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The Alternative Report on Africa (RASA) A useful but incomplete continental project

Jacques Fontanel, Antipas Touatam

CESICE, Grenoble-Alpes University Pre-publication

The Alternative Report on Africa (RASA)¹ seeks to break the idea of an economically and socially exhausted Africa, whose increasing share of the population is sentenced to immigration to developed countries that do not wish to receive it. He noted that the methods of analysis adopted by the various reports on Africa do not sufficiently take into account the specific realities of this continent. As a result, the methodological approach used to warn Africa's future involves mainly the ideological reflections and indicators of an unbridled liberalism that has itself inflicted heavy losses on this continent. In this context, the economic indicators provide useful information, but they must also be crossed with other measures concerning freedoms, solidarities, authentic living conditions, the importance of religious or civilization objectives pursued by groups of people more or less concerned only with the values of GDP, private property, overall or individual consumption, material well-being, or the weight to be accorded to the present in relation to that of possible futures.

The RASA advocates a philosophical, ideological and methodological reversal of the concepts proposed by international organizations. It aims to determine the criteria that reflect real life, as it is lived and accepted by Africans in their natural environments. It is a second stage of decolonization, that of the spirits and a new conquest of a true sovereignty on the specific vital objectives of the inhabitants of a continent. It is intended as a tool for reflection on the relevance of public policies and their real impact on the autonomous and sovereign transformations of African societies. It is a question of determining a new concept of development for and by Africa, "to construct a definition of the progress of Africa and Africans closer to their cosmogonies and visions of the world, their realities and their practices; to report on societal, economic, cultural, religious, political, and environmental developments and transformations that

¹ RASA is created by some non governmental organization, such as the Forum du Tiers Monde (FTM), l'*International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance*, l'Institut des Futurs Africains, Enda Tiers Monde, la Fondation Rosa Luxembourg, *Legs Africa*, l'Institut Panafricain pour le Développement - Afrique de l'Ouest et Sahel (IPD-AOS), le CODESRIA (Conseil pour le développement de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique), l'Institut Panafricain pour le Développement - Afrique de l'Ouest et Sahel (IPD-AOS), *West African Think tank (Wathi)*, l'Alliance pour la Refondation de la Gouvernance en Afrique (ARGA) et autres organisations et *think tank*.

give another idea of Africa that is being constructed and which, in fact, eludes conventional indicators of development and well-being; to reflect the prospective vision of Africans and the evolution of their (their) thought (s) on Africa and the world; giving voice to African citizens and actors in the production of a report that innovates in its methodology of development by setting up a platform for the production of knowledge and information combining scientific, community, citizens "².

The question arises as to whether, from an economic point of view, there would not also be a "clash of civilizations"³. World economic development has probably been important for a century, but at the same time it suffers from many deficiencies that are not without concern. It would be paradoxical that Africa, in the wagon of the end of the train of an excessive and unrestrained consumer development of the world's natural resources, does not seek to find other ways. If all the countries of the world spent the world's natural resources at the pace of the economically developed countries, they would disappear quickly, but definitely for everyone.

The RASA intends to reflect on another mode of development, new measures more accountant of the pain and joys of Africans. It is not about defining a new future with the only voice of the experts who always have knowledge of the values that have been taught to them in the past, but to return to an enlightened philosophy that is not about performance alone, but also on the life that we wish to live and propose to the men / women of the future. It is about informing, sharing knowledge, fighting against contradictions in order to define a common project that leaves no one on the road to social progress. In this context, it is necessary to build specific instruments to guide action. If no one takes a positive look at Africa, Africa must come up with a thought that is unique, authentic and sovereign, and then project it into the world.

I. I. Reports that do not respond to current and future challenges in Africa.

There is many reports on Africa, but they do not respond to current and future challenges in Africa. Most retain a vision of the future that is constant, stabilized, econometrically well established on the basis of information based on statistical concepts that are increasingly contested and unable to take into account the organizational and civilizational specificities of countries. However, the world situation does not offer sustainable structural prospects, in view of the destruction of free goods and services (water, air, natural resources, etc.)

² RASA/AROA (2018), *Rapport alternatif sur l'Afrique, Un rapport pour l'Afrique et par l'Afrique, Numéro Zero-2018*. Rapport disponible auprès de RASA-AFRICA S/C d'ENDA TIERS MONDE p. 13.

³ Sen, A. (2003), Identité et conflit. Existe-t-il un choc des civilisations ?, in « Civilisation, globalisation, guerre. Discours d'économistes, PUG, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, Grenoble.

allowed by a neoliberal globalization blinded by the search for ever-increasing profits, which ultimately threaten the very existence of humanity. Africa is poorly measured, poorly qualified and poorly represented by instruments and measures that do not apply well to its economic, social and political reality. Thus, the Observatory of Emergence in Africa⁴ has proposed to classify African countries according to a method that uses universal indicators and indices adapted to the realities of the continent. The thresholds it contains do not allow any African country to be described as emerging, which does not help to sufficiently highlight the progress of Africa according to its own criteria.

