



IN AFRICA
AS ELSEWHERE,
THERE IS NO DEMOCRACY
WITHOUT CHANGES
OF POWER!



TOURNONS LA PAGE

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The report and the recommendations it includes are the result of a large consensus among the organisations participating in the “Turn the page!” campaign. However, each organization, with its own perspective and its style, would have probably described the context in a slightly different way.

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SUMMARY

The world is used to seeing Africa as an indistinct space populated by passive communities that are there to be saved, or to be exploited. All African countries have long harboured firm democratic aspirations, muted by the repressed demonstrations in Togo in 2005, the Cameroon in 2008, and Uganda in 2011. In the wake of successful democratic movements in Senegal (2012), Burkina Faso (2014), and the Democratic Republic of Congo (January 2015), the world has sit up and take notice: **the people of Africa want to turn the page on authoritarian regimes, and control their own destiny.**

88% of people in Togo and 87% of people in Gabon have lived their lives with a single family in power... And yet they do not live in a monarchy! While many Africans suffer under dynasty rule, it is not a cultural issue as the dictators would have you believe. Rather, these are political systems designed to monopolize power and wealth. In these systems, which benefit rulers and their supporters together with foreign States and investors, **the people of the country are held hostage, and their freedom should be everyone's concern.**

While military coups are now unanimously condemned by the international community, Africa is also victim to some of them in all but name. **When a regime holds on to power in contempt of constitutional changes of government, it is committing a very real *coup d'état* against the State institutions, actions that should be recognised and sanctioned as such.**

Claiming to spread democracy to authoritarian regimes through friendly pressure from abroad is, at best, an illusion. Because democracy must be won through strife. Something that civil society all over Sub-Saharan Africa have understood, demonstrating, sometimes with their lives on the line, an irrepressible thirst for freedom. These are the democrats that we must support, in Africa and Europe alike.

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OVERCOMING SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES THROUGH DEMOCRACY¹



MICHAEL ZIMSTEIN / AGENCE VU

Internationally, there are three dominant media discourses on Sub-Saharan Africa. It is painted alternatively as the international economy's stored potential for growth and raw materials, a region responsible for a less stable world, or the sacrificial victim of all of humanity's ills.

Africa is an opportunity to get rich, a continent that needs to be protected, or one awaiting a saviour. Within this triptych there is not a glimpse of the people. Where are their aspirations, political differences, interests, projects, and dreams? Where is that which makes each country unique? They are never mentioned.

Encouraged by the expansive democratic movement which dismissed A. Wade in Senegal in 2012, the revolution in Burkina Faso produced, in late October 2014, a biting rebuttal of these hackneyed perceptions. On 15 October 2014, 27 years after the assassination of Thomas Sankara and Blaise Compaoré's military coup, scores of intellectuals, artists, and charities throughout Africa and Europe issued the call to action to "Turn the page!", and felt history in the making. They wanted to lend their support to

all those, and in particular young people, who rose in Burkina Faso and elsewhere to take control of their destiny. In January 2015, Joseph Kabila was forced to curtail his delaying tactics to retain his grasp on power when faced with the mobilisation of the Congolese youth. What is the moral of this story?

That there is a universal desire for democracy and the rule of law, one that cannot be extinguished.

The world has grown used to African countries being ruled with an iron fist by the same ruler or their descendants for half a century. Some see this as a guarantee of stability, which is needed to do business, or as a cultural peculiarity, with the need for strong leaders being characteristic of "African democracy". But this was to overlook the social and political movements that sprung up all over the continent to stand against the confiscation of power and wealth. Who remembers that in 2005, over 500 Togolese citizens lost their lives protesting against the dynastic succession of the

Presidential election in the Côte d'Ivoire.

¹ This introductory text is largely inspired by an article by Jean Merckaert and Marc Ona, "Afrique: la démocratie ou le chaos (Africa: Democracy or Chaos)", *Altermondes*, December 2014.

Gnassingbé family, or that 139 Cameroonians died in February 2008 when disputing the constitutional amendment that let Paul Biya stay in power for life? These regimes, like those in Cuba, North Korea, and Central Asia, are nothing more than anachronisms. And that is how they appear to the people of Africa: more than half of all people in Togo, Gabon, Chad, the Congo, Burundi, Uganda, Angola, Zimbabwe, and the Cameroon have never seen power leave the hands of a single man or family!






Democracy is not exported, it is won. Who overthrew Compaoré’s dictatorship? It certainly was not Western intervention. Rather, it was one million demonstrators, mostly young people with no partisan affiliation, who wanted to clean up the highest office with a “Balai citoyen” (meaning, “citizen brush”). This vast mobilisation was galvanised by musicians of the moment, as well as by longstanding organisations such as the Democratic Youth Organisation. They were young people fully aware of their responsibility, young people who set about cleaning up the city the morning after the Revolution. In January 2015, who forced Joseph Kabila to stand down following his attempts to suspend the election scheduled for 2016 pending a census that would have conveniently pushed it back a few years? Once again, and as always, it was the



people. And they paid the price in blood (43 dead in Kinshasa and more around the country) and suffered from repression that continues to this day.



The Constitution is not a plaything. The fundamental charter governing a country is not set in stone, but it is what guarantees the stability of its institutions and protects the people from abuses of power. Any changes must stem from the will of the people. In Burkina Faso, the amendment that Compaoré wanted to make to Article 37 had no purpose other than to extend his reign. By saying no to the constitutional coup, the people of Senegal and Burkina Faso sent a clear signal to all of those who seek to retain power in contempt of the constitution (or, in the case of Togo, the Global Political Agreement signed in 2006). In Kinshasa, the Congolese people confirmed loud and clear that the attempts to circumvent the changes of power stipulated in the constitution were no longer acceptable. They are also inviting those already guilty of constitutional coups – in Cameroon, Gabon, Djibouti, Uganda, Equatorial Guinea, and Chad – to return to the earlier texts that placed limits on terms in office. It is now up to the African Union and the international community to make this practice, banned by the African Charter on Democracy, a line which must not be crossed.

2012-2017: SIX DECISIVE YEARS

MORE THAN HALF OF ALL COUNTRIES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA WILL ELECT THEIR PRESIDENT BETWEEN 2015 AND 2017.

-  OBSERVED OR PREDICTED FARICAL ELECTIONS (UNLIMITED TERMS IN OFFICE)
-  POWER CHANGES HANDS AS PER CONSTITUTION
-  CITIZEN MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE OF POWER
-  RISK OF "CONSTITUTIONAL COUP"
-  UNCERTAINTY ON DATE OF POLLS

-  **APRIL: ALGERIA**
Bouteflika re-elected for fourth term with 81.5% of vote.
-  **JUNE: MAURITANIA**
Mohamed Ould Abdelaziz re-elected with 81.9% following a sham election boycotted by the opposition.


-  **NOVEMBER: NAMIBIA**
Hifikepunye Pohamba left office after two terms, in line with the constitution. He was succeeded by Hage Geingob, his Prime Minister.
-  **15 APRIL: TOGO**
Faure Gnassingbé ran despite the Global Political Agreement (GPA) signed in 2006 that limits the number of terms in office.

2012

2013

2014


2015

 **FEBRUARY: SENEGAL**
After completing two terms, Abdoulaye Wade loses to Macky Sall in the presidential elections. By standing for a third term, which many deemed anti-constitutional, he faced widespread activism from organised social movements such as “Y'en a marre” and M23.

AUGUST: MALI
Snap election to resolve conflict, Ibrahim Boubacar Keita elected with 77.6% of vote.

DECEMBER: MADAGASCAR
Hery Rajaonarimampianina elected with 53.5%.

  **OCTOBER: BURKINA FASO**
After 27 years in power, Blaise Compaoré is hounded out of office by popular pressure. A civil transition is triggered.

 **OCTOBER: MOZAMBIQUE**
Tempted to ignore the limited terms in office, Armando Guebuza finally gave up power, although he was succeeded by Filipe Nyusi from the same party (FRELIMO).

 **13 APRIL: SUDAN**
Omar el-Béchir, in power since 1989, stands for reelection.

28 MARCH: NIGERIA
Goodluck Jonathan stands for a second term.

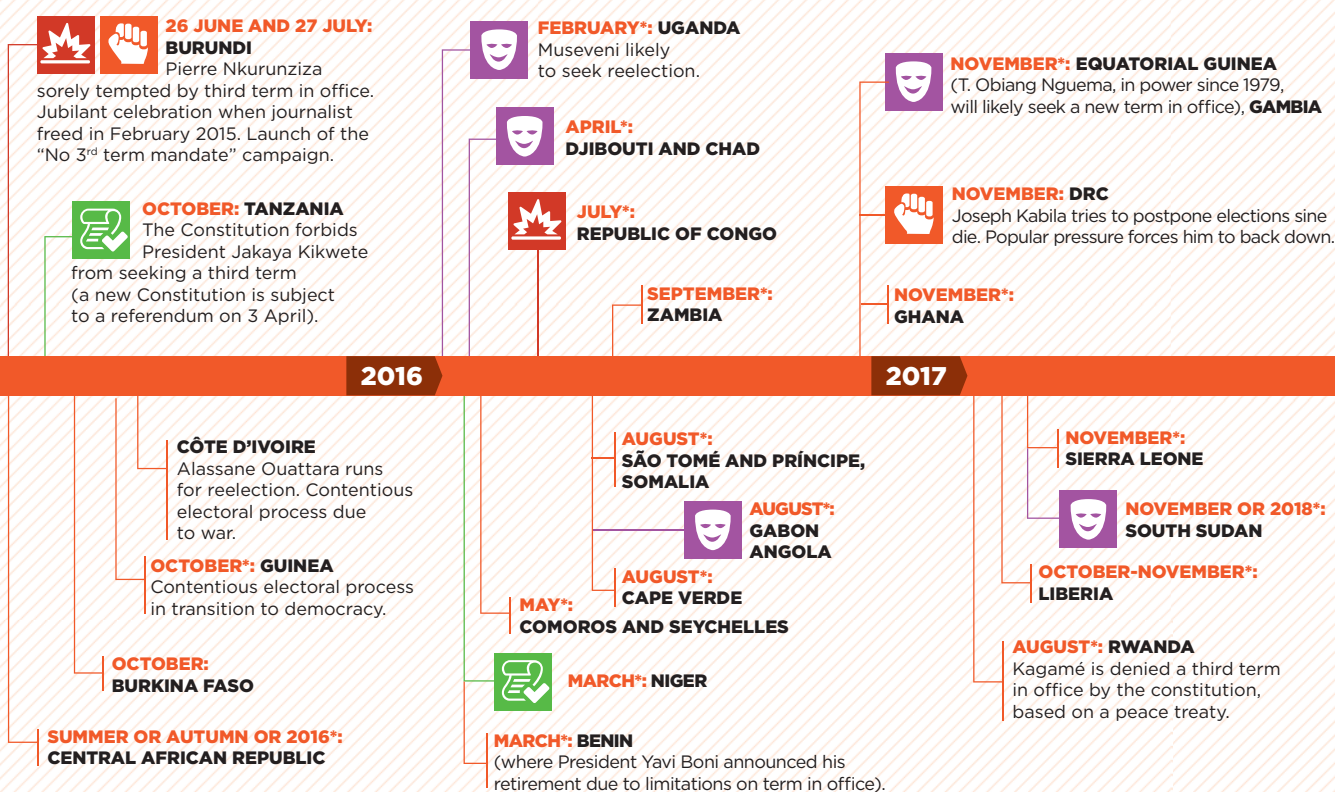
Dictatorships sow the seeds of instability.

Compaoré's retirement, for the Presidential election of 2015, would have been an honourable end to his rule. Instead, his stubbornness led to revolt. By repressing or corrupting the system of checks and balances on power, dictatorships suffocate societies, and make the non-violent resolution of diverging visions and interests impossible. The very purpose of the State, far removed from guaranteeing public interests, is deeply perverted when it becomes a tool for monopolizing wealth and providing impunity. The international community's appraisal is fundamentally flawed when it believes that dictators guarantee stability. Shortsighted, they are satisfied with superficial stability where anger simmers beneath the surface, unable to find its democratic expression. Sooner or later, the volcano erupts. Democratic institutions are what prevent the concentration of power and monopolization of wealth, by providing an avenue for citizens to express their needs and aspirations, creating the conditions needed for sustainable stability and equitable growth. France holds a historical responsibility for maintaining certain regimes in power, and despite the firm language from François Hollande regarding Heads of State tempted to keep their grasp on French power, the argument based on stability (and the fight against

terrorism) is still defended by a section of the government that supports authoritarian regimes (in Chad, in particular).

Turning the page is not enough. We then need to write the next chapter! Because democracy is not won in one day, it is won every day. What must be done is to make the change of power a pillar of the democratic process, to make activism to see power change hands democratically a citizen commitment. In Senegal, the "Enough is enough (*Y'en a marre*)" movement, initially created in opposition of constitutional coups, now trains young people in good citizenship.










A pivotal era dawns in Africa. Following independence, often a controlled process, the national conferences held in the early 1990s resulted in many African countries becoming formal democracies. The time has come to bolster this democracy. Peppered with completed terms in offices and electoral schedules, the years 2015 to 2017 could spell the end for a dozen anachronistic regimes. These rulers may still choose. If they choose not to consent to a change in power, they will be responsible for exposing their country to chaos and violence. The people will not for much longer be denied their own history. ■














COUNTRIES HELD HOSTAGE

88% of people in Togo and 87% of people in Gabon have lived their lives with a single family in power... And yet they do not live in a monarchy! While many Africans suffer under dynasty rule, it is not a matter of culture. Rather, these are political systems designed to monopolize power and wealth, benefiting rulers and their associates, as well as foreign countries and investors. The people are held hostage. The time has come to set them free.

