taxation, and planning the future of these local authorities in relation to urban dynamics.

Chief Agboli Agokoli, a traditional ruler from Togo, presented the case of his country. There is a current trend of taking the diversities that take place through decentralization into account. It recognizes a legal presence at the local level, and the need to have the parties concerned take care of matters themselves. In his view, if there is to be decentralization, there is need, among other things, for the recognition of the legal entity, that each community should manage the matters which concern its citizens, that the citizens should choose their representatives, have their own resources and managerial autonomy, etc.

The Debate

The following questions were raised during the discussion:

- 1) To what extent are the donors prepared to allocate funds at the local level;

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- 2) That it was important to make a distinction between decentralization of power at the geographical level and at the institutional level.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this AGI Seminar was indeed a high level Seminar, judging by the quality of the speakers, the depth of the issues discussed and the variety of the themes covered. Since governance has appeared to be the central issue of the situation which prevails in Africa, to brainstorm on it, as was the case here, is in fact to rethink all that is happening in Africa, it is to re-invent another Africa, one that is more dignified and more prosperous. Seminar participants should therefore commend themselves for having contributed to it, but on condition that the Reports and the Recommendations emanating from the deliberations are internalized by the political leaders.

In effect, from all the discussions which took place these past three days, we retain:

- 1) That governance is a concept imposed on Africa not for its development, but to serve the interests of the dominating countries;
- 2) That consequently a non-Western perspective of governance is indispensable, more than indispensable, and that it calls for courageous reforms and a genuine will on the part of the decision makers and of the regional institutions;
- 3) That the Pan-African institutions which are endeavouring to domesticate and indigenize the notion of governance in Africa provide interesting avenues to be improved. The APRM experience can be cited in this respect;
- 4) That the issue of citizenship and migration is of such great concern that there is need for in-depth consideration of it during future meetings, so much does it put our very existence at stake;
- 5) That the Non-State Actors can indeed play an important role in serving, not as an alternative to replace the State, but one that provides support in the development and governance process of the States. In this regard, the State needs to reconcile with all the NSAs which are prepared to support it in this process;
- 6) The re-organization of the State from the bottom, from the local level, remains indispensable to transform the State and put it at the service of the populations. How can this be done? What is the model to be used? How can it be arranged so that the grassroots populations can monopolize and effectively impose the power in all the States and that this power is not taken away from them;

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- 7) Finally, the diagnosis has been carried out, maybe quite well done, the paths have been marked out, now there is need to move on to the details and to action.

Dakar, the 12th March 2010

Bernard Mumpasi Lututala
Deputy Executive Secretary
CODESRIA
Rapporteur General of the Seminar

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