Africa is a land of power over the world. It is perceived as an eternally assisted place. The big companies plunder its natural resources. Africa has been historically drained of its human resources by slavery, it has suffered constant wars, the weight of tyrannies and ill-lived ideologies, it has been a place of conflict for the great economic powers, a domain of hunting and hunting, plundering natural resources for multinational companies, it hardly ever has a say in the establishment of a new international economic order. Africa has not been the victim of an internalized rejection of development, simply because it has always been exploited to promote the economic development of the colonizing countries or the rise of multinational corporations corrupting local authorities. The result is the famous vicious circle of poverty whose psychological effects on the population are exacerbated by the rise of social networks. While international institutions are more positive about the continent's growth rates in times of global economic crisis, this is not a reliable expression of rationally sustainable economic development. It is a system based on the infinite increase of a GDP with questionable content, i.e. in a new system to define in which the conditions of pollution, climate, and respect for working conditions, sustainability and sustainability of production would be ensured. We must not rely on technological progress to find alternatives to the recurrent economic and social crises that affect the poorest countries even more violently. Moreover, without drastic international public action, climate change will not fail to create new scarcities and violent changes in living conditions on Earth.

In international organizations, Africa's very poor level of development is often reported. It is generally recommended that it develop its production capacities in order to promote its development through systemic industrialization and to enter into the concert of world competitions as defined by the rules of the international economic institutions. Today, Africa as a whole is in a great state of dependence, the value of its currencies is low, it has only a limited control over its own resources, its voice in the international concert is indistinct, often fractured, dispersed, inaudible according to the interests and economic policies of the African rulers. Its military power is very limited, even

⁴ Gazibo, M., Mbabia, O. (2018), *Index de l'émergence en Afrique. 2017.*, Observatoire de l'émergence en Afrique, [http://www.prame.umontreal.ca/Index%20emergence Afrique 2017 Gazibo Mbabia.pdf](http://www.prame.umontreal.ca/Index%20emergence%20Afrique%202017/Gazibo%20Mbabia.pdf)

negligible⁵, its place in the international concert of culture and science remains incidental, the speech of its media falls into the ocean of indifference, its natural resources are exploited by protected foreign companies by the great powers, the finances of its states and its citizens are insufficiently reinvested in the countries of origin. For the most active countries in Africa, there is talk of "emergence", an adjective that refers to a positive vision of catching up in global competition and free trade. Are African countries able to integrate positively into the global economy as a result of significant institutional and structural changes? This strategy involves promoting export-oriented production and reducing the weight of production destined for the domestic market, a new high-risk dependency policy.

For RASA, in recent years, the prospects for Africa seem to change positively. According to international figures, African economies have grown globally by 5% a year, for 10 years. In 2018, real GDP growth is broadly maintained, driven by public investment, strong domestic demand for goods, and the strength of the services sector. "Africa thus seems to have become the normative" new frontier "of the world, the continent that catches the eye, raises the hope of the planet to see it infuse a new dynamic, new values"⁶. This positive effect is relayed, if not led, by foreign direct investment (FDI) from China, India and other emerging countries. The Chinese government has decided to inject \$ 60 billion into development projects in Africa to improve agricultural productivity, develop infrastructure (roads, railways, ports) and reduce public debt. This new dependence of African countries on China may be questionable. These investments are not aid granted to Africa, but a search for economic control of the labour forces and indigenous natural resources, a new form of dependence that is sometimes useful in the short term, but also very constraining in the long term.

Thus, these values of hope do not lack contradictory effects. It must be remembered that the precariousness of this growth is very large, because of the type of production concerned and the services offered, when it is dependent on foreign operators who may only invest in their production for international trade, but most of whose profits leave the country to settle in politically stronger and less tax-rich countries⁷. Profit repatriations and the demographic effect (despite increasing immigration) mean that per capita real incomes are degraded. In these circumstances, Africa must build its own instruments to measure the progress of its national economies in the light of the needs of its people and its citizens. Is the type of development advocated by the great powers compatible

⁵ Smith, R., Fontanel, J. (2008). *International Security, Defence Economics and the Powers of Nations*. Jacques Fontanel & Manas Chatterji; Chatterji. *War, Peace and Security*, Emerald, 2008,

⁶ RASA/AROA (2018), *Rapport alternatif sur l'Afrique, Un rapport pour l'Afrique et par l'Afrique, Numéro Zero-2018*. Rapport disponible auprès de RASA-AFRICA S/C d'ENDA TIERS MONDE, page 11.

⁷ Fontanel, J. (2016), *Paradis fiscaux, pays « filous ». La fuite organisée des impôts vers les pays complices*. L'Harmattan, Paris.

with African societies? Should we always follow the same path as the one now decried in terms of pollution and climate, of so-called developed economies? Should we always question the productive capacity of a country without regard to the interest of its consumption? Can the concept of a gross domestic product that is so questionable be retained as the main indicator of the strength of an economy? GDP is an indicator used to classify states into their obsession with economic growth and development⁸. Yet it is a simplifying aggregate that does not integrate ecological, environmental and societal issues, leading states to engage an excessive importance for the economic values. It does not take into account the depletion of soil and subsoil, pollution, international and national security, democratic freedoms, citizen solidarity or cultural influence. Its virtual monopoly of use has caused heavy damage to the potential of the Earth, for the exclusive benefit of a few states and multinational firms.

For RASA, the goal of catching up with development is nothing more than a mirror for larks; in fact, it takes again the base of the structural adjustment plans of the 1980s. It inscribes the continent in a system of competition whose rules it knows badly. Africa does not have the means of autonomous transmission capable of combating the internal inequalities favoured by the system of emergence, which leads to overexploiting its own natural resources until their deadly exhaustion. In the absence of foreign exchange, economic structures and strong instruments of power to participate in the global free trade system, Africa is doomed to be constantly losing. In these circumstances, it will soon be necessary to return to a domestic economy geared towards the internal market. Economic globalization has fostered the rise of large multinational corporations, has strengthened the power of the most powerful countries, has allowed the emergence of some large countries like the BRICS, it has substantially reduced the role of public authorities over the world on national economy, it has encouraged countries to admit unequal competition in terms of power relations, it has proposed to States to develop their attractiveness, which is nevertheless the base of external and internal inequalities. All countries are in an exacerbated dependence on markets and international economic rules, except when the most powerful states want to free themselves, especially when they are in conflict with each other. In this context, the ranking of the most productive countries per capita becomes a patent of good behaviour, whatever the productive operations carried out and their basic interest for the populations. Africa is then stigmatized for its lack of organization, corruption, poor governance, low value-added production, inability to retain local financing and the permanence of internal conflicts. The result is a kind of global collective disregard for the continent, which weakens his or her words.

