

AFRICA IN QUEST OF STABILITY? REFLECTIONS INSPIRED BY THE CURRENT PROBLEMS OF HUMANITY¹

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Abstract: *This study proposes to analyze the determinants of the volatile situation of Africa and its capacity of adaptation or appropriation of the global stakes, with regard to the current problems of the humanity, described in the work coordinated by the Professor Dumitru Otovescu. Africa is considered here as a field of application since this continent is subject to all attention eye, all anxieties and all hopes. To lead this reflection, three methods of data collection were favoured: First, the ethnographic method which involved neutral direct observation. Observation provides information about social and political actors. Then, the interviews (unstructured, semi-structured and standardized) that gave rise to conversations, formal and informal, conducted on the basis of an interview guide, a questionnaire or a survey, structured around from subject. Finally, the exploitation of newspaper articles, magazines and periodicals, various reports, books, etc. At the end of this work, it is observed that Africa suffers as much as the other continents the volatility of the banking and economic system due to the practice of capitalism. Although sector-specific (developed-country) and global responses have been taken following several global economic and financial crises, Africa has remained isolated and compartmentalized. Today, its galloping demography and the extreme youth of its population as well as the natural wealth at its disposal are the basis of the hope of Africa. In contrast, the segmentation of its economic recovery programs, the tribulations of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the faculties of its political governance and the recurrence of crises and complex escapes.*

Key words: *Africa; stability; demography; crisis; development.*

1. Introduction

The in-depth reading of the remarkable book under the scientific coordination of Professor Dumitru Otovescu is interesting for more than one reason. First, it offers an almost complete panorama of the current demographic

¹D. Otovescu (coord.), A. Otovescu, M.-C. Frăsie, G. Motoi, *Les problèmes actuels de l'humanité: Une perspective sociologique sur la population et sur la crise mondiale*, Sarrebruck, Editions universitaires européennes, 2012.

dynamics and the unevenness of the recent global economic and financial crisis. Then, reading this book provides information on globally sectoral or individual responses that are used by the main economic powers of the planet. Finally, this work offers the opportunity, to re-examine the place of Africa, an umpteenth contribution, in the Construction of the world and in the structuring of ideological, political and economic currents and guides the action of men.

Is the rampant demography of Africa, often the object of mockery and diplomatic rhetoric of casual discourse, an important fact of Africa's late entry into the world economy? Is Africa concerned about the economic and social crisis that is mortgaging its future? Its answers, if they exist, are effective and can they guarantee their structured return to the functioning of the world? On the pretext of the above-mentioned work, this study is concerned analyse the determinants of Africa's economic and managerial inaction in the light of major international issues: demographic, social, economic, financial, etc.

2. The world and African population at the crossroads: arguments for and against

A-General presentation of the world population

Today, the debate over the place of discovery of the oldest bone, although zigzagging between several sites, does not seem closed. Similarly, the chronology is not yet fixed. Abel's 1995 discouragement of the hominid known as *Australopithecus bahrelghazali* and Toumai in 2002 (7 million years ago) in the Chadian Sahel considerably advanced paleontological studies on the first traces of man. Now, the fossil identified as the first primate, Lucy, discovered in Ethiopia and dating back to 3 to 4 million years, is outdated.

Dumitru Otovescu (2012, 17) and his colleagues state that human been appears in Africa between 35,000 and 34,000 BC. On the other hand, others sources cited by the authors of the book attest that the world population, scattered on the continents was estimated at 250 million at the beginning of the Christian era (p.18), with 85% concentrated on the Eurasian continent with high population concentrations in China (75 million inhabitants) and in the Indian subcontinent (45 million inhabitants). Europe, meanwhile, was home to 30 million people.

Thus, the world population has evolved as follows: 200 million inhabitants in the sixth; 450 million in the fourteenth century; 750 million in 1750; 950 million in 1800; 1, 250 billion in 1850; 1, 650 billion in 1900; 2.5 billion in 1950; 6.8 billion in 2009. The table below provides the distribution by major regions of the world in 2013.

Tab. 1: Distribution of the world population by region in 2012

N°	Country	Number of Inhabitants	%
1	Asia	4, 473 billion	65,7%
2	Africa	1,009 billion	14,8%

3	Europa	732,2 billion	10,7%
4	Latin América	582,4 billion	8,5%
5	NorthAmérica	348,4 billion	5,1%
6	Oceania	35,4 billion	0,5%

Source : Otovescu, D. Otovescu (Coord.), A. Otovescu, M.-C. Fräsie et G. Motoi, *Les problèmes actuels de l'humanité : Une perspective sociologique sur la population et sur la crise mondiale*, Sarrebruck, Editions universitaires européennes, 2012, p. 20.

Today, according to a study conducted by the French Institute of Demographic Studies (INED) and published in September 2017, the world population is growing exponentially, approximately from 7.5 billion inhabitants in 2017 to 10 billion in 2050 (an increase of one-third between 2017 and 2050). In 2100, this population will grow to 11.2 billion habitants. Today, the most populated countries on the world totalized 3.93 billion inhabitants including: China, India, the United States, Indonesia, Brazil, Pakistan and Nigeria. Within them, China (1.38 billion) and India (1.35 billion) have slightly different fertility rates; 1.8 for China and 2.3 for India (*Le Monde*, 20 September 2017).

