



*Inter-generational Forum
on Endogenous Governance
in West Africa*

organised by
Sahel and West Africa Club / OECD

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*Inter-generational Forum on Endogenous Governance
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Introduction

Introductory intervention by Mr Normand LAUZON, Director, Sahel and West Africa Club (SWAC/OECD).

Excellency,
Distinguished Participants,
Dear colleagues and friends,
Ladies and gentlemen,

First I would like to inform you that, Mr. Charles Goerens, President of the Sahel and West Africa Club, who was supposed to introduce the Forum's work this morning, has asked me to send you his deep regrets. He is unable to be here with us at the opening of this Forum which he considers an important event for the region's future. Due to a last minute unavoidable engagement, his arrival in Ouagadougou has been delayed a day.

As for me, I would like to welcome you and sincerely thank you for responding to our invitation to take part in the work of this *Inter-generational Forum on Endogenous Governance* organised by the Sahel and West Africa Club with the participation of the Women's Group and the Youth Coordination Group of West Africa.

We are very pleased to find ourselves here today in Burkina Faso for this meeting. I would like to thank our host country, its President, His Excellency Mr. Blaise Compaoré, the Government of Burkina Faso as well as the city of Ouagadougou for their warm welcome. We purposely chose to hold this meeting in Burkina Faso.

We chose Burkina Faso for several reasons of which I will only mention a few. Burkina Faso is the headquarters of the CILSS, our first partner since 1976, the year in which the Club was created to play an advocacy role to the international community for Sahelian countries whose populations suffered dramatic consequences as victims of the drought. Furthermore, Burkina Faso houses numerous Embassies and organisations that have a regional mandate.

We all know that Burkina Faso is internationally recognised for its capacity to host such meetings in terms of human and infrastructure resources. Our presence within this very modern and magnificent location has just confirmed it.

In addition to this Forum, we are also here to hold our annual thematic Strategy and Policy Group meeting, the Strategy and Policy Group being equivalent to our Board of Directors. It is made up of representatives of developed countries, representatives of the 18 countries in the region as well as regional organisations and associations such as ECOWAS, the CILSS, the WAEMU, the African Union and ROPPA. These two events coincide with the Club's 30th anniversary celebration.

As concerns the Club's 30th anniversary celebration, I can tell you right now that we have organised a musical evening tonight at the Hotel Sofitel/Ouaga 2000. I cordially invite all of

you to attend. Furthermore, on Wednesday evening we invite you to a theatrical representation by a Burkinabé troupe of which the theme will be migration. We will provide you with further details later in the day.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Club's partners, in particular UNDP, for its logistical support in the organisation of this meeting.

Today more than 100 of us are brought together here to pursue our exchanges at the regional level. We hope to have a constructive regional dialogue. We would like that our exchanges be open and direct; that they be anchored in the West African experience as regards endogenous governance and in the real life of populations of the region in order to move forward the strengthening and building of peace and democracy in West Africa, with a view to sustainable development to benefit the greatest number of people.

I am pleased to see here today so many representatives of the inter-generational reality of West Africa, women, youth, from 18 countries of the region, coming from different economic and social backgrounds, from the rural and urban environments, civil society, the private sector, research centres, etc. Over the next few days, it will not be surprising to see, given the different experiences of each one of us and our position in society, that there will be diverging as well as converging views expressed. The idea being that decisions made and actions undertaken within any region, regarding any subject, is within a continuous consultation and negotiation process where often there are disagreements which ultimately lead to joint approaches on a certain number of points, to unfetter problematic situations, improve the quality of daily life and reduce the gap between desirable and possible futures.

This Forum must not be an event resulting in documents and declarations without a follow-up but should be a catalyst for a consultation and action process promoting the building and strengthening of peace and democracy in West Africa.

Now I would like to address the following three questions:

1. Why has the Sahel and West Africa Club organised this Forum?
2. What should be the main objectives of our exchanges?
3. What could be the follow-up to this Forum?

1. Why has the Sahel and West Africa Club organised this Forum?

Concerning this first question, I would like to review what the Club is, present our perception of the region and indicate how this Forum fits in to the strategic orientation of our work.

Some words about the Sahel and West Africa Club

- As I said just before, in the middle of the 1970s within the context of the great drought, some of the Member countries of Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Organisation to which the Club is attached, in partnership with other Sahel countries created the Friends of the Sahel Club as a forum for the international community to discuss and encourage strong support for the region. In 2001, taking into account the interdependence and complementarity of the Sahel with other countries of West Africa, our Board of Directors decided to expand our geographic area to encompass the 15 ECOWAS member States as well as Mauritania, Chad and Cameroon. The Club then became known as the Sahel and West Africa Club.

- Taking into account the evolutions in the region over the last 30 years and in response to demands expressed by our partners on the ground, the Club focuses on four areas:
 - Medium and Long-Term Development Perspectives
 - Rural Transformation and Sustainable Development
 - Local Development and the Process of Regional Integration
 - Governance, Conflict Dynamics, Peace and Security

- Within this framework, our main objectives are to:
 - Promote a balanced reading of West Africa which takes into account its constraints while highlighting the dynamics of change underway;
 - Support initiatives and efforts by Africans to promote sustainable development;
 - Making African's voices heard in international fora;
 - Facilitate exchanges between countries of the region and OECD Member countries with a view to decisions that promote concrete actions on the ground.

The Club works within a network consisting of West African government representatives, actors from all levels of civil society. The Club works in close collaboration with West African development partners as well as international organisations; at the African level, with the African Union, the NEPAD Initiative and the AfDB; at the regional level, with ECOWAS, UNOWA, the WAEMU, the CILSS and organisations such as ROPPA and representatives of civil society, women's group, youth coordination groups, research centres and the private sector.

Why has the Sahel and West Africa Club organised this Forum?

- Over the last decades, West Africa has experienced significant transformation and should not be perceived as a stagnant region but rather a region in constant evolution.

- Today there are approximately 300 million inhabitants in the region. By 2025, this number could reach 430 million which means there will be 100 million more inhabitants than there are today. For us, the pivotal question is: "Where and how will the 430 million West Africans live in 2025?" This demographic growth is going to be seen in the increase in the number of youth seeking employment; increased urbanization ; pressure on land and food

security; significant rural transformations ; poverty exposing the vulnerable populations and notably human trafficking; the ever-increasing needs of populations as regards socio-economic structures notably concerning education and health; increasing migratory movements; etc. These are some of the many issues which will be the source of tensions, even conflicts, to which societies and governments within the region will need to respond. Many of these challenges can only be faced within the framework of complementary approaches linking the local, national and regional levels with the participation of actors of all generations in West Africa and beyond. These are also the realities with which the international community must be concerned.

- As you can see, women and youth have been given special importance as these two categories of actors must be increasingly heard and implicated in the decision-making process as was recommended in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. Thus, for example, it appears that in conflict management, women are consulted as regards mediation but almost never brought into the negotiation process. Unfortunately this situation is not specific to the West African region; it is a reality which continues to this day in almost every country in the world.

- As you know, there are a series of factors which argues for an increased role of women and youth in society notably given their demographic increase. Women make up 52% of the population; while youth under 20 years of age make up approximately 55%. Here, I would like to acknowledge the Women's Group established in Niamey and who are actively participating in this event as well as the Youth Coordination Group, who have also made great strides in the work undertaken.

- This Forum has been organised following the clear demands expressed by participants at the workshop on Capitalising on Endogenous Capacities for Conflict Prevention and Governance in West Africa which was held in March 2005 in Conakry. At this workshop various actors of the region expressed the need to deepen strategic thinking as regards action by bringing together in one meeting youth, the middle-aged and elderly, women, knowledge and wisdom bearers in order to establish an exchange of views between different generations on African capacities relating to governance.

- We start with the principle that men and women, governments, leaders of political parties and other West African actors are familiar with the universal precepts of good economic and political governance. However, the effectiveness of these principles as regards ownership and application are often problematic. There are many factors that explain this situation of which one of the most important is their adaptation to the African socio-cultural context.

- Nevertheless, reference to African cultures and societies does not always guarantee good governance practices. The history of these societies, their heritage and current usages must be examined in order to see how African endogenous capacities can assist governance.

- Accordingly, we are all here together to establish a dialogue, to share our experiences, to better understand our differences and our points of convergence. The aim is to promote capitalising on West African experiences, understanding, ethics, cultural references and

energy while supporting conflict prevention and peaceful resolution, as well as the emergence of new modes of governance which are more deeply rooted in realities in the region and to the benefit of its populations.

2. What should be the main objectives of our exchanges during this Forum?

- In West Africa as elsewhere, the people want peace and democracy. Each society must depend on its achievements and assets in order to build peace; women and youth play a primary role in this building of peace.
 - In order to strengthen peace and democracy in a country, the societies, their evolution, their progress, and their challenges must be understood, rather than relying on a superficial too often pessimistic reading. This Forum will enable courses to emerge for strategic thinking and action as regards these issues.
 - Everywhere in the world, the strengthening of peace and democracy requires constant vigilance and determination because nothing is a given. The dynamics of change indeed at the same time provide hope for the future but also tensions. Africa is no exception.
 - In this region, social relations forged by history are strengthened by new proximities, structured by a network of ever-growing cities. As a result, the relationship between the urban and rural environments has changed. Territorial planning must be re-thought taking into account these evolutions which have a direct impact on the stability of the region. Therefore it is essential to decompartmentalise the actors and bring together in network the local, national and regional levels, which is what this Forum aims to promote.
 - Finally, do not forget, even if it is not the focus today, Africa like other continents must position itself within the new global context. To this end, a greater cohesion at the national and regional levels will give more weight to Africa.
-

3. What could be the follow-up to this Forum?

- ❖ Over the course of these next three days, we must think of action-oriented creative ways to follow-up this Forum.
- ❖ Indeed, this Forum must be followed up with results: even if our exchanges on strategic thinking are fruitful, how can this strategic thinking be translated into action.
- ❖ By participating at this Forum, we are confirming that it is possible to, together, move forward the building and strengthening of peace and democracy in the region. It is with this spirit that each of us at his/her level must commit to strategic thinking which will have a multiplier effect.

- ❖ For all of us, to now identify decisions and actions anchored in the every-day life of West African societies for a better future for all.
- ❖ This Forum must show that we need to embrace the past in order to build society's future; that the youth, while formulating their hopes for a society in evolution, must not forget their deep roots and their historic identity; that adults of a certain age continue to hand down their experience while listening to the youth, and that men and women, coming from the same society, recognise their complementary roles while passing on their experience, shedding light on decisions made, the building of peace and the strengthening of democracy.

I thank you

Introductory Communications

1. Inter-generational dialogue and Synergy for the future, by Mr. Pascal Baba COULOUBALY, Anthropologist (Mali).

2. Youth, Governance, Peace and Democracy in West Africa, West Africa Youth Group, presented by Mr. Mody NDIAYE (Senegal).

1. Inter-generational dialogue and Synergy for the future, by Mr. Pascal Baba
COULOUBALY, Anthropologist (Mali)

INTRODUCTION

For many African countries, the 1990s recorded a strange change to values: whereas political struggles for freedom were gaining ground and toppling single party regimes deemed unsinkable, the resulting multi-party systems and democracy led to the destabilization of authority and outbreak of tribal and ethnic struggles. The endogenous demands for freedom that arose with the single party took nearly thirty (30) years to build up, and finally merged into the mould of western human rights demands that became fashionable following the collapse of communism. Since the massive and brutal contact with the western model after colonization, African societies have been a permanent laboratory, a sort of mixture of cultures in which each new theory collapses, just after being introduced, because the speed, depth and scope of changes. In this connection, scientific observation constantly lags behind changes and social upheavals, not to mention the fact that the great majority of committed researchers are also lagging behind with standards, clichés and exogenous models. Every record therefore becomes dangerous, and also every anticipation by and for action.

It practically needed the disappearance of ideological, political and ethical imitations of the West for Africa and the international community to finally accept to hand over the destiny of the continent to its indigenous forces. However, in which periods of history can these forces on the miasmas of an extinguished collective memory be found? And how can they be revitalized and rearmed in a universe that, so to speak, has no equivalent with their disrupted potential?

In this vital struggle for sense and identity, a review of relations between generations is quite difficult because, first, generational link refers to cultural link itself, and in particular, to its health status. Furthermore, its analysis calls into play the content of culture as a whole since the societies interwoven by generations exist only in their specific signifiers. These specific signifiers, though they vary from one society to another, have a common basic relationship in West African countries, due to common economic and social structures dictated by the same material and historical environment. It is from this basic fact that a credible discourse can be generated on the endogenous forces of African societies in conflict prevention. The method, which consists in a hazardous evocation of the said forces, does not contain in itself any driving force to read the bumpy History of societies on the Continent.

Consequently, no discourse on the parameters of *pax Africana* and, more so, on the status of generations through the history of Africa, can first of all lay their bases on social organization.

I. ETHNIC GROUPS

These are the smallest groups for the formulation, representation and reproduction of social organization; they are affected by values which define their identity. They constitute preeminently anthropological units, not merely creations of the mind, and essentially contain the potential problems of this paper, since in many respects they remain a miniature of Africa at present. Their values, which are challenged today more than in the past, are still representative of more than 70% of illiterate and rural Africans, on whom are imposed 20% of literate people, who have been converted to exogenous values, but strong enough to impose themselves as the only models of community life.

1. Agriculture, mainstay of economic activity

Pre-colonial West African societies were essentially societies with subsistence economy based on farming and stockbreeding. These main activities were carried out along with those that were seasonal and took into account hunting, fishing, handicraft and different activities that depend on nature.

Farming is by far the reference point of these societies, in that the entire cultural structure is based on its material and spiritual organization. Land ownership implies ownership of all that is on the land, namely waterways and water points as well as their contents, nutritive trees and meadows, spiritual divinities and cultural symbols. Land is inalienable.

The social and cultural patterns, including the pace of war and peace, are bound to the farming schedule, for the simple reason that resources from this activity constitute the base and goal of macroeconomics. The standard of living and social qualification, which are not necessarily superimposed on the functions, depend on the results of the often changing farming season. Hence the very strong plasticity of the social structure, which can make the village chief, for example, in a given season, the debtor to the least of his subjects.

This strong social plasticity, which makes it difficult to place individuals and communities in clear-cut destinies and which therefore results in a form of social equality, arises from the system of possession of production goods. Apart from capital, which is land that all people can acquire either through legacy or loan, production tools are entirely manual, essentially made up of a hoe used for tilling which makes the difference. Although farming is essentially manual and intended for subsistence, it is supposed to meet all family needs.

The precarious and rustic nature of production inputs does not allow for accumulation required for the birth of social classes, or create an ascension spiral among temporarily privileged individuals. Hence the social rejection of such a trend, which is rapidly considered as a marginal status.

2. The family

In pre-colonial Sudanese societies, the social structure was based on the family unit, comprising, within the same community of blood and spirit, all the known and living descendants of the same mythical ancestor. Patronymic descent is its national and supranational manifestation, to which is attached a number of specific values inherited from the foundation myth. It follows that political and legal legitimacy comes only from the authenticity of biological filiation to the oldest living descendant of the ancestor. This legitimacy is thus transmitted along the age pyramid in the male and female lineage. Attached to this pyramid is the property and services system, be it their accumulation, organization, distribution and legacy.

The almost total alienation of women from the lineage of their husbands lies in the position they occupy in community balance, designed completely around reproduction and the perpetuation of affinal relationships. In a society where the main wealth depends on the number of hands available, women appear as the matrix around which every thing turns.

Children receive strict education at all stages. From the age of 6 to circumcision and/or excision which come between 15 and 18 years, they go through many obstacles which make them herd goats, then cows, and the practical education takes them through different initiation rites.

3. The Community

A community is a group of identifiable social relatives on a well-defined geographical space; this space varies depending on the size of the affinal relationships of each family. Consanguinity is the fundamental referent of the affinal relationships or their end result. The relatives of a community could be defined as all the families or all the villages where a woman can be taken or given in marriage. We can therefore see the economic and legal role of such a community, which covers the actual political space.

Social stratification within the community space is its specific characteristic. In all West African countries, there are egalitarian and stratified societies; hence it is necessary to challenge the often acclaimed myth of a strictly egalitarian African communitarianism. This is because community power is that of relationship based on and sustained by the history of foundations; the village chief, who is the oldest male in the lineage of the founder, is assisted by a council of family heads. However, the council is not as egalitarian as claimed, because within it the line of affinal relationships with the founders overrides the criterion of age.

4. Social Homogenization Structures

Slavery and the caste system in pre-colonial West African countries is admittedly a factor of social inequality, but not rejection or segregation, since individuals, through their birth, would institutionally be prohibited from climbing the social ladder. This ladder, which is mainly based on farming, livestock and war, does not require specific training accessible only to nobles. Homogeneity of the economic base of the society reflects on the social

structure, which shows a level that is nearly equal for all. The factors of differentiation between the summit and the base of the social structure more often lie in functions rather than in income.

As regards social organization, this homogenization is enhanced by joking relationships (*sanankuya* in Bambara), covering a large part of medieval Mande, which corresponds to the present-day West African Economic Community (WAEC) space. This is confirmed by the fact, as G. Dieterlen says in "Mythe et organization sociale au Soudan français", that to these families are attached not only all the groups of Mandingo, Malinke, Bambara, Dyoula or Kassoukhe languages, but also most of the populations of Senegal, Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, etc. The list below, she adds, which is not exhaustive, gives a glimpse of their scope:

- the Kéita are Kissi, Dogon, Toma, Guerzé, Lobi, Mandé, Baoulé;
- the Traoré are Mossi, Hausa, Samogo, Sénoufo, Gouro, Sérère;
- the Traoré and Koné are Koniagui and Bassari, Bobo ble and Bobo fi;
- the Koné are Minianka;
- the Koné and Kamara are Baga;
- the Kamara (or Doumbia) are Kabré, Sosso;
- the Kourouma are Kouromba of Upper Yatanga"

The alienation of aggressiveness, the prescription of unchanging peace between relatives binds relationships considered as strong as those of biological relations. Kinship extends by this means throughout the community. Consequently, the whole society is duty bound to accept the other, thereby placing temperance and moderation above any other quality.

However, despite this very interiorized institution which helps to mitigate the real effects on conflict prevention in Africa, pleasant relatives have often torn each other's gut out in fights, and even reduced each other to slavery. Furthermore, history does not mention a single fight that failed to take place because of the intercession of *sanankun*. It should therefore be noted that the institution had the force to consider war as a sort of historical necessity which did not affect the basis of traditions.

In addition to the *sanankunya*, there are also, at the kinship level, other joking structures, such as those between grandfathers and grandsons, Ego and sisters-in-law, Ego and his maternal uncles, etc.

II A CULTURE OF CONFLICT PREVENTION

Just like in all non-mechanical farming societies, the West African social pattern is marked by the management of social time so that the latter coincides, as much and as appropriately as possible, with the demands of peace. The conviction of a common structural precariousness linked to weak means of survival and defense of the community naturally helps to cultivate techniques of conflict prevention, not on grounds of virtue but out of necessity. Continued vague fear, linked to fear of uncontrollable elements of nature and the conscience, fear of epidemics, famine, forced labor, raids, sorcery, etc. help to create a culture of thanksgiving, integration and control of anguish, the distortion of traditional feasts, association feasts and

religious feasts. All are celebrated in the form of rituals so as to imprint, on the psyche of all, the sacred duty to participate in them.

The traditional feasts concern civil ritual relating to initiation rites (circumcision, excision, marriage, death of ancestors, etc.). The association feasts bring together generations around the harvest from village farms, failing which there would be retribution, while religious feasts pay homage to the different gods of the land to which successive generations are initiated. All these feasts draw huge crowds of people for 3 to 4 days, during which many animals are killed and huge quantities of drinks are consumed.

However, the most significant aspect concerns the entire social fabric, which is set in motion by these gatherings organized for 6 months of the year. They enable all relatives of all generations in the geographical space to commune with another from village to village. These feasts sometimes bring together thousands of people from very distant villages for many days. On each occasion, all women of the lineage come to the village; consequently, Rene LUNEAU says, for example, that a married Bambara woman spends 2/3 of the year at her parents' home for feasts.

Feasts are undoubtedly the best social measurement of affinal relationships and kinship since they clearly illustrates the practice of gifts and reciprocal gifts. They assess the level of social cohesion or aggressiveness by offering the opportunity for celebrations or resolution. The time for feasting and celebration is essentially a time for peace, as well as conflict resolution and prevention. It is marked by expiatory sacrifices between members of the same family, between relatives and ethnic groups renewing their pacts, under the authority the ancestors who are offered libations. The least disruption of this time creates deep frustration, which undermines the moral and psychological foundation of the society, up to the point of threatening its functioning.

III GENERATION AS BASIC SOCIAL UNIT

In every society as defined above, there is no unit more important than generations, which are at the beginning and at the end of human investment. The most important objective of survival set by the group is based on the constant spiral of productive forces, which boil down to the physical and moral force of a limited number of persons. The survival of the entire system depends on the perfect coordination of these persons around rituals and social activities.

Throughout West Africa, a generation may be defined as the gradual miniature of the entire chain of knowledge and skills of a society, acquired through initiation. It has strict criteria which, when possessed, leads to knowledge and community power.

The first of these criteria is determined by the age of the candidates and the corresponding knowledge. Knowledge, the ultimate ennobling factor of the individual, is partial and closed, and it is acquired throughout life. We have a very good example of this type of modular knowledge among the Bambara (studies by D. ZAHAN) through the six major initiations to which neophytes are subjected as they grew older: the *ndomo*, representing the man's

awareness of his own humanity; the *komo*, which extends knowledge of oneself to that of Knowledge as an entity; the *nama*, which is the symbol of the family and the community; the *kono*, which marks contact of the spirit with God; the *tyiwara*, a farming rite; and the *kore*, which reveals God.

These are religious cults; the first real initiation of West African children actually lies in their contact with production tools as from the age of 5-6 years. They will then start out, for the boy, herding cattle, and for the girl, in the kitchen.

The second criterion, which defines generation, is the recourse to sanctions against the children; a legitimate recourse taken by their instructors to force them to receive the message meant for them. The privilege of sanctions is not exercised only during initiation, but also at any time of their lives to prevent any attempts deviance from or challenge established order; contact with other types of knowledge and practices is considered dangerous for community balance. In West African societies, the sanctions ranged from warning to banishment, with capital punishment being rare; unless the person at fault is implicitly advised to commit suicide to save his honor.

However, for generations to succeed each other in the truth of the group, the ritual and social pattern should be strict, adapted to environmental conditions and dictated by technical performance requirements. The numerous rites of thanksgiving and integration, all considered as indispensable, were spread out between January and June. The least shift in the schedule, for any exogenous reason, could be catastrophic. Hence the impact of the intrusion of the colonial system on the organization of the rural society.

The fourth criterion, which defines generation, is the certainty of the premise of community equality within each of them. Each individual honors age, the knowledge of his generation and the collective prestige he draws from it. From the age of six when a boy is made to herd goats and a girl helps in the kitchen, the feeling of responsibility to the entire group is very strong. There is therefore no case of human failure, which would make its victim a useless or marginal being. At each stage of its development, a generation, irrespective of its age, accomplishes a specific mission at the service of the social group; such a mission makes the generation an invaluable flag-bearer.

Finally, the last criterion that defines generation is community solidarity, which is the condition for constitution and survival. Any subtle exclusion or disqualification in the social structure (status of foreigner or of lower caste, for example) disappears at the level of the generation. Only age and individual competence form leadership; this is necessary because of the economic, social and spiritual impact of candidates on continuation of the model and system. Just as the generation places itself at the service of the community to protect harvests from the depredation of animals, to make farms produce more, to protect property and people from wild animals or war, and to perpetuate rituals to the gods, ancestors and spirits for the benefit of all, so also there cannot be a generation that is not constantly corrected and supervised by the community.

IV AFRICAN CHANGES TO THE ORDER OF VALUES

1. *The Stages*

There are four major stages:

- the ethnic stage, whose social organization we have described above;
- changes during the medieval period in Africa, not adequately developed;
- the creation of theocratic empires in West Africa;
- preparation for and establishment of the colonial order.

The ethnic stage is heuristic and cannot be dated because it runs through history, affecting its environs, as it is marked by the centers of power, being the major towns growing gradually. Its influence is still very great in African countries today, since it affects 70% of the African population still living on farming. A reading of its values and, in particular, their confrontation with those of towns, is the source of the present problems.

If a reading of the values is difficult, it is because they have been affected by centuries of confrontation with other influences imposed by history, in particular, wars of conquest which intermingled some ethnic groups, cultures and techniques. We only need to examine the size of big medieval empires extending over millions of square kilometers and encompassing several nationalities of the present-day ECOWAS space (Ghana, Mali, Songhai, Dahomey, Ouassoulou, etc.). However, the social changes that took place during this long period (nearly 500 years, from the 14th to the 19th century) are still not adequately, or not at all, studied by African Universities, whereas the period remains a wide area in which could be found one of the most important missing links in the explanation chain of the history of our societies. The emergence and rise of Islam in Sahelian Africa remains a strong indicator of deep social changes, although the social structure remains unchanged, for example the main method of production – farming. Trade is making a significant breakthrough, distributing new consumer goods on a large scale and modifying the structure of the social pyramid.

The 19th century witnessed two major events: the creation of theocratic States in Africa, thereby completing the religious trends initiated in previous centuries, and the advent of colonization, with armies marching across the continent, looting deeply-divided societies. Colonization, a massive and brutal contact with a different civilization, could then accomplish its major task: that of creating the African State, *ersatz* or substitute for the triumphant European State with its writing, languages, and cultures. Never in History has such alienation taken place. By offering itself as an unavoidable political and cultural reference for Africa, Europe has thrown into oblivion, in less than half a century, the memory of a civilization that was the cradle of mankind.

2. *Diagnosis*

We postulate that the fall or loss of values is nothing else but the breaking up of generations, because as mentioned earlier, generations form the backbone of societies, and more so non-mechanized societies. Every society is closely bound to the generations that bear its identity

in the broad sense of the word. This means that they should be well-organized, in comparison to other ethnic groups, in all areas relating to knowledge, techniques and philosophy. It is therefore their capacity for opening up to the outside world that shows their strength or their weakness.

The African pattern of the loss of values has something special in comparison to the accepted model: it is as a result of change of production method that ideas are generally challenged, or, as the Marxists would say, it is from the infrastructure that the superstructure is constructed. However, what is constant in change in Africa is that from whatever perspective we consider the changes, throughout history, ideas (religions, ideologies and institutions of others) have been imposed, leaving intact the material and technical structures.

Why? Because of the structural fragility of generations which, for centuries, have continued to repeat the same ritual, prohibiting any changes whatsoever. If we examine the content of African knowledge, we would be struck by the proliferation of rites and cults dedicated to social production and reproduction. These include thanksgiving rites, integration rites, protection rites, prolonged exorcism rites of many cults to gods, ancestors, spirits and natural elements; such is the knowledge of ethnic groups which, powerless to fight against misfortunes that they tried to ward off, collapsed in no time.

The more so as the time for the performance of the rites was completely disrupted by the different tasks and projects of the West, which imposed forced labor and mass conscription as the basis of its power. The gradual replacement of foodstuffs (which dictated the rites and cults) with cash crops undermined religious and ethnic realities. The line and cycle of rural generations were soon broken by the advent of schools. Knowledge and skills changed positions.

V. REBIRTH OF GENERATIONS WITHIN THE COLONIAL CONTEXT AND SINGLE PARTY

1 *The Colonial Context*

Up to the 30s, with the last pockets of resistance to the colonial order destroyed, the new authority lived a sort of golden age, with the height being the enlightened indigenous people asking the new masters to assimilate them into the system. We could then talk of a West African francophone and Anglophone, with federal institutions organized in regional entities based on similarities of ethnic groups and cultures. However, once the elites were assimilated, they began claiming the right to difference, political autonomy and then independence.

During this long period of turbulence, and then struggles, the civil society in Africa became aware of its identity, found its leaders, themes for rallying together, platforms for protests, and even philosophies. A new African society was organized in areas such as politics, letters and arts, science, trade unions, pan-Africanism, etc. The emergence of great thinkers for these successive niches, with political leaders such as Senghor and Césaire, Cheick Anta Diop, Kwame Nkrumah, bearers of world visions, recreated new African generations, according to the intangible principles of solidarity, the existence of a specific body of

knowledge, selection, the possession of prestige and knowledge, and equality of all before merit.

The University and agora replaced the sacred forest, with the significant difference that knowledge was henceforth open and democratic. For the first time in Africa, real dialogue was established between the generations, and this was one of the most productive periods of our history.

The generations of writing are much more positive than those which came before them. They have access to a positive body of knowledge tested by the cumulative process of science. Trained in the fundamental principles of criticism and self-surpassing, their ideal is to rise above their elders, rather than imitate them. As regards scientific learning, the development of ideas, the formulation of judgment and the reading of society, they share a common heritage with mankind, quite different from the wealth of knowledge of ethnic groups.

The new African generations from the colonial context have more: they have to fight, a fight clearly identified with the fight for independence, a fight which, under single parties, centered around the definition of the destiny of emerging States. If there were ever a period during which inter-generational dialogue bore its full meaning, it was during this period, for the following reasons:

- All the stakeholders were called upon to discuss the destiny of the national community;
- The proposals and projects came from the entire social pyramid;
- The link between generations was perceived as the guarantor of social stability and quality of the future.

The anti-colonial struggle in Africa would not have ended at the time and under the same conditions without the joint and democratic involvement of generations in the definition of conditions for the common struggle. We are referring here to all the generations bound by gender and age, with the help of whom the political parties and trade unions were organized to raise awareness among Africans. An example of this wonderful generation network was the Federation of African Students in France (FEANF) which excelled, for about one-quarter century, in the collective formulation of a society project for the continent - until the destruction of this edifice by the new African Heads of State, often attacked for deviance from the powerful organization.