THE SAME FAMILY WAS IN POWER WHEN THEY WERE BORN

- 1  **93%** **NORTH KOREA**
RULERS: KIM JONG-UN (AND FAMILY)
 IN POWER SINCE **1948**
- 2  **88%** **TOGO**
RULERS: FAURE GNASSINGBÉ (AND FAMILY)
 IN POWER SINCE **1967**
- 3  **87%** **GABON**
RULERS: ALI BONGO ODIMBA (AND FAMILY)
 IN POWER SINCE **1967**
- 4  **80%** **SYRIA**
RULERS: BASHAR AL ASSAD (AND FAMILY)
 IN POWER SINCE **1970**
- 5  **78%** **ANGOLA**
RULERS: JOSÉ EDUARDO DOS SANTOS
 IN POWER SINCE **1979**
- 6  **78%** **CUBA**
RULERS: RAÚL CASTRO (AND FAMILY)
 IN POWER SINCE **1959**
- 7  **76%** **UGANDA**
RULERS: YOWERI MUSEVENI
 IN POWER SINCE **1986**
- 8  **76%** **EQUATORIAL GUINEA**
RULERS: TEODORO OBIANG NGUEMA
 IN POWER SINCE **1979**
- 9  **76%** **CAMEROON**
RULERS: PAUL BIYA
 IN POWER SINCE **1982**

- 10  **71%** **BURKINA-FASO***
RULERS: BLAISE COMPAORÉ
IN POWER SINCE 1987
- 11  **69%** **CONGO****
RULERS: DENIS SASSOU NGUESSO
IN POWER SINCE 1979
- 12  **67%** **ZIMBABWE**
RULERS: ROBERT MUGABE
IN POWER SINCE 1987
- 13  **66%** **CHAD**
RULERS: IDRISSE DÉBY
IN POWER SINCE 1990
- 14  **65%** **SUDAN**
RULERS: OMAR EL-BÉCHIR
IN POWER SINCE 1989
- 15  **59%** **ERITREA**
RULERS: ISSAYAS AFEWORKI
IN POWER SINCE 1993
- 16  **57%** **GAMBIA**
RULERS: YAHYA JAMMEH
IN POWER SINCE 1994
- 17  **56%** **UZBEKISTAN**
RULERS: ISLOM KARIMOV
IN POWER SINCE 1990
- 18  **53%** **DRC*****
RULERS: JOSEPH KABILA
IN POWER SINCE 1997
- 19  **49%** **TAJKISTAN**
RULERS: EMOMALII RAHMON
IN POWER SINCE 1992
- 20  **43%** **KAZAKHSTAN**
RULERS: NOURSOULTAN NAZARBAIEV
IN POWER SINCE 1990

*Burkina-Faso: Count made before fall of Blaise Compaoré, on 31 October 2014.

**Congo: We have grouped together the population born since Denis Sassou Nguesso returned to power in 1997 (44.8%) and the population born while he was in power from 1979-1991 (23.9%). [Graphically, it would be useful to imagine the Congo as a bar with slashes showing the length of time in power, as well as that this period was interrupted].

***DRC: We used 1997, even if Joseph Kabila's rise to power in 2001 owes as much to the international context as to his relationship with Laurent-Désiré.

PHOTOS: JEAN-MARC FERRE - UN PHOTO/CIA PAK - ESKINDER DEBEBE - EVAN SCHNEIDER - MARK GARTEN - LIONEL CIRONNEAU - MICHELLE POIRE - J. CARRIER- MARK GARTEN / UN PHOTO

METHODOLOGY

As a sample we sued all of the countries where the same ruler (or family) had been in power for over 15 years as of 1 October 2014. We have excluded monarchies that do not fall under the same category of changes in power. Their presence at the top of the ranking shows only that the monarchies retain power within the family, information that we deem of little interest. We also chose not to include the continuous rule of a single political party or social group (such as the army in Algeria), both for reasons of simplicity (otherwise would require major research and classification efforts) as well as to focus on States where the lack of democratic changes in power is the most flagrant. Aware that other methods may be used, we are happy for other researchers to perfect this exercise.

For each country, we have calculated the number of years a single family has spent in power, then estimated the percentage of the population of that age or younger, using data from the UN Demographic Yearbook and the *Université de Sherbrooke* website.

The percentage was calculated on 1 October 2014 after the population of each country was sorted by age. Example: the Bongo has been in power in Gabon for 47 years. The number of people aged between 0 and 44 were totalled up, as well as 60% of those aged 45-49, meaning those aged 45, 46, and 47. We arbitrarily decided that age distribution within this class is perfectly regular.

The low quality of available demographic statistics in many countries means that the figures seen here should be taken with a pinch of salt. In some African countries, it has been over 20 years since the last census, from which the UN extrapolates to provide an age pyramid. While our orders of magnitude are reliable, the specific figures come with a wide margin of error.



**GABON,
FROM OMAR TO ALI**

Barely 12% of Gabonese people were alive when Léon Mba was Head of State. Upon his death in 1967, it was the Constitution – opportunistically amended at the insistence of Jacques Foccart, General De Gaulle's *Monsieur Afrique* – that appointed Albert-Bernard (now Omar) Bongo as President. And the Bongo dynasty would never let go of the reins. Elected six times (three times in a one-party regime), Omar Bongo removed the limitation on presidential terms in 2003. In this sparsely populated country, he made corruption, and sometimes repression (such as during the student revolts of 1991), the tools that kept him in power and retained the support of French political and business leaders (see Elf affair, suspicions of funding French politics until very recently, etc.). For France, Gabon still holds major strategic military (with a permanent French army base) and economic (oil, uranium, manganese, wood, etc.) importance. Ali Bongo succeeded his father upon his death in 2009, in a fraudulent election¹. A number of people fell victim to the repressed protests² in Port-Gentil, Gabon's financial capital.



**TOGO,
THE DYNASTY ON TRIAL BY ELECTION**

Gnassingbé Eyadema came to power in 1967 in a military coup, having already admitted his involvement a few years earlier in the assassination of Sylvanus Olympio, the leader of the Togolese independence movement. His regime is propped up by terror: torture, summary executions, and fraudulent elections are commonplace under his rule³. Yet he retains solid support in France. Jacques Chirac grieved for a "personal friend" when he died in 2005. Faure Gnassingbé succeeded his father in fraudulent elections, the protests in response of which were violently repressed, with at least 500 deaths⁴. Under pressure from the opposition, the Global Political Agreement (GPA) was signed in 2006, scheduling a return to limited terms in office (adopted in a referendum in 1992 and scrapped 10 years later). The President then sought to delay implementation of this agreement, and stayed in power with a one-round Presidential election. Tension was currently rising ahead of the Presidential elections held on 15 April 2015.



**ANGOLA,
CONTEMPT FOR THE RULE OF LAW**

The Angolan President, José Eduardo Dos Santos, came to power in September 1979, upon the death of his predecessor. He was elected for the first time in 1992. Of the 40 years for which the country has been independent, he has been in power for 35. This country with a population of 24m suffered 26 years of civil war between UNITA, the main opposition party, and the Head of State's MPLA. Income from oil made investment possible for Luanda, but a large section of society still lives in a chronic state of poverty and danger. Corruption is systematic. Basic human rights are regularly flouted. In 2010, a new Constitution was adopted. The Presidential elections were cancelled and since then the President, whose number of terms has no limit, has been the head of the victorious party in the legislative elections. He maintains a stranglehold on military and legislative power.

¹ The real winner was André Mba Obame, or at least, that is what is claimed by Michel de Bonnecorse, the former advisor to Jacques Chirac on Africa, and Maurice Delaunay, former French ambassador to Gabon (deceased) in the two-part documentary "*La Françafrique*" by Patrick Benquet and the *Compagnie des phares et balises*, 2010.

² Three victims according to official figures, but at least 15 according to the opposition.

³ See for example, Amnesty International "Togo: State of terror", May 1999; FIDH, "Togo: arbitration as a rule and 37 years of dictatorship", *Mission internationale d'enquête*, June 2004.

⁴ See, for example, *Survie* (coord.), April 2005. *Le choix volé des Togolais. Rapport sur un coup d'État électoral perpétré avec la complicité de la France et de la communauté internationale*, L'Harmattan; FIDH, "*Retour sur la crise togolaise: l'exigence de justice demeure*", *Mission internationale d'enquête*, Nov. 2005.



MICHAEL ZUMSTEIN / AGENCE VU

THE AFRICAN EXCEPTION?

14/20! The numbers make you wonder. When the world's countries are ranked by the percentage of the population born with the same family in power, 14 of the top 20 are in Africa. Burkina Faso, of course, needs to be removed, but is included to make the point. But after the top 20, the "waiting list" goes on and on: Rwanda, Djibouti, Azerbaijan, Burundi... and more. In 17 countries (of which 12 are in Africa), over half the population was born with a single ruler or family in power. They have never seen power change hand. The Congo is the exception to the rule, interrupted by Lissouba in 1992-1997. The top five of these rankings sends shivers down the spine to all defenders of human rights: 1. North Korea, 2. Togo, 3. Gabon, 4. Syria, with Angola and Cuba sharing fifth place. In these countries, whether succession has favoured the brother (Raul) or the son (Jong-un, Faure, Ali, Bashar), power has been kept within the family, creating real dynasties.

We have not included monarchies in these rankings, even where the royal family effectively holds power (e.g. Morocco, United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar, Swaziland, Lesotho), because there the dynasties reign under the rule of law. These regimes do not, unlike republics, purport that the highest echelons of public office can change hands at

the ballot box (they may have Parliaments). Readers wishing to do so may simply place the monarchies, often no strangers to undemocratic practices, at the top of the rankings, as their entire populations have known only a single family in power. Furthermore, the demographic make-up of African countries, often featuring very young populations, has a role to play. The percentages are similar for Uganda and Cuba, even though Yoweri Museveni came to power in 1986 and Fidel Castro in 1959. This is due to the median age (the age that divides the country into a younger and older half) is 15 years in the former, and 40 in the latter.

These rankings do, however, reveal an objective truth: among the 12 ruling families worldwide who were in power 25 years ago (excluding monarchs), nine are in Africa. The five oldest, except for Togo, come from oil-rich African countries: Bongo in Gabon, Obiang Nguema in Equatorial Guinea, Sassou Nguesso in Republic of Congo, Biya in the Cameroun and Dos Santos in Angola. In Chad, Idriss Déby will celebrate the 25th anniversary of his accession to power in December 2015. Africa is also home to Robert Mugabe who, aged 90, is the world's oldest Head of State. Still young enough, however, to be appointed head of the African Union in February 2015! Out of the top ten African coun-

Côte-d'Ivoire,
Abidjan, Jacquville,
28 October 2010.



ELODIE PERRIOT / S.C.

Dakar,
January 2011,
World Social
Forum.

tries in the list, six are former French colonies... Not to mention Equatorial Guinea, which joined the CFA area on 1985. In 2017, if nothing changes, after half a century of family rule, the people of Togo and Gabon will be able to “celebrate” the Bongo and Gnassingbé “Jubilees”!

For many years, this essentialist view of the “African exception” prevailed, seeing longevity in power as a feature of “African culture”. This view is conveniently used by some Heads of State to justify staying in power. Thus, according to Blaise Compaoré or Denis Sassou Nguesso, African democracy will always need strong leaders. This vision is refuted by, amongst others, the Senegalese President Macky Sall, for whom Africa needs “strong institutions that guarantee the rule of law”. The reality is that the people in these countries are being held hostage.

MOUNTING EXASPERATION

If the political situation had remained unchanged since half of the population were born in France (where the median age is 41), Georges Pompidou or his son would be in power; in the USA (37), Jimmy Carter would still be in the White House, and Portugal, Spain, and Greece would still be dictatorships. When, for more than half of the pop-

ulation, power never changes face, the dominant feeling is one of being deprived of your destiny. It may bring about a certain fatalism, especially when resistance is stamped out through violence or stifled by corruption. But this fatalism is giving way to exasperation. Young people in Burkina Faso made it clear: they want to choose their rulers, to choose their future.

In the African countries that crowd the top of the rankings, more voices are speaking out to free people from the rule of a personal, family, or tribal regime. The will to be free is all the stronger among young people who, connected to the world, see just how anachronistic is the hold of minority dynasties over their destiny. Wherever they are, they are ready to turn the page.

A FAMILY AFFAIR

The history, the people, and the power games can vary widely from one country to another. Political practices, too. However, most African regimes placed at the top of our rankings share a number of points in common:

Violence. Power was seized, more often than not, in blood: military coups, assassinations, armed

conflicts... the list goes on. Omar Bongo, rising to power in Gabon thanks to the Constitution when his predecessor died, Paul Biya himself becoming President in Cameroon upon the resignation of Ahidjo (whom he served as Prime Minister), and Robert Mugabe, elected President in Zimbabwe in 1987, here stand as exceptions to the rule. These rulers who seized power through force retain close ties to the army, from where they often hail. And the recourse to violence tends not to stop once they are in office. We are aware of the crimes against humanity committed by the Sudanese regime, the hundreds who disappeared from Beach in Brazzaville in 1999, the repression of spring 2011 in Kampala¹, the hundreds dead in April 2005 in Lomé²... to name but a few. We are also aware of the frequent use of torture in prisons in Equatorial Guinea³, the Congo⁴, Djibouti⁵, Chad⁶, Angola⁷, and Gambia⁸. In some countries, symbolic assassinations, unexplained disappearances, or extra-judicial arrests or journalists and opponents are enough to instil a climate of fear. This was the case for Burkina Faso under Blaise Compaoré, with the murder of the journalist Norbert Zongo in 1998. The situations in Cameroon and Gabon are similar.