⁸ Fontanel, J., Guilhaudis, J.F. (2019), Les effets pervers de l'usage du PIB pour la décision politique et les relations internationales. Comment en sortir ? *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales* (AFRI), Paris.

The questions then posed by the RFWS concern the universal scope of international laws and the criteria of judgment on the “well being” of populations. In other words, should the criteria of developed countries be used to define the human development of populations? Should we simply compare peoples in their capacity to produce market goods and services indefinitely without a negotiated reference to the usefulness of their social, philosophical, and egalitarian content? How to define the relative happiness of citizens? What are the guiding principles of economic and social progress? RASA wants to help African countries define the goals of their societies themselves by building new indicators of social and human progress, without direct reference to the paradigms of the globalized global economy. It involves questioning the throes of crippling domination effects and evacuating the social violence of multinational corporations and the plundering of Africa's natural resources for purely commercial purposes.

I.1. The proposals of the UN Economic Commission for Africa and Refining Progress

The report of the UN Economic Commission for Africa has proposed several indicators⁹. They introduce the final consumption, revenues inequalities, domestic labour, health and education expenditures, costs of cars accidents, water, air and noise pollutions, lost of wet ground, reduction of fossil resources, ozone couch reduction, long term damages (CO2 and nuclear)

Redefining Progress, an NGO, proposes GPI (Genuine Progress Indicator). The objective of "green" GDP is to measure the negative or positive impacts of growth on the environment and natural resources, which will be permanently removed from the productive system when they are exhausted. It takes into account overall personal consumption, including income inequality, net external debt, cost of durable goods, social adjustment (social fractures such as crime, accidents, time lost in transportation, divorces, unemployment, leisure time, etc.), environmental adjustment (cost of pollution, scarcity of agricultural land, destruction of forests and non-renewable resources, etc.) and beneficial adjustments (such as domestic work or volunteering).

GDP defines the added value of the entire productive system, without questioning the intermediate consumption of "natural" goods, which are supposed to be free, indefinite and inexhaustible. GPI (Genuine progress indicator), on the other hand, takes into account all social constraints, the perverse effects of the productive system, the future and the quality of life of individuals. In this context, this development index serves the developed

⁹ Commission économique de l'ONU pour l'Afrique
(https://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/blue_economy_policy_handbook-1.1-developpement_durable_et_bien-etre_en_afrique_fre.pdf):

countries in their comparison with developing countries, which will no doubt later be called the countries with differentiated development. However, in calculating GPI, material living standards still play a key role, which excessively reduces the negative effects of the social, ecological and environmental variables taken into account, which reduces the quality of judgment on the sustainability of development. The question is whether the GPI is a sustainability indicator, or an indicator of "economic well-being". He remains too sensitive to short-term issues of immediate "well-being". In this context, it does not sufficiently respond to the question of economic development, with its structuring foundations for the sustainability of this well being in the future. Above all, since the advent of liberalism and the theoretical rejection of mercantilism, economists develop this index, without any consideration for the social and civic peace¹⁰.

It should be noted that consumption, income inequality, health and education issues, the dangers of daily life, pollution of water, air, wetlands, water loss are taken into account such as arable land and fossil resources, the dangers of industrial and energy installations, but the question of internal and external security is not even addressed. Most African countries suffer from insecurity, daily violence, ethnic, political or inter-state conflicts. This is probably, in the history of Africa, the fundamental reason why this continent has not had economic and human development in the face of the looting of its people and its resources.

I.2. The Gross National Happiness Index¹¹ aims to determine the level necessary to reach a sufficient feeling of satisfaction of the citizens, on the basis of the standard of living, the feelings of "well-being" and the health, educational, cultural, community life qualities. serene and sustainable ecosystem diversity. The calculation covers growth and economic development, conservation and promotion of culture, safeguarding the environment, sustainable use of resources and good governance. Its calculation is the subject of many hypotheses whose application deserves a serious study of their actual consequences on the results obtained. In this index, the notion of good responsible governance is interesting, but it still does not address the issue of "eternal violence".

I.3. Genuine Saving (GS) includes all assets that directly or indirectly produce "well-being". It is a measure of wealth accounting, of the annual evolution of the capital stock of a nation. It accounts for natural built capital (machinery, buildings, telecommunication networks) such as non-renewable and renewable

¹⁰ Gadrey, J., Jany-Catrice, F. (2012), *Les nouveaux indicateurs de richesse*, Repères, La Découverte, Paris.

¹¹ Hanlet, N., Dupuy, L., McLaughlin (2014), *Genuine Savings and Sustainability*, Discussion Papers in Environmental Economics, Paper 2014-09, University St. Andrews.

resources, and short-term and long-term climate-related developments) and intangible (social and human) necessary for the communities. The GS introduces, alongside and in the offsetting of GDP, the real saving rate of a country, after amortization of the capital produced, including positive investments of human capital (in particular education and health), after deduction of the depletion of recognized and available stocks of natural resources (energy, minerals, forests, water and clean air). In most cases, the price of natural capital is set by the market, but not in others (nutritional value, landscape quality, biodiversity). Social capital is a measure of the quality of institutions and social networks. The basic assumption is that wealth is a fundamental basis of well-being, and any loss of wealth has consequences for future well-being. However, it does not explain everything, including the development of citizens and their security.