2. *The Single Party*

During the single party system, inter-generational dialogue in Africa progressed rapidly in new forms and content. Drawing on the dynamic force of youths and women in the struggle against the colonial master, the new States organized and institutionalized their contribution to new political options, under the cold war. The National Youth Union and the National Women's Union became the framework for nation building. National dialogue soon became propaganda, making these organizations sing the praises of the authorities, who soon became autocratic and even dictatorial.

That is why dialogue took a new turn as from the 70s, pitting the older against the junior lecturers of the University (around themes such as Marxism, negritude or African philosophy), and the University against the political authorities on the issue of governance. On both sides, the debates were hot, and even bloody, in the second case. However, as a result of this, Africa has really become present in the world, without merely copying the Western legacy in the search for its destiny. Such was the case with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), a continental organization whose summits were full of outbursts on international guidelines for politics on the continent. Furthermore, the organization was so important in international relations that each of the protagonists of the cold war fought to have it on their side.

Irrespective of any judgment we may pass on participatory efforts within the colonial context and under the single party in Africa, we cannot but note that these were periods of collective ownership, by the generations, of the national and even international debate. The crucible of such efforts is the epic inspiration which moves crowds with the certainty that a common destiny will be achieved. Does this basic premise exist in a unipolar world?

VI THE IMPOSSIBLE LEGACY OF THE SINGLE GENERATION

1. *The Reign of Liberalism*

The slow liquefaction of not only the generational dialogue in Africa but also the very existence of generations could be traced back to the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programs in the early 1980s; these programs were followed by a multitude of economic reforms, all tending towards the imposition of economic liberalism as the basis of the single doctrine of the 21st century.

The negative conditions of the constitution of a generation lie in the accumulation of features or facts:

- elders disappear as a result of lack of charisma, either because they no longer have privileges or because they no longer have any rallying message;
- the lack of or imprecision of policies for the future pushes the junior into confusion and plunges them into a wait-and-see policy or fatality;
- with an avalanche of techniques for psychological diversion, benchmark social models desert the national setting, making it impossible to have any personal or group ambition.

Liberalism is an economic reform only on the surface; in reality, it leads to radical social upheavals, raising the issue of the physical survival of a large part of mankind. In reality, the system acts in such a way that the only question constantly raised by weak nations is: "How long will it take to fulfill the conditions of the system to continue to survive?"

The economic reforms imposed by liberalism affected the identities of peoples, an area reserved only for the generations. Education and health were its first targets, without taking

into account the hundreds of people who, from one day to the next, lost their jobs. The States, threatened, panicked in the absence of alternative solutions, abandoning citizens in disarray.

Within ten years, the national identity debate was simply no longer one of the major preoccupations; people were concerned with saving their lives. Youth unemployment is gradually becoming the order of the day. And if the populations were mobilized during the first elections in the multi-party system, it was with the hope of solving the problems of survival. In view of the persistence, and even aggravation, of the problems that could not be solved by democracy, despondency and fatality gradually gave way to all forms of action.

This is because action in itself is only the outcome of reflection; however, the greatest deception of neo-liberalism is to have succeeded in convincing the whole world of “the end of ideologies” on the smoking ruins of communism, and establishing America as the only model for the future. Thus, deprived of alternative reflection on the future, generations have disappeared, making room for a confused mass of lost people. The think tanks, who showed the way, became silent, more traumatized than their disciples by the huge failure of their models.

Today, we have only a single generation: that of the unipolar world, driven solely by capital and profit. Consequently, it is now clear that the citizens and community revolts, formerly against the colonial masters, the opposing block of the cold war, and the single party, are today directed against the democratic State considered responsible for poor management of shortages and misery. In West Africa, as everywhere else on the continent, the past fifteen years (since the advent of democracies) have been marked by many intra-national conflicts, aggravating misery and under-development. It seems that the democratic system, as applied by African States, has not provided the expected answers.

2. *Conditions for the Emergence of African Democracy*

The African democratic State was born out of a need, a delusion, and a deficit. The need is that shared in the 90s by the majority of the people, tired of the single party, for a new form of Government that is both collective and associative. The delusion is that, to bring about this State, the African street relied very much on the West which, under the cover of human rights, was mainly interested in the domestication of economies on the continent. The deficit concerns the mechanical take-over of the Western State institutions to build the African democratic State.

That is why, the issue of foreign origin of the institutions that govern us, raised in the Conakry workshop, is more at the core of the problem than any other. When we examine these institutions nearly half a century after the independence era, we are forced to admit that there is suicidal imitation by African policies, ignoring the fact that their western models are effective only because they are constantly readapted to the values of their societies.

The situation is as such for a number of reasons:

- The new deal of national conferences to establish a democratic State was not the common standard: there are four (4) States (Benin, Niger, Mali and Togo) in the ECOWAS space;
- The national conference, where they were held, was mainly controlled by the intellectual and political elite, simply because the texts and debates were in the colonizer's language;
- The national conferences posed the question of the forms of the generic State, without any reference to values likely to be at its basis.
- The result is that we have an African State, designed by scarcely 10% of the population, and which operates in disregard of actual standards and social demands, since it is based on the language of the former colonial masters for all its institutional and administrative references.

VII – THE AFRICAN STATE

1 – Challenges of the democratic African State

Democracies appeared at a time when the vast majority of States on the continent had been bled white by the despoilment of their dictators. Worse still, citizens had lost all ideological and psychological bearings, inasmuch as the generalized misery in which they found themselves – all generations included – made money the only value held up as a model.

Multiparty politics and democracy – copied mechanically from the Western model – stripped already fragile States of the great part of their legitimacy and attributes, leaving the stage to ethnic communities and minorities. In just a few years, the situation thus created brought about generalized insecurity: arms were circulating under the very nose of the State, tetanized by the requirements of human rights. In virtually all of West Africa and elsewhere, warlords emerged who took a firm option to trade their Kalashnikovs for election votes. The national community had caved in.

Yet, in most cases, the mechanical transition from the ballot box to the barrel of the gun had been caused by the problem of sharing the national wealth among individuals and communities, social demand being very high indeed. And if dialogue had failed to turn this momentous tide, it is because there was no inter-generational forum, the different generations having been diluted inside political parties.

Political parties, whose traditional role is to coordinate political life based on proposals affecting the future of the nation, had transformed themselves into mere offices for receiving emoluments from or terrorizing the ruling party. No meaningful program discourse linked to the people's expectations could emerge therefrom, for want of capacity. In fact, this lack of capacity is structural because, judging from the backlog of unresolved challenges, these States have been in clear retreat on all fronts since independence. The one sign of all failures is the inability by many of them to achieve the 50% literacy rate deemed essential for ushering in development.

The African State is also bugged down by another major handicap: the silence, if not death, of the elite when it comes to examining and defending the values that are dear to the continent. All science is opportune when it espouses contemporary issues. Yet, here again, Africa has embraced a scientific time imposed on it by the West. The discourse on human rights emerged in the West neither at the time the American Far-West, nor during the colonization by Europeans, but at the time of their triumph over communism and when African nation-building was still underway. On the heels of this celebration which marked the world's capitulation before capitalism, African intellectuals were directed to legal and economic matters. The bulk of seminars financed and held on the continent since the 90s, have concerned the economy, human rights and institutions.

On the other hand, the social sciences and philosophy which study values were completely suppressed, whereas the international community and the African intellectuals themselves implicitly recognize the universality of human nature. How numerous the social, psychological and cultural distresses suffered by Africans since independence! Issues like urbanization, educational and health policies, the social impact of economic policies, unemployment and how structural adjustment programs impact on morals and ethics, and modes of collective policy ownership etc – issues which, besides, are prime requisites for the definition and exercise of democracy – are deemed inoperative and even futile in Africa.

2 – Fundamentals in the rebirth of generations

The African State is alone today: intellectuals (elders who should initiate their younger brothers) no longer have an iota of prestige and the African peoples are, more than before, adrift. No regime, no circumstance (if not unfortunately worse) can impose the new African identity except the rebirth of inter-generational dialogue. However, such rebirth has key pre-conditions linked to debate on the type of State, the emergence of an indigenous and autonomous African discourse and the structuring, if not institutionalization, of responsible African generations.

Let's say without mincing words that the problem of the State is one that concerns the language of expression and exercise of the State. How can nation-wide dialogue be instituted in a foreign language spoken by at most 8% of the population, as is the case in Mali? How can laws be known, understood and enforced when debates in the National Assembly are conducted in French or English? How can a world vision be shaped in Africa that would embrace those languages?

A thousand experiments have been attempted here and there; but, it must be said that they were based on the Western alphabet which takes us back to square one. Witness the example is *Nko*, an alphabet invented by Souleymane Kanté of Guinea which perfectly transcribes African tones. Collective initiatives must be spearheaded in this direction by the State, or even the African Union, because there is no other alternative if we want to create a national State. Nowhere in history do we find an identity value that is higher than language.

And it is in these written languages that debate on values consubstantial to positive African politics must be engaged. The last opinion poll conducted by *Afro Baromètre* in Mali on "elections and legitimizing democracy" revealed the growing disenchantment of the

populations with politics in general and democracy in particular; to the point that 19% would like to see their country back again under military or one-party rule. The height of this disillusionment came in April of this year when a council in the Malian capital recorded an all-time low participation of 9% at the early Parliamentary election. How else can we conclude when the same survey revealed that only 3% of respondents knew the institution which rules on the constitutionality of laws, except that we are heading in the wrong direction?

What can be the real significance of institutions when they are not appropriate but imposed? It is partly the certainty of not being consulted, or even despised, that prompts ethnic communities to be in conflict with the State. For instance, care should have been taken to ensure that 42% of Malians in the above-mentioned survey show as much interest in their group identity as in their Malian citizenship, whereas Mali is reputedly the country where integration has worked best in the entire sub-region.

If that is how democracy impacts on citizens, it evidently would be desirable for other opinion groups to emerge between the State and citizens – civil society groups that would be attentive to the sense and ways of the generations of the colonial times and those of the 90s; groups that would be the bearers of a new African identity.

VIII– NEW GENERATIONS: THE MEANING OF A STRUGGLE

Franz Fanon said: each generation has a mission to accomplish or to betray. The tribe, the community is the social and cultural expression of generations, with temporal and spatial differences based on their status, functions and specific challenges. Whatever the multiplicity and divergence of worldviews in a given society, the defense of its deep-seated cultural identity must be the subject of consensus.

The current consensus is quite weak to confront the scope of the continent's challenges. Moreover, the problem is to know what this consensus consists of when Africans have no paradigm for the future. The elders of Africa bequeathed the heritage of the struggle against colonization and the oppression of capitalism for, even the liberals among them like Senghor or Houphouët Boigny, applied far-reaching social policies based on African humanism which became the common ideological denominator at the time.

The task before the generations of today remains the continued defense of this ideology that has been recast in light of the major challenges that have confronted the continent, inasmuch as oppression is now a faceless reality and the economy an intangible force. Unlike in past years, the enemy, it is said, comes not from without but from within.

The first lie to be combated forcefully by the youth is the claim that "ideology is henceforth dead". The second is that "we are in a globalized world where culture is a product like any other". The third is that there is "world history" instead of a history of the world where the strongest have always dominated the weak. Now, the prime weakness is evidently the lack of cultural references.

It is precisely because African generations are today distraught and torn apart by the steamroller of neo-liberalism that they have discontinued the fight against generalized poverty which is converting the entire continent into a giant powder-keg. In their time, colonization seemed invincible and the single-party system ineradicable. Yet, despite their differences in approach and oppositions, nurtured by orators and activists, the elders and their younger brothers succeeded in taking up the challenge.

It is therefore in the interest of the State to reorganize this longstanding relay so as to strengthen its hold which gradually weakens as misery gains ground. The gradual discredit of political parties compels the State to seek other intermediaries. Yesterday, if students did not massively side with the State, it would not have won the anti-colonial struggle, nor forged its cultural identity with negritude and African humanism; neither would it have established its diplomatic identity in the club of non-aligned States.

True, there are youth organizations at continental level, evidenced by eminent participants at this forum. But, in the current context, their message is not heard and their actions unseen. African countries must strive earnestly to single-mindedly support national and continental youth organizations without any ulterior motive to manipulate or cash-in on them. This, because no one can better advocate for the future except the youth.

CONCLUSION

The tendency to dream of inter-generational African dialogue in its pre-colonial forms is a futility, especially in an area as vast as West Africa. We have simply demonstrated (for purposes of method) that, as is the case with all forms of social organization, generations submitted to History and their dynamism remained hooked to the struggles of their time. Such is today's challenge.

This forum has the advantage of having raised the question in a context where all issues, except profit or gain, seem to have disappeared. Brought face to face, the generations and organizations here should together assess the full implications of such a fact for African societies, more than ever absent from the debate. They should especially consider possible forms of their organization that can influence stakes in the immediate and distant future.

2. Youth, Governance, Peace and Democracy in West Africa, West Africa Youth Group, presented by Mr Mody NDIAYE (Senegal).

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of this third millennium, three factors justify reflecting on the situation in which young people are finding themselves:

The world has changed

A third industrial revolution has started, together with a transition to the communication age. New information and communication technologies have reduced the world to a global village, where impacts are becoming increasingly rapid and uniform. The great powers do well out of it, and the others are delighted too.

Society has changed

In many countries, the century which has just finished saw the transition from an agrarian society to a predominantly industrial society, thus marking the passage from a rural society to an urban society. Family structures have also changed, and we see the fabric of the family increasingly unravelling. The exodus from the countryside and massive unemployment are profoundly changing the balance between generations. African society has not been spared, with disastrous consequences in the ECOWAS countries.

The difficulties of young people raise complex issues

Young people have had problems for many years, from the early years of independence. Attempts were made to resolve their problems, but the results remained unsatisfactory or ineffective in educational and socio-economic areas. Finding appropriate solutions for young people's problems in our countries must be considered urgently, at a local, regional and global level. These solutions must be planned around integrated and efficient youth policies.

The notion of a "youth policy" has become broader and "global", and today allocates an important place to the participation of young people in decision-making, in active involvement at the heart of the community and even in the construction of the nation, and no longer just the development of their personalities.

So, to avoid chaos in the years to come, it is important to find the right answer to the question: what youth policy should be adopted within the ECOWAS countries?

I. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SITUATION: CONTEXT AND TRENDS

Global context

Most of the former points of reference have been swept away since 1985, and more especially since 1989, which will probably remain a pivotal year in the history of the 20th century.

If we agree that with the disintegration of the Soviet bloc, the former equilibrium of a bipolar world disappeared, we also have to admit that the "centre-periphery" bipolarity has not been affected fundamentally. The North-South divide remains in place more strongly than ever.

The economic imbalance

Three facts:

- 1) 20% of the richest countries share 82.7% of the GNP, while 80% of mankind share the remaining 17.3%;
- 2) 60% of mankind share a GNP representing 5.6% of the total;
- 3) 20% of the poorest countries share only 1.4% of the GNP.

Not only is this gap enormous, but it has widened over the last thirty years. The ratio of the revenue of the richest to the poorest was 30 to 1 in 1960, whereas it reached 59 to 1 in 1989. In other terms, the disparity has doubled in the last thirty years.

The demographic situation and trends

The focus of the whole debate seems to concern the unequal distribution of demographic growth between the North and the South: the North is ageing, while the South is getting younger. All the projections indicate this: the greatest changes in the world population distribution are taking place in Africa, whose share of the population will go from 12% in 1990 to 27% in 2050. The share of the developed world will reduce from 23% in 1990 to 13% in 2050, and whereas in the South, the population is getting progressively younger, it is ageing in the North.

The world population, estimated at 6.2 billion in 2000, will reach 7.5 billion in 2050. In fact, it is growing by 90 million each year.

In Africa, the population increased from 640 million in 1990 to 710 million in 1995. It is expected to reach 834 million in 2015 and 1.6 billion in 2050. The annual population growth rate is 3%.

Those under 25 years of age represent 50% of the world's population: young people (10-24 years old) make up around 1/3 of the world's population. In Africa, for example, more than 45% of the population are under 15. The influence of young people is therefore important not only globally, but also in African countries.

African context

Africa has had many misfortunes, the worst of these being the slave trade and colonisation. There were hopeful times during the years of independence, but then the continent fell under the iron rule of military coups d'état, recovered from these in recent years and has now begun in some rare places to launch development projects with democratic foundations.

In many fields, Africa has not been able to play the game well, leaving initiatives to Western countries: most national indicators reflect high levels of poverty, maternal and infant mortality, an extraordinary loss of schooling, and wide-spread illiteracy.

Slow economic growth and its social impact

Africa is experiencing a continuing fall in its income per capita. Nearly 46% of export revenue is used to service debt. Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) have failed, and the NEPAD is still searching for an identity.

In general, the African economies are characterised by mega-trends leading to stagnation in productivity. In an unstable environment, they have to manage demographic growth patterns which limit intensive methods of agricultural production and end up absorbing most of the economic growth. The persistence of the economic crisis has strongly affected progress in the social sphere. In most countries, the population's health coverage has remained very patchy, particularly in urban areas as compared to rural areas, and in capital cities as compared to the rest of the country. Life expectancy remains at an average of 49 years, and the probability of dying before the age of 5 remains high, reflecting the bad conditions for children.

The nutritional situation remains precarious in most of the region, due to the joint effects of the economic crisis and the decline in food availability.

Democratisation

Democratisation envisaged to give people a "breath of freedom" has known mixed outcomes. Indeed,, what would an African do with the right to a vote which cannot help improve his own situation?

In Africa, we still have not been able to find the best way of combining the provisions of international legal instruments and the experiences of other peoples with the institutional riches accumulated by our societies since the dawn of time, nor have texts been drawn up which are adapted to our political, economic, social or cultural realities. It is important to facilitate the emergence of a genuinely African implementation of fundamental rights, which would further integrate collective rights. In fact, human rights have developed within a Western liberal tradition centred on the individual, while the notion of the individual in Africa relies on the idea of community.

Today, numerous countries, influenced by street movements and the era of democratisation of the 1990s, have returned to representative democracy. But it must be recognised that the representatives of the populations, instead of receiving their mandate from the citizens, tend

to be designated following elections which are often rigged, and non-transparent except in a very small number of countries such as Benin, Senegal and Mali.

The West African context: the ECOWAS area

Place in the world economy

Today, sub-Saharan Africa has 10% of the world's population, contributes 1% of the world's GDP, receives 1% of direct foreign investment, and accounts for 1.5% of international trade. This marginalisation seems mainly due to a long-term stagnation in productivity which has led, at best, to a slow increase in average revenues and, in other cases, to a stagnation – or even a decline – in these. In addition, the stagnation in productivity has meant that the continent has been marginalised as regards global trade and finance flows, and has generated an external debt which is difficult to sustain.

Youth unemployment

The 16 West African countries have a population of 300 million, of whom half are under 20 years of age and three quarters are under 30. Unemployment very often reaches 80%, especially in countries which are at war or which are coming out of war, such as Liberia and Sierra Leone.

“Unemployment drives violence, and violence drives unemployment,” emphasised Mr Ahmedou Ould Abdallah, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General for West Africa, during a press conference. The numerous attempts made by clandestine immigrants to penetrate the Spanish enclaves of Melilla and Ceuta in the north of Morocco in order to access Europe illustrate the deterioration of the situation in the region.

A UN report published in December emphasised the harmful effects of unemployment in Africa on development and poverty. Another report published in the same month entitled “Youth Unemployment and Regional Insecurity in West Africa” forecasts that the population of West Africa will reach 430 million inhabitants in 2020. Such a scenario would increase the pressure on the land and the towns.

“The difficulties encountered by young people do not only threaten peace and stability in West Africa,” warns the UN envoy, but that of the whole world, since “everyone is trying to get to Europe (...) or America”.

A long phase of rapid urbanisation

After demographic growth, the urbanisation of West Africa has been the most spectacular change in the region over the last few decades. Some people also consider it to be the most worrying change, since from being more than 80% rural in 1960, the region is around 50% urbanised today. However, this dynamic is part of the spread of the multi-secular world urbanisation movement, and sub-Saharan Africa lagged very much behind with regard to this at the beginning of the period.

The pace accelerated between 1960 and 1970, and urban growth exceeded 7% per year. In 1980, there were some 2,300 centres with more than 5,000 inhabitants, and a total urban population of 50 million, of whom 30 were in Nigeria, giving urbanisation levels of 34% and 42% respectively.

The centres of conflicts

West Africa has not been able to use its numerous young people as economic potential. These young people are unfortunately considered as a dead weight, and as obstacles to the economic development process. The lack of political engagement among these young people consequently means that they become enmeshed in all sorts of crises, their main objective being survival (rebellion, armed gangs, armed attacks and robberies, etc.).

II. THE CHALLENGES FACED BY YOUNG PEOPLE

What is meant by youth?

Youth is a period in life between childhood and maturity. Youth does not stop at puberty, which merely marks the time when genital organs start to function, but at the age of around 25 to 30, depending on the individual. In Africa, a person can be considered as young up to 35 years of age.

Defining youth only by age would reduce it to only one of its aspects, even if it is a major political act.

In so-called "traditional" societies, a ritual ceremony used to mark the transition from childhood to adulthood, so that everyone always knew which world they belonged in, and what their benchmarks should be.

In modern societies, the gradual disappearance of these rites of passage and the fact that there are no replacements make entry into the adult world more uncertain.

However, it can legitimately be claimed that **young people constitute a distinct group of individuals belonging to the same generation who, over and above the differences between them and the individual nature of their experiences, are subject to a certain social dynamic in a given historical and structural context.**

In so far as they share certain characteristics, young people are led to play a specific role in society, and this role can take different forms in different societies. They can therefore be considered to belong to a relatively autonomous social group, with its own aspirations and social behaviour.

The main social objective of the young person today seems to be the quest for material prosperity and wealth.

Some are motivated by the quest to get rich, and all their most secret thoughts and actions

are directed to this end. For others, their only objective in their daily activity is survival, although they may sometimes dream of beds of silver and gold.

It is imperative today that we work towards the emergence of a worthy, patriotic young African, an *Autonomous and Supportive, Involved and Responsible Citizen.*

A/ SPECIFIC CHALLENGES

The issue of employment, training and professional integration

Employment and unemployment: definition of ideas

The challenge of employment is significant since it allows a young person to establish his or her status and economic power and increases the possibilities for integration. But it is no magic key. It is an important focus, but it must be linked with other aspects for the young person to arrive at an overall state of well-being.

The idea of unemployment should be made clearer. From a classic international perspective, only those who are qualified are considered as unemployed. This idea is restrictive as regards the real-life experience of young people. We think that we just need to see how our young people are living, how they are affected by the problems of integration in the global economic circuit, and what solutions can be suggested to them.

Integration and approach

In this search for a solution, should we deal first and foremost with creating jobs directly for them, or get involved in action which is more or less political to allow young people to share the power with other groups in society?

Above all, we should focus on the person, and on training and educating. By educating through actions, we should enable young people to acquire qualifications and to use them in the best way possible, in a reliable and familiar environment.

Young people will rely on a positive attitude towards work, and make this a factor in their development through their own resources, adapting themselves to a world in constant transition, creating jobs starting from their own qualifications.

Youth, identity and marginalisation

First of all, we define our identity in relation to our culture. Yet the point is exactly that **in terms of culture, society is not offering coherent values to young people, but opposing values which are ruthless and competitive instead.**

To set out this identity, we need to think beyond ethnic, racial, or linguistic disparities, etc. in order to answer the following question: what should we do for the young people who are said to be marginal? This is all the more important as more and more young people are becoming marginalised.

In fact, the trend towards the globalisation of economic activity has been progressively reinforced over the last few decades. The growing globalisation of large companies' industrial strategies is a proof of this, and young people are the first victims. **Being young and unemployed today means being increasingly marginalised and/or dependent; worrying constantly about your future; giving up on a stable, harmonious life, and, often, operating outside the melting pot which moulds identity.**

Identity can be understood as the manner in which an individual or a group perceives him or herself and their situation. Establishing identity starts with something, but identity is also established as opposed to something.

The search for solutions involves, among other things:

- 1) Carrying out a more systematic study of the way in which today's young people see themselves and understand their own development, through actively listening to them;
- 2) From a deeper knowledge of "youth culture", reflecting on ways **to push young people and help them towards collective and individual promotion values.**

Democratisation: the place of young people and democratic requirements

Elections are the barometer of democracy. In West Africa, from their demographic profile, young people should make up more than 60% of the voter lists, if enrolment took place normally and if they took the responsibility to enrol. To take part in the democratic process, it is necessary to realise the importance of this power, to become involved and participate in elections, opting for choices which are sensible, useful, rational and responsible.

As for adults, they should work towards the establishment of a democratic environment favourable to the flourishing of citizenship and lasting peace. They should break with practices which are harmful and sources of conflict such as:

- 1) Holding non-transparent elections;
- 2) Making inappropriate changes in constitutions to hold on to power;
- 3) Buying votes from individuals, especially young people whose poverty has compelled them to sell their votes.

The trend must be halted by young people, who must opt to refuse these kinds of practices, while being patient because they should realise that it is a long-term process.

Integration and the free circulation of people and goods

Relations between the African States, if not distressingly poor, are at the very least disappointing. As noted by Mr Marc Louis Ropivia, "while Africa has not yet finished making the catastrophic assessment of most of its regional institutions, its senior officials

cheerfully advocate the building in 2025 of an ambitious African Economic Community which will cover the whole continent (Treaty of Abuja, 1991).”

Although integration from the top, through Regional Integration Structures, seems to have yielded mixed results, it is noteworthy that the cross-border flow of goods and people is increasing, thus creating an unofficial integration from underneath. For the populations, borders are actual resources rather than obstacles, especially when they involve different currency areas, bringing about crime through all sorts of Mafia trafficking in drugs, counterfeit banknotes, the selling of children, etc.

The crisis in values

Young people have lost their bearings faced with the lack of recognised values which are supported and shared by all components of society. The absence of role models, the loss of points of reference, the lack of appreciation shown to young people’s efforts, the promotion of mediocre people, mean that young people identify with inconsistent foreign values, conveyed by NTICs (New Technologies for Information and Communication), television series, newspapers, etc.

However, for some, young people have points of reference, but they are different from those which we would like to promote among them. Whenever we wish to limit culture to tradition, we have a problem. Young people live in an environment which calls for up-to-date responses. In fact, when we analyse the situation, we realise that young people live in their own “cultural” world. This culture is founded on a vision of the world which is translated by specific rules for actions. Certainly, young people cannot be left to determine their own “reference values” completely, since they are in the process of transition and maturing. But we should note that they are building themselves an identity, and we should help them to **find positive elements of identification** which will support their development. We must help them in this process, starting from their own areas of interest, and also help them to discover and develop the positive and constructive aspects of their own vision of the world.

To do so, we should:

- 1) Promote the emergence of the faculty of critical judgement among young people, which will help them to assess and understand the different influences which affect them and the stakes which these can have on their development;
- 2) Allow each young person more systematically to **better identify the positive and constructive aspects of their vision of the world**, especially with regard to their particular situation and their plan for life. Also to help them build their values progressively, in order to become citizens who are aware of their responsibilities and the issues of their time at an international, national, local and individual level.

AIDS: a major risk

Although AIDS is rife throughout the whole world, it is spreading most rapidly in Africa, sometimes taking alarming proportions. The consequences of AIDS are dramatic, for families as much as for communities. AIDS is spreading increasingly rapidly, with disparities between urban and rural situations. Young people and women are the ones principally exposed to it, through their weaker and more vulnerable position.

Although many resources are being used to manage the prevalence of AIDS, it must be recognised that the real solutions lie in education, information and communication. Young people must be encouraged to practise safe sex, and enjoy a thoughtful and ambitious young life.

The fight against sexual mutilations

Sexual mutilations are cultural practices which are sometimes justified on religious grounds that older generations want to retain, against the will of most of those concerned (young girls) and in unhealthy conditions. Although banned in several countries, they are practised illegally. It is time to tackle this problem more responsibly wherever these practices are carried out. This should not just involve the specific question of genital mutilation in isolation, but should include all forms of traditional and religious beliefs which accompany it, because there is a true problem when in certain communities, a girl who has not been excised is confronted with all sorts of prejudice, problems of recognition and self-esteem, and risks being marginalised. It is time to engage with the other generations in an active fight against these sorts of practices.

B/ INTER-GENERATIONAL CHALLENGES

The need to decompartmentalise common issues

When analysing inter-generational problems, we need to agree on common challenges and tackle them together, in order both to establish a new social contract and to build a new environment which promotes a healthy and harmonious life for a new Africa.

The transfer deficit

Relations between generations are marked by a crisis of confidence, or even a break or chasm, between the older generations and the younger ones, which is widening every day. This is commonly known as the generation gap, and is due to a conservative instinct on the part of the older people, and their deliberate refusal to make way for a new generation which is driven by a will, dynamism and fieriness to assert itself in record time.

1) Transmission of values

The crisis in values is a reality known to everyone. Although certain factors are external, we should recognise that most are due to shortcomings on the part of our elders and

parents in handing down values. They have been unable to preserve appropriate strategies allowing the young people of today to benefit from what forged their characters, let alone to invent such strategies culturally and socially. They have not succeeded in leaving society better than they had found it.

2) Skills transfer

Shortcomings linked to skills transfer are felt in all sections of today's society. For example, in the academic sector, the very first teachers employ all the means at their disposal to create a whole series of difficulties for the younger generations.

The armed forces, whose discipline was irreproachable, were overcome by this cancer of a conflicting relationship, characterised by chronic insubordination originating from the lower ranks where there were a lot of young people.

In education, the inspectors, who are seen as policing the system, maintain highly-charged relationships with the teachers who, in reality, need their help more in terms of capacity building and daily tasks. These aspects are quoted as examples.

It seems to us that the issue of the promotion of young people is just a State slogan which has not yet become firmly rooted in the spirit of each of us, individually and collectively. The transference of skills must be based on at least a few principles.:

- A really open and generous offer;
- A clear will to promote the new generations;
- A guaranteed follow-up between the generations on the development of knowledge and the promotion of values.