Flouted liberties. Major restrictions are placed on freedom of expression and association, and the right to protest: authorised opposition protests are rare in Kampala or Yaoundé, while political opponents and human rights activists are regularly subjected to intimidation, aggression, arbitrary imprisonment, and attempts to corrupt. Creating checks and balances, maintaining an independent press, and making the voice of dissent heard are all risky endeavours. In Congo-Brazzaville, meetings held by political opponents are often curtailed by the participants being arrested and detained. Even during activist meetings abroad, emissaries are

HISTORY IS NOT WRITTEN IN ADVANCE

If it weren't for Western intervention, from France in particular, would history remember the names of Déby, Bongo, and Eyadema? Perhaps other figures could have led their countries down starkly different paths. We will never know. But Africa's democratic aspirations, that the media is only just beginning to cover, are far from new. Major figures on the continent, whose assassinations have often been orchestrated with the assistance of foreign powers, continue to inspire today's activists, long after their disappearance. Let us remember, for example:

Patrice Lumumba, the hero of independence for Belgian Congo who, deemed insufficiently accommodating between the former colony and the West, who was assassinated in January 1961. He is remembered in particular for these words: "What we wanted for our country was its right to an honourable life, to unfettered dignity, and unrestricted independence. Colonial Belgium and its Western allies – who enjoyed the direct and indirect support of certain high-ranking UN officials – never wanted this. They corrupted some of our countrymen, and helped to distort the truth and sully our independence."¹

Thomas Sankara, rising to power in a revolution in 1983, fought against what he denounced as Western imperialism, trying to free the country from foreign debt and set in motion changed to create a more equitable society, one that was democratic and less corrupt. It was he who renamed Upper Volta as Burkina Faso, or "land of honest men". His assassination in 1987 enabled Blaise Compaoré to seize power. 27 years later, he still served to inspire the nation's youth, bringing together members of the citizen movement under the slogan "our country or death, we will be victorious".

Barthélémy Boganda, father of Central African independence, died in a plane crash in 1959. **Ruben Um Nyobé**, an iconic figure in Cameroon's battle for independence, was murdered by the French army in 1958, before being unceremoniously buried by colonial forces, interred within a block of solid concrete. **Sylvanus Olympio**, the first President of Togo, was killed in January 1963 for wanting to make his country a sovereign State. Eyadema claimed responsibility for his killing.

This simple glance at the fate reserved for a few of the martyrs of independence, some of them visionaries, will not rewrite history. All the more so given that they are not all shining examples of the rule of law... It does, however, reveal the astounding hypocrisy of the arguments used to legitimise African dictatorships, too often heard in Western corridors of power. While we may no longer dare to publicly state that, "Africa is not ready for democracy" (as did Jacques Chirac in 1986), we still ask in passing: "Is there a credible alternative?" As if it were in Paris, Brussels, or Washington that the credibility of African opposition is judged!

1 The repression of protests against high living costs in April 2011, in the run-up to the elections, resulted in several deaths and over one hundred injured, and the opposition leader was arrested. See FIDH and Amnesty International reports.

2 See. *Survie* (coord.), *Op. Cit.*; FIDH, *Op. Cit.*

3 See. Human Rights Watch, "Equatorial Guinea: Halt Prisoner Torture", 30 July 2014.

4 See. Congolese Human Rights Watchdog (OCDH), "Les conditions de détention et de garde à vue en République du Congo", November 2012. The government denies the allegations levelled in this report.

5 See. Florent Geel for the Association Culture et Progrès, "La situation des droits de l'homme à Djibouti", 2011.

6 See. IFACAT and ACAT Chad, "Préoccupations concernant la torture et les mauvais traitements au Tchad", 2009, American State Department 2012 report on Human Rights in Chad, 2012.

7 See. Human Rights Watch, "Human Rights Issues Regarding Angola", February 2013.

8 Acat France, <http://www.acatfrance.fr/public/umt/RT2011-gambie.pdf>. In November 2014, UN inspectors were prevented from accessing Gambian jails.

1 See. "La dernière lettre de Patrice Lumumba à sa femme", Jeuneafrique.com, viewed on 4 March 2015.



PHILIPPE BRAULT / AGENCE VU

Nigeria, Abuja. sometimes present to remind people that speaking out against the regime is not without risk.

Corruption and seizure of wealth. The monopoly of the country's riches by the regime's family and associates is almost a standard feature in authoritarian states. Access to power means access to the State's riches and income from extraction, and using it for the benefit of one's associates: the politician Jean-François Bayart spoke of the "Politics of the belly".⁹ For this "clique", changes of power pose a major risk of losing such advantages, or even being held accountable: it therefore plays an active role in maintaining power and propping up the system, whether the Head of State desires it or not. Corruption is also used to silence criticism, to buy off judges, win over voters, and turn the opposition... as well as to completely discredit the democratic system.

Disinformation and poverty. An uniformed, impoverished populace is the tool used to guarantee a long stay in power. The wealth produced by a country is seldom reinvested in it: it benefits multinationals who repatriate their profits, while the clique in power often stores its capital abroad or in tax havens. The countries are rich, but most of the people stay poor. The

control of information is also key, and is brought about through administrative or legal harassment of independent medias, propaganda to legitimise the powers that be, censorship of criticism, and limited access to education. In July 2007, Omar Bongo suspended the Gabonese branch of RFI for covering ill-gotten gains; in February 2009, the French-Congolese journalist, Bruno Oseebi, an outspoken critic of the regime, died – murdered, in all likelihood – in Brazzaville; in 2014, the President of Equatorial Guinea banned State media from mentioning the uprising that led to the fall of the Burkina Faso dictatorship.

Superficial democracy. Within the African countries included in our rankings, the wind of democratic change that blew in the 90s remained nothing more than a gentle breeze. Despite multi-party politics, competitive elections (on the outside, at least) and occasionally greater freedom of speech, to satisfy investors, real democracy has made little headway. Even the possibility of changing hands in the highest office is far from being a given. The separation of power (executive, judiciary, legislative, as well as economic and military), a fundamental condition of democracies, is barely followed. The usual tools of democracy – elections for leaders – are regularly perverted to serve the ruling powers: this is now Blaise Compaoré, in Burkina Faso, came to count on an

⁹ See. JF Bayart, *L'Etat en Afrique, ou la politique du ventre*, Fayard, 1989.

umpteenth instance of institutional gymnastics to retain his grip on power. More often than not, the international community accommodates these superficial democracies, conspicuous by their silence in the wake of fraudulent elections.

Lastly, there exists a kind of solidarity between rulers in place for such a long time, especially in Central Africa. They may be connected by family ties, like the Bongo and Sassou Nguesso families, or sometimes business or military links. But most of all, their fates are to some extent shared: leaders in the two Congos kept a close eye on the developments in Burkina Faso. Brazzaville is also worried by the view across the river, where the authorities are struggling to stay in power. All of them are working to keep the African Union under control.

ALSO HOSTAGES TO FOREIGN INTERESTS

When an incumbent ruler falls from power, it does not immediately spell freedom for the people. In theory, the multi-polar world should place African countries in a position where they can arbitrate the interests of established or emerging foreign powers, covetous of their wealth and markets.

But a range of constraints prevent this, some of them insidious. That the African people be deprived of their destiny is convenient for more than just their rulers. The fight for freedom, the people's ability to decide their fate, to harness their wealth, means democratic changes of the Head of State, but there are also other battles to be won. Here we will limit ourselves to considering the constraints that prevent many African peoples from controlling their destiny. It is certainly not a question for us of defending an illusory autarky. But a change in power would certainly open a window of opportunity to redefine foreign relationships of dominance. In financial terms, most African countries have been crippled by debt for many years, with their governments supervised by their creditors, in particular the IMF and World Bank. The great Western powers have thereby imposed upon Africa economic policies that suit their businesses (open borders, privatisation, etc.). The debt relief plans launched in the wake of civil society activism have loosened the vice, yet not removed the pressure completely. Still today, it is difficult to see countries that depend heavily on foreign aid as being fully sovereign.

The people's battle to decide their fate means democratic changes of the Head of State, but there are also other battles to be won.

More than 60 years on from independence, former French colonies are yet to completely win their sovereignty, even formally. The old colonial power retains a decisive role with regard to at least two central factors in sovereignty: currency (the CFA Franc remains pegged to the Euro and managed from Paris) and defence (through a series of bilateral defence or military cooperation treaties signed with Paris). While the break away from "Françafrique", the shifting system of interference theorised by François-Xavier Verschave, has been announced on several occasions, words are yet to transform into deeds. For the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth remains a significant source of influence, including in the economic sphere. As for Germany, concerned about securing supplies of metals like cobalt for its industries, there is "a growing interest in the stability of Sub-Saharan Africa" and "intervention, even military, is becoming more of an option"¹⁰.

But European countries are not alone in their appetite

for business and influence. The USA, Canada, Australia, and emerging economies (China, India, Brazil, South Korea, etc.) are investing heavily in Sub-Saharan Africa, paying little attention to the democratic reality of the regimes that be. Even within Africa, there are divergent interests. Think of Rwanda and Uganda's growing wealth

thanks to the underground deposits in the East of the DRC, for example.

Lastly, while all countries around the world have less room for manoeuvre due to blackmail from multinational companies in return for jobs and investments, it is all the more true in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the balance of power weighs heavily against the State. Many concessions have been granted to international investors, either contractually written into local laws (such as the mining or forestry codes). Some companies can even become destabilising factors, as was the case with Elf (acquired since by Total) that sponsored Denis Sassou Nguesso's return to power in Brazzaville in the late 90s¹¹, as a rule who was more accommodating to company interests. ■

¹⁰ See study from German Institute for International Affairs and Security (SWP), "Zitate hier und im Folgenden: Stefan Mair: Südafrika - Modell für Afrika, Partner für Deutschland?", SWP-Studie S12, May 2010, quoted in *German Foreign Policy*, "Junior Partner South Africa", 8 June 2010.

¹¹ See in particular François-Xavier Verschave, *L'envers de la dette*, Agone, 2003; Xavier Harel, *Afrique, pillage à huis clos*, Fayard, 2006.

THE RED LINE OF CONSTITUTIONAL COUPS

Military coups are now unanimously condemned by the international community. But Africa is victim to other kinds of coups that severely handicap institutions, when a regime holds on to power in contempt of constitutional changes of government. These real coups should be recognised as such and sanctioned appropriately.

Throughout many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Constitution (or a legislative mechanism governing institutions) sets a limit on the number of terms that can be served as Head of State. Some Heads of State, after years in power, see themselves faced with a decisive alternative: to leave or reform (or simply ignore) the Constitution (and other texts governing the institutions) in order to stay in power. Why not use pseudo-referenda designed to give this constitutional manipulation the people's stamp of approval? The second option must be seen for what it is: a real constitutional coup.

In doing so, the incumbent rulers expose their countries to major risks of political and institutional crisis. We can expect to see major opposition to this from African civil society, such as that seen in Burkina Faso and Congo in January 2015, in expectation of far-reaching political changes that will make constitutional coups a line not to be crossed. The attachment to democratic procedures becomes the foundation upon which a viable democracy can be built. Everyone has a role to play in stopping this line from being crossed, including the international community.

WHICH COUNTRIES ARE UNDER THREAT OF A CONSTITUTIONAL COUP?

The debate surrounding Joseph Kabila (Democratic Republic of Congo), Denis Sassou Nguesso (Republic of Congo), Paul Kagamé (Rwanda), Pierre Nkurunziza (Burundi) and Faure

Gnassingbé (Togo) is as lively as that of Blaise Compaoré in autumn 2014. The Constitution limits the number of terms to two in the Congo, as well as in Burundi and Rwanda through international treaties. In Bujumbura, Pierre Nkurunziza is trying to make a very personal interpretation stick: in his view, the Constitution grants him two terms won through direct universal suffrage, and in 2005 he was elected through indirect suffrage. Through this legal ambiguity, he is claiming the right to run in 2015 (he was elected for the first time through direct suffrage in 2010 in a widely criticised ballot). In Togo, the Global Political Agreement signed in 2006, opposed by Faure Gnassingbé following his military show of strength, stipulates a return to a maximum of two terms (as

stated in the Constitution of 1992, scrapped in 2002 by his father, Eyadema). Faure, who pays no heed to this, will stand at the Presidential elections in 2015. In Rwanda, Paul Kagamé believes that "we must ask the people if they are ready to change [the Constitution]"¹... On both banks of the Congo,

the rulers understand that a coup is risky. In DRC, following failure of the strategy binding the election to completion of the census², in early 2015, what is Joseph Kabila up to? What about his counterpart in Brazzaville? The question remains open: neither has announced that they will leave office in line with the texts governing their countries' institutions. In Equatorial Guinea, the Constitution limits the age of presidential candidates, but

It should also be noted that there are plenty of African examples of leaders who have accepted to leave office in line with the rule of law.