I.4. Finally, the Human Development Index (HDI) includes not only economic variables, but also statistical values for health, public education and income indicators. It gives interesting results, but sometimes difficult to interpret. It takes into account the health and longevity of men (measured by life expectancy at birth), the knowledge or level of education (average length of schooling or decision-making capacity), the level of life (per capita gross income in purchasing power parity) and the satisfaction of basic material needs such as access to healthy food, clean water, decent housing, good hygiene and medical care. However, these indicators do not always lend themselves to indisputable interpretation¹². Developing countries have a slight HDI growth, which highlights better integration into the global economy between 1990 and 2016, with the exception of several African countries. The question is rather to question what is really human development, what are the criteria that would be prioritized for human “well-being” and development (especially concerning freedoms and inequalities)? Is precariousness in social life not a scourge that comes from wars, lack of law enforcement, violence of all kinds, whether military or police. How can the armies and the police-justice couple, with the help of the public authorities and the legislator, ensure citizens a daily life away from physical and moral violence, and ensure the necessary individual and collective freedoms? All these indices do not introduce significant indicators for one of the most serious scourges on the African continent.

II. The proposals of RASA

For RASA, the modern concept of development is not adapted to the African situation. New and more relevant indicators, taking into account the

¹² Fontanel, J. (2010), Concept élargi de la sécurité économique, in *Economie Politique de la Sécurité Internationale*, Jacques Fontanel Ed. L'Harmattan, Paris,

fundamental elements of African civilization, including the question of appropriate powers, paradigms, models and criteria in African contexts, need to be found.

II. 1. The concept of "development" is unsuited to the African reality.

"Development" aims to categorize States on the basis of specific economic criteria which are based on defining the reality of the productive system of the Nations on the only immediate market bases, thus ignoring the values of the future, the patrimonies of Earth and national and international inequalities. Thus, we can present the underdeveloped countries, then "developing", then "emerging" to compare them with the "advanced" developed countries, examples for all the latecomers. Social progress goes through these stages, which involve innovation, the capacity to invest, but also the organization of a productive system conceived legally by the rich ruling classes with the help of the daily work of the other classes put at their service. In international relations, there are therefore the developed countries whose development system must be valued, and the "backward" countries, more "poor" who can not get out of their period of colonization, without the responsibility first on this state is actually recognized in the facts and international law. Some international economic organizations provide support on the basis of projects that meet the same principles and interests.

Structural adjustment policy has been strongly contested for its violence and inefficiency, before it is abandoned for new projects like "Millennium Development Goals", "Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper", "Structural Transformation of the economy" which embody the continuity of a master-student relationship that never allows them to get their exams. The logics of domination and exploitation of Africa are never questioned. For RASA, macroeconomic indicators are not enough to assess the welfare or development of the African Man, who remains reluctant to the cultural uniformity demanded by the great powers, by gradually eliminating all diversities. In this context, Africa does not have to catch up if it wants to be itself, with its values and diversity. Africa is today mostly unable to value the categories that are unique to it. It has suffered financial flows that have evaporated from its production space to other places, often illegally or encouraged by corruption, which has increased the external debt (\$ 400 billion in 2015). Thus, many public subsidies have been used to increase private profits and inequalities, multinational corporations and their affiliates monopolized the lands, and the militarization of African nations is an economic and social burden, without the security or the power of the states, on the contrary.

The economic development claimed by the international order emphasizes the market economy (though strongly contested in fact by the monopolies of the big multinational corporations and by the protectionist interventions of the biggest powers), the sacred individualism and the relations

of organized forces in the political, strategic, economic and military order. This system, which should work by itself, does not fail to experience serious economic crises, unbearable inequalities, violent relations based notably on predation. Poverty is seen as the result of chronic inefficiency of those who live it¹³. Yet growth is not the unsurpassed goal of the human being, who cannot base his happiness on the mere possession of artificial things and services created to turn them into consumers of the major international markets. Today's world is shaken by structural contradictions, by the perverse effects of economic and social domination, by a process of unalterable and ever more destructive production of personalities, personal life time and open thinking. Development models have no doubt helped to reduce hunger, improve the health of peoples, but today, with the existence of technology and science, another life could be opened to the whole of the world humanity, in sharing. While the hard sciences have undergone considerable development, the social sciences still refer to the philosophers of yesteryear, and sociologists are unfortunately rarely listened to by the demands of the dominant "Friedmanian" economists, for whom the function of an entrepreneur is to first and only to make profit, regardless of the consequences for employees. Today's global system leads to the oligarchic concentration of economic and political power, democracy knows the "adverse effects" of oriented information produced by oligopolies, environmental disasters such as global warming and loss of biodiversity are well known, but no answer is given by those who have the power, in the short term, to act. The insecurity at work in developed countries is also the testimony of a society that advances without questioning the "well-being" of men¹⁴.

Africa is an ignored continent, poorly estimated, poorly measured, poorly represented. Colonization and slavery systems confiscated its history and no international law has made it possible to define a simple compensation. In addition, the statistical systems in place do not give it the place it deserves to have, the data produced do not reflect the reality of the life of the indigenous populations, because of the discrepancies between the theoretical indicators and the situations real life.