3) Lack of communication and social decompartmentalisation

The community as it functions today does not favour inter-generational communication and social decompartmentalisation. The different people involved fall into the "environment" trap. The "main square" belongs to retired adults; the "street corner" is for young people; the play area for children; ceremonies for women; and working adults, because of their duty to look after the whole family spend their time looking for a profit. In short, everyone does something in their own environment, and as a result, no-one knows about what the others are doing, and everyone is constantly surprised to discover new things that they then judge without understanding their possible negative aspects which might flout established values.

We need to promote permanent frameworks for dialogue within families and communities, in order both to reduce the communication gap between generations and to mobilise internal and external input for cohesion and social peace.

However, we young people have everything to gain, for we must reduce this communication chasm for our young brothers and sisters.

The crisis of the exemplary

Faced with the absence of a recognised and shared role model in society, young people identify with other role models from television series, data networks and belief areas (brotherhoods, clubs, clans, etc.). Examples which carry values, and with which young people can identify, hardly exist anymore. This is all the more dangerous as the adults' negative attitudes are also transmitted to young people and children, who learn more by example. If we know what type of young person we want to promote in society, we should make his or her environment safe, so that there is coherence between the individual and the values promoted.

The fight against poverty

Development can be based on internal mechanisms. But, in the case of the most destitute countries of sub-Saharan Africa, various mechanisms of international aid are no less indispensable.

In 2000, the United Nations defined the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)*, aiming to reduce extreme poverty by 2015. Numerous African States are involved. The necessary funds for their implementation should be in place by 2010; Public Aid for Development (PAD) should by then reach 130 billion USD (compared to 80 in 2004), or 50 extra billion, of which half is destined for Africa. But, according to the latest commitments by the G8 developed nations, it is not clear whether or not debt cancellation measures will be included in these figures.

Tax redistribution mechanisms have also been suggested. For example, the British Treasury hopes to raise 4 billion USD by 2015 by means of an "International Finance Facility" system. The French, followed by the Chileans and the British, have suggested a tax on airfares which is now effective in France.

Less than 10 years away from 2015, the MDGs of sub-Saharan Africa often seem far from being reached: 42 of the 47 countries concerned will not be able to reach half of them, and 12 countries will probably not attain any. Incidentally, the definition of these goals mobilised international co-operation against **poverty** by giving it a collective contract and a schedule, the first example of development planning on a global scale. Aid management has been re-centred on the search for results rather than the follow-up of implementation methods. This approach might well encourage virtuous circles of sustainable development in Africa.

Conditions for development in Africa are also examined from the point of view of **development** and **governance**. What is the correlation between them? Is good governance the condition of virtuous development, or the opposite?

The challenge of conflicts within the ECOWAS area

Nine of the sixteen ECOWAS States have known acute conflict situations. Liberia and Sierra Leone may have just finished their DDR process with relative success, but others like Côte d'Ivoire have only just begun. Elsewhere, States and populations of the region are still

confronted either by a rebellion, or by armed bandits. It may be true that these conflicts are made easier by the proliferation of light arms in the sub-region and the gaps in our borders, but even so, these are not the real causes.

In fact, three-quarters of the West African population are less than thirty years old. These are young people who aspire to a better life; and faced with the lack of youth policies taking their interests into account, most of these young people are thrown back on their own resources, subject to the cruelty of life. This explains why they sometimes enrol in armed conflicts or why they swell the ranks of illegal immigrants, for want of legal opportunities.

Peace and stability in West Africa require youth issues to be dealt with on a political level, good governance to be used and human resources to be deployed in an optimum way. This issue is so crucial that all generations should work together to manage it and find lasting solutions. Whether they are in government, in opposition, or rebels, adults must stop involving young people in conflicts and manipulating them. We therefore must agree on internal mechanisms for the prevention of conflicts, but also on sanctions.

Human security

The question of human security is a major issue for the young people of the region. Young people – and particularly girls – are both actors in violence and victims of it, and they are exposed to violations of their Human Rights, to clashes in armed conflicts and wars, and to bloody repression by regimes and political factions which do not respect democracy. Young people have a strong social case for escaping from destitution and extreme poverty. Society must take responsibility for their basic necessities and involve them in the search for and implementation of lasting solutions. To do so would require the following:

At the individual level

- 1) Reinforce the education of children and young people by helping them to develop their full potential, on a physical, social, economic, spiritual, emotional and cultural level, in a way which is both integrated and diverse;
- 2) Facilitate access to health care in a healthy environment;
- 3) Provide and maintain education and socio-professional integration for young people;
- 4) Help each young person to take full advantage of his or her freedom, to live out their rights and duties, to know their place in society and to participate as a citizen in the democratic process.

At the collective level

- 1) Work for a just and fair society which favours the promotion of everyone;
- 2) Develop citizenship centred on the security of the individual, for as **Baden POWELL**, the founder of the Scout Movement, said: **“Society must be developed by developing the people who make up society.”**

A new governance

Good governance goes along with transparent management and the fair distribution of wealth and resources, and reasoned transfers in education and health which should ultimately lead to better living conditions for the population.

The approach seems to be restrictive, since it does not allow for the internal and cultural aspects of the communities and countries in the region. Consideration should be given to other mechanisms which take into account the experiences of endogenous governance we are familiar with, through codes, symbols and practices which are deeply rooted in our realities. This will mean that everyone involved, of whatever generation, can be an active participant and enjoy enhanced responsibilities within community life.

And beyond this, we recommend that education be integrated into the new endogenous governance within education and training programmes in order to prepare children and young people for the responsibilities which await them. There again, it will be in the adults' own interests to play fair.

C- YOUNG PEOPLE'S RESPONSIBILITIES AND ROLES TO TAKE UP THESE CHALLENGES

Development and stability opportunities in West Africa will be undermined as long as the current demographic trends, economic policies and governance practices keep tens of millions of young people out of work and in despair regarding their future. This problem calls for a regional, integrated and complete approach in West Africa.

Young people must not wait for solutions to fall out of the sky, either. They must actively participate in searching for them, and assume their responsibility for certain matters where they are involved or are victims.

Young people's education, training and accountability

There are some limits to taking charge of education in the sub-region:

- 1) Limited level of schooling
- 2) Insufficient teaching staff and teacher training
- 3) Programmes and curricula not very appropriate
- 4) Lack of prospects
- 5) High level of academic failure
- 6) Four-tier system
- 7) Lack of diversification and enhancement of educative models

Integration into the education system and academic success depend directly on the social category:

- 1) The poorest people do not always have access to education
- 2) Deprived populations have limited access to education and often prefer professional training

- 3) The middle classes experience a moderate level of academic failure
- 4) The upper classes generally have access to good private schools.

In such a context, *informal education* is a *challenge for development*.

The approaches used most often within the informal education sector focus on the following:

- 1) Basic literacy and education
- 2) Education about family life and the population
- 3) Education about the environment
- 4) Education about peace and citizenship,

However, a certain number of issues should be tackled, i.e.:

- Responding progressively to the demand for training and skills – bearing in mind that the search for quality education should, of course, remain a priority.
- Training up responsible citizens who are able to “understand” the world.
- Ensuring a better expertise in the planning, management and follow-up of education quality.
- Contributing effectively to formal teaching in terms of extras, especially in enriching subjects and practices, so as to end up with an education programme which is attractive for the young people, but also relevant and useful.
- Proposing frameworks for action or situations which deal with the need to adapt education methods and curricula in a more efficient way.

Faced with the failure of the stages of formal and informal education and the need to leverage the diversified opportunities from the informal sector, we should urgently try to provide linked education stages by taking into account the following challenges which are imperatives in the eyes of each young West African:

1. To live an adventure which will allow them to flourish and develop their full potential and their aptitudes and attitudes, to improve themselves, to become leaders in partnership with their peers and with adults who respect them and recognise their character and their originality.
2. To be active in their own development, at their own pace, following their own areas of interest.
3. To learn through action and act while learning.
4. To learn by themselves while working with their peers, taking on responsibilities progressively, being creative, developing their capacity for expression, directing, collaborating and negotiating, in a healthy atmosphere.

5. To live under democracy, discipline and self-discipline which are freely consented to, to participate in making decisions which concern them, the life of their group and the activities they take part in within that group.
6. To give sense to their actions, seek out contact with others, be useful to and serve their community.
7. To acquire values that will make them model citizens.
9. To find out about other people, other cultures and other places, and learn to understand and accept them, so as to live in harmony and peace with others.

Young people in conflicts

Young people must realise that resorting to violence or becoming involved in it is not the most appropriate way to solve the problems of youth, claim their place and assume their responsibilities in society.

It is time for each of them to take a critical look at themselves, and for us to see together how to build a stable and harmonious environment. Also, we think that it is necessary to make social demands in other peaceful ways, safeguarding the common and individual good; but these should be effective forms of struggle, with results which will consolidate peace, democracy and good governance.

Within the framework of conflict prevention, we must also increase our commitment to educate and raise awareness among our peers and our young brothers and sisters, through information sessions or other possible means, in order to contribute to the formation of a citizen steeped in the values of democracy, peace and good governance. We must lead a crusade against conflicts, through education, citizenship training, advocacy and mediation, roles which hitherto have been assigned to adults.

Young people's attitude towards emigration

The issue of emigration can become very meaningful if we make it into a question of community interest. Young people leave because the prospects in their country diminish through bad management, lack of appreciation of their value and the promotion of those who are mediocre. What should be done to stop young people from leaving? What strategies would allow these young people to remain in their countries and contribute to the development of those countries at whatever level?

The search for answers to these questions should involve young people first of all, then those in power, other actors, and the private sector. For in reality, it is about dealing in a responsible way with the education, training and socio-professional integration issues of young people. But beyond this, we should consider certain values such as shame, modesty, personal and collective pride, values which forged the characters of our elders in times past, and which are lacking among the young people of today. We should also, with the help of

the authorities and parents, develop among young people the feeling of belonging to a group, a community, a nation, and so on, and become aware of the role of each one of us in the development of our local regions.

Young people's responsibilities and role regarding a lack of public spiritedness, responsible citizenship and good governance

We think that it is necessary to identify and formalise the type of young people that should be promoted, and the ways and means of achieving this. For it is clear that in each country, the aim of education is to create a given character. If the result differs from expectations, questions must be asked about the strategies and the means used. **Young people are not necessarily what they want to make of themselves; they are what society makes of them.**

Moreover, we should recognise that a young person's vocation is not only to enjoy what their country can offer, but he or she must also be an exemplary, respectful and ambitious citizen, who actively contributes to the country's development, according to their own potential.

This contribution can take different forms. It might be a remarkable participation in the search for solutions to community problems; it might also consist of a peaceful struggle for respect for the laws and regulations which govern the country; or finally, we should mention the necessary participation in the consolidation of democracy and the promotion of good governance at country level and throughout West Africa.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, we realise that unless fundamental changes occur very soon in West Africa and in Africa in general, things will go from bad to worse. We suggest two perspectives in the search for sustainable solutions:

- How should we deal with the issue raised by the difficulties of young people, so that instead of being a heavy weight to bear, they will provide significant economic potential for peace and development throughout the continent?
- What are the best strategies, adapted to current requirements, which can contribute to reducing the "generation gap", and through this, to pursuing an intergenerational dialogue in order to produce a model society which guarantees that all citizens will reach their full potential?

I have presented to you the joint contribution from the young people who have participated in this workshop, in the hope that it will play a major part in the considerations and that, in the end, with the other generations, we can agree on the kind of society we want to promote, with a wide focus on young people and women.

Workshop N°1

CULTURE, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT

- 1. Demands for a Regional Perspective and the Imperative for New Knowledge infrastructure for West Africa**, by Prof. Anthony I. ASIWAJU, Historian (Nigeria)
- 2. Mr. Raymond WEBER's Intervention**, Director of Lux-Development (Luxembourg Agency for Development Cooperation).
- 3. Culture, Governance and Peace**, Ms. Agnès DIAROUMEYE BEMBELLO, Sociologist (Niger).

1. Demands for a Regional Perspective and the Imperative for New Knowledge Infrastructure for West Africa, by Prof. Anthony I. ASIWAJU, Historian (Nigeria).

In the Western Sub-Region, as elsewhere in Africa, the problem has never been in the awareness of the necessity for a regional approach to issues and problems, including those that have been so clearly identified for discussion at this obviously important Inter-generational Forum on Endogenous Governance in West Africa, namely: the crisis of value; the role of knowledge; issue of citizenship; and problems of governance, peace, security, extreme poverty.

There are so many strong indications of this awareness for a regional approach or perspective to issues and problems. Apart from the enormous investments in human and material resources that have gone into the establishment and maintenance of regional institutions, structures and projects such as those relating to the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) and inter-related sectoral initiatives, to say nothing about continental level equivalents such as The African Union and NEPAD, there have been in recent times a persistent call at specific fora for regional approach to African concerns, especially those relating to fundamental issues of conflict, resolution, peace-building and sustainable development. One of such fora was the Workshop only this last month in Bamako, Mali (May 11-13) on "Operationalising the Pro-Poor Growth in West Africa: Promoting Growth and Poverty Reduction **through a Regional Approach**".

The present Inter-generational Forum has also underscored the imperative for a regional approach in its clearly articulated objectives which are to:

- **Decomartmentalise the (identified) problems and encourage a regional approach to deal with them through inclusive governance that is rooted in realities of the region** and strengthened by endogenous capacities;
- **Develop an inter-generational synergy that contributes to fully delivering, updating and capitalising on regional capacities;**
- **From this angle (i.e. the regional angle),** define the strategies in order to sustainably combine expertise and capacities of various generations with a view to effectively meeting the (identified) challenges;
- Propose initiatives that are able to contribute to the accession and implementation of an **African governance endowed with regional capacities** and external contributions

This presentation on the assigned topic of '**The Place and Role of Education in Conveying the Achievements and development of African Societies' Capacities**' is threefold in objectives and structure. The first is to indicate and explain that, clear and strong as the feeling is for a regional approach, its adoption in West Africa, as elsewhere in Africa, has been gravely limited, if not obstructed, by a manifest absence of the requisite mental capacity

on the part of policy makers and policy executors, virtually all of whom are products of their discreet national educational systems and related circumstances. Legislators, Law-enforcement agents, Legal practitioners and Jurist, diplomats and state intelligence officers, teachers and students, the educated elites who came to dominate state and public affairs at all levels in Africa since independence are, by reason of the nationalist spectacles and optics imposed on them by the educational institutions that train them, ill-equipped to see and pursue essentially regional matters and issues beyond the narrow confines of their particular state-nation. For them to be assisted to develop a wider regional perception, they would need to be de-programmed and re-orientated through the introduction of an appropriate regional educational system.

The second part of the paper, which also relates to the second objective, is to suggest that the way out is in a major reform of the education sector, such as would usher in, not just a refurbishing and networking of the conservative national institutions, especially at the critical tertiary level, but, more importantly, new and purposive West-African 'unity' institutions within the framework of a novel knowledge infrastructural design. The reference here is to new regional tertiary educational institutions and specialised research and scholarship schemes such as those which have had to be created in integrating Europe specifically to promote a new sharpen regional outlook on the part of on-coming generation of Europeans whose mindset can better support the regional integration objective and process.

In the European Union, the features of the new regional knowledge infrastructure are many, varied and widely distributed; but for the purpose of this presentation, we would be limited to two examples of the new institutions and three of the supportive scholarships and endowment schemes. For the two institutions our reference will be the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, a post-graduate school, founded in 1972 by the then member states of the European Economic Community for the purpose of specially designed doctorates in four critical disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences, namely History and Civilization, Law, Politics and Economics; and the International Scheldt Faculty (ISF), founded in 1990 as a cross-border network linking selected higher education institutions and user business communities in the Scheldt Estuary region that connect adjacent border areas of Belgium and Netherlands. The Faculty promotes regional research and training programmes on a wide range of needed fields including health care and port technology, leading to such regionally recognised qualifications as the Euro-Master. The Special Scholarship Programmes are significantly named after such great Europeans as Erasmus and Jean Monnet for Humanities and Social Sciences programmes in Florence, and the Leonardo da Vinci for the Euro-Master of the ISF.

In the third and concluding part of the paper, attention is drawn to the on-going experimentation with the African University Institute, Imeko, Ogun State, Nigeria, a private research and training institution, initiated on the inspiration of the European University Institute. Begun in October 2005, when the project secured a lease of an extensive property for its use, the Institute at Imeko is planned to run regular courses leading to diplomas and certificates; organise periodic programmes of Seminars, Conferences, Training Workshops and Youths and Women Camps, and engage in research projects and publication activities, all aimed at providing support for African regional integration agenda, with a special focus

on ECOWAS and the Southern half of the Nigeria-Benin 'Cross-border Areas' as the immediate catchment area. Among the Institute's core courses are those in French and English Languages for the Anglophone and the Francophone respectively; Yoruba and Egun as Cross-Border African Languages; Regional Integration Awareness; Capacity-Enhancement for Border Security Agencies; Borderlands Administration for functionaries of Border-situated Local Governments and Administration; Border Conflict Resolution and Prevention; Border Business Administration; Transborder Resource Management; Border Region Development Planning; Cross-Border Health Administration, and Peace Studies.

The Institute collaborates with orthodox university establishments in Nigeria and outside where such collaboration would enhance the fulfillment of its mission. Such a collaboration has, for example, been established with the University of Lagos in respect of the research interest of the institutions Centre for African Integration and Border Studies (CARIBS), focused on a broad range of issues that have implications for more than one African country and compel cross-border cooperation. These include:

The Problem of Refugees; including the question of Internally Displaced Persons; Labour Migration; Famine, Drought, Cross-border Trade and Food Security; Transboundary Resources Management; Public, Animal and Plant Health; Pastoralism and Nomadism; Environment; Cross-border Business Transactions; The Problem of Transborder Peoples; Language and Lingua Franca (Indigenous and Foreign) Spoken Across Borders; The Politics of Islam; Cross-border Crimes and Policing; Political Instability and Insecurity with Cross-Border Spill-Over Effects and Implications; Demonstration and Decentralisation and Regional Integration-Friendly Curricula and Curricular Reforms.

Similar collaborations are envisaged with the PICA (Program for International Cooperation in Africa) of the Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, the United States of America, which CARIBS itself seeks to replicate for Africa, and, of course, the European institutions, especially the European University Institute in Florence.

From February 23-24, 2006, the Institute hosted a very successful International Workshop on Cross-border Crimes and Community Policing, jointly organised by Nigeria's Ogun State Boundary Committee and the Community Policing Project Office of the State's Command of the Nigerian Police Force. Recognizing the inherent cross-border orientation of the area and the indivisibility of security concerns, the Workshop organisation elicited the invitation and secured a very active participation not only of all the multiple agencies and interest groups operating on the Nigerian side but also, and even more importantly, the entire civil and police authorities drawn from all the territorially adjacent Communes in the neighbouring Departments of Oueme and Plateau of the Republic of Benin, Nigeria's immediate ECOWAS neighbour to the West. A very important international and regional dimension to the Workshop programme was the invitational participation of the Directorate of ECOWAS Observation and Monitoring Centre.

The point at issue is that the OECD's Sahel and West African Club should lead Africa's development partners to champion the new reform in the education sector in West Africa and, in particular, to support the African University Institute project, thus facilitating its adoption by ECOWAS as one of its critical educational establishments. The physical location

at Imeko, a well known Nigerian border town in one of West Africa's culturally homogenous 'cross-border areas' and one of the fastest growing shared with the Republic of Benin, accords well with the philosophy of ECOWAS new Cross-Border Initiative Programme (CIP). The African University Institute under ECOWAS would have several possibilities, including an improved course articulation and the launching of supportive regional scholarships and endowments that as in Europe, could be named after such illustrious regional integrationist as Modibo Keita, Kwame Nkrumah, Nnanmdi Azikiwe and Cheikh Anta Diop.

The significance of the link which this presentation draws between the demands for a regional vision on issues of sustainable development in West Africa and the imperative for a new knowledge infrastructural design for the sub-region is strongly underscored by two ongoing trends. The first is the UNESCO-sponsored series of ECOWAS national seminars, being undertaken to sensitize and mobilise the research communities within each Member State of ECOWAS and encourage dialogue not only vertically with policy makers within the particular States, but also horizontally across the national borders with counterpart communities and networks in the other States, especially the geographically contiguous and territorially adjacent. The UNESCO-sponsored ECOWAS sensitisation National Seminars, started in the early 1990s and revived last year, have (since 2005) been held for Benin, The Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Senegal. The Nigerian session is planned for Abuja in November.

The second, of a more explicit support for the need for urgent reforms in the education sector, is the avoided recognition given by the Association of African Universities at its 11th General Conference in Cape Town, South Africa, February 25, 2005 to the imperative of 'Cross-Border Provision' or 'Transnational' 'Borderless' education and the development of networks' as indicators for 'the future of Higher Education in Africa' President Thabo Mbeki's address to a Special Session of the Conference would appear to be particularly instructive. As summarised in a report published in **CODESRIA Bulletin** (Nos. 1&2, 2005, p. 22), 'His Excellency advised higher education practitioners to consider themselves as architects of the new African world, and called for collaboration among all stakeholders in the efforts to make knowledge relevant to the needs of the continent'. And, as if in total agreement with the mission statement of the African University Institute, the President further 'underlined the need for better synchronization of university programmes with those of the African Union, ECOWAS and the NEPAD in anticipation of the programme of the Inter-generational Forum, President Mbeki then **called upon universities to resume their roles as main players in the processes of change, especially in the areas of peace, security and poverty alleviation in Africa**'. The point to bear in mind, of course is that the audience was one of vice-chancellors and rectors of Africa's conservative national tertiary institutions themselves requiring major reorientation for the requisite regional vision.

2. Mr. Raymond WEBER's Intervention, Director of Lux-Development
(Luxembourg Agency for Development Cooperation)

INTRODUCTION

Grouping together *culture*, *governance* and *development* is not very common in official speeches about development aid, whose themes are usually fighting poverty (see the Millennium Development Goals, New York 2000), ownership, harmonisation, alignment, results and mutual responsibility (see the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, Paris 2005).

But "development" and "governance" have become rigid and rather tired concepts, so we should have another look them, even rethink them, in terms of "culture" or "cultural diversity."

Such "reinterpretation" obviously cannot be done in an apolitical way and must try to incorporate social change, with its internal processes, its cooperation and power structures and its contact and discussion areas where alternatives to current models are sought.

First question: *Instead of talking about culture and development, should we not be saying that culture is development?*

UNESCO had a broad anthropological view of culture approved at the Mondiacult Conference in Mexico in 1982 and then wanted to organise a "world decade" for cultural development goals. But it had to quickly lower its sights because member-states and UN agencies were not ready for such a thing. It was not until the end of what was eventually called the World Decade for Cultural Development, at the 1998 **Stockholm Conference**, that an **Action Plan** was adopted that stressed the interdependence of sustainable development and cultural diversity.

UNESCO's **Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions** (Paris 2005) took this idea further. After emphasising, in its preamble, "the need to incorporate culture as a strategic element in national and international development policies, as well as in international development cooperation," its article 13 urged signatories to "endeavour to integrate culture in their development policies at all levels for the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development and, within this framework, foster aspects relating to the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions."

But the really decisive step towards a **new culture-development paradigm** came through the work of Amartya Sen and the **2004 UNDP World Development Report** which focused on **“cultural freedom in a diversified world”** and said such freedom was key to human development and that it was vital for men and women all over the world to be able to feel free to choose their identity and exercise choice free of any discrimination.

The report was a milestone because it took the new culture-development paradigm out of just “cultural” circles and into economic, financial and political spheres.

These new culture-development interactions involve a new vision of development. “Culture is the beginning and end of development,” said the late Senegalese President Léopold Sédar Senghor. Development that restores the individual, with his rights and as a stakeholder, as the focus of culture and development. Culture that becomes fundamental again, the source of all individual and collective capacity and identity, at the centre of all the strongest freedoms and all diversity, a factor in all links (including new ones) in solidarity and in rethought political awareness. Culture-development that offers a new “community spirit” in multicultural societies, since all development in practice involves people meeting each other in their own cultures. This means accepting the contributions of other cultures by tolerance, returning to oneself after encountering the other, in a dynamic process that reveals the possibilities of one’s own humanity.

Second question: *Is democratic governance possible without a cultural goal that restores citizens to the heart of a “system” defined by human rights and especially cultural ones?*

“Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development,” says UN secretary-general Kofi Annan. Effective governance is probably the key to human development but just as all human development requires much more than simply increasing income, governance that helps it means much more than simply efficient public institutions. It means they have to be fair and responsible bodies that protect human rights and basic freedoms. It requires political liberty and the ability to participate in community life, which is just as important for human development as knowing how to read and write and being healthy (see the 2002 UNDP World Human Development Report – “Increasing Democracy in a Fragmented World”). Most of all it requires public arenas and facilities to discuss political matters and conduct public decision-making.

As it can with the present debate about development, Africa can make vital contributions to rethinking democratic governance.

The Charters of Mande (1222) and Kurukan-Fuga (1236) not only called for abolition of slavery but also suggested a social structure and environmental protection for the whole Sudan-Sahel region.

The studies, thought, theories and social practices of people such as Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Aminata Traore, Cheikh Hamidou Kane and Muhamed Mbodj have enabled an “endogenous” democratic governance to be designed that rivals the World Bank or European Union versions.

Africa’s traditional methods of mediation, such as the palabra, councils of elders and the role of inter-tribal laughter, are also important.

African culture makes an extra contribution to democratic governance with ethics, which highlights the autonomy of an individual, whether from the public, private or civil society sectors. Effective cultural rights, through empowerment of all social stakeholders (the “capability approach” of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum), enables conflict to be avoided and also to be transformed and to “go further” (Hegel’s “aufheben”), so they generate diversity.

Third question: *Does making culture, governance and development interact mean we can then go beyond the present models and together “invent” new and meaningful social and cultural practices and solidarities?*

Cultural diversity could mean non-domination of one culture, development model or system of governance by another, acknowledgement of another culture and its difference, mutual respect and agreeing to share cultural property and values. It would not be a sharing that involved division, exclusion or domination, but one that was “a meeting to give and to receive” (Senghor), one that would also encourage us to think of wealth as not just material but also spiritual, scientific and artistic.

Development might thus become again what it always should have been – “principles for living and values that focus on human aspects, such as humility in the face of arrogance, feelings and care for others (especially future generations) instead everything for oneself” (Aminata Traore).

By reinvigorating (through *culture* and *cultural diversity*) both *governance* and *development*, and re-politicising them in a good sense, we have gone beyond technical answers to technical problems. We must all have a “community spirit” and belief in cooperation. So governance is no longer simply a key to successful development, but once again a goal of human-focused development that admits people’s right to have their own meaningful way of life and social behaviour.

3. Culture, Governance and Peace, Ms. Agnès DIAROU MEYE BEMBELLO, Sociologist (Niger).

In order to understand the roles and responsibilities of the different levels of society, inevitably status must be examined as it enables roles and responsibilities to be defined. We do not believe that there is gender specificity as such in endogenous or public governance. However these roles and responsibilities which are linked to gender-specificity are seen through distorted cultural representation and thus retrograde. We will then address some key issues before presenting our conclusions.

A retrospective look at the situation of women at different levels of society generally leads to the acknowledgement that women are considered inferior to men whether it be in industrialised countries or in Africa. This judgement is explained and rationalised by stereotypes and pre-conceived cultural notions. As regards women and politics, we often hear remarks such as, "Politics are for men"; "Women should stay at home and raise the children"; "Female logic is not compatible with politics", etc. In any event, the modern world is characterised, among others, by an inequality as regards women on one hand, and by an overall lack of effective measures likely to correct this inequality, on the other. In reality, it seems as if all societies were eternally condemned to live within a culture of impunity, and injustice where above all the male alone prevails. It is urgent for African women to take stock of the situation so as to be more involved with strategies aimed at changing this situation as regards conception, application of laws, promoting the protection of their interests. For example, the "Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination as regards women" should apply to all women, more particularly all African women, irrespective of their country and their position. In fact, it is positive parity or discrimination which must count the most; irreversible respect for the principle of equality, equal opportunities, equal opportunity for the advancement and promotion of women must be respected.

There are many strategies to achieve this. Women must understand and work towards this relentlessly. Whether it be gender strategy, integration of women in development, feminism or parity, all have their limitations, their advantages; each action group should, according to place and circumstance, be ready to unite in order to react effectively and be able to restore women's rights as citizens.

Women's route into politics is full of all sorts of traps which act as barriers. Only women's determination can triumph. Hence, African women increasingly evoke the need to defend their interests through a Panafrican movement. This refers also somewhat to the Panafrican Women's Organisation [Organisation Panafricaine des Femmes (OPF)] in which the main objective was to coordinate African women's action with a view to liberating African countries from colonisation. It was thus the first time that African women, with the support of their country's government, managed by a single-party structure, anticipated large-scale political action. In doing this, they stood together in political solidarity even before the creation of the AUO! Now that all African countries have attained international sovereignty, Africans can again decide and react be it with a view towards the revival of the OPF, or for the creation of a totally new mechanism in which the objectives should be to strengthen the

status and role of women in view of suppressing the various inequalities in the countries; but also at the global level. This involves, of course, solidarity between women of different generations, but also different cultures in Africa and in the world. The creation of the OPF and its survival demonstrates that African women can again meet the challenge of their relationship to politics in order to bring about a movement providing hopes for generations to come notably for the development of Africa.

We should not remain silent on the impact of the United Nations' actions since 1975 after the International Year of the Woman, and the hope this gave women around the world. In this case also, the contribution by African women has been important since the framework of the Mexican Global Action Plan was based on the African Regional Action Plan. Since 1975 African women have continued to adopt and ratify numerous action plans and integration programmes for women in development which have never been implemented in most of the countries. This remains a stumbling block between decision making and their implementation in the countries. We have the right to inquire as to the possibilities of effectively promoting the position and role of women in politics if nothing is done to improve the handling of the stakes and the strengthening of women's commitment to overcome the greatest battle: to obtain the rights that are theirs.