¹ Extract from interview granted to France 24, on 28 February 2015.

² Note that in the rush, Article 13 establishing gender equality on the electoral register was also revoked. This marked a giant step backwards for the rights of women and their political representation in the DRC (which nevertheless comes in near the bottom of the class with 14.6% women in the government and 8% in the Parliament).



MATTHIEU ALEXANDRE / S.C.

Teodoro Obiang Nguema, in power since 1979, will “only” be 74 during the 2016 Presidential elections (with the following election planned for... 2023!).

ARE CONSTITUTIONAL COUPS D'ÉTAT A CUSTOM?

These rulers are not the first to tinker with their fates. Indeed, there are very few regimes south of the Sahara upon which the Constitution has never imposed limits on time in office: it is the case in Gambia, ruled with Yahya Jammeh's iron fist since 1994. However, the affirmation of Africa's democratic aspirations that took place in the early 1990s, with the creation of safeguards against attempts to seize power, have fallen victim to serious shortfalls with regard to limits on terms in office. As early as 1997, Blaise Compaoré had already removed these restraints, before citizen action forced him to reintroduce them in 2000³. Since then the limitation on the number of

3 In 1997, the assembly authorised the governing CDP party to amend the constitution. In April 2000, following the popular protests in after the death in suspicious circumstances of the journalist Norbert Zongo, the authorities were forced to shorten the length of the constitutional presidential term from 7 years to 5, and reintroduce a limit of two consecutive terms in office. Taking advantage of a possible 2005 ban on running for office for Blaise Compaoré, who had already served two terms as Head of State, the Constitutional Court, whose independence is far from certain, rejected the finding that the 2000 Constitution did not take past terms into account.

terms has been lifted by Lansana Conté (Guinea-Conakry) in 2002 so that he could stand at the end of his second term as President, by Gnassingbé Eyadéma (Togo) in 2002, Omar Bongo (Gabon) in 2003, Idriss Deby Itno (Chad) in 2005, Yoweri Museveni (Uganda) in 2006, Paul Biya (Cameroon) and Ismail Omar Guelleh (Djibouti) in 2008⁴. These real coups d'état were sometimes sealed in blood, like in Cameroon where the repression of protests led to 139 deaths in February 2008⁵. This has not prevented major powers, particularly in Europe, from granting these “putschists”, sometimes repeat offenders, international recognition.

It should also be noted that there are plenty of African examples of leaders who have accepted to leave office in line with the rule of law. Because democracy is universal, unlike the affirmations of certain dictators claiming to represent “African democracy” by linking the country's stability to their continuing grasp on power. Presidents Konaré (Mali), Jerry Rawlings and Kuffor (Ghana), Matthieu

4 Eli Moustafa, “Constitutions en Afrique : à qui profitent les révisions ?”, *Les amis du Monde diplomatique*.

5 https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/Rapport_Cameroun_ONDH_2009_BDef.pdf

Training of future observers for the presidential election in July 2006, Bukavu.

Kérékou (Benin), Pinto da Costa (São Tomé and Príncipe), together with the successive Presidents of Cape Verde, all left office in compliance with the law. More recently, several Heads of State have done the same. Sometimes forced, like Blaise Compaoré or, in Senegal, Abdoulaye Wade. Tempted by a further term⁶ denied to him by the Constitution, he came up against an unprecedented popular movement in the country that led to free elections and a political change of power. In Mozambique, Armando Guebuza also ended up standing down, even if the Presidential election in October 2014 seemed to be sullied by fraud. In Tanzania and Benin, despite the hesitations, Jakatya Kikwete and Yayi Boni are also set to leave office after the ballots scheduled for October 2015 and March 2016 respectively.

THE CONSTITUTION: A SYMBOL?

No country in the world could draft a Constitution against a political landscape that is set in stone. In all democracies, amendments may be added according to clearly defined procedures. It is all the less set in stone for not always being the expression of a democratic process. In former French colonies in particular, France was quick to hurry the constitution writers – following the example of Charles Debbasch (that the African Union described in 2006 as a “white collar mercenary”⁷) – to write texts tailored to suit “friendly” regimes.

What cannot be tolerated is turning the Constitution into an instrument to perpetuate personal or tribal power. This practice is “the polar opposite of what citizens expect and the values of the international community”, as we state in our call to action. Member States of the African Union, in particular, have committed to outlawing this practice in the African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance, on 30 January 2007: “Any amendment or revision of the Constitution or legal mechanisms that hinders the change power constitutes an anti-constitutional change of gov-

⁶ Leela Jacinto & Florence Thomazeau, “Abdoulaye Wade, l’homme qui voulait (encore) être président”, *France 24*, 23 February 2012, viewed on 31 August 2014: <http://www.france24.com/fr/20120131-s%C3%A9n%C3%A9gal-portrait-abdoulaye-wade-presidentiel-karim-pds-opposition/>

⁷ See. “Le conseiller français du régime togolais Charles Debbasch condamné en France”, *Le Monde*, 11 May 2005.

ernment (Article 23). A practice that is “punishable by appropriate sanctions from the [African] Union”. The former Tunisian President Moncef Marzouki even appealed for the creation of an International Constitutional Court that would monitor the compliance of a State’s Constitution and electoral practices with their international human rights commitments⁸. Whatever the circumstances, the Constitution must serve to bolster the rule of law, freedoms, transparencies, and responsibility, rather than to weaken them.

NO STABILITY WITHOUT DEMOCRACY, NO DEMOCRACY WITHOUT CHANGES OF POWER

Foreign powers, and Europe in particular, have for too long believed unchanging regimes to be guarantors of stability in their countries. In reality, this outlook has only served to keep dictators in power, with a nefarious effect on the stability of institutions, thereby sowing frustration and justifying eruptions of violence. This “stability” is no more than a façade that conceals injustice and the monopolization of power and resources, and feeds resentment. When they fall, these regimes often – and sometimes deliberately – leave behind divided societies, political movements weakened by repression and corruption, and a desperation that breeds violence and extremism. However, even if it is imperfect, a Constitution that has been voted for and complied with consolidates the entire democratic system, legitimises power, guarantees a multi-party system, political and financial pluralism and trade unions, free, honest elections, the freedom of speech and the right to protest.

Of course, the promise not to make constitutional amendments for personal convenience would not be all it takes to secure democracy. Proof of this is the recent assassination of the Franco-Mozambican lawyer Gilles Cistac in Maputo in early March 2015, killed because he fought against the monopolisation of power right down to the local authority level. And African countries where political office changes as it should, such as Ghana, Benin, Senegal, and Mali are not spared the crises and corruption

⁸ Monique Chemillier-Gendreau, Monique Chemillier-Gendreau, “Obliger les Etats à tenir parole”, *Le Monde diplomatique*, September 2013.



ELODIE PERRIOT / S.C.

that can erode internal political systems: as in every country around the world, democracy must always be fought for. And changes in power are an essential condition. It is a first step that, along with the legitimacy of other democratic institutions, opens up a world of possibilities. It is the foundation upon which civil society can work to stamp out corruption, towards more equitable growth, and bring debates and decision-making to life. In this sense, the Constitution is a sentinel, a safeguard that enables the democratic experience to take place. Creating this experience of established institutions, whoever the leader, means that the people can make them their own. Democracy is thereby considerably strengthened.

Respecting the Constitution and respecting the rule of law is to choose a peaceful resolution to social and political conflicts.

FIRST DO NO HARM

The role of foreign powers is certainly not to impose democracy from outside, all the more so given that there is not a single, ideal model. Even if they were able to do so⁹: it is the people

who fight for and create their democracy. And yet, in the political life of an African country, the role played by the international community goes beyond simple technical and financial support in holding elections.

And it is a role that can be harmful. Thus, many dictators have been or are still able to boast international support. Western capitals have long appointed accommodating leaders, recalling when necessary their attachment to sovereignty and non-interference to justify their silence during flagrantly fraudulent elections. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, at the mercy of popular revolt, crumbling “friendly” regimes, and ever greater pressure from an active and organised civil society (in Africa, in the diaspora, in Northern countries, etc.), the promotion of democracy has gradually become a key part of international treaties. But what is the point in elections when the people cannot express themselves freely or freely appoint their leaders? When the savagery of a dictatorship deprives the people of any recourse? It is in the name of people living in danger that the international community must act.

Dakar, 2011.
We demand that the constitution be upheld.

⁹ The Iraqi people are still suffering the bitter reality of this belief held by America’s George W. Bush administration.

See. Zaki Laïdi, “La démocratie: un produit d’exportation ?”, *Revue Projet*, issue 289, June 2007.

EUROPE'S REACTION?

As early as 1985, the Lomé IV Convention between Europe and the countries of Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific (ACP) contained a long, detailed provision (in Article 5) acknowledging the close relationship between cooperation and the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms. In 1995, a new provision in Article 366(a) subordinates cooperation to the protection of rights, authorising the full or partial suspension of cooperation. In 2000, the Cotonou Agreements made “human rights, democratic principles based on the rule of law, and the transparent, responsible management of public affairs” the main goals of the cooperation policy with Africa. Are they about to become the main priorities of the European Union? While Europe, far and away the largest investor in development aid, provides undeniable support to countries as they transition to democracy, its role is often ambiguous with regard to authoritarian regimes, to say the least.

Public, high-level criticism heard not only from leaders but also from the people.

The EU has thus accommodated regimes that are far from democratic, in north¹⁰ and south of the Sahara alike, as long as they shared a desire to stem the flow of migrants, contain Islamists, and promote trade.

The EU is also struggling to send a clear message when some Member States or MEP's hold a discordant position. In Congo-Brazzaville, in July 2007, the EU refused to send observers so as not to support sham elections. Its representative on-site denounced a clear fraud, but nobody spoke out against the shady “Coordination of French-African observers” led by Jacques Toubon (then MEP) for applauding the conduct of Denis Sassou Nguesso. Far from issuing sanctions, in 2008 France consolidated its support for the Congo.

The 2000 Cotonou Agreements, amended in 2005 and 2010, contain “measures for use when key components of the agreement, i.e. human rights democratic principles, and the rule of law, are not followed”. The Lisbon Treaty came into force in 2009, and insists upon alignment of all EU policies on cooperation and development (Article 208-1). Since then, democratic issues may no longer be ignored in the dialogue with third-party States. These changes can be felt in some language: in countries threatened by a constitutional coup, like Burkina Faso or the DRC, Germany, France, or the European Commission have adopted a clear position to denounce any attempt at amending the Constitution for personal ends.

It is regrettable that this clarification of Europe's position, long unofficial¹¹, was only made public so late, when events unfurled in Burkina Faso. All too often, European diplomacy has opted for discretion (“We work behind the scenes”) so as