II 2. What new relevant indicators ?

The question is what are the relevant indicators in terms of heterogeneous African values? So Africa has nothing to teach in the world, probably not in the field of mass production, but in the field of the know-how? Should we have or distribute useful information for the continent? For RASA, it is necessary to put the African citizen at the centre of the objectives of a specific economic and

¹³ Matteudi, E., Fontanel, J. (2015), L'action de l'OMC et de la CNUCED favorisent-elles la réduction de la pauvreté dans le monde ? *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales* (AFRI), Paris

¹⁴ Sen, A. (2012), *Ethique et économie*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris. Sen, A.K. (2012), *L'idée de Justice*, Flammarion, Paris.

social progress, which would at least as much appeal to the richness of the diversity of Africa as to the global world now proposed as master. We must leave the development path advocated by liberal thinking and rethink a new project based on the local knowledge and heterogeneous cultures of the continent. Africa must decolonise its thinking and engage the foundations and structures of its own history. It is a question of taking into account societal, economic, cultural, religious, political, environmental and specifically African evolutions and transformations, to release a prospective vision on the place of Africa in the world and to take the floor again on all the stages communities, by defining new organizations for the production of scientific, community, citizen and popular knowledge. In this new context, five multidisciplinary themes are favoured by RASA.

II.2.1. From conceptual abstraction to the diverse realities of Africans

Africa is not only what the world outside of it defines. The intrinsically African reality is not well understood by international experts and the measurement tools crafted by the most powerful countries are not adapted to a specific analysis of the African world. It has well-defined geographical features, but it is not limited to its contours. It came out of the stereotypes that prevailed in the colonial period. Pride of Negroes was then a fighting weapon for decolonization¹⁵. Africa is also cultures that have spread throughout the world; it is a disparate population and demography, well-defined social specificities, living political objectives, evolutionary, sometimes revolutionary, at least in its history. Talking about Africa to characterize all the countries of the continent leads to simplifications that reduce the potential of each of its entities. Africa is also a diaspora in its relationship with itself. It can help improve scientific and organizational skills, financially support development and help improve the image of an Africa in the making. Africa is not only a set of cultures; it is also a claim to belonging and a history often common, but dominated, in the modern era, by colonization and slavery. What does it mean to be African today? This thematic axis postulates that the relations of the peoples of Africa with those of the diaspora must constitute an area of particular interest, which requires analyzing them separately from Africa's relations with the rest of the world.

II.2.2. What are the specific African thoughts that could feed the African man today?

It is a question of understanding the great questions of civilization that may have arisen, erasing if possible the gang of ideas received by the invaders of territories and brains or the masters of wealth. It is a historical epistemological approach to classical African thought. On this basis is it possible to build an African cultural model, in order to define for the present and the future, specific

¹⁵Senghor, L.S. (1967), *Etudes françaises*, Vol.3. n°1. 3-20.

access routes to the “well-being” and the collective and personal development of its inhabitants? This raises the fundamental question of Pan-Africanism and regional integration.

II.2.3. How to introduce the question of power, powers and their application in Africa? Democracy has lost its bearings; it is becoming rather plutocratic in view of the importance of information oriented towards the richest or the best-informed or supported social networks. Is this still a mode of government that is adapted to Africans? It is not always understood as the fundamental basis of today's societies because of its deviation and it is no longer a factor of decisive political stability. The question really arises as to its practical application for the accession and the preservation of power; it does not allow a satisfactory answer to the values and history of Africans. Its exercise often seems to be a simple transplant, with the rejections that this sometimes assumes. How to reinvent modern institutions by retaining the legitimate principles of African societies? This question deserves new developments, which must be allowed to ripen. The project is about setting up an alternative to build in the face of liberal globalization¹⁶. African society has often been organized around a leader (which avoids the fragmentation of political spaces) and its elites (capable of regrouping the fragmentation of knowledge)¹⁷. It is thus a self-centred, endogenous development with a monetary sovereignty conquered or rather to conquer, and governance that stimulates productivity while strengthening the collective feeling of living together. It is a question of defining the type of democracy applicable to Africa, in the respect of the rule of law. We must strengthen the legitimacy of the state within the framework of the diversity of social dynamics, value the natural resources of the continent for Africans, find a better articulation between the market economy and the underground economy, but also strengthen the processes of regional politico-economic integration, participate in the establishment of a sustainable and fair globalization model, and decolonize the minds, but also the economic dependencies initially produced by colonial and slave relations. While preserving the basis of its African culture, it must be open to the culture of the world.

II.2.4. The citizens sovereignty is an ideal alternative to liberal globalization.

For RASA, the project of popular sovereignty is the ideal alternative to liberal globalization. Capitalism is supported by the dominant states; he creates social

¹⁶ RASA/AROA (2018), *Rapport alternatif sur l'Afrique, Un rapport pour l'Afrique et par l'Afrique, Numéro Zero-2018*. Rapport disponible auprès de RASA-AFRICA S/C d'ENDA TIERS MONDE p. 83.

¹⁷ Koulibaly M. (2008), *Leadership et Développement africain, les défis, les modèles, les principes*, Paris, L'Harmattan.

classes that suffer the violence of the capital / labour relation. Imperialism plays its devastating role, with the most powerful states assisting large multinational corporations in a system of exploitation and legalized predation. The idea of a major international exploited class is difficult to put into action, as the means of security and communication between the opponents are clearly unequal. The question is all the more difficult to tackle, as the demographic challenge of Africa is considerable in terms of economic, social, philosophical and economic issues. The potential labour force is expected to reach 1.25 billion in 2050. How can this growing labour force be absorbed into productive and rewarding jobs?