Under the auspices of the United Nations, notably the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and with the support of other United Nations' bodies such as the FAO, UNICEF and UNDP, and bilateral support that has established a chain of integration mechanisms for women in development from the national to the regional level, even continental levels. There is much to say about the lack of improvement to these mechanisms by African women.

The under-representation, indeed the general lack of African women within the political decision-making bodies at the national, sub-regional and continental levels affects all of us. There is less unanimity as regards the solutions and application modalities to these problems. Indeed, women's efforts should be harmonised as regards public service and decision-making bodies. It is a matter of establishing, implementing, and following laws that map out the visible path for women in politics while assuring the development and strengthening of their action as citizens. A continuous mobilisation of women is needed in politics as well as other development issues but also a legislative framework which addresses the inequalities and injustices as regards women above all when these inequalities and injustices are relayed and strengthened by preconceived notions and religious or cultural considerations. Thus the emergence of women would no longer depend upon the willingness of political powers and the notion of what is good and not good for women.

The brief retrospective look at African women and politics also illustrates that women have held various positions during various eras. Indeed, during the anti-colonial fight, some women played somewhat important roles such as a spokesperson while still a subordinate within the political groups. Women have never achieved the role of leader, head of a political party, nor have comprised advocacy groups, in other words, women never had the opportunity to form their own political group.

Among the women who participated in political activities that led to the liberation from colonisation were those who received an European education and those who were unschooled. Moreover, these women leaders played a fantastic mobilisation role within the Panafrican party of the African Democratic Rally [*Rassemblement Démocratique Africain*] (RDA) and later within the Panafrican Women's Organisation in which the militant action promoting women was deployed through a network covering all of Africa and implicated in relations with European and global organisations such as the International Democratic Federation of Women [*Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes*] (FDIF).

The advent of the multi-party system has more often relegated women's groups within "basic militant" roles which excelled in mobilising members as long as they occupied high positions within the hierarchy of political posts. Even if within some countries, the parties designated women to fill technical Ministerial posts and who in return assured financial kickbacks within a maze of bad governance, compromising women's position in politics instead of contributing to their reaching the same level as men.

It is within this context that the following major problems arise as regards women's participation in politics, government and conflict management:

1. At the international level, the reality of the insertion of Africa within the global economy and the disastrous repercussion of national indebtedness which national actors do not take into account in their decisions and in their actions which finally constitute a significant obstacle; in other words, whether man or woman within the national government, what impact can be made in conflict prevention when the strings are pulled by foreign and international economic and political powers?
2. The absence of women in politics and the steps to remedy this situation in any of the position and political roles promotion strategies (integration into development, gender, equality, feminism).
3. The lack of supported and continued political willingness of authorities and women in order to overturn the unfair and unequal practices within the socio-economic, cultural and political sectors.
4. The lack of national, regional and sub-regional solidarity between women: in most cases those who succeed no longer feel invested in the promotion of solidarity with other women. This only creates conflict between generations and is devastating to women's achievements in general; more specifically at the local level, it adds to the fear that there are donors who, in Niger, are not bothered by the political manipulation, the implementation of policies and the political game. Again, leadership must comprehend the problems, analyse them, and implement appropriate solutions for the promotion of improving the well-being of individuals, notably women.
5. A notorious lack of understanding that women face inequality and injustices as much at the global level as at the national level which hinders their effective participation in politics as well as existing laws that protect them, where the need to establish

appropriate conditions for development but also in order to strengthen the more equal and effective awareness conscience of citizens.

Faced with such serious problems, we can only try to:

1. Encourage the development of female leadership at the sub-regional and continental levels to better coordinate the deployment and strengthening of women's roles and responsibilities in governance and conflict prevention;
2. Exchange experiences and knowledge of female leaders with women, on the political stakes in Africa, and also on the conditions and strategies to address the inequalities and raise citizens' awareness;
3. Lay the foundations at the sub-regional and regional levels for the fight for women against the unequal and unfavourable socio-economic, political and cultural structures;
4. Develop the basic components in view of women's political concertation on the major African and global social problems such as peace, education, youth, globalisation, etc.

In order to achieve these objectives, in March 2005 the African Link for Peace and Development [*Maillon Africain pour la Paix et le Développement*] organised a workshop on "Women leaders and politics". The participants included:

- Jeanne Martin Cissé of Guinea;
- Aimée Gnali of the Congo;
- Espérance Mutwé Karwera of Rwanda.

These women are the pioneers who carried out important work for the promotion of women in their respective countries, but also in Africa and the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is here, within this context that strategic thinking on the role of women in governance must be undertaken and their responsibilities in conflict prevention examined. Maybe to better address these issues, together we should seek answers to a certain number of key questions:

Question 1: What are the roles and responsibilities of women in endogenous governance and conflict prevention and resolution in West Africa?


They vary according to the type of conflict:

- a) Roles of women in endogenous governance as regards prevention:
 - Raising awareness of various environmental changes;
 - Information / Communication;
 - Mediators / Restorers of confidence, facilitators.


b) In conflict resolution: (role of mediation)

- Establishing or strengthening links or focal points of the mediation chain;
- Transmitting messages to the parties concerned;
- Identifying negotiation strategies in mediation; safety valve, strategist.

Women's position must be identified within the levels of society as this position helps frame women's role. Only then can strategic thinking on the roles and responsibilities of women in governance and conflict prevention be undertaken. Indeed, analysing women's position in governance and conflict management will help us shed light on women's roles and responsibilities at these levels.

 As regards governance:

Within almost all countries, the Constitution stipulates equality for all citizens before the law: this strictly formal status of equality is destroyed as soon as the roles are defined especially those with material advantages. The limitation within women's roles as regards governance is well-known, this is explained through references, either archaic values, or an unfavourable interpretation of women in religious texts (modern governance).

 As regards conflict prevention and management:

Cultural values determine the role and responsibilities of women in conflict prevention and management. They are stereotypes, which pertain to the sister or the mother through solidarity, are considered as infallible through ties with the family, clan or notably age.

It seems that inequalities are exacerbated by modern governance because the individual is isolated within society, and any law can determine his/her fate whereas in endogenous governance, the individual is the group that enables the potential power to play the part of active "collegial" citizen as regards conflict prevention and management. To what extent can a man show his solidarity with a woman (see Kandji)?

Women's power of intervention in conflict prevention provides her with leadership position and power during her intervention: it is not a means of social, political or professional advancement which will enable access to material and financial resources with defined responsibilities.

The somewhat limited power that one or another can hold based on clearly defined criteria; in endogenous governance, the short-lived position dissolves when the problem is resolved (See ex. de la Flamme de la Paix).

Question 2: What are African women's endogenous capacities in prevention, socio-political regulation and governance?

- a) Women's own endogenous capacities: family solidarity (marriage)
- Age-related initiation group
 - Strong mobilisation power and information;
 - Ethnic group
 - Power of control, monitoring;
 - Community group
 - Strengthening confidence in the exercising of power and the implementation of decisions;
 - Other cultural associations: Brotherhood group.
- b) Discretion's effectiveness
- Human capacity and simplicity (mother image and stereotype by extension). Sister homeland and stereotype. Two stereotypes: sister and mother.

Question 3: How to capitalise on endogenous capacities?

- Identifying endogenous capacities and listing them through studies;
- By disseminating endogenous capacities:
 - Through education in the home (value of loyalty, honesty, sense of the Nation beyond the family);
 - Through education in school, patriotism, community feeling;
 - Through cultural activities, theatre, radio-television series;
 - Through books;
 - Through the development and strengthening of citizen awareness

Question 4: How to strengthen women's participation in government bodies?

- While building a sufficiently transparent and coordinated legal, juridical, economic environment that women are able to take hold of and understand first, then by decision-makers at various levels;
- Continuous and supportive understanding of essential and non-residual information in the city and throughout the country;
- Women must be courageous and have political willingness in order to succeed;
- Donors and partners must have a cooperation and collaboration strategy encouraging and strengthening women's participation in governance instead of using strategies that divide and disperse, which is often the case;

- Women must have clear ideas as regards their status/role which is not that of “electoral cattle” policy in governance;
- Training and education as regards good governance must be open to everyone on the basis of equality; the development and strengthening of solidarity between women; the strengthening of citizen’s awareness for women and men alike.

Question 5

- a) How to coordinate already existing regional mechanisms related to women’s roles in exercising responsibilities in conflict prevention?
- b) How to encourage States to apply these mechanisms?

Since 1975, numerous capacity building and promotion mechanisms and institutions for women exist. They are increasingly created in conflict management and peace sectors. Given the difficulty of merging institutions, proceeding cautiously by carrying out a regional inquiry through these programmes is recommended. This would enable an action plan to be developed spread over a five year period, even longer (to avoid being spread too thinly) with rigorous follow-up allowing achieved results to be evaluated periodically without leniency.

- Establish information, education and training programmes in which women will deliberately constitute a majority of the workforce;
- A federation of initiatives is needed that will likely to assure the building of women’s capacities in governance:
 - At the public administration level;
 - Within civil society actions, while overcoming problems of French/English language. While using existing institutions already created by the States or civil society, they would only need to be strengthened through gender-specific programmes which will have other advantages and which will be more effective in the promotion of women;
 - Capitalising on the experiences of women who were at the front lines during conflict in their countries.

Question 6: What strategies emerge from mediation and conflict prevention experiences led by women’s organisations?

- a) Raise their visibility by disseminating written documentation, films of these experiences, organise televised debates in national and bilateral cultural centres (research activity);
- b) Organise consultative services within networks and institutions involved in these experiences;

- c) Organise women's study trips to Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire and Niger to meet with women who have lived through these experiences;
- d) Undertake national, sub-regional and regional solidarity promotion activities while reviving an institution such as the OPF through the participation of former women leaders such as Jeanne Martin Cissé, Sira Diop, Jacqueline Ki-Zerbo, Madeleine TéfaK of Cameroon, etc.

Conclusion

In concluding, the following actions could be envisaged:

1. Strengthening solidarity between women in order to promote their status, their roles and responsibilities in national, sub-regional, regional and international governance in order to avoid at all cost compartmentalisation, individualism, in order to develop synergies and promote Women's Rights;
2. Assuring partners in their support of promoting female leadership
 - At the political level;
 - Within programmes and projects (promotion of education, training and the emergence of women);
 - Apply a quota for the workforce in training, specialisation and holding of posts;
3. Build women's capacities by a research programme on the problems of promotion of female leadership firstly:
 - Historic study
 - Sociological study
 - Socio-economic study: matriarchy and governance;
4. Undertake actions over the long-term with a perspective of women working on inter-generational bridges. This would require new approaches for assistance, cooperation, etc. which are neither established nor evident.

Workshop N°2

CONFLICTS, PEACE AND GOVERNANCE

1. **Democracy, Citizenship and Social Integration**, by Ms. Clarisse Ouoba MERINDOL, Jurist (Burkina Faso).
2. **The KURUKAN FUGA Charter: An example of an Endogenous Governance Mechanism for Conflict Prevention**", by Mr. Mangoné NIANG, Director of CELTHO/UA (Niamey)
3. **The Presidentialist Crisis, the four power theory**, by Mr. Pathé DIAGNE, Political Scientist (Senegal)

1. Democracy, Citizenship and Social Integration, by Ms. Clarisse Ouoba MERINDOL, Jurist (Burkina Faso).

The creation of freedom areas applicable to the positive expression of individual and collective prerogatives was an almost inevitable movement started in the vast majority of West African States in the late 1980s. Whatever the perceived triggering factors behind the democratic trend[†], it must be noted that its implementation has always consisted of a series of practical applications and procedures developed through a long and often turbulent history that has had the institutionalisation of freedom as its aim and main objective, guaranteeing a State governed by the rule of law, and inevitably including the activities of the men and women involved in institutional management and the distribution of wealth.

It is clear that no society can be built without a true common desire to accept the necessity of not only making the law[§] a preferential tool for regulating political and social life, which inevitably implies subordinating the principle of legitimacy to the respect of legality, but also and above all the real feeling of belonging to a community, whose limits are the family in the strict sense, the language and cultural community designating the clan, State territorial demarcation, or to go beyond the internal sovereignty of the State entity, incorporating the whole region.

Starting with the above, one can thus assert realistically that a State governed by the rule of law, understood as a system of organising and managing society, based on the human values identified in the rule of law as an institutional aid, is, however one looks at it, a necessary prerequisite for democracy. Democracy itself guarantees citizen effectiveness, the conscientious expression of which will result in individual and collective recognition of the efforts made, allowing satisfactory progress towards limited social cohesion (cohesion and national peace) or broader cohesion (community or regional integration).

The human dimension of institutional management thus remains at the heart of successful governance, meaning that the citizen's role in consolidating democracy and creating a lasting social peace must be a permanent concern at the national or regional level. There can be no true democracy without the promotion and guarantee of the rights and freedoms of all, demonstrated through concrete actions showing respect for political, administrative, economic and cultural institutions, in their traditional and contemporary and combined forms.

[†] References made to the fall of the Berlin Wall or President Mitterand's quasi-injunctive speech in La Baule in 1989 to the heads of African States about the necessity of establishing democracies cannot constitute the sole triggering factors for the democratisation process in West African States, insofar as several endogenous post-colonial factors must also be considered significant: challenges to the one-party system, economic crises, the emergence of flashpoints of tension leading to armed conflicts, etc. (Prof. Abdoulaye Bathily's views in his intervention at the Forum of Political Parties, Media and Civil Society on "Democracy in West Africa: An Appraisal" can be referred to here, in SWAC's summary publication "Building Peace and Democracy in West Africa".

[§] Understood to be all the objective rules of social or institutional governance.

Individuals must, in short, become aware of their own reality as human beings who have important prerogatives and are able to play a defining role in the national, regional or international community. It is clearly the responsibility of the State, acting as a guarantor of rights and freedoms, to make their enjoyment possible. Citizenship, defined as a culture of quality and values that go beyond self-interest and foster a conformist attitude towards community laws and values and, above all, complete interactive solidarity, is one of the key elements of social integration, wherever it is situated.

The interdependent nature of these three concepts, democracy, citizenship and social integration, may seem clear. Of course, there is no democracy that can be described as “power of the people by the people for the people” in a State that does not itself respect the law or take pains to guarantee individual and collective rights and freedoms, of which citizenship is a key element.

However, a linear study, whereby the content of these concepts is broken down before the interaction between them is analysed, is certainly less suited to this theme, which aims to provide a brief overview of the current problems for our States rather than a simplistic convergence of definitions and links. It thus seems preferable and appropriate in the context of this exchange to initiate and share certain ideas from the three angles below.

These ideas will be appraised in terms of an overview or inventory of the reality in the majority of States in the West African sub-region and an opportunity to take an analytical view of the possibilities for real social integration will be provided.

- ✓ **Democracy as a prerequisite or vital or inevitable aspect of citizenship and social integration**
- ✓ **Responsible citizenship as a vector of social integration**
- ✓ **Social integration: guaranteeing community integration in peace-building**

I. DOES DEMOCRACY GUARANTEE CIVIC EXPRESSION?

Constitutionalists want the State to draw its authority solely from the will of the people. In other words, the governing authority finds its legitimacy in popular consensus; the 1789 European Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen is one of its cornerstones. Advocating equality and the legality of power through its human and non-divine legitimacy, this historic text lays down the vital role of the people in governing the State’s affairs. The various legal tools that followed (the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1966 International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the African Charter of Human and People’s Rights, the various conventions concerning specific rights, etc.) are devoted collectively to the importance of recognising the rights and freedoms of all individuals in the signatory States. The same applies to the State constitutions, which are fundamental texts for the establishment of democracy, defining the outlines and terms of the recognition of rights, devolution and the exercise of power.

Thus, the constitution as a basis for institutional management through the effective participation of all social strata is one of the essential characteristics of a State governed by the rule of law. This State is based on the rule of instituted norms and can only evolve through a process institutionalising power, a process that must indisputably be approved by a constitution establishing:

- The primacy of the law: in the constitution, the State defines the foundations of its social function by determining the rights and duties of citizens and its own powers.
- The hierarchy of norms and institutions and respect for them: the primacy of the rule of law at the peak of the normative pyramid, fundamental texts guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of citizens, as well as respect for the executive, legislative and judicial institutions, allowing real citizen involvement in governance.
- The equality of subjects, their rights and duties in participating in governing the State: civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and duties. In Burkina Faso the first title of the Constitution of 11 June 1991, comprising articles 1 to 30, lays down the rights and duties of citizens.
- The existence of an independent, competent, impartial and fair legal system: guarantor of social peace and stability because it is capable of countering injustice.
- Pluralism or multiparty politics: democracy is only possible when the political system in place allows many political groups to participate in the national political game. Multiparty politics expressing themselves or characterised by the positive contradiction of ideas and actions in view of gaining power and improving the conditions of citizens' lives. Citizens are affected first and foremost by the political game because it contributes to the structure of political bodies.

This legitimacy drawn from legality is thus the basis for the expression of the sovereignty of the people, which defines democracy, classically understood to be "the government of the people by the people for the people" within a framework of established human rights and guaranteed freedoms, of which citizenship is always a key element. In other words citizen effectiveness is subject to the existence of an area of legality.

However, is this area of legal equality that is favourable to citizen effectiveness limited to its constitutionalist neo-colonial definition, which simply views it as representative democracy guaranteed in a written document which can only be interpreted by experts appointed to do so? Or can it be acknowledged that traditional Africa has a system of organisation and government that places the human being at the centre of common action by identifying these capabilities and limits in advance?

Indisputably, all the research and literature available to date cannot deny the existence of endogenous means of developing power within traditional bodies, which allow awareness to develop about the necessary role of each citizen in development and social cohesion. The palaver tree and the conciliatory nature of traditional justice (except in some extreme cases) are examples.

If democracy is supposed to be both a form of government and a political and social trend in which the organisation of power and the State correspond to a need for transparency and the participation of all social stakeholders, it is thus pluralist, which is to say that it is the coexistence of various groups and visions accepted as having a collective identity, namely nationality, residency or a strong sense of belonging to a culture, tradition, customs and habits. It is through this that citizenship transforms isolated individuals into a community whose actions disclose whether or not they wish to form a lasting homogenous unit. Consequently, the individual's identity, the recognition of defined rights and duties and the accountability of assets are only possible if the circumstances of each individual's development continue to favour the imposition of sanctions if any rules are violated, insofar as no (natural or legal) person can assume the right to act without this right being recognised expressly or implicitly.

The essence of democratic action is active participation, freely entered into by those who are acknowledged and given the right to act in public life, namely citizens. Citizens are thus the main actors (the fundamental unit) in a democracy, and cannot be otherwise more qualitative insofar as democracy is upheld and guaranteed by popular participation, in other words that of citizens. Conversely, citizen action cannot be qualitative on ground that is hostile to human rights, of which citizenship is one.

It is clearly difficult to reject the democratic reality as expressed by citizens. For this reason, only the establishment of a real democracy, which allows participation at all levels (local and central) can assure the sovereignty of the people, a means through which their rights and freedoms will be granted.

Democracy and citizenship are thus linked by a causal mechanism. The former lays the foundations for the practice of the latter, from the basic family unit to the top of the institutional ladder, with the consequent assertion of inherent human rights or the institutionalisation of the so-called rights of new generations, based on the country's political, economic, social and cultural evolution.

However, it is important to recognise that while these fundamental ideas about the rule of law may seem easy to understand, their actual application in African States is not always so simple. In some countries, they are still in gestation, if not "in hibernation" while waiting for better days (in countries which are resolving or are still in crisis). Government of the people by the people for the people, to use the famous definition of democracy once more, is sometimes confused with that of the clan, the tribe or religious group. Citizenship is suppressed in the search for identity and belonging to a social group, culture, a land, or in short a nation, in spite of the unequivocal nature of legal texts and the clear political will of the State to include as many men and women as possible in the management of public affairs and the creation of social cohesion.

Democracy thus remains one of the best guarantors of citizen effectiveness through what it makes, or should make (in its intrinsic reality), the citizen: the strongest link in the achievement of the social objectives set by the State. These demands aim to guarantee a society in which the principles of tolerance and social cohesion are demonstrated and established in everyday behaviour, through the prior integration of ancestral values or

values acquired through contact with other civilisations. Consequently, the establishment of a rule of law in which the rights and freedoms of citizens are guaranteed and the State's authority is respected becomes essential.

Finally, can it not be said that the aim of democracy is quite simply development through sharing responsibilities? If this is the case, then democracy without active citizen participation would appear unrealistic, and exercising citizenship with an objective that overshadows social well-being should not be tolerated by the people.

Citizenship without social integration is the end of democracy, but is above all the end of the State entity, which cannot exist or survive in the long run without an interactive, functional link between the power to rule, the right of residence and State legitimacy.

Democracy demands respect for existing rules by establishing each individual's ability to act in terms of the approval of acts prescribed by political representatives or by demanding or rejecting what can be considered unsuitable for personal or collective development.

If inertia or a negative combination of forces overrides the need for action, the demand for values and the sense of belonging to limited or broader communities, then anarchy and arbitrary rule will eventually lead the sovereign institutions and the people dangerously towards ruin, due to insecurity and instability. The examples in the West African sub-region speak for themselves.

The question, however, is nonetheless raised: are we talking about the democracy formally prescribed in various constitutional texts, conventions, resolutions and recommendations or the freedom to act developed consensually through customs and traditions integrated intentionally into the collective conscience?

Regardless of the exogenous approach integrated or the endogenous approach to be promoted, at the heart of democracy there is citizenship, the true vector of social integration, the outlines and true implications of which will now be analysed and defined.

II. RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP AS A VECTOR OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION?

Today, citizenship is at the heart of political debate and the construction of areas of democracy and freedom. In fact, at a time when all countries are concerned about establishing a democratic and prosperous rule of law, citizenship appears to be a key element in this huge endeavour. It would thus be interesting to see what definition can be applied to this concept.

A polysemous idea, from a purely etymological viewpoint the word citizenship comes from the Latin word *civitas*, meaning an inhabitant of the city. In Greek antiquity, citizens were distinguished from slaves and metics (foreigners) in that they had a set of privileges handed down from father to son. Without going so far back, it must be noted that the development of the status of individuals during the colonial era also suffered this differentiation between citizens, subjects and indigenous people, depending on whether one was a descendent of the colonisers (citizens) or another social group.

Today, a citizen is generally defined as “a national of a State, who enjoys civic rights and duties”. According to the Larousse Dictionary, a citizen is defined as “a member of a State from the standpoint of his civil and political rights and duties”. In short, citizenship is the quality of being a citizen. It is the positive situation created by the people’s full enjoyment of their status as citizens. It is thus a quality granted to a person that links him to a State in some way.

From this definition, it follows that full and complete citizenship implies the combination of three conditions: a prerequisite condition linked to nationality, a necessary condition linked to the status of being a subject of law and a substantial condition, which is the positive exercise of rights and duties.

- **Prerequisite condition:**

The citizen is defined as a member of a territorial political community (the State) by acquiring nationality. It follows that every citizen is necessarily a national but that not every national is automatically a citizen. The synonymy of the ideas must therefore be balanced insofar as the concept of nationality can be used indiscriminately to apply to legal persons as well as natural persons, whereas citizenship only applies to natural persons because they alone exercise the political rights that form part of the main conditions of citizenship. Beyond this point, it must be noted that recognition as a citizen requires more than having the status of national, one must also enjoy the status of subject of law.

- **Necessary condition:**

The citizen is a subject of law, in other words a legal entity entitled to certain rights and subject to certain obligations. The status of citizen thus covers three elements: a civil element, legality before the law, the enjoyment of freedoms (of expression, assembly, association, to come and go, etc.) and subjection to obligations (respecting public property, paying taxes, serving the country, etc.); a political element which manifests itself in the right to elect and to be elected and to participate in government. In short, this civic aspect is expressed in the right to participate and it is in this way that the citizen differs from the serf who is subject to his master’s bidding, and the social element, the right to economic and social well-being.

- **Substantial condition:**

The positive exercise of rights and duties by the citizen is a necessary condition for his social integration. Seeing the citizen simply as a national entitled to rights and subject to obligations would be to reduce citizenship to minimal and symbolic expressions, such as having a national identity card, voting and doing military service. Citizenship cannot be reduced to this series of attributes. The citizen is not only a natural person but is also and above all a political person who plays a part in making decisions that affect the community and is recognised as being entitled to do so. Citizenship is the ability to play a real, important, reflexible and effective role in the issues that affect the common good.

If they are to be enlarged, the new democratic spaces being built in our States require individuals to be made aware of active citizenship, particularly with the implementation of decentralisation processes that aim to:

- Give back the choice in development priorities to grass root communities,
- Encourage the promotion of sustainable economic development by freeing up local energies and making optimal use of available resources,
- Give credibility to citizens and their local institutions by involving them as the main actors in the development of their towns,
- Make citizens and their groups aware of their responsibility in participative development.

By using their prerogatives conscientiously and responsibly, citizens are integrated into society because they present themselves in a positive manner; this successful integration builds and consolidates social peace.

Citizenship requires responsibility to be a positive factor in development. This implies respect for a certain number of fundamental values that establish society and guarantee stability. These values impose a certain number of duties which make up civic duties, respect for which in turn constitutes what could be called “public-spiritedness” or the combination of positive conduct that makes a citizen a good citizen, complying with republican laws, respecting public institutions and communal property, proving their public-spiritedness and civility.

Breaches of these fundamental rules of communal life weaken the concept of citizenship and raise dangerous challenges to peace and social stability.

Citizenship develops with age and increases progressively as the ability to reason is formed. It begins in the family, at school and in the community life of the local area, the town, the country and beyond.

Unfortunately, the current decline in responsible civic behaviour in our States is noticeable, regardless of the age group considered, however it is considerably more marked among the younger generation. Demanding rights while refusing obligations is increasing and is based on a rejection of national identity and belonging to external groups. The distance between legal citizenship and actual citizenship is growing endlessly.

Among the demonstrations of a lack of public spirit that run contrary to any form of citizenship, the lack of political public spirit is noteworthy, and is particularly expressed in the lack of interest in politics and systematic abstention from elections, disrespect for the election results, tax irregularities, disrespect for the environment and for public property (through acts of vandalism), the denial and destruction of ancestral heritage (moral and material values), etc.

Such behaviour prevents individuals from contributing effectively to the development of society and, to an even greater extent, prevents society from achieving stability. Citizenship is the meeting point of the dynamic between personal, democratic and civil society rights.

While it is clear that citizenship is a condition for the existence of human rights and democracy, it can also be said that where citizen effectiveness is less or almost inexistent, social integration is futile. Hence the need for mobilising and fighting to not only guarantee the rights of citizens, but also to make sure the civic condition is developed, a true guarantor of democracy. This forms part of the perspectives that come down to education (formal and non-formal), raising awareness, and the involvement of political parties, the media and civil society in making people more aware.

Given the previous developments, it becomes clear that citizenship can assume several forms according to the field in question:

- At a social level, it raises the question of group etiquette in accordance with social, moral and human values. It shows adherence to a set of values or socially shared proprieties that are the basis of national unity. It is from here that the sense of patriotism and defending national sovereignty is born.
- At a political level, it upholds the entire free democratic game, respect for the sovereignty of the State and the security of institutions through the constitution in force. Here, citizenship comes down to interest in the State's political life, in other words the continuing realisation or implementation of objectives and ideals defined by the establishment of political rights and the safety of the State, whose institutions require constant stability.
- In the economic sphere, citizenship focuses on compliance with the demands of the rules of production, trade and consumption. Here it is concerned with issues relating to the direction economic development policies are taking.
- In the military field, citizenship eliminates any lack of discipline and violent outbursts against republican institutions regardless of who instigates them.
- In public administration, citizenship calls for adherence to the code of conduct in addition to the efficient management of the State's assets and resources.

In practical terms, citizenship is behaviour that reveals an education in the values and objectives through which individuals can contribute with responsibility and commitment to their own development and national construction through commonly recognised key values. In this respect, citizenship remains a vector of social integration.

But, what social integration should we speak about? That which shows the individual within the family clan? That which places local community development at the heart of national integration? Or the local or regional integration that depends on the integration of citizens in their country of origin?

All of these possibilities can be included in this approach to social integration which is only concerned with the clear or unclear will of the political, social, economic and cultural actors in the State, its citizens.

III. SOCIAL INTEGRATION, GUARANTEEING COMMUNITY INTEGRATION IN PEACE-BUILDING AND PRESERVATION

The Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance to the ECOWAS protocol on the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, adopted by heads of State in 2001, deals essentially with the issue of citizen participation in democratic governance, with the emphasis on election issues. Rightly so, as citizen involvement must be the true barometer of democracy.

It would be unfair not to consider or acknowledge the interactive link between citizenship culture and social integration, which must be considered beyond the national context in West African States looking for reliable indicators for their development. This is because on the one hand, citizenship contributes to intercultural social integration within a unique national or regional area, insofar as it is the key driver, and on the other hand, due to the fact that social integration is built, or should be built, on principles and values that integrate citizenship without revealing it categorically.

Overall, social integration fosters and demands a collective spirit or consciousness about actions and responsibilities that promote progress. This progress must be spread beyond the national boundaries at the risk of nullifying efforts made within the country. The permeability of the boundaries of heritage does not allow citizens or their actions to be restricted.

The relatively successful regional integration in industrialised countries must not overshadow all the internal preliminary work that was carried out along the way. Creating common areas for exchanging and sharing experiences necessarily included the construction of stable national areas, and the recognition of the identity of national citizens within the suggested parameters**.

It is thus clear that social integration raises the question not only of the impact of the actions of citizens on national economies, in particular on economic growth and development in the strict sense of the term, but also of the citizen's role and position in the regional dynamics of economic or monetary unions, the need for legislative standardisation and building legal frameworks for joint actions. The African Union, ECOWAS and WAEMU are the tools for this and are inevitably moving towards national citizen participation.