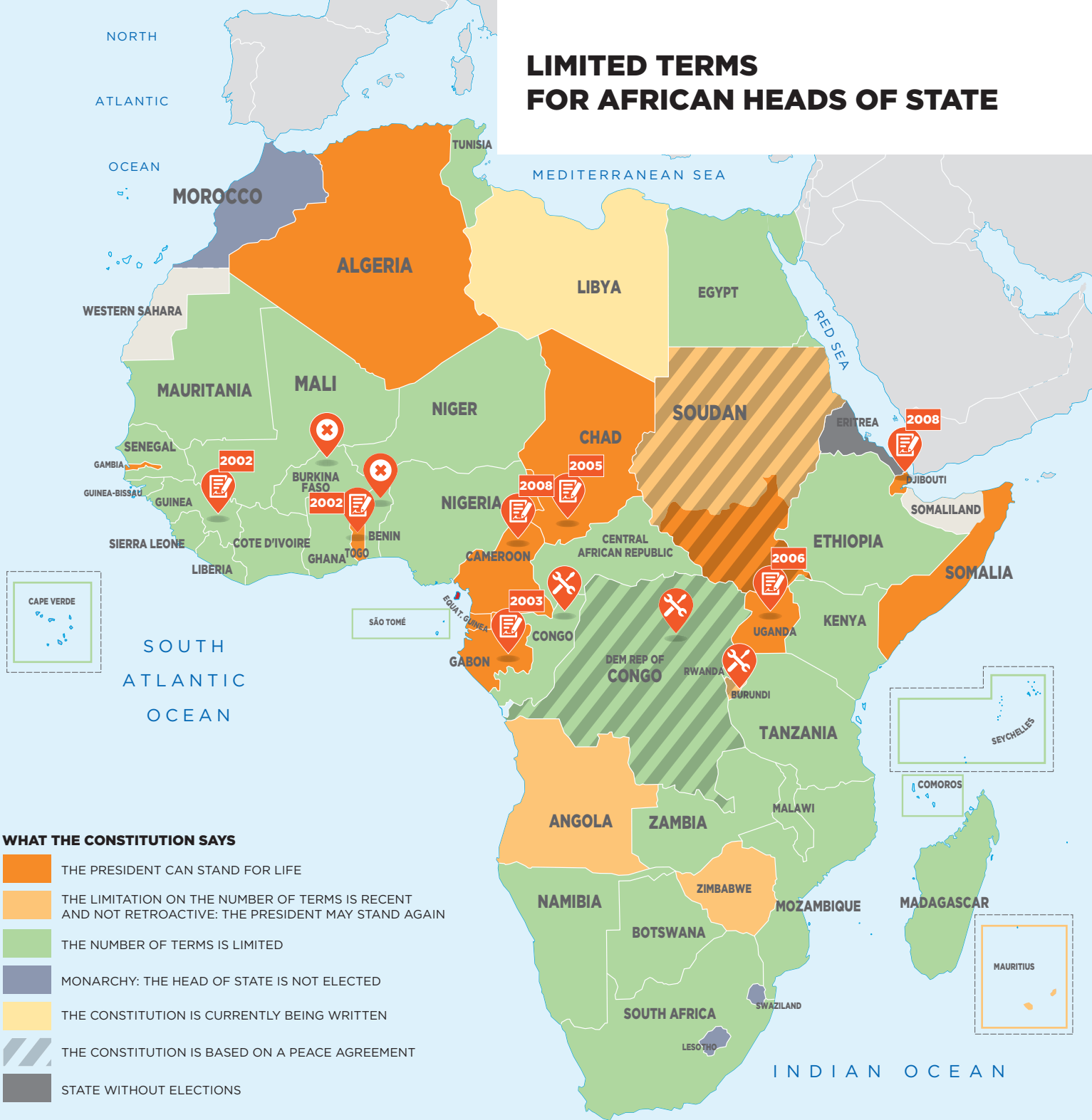
REPUBLIC OF CONGO: A CASE STUDY

Denis Sassou Nguesso ruled the country for the first time from 1979 to 1992, in a reign marked by 3000 summary executions, according to the Sovereign National Conference; After losing the only free election in recent Congolese history in 1992 (reaching 17% of the vote), he rose to power again in 1997 following a horrifying civil war, where he remains to this day. The 2002 Constitution limits the number of terms to two and places an age limit of 70 years on presidential candidates, two barriers to running for office that Denis Sassou Nguesso fully intends on overcoming in 2016. Faced with the fraudulent elections of recent years, several opposition parties have adopted the strategy of boycotting elections as their main form of protest. There are stringent restrictions on the right to protest and the freedom of the press, opposition is suppressed and divided, and civil society fragile. The Head of State, who controls the army, uses the country's considerable oil reserves as a means of pressuring the international community. The tens of thousands of deaths in the thirst for power less than 20 years ago have not been forgotten, and the Congolese dictatorship brandishes this nightmare to guarantee its longevity, as part of an extremely unequal balance of power. But protest is mounting. Already, human rights abuses in the run-up to the 2016 elections are stacking up. The country's fate remains uncertain, especially if Kinshasa and Bujumbura, like Ouagadougou, see power change hands.

10 See. Luis Martinez, “Le printemps arabe, une surprise pour l'Europe”, *Revue Projet*, issue 322, June 2011.

11 As proven by the letter from François Hollande to Blaise Compaoré in October 2014. However, the question of compliance with the Constitution was hushed during President Joseph Kabila's visit to Paris (21 May 2014), with France happy to use its Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations Security Council to remind us that “the proper electoral process is also a fundamental aspect of peace and stability. This process must follow the constitutional regulations.”

LIMITED TERMS FOR AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE



WHAT THE CONSTITUTION SAYS

- THE PRESIDENT CAN STAND FOR LIFE
- THE LIMITATION ON THE NUMBER OF TERMS IS RECENT AND NOT RETROACTIVE: THE PRESIDENT MAY STAND AGAIN
- THE NUMBER OF TERMS IS LIMITED
- MONARCHY: THE HEAD OF STATE IS NOT ELECTED
- THE CONSTITUTION IS CURRENTLY BEING WRITTEN
- THE CONSTITUTION IS BASED ON A PEACE AGREEMENT
- STATE WITHOUT ELECTIONS

WHEN THE CONSTITUTION IS USED AS A TOOL

- ✂ SUCCESSFUL "CONSTITUTIONAL COUP D'ÉTAT": THE LIMITATION ON TERMS WAS WITHDRAWN FROM THE CONSTITUTION SO THAT THE HEAD OF STATE COULD REMAIN IN POWER*
- ✕ "CONSTITUTIONAL COUP D'ÉTAT" AVOIDED: THE HEAD OF STATE ABANDONED HIS EFFORTS TO CHANGE THE CONSTITUTION
- ⚡ RISK OF "CONSTITUTIONAL COUP D'ÉTAT": THE PRESIDENT WANTS TO CHANGE/INTERPRET THE CONSTITUTION TO SEEK A NEW TERM IN OFFICE

*IN TOGO, THE STATE SIGNED A GLOBAL POLITICAL AGREEMENT (GPA) STIPULATING A LIMITED NUMBER OF TERMS, BUT IT WAS NEVER APPLIED

AFRICAN CHARTER ON DEMOCRACY, ELECTIONS, AND GOVERNANCE

Signatories to the Charter of 3 February 2014 (most recent version available on AU website)

Countries ratifying the charter: South Africa, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Lesotho, Mali, Malawi, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Western Sahara, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Togo, Zambia.

Signatories: Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Comoros, Congo, Gabon, Gambia, Equatorial Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Uganda, DRC, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Somalia, South Sudan, Swaziland, Tunisia.

Did not sign: Botswana, Egypt, Eritrea, Libya, Malawi, Seychelles, Tanzania, Zimbabwe.



LIONEL CHARRIER / MVP

With its charter, the African Union is committing to promoting human rights and the right to grow.

to not offend the powers that be, or even the country's business partners, thereby guarding its flanks. In the DRC, France was initially happy with a statement made via a deputy representative to the United Nations. Public, high-level criticism has greater reach. It can be heard not only from leaders but also from the people on the field.

The new European "doctrine" still suffers some glaring exceptions: in Cameroon, the EU barely expressed its reservations following the reelection of Paul Biya in 2011, following a hotly disputable electoral process that was nevertheless quickly recognised by Paris¹².

In Togo, during the summer of 2014, the regime's expulsion of a European diplomat who was a little too enthusiastic in their role to support civil society in organising the elections, went without official protest from Brussels¹³. As for Idriss Déby,

he is still mentioned in Paris, where Chad's army is seen as offering valuable military support to France's African operations. In practice, European criticism is now focused on flagrant abuses such as constitutional coups, and remains largely silent with regard to past coups and more subtle manipulations.

In practice, European criticism is now focused on flagrant abuses such as constitutional coups, and remains largely silent with regard to past coups and more subtle manipulations.

AND THE AFRICAN UNION?

For its part, the African Union, seeking "to sow the seeds of political power changes based on regular transparent elections across the continent", said in 2007 that it had decided, in its African Charter in Democracy, Elections,

and Governance, to "promote universal democratic values and principles, human rights, and the right to growth". But some African States (including the DRC, Chad, Zimbabwe, Gabon, and Congo, etc.) have

¹² See Christophe Courtin, "Démocratie au Cameroun: l'Europe démissionnaire", *Revue Projet*, issue 324-325, December 2011.

¹³ The expulsion of the civil society and national reconciliation

(Pascarena) support project manager is detailed in, for example, "Présidentielle 2015 au Togo: le pouvoir farouchement opposé à une initiative de suivi de l'UE via la société civile togolaise", togo-online, 12 September 2014.

made a highly individual interpretation of this text, without the African Union, with no way to force its members to reply, saying a word. It is true that the Charter only came into force in 2012, when 12 of the 29 signatories had ratified it. And the recent positioning of the AU Commission for constitutional amendments has a strange view of changes in power and democracy.

WHAT ABOUT THE USA?

In Washington, Barack Obama stated his belief that Africa needed strong institutions rather than strong men back in 2012. On 4 May 2014, John Kerry, the American Minister for Foreign Affairs, shed further light on the matter by recalling his country's attachment to "*following the constitutional process*" and holding "*transparent, legitimate elections*" in the DRC, making American aid contingent upon this requirement. On 5 August, 2014, Obama drove the point home during the *Africa Business Forum*: "When rulers stay in power forever, they prevent fresh blood from coming through, they prevent renewal and the risk is that in the long run, people work more to retain power than for the good of the people". On 9 February 2015, during a press conference in Kinshasa, Russel Feingold, the special US envoy to the Great Lakes and DRC, was even more explicit, asking the INEC to publish the electoral schedule for 2016: "the transfer of power in the DRC (...) must be made peacefully through free, democratic and transparent elections". **A message with continental reach:** "It is this way of doing things that will apply to government across the region and beyond, throughout Africa". Visiting Brazzaville on 4 February 2015, Robin D Meyer, Director of Central Africa at the State Department, gave a speech along similar lines.

MAKING "CONSTITUTIONAL COUPS" A RED LINE IN INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY

The revolution in Burkina Faso finally convinced Western governments that the African people no longer wanted to be deprived of their destiny. The change is worthy of note. But beyond criticism of the international community, what are the consequences for Heads of State who stubbornly stay in power? Mechanisms exist if only States would use them: the suspension or restriction of international aid, partial removal or cooperation agreements, exclusion from certain international bodies (such as the African Union under Article 4 of its constitutional text that "condemns and rejects

anti-constitutional changes of power"), freezing assets or imposing travel bans on leaders and their associates, etc. At this stage, neither the European Union nor its Member States seem determined to make real the threat of sanctions. And yet that is where their credibility lies.

Declarations and charters are no longer enough: African democrats expect tangible support from the African Union and the international community, by discouraging and, if necessary, sanctioning any attempts at constitutional coups as if they were military coups. In countries that have already abandoned limited terms in office through such wrangling, the African Union and international community must view these amendments to the Constitution as coups d'état, and obtain governments that follow earlier texts to the letter. ■

CIVIL SOCIETY WRITES HISTORY

Claiming to spread democracy to authoritarian regimes through friendly pressure from abroad is, at best, an illusion. Because democracy must be won through strife. Something that civil society all over Sub-Saharan Africa have understood, demonstrating, sometimes with their lives on the line, an irrepressible thirst for freedom. These are the democrats that we must support, in Africa and Europe alike.



Ouagadougou, 28 October 2014: one million people in Burkina Faso dissuade Blaise Compaoré from carrying out a constitutional coup. In Kinshasa, 19 January 2015, and then in Goma three days later and Bukavu where, acting under the impulse of civil society, the population brought cities to a standstill for two days, with thousands of people protesting against the regime's confiscation of democracy. Democrats in Senegal, Mozambique, Burkina Faso, the DRC, Burundi, and Togo may surprise those who still believe in a passive or resigned populace. They prove wrong, in any case, all of those with a corporate reading of history, as if the only diplomatic issue was to spread democracy: "Today, social movements guide the world. Examples across all continents prove it", reminds the French political scientist, Bertrand Badie¹.

Mobilisations in Senegal, Togo, Burkina Faso, Mozambique, and the DRC are not "awakenings": they are the expression of an anger that has been present for some time.

past ten years in Togo, Cameroon, and Uganda... It is to deny the heritage of African champions of freedom whose names are often on the lips of the young people protesting in the streets. It is to ignore, most of all, the tireless work of these educators, political, charity, and trade union activists, journalists, independent media, artists, and religious leaders who have opened the critical eyes of the youth, revealed what is possible for entire generations held hostage by police states, to provide an avenue for debate, and organise resistance.

The movements in Senegal, Togo, Burkina Faso, Mozambique, and the DRC are not "awakenings": they are the expression of an anger that has been present for some time and that has been expressed in a variety of ways – in newspapers, in the streets, in songs, in hospitals, universities, and barracks... An anger that the powers that be wish to ignore. And that the "international community", in its statist obsession, pretends not to see.

A LONG HISTORY OF RESISTANCE

Civil society in authoritarian countries in Sub-Saharan Africa saw the Arab Spring overthrow dictators, fully aware of the scale of the challenges that would follow: they knew that their rulers easily manage the soft orders for good governance from the international community, and understood that it was up to them to win their political freedom.

Hasty analysts will see the recent period as a time when African democracies awakened. This is to ignore the violently repressed movements of the

CRYSTALLISATION

Too often, political and developmental questions are kept separate, as if they were not two sides of the same coin. It is not surprising, however, that the convergence of protest is based on democracy and rights. Did Amartya Sen, Nobel laureate for economics, not show that democracies do not experience famine? With so many stakeholders calling for democracy, it is because rights, the fight against poverty, development, and freedom all depend upon it. Of course, there is not one single type of democracy, but there is never democracy without changes of power, without those in power respecting the rule of law (in particular those governing institutions).

¹ Bertrand Badie interview with Eve Rodot and Jean Merckaert (for "TURN THE PAGE"), 9 July 2014.

Because they are universal, these principles have broad appeal.

It is the powers that be that create the spark of revolt. Blaise Compaoré's stubborn desire to stay in power in spite of the law, like that of Joseph Kabila in the DRC a few months later, crystallised protest. Dictatorships often dress in the formal trappings of democracy in order to reassure investors, and avoid criticism. Constitutional coups are a flagrant authoritarian abuse: it fools nobody at home or abroad. This was the opportunity that the people of Burkina Faso seized.

The movement in Burkina Faso boasted an unprecedented scale. Charities have long been working to educate the people, inspired by the Democratic Youth Organisation. But the role of artists is decisive, as Keur Gui did with "*Y'en a marre*" in Senegal: the rapper Smockey (see interview) and the reggae singer Sams'k le Jah used their popularity and ability to alternate between culture and politics to fill stadia (unlike the party in power, reduced to paying crowds that didn't even stay until the end of the show!). They galvanised young people without forgetting to structure grass roots mobilisation with small groups of ten ("cibals") throughout the country, some well-connected via Facebook and mobile phones, ready to act when the time came. Careful to remain independent from political parties, lacking credibility in the eyes of many, the "Balai Citoyen" gave young people confidence once again through political activism. When Blaise Compaoré stepped down, the movement remained strong in order to successfully manage the transition.