II.2.5. What are the paradigms, models, criteria, indicators and calculation methods adapted to African contexts?

On this occasion, it is necessary to define the application of the principle "think globally and act locally". According to the meaning assigned to it, the colonization of knowledge gives free scope to the centres of power of developed countries, which inevitably creates the conditions for new domination. On the other hand, any action initiated locally, based on the notion of belonging and contribution to global dynamics, can be positive. New measurement tools need to be put in place, not to compare with other companies, but to measure progress over time against targets. Can African "well-being" be assessed on the basis of the optimal satisfaction of individuals, families, tribes, communities and states with regard to the relevant economic or political conditions? How to value family solidarities, the oral transmissions of culture, but also the social etiquette, the pharmacopoeias of traditional medicine, the diversity of regional food and especially African traditions and mythologies that are creators of dreams and hope infinite? This is to fuel the debates on the ends of African societies, to help them take the economic and political orientations that are close to their societal and human aspirations. It is through this struggle, and the work on him of every African, that Africa will be rehabilitated in its history, its thoughts, its weight in the evolution of the world of today. This is an interesting program, but still at the level of ideas. The method of action is not really described, but the objectives are defined. Much remains to be done, as it lacks a reflection on the security and heterogeneity of Africa.

III. The RASA avoids questions of national and international security and the economic and religious heterogeneity of Africa

If the proposal made by RASA are not lacking in interest in a reflection on sustainable development and a legitimate challenge to free trade that states and large multinational companies support, while reducing the In practice, security and state heterogeneity issues, which are essential, are not really addressed. The security of a nation is an essential condition for its development. It is not appropriate today to consider security only from a military or police angle. The

living conditions of people matter at least as much. International bodies recognize this idea when they undertook studies on the creation of an International Fund for Disarmament for Development (FIDD), which could have benefited African countries¹⁸. But, irrespective of the difficulty of coming back to the idea that a country's security depends on its military strength, many political, economic and financial obstacles have emerged that are sufficiently strong to prevent the setting up of a procedure that is difficult to control and verifiable¹⁹.

Table n°1 shows the disparity in per capita incomes of African countries, which therefore do not, at least in the sense of the current economic analysis, have the same levels of development, the same potentials with regard mainly to the availability of their natural resources. It should be noted that the indicator, expressed in purchasing power parity, sharply decreases the image of relative poverty or level of development of African countries. While the purchasing power parity system offers another reading of economic development, GDP remains the central indicator, despite its limitations²⁰. It is therefore interesting to remember that economic information must be "filtered", taking into account the particularities of domestic consumption, fluctuating exchange rates, inflation or the underground economy of countries.

Table 1 - GDP per capita of African countries in 2018 (current and current international PPPs)²¹

| Pays | GDP per capita, current dollar | GDP per capita (current PPP) |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Algeria | 4278,9 | 15621,9 |
| Angola | 3432,4 | 6441,0 |
| Benin | 902,0 | 2420,5 |
| Botswana | 8258,6 | 18583,0 |
| Burkina Faso | 731,2 | 1975,0 |
| Burundi | 375,4 | 742,8 |
| Cameroon | 1536,9 | 3771,1 |
| Central African Rep. | 510,0 | 871,5 |
| Chad | 730,2 | 1964,8 |
| Comoros | 1445,5 | 2827,9 |
| Congo (Rep.Démo) | 561,8 | 930,5 |
| Congo Rep. | 2147,8 | 5621,1 |
| Djibouti | 2050,2 | 2744,3 |

¹⁸ Fontanel, J., Smith, R. (1987) The creation of an International Disarmament Fund for Development, in "Defence, Security and Development" (DEGER S. et WEST R., Ed.) Francis Pinter, London, June 1987,

¹⁹ Fontanel, J., Smith, R. (1987) The creation of an International Disarmament Fund for Development, in "Defence, Security and Development" (DEGER S. et WEST R., Ed.) Francis Pinter, London, June 1987,

²⁰ Donsimoni, M., Fontanel, J. (2019), (2019), Les ambiguïtés de la mesure de la puissance économique des Etats par la parités des pouvoirs d'achat, *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales*, (AFRI), Paris.

²¹ Banque mondiale, PIB par habitant (\$ US courants), <https://donnees.banquemondiale.org/indicateur/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD>

| | | |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|
| Egypt | 2549,1 | 12390,4 |
| Equatorial Guinea | 10174,0 | 23472,6 |
| Erytrea | 811,4 | 2103,0 |
| Eswatini (ex Swaziland) | 4140,0 | 10721,6 |
| Ethiopia | 772,3 | 2018,6 |
| Gabon | 8029,8 | 17912,4 |
| Gambia | 712,5 | 1706,3 |
| Ghana | 2202,3 | 4738,3 |
| Green Cap | 3654,0 | 7494,7 |
| Guinea Bissau | 778,0 | 1795,9 |
| Ivory Coast | 1715,5 | 4199,7 |
| Kenya | 1710,5 | 3461,4 |
| Lesotho | 1324,3 | 3223,0 |
| Liberia | 674,2 | 1306,3 |
| Libya | 7235,0 | 20706,1 |
| Madagascar | 460,8 | 1634,2 |
| Malawi | 389,4 | 1308,7 |
| Mali | 901,4 | 2312,6 |
| Mauritius | 11238,7 | 23709,1 |
| Mauritania | 1218,6 | 4190,0 |
| Morocco | 3237,9 | 8586,6 |
| Mozambique | 490,2 | 1327,9 |
| Namibia | 5931,5 | 11134,8 |
| Niger | 411,7 | 1048,5 |
| Nigeria | 2028,2 | 5980,3 |
| Rwanda | 773,0 | 2253,5 |
| Senegal | 1522,0 | 3775,9 |
| Seychelles | 16433,9 | 30503,2 |
| South Africa | 6339,6 | 13661,4 |
| South Sudan | 283,5 | 1811,7 |
| Somalia | 314,6 | NI |
| Sudan | 977,3 | 4759,3 |
| Tanzania | 1050,7 | 3227,0 |
| Togo | 671,8 | 1761,1 |
| Tunisia | 3446,6 | 12483,5 |
| Zambia | 1539,9 | 4216,5 |
| Zimbabwe | 2147,0 | 3024,4 |