** Citizen consciousness has been shaped and strengthened since the 18th century, even if nowadays huge internal upheavals are interpreted as representing a major identity crisis in a minority of the French population, for example.

Given this appraisal, it is clear that the main players making social integration possible at the local, national or regional levels are political parties, the media and civil society, the beacons of citizen consciousness.

If responsible citizenship (which is conscientious and positively productive) makes internal social integration possible, interest in the common regional area will almost inevitably snowball.

Given these findings, we still face the ongoing challenge of uniting the democratic reality with the civic reality, guaranteeing social integration. The stark shortfall in civic reality does not leave the main social players in the State with nothing to do; indeed, they must initiate strategies that stimulate the interest of those groups in society most susceptible to lacking public spirit, the young.

The perspectives given are extensive and necessarily incorporate all generations from top to bottom. The new needs of the new or younger generations must be taken into consideration by those prescribing treatments for bad governance and the integration of old approaches to governance that have proven themselves must be carried on with the younger generations, even if they do not truly reflect them.

In terms of perspectives, there are many different suggestions and we do not plan to prescribe any one of them! Various experiments carried out here and there boil down to civic education and encouraging active participation in public life in the country, but the crises are ongoing. There is thus an opportunity to create a space for intergenerational exchange allowing for the needs of each group and each citizen to come together. Other groups have opted for citizens' charters defining the possible fields of citizen participation as well as the appropriate tools for it. Why not?

CONCLUSION

It would be pretentious to suggest any one of these as a shared opinion on ideas as positive and vital as democracy, citizenship and social integration. Thus, beyond all the current illustrations of the outlines and various realities of these three ideas, we can promote the fact that they are simultaneously values to be achieved and complementary realities whose true meaning can only be found in relation to the others. Do they also serve different purposes? One thing is nevertheless certain: they all aim to improve the well-being of people and society. These are the stages or levels that must be passed through or aimed at for the efforts and ambitions when building a State governed by the rule of law.

History teaches us that established democracy can collapse. Democratic societies must constantly protect themselves and renew themselves from within. This renewal includes socialisation, namely educating and integrating the old and new generations, who must not only learn what democratic structures mean but also be able to demand and establish them. Nothing is permanent; there must be constant adaptation to the new needs and visions of the world.

2. The KURUKAN FUGA Charter: An example of an Endogenous Governance Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, by Mr. Mangoné NIANG, Director of CELTHO/UA.

One of the first known texts on municipal organization in our sub-region, the Kurukan Fuga Charter, is being rediscovered today not only by those who work in the field of oral tradition, but also by those who want to go back to the origins of political thought in Africa. The researchers interested in this text included, first of all, historians (and also the Jelis, or scholars of tradition, who are experts trained in western history of traditional); followed by text theorists, jurists, environmentalists, and even philosophers^{††}, although as an art of thinking inherited from Greek culture. Our special interest in this document is not based on the fact that it has drawn the attention of many experts: we all know that an oral text is a complete text or, as those who are responsible for conceptualizing it say, a holistic text. We generally find in it not only a global vision and an esthetic quality, but also methods of managing nature as well as a legal code to guide relations between communities and their members. Oral tradition also has many texts that convey medical procedures for relieving human physical suffering. The exception is in the fact that the Charter is a major document for traditional mediation, thereby underscoring, and perhaps that is what makes it contemporary for us, a legislating spirit in African societies of the 13th century. Consequently, one could ask an ethical and practical question: If Africans of that period sought to settle disputes through negotiation, why not us?

This question also tends to dismiss some objections rising here and there to the validity (breaking down myth and reality) of the Charter today. If indeed the Charter can have serve some purpose in our lives today, then it would be absurd not to draw from the document. Africa is frantically looking for solutions that can best resolve its crises. This is a practical argument that should convince all schools of thought. As for the other aspects, which are certainly more profound, they concern our desire to develop our own historical awareness, as well as the destiny we want to choose for ourselves. Preserving our historical memory helps restore meaning; this is what people all over the world are asking today. Epistemological works have finally shown that the caesura between tradition and modernity is difficult to establish (and this is based on the simple fact that one exists in the other) and that we are free not to accept, in Nietzsche's demystifying word, illusions intended to fool our lucidity.

Another of the Charter's values is that it has been able to be interpreted by all ages, through memories, despite the instability of an oral text (although if presented and repeated, some oral texts eventually take on stable forms, and the only aspects that change are those which depend on the Jeli's performance). This means that the Charter exists:

- within the enormous Manding corpus: there are as many versions as presented by Jelis throughout the centuries; it is a text among others, which all represent what could be preserved, within this pluralist space, as memory, stories or ways of life;

^{††} A Professor of Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar has included the Charter in his Political Philosophy course.

- in Prof. D. T. Niane's work, which has today become a classic, "Soundiata ou l'épopée manding"^{††}. One of the last chapters is entitled "Kurukan Fuga or sharing the world". We know that the work is a written version of the narrative provided by a Jeli to the eminent Guinean historian. (It is not by accident that this book, commended by all and translated into several languages, is a major work. As it supports the saying that one can sing well only on the branches of his own genealogy, it launches the break of post-independence African historians by introducing other types of testimony, shows what the Jelis think of their own stories, and brings the text as close as possible to reality, a problem that would resurface in debate, initiated by African philosophers, on "ethno-philosophy"); and
- in various surveys conducted by researchers of all generations (in particular Youssouf T. Cissé, A. O. Konaré, S. Kouyaté, Fodé M. Sidibé, etc^{§§}).

This is all that some of us knew about the Kurukan Fuga Charter before the meeting between the Kankan's traditional and modern communicators. During this meeting, Jelis from several African countries each presented the provisions of the Charter and subsequently agreed on a final version. This is the version that was collected and recorded in the digital data bank of the Niamey Centre^{***}.

It should be noted, however, that the Kurukan Fuga Charter was not created, ready for use, by those who in 1236 participated in the meeting in Kangaba (current Mali). It was created after a bloody war between populations, who finally became very close. It is also the result of a process, begun with "Mandé Kalikan" (The Mande Oath) that governed hunters' way of life at that time. The Kurukan Fuga Act, which came at the height of Sundiata's power, was the celebration of a legal code, broadened and more detailed, which from that moment had the force of law for all the community groups of Mandé. The provisions of the Act concern the municipal organization, as well as property management and nature. While some of them are in contradiction with our current principles (for example, provision 15: "Never beat a married woman unless you have tried unsuccessfully to get her husband to intervene", or provision 17: "Lies that have been told for 40 years should be considered as truths" or again provision 41: "Kill your enemy, do not humiliate him"); there are others (for example, provision 5: "Every person has the right to life and to preserve his physical integrity...") that are consistent with current concerns. Once again, the text should be understood within the context that it was conceived: wars of all types, lack of human dignity

^{††} Djibril Tamsir Niane : Soundiata ou l'épopée manding, Editions Présence Africaine, Paris 1960 (English translation: D. T. Niane, Sundiata: An Epic of Old Mali, translated by G. D. Pickett, Longmans, London, 1965).

^{§§} Most of the works of Y. T. Cissé have been published in Editions Karthala, in Paris; A. O. Konaré, « La notion de pouvoir dans l'Afrique traditionnelle et la culture manden en particulier », Le concept de pouvoir en Afrique, col. « Introduction à la culture africaine », n° 4, Editions UNESCO, Paris 1981; S. Kouyaté, Le cousinage à plaisanterie, notre héritage commun, Editions Gannal, Conakry 2003. The works of F. M. Sidibé will be published soon.

^{***} cf. site du Bureau UA-CELHTO de Niamey : www.africa-oral.org

and values, slavery, etc. And, in this fragmented world, there was a strong desire for law and order, with long and tremendous effort to create a new conciliatory and legislative spirit – the same effort then and today – that would strike a balance between differences through social negotiation. Provision 7 introduced the sanankuya (known today as “kinship of pleasantry”, “joking cousinship” or “congenial relationship”) among the members that formed the Mandé communities. Very early on, various works identified the “sanankuya” in most African societies. As a mechanism for dispelling disputes by miming or dramatizing them, the sanankuya is still very much alive in many of our countries today. An African writer recently gave it a literary dimension: story of the Peulhs narrated by Sérères^{†††}. It exists among surnames, ethnic groups, age groups, families, villages and, through correspondence of surnames, between countries. Although we know little about it, the sanankuya played a key role, through the mediation by Sorry Kandia Kouyaté (commissioned by the Guinean Head of State at that time), in resolving the conflict between Mali and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) in 1975.

“What built up Mandé? War! What broke down Mandé? War!” - this is what Jelis of Mandingue tradition continue to proclaim today. It is with this idea that societies have said, and said again, and repeated once more, we need to seek the origins of this founding document, the Kurukan Fuga Charter, or to echo Mr. Foucault’s idea of the document as a monument.

^{†††} T. Monémbo, Peuls, Editions du Seuil, Paris 2004.

ANNEX 1 : THE CHARTER OF KURUKAN FUGA

The *Charter of Kurukan Fuga*, re-published here, is a version collected in Guinea at the end of a concerting regional workshop between traditional and modern communicators (Kankan: 3-12 March 1998). The traditionists are those who declined the text; then it has been transcribed and translated, with the help of Guinea linguists and under the supervision of Mr. Siriman Kouyaté – Magistrate and traditionist (his family is guardian of the Sosobala, in Niagassola, Guinea). Afterwards S. Kouyaté structured The Charter, without falsifying the essential point, talking here about the modern juridical texts with a view to make it readable for contemporaries (*the original text in Malinke is available on the digital data bank ARTO*).

The text of the *Charter* is followed by explanatory notes (Annex 2) prepared by Mr. Siriman Kouyaté.

People who took part in the meeting in Kankan:

1. Traditional communicators :

- Siaka Kouyaté, Niagassola, Siguiiri (Guinea)
- Lamine Kouyaté, Loïla, Mandiana (Guinea)
- Damissa Sékou Diabaté, Siguiiri (Guinea)
- Koulako Touré, Faranah (Guinea)
- Mamady Kante dit Konkoba, Dinguiraye (Guinea)
- Old Koita, Kérouané (Guinea)
- Sekouba Condé, Dabola (Guinea)
- E. Oumar Camara, Kankan (Guinea)
- Abdoulaye Kanouté, Tambakounda (Senegal)
- Siriman Kouyaté, Niagassola, Siguiiri (Guinea)

2. Other communicators and participants:

- Alpha Kabiné Keïta, General Director of Rural Radio (Guinea)
- Mamady Kanté, Journalist, Rural Radio of Kankan (Guinea)
- Mamadou Lamine Doumbia, Journalist, Radio of Tambacounda (Senegal)
- Saa Bédou Touré, Journalist, Rural Radio of Kankan (Guinea)
- Louis Millogo, Professor, Université de Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso)
- Fatoumata Bamba, Journalist, Rural Radio of Kankan (Guinea)
- Bernard Feller, Director, Intermédia Consultants, S.A. Berne (Switzerland)
- Lansana Condé, Professor, Université J. Nyerere, Kankan (Guinea)
- Souleyman Condé, Journalist, Rural Radio of Kankan (Guinea)
- Amadou Baba Karambiri, Journalist, Rural Radio of Bobo-Dioulasso (Burkina Faso)
- Mangoné Niang, Director, UA-CELHTO, Niamey (Niger)
- Cheikh Oumar Camara, Journalist, ORTG, Conakry (Guinea)
- Nguédougou Sanogo, Educationist, School Radio, Bamako (Mali)

THE CHARTER OF KURUKAN FUGA

1. *The Great Mande Society is divided into sixteen clans of quiver carriers, five clans of marabouts, four groups of "nyamakalas" and one group of slaves. Each one has a specific activity and role.*
2. *The "nyamakalas" have to devote themselves to tell the truth to the chiefs, to be their counsellors and to defend by the speech the established rulers and the order upon the whole territory.*
3. *The Morinkanda Lolu (the five clans of marabouts) are our masters and our educators in Islam. Everyone has to hold them in respect and consideration.*
4. *The society is divided into age groups. At the head of each a chief is elected. Belong to the some age-group the people (men or women) who are born during a period of three years in succession.
The Kangbès (members of the intermediary class between young and old people) should be invited to take part in taking important decisions concerning the society.*
5. *Everybody has a right to life and to the preservation of its physical integrity. Accordingly, any attempt to deprive one's fellow being of life is punished with death.*
6. *To win the battle of prosperity, the Kön'gbèn Wölo (the general system of supervision) has been established in order to fight against laziness and idleness.*
7. *It has been established among the Mandenkas, the sanankunya (joking relationship) and the tanamanyöya (blood pact). Consequently any contention that occurs among these groups should not degenerate, the respect for one another being the rule. Between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, between grandparents and grand-children, tolerance and rag should be the principle.*
8. *The Keïta's family is nominated reigning family upon the empire.*
9. *The children's education behoves the entire society. The paternal authority in consequence falls to everyone.*
10. *We should offer condolences mutually.*
11. *When your wife or your child runs away stop running after her/him in the neighbour's house.*
12. *The succession being patrilineary, do never give up the power to a son when one of his fathers is still alive. Do never give up the power to a minor just because he has goods.*
13. *Do never offend the Nyaras.*
14. *Do never offend women, our mothers.*

15. *Do never beat a married woman before having her husband interfere unsuccessfully.*
16. *Women, apart from their everyday occupations, should be associated with all our managements.*
17. *Lies that have lived for 40 years should be considered like truths.*
18. *We should respect the law of primogeniture.*
19. *Any man has two parents-in-law: the parents of the girl we failed to have and the speech we deliver without any constraint. We have to hold them in respect and consideration.*
20. *Do not ill treat the slaves. You should allow them to rest one day per week and to end their working day at a reasonable time. You are the master of the slaves but not of the bag they carry.*
21. *Do not follow up with your constant attentions the wives of the chief, of the neighbour, of the marabout, of the priest, of the friend and of the partner.*
22. *Vanity if the token of weakness and humility is the one of nobility.*
23. *Do never betray one another. Respect your word of honour.*
24. *Never do wrong to foreigners.*
25. *The ambassador does not risk anything in Mande.*
26. *The bull confided to your care should not lead the cattle-pen.*
27. *The young woman may be eligible to marry as soon as she reaches puberty no matter her age. Her parents' choice must be respected no matter the number of candidates.*
28. *The young man can get married from 20 years old.*
29. *The amount of the dowry is 3 bovines: one for the girl, two for her father and mother.*
30. *In Mande, the divorce is tolerated for one of the following reasons: the impotence of the husband, the madness of one of the spouses, the husband's incapability of assuming the obligations due to the marriage. The divorce should occur out of the village.*
31. *We should help those who are in need.*
32. *There are five ways to acquire the property: the buying, the donation, the exchange, the work and the inheriting. Any other form without convincing testimony is doubtful.*
33. *Any object found without known owner becomes common property only after four years.*

34. *The fourth bringing forth of a heifer confided is the property of the guardian. One egg out of four is the property of the guardian of the laying hen.*
35. *One bovine should be exchanged for four sheep or four goats.*
36. *To satisfy one's hunger is not a robbery if you don't take away anything in your bag or your pocket.*
37. *Fakombè is nominated chief of hunters. He is responsible for conserving the bush and its inhabitants for everyone's well-being.*
38. *Before setting fire to the bush, don't look at the ground, rise your head in the direction of the top of the trees to see if they don't bear fruits or flowers.*
39. *Domestic animals should be tied up during cultivation and can be let loose after the harvest. The dog, the cat, the duck and the poultry are not bound by the measure.*
40. *Respect the kinship, the marriage and the neighbourhood.*
41. *You can kill the enemy, but not humiliate him.*
42. *In big assemblies, be satisfied with your lawful representatives and respect one another.*
43. *Balla Fassèkè Kouyaté is nominated big chief of ceremonies and main mediator in Mande. He is allowed to joke with all groups, in priority with the royal family.*
44. *All those who will transgress these rules will be punished. Everyone is bound to make effective their implementation.*

I - About the social organization

The classification of the Mandingue society is worth some explanation. The stratification established by the *Charter* is nothing more or less than the work division among the different components of the society. This division far from being arbitrary has rather institutionalized a State as a matter of fact in precisising may be a bit more the roles and attributes.

The Charter has divided Mandingue society into two big categories: the free men and the slaves.

A - The free men "horon"

They are subdivided into:

1 - Sixteen (16) clans of quiver carriers or "*ton ta jon*": they are those who carry bows and arrows. The warriors who should defend the territorial integrity of the Empire were recruited in this group which is composed of the following clans: Traoré, Condé, Camara, Kourouma, Kamissoko, Magassouba, Diawara, Sako, Fofana, Koïta, Dansouba, Diaby, Diallo, Diakité, Sidibé and Sangaré.

2 - Four (4) princely clans which are: Koulibaly, Douno or Soumano or Danhou or Somono, Konaté and Keïta. Even if the Keïta were entrusted with the destiny the Empire, the other clans which have with them blood ties, are considered as princely.

3 - Five (5) clans of marabouts, in charge of being the educators and the teachers in the teaching of the new religion. They are the Cissé, Béréte, Diané and Sylla, or Koma.

4 - Four (4) groups of "*nyamakala*" : literally, nyamakala means "who challenges all the interdicts" ; "*nyama*" means maleficent occult power in Mandingue language and "*kala*" means in the present context wariness, limit, immunity, antidote.

The *nyamakala* those who can challenge all the interdicts, are divided like this:

a) The *Jeli* : they are depositaries of the traditions – archives, the master of the word, the counsellors of the kings, the artists and the musicians. They have at their head the Kouyaté and the Diabaté.

In the course of time, the *jeli* became a kind of congregation which can be joined by everyone who holds the rules in respect.

That is how nowadays; belong to this class Keïta, Condé, Kanté, Kourouma, Koïta, Touré, Diawara, etc.

b) - The *Fina* and *Finè*, other non musician librettists specialized in the mediation. They are especially the Camara.

- The *Numun fin*, working the iron and its derivatives to make tools of any sorts. Their wives make pottery.
- The *Siaki*, working precious metals, gold and silver to make jewels.
- The *Kule*, working the wood to make art articles: for example the sculptors.

c) The *Numun* or blacksmiths are essentially composed of the clan of the Kanté, Camara, Kourouma.

d) The *Garanke* are the masters of the leather and of the weaving. The shoemakers and the weavers are within this group. Some of them are specialized in the making of the harness for horses and of the cushions, they are “sake”.

The *Garanke* are essentially the Sylla. But other clans have joined them.

As you can notice it, several clans find themselves in more than one class. That is not surprising when we know that as the ages go by particular events can overturn so many structures.

These four groups of nyamakala were much feared. They cannot be reduced to captivity; the other classes owed them circumspection, gifts and subsistence.

As Amadou Hampaté BA said it in his book “Amkoullel, the Fulani Child” (1992 : 522): “Each function corresponded to a specific initiatory way. To keep their pureness, these groups formed through the endogamy and certain sexual interdicts closed hereditary groups. Here, there is not this notion of untouchability or of inferiority that certain people now show towards them”.

The twenty-nine classes, of which I have just made a succinct description of the activities, are the free men or “*horon*”.

B - The slaves:

Before the advent of the Empire, the slavery as a trade has drained an important part of the kinetic energies from the Mande. This practice is forbidden by Soundiata, as well as the conditions of the domestic slavery have been softened. There were two categories of slaves:

1 - Free men and women captured during wars and reduced in slavery, those who were bought and who, because of that moved from one master to another : *mina jon* (caught slaves) and *san jon* (bought slaves).

2 - The offspring of the first ones, born in the master’s house: they are the *wosso* what literally means : “of the house”.

The *wosso* could only be employed or freed; the master could not sell them. Most of them assimilated themselves in the end and took the patronymic of their masters.

The statement 20 of the Charter pointed out the condition of the slaves by humanizing it.

The statement 4, in dividing the society into age-groups, has brushed aside all the prejudices associated to the conditions of the ones and the others. Actually, are they quiver carriers, princes, *nyamakala*, marabouts or slaves, all those who belong to the same age-group should observe the same rules without sex distinction.

Together they discussed their problems, each one playing the role the society entrusted him/her.

The *Kangbès* were the link class between the ancients who managed the city and the teenagers who were the secular arms of it. They took part in the taking of big decisions and then informed younger people.

The statement 6 has established a sort of general supervisors who, at a certain time of the day, checked in all the families in order to catch the idle and lazy people and make them take the way to the fields and the workshops. The contraveners were denounced before the ancients' council. This practice has contributed effectively to the prosperity of the Empire.

The "*sanankunya*" and the "*tanamanyöya*" or joking relationship which is the object in the **statement 7** of the Charter has been established among the Mandenkas user friendly relationships more or less strong according to the case, but which all contribute to the culture of tolerance and peaceful coexistence. The joking relationship, as Mr. Raphaël N'Diaye names it so eloquently, was not an invention of the *Kurukan Fuga*, but the Charter has institutionalized it.

II - Rights and Duties

At **the statement 11**, the respect neighbours owe to one another has been almost considered sacred. Whatever can be the mistake made by one of the members of your family, since the latter goes to find shelter in your neighbour's house, you don't have any more the right to punish him/her for this mistake. You should abandon and erase from your memory the offence made to you.

At **the statement 13**, we can read "Do never offend talented men". They belong to the *nyamakala*, the *jeli* and the *fina*.

These masters of the word are the appointed mediators; any offence should not be made towards them in the accomplishment of their activities which aim is nothing but the extinguishing of conflicts and wars.

At **the statement 17**, it is a kind of prescription the society puts to statements everybody considers as true during a certain time and which cannot be denounced any more after that period fixed as at 40 years.

The law of primogeniture is in the African societies an indefeasible right. We should owe respect and obligations to someone older than we, whatever his/her social status or his/her wealth can be.

Within the family, this right is so strongly rooted that a common saying states the following: *"we can be older than our father or our mother but never be older than our elder brother"*. Understand by father and mother the uncles and the aunts (**statement 18**).

The statement 21 reveals the adultery in general because in moving aside the wives of the six groups mentioned in the text, there are no more wives to pay court to.

The statement 23 symbolizes the sense of honour and of the dignity, values dear to the Mandenka. Stabbing an enemy, using shilly-shallying instead of taking a courageous decision, not facing an occurrence, are considered as cowardice. It is better to refuse, even if I should stand the consequences, than accepting and betraying after. From which the main motto of the Almamy Samory Touré: *"When the man refuses, he says no"*.

The statement 24 makes it an obligation for everyone not to do wrong to foreigners. This Article is included in the *Charter* in gratitude for the hospitality Soundiata Keïta himself has been offered during his exile for seventeen years.

So, the foreigner is like a king in Mande, he is tolerated, protected and defended. Besides, it is said that the foreigner has big eyes but he can't see. That's the reason why certain mistakes he makes are not attributable to him. He is supposed to ignore.

The statement 25 attaches immunity to the ambassador, who only passes on a message of which he is not the author. He should not be punished. This notion is found in the Article 29 of the *Vienna Convention dated 8 April 1961* which protects the diplomats against penal actions in the States they are accredited. By extension, the diplomatic premises profit by the notion of extraterritoriality therefore inviolable.

The statement 26 is a picture, a metaphor that protects the foreigner. The entrusted bull is unfamiliar to the cattle pen. In entrusting him to lead the cattle pen, he can lead the herd to the wrong place. In the same way, the foreigner should not be appointed at the functions of management of a locality but if so only after a long training time.

The statement 30 deals with divorce. So, three peremptory reasons are considered as being able to motivate the divorce by the request of one of the spouses:

- The impotence of the husband ;
- The madness of one of the spouses ;
- The incapacity of the husband to assume the obligations due to the marriage.

These obligations are: food, dressing, care taking, the conjugal duties and consideration due to parents-in-law.

The Mandenka considered that the divorce is a situation so serious so that it should be pronounced far away from the city.

The statement 41 is not a formula inciting to the murder. It only means that if you should kill your enemy, kill him but it is absolutely forbidden to you to humiliate him.

About goods:

The statement 36 deals with the fact of being in need as it is stated on the penal right. In the context of the Charter, are only concerned fruits pendent or picked up, crops in the fields which can be eaten. We can eat as much as we can but we should not put some in our bag or in our pocket, otherwise it would be a robbery.

About the preservation of the nature:

The statement 38 draws the attention on the flowers and the fruits we can find on the top of the trees. They should not be burnt.

Besides we should mention that bush fires were one of the infringements still punished with the sentence of death being anxious to preserve the nature the way it is.

Final provisions:

The preponderant place acknowledged to Balla Fassèkè Kouyaté and through him to all talented men in **the statement 43**, is not fortuitous. It is understandable fundamentally through the role he played in the big events the Mande went through. Balla Fassèkè Kouyaté is the one who, with courage and determination, told Magan Soundiata quite plainly what other people thought deeply.

He was the one who, with the right words and tune, succeeded to calm down the Emperor in the difficult contexts, since life is not only made of lucky days.

The secret of the greatness of the Mande has been their cohesion. This cohesion has been kept in a large measure by men and women who, most of the time in the anonymity, recalling the Mandenka the principles that funded the Mandingue nation.

The immunity of speech given to Balla Fassèkè Kouyaté and to his descendants enabled the successive generations of tradition guardians to play their role of conciliators and of mediators in the society. Even now, if the data have changed the substrate still remains, deeply rooted in the values of Mandingue civilization.

Conclusion:

For all the statements of the Charter, the expressions: *“do, do not”*, are style clauses which restore as faithfully as possible the mind of the authors of the text. But what is expressed in the forty four statements is for and is imposed on all the inhabitants of the Mande who are responsible for their implementation.

3. The Presidentialist Crisis, the four power theory, by Mr. Pathé DIAGNE, Political Scientist (Senegal).

The political crises that hinder democracy in most African States are seen in the changes in societies that can no longer find their balance within the presidentialist system. This system was established in the 1960s. It claimed to resolve, being influenced by the French Constitution, the problems of unity, integration and national identity. The democratization process of the 1980s and 1990s re-established the multi-party system of the colonial era. It does not affect the system where the elected President holds the power. The State Party's hegemony is rarely questioned as it always dominates due to manipulated elections.

THE FLAWS IN THE OBSOLETE POLITICAL MODEL

In almost all African States, within the presidentialist system, the Head of a Party State holds the Executive power that defines policies, the State power which uses the civil and military administrative systems and manages public resources; the parliamentarian and legislative power; the supervision of the judicial power, exercising its arbitration and control role.

This totalitarian grip is illustrated in the horizontal structure organisational chart which categorises the political power and the hierarchical and vertical structure illustrating the State system and the management of public resources.

With the creation of the State Party by the founding fathers of the post-colonial State, the limitation of political parties or the totalitarian systems that political classes argue for alternation without alternatives. The horizontal and vertical power structure organisation chart found below illustrates the model that for more than fifty years authorises an elected or non-elected President to exercise complete legal control over and above all political powers.

Horizontal structure of power: the Presidentialist monarchy

State Power	Governmental Power	Executive Power	Parliamentary Power	Judiciary Power
Head of State	Head of State Party	Head of State Party	Head of State Party and the Parliamentary majority	Head of State Party
Control of the State system and State infrastructure	Define policies	Implement government policies	Establish and promulgate Financial laws	Chair the High Council of the Magistrate
Nominated to civil and military posts				Under the direction of:

				The Constitutional Council; the Court of Auditors; The Tribunal Courts
Manager ways and means				State Council
Manage public resources				Judiciary Officer
Control State Inspection				State Mediator

As set out in the organisation chart, the President of the Republic, Head of majority Party in Parliament, Head of the Government, Guardian of the State and Judicial system leave no room for other system protagonists.

In the horizontal structure, as regards the State Party, the dominant party or a coalition, power contributes to poor governance. This obstacle is intrinsically linked in particular to the control of two strategic powers capable of assuring a balanced system due to their effective separation and their independence: **State power** responsible for administrations and **judicial power** responsible for legal control, rule of law and good management.

The implementation of government policies and the management of public and national resources are implicated in the hierarchal and vertical power structure.

Vertical and hierarchical structure: the excessive Government power and management

President of the Republic	Promulgate the Financial Law
Prime Minister	Proxy of Presidential Power
Minister of Finance and Economy	Administrator of National Financial Law
Minister responsible for Budget Ministers of Spending	Proxy for the Minister of Finance and the Economy Proxy for the President of the Republic

The hierarchical and vertical power structure as set out above determines the rules of decision-making from the Presidential level to the Prime Minister, to Heads of Ministries, to military and civil command posts or auditing officers. It assures the administrations' functioning. As in the British, American or French system, within the African system it is based on the same management rules, the same institutional mechanisms, renowned, universal and very precise. We still distinguish between the power and the personal and

financial responsibilities of the certifying officer or budget officer, those counsellors and auditors. The approval process is somewhat close to that of the Anglo-Saxon administration of the United Nations, French or Francophone Gabon, Senegal; and even Mobutu's Zaire and President Tubman who were capable of brandishing their check-books to take care of public finance issues or electioneering payments.

In the presidentialist system and the personalised monocratic African system the influential allegiance introduced during the "Loi Cadre" period with the idea of political commitment, has produced an increasingly sharper break with the republican principle of neutrality of the State employee. It has made irresponsibility and protected impunity the rule. We do not have here an American "spoiling system" or "checks and balances" The presidentialist African monocratic State is imprisoned by the clientalist-like-culture Party; its leader who is pillaging the State's means and taking personal control of judicial power begins thus a means of impunity.

ALTERNATIVE INSTITUTIONAL MODEL: THE FOUR-POWER THEORY

The question raised by sociologists, political scientists and constitutionalists does not provide a simple debate related to the choice between a parliamentarianist or presidentialist scenario. The presidentialist system crisis is intrinsically linked to the partisan monopolizing of power and the State system as a tool for clientalisation and loyalty development part of the judicial power. Judicial power is often led astray by the religious and political influence or business corruption in its role as vector of judicial security, rule of law, management control tools, and good economic and political governance.