In other countries, religious institutions play a central role. In Mozambique, the clear voice of the clergy was not without influence in President Armando Guebuza's decision to stand down rather than staying in office in contempt of the Constitution. In the DRC, a country with a catholic majority, the repeated and finally unified² calls from the Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar (SECAM) and the Episcopal Conference of the DRC (CENCO) with regard to limited terms have, for two years³, been resonating with the people. And the unity, rare enough

² The Congolese church has not always spoken in a single voice. For example, differences were expressed in 2011 when results were announced, between the CENCO and the Cardinal of Kinshasa.

³ See for example the CENCO press release dated 14 September 2014.

Y'EN A MARRE

In Senegal, "*Y'en a marre* (Enough's enough)" was founded by two rappers in a pre-electoral context, when the outgoing president, Abdoulaye Wade, was running for office despite having reached the maximum number of terms. It was the most visible movement within civil society, carrying out innovative, peaceful actions to stand as a counterbalance without using violence, gaining support largely through its artistic appeal. From the beginning, the movement was clearly and unequivocally positioned as non-partisan. Their message was simple: sovereignty is expressed through the polling card and the heart of the matter is giving the people their rightful place so that they could enjoy greater involvement in managing their cities. After their happy ending in 2012, the movement continues to this day. Not without difficulty. But, while attempts to distort, discredit, and corrupt remain a reality, they stand testament to the influence and fear that this popular activism wields over the authorities.

GABON: "ÇA SUFFIT COMME ÇA" AND THE "FRONT DES INDIGNÉS"

The popular movements "*Ça suffit comme ça* (That's enough)" and the "*Front des Indignés* (Outraged People Front)" in Gabon group together free stakeholders in civil society who receive no funding from the government that they denounce for embezzlement, endemic corruption, injustice, and contempt for the people. They are committed to fighting to protect the rights of the people, create a true democratic regime with good governance, and to defend human rights and promote social dialogue, well-being, and free, transparent elections in Gabon. Recent actions include: protests against ritual murders repressed by the government on 11 May 2013 with six protesters imprisoned; an alternative forum alongside the "New York Forum Africa" held by Richard Attias, to denounce the absurd cost of this event that produced no results.

CAMEROON: DYNAMIQUE CITOYENNE

Dynamique Citoyenne, founded in 2005, is a national network for independent monitoring of public politics and cooperation strategies, made up of some 200 organisations (NGOs and charities, trade unions, faith-based organisations) from 10 regions in the Cameroon. At its heart, a citizen committee plans the conditions for a "peaceful change of power for Cameroon's transition to democracy", while public debates (La Grande Palabre) are designed to build democracy upon local issues. *Dynamique Citoyenne* is also developing election tracking tools, a people's caravan to raise awareness, and community watchdogs. Their task is substantial: the government represses any public expression and mobilisation of social forces. Without a real Independent Electoral Commission (INEC), "Elections Cameroun" (ELECAM) has been managing the elections since 2006, but it is staffed primarily by ruling party activists. The same ruling party also holds Parliament. Many citizens in Cameroon have so little confidence in institutions that they prefer not to join on electoral rolls.

INTERVIEW

“THE NEXT GENERATION HAS HAD ENOUGH OF FATALISM”



XAVIER SCHWIBEL / S.C.

Your “Balai Citoyen” collective found deep resonance with the people of Burkina Faso. Did you think it would receive such support?

It is a great achievement. There was just one thing that Blaise Compaoré shouldn't do: to try to change the Constitution to stand for a fifth term. Public opinion was ready to block this action in numbers. There came a moment when everything was ready: a section of the army no longer wanted Compaoré, everyone had had enough.

We spent more than a year garnering support: we went all out, held sit-ins, marches, concerts, debates. We created, for example, the Caravan: we went out on motorbikes to meet people, and where we found them, we stood up and spoke, to say yes to changes of power and democracy, yes to justice for economic and blood crimes.

Very often, people here don't have access to information. Computers exist but only 2% of the people have access. So we have an obligation to be out in the field, to reach out to people, educate them, inform them, and try to

develop their analytical abilities. And it worked.

develop their analytical abilities. And it worked.

The fall of Compaoré was not an end in itself. How are you continuing your fight?

We don't intend to manage power, but as a leader of popular opinion we do have a responsibility: to fight for justice and to protect human rights. We hope to wake the people up. People need to get involved and take control of their destinies.

The “Balai Citoyen” sees itself as a counterbalance to power. We mustn't go back: today, when we go out in the street, we feel sympathy but people also expect change. We have only scrapped the tip of the iceberg, the part below the water is still there. The roots of the old regime are still there.

We need a new generation of Africans, and young people in particular, who are aware of the impact they can have on the development of their State. People need to get involved in citizen action. Even if only for selfish reasons: if you put out the fire at your neighbour's, you stop your house from catching fire. We need constant pressure and vigilance from the people. Stop saying “we aren't interested in politics”. Democracy has rules, and nobody wants to follow the most basic: changes in power! We need to force governments to play by the rules.

One of our key messages is that we need to follow ideas rather than men. The movements, charities, all of the organisations that fight to improve human well-being, they all need to

defend ideas, not individuals. We need to stop waiting for a messiah.

What should the next government's priority be?

The top priority is to settle the past. People need to feel able to trust institutions again. There are plenty of matters that need to be re-examined: the assassination of the journalist Norbet Zongo in 1998, and that of Thomas Sankara (Ed: father of the “Burkina Faso Revolution”, assassinated during the coup that led Compaoré to power in 1987), but also misappropriation of funds and other crimes committed by the big shots of the old regime.

Elections are held in November, the next government must set the country on the road to good governance. That is the basis for everything, the foundation upon which the political programme must be built. The simple fact of an honest government will boost our country's growth by 8-15%. We have potential, and a major asset: over 60% of the population is made up of young people. And the next generation is tired of fatalism. I dream of strong public opinion that makes itself heard.

Can a pan-African movement emerge?

Despite all that is happening in Africa, you can count the number of times the African Union has acted on one hand. It doesn't have the resources, more importantly the will isn't there. When the majority of leaders are not legitimate, how are they supposed to moralise? Pan-African solidarity cannot exist through words alone, it must be made real through actions.

One thing these movements have in common is non-violence, a philosophy shared by *Balai Citoyen* and *Dynamique Citoyenne* in Cameroon. Social movements and civil society know that violence begets violence. In Ouaga in October 2014 as in Kinshasa in 2015; the only people bearing arms are those in the presidential guard, those who opened fire on unarmed protesters.

The activists take considerable risks by expressing themselves freely and protesting. Since 2009, Libreville looks like an enclave, with a military vehicle at every crossroads. In Burundi, the 304 charities that, in January 2015, launched the “Citizen Campaign to Halt the 3rd Term” showed unbridled courage in a context of brutal repressions. For proof, you need only look to the unpunished murders, arrests, and imprisonment in 2014 of journalists and human rights activists (see segment on “Great Lakes”). In Uganda, social movements found a way to block the ban on demonstrations: they told everyone to walk to work, treading Kampala’s streets every day in opposition to a regime that will celebrate its 30th anniversary in 2016 – twice the median age in Uganda.

¹ Interview by Marina Bellot (Secours Catholique/ Caritas France) on 16 January 2015 in Paris. The interview is available in full on the *Secours Catholique* website.

to be highlighted, of opposition parties in their refusal of a constitutional coup drained the legitimacy from Kabila’s plans. On the other side of the Congo river, in another mostly catholic country, the call for peace and reconciliation issued by the Episcopal Conference on 22 December 2014 probably dissuaded Denis Sassou Nguesso from calling a referendum for constitutional reform – while he was about to follow in the footsteps of his erstwhile counterpart in Burkina Faso.

ALLIED CIVIL SOCIETIES

The Senegalese movements greatly inspired those in Burkina Faso, which in turn found a deep resonance elsewhere around the continent. The waves that these movements made around the world with institutions, foreign political leaders, and the international media only serve to bolster their determination. Was not the Congolese government spokesman obliged to announce, on 5 February 2015, that “President Kabila would leave office in 2016”, after Monsignor Fridolin Ambogo, invited to Europe as part of the “Turn the page”

TOGO

The organised protests against the political extortion under the regime of Eyadema and son were backed early on by human rights associations. However, for a long time these associations struggled to organise outside the base of the National Alliance for Change (NAC), the only real opposition party capable of leading popular demonstrations. Founded in 2012, the “*Sauvons le Togo* (Save Togo)” collective grouped together eight human rights and civil society association, as well as six political parties (including the NAC), united against manipulation of the electoral code and the lack of an independent judiciary in particular. Today, associations are created with full technical and political reputations in monitoring elections. Their struggle, backed by the Togolese *Concertation nationale de la société civile* (CNSC), is to obtain transparent electoral processes so that power can change hands at the ballot box in an institutionally and legally robust political system. The social movements are backed by a new STT (*Synergie des Travailleurs Togolais*) centre that is the result of trade unions rallying together around the SYNPHOT medical staff union, breaking away from the traditional centres that are corrupt or controlled by the government. These movements, based on trade union issues, are combined with other forms of protest against the regime. The example set by social movements in Burkina Faso gave hope, but also called into question Togolese civil society’s ability to coordinate protests.



ÉLODIE PERRIOT / S.C.

Monsignor Ambogo, Abbot Santedi and Brice Makosso during the “Turn the page” conference in Paris in February 2014.

campaign, issued a strident call for a change of power in the DRC on *Radio France Internationale*?

The alliance of civil societies serves the (re)conquest of democracy and the freedom of each country’s people to rule their own destinies. This alliance is not starting out from scratch. Because while all too often the European Union and its Member States engage in hypocritical diplomacy, continuing to support regimes that are despised by the people they rule, the respective civil societies are communication, getting to know each other, debating, and working together. In the 1990s, internal citizen activism, supported by foreign allies, led to a breath of democracy blowing through a number of African countries (limited terms in office, multi-party politics, etc.). Since then, the World Social Forum, campaigns to write off debt and secure citizen control of budgets, for transparent extraction incomes or against economic partnership agreements (EPA), international movements based around the Togolese elections in 2005, the international observers for the DRC elections in 2006,

citizen engagement for a different French policy on Africa⁴, etc. have all served as the melting pot for the civil societies of Africa and Europe.

This impetus and the support of various intellectuals and artists gave birth to the “Turn the page!” campaign, to which civil society decided to

answer with its own campaigns. Now is the time for a new alliance between the people of Africa and Europe, to make democratic changes of power a reality, and with them democracy itself. ■

Current European criticism focuses on flagrant constitutional coups, and largely ignores past coups and more subtle manipulations of the constitution.

⁴ See in particular, “*L’appel pour une autre politique de la France en Afrique*”, published in *Le Monde* in February 2007 and co-signed by several hundred civil society organisation in Afroca and France, the “*Livre blanc pour une politique de la France en Afrique responsable et transparente*”, published in 2008 by the *Plate-forme citoyenne France-Afrique* (L’Harmattan).

GREAT LAKES: SILENCING CRITICISM

"I was doing what journalists do and I was arrested. If I accept I'm in the wrong, I may as well give up my job. If I'm not a journalist, I'm nothing and they will have won." Bob Rugurika, Burundian journalist. When power knows it is threatened, when it can no longer count on popular permission to stay in office, it often has the same knee-jerk reaction: to come down hard on the media and civil society that can defy it. Dug in with their backs against the wall, presidents tempted to retain power will do anything to silence the voices that criticise them.

In Bujumbura, it seems like anything goes to bring civil society to heel. In May 2014, Pierre Claver Mbonimpa, chairman of the Association for the Protection of Human Rights and Prisoners (APRODH), was arrested and placed in detention. He was preparing to make public information regarding training of young activists for the presidential party in DRC (the *Imbonerakure*, "those who see far"), responsible for many instances of violence during elections. Despite poor health and vigorous protests from the international community, Pierre Claver Mbonimpa would be detained for almost five years. In January, it was the director of *Radio Publique Africaine* (RPA), Bob Rugurika, who was arrested for broadcasting reports on the murder of three Italian missionaries in 2014. All eyes were on the security teams with close links to power in Burundi. Accused without evidence of being an accessory to murder, prejudicing a criminal investigation, harbouring a criminal and withholding vital information, he was placed in solitary confinement in a provincial prison, before being released on 18 February. His release from prison gave rise, the very next day, to a tidal wave of support. Thousands of Burundians came from all over to brave the ban on protesting instilled the night before by the regime, to whom they sent a clear message that "enough is enough" (according to Pacifique Nininahazwe's, Focode chairman). Fearful, the ruling party felt forced to call in all of its leaders ahead of time to confirm their support for Pierre Nkurunziza. After adopting, in 2013, a law deemed to stifle freedom, the Burundian authorities (largely discredited) seemed

to have wanted to further tighten the vice on the media and human rights activists as the elections approached.