The question is how intra-African trade will be able to take place and what general principles will be applied. Will they be based on the rules of the market, on multi or bilateral agreements for mutual exchanges or on a mutual aid system? What will be the relationship of African countries with the outside world, that of globalization, what place to give to multinationals and their dominant role in the African economy and what instruments of internal solidarity to build? At bottom, Africa remains a divided continent, with interests that, today, appear complementary only to fight against the economic and political dominions that they undergo from the outside. Similarly, the major

players in economic globalization have opposite internal positions, between the states²² (which are often part of beggar thy neighbour policies, which are not very supportive), and multinational firms (which have a monopoly over many technologies, such as GAFAM²³) or even the direct or indirect control of non-governmental organizations²⁴. For RASA, Africa must reject marginalization and open up its political space to ensure its own original development.

The question of internal and interstate security is hardly addressed. Like most economic theories, the RFWS rapporteurs make the assumption that it does not alter the daily lives of citizens. They postulate a security that would be ensured if the material conditions of life were previously ensured. But this analysis does not seem consistent with the real life lived by Africans. African countries are often in conflict, with porous borders, and the military power is often very present in the authorities.

Table 2 - Military Expenditures in Current Dollars,% of Military Expenditures Relative to GDP and% of Military Expenditures Compared to the State Budget (2018)^{25 26}

| Pays | millions dollars courants | % PIB | % Budget Etat |
|----------------------|---------------------------|-------|---------------|
| Algeria | 9.584 | 5,3 | 13,8 |
| Angola | 1.984 | 1,8 | 9,4 |
| Benin | 90 | 0,9 | 3,7 |
| Botswana | 529 | 2,8 | 8,6 |
| Burkina Faso | 312 | 2,1 | 8,0 |
| Burundi | 65 | 1,9 | 8,4 |
| Cameroon | 430 | 1,3 | 6,0 |
| Central African Rep. | 31 | 1,4 | 8,4 |
| Chad | 133 | 2,1 | 14,6 |
| Congo (RDC) | 295 | 0,7 | 5,5 |
| Congo Rep. | 292 | 2,6 | 10,4 |
| Djibouti | 36 | 3,7 | 9,1 |
| Egypt | 3.110 | 1,2 | 4,1 |
| Equatorial Guinea | 18 | 0,2 | 0,6 |
| Erytrea | 182 | 20,9 | 31,1 |
| Eswatini | 87 | 1,5 | 5,2 |
| Ethiopia | 497 | 0,6 | 3,9 |
| Gabon | 261 | 1,5 | 9,2 |

²² Fontanel, J. (2002), L'action économique de l'Etat, Pour Comprendre, L'Harmattan, Paris. Fontanel, J. (2010), Concept élargi de la sécurité économique, in Economie Politique de la Sécurité Internationale, Jacques Fontanel Ed. L'Harmattan, Paris, 2010

²³ Fontanel, J., Sushcheva, N. (2019), La puissance des GAFAM : réalités, apports et dangers, AFRI, Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales, Paris.

²⁴ Bensahel-Perrin, L., Fontanel, J., Corvaisier-Drouart, B. (2009), Les organisations non gouvernementales, Collection Librairie des Humanités, L'Harmattan, Paris. 2009

²⁵ Banque mondiale (2019),

<https://donnees.banquemondiale.org/indicateur/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS?locations=AZ&view=chart>

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------|------|------|
| Gambia | 11 | 1,1 | 3,3 |
| Ghana | 218 | 0,4 | 1,6 |
| Green Cap | 11 | 0,6 | 1,8 |
| Guinea | 209 | 2,5 | 9,9 |
| Guinea-Bissau | 17 | 1,6 | 6,9 |
| Ivory Coast | 608 | 1,4 | 6,0 |
| Kenya | 1.097 | 1,2 | 4,8 |
| Lesotho | 51 | 1,8 | 3,8 |
| Liberia | 16 | 0,8 | 1,5 |
| Libya | 3.756 | 15,5 | 10,8 |
| Madagascar | 73 | 0,6 | 3,5 |
| Malawi | 58 | 0,8 | 3,1 |
| Mali | 495 | 2,9 | 14,3 |
| Mauritius | 23 | 0,2 | 0,6 |
| Mauritania | 159 | 3,0 | 11,2 |
| Morocco | 3.697 | 3,1 | 10,5 |
| Mozambique | 145 | 1,0 | 3,2 |
| Namibia | 452 | 3,3 | 8,8 |
| Niger | 230 | 2,5 | 9,5 |
| Nigeria | 2.043 | 0,5 | 4,0 |
| Central African Rep. | 31 | 1,4 | 8,4 |
| Rwanda | 119 | 1,2 | 4,7 |
| Senegal | 347 | 1,9 | 8,8 |
| Seychelles | 23 | 1,4 | 3,9 |
| Sierra Leone | 30 | 0,8 | 3,1 |
| Somalia | 62 | 1,5 | nd |
| South Africa | 3.640 | 1,0 | 2,9 |
| South Sudan du Sud | 59 | 1,3 | 3,4 |
| Sudan | 1.048 | 2,3 | 11,5 |
| Tanzanie | 675 | 1,2 | 6,9 |
| Togo | 104 | 2,0 | 7,1 |
| Tunisia | 844 | 2,1 | 6,9 |
| Zambia | 378 | 1,4 | 5,7 |
| Zimbabwe | 420 | 2,2 | 5,6 |