There is an assessment which deals with political sociology as a behavioural tool and institutional needs of a society during an era. It calls upon the strategic thinking effort required in political science in order to define the terms of reference as a last resort for the politician and constitutionalist in order to develop adequate constitutional material. It is not easy to mobilise these three levels. This has been noticed in most countries where the focus is mainly on holding free and transparent elections. This aims to capture the presidentialist institution and the State via a somewhat large majority, with the State being a provider of resources likely to be seized and serve as payments in order to influence a political class and feed an electorate. The bitterness of these conflicts has turned largely around these stakes.

The convoked constitutionalist understands in general where it is necessary to reinvent the institution that it is enough to question the jurisprudence and the doctrine through some renowned authors and some prestigiously-considered traditions in order to invent a "ready-to-wear" requested by the Chief. In fact, the assessment is simple. Here for fifty years it has been based on the monopolizing of power, of the State system and of its resources on one hand, and the progressive subjection of judicial power and control. Here it is two strategic counter-powers to avoid the potential Government schisms borne by the State Party.

Within this context obviously the alternative model to the presidentialist system certainly challenges, within the context of presidential legacy, the purely sociologically and politically applicable scenario of three powers (Executive Government, Parliament, Judicial Power).

There are no barriers of effective counter-powers due to a certain African political culture which are not synergised with the Anglo-Saxon type of tradition. The four-power scenario (State Power, Executive Government, Parliament, Judicial Power) is needed in order to progressively break with the heavy assessment of presidentialism. **The Head of State functions and those of the Head of the Government should be separated.** Even this scenario must take account of the independence of the two strategic powers which are supported by the State and judicial systems. The institutional modalities in order for this break to be possible are various and the possible scenarios numerous according to the hypotheses. The organisation chart below is indicative.

State Power	Executive Government	Parliament	Judicial Power
<p>Bodies</p> <p>Head of State State System and Administration State Council State Inspection</p>	<p>Bodies</p> <p>Council of Ministers</p>	<p>Bodies</p> <p>Parliament National Assembly Senate of the Communities, Economic and Social Council</p>	<p>Bodies</p> <p>High Authority and/or Supreme Court Constitutional Court Court of Auditors Tribunals and Courts</p>
<p>Competencies</p> <p>Protector of the Constitution Monitoring of the well-functioning of the State system on respecting the management rules and procedures Nominated or confirmed to civil or military posts</p>	<p>Competencies</p> <p>Define, implement, and execute the government policy and programme</p>	<p>Competencies</p> <p>Participate and legitimate the Executive Government's policy during legislature</p>	<p>Competencies</p> <p>Assure through jurisdictions judicial security, control of administrative, budgetary, economic and financial management With the authority and the right of "<i>res judicata</i>" bringing a case to court with competent on all offenses and offender or civil, penal or political crime</p>
<p>Mass legitimacy</p> <p>Direct or indirect</p>	<p>Mass legitimacy</p> <p>Direct or indirect</p>	<p>Legitimacy</p> <p>mass Indirect</p>	<p>Legitimacy</p> <p>Professional and corporate under control of public and moral inquiry</p>

The only distinction between a State Power led by a Head of State and that of a High-level Judicial authority baptized “Attorney” or “National Prosecutor” according to the formulas proposed by the late Assane Bassirou Diouf, President of the Supreme Court, required suppressing the Justice Ministry as one condition. This was not sufficient. Their legitimacy and true independence must be assured.

The supposition where the Head of State is elected like that of Parliament which legitimises the Government by the same political movement reproduces the presidentialist model despite the distinction and separation of four powers, except for the existence of a judicial power and totally independent control.

Within the constitutional model of three powers with an Executive Government, Parliament and Judicial Power, a Head of State is not needed if the State is continuously neutral. It is the American model where the confusion of power collides as effective barriers like that of the silent British custom where there is less friction.

The independent judicial power is a major initiative if not the strategic initiative in the building of the rule of law, the continuity of judicial security, transparent management, fighting corruption, irresponsibility, impunity, and poor governance.

A jurisdictional and judiciary structure must be built. It cannot be improvised. We would not know either whether to trust its development to incompetent jurists who copy other systems which are inadequate.

The referred to French model is implicated throughout on the essential issue of good coordination between commissions of inquiry, **inquisition, impeachment, follow-up and judgment**. The issue of **contradictory education**, the concern of **keeping the inquiry secret**, to assure the **presumption of innocence, the protection of information sources**, the question of the power to judge an inquisition is raised.

Certainly there should be a break with the type of High Magistracy Council under supervision, an imitation of the French model. Instead, there could be a High Authority, competent, independent, legitimate, well-managed and institutional. Such an institution, using the three or four power theory, could be further explored. It could be based on the role of the Chief Executive Officer of a multinational with its Board of Directors. The over-used term “anglicist” Executive, is not adapted to either a French President or a monocratic African President. The referred to French model with which it has not broken with completely no with the monarchy’s legacy of divine right, nor with the Jacobin State, has difficulty respecting the separation of power borders.

The alternative model must assure well-functioning of State and Judiciary power. Generally, the collapse of the single party opened up the debate between emerging political parties so that the debate has ceased to be ideological. The debate no longer contributes to competing projects which have been shelved for more than two decades by a purely political practice. Forced globalization and imposed negotiations with donors have unified actors by programmes and particularly, the strategies that only national and regional alliances are able to handle.

In order to promote the new system first there must be one or two transition legislatures. It is the strategy of collations in order for an alternative to a change over.

Workshop N°3

EVOLUTION OF SOCIETIES, ACTORS' SITUATION, ROLE AND RESPONSABILITIES

1. Introductory text to Workshop No. 3 of the Intergenerational Forum

Dynamics of Transformation, Socio-political Recomposition and Governance Perspectives in West Africa, by Mr. Massaër DIALLO, Head of the Governance, Conflict Dynamics, Peace and Security Unit, (SWAC/OECD)

2. African Women, Religion and Modernity, by Mr. Saliou KANDJI, Historian (Senegal)

3. Finding a Knowledge Foundation for Africa, by Dr. Datey KUMODZEI (Ghana)

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INTRODUCTION

- What are the dynamics of transformation underway in the evolution of West African societies?
- What is their impact on the situation, place and role of the various actors in the social and political fields?
- What are the new perspectives of governance likely to create synergy in common and specific challenges to the various components of society?

1- TRANSFORMATION FACTORS

Five combined factors have a decisive impact on the evolution of societies in the region and the nature of challenges they have to face: population (particularly with a marked rejuvenation of the population), accelerated urbanisation, globalisation with increased impoverishment, crisis of the State and democratisation, and regional governance.

1.1 Population

The configuration and population growth of the region is a key factor in the evolution of societies undergoing a process of high increase and rejuvenation of the population^{###}. Of the current total population of 298 million inhabitants, more than 45% are under 15 years of age, 56% are under 20 years of age and 66% under 25 years of age. West Africa has one of the youngest populations in the world. Its growth rate is 2.5%, within an economic context where GDP growth^{sss} has not yet reached the 7% required to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, with an expected reduction of extreme poverty by 50% by the year 2015. The characteristics of the population indicate the important challenges of health, education, training and employment.

However, they also indicate all the promise and advantages of a young population:

- a high potential of rapid adaptation to a rapidly changing global environment;
- an immense reserve of human energy ready to engage in building the future of Africa, if the generations in power provide the means and create the conditions.

^{###} As indicated in the SWAC introductory note: "After stagnating until the end of the 19th century, the population increased from 40 million inhabitants in 1930 to 85 million in 1960, and 290 million in 2003." In 2006, it is estimated at 298 million and should, according to estimates, reach 430 million between 2020 and 2025.

^{sss} It was 4.4% in 2005, and estimates for 2006 stand at 5.3% according to the African Economic Outlook published by the OECD Development Centre

- How can a constraint be transformed into a promise and given a perspective of implementation? How can the challenge posed by the population of the region be met and the advantages of the young population be best exploited?
- How should such a young African society negotiate the turning point of its change with its history and heritage? What are the place and role of intergenerational dialogue at this turning point where power (and perhaps knowledge) is held in the society and in political parties, the States and economic spheres by an age group that is not significant in terms of population?
- Without confusing population with democracy, how should the extremely young population be taken into account in the management of the country and building of the future?

1-2 Urbanisation

Although from a historical perspective West Africa has had towns since the 3rd century (Mali) or later in the 6th century (Koumbi), the importance of rural areas has been decisive at the socio-cultural level with social relations determined by an essentially farming economy. The process of urbanisation, with a very high concentration of major economic activities in town, is an important factor in accelerating social change. In 1930, the total urban population of the region was still “one of the lowest in the world”, 1.9 million inhabitants, representing an urbanisation rate of 4%, with the exception of Senegal which had 12%****. At independence in 1960, the rate stood at 28% in Senegal and 14% for the entire region****. In 1980, it increased to 34% and then to 41% in 1991 to reach about 50% today. West Africa is undergoing a reversal of trends, with an urban predominance of its population. This is certainly a decisive change which has had an impact on the process of political change. Indeed, initially the rural areas were electoral basins for Single Parties or parties in power. The rejuvenation of the population and its urbanisation were and are still factors of political change. Consequently, there is an interaction between the various factors of change in the societies of the region.

1-3 Democratisation, crisis of the State and politics, and the development of armed violence

- For over one decade, the region has been marked by the prevalence of conflicts of regional scope, causes and/or spread. They have affected more than 9 countries, and everywhere weakened or put the State or political governance in serious crisis. At present, it seems that everywhere, there are perceptible efforts towards crisis resolution in the restoration of peace and stabilisation in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea Bissau, Casamance (Senegal), Niger, and Mali. Côte d’Ivoire itself has come to a turning point, where the entire regional and global governance are involved in supporting the implementation of an internal democratic and peaceful solution to the crisis. In governance, as in the development of the freedom of expression and ensuring the reliability of electoral processes, West Africa has made different and even unequal progress from one country to another, and has shown democracy development trends even if it is still within the context of fragile States. Single party political systems seem to be of the past, even if some non-democratic practices of

**** See François Paul YATTA : *Villes et développement économique en Afrique*; SWAC ; Economica; Anthropos. Paris; 2006 . p 59. All the figures on urban growth are taken from this source.

**** François YATTA indicates in his work that between 1945 and 1960 the average growth rate of the urban population “was above 8% per year in the entire region”. See YATTA ; *ibid* ; 2006

political governance and breaches of equality before the law in political matters occur in some contexts.

- The democratic changes are an indicator and factor of social changes. The concurrence of the second generation^{###} of democratisation and demographic transition exacerbated the complexity of dynamics of change. Indeed, the region has reached a new democratic turning point with the *de facto* exclusion of a large part of the population who is not of voting age but is the bearer of important social and political demands.
- The phenomenon of child soldiers dramatically shows the early involvement of children and adolescents as actors in the conflicts of which they are victims. Children and youth constitute the vast majority of the population that requires education and training, citizen democracy and socio-economic integration. As a symbol of the extent of social needs in all countries of the region, they are today at the forefront of over-mediated dramatic escapes to Europe, in as the migratory movements continue, in the region.

1-4 Globalisation and Impoverishment

- Globalisation is, for all countries in the world, a universal factor that challenges the notion of Nation-States. Its impact is even more significant in the fragile States of the region, most of which face problems of disunification or centrifugal movements fuelled by identity crises. Populations separated from neighbouring countries more or less openly push the borders in the (dis)service of internal sovereignty crises, and conflicts of armed rebellions. The weakening of the (Nation)-State and/or its discredit^{ssss} leads to a rise in ethnic or compensating ethno-denominational solidarities.
- Globalisation has accelerated cultural changes in a very young region where telephony and information and communication technologies are developing significantly. Awareness of human rights, the universality of citizens' demands, the expression of cultural diversity, and the universal circulation of political information are some of the facts that provide societies and actors of the region with openness in line with the rest of the world.
- However, West Africa faces the challenge of adjustment to the liberal laws of economic globalisation under conditions and within time frames that pose problems to many economic actors^{****} who are unprepared, as well as to most States. More than mere lack of preparation, the region should face the challenge of ensuring coherence and coordination of actors (private and state-owned, national and regional).
- Africa is confronted with the important issue of knowing under what conditions, how and to what extent integration without protection into world trade can help to effectively fight poverty, which affects 50% of the population. How can the producers in the region benefit from the new situation?

^{###} The first corresponded to the colonial multiparty system ; it was challenged in West Africa by the single party system adopted after independence.

^{ssss} Mainly because in a number of cases, the State was constructed outside and /or against any logic or strategy of real nation building. This facilitated projects of dissidence, national disaffiliation and/or territorial secession.

^{****} This is the case with the perspective of Economic Partnership Agreements envisaged with the European Union as from January 2008.

What specific relations should be maintained in the region between trade and development?

- Globalisation is not only a factor of cultural change, it also determines an accelerated pace for economic development in the region with social impacts of which the scope will depend on the capacity of political control and negotiation of the turning point by the States, ECOWAS, the private sector, and civil society in West Africa.
- Indeed, the region will cross a new threshold, with envisaged (or at least proposed) trade liberalisation with the European Union. All forecasts show, before the opportunities, first the immediate risk of destabilising production systems and economic actors who are not prepared or protected. The intrinsic democratisation of the movement of goods will enable large sectors of the populations and societies to have increased access to European products; however, this may take place to the disadvantage of production capacities (agricultural and industrial) of the economies of the region.
- Beyond the concerns of economic and social actors, there is a challenge for a united, coherent and effective response which takes into account necessity, opportunity and freedom in options and strategies. The integrated economic community seems to be the best framework for concretising this response and assuming concerted management in a period of change within a context of turbulence.

1-5 Slow Emergence of Regional Governance

Since 1975, West Africa has been organised through ECOWAS, an economic community, which became renowned at the turn of the 1980s in management of issues relating to security, conflict prevention and resolution, as well as political governance. This led in 1999 and 2001 to two fundamental instruments for regional governance: the Protocol on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Mechanisms, and the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance⁺⁺⁺⁺.

ECOWAS' assertion as a governance and regulation pole in the region has greatly mitigated the risks of national disintegration as a result of conflicts at the regional level. From the early experiences of ECOMOG to the current project of the creation of a regional standby force, ECOWAS has merely played the role of fire fighter in West Africa. The signing of the Protocol on Good Governance and Democracy by member States in 2001 demonstrated the regional determination to fight against the deep causes of conflicts. This led to the assertion of "constitutional convergences" of the 14 States on rules defining the rule of law, democracy, and the promotion of equal rights, equity and human rights. The Protocol of 2001 today provides regional governance, which contributes to the creation of a framework for harmonised democracies in West Africa that can evolve to a unified or well-coordinated political zone. Through the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, ECOWAS plays a support and observer role in the electoral processes in each country. It is empowered with the right (granted by the States) to oversee compliance with the rules of democracy and rule of law. It has the authority not only to condemn unconstitutional acts and coups d'Etat but also to contribute to the restoration of civil peace and constitutional order in member countries governed by the Protocols of 1999 and 2001.

⁺⁺⁺⁺ See other works of the SWAC and more precisely the Acts of the Cotonou Forum of July 2005.

This is a very important factor of change in the building of democracy, peace and economic development for the populations in West Africa. The implementation of the Protocol on the free movement of people and goods, involving not only the States but also civil society, is a key factor in the regionalisation of economic and political life.

2. SOCIO-POLITICAL RECOMPOSITION

Democratisation has had several implications; in the beginning, it weakened the ruling classes who had been structured mainly around a stable State power, monopolised by single parties with a politically assured economic base.

The end of the single party system was – though quite transitional—destabilising, particularly as it shook a social stratification determined by an economy well controlled and preyed upon by a system impeding any real socio-economic dynamism.

Concurrent democratisation and economic liberalisation (forced in the beginning) contributed to the significant emergence or assertion of certain categories of actors who facilitated the accelerated evolution of socio-political processes. These include youth, women, civil society and a new generation of businessmen.

As regards socio-political changes, mention could be made of 4 key points among several others: the political leadership crisis, the rise of the informal sector, the social irruption of women and youth, and the blocking of succession between generations.

2-1 Political Leadership Crisis and Emergence of Civil Society

Since the turn of the 1980s, corresponding to the period of structural adjustments and evolution towards the multiparty system, there has been a crisis of State domination over society; it corresponds to the gradual loss of control of the single party system over political and economic levers through State corporations. The 1990s marked the spring of the post-colonial multiparty system as well as fragmentation of political leadership and concurrent emergence of civil society.

The gradual emergence of an active civil society and very high political awareness among young people and women should be consolidated among the fruits of democracy, which in turn foster the dynamics of stability and peace building at the service of development. The second generation of democracy also witnessed the emergence of the private sector and media among actors; they are active factors that are important in determining the possible evolutions of the society at the national and regional levels.

2-2 The social rise of the informal sector and weakening of the intellectual elite

The accelerated State divestitures from the economies and privatisation of semi-public or public corporations have not made headway merely in renewing the private sector. Indeed, there has been significant development of the informal sector, with the gradual emergence of an average embryonic class living on and in business, often linked to trade and seizing the fragility of States as an opportunity, particularly in taxes and customs duties.

The social rise of the informal sector corresponds to two key elements:

- The recomposition of average classes without prejudice to (regained) stability of the political and state dimensions of the dominant class.

- Changes :
 - in labour relations: In many companies, the scarcity of jobs, endemic unemployment and resourcefulness result in a mentality that attaches no value to work as a means of succeeding in the locality.
 - in knowledge relations: Knowledge no longer defines power, access to high retribution, or high social prestige (excluding religious circles). This is the root cause of the impoverishment of intellectuals and extroversion of skills from the region, where neither business in a significant manner, nor the State in a strategic manner, have capitalised on the research stagnating in the University, where talents bloom and fade in work and living conditions that do not nurture their development.

2-3 The socio-political emergence of women and youth

The involvement of youth in armed violence and conflicts does not only reflect the demography. It attracts attention to the destructuring of society, which more easily creates street children and child soldiers.

However, unlike conflicts, there is also a large-scale emergence of young people and women in the political field of democracy where they constitute a driving force for change.

2.4 Blocking of succession between generations

The mobilisation and preponderance of youth in the electorate and in citizen activities are not adequately reflected in the composition of executive and parliamentary organs of democratic power.

Africa and its western region are seriously confronted with the challenge of succession between generations. However, in traditional Africa, succession between generations in some societies took place in the form of democratic change^{****}. Currently, people over 59 years old barely represent 3% of the population of the region; yet, it is mainly at their level that political leadership is still concentrated.

It is therefore important not to overturn the generational structure, but to prepare succession in all political, economic and social organs by massively involving women and youth on the basis of their skills, in building the future. Intergenerational dialogue should help to take up the challenge together.

3- RESPONSE CAPACITIES AND EFFORTS TO RENEW GOVERNANCE

3.1 Strategic Issues

In view of the dynamics of change witnessed in societies and States of the region, the challenges should be faced by identifying:

- The fulcra of achievement, potential and capacity; these are *our response capacities*.
- The actions and method of collective tension of forces to give a sure and positive direction to change. This is what we call *our efforts*.
- *Relations* between individuals, categories of actors, social or national groups, and in particular, different generations bound to the same future.
- *Contributions* from the outside world, which no society can afford to ignore.

^{****} See this statement in the theses of Jomo Kenyatta in his work Facing Mount Kenya in relation to the Gikuyus.

What are therefore the perspectives of governance which can be used in the region to meet its challenges, relying on its capacities, combining its forces in action, pacifying relations and consolidating contributions? This question is explicitly formulated **in four strategic questions which make political sense, and should facilitate management of the challenges and control of the perspectives:**

- 1- What are our response capacities?
- 2- What are our efforts?
- 3- What are our relations?
- 4- What are the contributions?

3.2 The table in the Annex and entitled “Synopsis of a strategy for renewing governance in West Africa” provides an overview of the possibilities opened by these questions. It contributes to the emergence of a process of ownership of the challenges by local, national and regional actors on the one hand, and by all the generations involved in governance, democratic public life, peace building and the development process, on the other hand.

Governance within a context of recurrent conflicts should contribute to:

- i- the restoration of peaceful social relations, and that of social and national cohesion.
- ii-dynamise the synergistic participation of actors in:
 - a) The fight against poverty and the social integration of young people.
 - b) Acceleration of regional integration.
 - c) The strengthening of peace, democracy and promotion of human security.

3.3 The renewal of governance could be based on three key elements:

- Capacity building and democratic arrangements and their strict application in the management of public affairs.
- The development of endogenous experience (for example, the spirit of consensus applied to constitutional democratic rules in politics; the inclusive and participatory approach, the sense of equity, the protection of people, and solidarity.)
- The consolidation of instruments adopted by the region to prevent conflicts and build peaceful democracy.

Political and intergenerational dialogue provides each and everyone their place in the process of building a future that brings democracy, well-being and security in effective and sustainable peace at the local, national and regional levels.



A STRATEGY FOR REVIVING GOVERNANCE IN WEST AFRICA : SYNOPSIS

CHALLENGES	COMPETENCIES	EFFORTS	RELATIONSHIP	ADVANTAGES	PERSPECTIVES
CULTURAL	Endogenous Capacities	Governance	Decompartmentalise in order to better disseminate the achievements; to open up a dialogue on the changes	Assimilation, adaptation	Valorise and innovate
<i>Illiteracy</i>	Very young population (56% of the population is under 20 years of age and 66% is under 25 years of age)	Voluntarism	Women more disadvantaged	Other continents' experiences	Reduce illiteracy by half in 20 years
<i>Knowledge</i>	Handing down of knowledge concerning plants, man and the environment.	Development of education and training in the sciences and technical training.	Compartmentalising elites, the shortcomings and extroversion of research.	Bilateral and international cooperation	Regionalise training and scientific research. Once again give more consideration to knowledge within our societies.
<i>Beliefs and wisdom</i>	Humanist vision of respect and protection for human life.	Avoid traditionalist confinement while respecting African beliefs like those of exogenous religions.	Disseminate selective and initiatory knowledge. Perpetuity of a discriminatory valorisation of competencies and social levels. Existence of superiority and inferiority complexes concerning, for example, castes. Persistence of relationships based on fear, demonisation and stigmatisation with, for example, beliefs regarding witchcraft-cannibalism.	Draw lessons from experiences of people of other continents, currently or in the past, faced with the same problems. Clarification by the social sciences on the stigmatisation, the functionality as well as the obsolescence of some beliefs.	Identify the cultural pitfalls of equal rights and treatment of individuals and various components of society. Undertake educative, community, policy and juridical initiatives. Remove these barriers. Use the media in education, scientific expansion in order to have a social dialogue on the competencies and cultural hindrances.

CHALLENGES	COMPETENCIES	EFFORTS	RELATIONSHIP	ADVANTAGES	PERSPECTIVES
<i>Ethical</i>	Family devotion, respect for authority, sense of solidarity, inclination to inclusion and consensus. Respect for secularity by accepting denominational plurality.	Recognition of the individual, strengthening the individual's autonomy and sense of responsibility. Coordinate the traditional ethical achievements with democratic values (ex:equality, justice, freedom, competition).	Development of a value crisis based on a reference crisis. Conflict between the references and the individual and collective behaviour. Disruption of mechanisms and reproduction dynamics and intergenerational transmission of values. Leadership and authority crises at the social and political levels. Development of insubordination.	Internalise the tools for the protection of human, women and children's rights.	Protect and promote secularity and freedom. Respect and enforce the laws which have been enacted related to this. Update and strengthen the valorisation of women and protection of children. Increased responsibility by youth. Re-establishment of a credible and legitimate authority within the social, political and managerial institutional bodies on the basis of periodic revalidation through dialogue, education, inclusion, exemplary nature and effective democracy.
SOCIAL	Traditions of solidarity	The sound individual to be more dependent on his own capacities without spoiling social protections and affects of solidarity.	Existence of parasitical dependency and influential subservience.	Supported by international mobilisation in order to attain the Millennium Development Goals and reduce extreme poverty by 50% by the year 2015.	Valorise the sense of solidarity and the spirit of consensus and integrate them into the perspective of synergised mobilisation to combat misery, poverty and all which undermines human dignity.
<i>Inequalities and Poverty</i>	Existence of community-based solidarity mechanisms and practices. Persistence of systems that redistribute the active population's income.	Strengthen social awareness of the need to work and establish the right to work. Fight the pursuit for easy money.	"The refuge within the community" and the dependence on its solidarity alone diminishes the implication and mobilisation of people within new, mainly urban, socio-economic contexts.	Internalise and develop strategies to fight poverty implicating producers and socio-political actors.	Penalise other means of work which promote the circulation of dirty money and valorised in some value crisis contexts and corruption with impunity. Contribute to the operationalisation of increased poor strategies.

CHALLENGES	COMPETENCIES	EFFORTS	RELATIONSHIP	ADVANTAGES	PERSPECTIVES
<i>Position of youth and women</i>	Women and youth are the majority of the population and play an active driving role in the dynamics of transformation.	Strengthen their political leadership and their implication in governance.	They suffer socio-cultural inequality and their promotion can combat the patriarchal or “feudal” type of resistance.	Have “Islamisation” and “occidentalisation” enabled women and youth to progress? Indeed the contradictions between submission and equal rights are found in this question. Does the relative emancipation of elites indicate exogenous influences?	Assure that the next generation can take over in politics without taking away the credit and regularity. Seek sustainable solutions to youth’s and women’s dependency on the social and economic level. Contribute to the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals concerning women.
POLITICAL	For over 35 years the governments and political regimes of West Africa have been dominated by the military. Since 1999, there is only one military regime in the ECOWAS zone. The multi-party system has been generalised and strengthened. A tendency for a democratic alternative has developed. Democratization is strengthening and is becoming more credible despite the reversibility of situations.	The building of peace and the strengthening of democracy are the major objectives. From 2000 to 2005, 7 of the 15 ECOWAS Heads of State were once military leaders and took up civil functions after or before coming to or already in power.	The adherence to democratic values, principles and mechanisms becomes incomplete, fragile and in some cases essentially tactical or functional. Democracy is sometimes claimed and assumed in order to take power which is then eliminated if it cannot be maintained indefinitely. This break in confidence between actors undermines, for the populations, the democratic system.	While the majority principle seems to contribute to the decision-making process, it must not enter in conflict in this area with the long-established spirit of consensus dominating in Africa. Consensus must always be sought as regards the agreement of all actors on the rules of the game. Consensus must be obtained as much as possible with regard to the electoral code and decisions modifying the constitution.	There is a need to create new relationships to politics which must attract and involve the youth and provide women with more responsibility.

CHALLENGES	COMPETENCIES	EFFORTS	RELATIONSHIP	ADVANTAGES	PERSPECTIVES
<i>Crisis of the Nation State</i>	<p>The de-unification crisis first indicates the dislocation of the State political platform built on a single party-system and without strategies for integration and equitable development of all the countries' territorial and socio-cultural components. This legitimacy crisis has not weakened the historic links of continuity, solidarity, alliance, exchange and fate between the various elements that the post colonial State has brought together or maintained within the same political framework.</p>	<p>The crisis of the Nation State has a universal dimension which indicates the development of the State's dynamic transformation as regards the demands for diversity, autonomy, and local responsibility. But the crisis also has specific causes in West Africa which are linked to modes of governance and the political regime. It is possible to overcome this crisis by the revalidation of the State through democracy and political integration.</p>	<p>Rebellions and other armed conflicts demonstrate that political actors use communities or ethno-cultural groups as influence for manoeuvring and assertion in the fight for power. The national cohesion is weakened and severely tested by these political strategies.</p>	<p>Be aware that solutions that developed countries seek to provide the Nation State crisis are not necessarily replicable. Accelerated globalisation leads to identity crises and affirmation reflexes of which, now more than ever, the particularities within the cultural universalism and political centralism must be seriously taken into account.</p>	<p>Is it not possible for national construction to be part of a broader political development construction process? Within this perspective, to coordinate the national with the local levels will enable local governance, which will then link up to the regional level. This not only promotes development but also enables separated populations to reunite, without harm, for peace and democracy. The rehabilitation of the Nation State requires the development of a cultural, social, and political dialogue between ethnicities, citizenship and nationality. To develop with the formal and informal sectors education on citizenship and integration.</p>
<i>Armed conflicts and security</i>	<p>There is significant capital of endogenous mechanisms, strategies and approaches to conflict prevention and mediation. The African Union, ECOWAS and civil society organisations have begun to refer to them. This legacy can contribute to conflict prevention and mediation.</p>	<p>9 out of 15 countries have been affected by armed conflicts on all or some of their territory. The resumption of conflicts which were resolved demonstrates the need to seek sustainable and non-circumstantial solutions.</p>	<p>The eruption of internal armed conflicts within countries, the development of rebellions and civil wars indicate a violent antagonistic break of political and/or social relations. Policies must be re-examined.</p>	<p>Exit from crisis programmes supported by donors must coordinate post-conflict and development support in order to avoid "relapses" linked to consecutive financial separation at the end of the programme as it is the case of the DDR.</p>	<p>The re-establishment of social and political contracts is a pre-requisite for the building of sustainable peace and democracy. In this context, forms, and procedures enabling all citizens to be committed must be sought. Indeed this implicates all socio-political actors beyond the only protagonists in conflict. For a sustainable solution to conflicts, post-conflict programmes must be coordinated with effective social and economic development policies.</p>

CHALLENGES	COMPETENCIES	EFFORTS	RELATIONSHIP	ADVANTAGES	PERSPECTIVES
<i>Corruption</i>	Emergence of civil society organisations and legislative, regulatory and policy tools to fight corruption.	Necessity to strengthen and establish political willingness; necessity to defeat a certain common culture of complacency as regards corruption linked to political and/or response to community solidarity influence.	Clientalism and social redistribution tend to benefit from the consequences of corruption and are inclined to exude a culture legitimizing it.	The increasing assurance affirmed by donors and the entire international community.	Penalise criminal acts which are carried out instead of working. Valorise within certain contexts the value crisis and corruption with impunity.
<i>Democratic Governance</i>	ECOWAS' Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance and the African Union's Peer Review Mechanism are tools which can serve as a basis for democratic governance. Existing participative and inclusive social and political traditions.	Ratification of the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance by the 5 States which have not yet done so: Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia and Nigeria. Its implementation within all ECOWAS member States.	Avoid risks of subordination of judicial and parliamentary powers as regards governmental power. Develop other democratic counter-powers (civil society). Make political parties responsible for the maintenance and development of democracy; within this framework foresee the violent relationship in the political game.		