In DRC, the events of January 2015 showed how shaky Joseph Kabila's rule was. While the people of Kinshasa revolted, the social networks, text messages, radio stations (Canal Kin Télévision, Radio Télévision Catholique Elikya, RFI), and internet connections were brought down by the authorities in order to prevent any independent coverage of the demonstrations, and to nip another "Burkina Faso" in the bud. The government spokesperson, Lambert Mende, claimed that the media was closed down for broadcasting calls for destruction and threats to "proper functioning of the institutions", which led the government to take "protective measures". Such a mild euphemism... Without first-hand accounts or media coverage, it was easy for them to talk about isolated incidents, agitators, and thugs. Over the following days, it was Congolese civil society that was targeted by the security services. Christopher Ngoyi Mutamba, a human rights activist, was arrested on 21 January 2015. He was held in a secret location. The Congolese organisation "*Journalistes en danger*" believes that freedom of speech is today "held hostage" in the DRC. On 15 March 2015, this captivity resulted in the arrest of various journalists and artists in Kinshasa, including those belonging to *Balai citoyen* and *Y'en a marre*, there to launch a campaign encouraging young people to get involved in democracy in the DRC.

And these examples are not, unfortunately, isolated. The more strident the calls for changes of power become, the more the cornered powers see the appeal of repression. While locally journalists and activists bravely do their work, the Western media also have a major responsibility. By refusing to be satisfied with a superficial account of events, by pointing their mics and cameras at the country and providing a platform for civil society and the people, the media will play an essential role in democracy. At a time when information is global, African societies also expect a show of solidarity.

OUR RECOMMENDATIONS

FOR AFRICAN LEADERS

I. Make the democratic change of power possible:

- Respect the limit on presidential, legislative, and municipal terms in office. In countries where constitutional amendments have removed limits on terms in office, revert to an earlier text.
- Proscribe one-round presidential elections in the Constitution.
- Base electoral processes on inclusive, consensual political agreements.
- Ban the use of public funds and State resources to finance or support electoral campaigns for candidates belonging to the ruling party.

II. Guarantee free, fair, and transparent elections in line with the schedule detailed in the Constitution.

- Keep the electoral register up-to-date and make it accessible to citizens. Regularly carry out independent audits.
- Guarantee the independence and availability of human, technical, and financial resources to election management bodies (such as Independent National Electoral Commissions – CENI in French-speaking countries).
- Publish detailed results of votes by polling station (and consolidated by constituency) on a government website, and display the results of elections in offices.
- Promote civil society mechanisms to observe elections.

III. Provide the conditions for exercising democracy:

- Guarantee the separation of powers, and an independent judiciary in particular.
- Guarantee compliance with fundamental rights and freedoms (in particular freedom of expression, the right to protest, and freedom of information), and punish infringements.
- Respect the opposition parties.
- Sign and (if necessary) ratify the “African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance”.

FOR THE AFRICAN UNION, EUROPEAN UNION, AND THEIR MEMBER STATES

In line with Article 4 of the founding text of the African Union, which “condemns and rejects anti-constitutional changes of power”, and under the Cotonou Agreements (that commit the EU and a majority of AU members), whose “essential components” are “respect for human rights, democratic principles, and the rule of law”, the African Union, European Union, and their Member States must:

- I. **Rebalance their priorities**, revolving around security and economic development in Africa, **in favour of supporting democracy and the rule of law.**

→ [AU] Encourage the speedy signature and ratification of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance by all African States; add an article limiting terms in office in number and duration; monitor application of the Charter and apply an arsenal of sanctions in response to any infractions.

II. Adopt a clear position against any convenient constitutional amendments, and any other manoeuvre intended to bypass limits on terms in office.

→ **Publicly condemn** attempts at “constitutional coups”. Whenever necessary, adopt string, united positions at the UN.

→ **Sanction leaders** of governments that use such tactics to stay in power:

- Compile a list of named political and public leaders (institutions, electoral commissions, etc.) involved in this manipulation.
- Set a scheme of sanctions against them and their close associates: freeze and monitor assets abroad, deny visas, cancel work permits, etc.

→ **Re-evaluate relations with the State in question:**

- Suspend, where in place, the association agreement with EU¹.
- Suspend or restrict European aid [together with that from multilateral institutions - UNDP, World Bank, etc.], taking care not to penalise the people.

→ **Acknowledge the constitutional amendments of convenience as real “coups d’état”** and make the countries in question go back to the principle of limited terms in office.

III. Encourage and protect civil society and human rights activists:

→ Local representatives of the African Union, European diplomats, and those from its Member States must **publicly express their concerns** about any threats, **their condemnation** of arbitrary arrests and extortion, and demand explanations while keeping the civil society in question informed.

→ **Forge regular dialogue** with local civil society organisations and provide concrete support to those working to promote democracy and defend human rights and freedom of speech.

→ **Provide a haven** (facilitate access to Schengen zone, asylum in safe neighbouring countries, etc.) if threats or persecution targets members of civil society and their families, **and an emergency support fund** for financial reprisals.

→ **Forbid the export of surveillance and security equipment** to regimes that may use them to repress peaceful protests or to neutralise political and charity actions.

→ **Recruit active cooperation from police and the judiciary** with regard to extortion against activists, political opponents, journalists, and human rights activists.

→ **Support**, by allocating some of the resources earmarked for elections, partnerships between **members of civil society based on promoting the rule of law and civic education**, in particular that aimed at women and young people, and rural areas.

IV. Support free and transparent election processes, providing assistance where needed.

¹ Or the resulting action plan (more association agreements with countries neighbouring EU), partnership agreements, contracts, conditions and criteria for budgetary aid programmes. Often, there is a clause that human rights are respected and democratic principles applied.

- Upon completion of electoral observations, quickly make public the reports from all observers and only issue an opinion on the validity of the vote after they are published.
- Promote other independent observation mechanisms (press observers, rural observers).
- If there is a pre- or post-election crisis (convenient amendments to electoral regulations, disputed results, etc.), and whenever necessary, work (in partnership with the UN) as “facilitators” for political dialogue between the regime in place, opposition parties, and civil society.

V. Promote the creation of an international constitutional court, a project launched by the President of Tunisia in the wake of the events of 2011. This international legal body would be responsible for monitoring Constitutions and constitutional and electoral practices within a State with regard to their international commitments through the Universal Declaration of Human and Civic Rights, or international human rights agreements.

FOR CANDIDATES HOPING TO TAKE PART IN A CHANGE OF POWER

For a change of power to be meaningful, it must be given substance. Of course, it is up to the people of each country to define this in line with their history, culture, and creative imagination. But some measures may symbolise a real change of power that ushers in democracy:

- Guarantee transparency of the State budget, contracts with transnational companies, and income from natural resources; as well as involving the people in the creation and implementation of public policies.
- Follow republican standards in appointing positions of high office, in particular that of military and police commanders, and more generally throughout public positions.
- Respect the principle of the separation of power, in particular in appointing judges.
- Guarantee freedom of opinion, the press, and the right to protest without formalities other than informing the government; increase protection for civil society and activists monitoring and evaluating public policy.

THE CALL “TURN THE PAGE”

Published on 15 October 2014*, 27 years after Blaise Compaoré seized power in Burkina Faso, the call to “Turn the Page!” sent a supportive message to the people of Burkina Faso who had mobilised for a democratic change of power, and a warning message to the international community. In the days that followed, France and Europe publicly warned Blaise Compaoré against any attempts to manipulate the Constitution. On 30 October, the people of Burkina Faso forced the dictator to stand down.

“Africa: continent of the future” A hackneyed phrase, repeated by the political classes, the media and among economists on the international stage. But what kind of future are we talking about? One of foreign investment and a handful of powerful families? The international economy needs Africa and its potential but doesn’t need Africans (projected population of over 2 billion in 2050), made easier because their voices are muzzled. Africans will only own their future if there is true democracy, and democracy can only exist with political changeover.

TRANSFER OF POWER FROM FATHER TO SON

Constitutions are generally the guarantee of political changeover. Limiting the number of mandates which can be held by one president is healthy, and is a measure adopted by the majority of African states. In some cases these provisions are embedded in inviolable texts. However, even such precautions have not prevented another number of heads of state to remain in power, for decades, though repeated violation of these enshrined principles of democracy and to the general indifference of media and public opinion around the world. In certain African states, dynasties have been born, where power is passed on from father to son. Twelve of the families holding the reins of power in Africa were already in that position in 1990. 85% of people in Gabon and Togo have never seen any change in head of state! These regimes also receive the more or less tacit support of other states. They have managed to obtain international legitimacy, following the cold war, through careful manipulation of the terrorist threat. To the North, everything happens as if democracy was a luxury that African countries cannot afford. As a result of this African societies struggle to survive. Testimony to this is the

political and military unrest which has shaken certain countries. Citizens who demonstrate to obtain change and to demand proper respect of the constitution and democracy pay a heavy price, through repression. The wave of democracy however has not lost momentum. Attempts to secure another generation of the ruling dynasty in Senegal were scuppered by the ballot box, and in Tunisia and Egypt through the Arab revolution. The cry of “ENOUGH” heard in Dakar in 2012 sent ripples far beyond Senegal. In the streets of Maputo, Bujumbura, Libreville, Ouagadougou, and Algiers, a same cry of revolt and hope for change can be heard, along with the same refusal to allow the ruling dynasty to remain in power.

THE THREAT OF A CONSTITUTIONAL ‘COUP-D’ÉTAT’

Constitutional change in the 1990’s led to many African countries to limit mandates and open the way to a multi-party system. Pressure from citizens tipped the balance and forced authoritarian regimes of the time to change, with the support of external democratic forces. Today the time has come for a new alliance between citizens of Africa and Europe to proceed to the next state: bring change alive. The refusal to allow any constitutional change for personal gain is the first step. Although constitutional change in itself is not antidemocratic, using such change as a tool to perpetuate personal power could not be further from citizen expectations and the stated values of the international community in terms of promoting a state of law. Political stability and the fight against terrorism should not be claimed in vain. Everywhere in the world experience has taught us that democratic rules form the best antidote to political instability, armed conflict and terrorism. Political stability

* The call was published on lexpress.fr and in various African newspapers - Liberté (Togo), Le Mbandja (Gabon), Gabon Review (Gabon), Le Messager (Cameroun), Democrat (Guinea Bissau), Le Soir d’Algérie (Algeria), Guardian (Nigeria)... And Smockey (Balai citoyen) granted a long interview to RFI for the occasion.

finds its roots in robust institutions – not in perpetuated dynastic rule. And yet the threat of a constitutional coup d'état exists in 2015 in Burkina Faso in the form of Blaise Compaore and in Burundi with Pierre Nkurunziza, also in 2016 in Rwanda with Paul Kagame, in Congo with Denis Sassou Nguesso and RDC with Joseph Kabila. In the Togo, the ruling dynasty managed to remain in power in 2005 after fiddling the constitution, costing 800 lives. The heir to this position is presenting himself for a third mandate in contempt of political debate on constitutional reform and recommendations from the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission.

LEADERS WHO HAVE A CHANCE TO CHANGE HISTORY

In these countries, presidents and their entourage behave in a way which leaves onlookers in no doubt about their intention to remain in power through constitutional gerrymandering. In the past, many heads of state in Africa betrayed their word: Gnassingbé Eyadema in Togo in 2002; Idriss Deby Itno, Chad in 2005; Paul Biya, Cameroun in 2008; Ismaïl Omar Guelleh, Djibouti in 2010; Yoweri Museveni, Uganda in 2010, Abdoulaye Wade, Senegal in 2012. Others however have opted for change, following the steps of Jerry Rawlings in Ghana, Mathieu Kérékou in Benin, Pinto da Costa in São Tomé and Príncipe, and presidents Aristides Pereira, Antonio Mascarenhas and Pedro Pires who succeeded each other in the Cape Verde Islands. Leaders tempted by the possibility of perpetuation their mandate should know they have the change to change history. By accepting change they hand power back to its real guardians: the people, in a final act of appeasement. At the same time, the absence of international response to this situation leaves the African regimes in question free reign to impose, including with the use of violence, an intolerable change to their constitutions to maintain power. Leaving one leader pursue this betrayal is the breach in the wall through which others will feel entitled to pass. The knock-on effect nonetheless can go the other way: The change in Senegal in 2012, and the decision by the departing President in Mozambique at the beginning of March 2014 to step down is a signal to act in order to obtain the right conditions to underpin change elsewhere – starting with Burkina, Burundi and Togo. And in other countries where this movement throws into stark evidence other issues (such as biometrics, freedom to demonstrate, and independence of constitutional commissions...) Europe was caught off guard by the Arab revolutions. Europe would betray its hidden interests and true values if it chose to turn

a blind eye to the lack of change in these archaic regimes in sub-Saharan Africa.

GIVING SUBSTANCE TO CHANGE

In order to ensure that this change has meaning, it must be given substance. Of course it is for each country to determine the course of its own history, based on its culture and creative imagination. However, some measures can ensure that change really does become the vessel for democracy: budgetary transparency of public expenditure, contracts with multinational companies and revenue from sale of natural resources; respecting republican values when making nominations for military and law and order positions; freedom of opinion, press and to demonstrate with only an obligation to notify the authorities of the event; nomination of magistrates free of political involvement...

Together, we, citizens of Africa and Europe, thinkers, artists, activists, journalists, religious leaders, associations, unions, are joining forces to turn the page on authoritarian regimes and set the groundwork for true democracy in Africa. We share the common values of democracy and non-violence, we are determined to bring alive the conditions required to rally citizens in the name of democratic change, in all sub-Saharan African countries. The future of Africa depends on it.