Table 2 shows that the share of GDP devoted to defence is not negligible; it is sometimes very important, as is the case in Eritrea, Libya or even Algeria. On the other hand, the sums committed are high for Morocco, Kenya, Egypt, Nigeria or Sudan. It can be seen that the Maghreb countries are spending proportionally large sums for military purposes. The Report neglects these power struggles and enmities between African countries, as if these military expenditures were not intended for internal conflicts in Africa. Except perhaps for North-East Africa, this assumption is not very realistic.

In addition, the conflicts in Africa are important, the civil war is even endemic in many countries of this continent. An "African" solution should be found to adversary and warlike relations in the vast and uncontrolled territories of the Sahel, which suffer both from water scarcity and insufficiently productive

arable land, from the lack of jobs for young people, but also religious, ethnic or mafia antagonisms. It is difficult to hope for a "lasting" or "sustainable" economic and social African burst, as long as the state is not in a position to recover all its sovereign functions. The call for "peacekeepers" does not meet the objectives of the Report, but it is also not clear that this remedy is effective under the current conditions. The list of civil, ethnic and international wars that have rocked the African continent for a decade is long and painful²⁷. Some of these wars are still relevant, which should encourage the project rapporteurs to find ways to fight "eternal violence". While many countries are experiencing interesting economic growth, most of the time they are based on the exploitation of raw materials and energy resources, managed by multinational companies, which invest their added value in developed or tax havens countries²⁸.

It should be noted that this Report does not sufficiently reflect the balance of power in the world and gives no guidance on how to avoid them in the face of the multiple conflicts that could arise from the position of the multinational firms supported by the more powerful countries of the world to continue to exploit their raw materials. Cuba has suffered from a violent economic war, which still today prevents its development. The history of humanity is part of conflicts for the direct or indirect predation of wealth²⁹. In the same way, to safeguard interesting commercial positions, countries can engage in military operations that reduce the potential for state autonomy, not to mention the strategies put in place to create conditions of enmity inside and outside. African countries. History shows that economic interests are often factors of war.

IV. Conclusion

The economic, political, environmental and human slump of today's world is evidence of the crisis of neoliberal capitalism. The question then is whether to fight for capitalism to take a positive course in favour of development or if, violent and unsuitable system, it must disappear for men to emerge from this crisis³⁰. Strategic thinking must be conducted that can change the world's image of Africa at a historic moment when the type of modern economic development is strongly contested for its destructive consequences for the environment, climate, violence and inequalities. The reflection proposed by the RASA must

²⁷ On peut citer notamment la guerre civile du Darfour, de Kivu, de la Somalie, du Tchad, en Lybie, au sud-Soudan, les rebellions des Touaregs, les crises ivoiriennes, en Centrafrique, au Burundi, au Mozambique, au Kenya, au Burkina-Faso, au Mali (avec l'aide de la France), dans la république du Congo, la République démocratique du Congo, les révolutions vertes de Tunisie et d'Égypte, l'insurrection Boko Haram contre le Cameroun et le Tchad, les rebellions des Touaregs, les guerres du Mali ou de la corne de l'Afrique (Djibouti-Erythrée-Éthiopie)

²⁸ Fontanel, J. (2016), *Paradis fiscaux, pays filous. La fuite organisée des impôts vers les pays complices*. L'Harmattan ; Paris.

²⁹ Coulomb, F., Fontanel, J. (2008), *The birth of the political economy or the economy at the heart of politics. Mercantilism, Defence and Peace Economics*, 2008. Bensahel, L., Fontanel, J. (1992), *La guerre économique*, Arès, Vol XIII, 4, Grenoble, 1992,

³⁰ Amin, S. (2009), *Sur la crise : sortir de la crise du capitalisme ou sortir du capitalisme en crise*, Le temps des crises, Paris.

also concern the entire Humanity and, in this context, Africa can become a voice that carries. In any case, this is the hope of the RASA participants. "Africa thus seems to have become the normative" new frontier "of the world, the continent that catches the eye, raises the hope of the planet to see it infuse a new dynamic, new values"³¹.

RASA is not lacking in interest in the evolution of international relations. It is still presented as a draft and the criticisms it makes have often been presented by many non-governmental organizations. It is a reflection, a methodological and strategic challenge, which may ultimately have great political and ideological importance. The RASA wants to reach the consciences and to weigh on them, to share the knowledge on the alternatives and innovations which are built in Africa, to mobilize in a collective dynamic process a sovereign project to be defined by the inhabitants who engage it and to direct the individual action and collective and public policies through the establishment of an instrument for measuring the progress of long-term plans in the light of the values of each country or community on the continent.

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³¹ RASA/AROA (2018), *Rapport alternatif sur l'Afrique*, Un rapport pour l'Afrique et par l'Afrique, Numéro Zero-2018. Rapport disponible auprès de RASA-AFRICA S/C d'ENDA TIERS MONDE

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