2. African Women, Religion and Modernity, by Mr. Saliou KANDJI, Historian (Senegal)

The text of this paper has been taken from the work on African Women's Rights from Yesterday to Tomorrow, published by the author in 1997 by Xamal Editions. Since the author had died by the time these documents were circulated, his family learned about the nature of his involvement through these extracts.

FROM THE TRADITIONAL ENDOGENOUS STATUS TO TODAY'S ARABO-ISLAMIC AND JUDAEO-CHRISTIAN STATUSES

THE TRADITIONAL AFRICAN FAMILY

Before beginning to tackle the question of the status of women, it seems to me that it would be useful to re-state, briefly, the nature of the traditional African family, with the woman as its foundation.

"In traditional Africa, the family formed a much wider circle than the term suggests in Europe or in North America" (J Mbiti: Religions et Philosophies africaines [*African Religions and Philosophies*]). The family comprised:

- a) the direct ancestors and those who had been assimilated into the family,
- b) direct relations and those assimilated into the family (maternal and paternal aunts and uncles),
- c) brothers and sisters, and cousins,
- d) children, nephews and nieces and their descendants.

This is the reason why ethnologists speak about "extended families". In fact, in this communitarian concept, two or more brothers and sisters can establish their respective "families" in one house, or in separate houses, and the households formed in this way consider themselves as just one family".

Apart from the living, and the dead – counting the members starts with them – the African family also includes the members who are "yet to be born", and who are the "buds of hope and expectation", as J MBITI says, with each family wanting to ensure that its existence is not threatened with extinction.

All that has just been said relates back to the community, to African society, starting from its founding component, which is the family. But what is the place of the individual, the person, in all this, and what is his or her place in society?

To understand the place of the individual in traditional African society, it is first of all necessary to understand the Negro-African concept of the being, and of existence.

Briefly, this concept can be described as "**Vitalist-Interdependent**". **Vitalist** because it considers **Life** as essentially One, despite the obvious diversity and multiplicity. The second element of the duo – that is, **Interdependence** – is founded on the fact that everyone relies, essentially, on everyone else: on their parents, their families, and even on preceding generations. The individual, then, the person, is just one part of the Whole which is the community with its different elements. It follows from this that the Group has the collective

obligation to ensure that each of its members is educated, protected and has the opportunity to flourish.

In this society, the human being does not die alone, does not live alone, and does not suffer alone, because he or she does not rejoice alone.

Any event, good or bad, automatically brings into play the whole system of **Interdependence-Participation** for each and every person.

One other duty which follows necessarily from this spiritual-ontological concept is a scrupulous respect for the **Order** and **Harmony**, and therefore the **Hierarchy**, which governs **Life**.

With these principles of Order and Harmony, evil is not exclusively an intrinsically objective act. Evil is rather a consequence with disharmonising effects, disturbing the Order and Cosmic harmony and, therefore the stability and the Society of the people who depend upon it.

Negro-African humanity, which includes the three kingdoms – animal, vegetable and mineral – in a hierarchical fashion, also includes:

- 1) The dead who are sanctified,
- 2) The dead who are damned,
- 3) The dead who are waiting for sanctification or damnation, and
- 4) Those who are “yet to live”, that is those who are “yet to be born” = the “buds” which will bring tomorrow’s fruits.

This Humanity governs by faith in One God; at the same time Transcendent and Imminent through a continuing revelation taking many forms.

THE PLACE OF THE WOMAN IN TRADITIONAL AFRICAN SOCIETY

In traditional Africa – since the Isiac Code – a woman, as a person, along with a man (uncle, brother, husband), enjoys a liberty and an equality which does not limit her acute sense of her honour, duty and responsibility. It was the period of the civilisation of Virtue, and not that of the “Fear of God” and of “hypocrisy”; the civilisation of Spirituality and not that of “Religiosity”, which was often just empty mimicry, that is to say conditioned reflexes, generating repetitive acts which were devoid of spirituality.

In social matters, the traditional Negro-African woman assumes the same responsibilities as the man. She enjoys the same rights and prerogatives. Not only is she completely and equally entitled to inherit, but in all the communities operating in the matriarchal system – the majority – the woman is the only source of inheritance and only she gives legitimacy to all instructions. All power comes from her, either through inheritance, or by delegation.

This equality, or even supremacy, of the Negro-African woman – as much in Negro-African Egypt as in Sub-Saharan communities, was a phenomenon which thwarted the plans of the foreign dominators as much as it surprised foreign travellers on their first contact with the African socio-cultural milieu.

The very first people to be confronted with this Negro-Egyptian socio-cultural reality were the Lagides (305 to 30 BC), successors of Alexander the Great in the African land of Egypt.

Having recognised, with surprise that the Negro-Egyptian woman enjoyed a social status of total freedom and responsibility, and fearing that this situation might spread among the Greek women, who were completely subject to the whims of the Greek men, they decided to deprive the Egyptian woman of her rights. It was in this way that, through an unjust, authoritarian act, they reduced the political and social rights of the Negro-Egyptian women, bringing her into line with the Greek woman. In fact, according to Ed. BEVAN,

“A prostagma (order) deprived the Egyptian women of their particular legal status; like the Greek women, from then on they were legally subject to their husband, if married, or a guardian (Kyrios) if unmarried”. (Histoire des Lagides, Payot 1934)

And so this was the first barbaric attack on the spiritual and cultural superiority of Black Africa over the rest of the Mediterranean world. There is no doubt that this was also the beginning of the decline, of the spread of cultural and social decadence, which still endures, and which is supposed to be a congenital defect of Negro-African civilisation.

This may have been the first attack on the dignity of the foundation of Negro-African civilisation – the woman – but it was certainly not the last. It was followed by a hundred others, each as disastrous as the rest. I will quote a second of these, not in chronological order, but according to how disgraceful it was.

This concerns the Decree issued in 389 AD, by the Roman emperor Theodosius I, called the Great, on the instructions of the Bishop of Rome. “Considering religion”, the monotheistic Negro-Egyptian religion, “as satanic”, this measure aimed to make expressing the Roman imperial will easier, and to facilitate the development of the new State religion, Roman Judaeo-Latinism,.. (Its link with the Empire had been established 77 years earlier, in 312, by Constantine I.)

The expulsion of women from being prophets and directing religious services dates from the condemnation of the Negro-Egyptian monotheistic religion, universally practised up to then in Africa, in Europe and in Asia and known under the name of “ISIANISM”, from the Egyptian ASET (the ISIS of the Greeks, Aicha of the Negro-Ismaelites from Arabia, or the Aissatu/SATU of today’s Negro-Africans).

To declare the Isiac monotheistic religion “satanic” was one thing, but to make it disappear from the hearts of millions of people to which it brought “love, equality, fraternity and protection” was much more difficult.

To achieve this, following the decree of 389 mentioned above, it was ordered in 391, that temples and objects associated with the worship should be destroyed, and that the majority of priests and priestesses, theologians and other learned men of the Isiac religion should be arrested, punished and put to death. In a widespread and systematic manner, anyone known or suspected to be practising “pagan” or “satanic” rites, that is, contrary to what the new “Judaeo-Latin, Imperial Roman” religion decreed, was pursued, arrested, and brutally tortured.

After the destruction of the holy places of Egypt and elsewhere and the physical destruction of the men and women who served them – these men devoted to God, the One and Only, these peaceful souls, showing love to human beings and Nature – after this crime against humanity, literary and scientific productions were attacked. Thus it was that history remembers:

“That thousands of papyri and stela were destroyed, material was plagiarised, misrepresented and rewritten to be attributed to mythical authors. This was all done with the intention of completely sweeping away any trace of former spirituality or intellectual or

scientific values, in order to forge texts which were supposedly foundations of a usurped authenticity or an imaginary miracle”.

Except – look what happened!

These imperialists, destructive iconoclasts of all that was human and cultural wherever they went, who cut Humanity off from its past which was several thousand years old, by misrepresenting the contribution made by pharaonic Africa, these “infidel believers” could not realise that there existed hundreds of copies of these documents that they tried to destroy or falsify, and that one day, the proof of their crimes would be disclosed to the whole World. This has now happened, since the hieroglyphics have been deciphered, and the Pyramid and Sarcophagus texts have been discovered and made – at least partly – accessible.

But although the barbaric action, carried out – after the Persians, in 525 BC – successively by the Greeks, the Romans, the Vandals and other Byzantines, profoundly upset the structure of Negro-African societies bordering the Mediterranean, it is notable that in Africa’s interior, the foundations of the black societies have long remained relatively intact.

The arrival of Islam, in the 9th/10th centuries, to the south of the Sahara, and its generally peaceful development, did not challenge the socio-cultural situation of the Islamised Negro-African communities, despite their strict observance of the specifically religious – cultural – stipulations of the new religion.

The great African Arabo-Berber traveller, Ibn Batouta, remarks on this after El Bekri, and expresses how offensive he finds it, in his account of his journey in the Mali empire in 1375. He wrote:

“The town of Valata, first administrative district in the country of the Blacks has a lot of mutton. The inhabitants’ clothes are beautiful, made of fabrics imported from Egypt. The women are extraordinarily beautiful. They have more personality than the men.

These people’s situation is surprising. The men do not know what jealousy is. A man’s inheritance is only passed on to his sister’s children, and not to his children. That is something which I have not seen anywhere else in the world, except among the “infidel” inhabitants of the Malabar islands, in India. But the inhabitants of Valata are Muslims, who observe the five prayers, who have learned the Muslim law and have memorised text from the Koran. As for their women, they are not ashamed to appear before the men. They are not confined, despite their strict observance of the five prayers. Those of them who wish to marry may do so. But they do not follow their husbands. Even if one of them wanted to, she would be prevented by the family. Their women can link themselves “in friendship” with men outside their immediate relations.

A man can enter his house, and find his wife sitting with a male “friend” of hers, without this giving rise to any rebuke on his part.

One day, I went into the house of the Grand Kaadi, Monsieur Yaandé Kane, with whom I had arrived in Valata, and found him sitting down, while, on a bed placed under a roof erected in the middle of his house, a woman was sitting, talking to a man who was sitting beside her.

“Who is that woman over there?”, I asked my host.

“That is my wife”, he answered

“Who is that man with her?”

“That is her ‘friend’.”

“And you accept that?”, I observed, “when you have lived in our (Arab) countries and you have learned the legal (Muslim) requirements in this matter!”

“The company of men and women”, he remarked to me, “operates in our (Negro-African) countries according to standards of conduct with no suspicion or second thoughts. **Our women are not like the women in your (Arab) countries**” (My emphasis and brackets, to aid understanding of the conversation).

“I was surprised by his laxity”, concluded Ibn Batouta, “and left him straightaway, and never returned to see him again. He subsequently sent me several invitations, to which I refused to reply.”

These are important observations, which, in the 14th century, an Arabo-Berber was moved to make, in the Mali Empire, about Negro-Africans who were devout believers, but who, on a strictly social level, held on to their Negro-African values which were, in their eyes, more advanced than those contained in the Arabo-Muslim family code.

One conclusion is obvious:

- From the origins to our day, as is underlined by C.A. Diop in his works and as all sincere observers realise, the woman is the **most important element** in Negro-African society, where she enjoys absolute freedom, and where her social standing is equal or superior to that of a man, to whom leadership is delegated by the woman, the source of the legitimacy of all power.

- Despite all the aggression of all sorts which has been aimed at them during more than two millennia, Negro-African communities remain attached to this day to the essentials of the spiritual and social values of their civilisation.

- These values of African civilisation, as articulated in the Negro-Egyptian monotheistic religion, still remain in line with what the men and women of Africa aspire to today: liberty, equality and responsibility in conducting the affairs of the Community.

- Finally, the African family (not the same thing as the household) has four major characteristics:

1. Hierarchical equality of its members
2. Community solidarity
3. Supremacy for the place of the woman
4. Love for the children, who are the “buds of Expectation and Survival”.

Now, let us tackle the second point of our reflection, that is, the place of the woman and the child in eastern Semitic society before the appearance of Islam.

CONCLUSION

What emerges from these reflections is the opposition of two worlds, and two civilisations. One, the Negro-African, appears in all its aspects as settled and matriarchal, profoundly caring, placing the woman – mother, girl, wife – at the start and the finish, at the base and the top of the social pyramid. The other civilisation, born on the Eurasian steppes, is patriarchal, making the woman dependent on the man – father, husband, brother and son. This is what C.A. Diop summarises in a few words, at the end of his authoritative study entitled: *L'Unité culturelle de l'Afrique Noire*. He writes:

“The southern cradle (of civilisation) confined to the African continent, in particular, is characterised by the matriarchal family – the emancipation of women, social collectivism and material solidarity as a right for each person. There are poor people, but no-one is desperate. In the area of morals, there is an ideal of peace, justice, generosity and optimism which eliminates any notion of blame or original sin in religious and metaphysical concepts. The preferred literary genre is the novel, the story, the fable and the comedy”. The opposite is:

“The northern cradle, confined to Greece and Rome, characterised by the patriarchal family – individualism, moral and material solitude, disgust for existence, and so on”.

“The progress made in technological matters in modern life and the progressive emancipation of women under the very influence of this individualism (an emancipation which has only been affirmed since the Second World War – and against the family (and society in general) are so many factors which make it difficult to make the effort necessary to recall the ancient subservient condition of the Aryan woman (pages 185 to 186 – the passages in brackets are mine).

It is therefore clear that the Negro-African woman, from “Negro-pharaonic” Egypt, via the Empires of Ghana, Mali, the Peul theocracy of Macina, to the Great Jolof and Amari Nguone Ndeela’s Kingdom of Kayoor, has always been endowed with a status of freedom, equality, responsibility and an unlimited legal capacity.

“So the Egyptian woman is presented like this in all descriptions, a fortunate citizen of a country where gender equality seems, from the beginning, to have been considered as completely natural and so profoundly embedded that the problem never even seems to have arisen”.

“It could not have been raised more rarely, we could hardly expect less from a people who had made ... Isis into mankind’s woman (mother), the attentive sister, the faithful wife, the considerate lover, etc”.

This idea of parity between the two sexes was so deeply rooted in the customs of the Nile lands that it penetrated into personal names, so that a proper noun could sometimes designate a man or a woman interchangeably.

“So Egypt was, in antiquity, the only country which gave men and women real equal status.”

“From the end of the 19th century, Révillon and Paturet, experts in Egyptian law through the demotic writings of the last centuries BC, had already drawn up the basics of the status of women on the banks of the Nile (since then, research has been carried out on preceding eras).”

“All this confirms that the Egyptian woman, legally the equal of the man, was treated on the same basis. It was the same as regards sons and daughters. The woman could acquire possessions, own them, and freely enter into contracts or obligations. She enjoyed all the same rights from birth, and marriage or motherhood made NO difference to her legal status. **Her legal status was full and complete**, as soon as she was of age, got married, etc.

In short, the “Egyptian woman was not restricted by having a guardian as the Roman woman was, and the **power of parents**, principally that of the father, was above all a **protection**.”

Regarding succession, rights were transferred in exactly the same way for women as for men. The woman was free to choose her future spouse” and “this degree of independence was so great by the end of the indigenous dynasties that, in several works, Sophocles and Euripides presented Egyptian men as “staying at home by the hearth, while their women dealt with all the affairs of the household”.

“An account was drawn up, therefore”, concludes Mme Ch.D. Noblecourt, “by Ptolemy Philipator, who pronounced his famous ‘prostagma’, overturning...the Egyptian law”. As we have seen, yesterday as today, when Africa has been hit by the destructive shocks of civilisations and other conveyors of concepts which hold back the harmonious evolution of African society, these have always come from the northern – Indo-European and Eurasian – cradle.

It is easier to understand why the rights which Islam brought to the inegalitarian eastern Semitic society in 1415 from the Hegira, although highly revolutionary for the society in question, nonetheless remained inferior to those which, 4,000 years previously, God's prophets had brought to the Negro-pharaonic Egypt, allowing them to build a society based on justice (Maat), equality and harmony between the sexes.

It is to this status, codified for more than 6,000 years in Africa, that today's women aspire, and which Africa must update for herself and the for rest of Humanity.

3. Finding a Knowledge Foundation for Africa, By Dr. Datey KUMODZEI (Ghana)

INTRODUCTION

Next year Ghana will celebrate 50 years Independence Jubilee. As at now the entire Continent of Africa has been “freed from foreign political domination. The natural expectation of the masses is that this political independence should be followed by a “golden socio-economic age”. In this golden age”, many people hope Africa will overcome its state of ignorance, superstition and confusion and reinstate its own culture, establish an independent economic order and regain her honored position among the nations of the world. But for how long can we wait for this hope to be realized? As at now, all these high hope for a better life and brighter future have been dashed. The entire Continent has been plunged into a state of deep socio-economic confusion. Ignorance, superstition, disease, squalor and death have become the lot of the once most glorious people of the earth. The Continent is torn by tribal and religious conflicts and civil wars. And sooner than could be realized the continent is socio-culturally back in the firm grips of the ex-colonial masters. Our economic development is still controlled by the Europeans.

1. STAGNATION OF THE AFRICAN MIND

Observation shows that Africa’s development has come to a complete halt over the last four hundred and fifty years. In many aspects one observes that things have remained stagnant. A common statement one hears from the custodians of our heritage is captured in an Ewe saying: “*Alea koe Tcgbawo gblidie na mi*” – which translates: “*this is how the Ancestors left it for us!*” The people seem to be doing things the way the ancestors did four hundred and fifty years ago. This stagnation is obvious if one critically observes the five core development areas of religion, music, language, symbolism-art, science and technology. This stagnation is best observed in the methods of land cultivation of the people. **SUCHILOGO** – the manifestation and expansion of human consciousness – is best reflected in these five areas, which also form the foundations of a people’s heritage. The African is not trying to develop his own heritage. The African has ignored his language, religion and philosophy, music and symbolism, describing these as primitive. He has kept his agriculture at the subsistence level. At best, he is just poorly copying the achievement of other cultures or people. **This is the African Tragedy.**

2. EDUCATION AND THE CARRIERS OF THE KNOWLEDGE SYSTEM

The search for the cause of this tragedy has revealed the following. Unlike all the Continents of the world, Africa has refused to define its own knowledge foundation upon which it can stand to develop the institutions and organs necessary for the development of its human resources. The result is that the continent depends on and uses the knowledge system of other peoples to plan and direct its development. Because we have not developed the adopted Knowledge systems we find it difficult to make any progress whenever we reach a state of impasse. We keep on returning to some beginnings and fail to make any headway in our development.

Observation has shown that it is always in the Knowledge System that are located the various methods of training the youth and the process of unearthing of the metaphysical and the mystical keys which are used to open the various doors to the mind and the soul of the seeker in order to lift him t **Adha** and **Ago** - the superconscious states which usher man into **The Hall of Knowledge**. This is the only way that the Creative Genius is born.

The birth, the progress, the survival or the destruction of many nation depend solely on whether this nation has been able to define its own Knowledge Foundation and makes effort to transmit it from generation to generation.

Because we have failed to develop the correct Knowledge Foundation and the fact that we are not using the correct methods and keys the Education System has as a result failed to produce the caliber of minds and souls, the Creative, Genius that can help carry the socio-economic development of the nations.

It can be observed that the nations that are ruling the world have always planned their educational programs on the Knowledge Foundation of their ancestors.

Our present situation need not be perpetual, other people of the world have broken through this type of stagnation with resounding positive and sustained results.

3. EUROPE'S SOLUTION TO STAGNATION OF MIND

As classically demonstrated in the case of the development of Europe, around 15th century the growth of the mind in Europe (during the medieval period) virtually came to a halt. There was stagnation everywhere. European growth and expansion began again during the Renaissance, which ushered in the renewal of Religion through the Reformation, of Music through the birth of the monody, the opera and other musical forms, and the development of language and Symbolism. This continued through the Baroque, the Rococo into the revival of the Classics and the Period of Enlightenment and the rise of the Illuminati. It was only in the Romantic and modern Era that Europe experienced an explosion in the development of Science and Technology. With the Japanese we observe similar experiences. The most modern cases can also be found in the Indian reawakening and the recent Chinese Revolution. The Chinese Cultural Revolution has now ended in the explosion and the development of science and technology. A close study of all these examples shows that *there is a link between culture and the development of science and technology and the advancement of people.*

4. WHAT IS CULTURE?

Let us define culture as the accumulated activities and the experiences of a people in a geophysical environment through time and causation. In other words culture is the totality of the Knowledge System of a people, which normally becomes the foundation upon which they stand to plan their future. In anything they do, it must be the cultural experience that determines the direction of all activities. We can finally describe *Culture as the Knowledge*

Foundation, or as *The Heritage of people*. The knowledge System of a people is normally governed by four basic factors:

Religion and Philosophy – this is what builds the *womb* in which the totality of the culture is bred. Religions and Philosophy are used to govern and direct the development of Soul and the Mind of the people.

Language is the vehicle that carries the cultural experience. It is the key to the sub-conscious mind; it is the carrier of the accumulated experiences of the people.

Music is the instrument that is used for the expansion of consciousness. It is the key that opens the gate to the soul and ushers man into the Hall of Knowledge, whence he emerged as the Creative Genius.

Symbolism and Art, reflect the group's insight into the manifestation of the

COSMIC LAW and ORDER, i.e. the law and order of creation. It is this insight that culminates into the development of Science (law) and Technology (order).

For a people to make progress, these four areas of the culture, i.e. *religion and philosophy, language, music, symbolism and art must remain indigenous yet kept constantly dynamic. It must be able to accept influences but adamantly refuse to be supplanted.*

Does the African know anything about Knowledge Foundation?

5. CULTURE – THE KNOWLEDGE FOUNDATION-AND THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION

Our ancestors knew that the culture, in other words, the Heritage or The Knowledge System of a people is the only Foundation upon which they can plan their future. This is well reflected in a teaching left by one of the Sacred Kings of the Ewe of Ghana *Togbi Sri 1*

In his last words before he died he declared:

*“The Treasure that is the beauty and pride of every nation
Is the Heritage, the knowledge-Foundation
Upon which it stands to construct its future.
It is the joy of this life that citizen
Is initiated into the laws of Creation;
And he must endeavor to live according to it
Thus can he help his nation in its development”*

It therefore goes without saying that:

By Togbi Sri 1
*Every Nation can only stand on the Knowledge
Foundation, its Heritage, to plan its progress.
If ever this Heritage is thrown away
The Nation runs the risk of being overthrown by other nations.*

6. THE AFRICAN AND HIS HERITAGE TODAY

Critical examination has shown that the African, in the adventure of adopting the Christian-European and Arabic-Islamic cultures, has thrown away his own **knowledge Foundation-his Heritage**. The African is not using his **own accumulated knowledge** for his development. He is just copying product of other people without grasping the **fundamental laws and the ordering systems of his own environment**.

This is why he cannot make any progress. He is always returning to the same beginnings.

7. EXPERIENCE OF OTHER NATIONS

Experience has shown that the Europeans made progress only after they returned to **Hellenism and the ancient Egyptian esoteric systems (Rosicrucianism, Amorc, Freemasonry and the Kabbalah)**, which they adapted to suit their own conditions. In fact, all the Greek Foundation Fathers were educated in Egypt. The U.S.A. was built on the ancient British heritage, which the Puritans, under persecution took away with the Mayflower Expedition.

The Japanese started their progress only after they returned to *Shintoism*, their ancient system. The Jews started their development long ago in the thirteenth century when they developed the *Kaballah* and formed the *Zion Congress*. The Chinese development started only after they returned to Daoism (Taoism). And the Indians only after they have renewed Vedanta. It is certain that the Asian Tigers are making steady economic progress only after they have returned to their ancient cultural systems.

8. THE AFRICAN IN THE LABYRINTH

Africa has, after the fall of Egypt and Gana, virtually, to a large extent, thrown away or neglected its indigenous knowledge system. At the advent of Euro-Christian and *Arabo Islamic* Cultures Africa has Adopted the philosophy, the secular and religious education practices and the way of life of Europe and Arabia .As at now, Ghana and the entire continent has become totally disoriented and tied to these cultures. The entire education system, secular religious, and almost all the methods and keys used by our ancestors to train and develop the human resources and lift them to the *Hall of Knowledge* have been rendered ineffective.

After a period of 200 years the bitter experience is that the European and Arabic Education systems have not been able to help Africa solve its problems of socio-economic development. The tragic result is, the African finds it difficult to rescue himself from the intellectual and spiritual attachment to Europe and Arabia. The four areas of our culture that have been sensitively disturbed, suppressed or totally destroyed in certain quarters are:

9. LANGUAGE

The African has given up the language of the Ancestors and has adopted the language of his conquerors. Language controls the totality of the experience of people. If you throw away the language of your Ancestors, you throw away with it, the totality of the experience of the race. The African therefore is cut from the *creative intelligence of his ancestors*. **GBESA, the language that is used to command and evoke life** is lost to him. He cannot communicate with his ancestors. This is how the African has been rendered totally ineffective in face of the problems posed by his environment.

10. RELIGIOUS AND PHYLOSOPHY

The African has adopted the Philosophy and Religion of Europe and Arabia and in the process has thrown away SOFIA- the Cosmic Mystery system of Religion and Science, developed by the ancestors to help him solve the problems of life. **Religion has become for him a belief and faith system instead of being a knowledge system with which he can unravel and master the laws and the mystery of the cosmos and life**. Religion has become to him the opium with which he can lessen the pressures of his everyday life and a key to escape quickly to heaven. Unlike his Ancestors, he cannot use his own Religion and philosophy to develop the creative Genius that can help him solve the problems of his environment and improve his lot.

11. MUSIC

The African has also thrown away the music-culture of his Ancestors and has adopted the Music Culture of Europe and Arabia. The adoption of alien Musical systems has untold repercussions for the intellectual and spiritual development of the African. The door to his Soul is closed and with it, his Creative Genius has become stunted. **Music is the only means for training the mind**. Music is the way along which the mind rises to reach the domain of the Soul. Music is the very Essence of the Soul. The Soul of man which is identical with Absolute Creator is known as **HAGBE=BLISSFUL ALL-KNOWING SOUND**.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY: The ancient SOFIA, i.e. *the Mystery system of Religion and Science* of Africa - has been rendered useless through the declaration, that the VODU system is barbaric and devilish and its replacement with the empirical European Science and Technology in the intellectual discipline of the African. Behind the scene, Europe is secretly using the VODU System of the African to attain the high level of Science and Technology, which the European is using to dominate the world. The VODU System is being manipulated under the *Esoteric Systems*, namely; **Resicrucianism, Freemasonry, Kabbalah** and the Grand Order and all the esoteric-orders that build the under-streams to Christianity. And under the names of Saints the Orthodox Churches (Catholic and Anglican) and Islam are using most of our ancient **VODU** System.

12. WHAT IS THE WAY OUT OF THE LABYRINTH

After all is done and everything ends in failure what must Africa do to extricate itself from this quagmire and labyrinth? There is only one way out of this situation: Africa must return to THE ETERNAL VERITIES- THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF CREATION. THESE COSMIC LAWS ARE THE FOUNDATION OF THE HU-YAHWEH SYSTEM. These laws build the *unchanging values of a constantly changing society*. This is what is known as SANKOFA- the returning to the ancient ancestors. In Europe there was a similar process of retrievance, which was referred to as Renaissance. Europe was forced to break away from the Christian thought imposed on it since the medieval period. The process was completed in the period of the Enlightenment when Europe went over the Greeks to pick the Esoteric Systems of ancient Egypt. This was the birth of the ILLUMINATI and the emergence of modern Science and Technology

13. RE-EMERGENCE OF HU-YEHWEH-THE KNOWLEDGE FOUNDATION OF EGYPT AND GHANA

The Hu- Yehweh Knowledge System will be visited under the following points:

The Hu-Yehweh or Thotho Cosmology and the evolution of MANU

The Hu Yehweh *Suchi logo* –Psychology and the evolution of *Languga* – language.

The Thotho Cosmology and the evolution of Language.

Hu- Yehweh Evolution of SE and RANU (Science and Technology).

The Development of the Muses:

Music

Languga- Language

Symbolism and Art

Hu Yehweh Mythological System.

The EFA (Ifa, Fa and Afa) System

The word mythology derives from *muto – logo*. The souls tales of its experience of the law and mystery behind creation.

The 4096 EFA-DU (Efa Ese) Efa myths contain the various Fundamental

Laws that govern the universe and life.

Hu-Yehweh Suku

The systems of Enlightening the mind.

The Six-Hermitic Suku-Education Systems.

Sofia- The mystery System of Religion and Science

Vodu Da – The Mystery of the human soul.

Agbo-The Mystery of Nature

Efa-The school of psychology

Troxovi-Women Education System

Trɔ –Vodu-The science and technology System

Fiazi-The chieftaincy and the politics-organizational system

Hu-yehweh health care system
Hu-yehweh System of Agriculture Hu-yehweh and womanhood
Hu yehweh and the youth.

14. THE HU-YEHWEH KNOWLEDGE SYSTEM: A PROFILE

What is HU-YEHWEH?

Hu- Yehweh is an ancient, universal, mystical and philosophical Knowledge System. That was revealed to **HAMU**, otherwise known as (Amu), the first human race, in Prehistoric times on the continent of Mu, through Hu-Manu (or Lord Manu). It was revealed in *Adagana*, the mythical language of the first race. The Knowledge was brought out from Mu by the NAGA before the destruction of Mu 13000 years ago Naga was the name of the selected group of the Hamu who were charged to carry the Hu Yehweh Knowledge System to the other Lands. The Naga later became known as GANA – the founders of the ancient civilization of **Gana**. It was the exodus of the Naga from Mu that was recorded by the Jews with a twist in the story of Noah and the Ark.