In Africa, Europe, and around the world, we are calling for a broad, non-partisan alliance of citizens, intellectuals, artists, charities, trade unions, and religious leaders, in order to:

- **Reject any attempts at constitutional manipulation for personal ends, strip dynastic regimes of their legitimacy in the eyes of public opinion, and put an end to the cautious approach of Western leaders to anti-democratic practices in Africa.**
- **Protect activists committed to democratic changes of power in Africa, and support the emergence of a stronger African civil society, by bridging connections between their actions across the globe, and boosting their coverage in the international media.**
- **Work together to build a shared vision of the future of African democracy, and what life after a change of power might be like.**

SIGNATORY ORGANISATIONS TO THE CALL TO TURN (AS OF 30/01/2015)

AFRICA: ALLIANCE POUR REFONDER LA GOUVERNANCE EN AFRIQUE - ASSOCIATION PANAFRICAINNE POUR L'ALPHABETISATION ET L'EDUCATION DES ADULTES (PAALAE) - CENTRAL AFRICAN NETWORK FOR TRANSPARENCY, ACCOUNTABILITY AND PARTICIPATION (CANTAP) - EMMAÛS AFRICA
BENIN: CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DU BÉNIN (CGTB) - BURKINA FASO - ASSOCIATION SPORTIVE ET CULTURELLE POUR L'ENFANCE (ASCE) - BALAI CITOYEN - FESTIVAL CINÉ DROIT LIBRE - GROUPE DE CONCERTATION ET DE RÉFLEXION (GCR) - MOUVEMENT DES SANS-VOIX BURKINA
BURUNDI: DYNAMIQUE SOCIO-ÉCONOMIQUE AU BURUNDI (DYNASCO) - FORUM POUR LE RENFORCEMENT DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE AU BURUNDI (FORSC) - LIGUE NATIONALE POUR LES ELECTIONS LIBRES ET TRANSPARENTES (LINELITI) **CAMEROON:** ACTIONS SOLIDAIRES DE SOUTIEN AUX ORGANISATIONS ET D'APPUI AUX LIBERTÉS (ASSOAL) - AFROLEADERSHIP - AGAGES MANAGEMENT CONSULTANTS - ALLIANCE POUR LE BUDGET PARTICIPATIF ET LA FINANCE LOCALE (ACBPFL) - ASSOCIATION DE LUTTE CONTRE LES VIOLENCES FAITES AUX FEMMES - ASSOCIATION DES JEUNES ACTEURS POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT SOCIAL ET ECONOMIQUE (AJADES) - CAFAGB - CENTRALE SYNDICALE DU SECTEUR PUBLIC (CSP) - CENTRE D'ACTIONS POUR LA VIE ET LA TERRE (CAVT) - CENTRE DE RESSOURCES POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT LOCAL (CRDL) - CENTRE RÉGIONAL AFRICAIN POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT ENDOGÈNE ET COMMUNAUTAIRE (CRADEC) - DYNAMIQUE CITOYENNE - GREDEVEL - HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES (HRI) - JEUNESSE RURALE ACTIVE (JEURAC) - PLATEFORME DES ORGANISATIONS DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE POUR LES DROITS ÉCONOMIQUES SOCIAUX ET CULTURES DU CAMEROUN (PFDESC) - PLATEFORME DES PROMOTEURS DE MUTUELLES ET COOPÉRATIVES D'HABITAT (MUCOOPHACAM) - RÉSEAU NATIONAL DES HABITANTS DU CAMEROUN (RNHC) - WOMEN'S ADVOCACY AND COMMUNICATION NETWORK (WANET) - **REPUBLIC OF CONGO:** CONSEIL POUR LA LIBÉRATION ET LE CHANGEMENT AU CONGO (CLC) - DEMAÎN LE CONGO BRAZZAVILLE - DÉVELOPPER AUTREMENT LE CONGO (DAC) - GROUPE D'ETUDE ET DE RECHERCHE DU PROGRÈS EN AFRIQUE (GERPA) - JEUNESSE EN ACTION POUR LA RÉPUBLIQUE - JUSTICE ET PAIX POINTE NOIRE - LA CONSCIENCE LIBRE - LEMARIGOT.COM - MOUVEMENT CITOYEN POUR LE RESPECT DE L'ORDRE CONSTITUTIONNEL - MOUVEMENT POUR LA CULTURE CITOYENNE (MCC) - PUBLIEZ-CE-QUE-VOUS-PAYEZ - RENCONTRE POUR LA PAIX ET LES DROITS DE L'HOMME (RPDH) - SAUVONS LE CONGO - SERVICE D'ACTION CIVIQUE ET DE RÉSISTANCE (SACER) **CÔTE D'IVOIRE:** ASSOCIATION IVOIRIENNE POUR LA SAUVEGARDE DE L'ENFANCE EN DANGER - CONVENTION SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE IVOIRIENNE - SYNDICAT DES EMPLOYÉS DU DISTRICT D'ABIDJAN (SYNEDA) **DJIBOUTI:** COMITÉ DES FEMMES DJIBOUTIENNES CONTRE LES VIOLS ET L'IMPUNITÉ **GABON:** BRAINFOREST - ÇA SUFFIT COMME ÇA - COLLECTIF GABON DÉMOCRATIE - FORUM DU PEUPLE EKANG - GABON ADVANCE - LE MBANDJA (HEBDMADAIRE) - LES INDIGNÉS DU GABON - RÉSEAU DES ORGANISATIONS LIBRES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE POUR LA BONNE GOUVERNANCE AU GABON (ROLBG) - SYNDICAT DES CADRES **GUINEA:** ACORD GUINÉE - ACTION INTERNATIONALE CONTRE LES CONFLITS ET LES MALADIES QUI MENACENT L'AFRIQUE (AICCOMMA) - ASSOCIATION DES VICTIMES, PARENTS ET AMIS DU 28 SEPTEMBRE 2009 (AVIPA) - ASSOCIATION GUINÉENNE POUR LA TRANSPARENCE (AGT) - ASSOCIATION POUR DÉVELOPPEMENT LOCAL (ADL) - CENTRE D'ECOUTE DES FEMMES ET DES ENFANTS - COALITION CITOYENNE POUR LES ALTERNATIVES AFRICAINES DETTE ET DÉVELOPPEMENT ET LA DÉFENSE DES INTÉRÊTS FONDAMENTAUX DE LA GUINÉE (CADIF) - LIVING VILLAGE - PLATEFORME NATIONALE DS CITOYENS UNIS POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT (PCUD) - UNION DES JEUNES VOLONTAIRES DE COYAH (UJVC) - VOLONTAIRES GUINÉENS POUR L'ENVIRONNEMENT - CARES - **MALI:** FRONT NOUVEAU CITOYEN (FNC) - PUBLIEZ CE QUE VOUS PAYEZ MALI - **MAURITANIA:** CGT MAURITANIE (CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DE MAURITANIE) **MOZAMBIQUE:** AKILIZETHO - ADS - INSTITUTO XAVIER - **NIGER:** RÉSEAU NATIONAL DETTE ET DÉVELOPPEMENT (RNDD-NIGER) **NIGERIA:** THE AFRICA NETWORK FOR ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE (ANEEJ) **CAR:** ASSOCIATION OUBANGUI CHARI POUR LE VIVRE ENSEMBLE (AOVCE) - PLAN D'ACTION DU RÉSEAU AGAPE POUR LA PAIX LA LIBERTÉ L'UNITÉ L'IDENTITÉ ET L'ETHIQUE (PARAPLUIE) **RDC:** ACTIONS DES CHRÉTIENS POUR LA PROMOTION DE LA PAIX ET DU DÉVELOPPEMENT (ACPD) - ACTIONS SANS FRONTIÈRES (AFRO) - AMANI NA TUMAINI KWETU (ATK SUD-KIVU RDC) - ASSOCIATION AFRICAINE DE DÉFENSE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME (ASADHO) - ASSOCIATION POUR DES ÉLECTIONS TRANSPARENTES ET APAISÉES (AETA) - ASSOCIATION POUR LA PROMOTION ET LA DÉFENSE DE LA DIGNITÉ DES VICTIMES - ASSOCIATION POUR LES NATIONS UNIES DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE DÉMOCRATIQUE DU CONGO (ANU-RDC) - COLLECTIF DES PARTIES CIVILES DU KIVU - COMMISSION EPISCOPALE JUSTICE ET PAIX DE RDC (CENCO) - FONDATION POINT DES VUE DES JEUNES AFRICAINS POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT (FPJAD ASBL) - HÉRITIERS DE LA JUSTICE - JUSTICE POUR TOUS - KATALIKO ACTIONS FOR AFRICA-KAF - LUTTE POUR LE CHANGEMENT/ LUCHA - NOUVELLE DYNAMIQUE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE EN RÉPUBLIQUE DÉMOCRATIQUE DU CONGO (NDSC) - OUVRIERS DU MONDE (ODM) - SYNERGIE DES FEMMES POUR LES VICTIMES DES VIOLENCES SEXUELLES (SFVS) - UNION DES FEMMES POUR LA DIGNITÉ HUMAINE (UFDH) - **SENEGAL:** FORUM SOCIAL SÉNÉGALAIS - IMAGINE AFRICA INTERNATIONAL - MOUVEMENT DU 23 JUIN (M23) - SUKHALI - Y'EN A MARRE SÉNÉGAL **CHAD:** ASSOCIATION POUR LA PROMOTION DES LIBERTÉS FONDAMENTALES AU TCHAD (APLFT) - ASSOCIATION SOCIALE DES JEUNES POUR LA DÉFENSE DES DROITS HUMAINS (ASJDH) - COMITÉ DE SUIVI DE L'APPEL À LA PAIX ET À LA RÉCONCILIATION (CSAPR) - PATRIOTES DE LA DIASPORA TCHADIENNE **TOGO:** ACTION SUD - CADTM-TOGO ET LIGUE DES PATRIOTES - CONCERTATION NATIONALE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE DU TOGO - JUSTICE ET PAIX TOGO - OBSERVATOIRE DES MÉDIAS (OMDG-TOGO) - QUOTIDIEN LIBERTÉ - SYNERGIE-TOGO - VISIONS SOLIDAIRES **EUROPE: GERMANY:** COLLECTIF GABON DÉMOCRATIE - **AUSTRIA:** JUSTICE ET PAIX AUTRICHE - **BELGIUM:** ACTION DÉVELOPPEMENT. PARRAINAGES MONDIAUX - ASSOCIATION CULTURES & PROGRÈS - CENTRE TRICONTINENTAL (CETRI) - CLUB WALCO - CNCD-11.11.11 - ENTRAÏDE ET FRATERNITÉ - FONDS ANDRÉ RYCKMANS - JAMBO ASBL - JUSTICE ET PAIX BELGIQUE FRANCOPHONE - LE MONDE SELON LES FEMMES - RÉSEAU INTERNATIONAL DES FEMMES POUR LA DÉMOCRATIE ET LA PAIX - BELGIQUE - SOLIDARITÉ MONDIALE ASBL **FRANCE:** AGIR ENSEMBLE POUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME (AEDH) - AMICALE PANAFRICAINNE - ASSOCIATION CARDINAL EMILE BIAYENDA-FRANCE (ACEB - FRANCE) - CCFD-TERRA SOLIDAIRE - CLUB DES AFRICAINS DE BRETAGNE - COMITÉ DE LIBÉRATION DES PRISONNIERS POLITIQUES AU CAMEROUN (CL2P) - COMITÉ POUR L'UNITÉ, LA PAIX ET LA RÉCONCILIATION AU RWANDA - CUPR - CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DES TRAVAILLEURS (CGT) - CONGO YA SIKA - CONSEIL REPRÉSENTATIF DES ASSOCIATIONS NOIRES (CRAN) - CRID (CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET D'INFORMATION POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT) - FÉDÉRATION DES CONGOLAIS DE LA DIASPORA (CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE) - FESTIVAL INTERNATIONAL DU FILM DES DROITS DE L'HOMME (FIFDH) - FONDATION FRANCE LIBERTÉS - GROUPE NON-VIOLENT LOUIS LECOIN - INFORMATIONS SANS FRONTIÈRES - JUSTICE ET PAIX FRANCE - LABEL BEAUTÉ NOIRE - LUMIÈRE D'AMIS - MOUVEMENT CONGOLAIS CONTRE LA DICTATURE - LYON - MOUVEMENT DE LA PAIX - RÉSEAU FOI ET JUSTICE AFRIQUE EUROPE ANTENNE FRANCE - SECOURS CATHOLIQUE - CARITAS FRANCE - SHERPA - SURVIE - TERRE DES HOMMES FRANCE - WINNING AFRICA - Y'EN A MARRE ESPRIT PARIS **ITALY:** DYNAMIQUE DE LA DIASPORA CONGOLAISE (DE RDC) - RÉSEAU PAIX POUR LE CONGO / RETE PACE PER IL CONGO **LUXEMBURG:** JUSTICE ET PAIX LUXEMBOURG **NETHERLANDS:** RÉSEAU INTERNATIONAL DES FEMMES POUR LA DÉMOCRATIE ET LA PAIX **UNITED KINGDOM:** METHODIST TAX JUSTICE NETWORK UK **SWITZERLAND:** SWISSAID **OTHERS / INTERNATIONAL:** TAX JUSTICE NETWORK - EMMAÛS INTERNATIONAL **LEBANON:** AESTIM INVESTMENT ADVISORY **NICARAGUA:** RED NICARAGUENSE DE COMERCIO COMUNITARIO (RENICC)

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