When the Naga and the related groups moved to other regions of the world, they carried along the Hu-Yehweh system and its mythical language, “Adagana”, with them. Today, the Hu-Yehweh system appears translated, under different names and in varied forms among the different peoples of the world. However, the fundamental teachings have remained the same, often retaining the original Adagana expressions or slightly varying them.

15. HU-YEHWEH IN RETROSPECT

Though it has been in existence for well over 200 000 years and has inspired and influenced many a civilization, it is now found mainly among the Ga-Adamgbe and Akan, Dagbon and the Ewe living in Ghana, Togo, Benin and the (Aja), the Yoruba, Igbo, the Jukun and the Ijaw in Nigeria. Hu-Yehweh seems to have been the central mystical philosophical source from which most of the cultures of antiquity took their origins or by which they were inspired. It has been demonstrated that the Greek and Druidic cultures were built on the Hu-Yehweh mysteries. Until today, the Nation of Israel stands firmly on Hu-Yehweh. Hu-Islam has derived its source from the Hu-Yehweh mysteries. Dao-Mu of China (Taoism), Shintoism of Japan and Vedanta of Indian, all derived their source from Hu-Yehweh. All indications show that the Egyptian and the GANA civilization were built on the Hu-Yehweh Knowledge System. In Egypt, the Nagas were known as Amu (Ammonians or Ammonites; see Herodotus). It was when Hu-Yehweh custodians, the Amu (Naga or Gana) moved out of Egypt and Gana, that these civilizations went into oblivion.

The Hu-Yehweh Knowledge System Today

The Hu-Yehweh Knowledge System is made up of six components illustrated by the six-pointed star (see diagram). These basic components are control by the mystical language system **Adagana**.

The Adagana key contains the hidden meaning of current languages of the related people (Akan, Ewe, Ga-Adamgbe, Yuroba, Igbo etc). Without the Adagana key that holds the hidden meaning of our languages, it is almost impossible to use these languages to train and tune the mind to manifest its creative genius. Without Adagana the mind cannot perceive the innate gifts of the Supreme Deity. The Knowledge foundation tells us; it is only when the language, Philosophy, Religion and Music of a people function properly that Science and Technology is given a chance to flourish among the people. Africa's inability to develop Science and Technology is due to the fact that we have neglected these four vital areas of our Knowledge Foundation.

16. HU-YEHWEH KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS AND THE SEVEN HERMETIC SUKU-SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION

The **Hu-Yehweh** Knowledge system and practice is divided into seven philosophic and cultic schools and each of these schools is meant to help man to orientate himself at various stages of no evolution. These seven hermetic schools are as follows: (see diagram).

FIAZI – Chieftaincy and the Stool. This is the teaching center and the concentration point of society. It is the system into which the JANU, i.e. the political leaders and organizers of society are initiated and educated into politics and the intricacies of state organization

TRƆ-VODU- This is the school which deals with **BOKƆ**, the beings who control Bo, i.e. nature and **BOSEAWO** – the metaphysical and physical laws. These beings are created to protect man and help him discover how to deal with himself and his environment. These gods also serve as intermediaries between man and Vodou-Da. Man's life begins to reveal himself to him. This is why these beings are called

NUTRƆWO or simply **TRƆWO** (transformers). These beings also teach Science and Technology to help human beings solve problems of earth; and in this way are called **VODU**, i.e. Problem Solving Institution. The school is therefore called **TRƆ-VODU**. The **TrƆ Vodou** builds the Science and Technological System of Hu-Yehweh. Africa's creative genius is not functioning, because we have either thrown this system away or cannot operate it well.

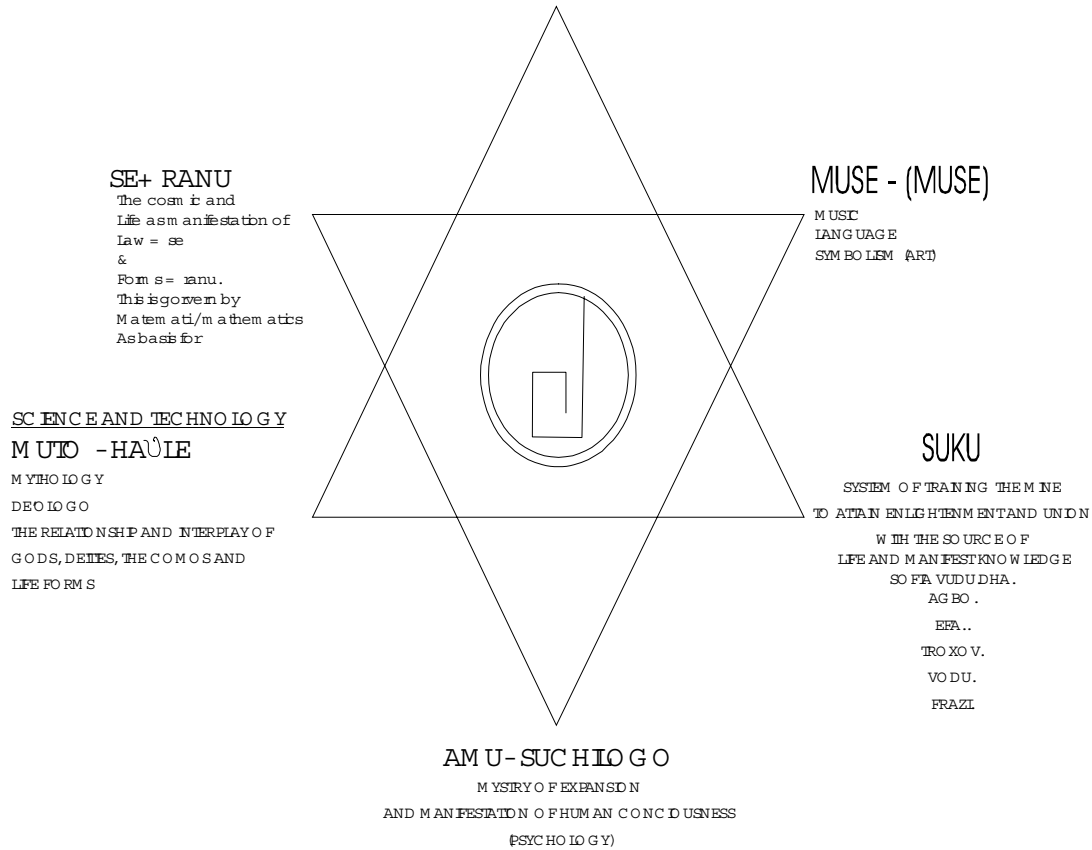
TRƆXOVI – This is the clan organization center. It is centered on the **DZOKPLEANYIAWO**, the metaphysical governors of the earth and **AGBEDZIMAWUAWO**, the Creator Deities of life who serve as the presiding deities of the clans. These are different deities that build the moral and ethical foundations upon which the ethnic groups stand to plan their future. Mostly, it is around these **TrƆxovi** that education for woman is organized.

THE HU- YEHWEH KNOWLEDGE SYSTEM

SOFIA

COSMIC KNOWLEDGE

MYSTICAL METAPHYSICAL FOUNDATION OF COSMOS & LIFE



THE HUMANU SUMOBOLO (SYMBOL) OF CIVILIZATION

17. THE EDUCATION OF WOMAN BECOMES THE PRIME FACTOR IN ALL HU-YEHWEH SOCIETIES

EFA- According to the **Hu** priests, the human mind is a lake of vibration and sound and is therefore always in one of the two following states: 1) **CHITA** is the mind when it is full of thoughts and therefore very wavy; 2) when the mind through discipline and absolute self-control becomes calm and serene like a lake or a candle in a windless room, called **EFA**.

In the **Efa** state the mind is like a mirror and it is able to expand and unite itself with the mystery of God and creation. Efa-system is therefore **SUCHILOGO**, i.e the psychological school of Hu-Yehweh. This school divides the human mind into 16x16x16 **Efa-Du**, i.e cosmic states or categories. Each of these categories opens a door into specific cosmic realm, controlled by specific metaphysical laws of vibration, rhythm and movement, which create light and colour, sound, music and words. Each category is governed by beings called *devi* or *deti*, referred to by other religions as angels. Everybody belongs to and is therefore controlled by the factors and laws of one of these cosmic categories.

If through proper discipline and self-control one masters the factors laws of his **Efa- Du** that person's mind becomes automatically purified, serene and focused. **Efa**, the controlled mind, joins itself automatically with the creator and can in this union reveal the mystery of all things in creation. This is the birth of the *Creative Genius*.

AGBO-This is the school which teaches knowledge concerning, and the worship of **DAWO (DAO)-** the embodiment of **Vodu-Dha** in nature. The whole of nature is treated as Divine! Plants, animal rivers, lakes, mountains, the ocean, fire etc are known to embody the spirit of **Vodu Dha** and are therefore venerated through certain magical sounds and musical rituals. In this way, man tries to bring himself in tune, rhythm and harmony with nature and nature rewards him with abundant yield and obeys his commands.

VODU-DHA: This is the school that teaches and deals with **Dha- Loso**, the embodiment of God in man. Because man is involved in sensual experiences, bound by the world of the senses **CHITA-** the mind is covered by **AHE-** layers of ignorance that create darkness in chita. Because of this darkness, **Dha Losu**, the God in him, has fallen into a slumber. The moment somebody reaches the end of his worldly experiences and turns away from the senses and the objectives world, his **Dha-losu** awakens and seeks to re-unite with **Vodu-Dha**, the creator Godhead. In the **Vodu-Dha** school the candidate is helped with scientific methods and disciplines to achieve this union. When this **Vodu-Dha-Losu** state (i.e. the cosmic union between the human and **Vodu-Dha**) is finally attained, the soul experiences the unity of all creation and the bliss of self- Knowledge.

After this experience the soul is ready for **AGO**, the ultimate stage in evolution. In **AGO**, the soul merges itself in **HAT** (Hathor), the ocean of music, Knowledge, bliss and immortality and Eternal peace.

SOFIA: This is the cultic school in which the Ago-candidate is initiated and trained for the final union of the soul in **HAT**, the ocean of music and bliss. After this ultimate mystic union, the soul experiences what the priests call **HAMONI**, oneness with the whole of

existence. In this state man becomes the embodiment of absolute Knowledge, peace and BLISSA-bliss and immortality. Man is again *SOGBELISSA*- Absolute source and cause of all Existence.

As mentioned before, these seven schools comprise the Knowledge system of *HU-YEHWEH*. It was the schooling system into which the ripe candidate was initiated to receive his total education. When he finally emerges from *HAT* with the “Ego of Knowledge” he is *HUMANU*-the civilized man. These Humenu (Pl.) are the only souls who are true leaders, teachers of and servants of mankind.

According to the priests, the universal and cosmic laws and teachings of *HU* were revealed as song to *Hunua-Manu* (abridged *HUMANU*) in prehistoric times in *Mu*, the original homeland of mankind. The Creator taught these songs to initiates through all the generations of mankind. They are preserved till today. The initiated are not allowed to use them. If they do, they are punished. These songs are taught to the initiates in mysterious ways by the deities from generation to generation.

18. HU-YEHWEH TEACHINGS

Hu-Yehewh teachings explain the universal principles and laws that govern the whole of existence. The teachings place HAMU or MANU – the human being, at its center and explain in the minutest detail the cosmic process, i.e. how HAGBE – the Absolute Source and Cause reveals, manifests, modifies and transforms itself to become AGBE – Cosmos, the life forms and Hamugbet® – human being.

Hu-Yehweh teachings encompass the knowledge about EFA-MEJI, that is, the 16 principles and powers, that play together to create the cosmos and life and how they are controlled. In short, the Hu-Yehweh teachings are about the mechanisms and laws (Yehweh) and the mysteries (Hu) behind life.

19. SOLUTIONS OF LIFE'S PROBLEMS

In its approach to the solutions of the problems of life, Hu-Yehweh asserts that *religion and science are one*. Science is just the discovery of the laws (se) of creation; Technology is the insight into the mechanisms (ranu) of creation; Hu-Yehweh asserts that one can only attain real knowledge through the door of inner culture and spiritual insight. Hu-Yehweh has therefore created SOFIA, knowledge about the Creator and Creation, as a Mystery System of Religion and Science.

11.

Sofia prepares seekers to discover the laws (se), mechanisms (ranu) and mystery (Logo) of anything in the universe, in order to establish them as VODU, i.e. a system for solving problems of life. Hu-Yehweh (sofia) has therefore created the VODU System – various problem-solving institutions – to facilitate the solutions of all problems of life.

Vodu is therefore a scientific and technological institution that deals with an aspect of the cosmic law and mechanism. The teaching of Hu-Yehweh corresponds exactly with and goes beyond the discoveries of modern science. In fact, as Geoffrey Parrinder rightly says: "EFA (another name for Hu-Yehweh) contains knowledge that is far beyond the reach of modern science."

20. EDUCATION

The purpose of education must be to produce the generative and creative mind that is capable of discovering and understanding the laws and mechanisms of life. Having achieved this, the educated mind should be able to use this knowledge to solve the problems of society. Hu-Yehweh, by its methods trains the mind in the fundamental verities of life in order to cope intelligently with any emergency that might arise.

The reasoning and discerning inner faculties become so organized by certain specific inner training that they are able to seek, discover and understand the laws and mechanisms of things. This knowledge is what the student uses to find solutions to problems that may arise.

21. ESCHATOLOGY

In its eschatology, Hu-Yehweh declares that Manu is Hamugbeto, i.e. he is the embodiment of Absolute knowledge, Bliss, Eternal Peace and Immortality. He embodies all the mysteries, the principles and the powers of existence. But in his pursuit of earthly pleasures, he forgot his all-knowing, blissful and eternal nature. Sofia teaches that when Manu conquers desire and the mind becomes peaceful, he experiences HADE (wo), i.e. the various levels of cosmic states of knowing and bliss. Finally, he attains HAMONI – a state in which he realizes that he is SOLO (soul) – the mysterious being sitting in the heart of everything in existence. In this state of Self-realization and Hamoni he can say: "AMUZU" –i.e. "My soul is one with Sogbelissa." He has become DZIDAKOKO, the soul who is born free. The destructive and annihilation forces of nature. He becomes ADAMU- the one who can enjoy the fruits of nature and can never be touched by any impurity. As Solo, he can never die or be born again. He lives on and serves as HUNUA, i.e. the pillar of love, knowledge; hope inspiration and redemption for all mankind.

22. HU-YEHWEH COSMOLOGY

Hu-Yehweh cosmology teaches that there is an absolute Source and Cause, named **SOGBELISSA**, behind and immanent in the cosmos and life. Sogbelissa comprises both male and female principles of the cosmos.

SO-HALA is the all-blissful male, who is **LOGO**, the source of all mysteries, and **NYALA**, the all-knowing. **SO-HALA** is also **ZUBA**, the bedrock of all being and **ZUTO**, the ocean of being. **So-Hala** is **SALA** or **SATI**, the eternal and immortal source from which all creation

flows and to which it returns and he is **DEGA**, the eternal embodiment and source of all Law and Order. Finally **So-Hala** is **HATO-PANI**, the eternal Ocean of Knowledge, Bliss, Truth and Purity.

The female principle is **TeGBE-Helu**, the Eternal Sound Reality. She is **CHITI**, (**KYITI**), the source of all consciousness and **CHINA**, the giver of consciousness. **Te-GBE-Helu** is **MATI**, (also as **MAMA**, **MAYA**) the great Mother who has emanated and divided herself to become everything in Creation – cosmos and life. **TeGBE-Helu** is **KRITI**; the Creatrix behind the universe who with her creative, power **Gana** controls the rhythm of the divine cosmic drama, **awle**. She is **MAMA-ADONA** (simple **MADONA**), the all benevolent, the all-enduring Mother.

Sogbelissa, i.e. both the male and the female, is therefore known as **Hawle – Kriti – Hawleto-Hawleno** – the Creatrix, the Mother and Father of the divine cosmic drama. At other times Sogbelissa is **Hawle-Kyiti-Hawleto – Hawleno**. The Consciousness, Father and Mother of the blissful Divine Drama. Both principles are also known as **SACHITI** (pron. **Sakyiti**), (from the male **Sati** and the female **Chiti**), the blissful eternal and immortal one that is the consciousness and the life force behind creation.

The creative essence of the male, **SO** (sati) is **HALA**, knowingness and Bliss; whilst the creative force of the female, **Tegbe-Helu** is **GBE** – the Sound Reality and **CHI** – Consciousness. (**CHIOGBE**)

23. THE CREATION PROCESS

SO-Hala and **TeGBE-Helu** i.e. Sogbelissa has decided to create the cosmos and life, **AGBE**. When the two come together in mystic coetus, **SO** unites his blissful divine creative essence, **HA** with **CHI**, the all-consciousness of **TeGBE-Helu** into a state known as **HA-CHI**, (pron. Hashe) a state of knowingness and bliss. Through this **Hashi TeGBE-Helu** becomes pregnant with **HAGBE** – blissful sound and light.

Hagbe is the Divine Blissful All-Conscious Essence, which has emanated and revealed itself to become the Cosmos and Life. And in **KPOGO**, the cosmic womb of **TeGBE-Helu**, **Hagbe** is one with the mother. And **Hagbe** is **LOGO**, an unfathomable, undifferentiated mystery.

At the beginning of creation there is the **HU**-sound. This is the primordial sound through which Hagbe is born as **LOGOSU**, i.e. as the fathomable, the knowable and differentiated cosmos and life. (At this stage Sogbelissa is known as **HALAHU**, (alahu) or **HUDZENGO**).

The evolution of Cosmos and the Creation of Manu – Human Being

HU-SOFIA – the Hu-Philosophy teaches: **HAGBEE ZU AGBE KPLE HAMUGBETO**-Hagbe reveals and manifests itself as cosmos, life and human being. The Hu-philosophers describe five regions of creation:

24. HO, THE FIRST STAGE OF CREATION

At the first stage of creation, known as HO, Hagbe reveals itself as DA-KRISO, whose body is MINANA. And Da-Kriso is a three-headed being, this is the cosmic trinity, known as HATOE, (Aty).

The first head is called VODU-DA or KRISO-RE. To him is given the power to divide himself and create the universe and life. Voduda is therefore DZOGBETI, the creative tree and *FOFOLI*, the umbilical cord to Sogbelissa. The various aspects of Creation are the various aspects of Vodou-Da.

The second head is called SOVI-AGBADE or (VI) SHITO, to him is given the power to preserve and protect creation and life; it is to whom we run for protection when life is threatened.

The third head is called SOVI-AGBEKU or ZAKADZA or SHIVA, to him is given the power to control life and death.

MINANA is TULA, the cosmic substance, which is modified to build all things in the cosmos and life.

And in Ho, Vodou-Da reveals itself as HO-SE, as the total system of Law and Orderliness. And Ho is VODU (from vovodu) a state in which the Soul is free from all the limitations of embodied life. A state in which the Soul experiences Self Knowledge and Bliss. Out of Minana and Hose life is manifested as Se and De, i.e. as Law and Form.

25. HI, THE SECOND STAGE OF CREATION – COSMOS AS LIGHT AND SOUND

In the HI-state, Vodou-Da manifests himself as XEBIESO, the controller of light and sound and modifies Minana into 256 x 16 LI, i.e. light – colour and sound spectrums. This is known as HAMA, the light and colour spectrums out of which the whole of nature, AMA, is made.

This Hama builds the foundation of BO, the principle of life in the embodied form. It is at this stage, that BOSE, i.e. all the laws that control life in the embodied forms are established. Out of this Hama are created the 256 ELOHIMU, i.e. the light and sound roots of all objects in the cosmos and their controlling BOKOWO, (the archangels), who are the creators of Bo – life. These Elohimu and Bokowo are together known as Deyegbe (awo, pl.).

26. LIFE: THE THIRD STAGE OF CREATION (EFE; EWE, IFE YORUBA); EVOLUTIONS OF LIFE FORMS

In LIFE, Vodou-Da commands LI, the light-colour spectrums, to play (fe) with itself. And out of this play are created first the Creative Play Patterns, the Arche-types of all things in the objective universe. These Play Patterns are known as KRIYA – LAYAS. And Vodou-Da

manifests itself as DEVI or DETI, i.e. as the embodiment of the laws and as the governors of these Kriya-Layas. These Kriya Layas and the controlling Devi (Deti) are together known as DEGBE (awo, pl.). This LIFE builds; so to say, the metaphysical sources whence all things in the universe are born.

27. H \mathcal{E} , THE FOURTH STAGE OF CREATION – CREATION OF SPACE

In H \mathcal{E} , Vodou-Da manifests himself as RAMU, (popularly known as RA), the controller of the mind and the objective universe. Then he modifies Minana to become HAKASHA, (Akasha) i.e. the material-base of the mental and the physical cosmos. H \mathcal{E} builds the sound and light space which serves as the playroom for all embodied life. Out of H \mathcal{E} is created the mind of the universe and the mind of all living beings. This H γ Region is ruled by RAMU as the controller of SUNU – the central sun and the objective cosmos. RAMU or for short RA is worshiped among the Ewe as T \circ gbi Nyigbla.

28. H \clubsuit , THE FIFTH STAGE OF CREATION – THE EMBODIED STATE

H \circ is the stage of embodied life, in H \circ Vodou-Da manifests himself as the mental and physical cosmos, as well as the mind and body of all the life species. In this H \circ Vodou-Da modifies Hakasha (Minana) to create first YEKU, the mysterious light-seeds, out of which are built HATOMU – the atoms, which form BODI, i.e. the various bodies of the life species. And Vodou-Da embodies itself in these to create BOTANI, i.e. life as intelligent embodied beings. It is this mental physical cosmos and mind and body of the living beings, that is known as TORA or Yeve (Yehweh, f. and Yahweh, m) or AHETO.

29. THE CREATION OF MANU – THE HUMAN BEING

According to the Hu teachings, embodied life begins in the ocean, first as Hamueba (amoeba or ameba), which means the Human being (Hamu) is coming (ba). Hu-Yehweh declares that all embodied life forms evolved from Hamueba (amoeba). The evolution of intelligence and the expansion of consciousness (SUCHI) and the development of finer bodies through the species, reached its peak in TAKPE – the dolphin. The Dolphin embodies, so to say the totality (blibo) of the consciousness (chi) of nature (bo). This is why it is called CHICHIBLIBO, (simply called chichibli). Out of the dolphin comes HAMU or MANU, the Human Being. In Hamu (Manu), the evolution of intelligence and body has reached perfection. The Mother Goddess calls the Human Being therefore HAMUGBET \circ (for short Hamu) or MUNU. This shows that the human being embodies Vodou-Da, the creator, So-Hala, the all-knowing mysterious and blissful Source, TeGBE-Helu, the all controlling Mother and MU, the totality of all cosmic manifestations and experiences. He is also called Manu (from Munu) because he is the embodiment of all things (nu) in existence. And the soul of Hamu or Manu, the human being is called DA-LOSO or SOLO.

30. CREATION OF MALE AND FEMALE

TeGBE-Helu, who is HAWLEKRITI, the Creatrix of the blissful cosmic drama, made Manu as male and female; and she made them equal but different. In the male, TeGBE-Helu embodies the blissful creative Essence, Hala and made him Bosu, the creator of life and gave him Bolo, the generator of the mystery of life. In the female, Mama Tegbe embodies Helu, her all encompassing creative forces and made her Kriti, the creatrix of life. She gave her Kolo (from K^olo), the womb – i.e. the fabricator of the mystery (lo) of nature (k^o) – and commanded her: “Wo-manu! = Make man! And woman is the creator of man.

31. HU-YEHWEH TEACHINGS

Hu-Yehewh teachings explain the universal principles and laws that govern the whole of existence. The teachings place HAMU or MANU – the human being, at its center and explain in the minutest detail the cosmic process, i.e. how HAGBE – the Absolute Source and Cause reveals, manifests, modifies and transforms itself to become AGBE – Cosmos, the life forms and Hamugbet^o – human being.

Hu-Yehweh teachings encompass the knowledge about EFA-MEJI, that is, the 16 principles and powers, that play together to create the cosmos and life and how they are controlled. In short, the Hu-Yehweh teachings are about the mechanisms and laws (Yehweh) and the mysteries (Hu) behind life.

32. SOLUTIONS OF LIFE’S PROBLEMS

In its approach to the solutions of the problems of life, Hu-Yehweh asserts that *religion and science are one*. Science is just the discovery of the laws (se) of creation; Technology is the insight into the mechanisms (ranu) of creation; Hu-Yehweh asserts that one can only attain real knowledge through the door of inner culture and spiritual insight. Hu-Yehweh has therefore created SOFIA, knowledge about the Creator and Creation, as a Mystery System of Religion and Science.

Sofia prepares seekers to discover the laws (se), mechanisms (ranu) and mystery (Logo) of anything in the universe, in order to establish them as VODU, i.e. a system for solving problems of life. Hu-Yehweh (Sofia) has therefore created the VODU System – various problem-solving institutions – to facilitate the solutions of all problems of life.

Vodu is therefore a scientific and technological institution that deals with an aspect of the cosmic law and mechanism. The teaching of Hu-Yehweh corresponds exactly with and goes beyond the discoveries of modern science. In fact, as Geoffrey Parrinder rightly says: “EFA (another name for Hu-Yehweh) contains knowledge that is far beyond the reach of modern science.”

33. EDUCATION

The purpose of education must be to produce the generative and creative mind that is capable of discovering and understanding the laws and mechanisms of life. Having achieved this, the educated mind should be able to use this knowledge to solve the problems of society. Hu-Yehweh, by its methods trains the mind in the fundamental verities of life in order to cope intelligently with any emergency that might arise.

The reasoning and discerning inner faculties become so organized by certain specific inner training that they are able to seek, discover and understand the laws and mechanisms of things. This knowledge is what the student uses to find solutions to problems that may arise.

34. ESCHATOLOGY

In its eschatology, Hu-Yehweh declares that Manu is Hamugbeto, i.e. he is the embodiment of Absolute knowledge, Bliss, Eternal Peace and Immortality. He embodies all the mysteries, the principles and the powers of existence. But in his pursuit of earthly pleasures, he forgot his all-knowing, blissful and eternal nature. Sofia teaches that when Manu conquers desire and the mind becomes peaceful, he experiences HADE (wo), i.e. the various levels of cosmic states of knowing and bliss. Finally, he attains HAMONI – a state in which he realizes that he is SOLO (soul) – the mysterious being sitting in the heart of everything in existence. In this state of Self-realization and Hamoni he can say: “AMUZU” –i.e. “My soul is one with Sogbelissa.” He has become DZIDAKOKO, the soul who is born free. The destructive and annihilation forces of nature. He becomes ADAMU- the one who can enjoy the fruits of nature and can never be touched by any impurity. As Solo, he can never die or be born again. He lives on and serves as HUNUA, i.e. the pillar of love, knowledge; hope inspiration and redemption for all mankind.

It was from among these perfect and disciplined souls that the rulers, leaders and priest were selected for public offices. This is the birth of HUBONO the mystiker mathematician who can command and manipulate the laws and mechanism of creation. So is the creative genius born.

Supplementary communication

Place and role of education in transmitting experience and developing the capacities of African societies, by the Dean of the Participants, Mrs. Sira DIOP (Mali)

To my mind, the word “education” has often been used to refer only to the “instruction” given in school or university, to the highest degree. In the “transmitting experience and developing the capacities of African societies”, I give education “a place and a role” which is much broader, especially within the context of intergenerational dialogue which has brought us here today. I consider education in its non-formal dimension, which I am implementing in Bamako in my “Comité malien de la Fondation Femmes d’Afrique et culture mémorial de Rufisque” (FAC-MR). FAC-MR is a non-profit regional NGO that brings together nine (9) countries, namely Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Côte d’Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo.

Established in 1992 by the former students of “Ecole Normale de Rufisque” (1938-1956), its key objective is to preserve the collective memory, and transmit to rising generations the importance of education and culture for self-realization, as well as increase their contribution to the country’s socio-economic development. This type of education gives them information on their ancestors and past eras, so that they can know themselves better and find a place for themselves in their quest for a better future.

In fact, we work in Mali with a group of more than 200 youths and children aged 2 to 24 years and above, in intergenerational synergy from grandmothers to grandchildren. In a completely informal setting, the friends of the Foundation “Fans Club” have learnt many things through practical work (knitting, sewing, oil painting, planting of trees, organizations of musical concerts and football matches, and making of bamboo stands and nylon ropes). Supervised by instructors and a young jobless socio-cultural teacher who, as a result of our experience, has undergone practical and pre-employment training of one year, the friends of the Foundation readily discuss all problems that they face, either “with their big and small brothers and sisters”, or with their “aunts” and “grandmothers”. This education in discussion and self-expression is acquired during their leisure time, with flexible activities and depending on their interests. We do not have any fixed programmes, or specified training periods in “cycles” or “classes” leading to any academic diploma or certificate.

However, the “fans” have learnt to work with their hands (they even sell their handicraft for their own benefit) and their brains (they think and express themselves) so as to better adapt to the environment. They come to us from all horizons, literate or illiterate, with or without schooling, young workers or youths looking for jobs.

It is the lack of funding that prevents us from extending this type of education, which is no longer “an experimental project”, but an “innovation”, to integrate young generations into working life through very fruitful intergenerational contacts.

We strongly call on the officials of the Sahel and West Africa Club/OECD to come visit us in Bamako, and see the realities and benefits of intergenerational dialogue, which FAC-MR has implemented in concrete terms in Mali.

Our Malian Committee of the FAC-MR has also, within the framework of intergenerational dialogue, written a reference book of more than 1000 pages, on “Women’s Associations in Mali from the colonial era to our days”. This book has turned out to be very useful to students, researchers and development partners seeking documentation on the promotion of women in Mali and the West African sub-region.