B-The African population: between dividend and demographic boom

The African population is at the heart of current debates on the continent's development strategies. According to the United Nations (2010), this population was 996,221,505 inhabitants in 2009 (15%) and will be around 1.7 billion in 2050 (20%). It's more numerous and is boosted by the highest rate of natural increase in the world, 2.8% in 2008 and an average fertility of 4.9 children per woman. From this African population, a human capital with high potential, characterized by its youth (2/3 of the population under 25 years old and 44% under 15 years old) and its dynamism is added to a growing demographic dividend.

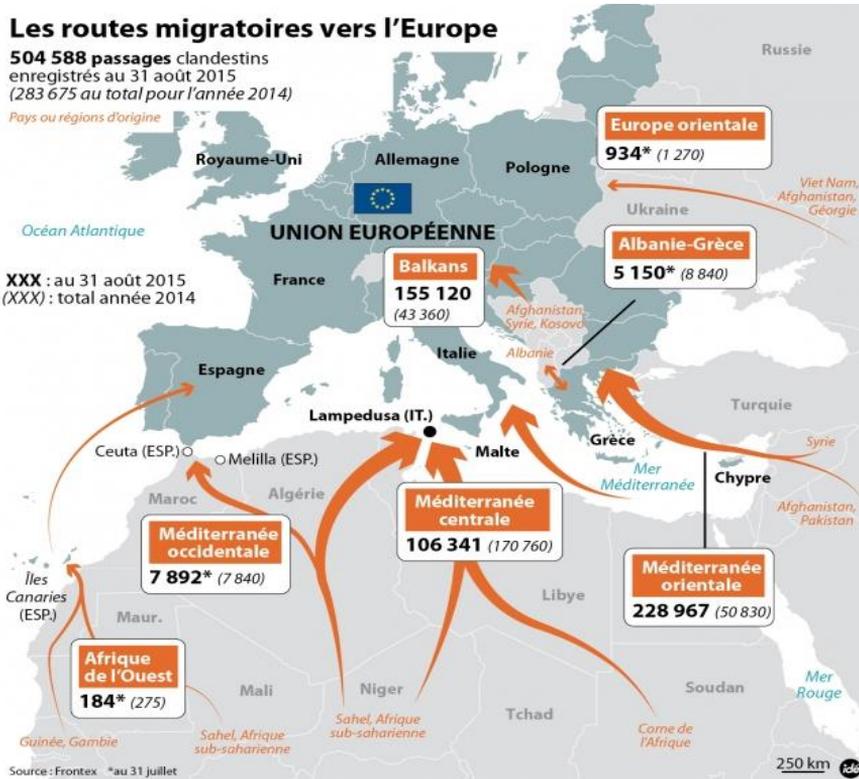
The study conducted by the French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED), cited above, shows that the main change to be made in this sector is the growth of the African population. Therefore, from 1.2 billion inhabitants in 2017, the African population will be around 2.5 Billion in 2050 and will reach 4.5 billion in 2100; 40% of the world's population (compared to 17% in 2017). Thus, the proportion of the young African population (18 years old and under) will exceed 1 billion inhabitants. Naturally, this population should be like some Asian countries and even Europe from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, an important economic lever. However nothing is really done in this way. Since the 1990s, African states have adopted the National Population Policy (PNP), but they have remained at the declarations stage. In the health sector, for example, only 6.2% of GDP in Africa in 2007 was the total health expenditure (WHO 2010), while Africa's health problems are multiple. Similarly, the field of education is hardly more satisfactory, since the percentage of illiterates over the age of 15 remains high at 36.7% of men and 21.6% of women in countries such as Burkina Faso (ICPD 2010). Added to this are the troubling problems of the mismatch between

training and employment and the brain drain, to name but a few (Meboma, 2013: 10).

C-The African population in the new world demographic configuration

Africa is dangerously draining of its population (and especially of its qualified personnel). This evil of the century presents to equal extent, two faces: a clandestine emigration that challenges another more legal. Clandestine emigration is the scary kind that is practiced by young, tough, visibly stubborn young people who are firm and resolute in their actions. The statistics provided by the Algerian coastguard are sufficiently evocative. Between 2001 and 2007, 624 attempts of collective illegal emigration towards Spain from the Coast, were stopped. Between January and October 2006, 532 illegal immigrants were intercepted on the high seas while attempting to reach the Spanish city of Almeria. The Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla and the island of Lampedusa on the southern coast of Italy are the expected berthing cities whose waters have downed several thousands of young Africans set off by desperation. Between makeshift boats, spectacular mediated interceptions and proven disappearances of the less fortunate who have not been able to withstand the violent waves of the sea, are organized in the western chancelleries an unmediated type of emigration: the desired transfer and encouraged African skills outwards. The European Union is today supplanted by new destinations (Canada, United States, and Australia) which respectively welcome 75%, 70% and 65% of qualified African emigration. However, the EU hosts more than 80% of the exodus of skilled workers from Angola, Comoros, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau; between 71% and 75% of the skilled in Mali, Sao Tome, Congo, Togo and Morocco; between 50 and 64% of Somalis, Mauritians, Cameroonians, Ugandans, Gambians, and Senegalese. In the end, Africa is the continent most concerned by migration as 2.3% of the population (14 million people) live outside their country of origin. Africa loses every year 4 million of its population who takes the part of legal and illegal immigration. If yesterday Ceuta and Melilla were the preferred transit routes, today the Canary Islands seem to be the preferred corridor by which 3000 Africans die each year. As a result, 20,000 (50,000 today) highly skilled Africans emigrate each year; or 20% of the sub-Saharan population, with a degree in higher education who works in an OECD country (Atlas du Monde Diplomatique, 2009: 176-177). The map below shows the migratory routes, the zones of destination as well as the figures of African emigration.

Map: Migration routes to Europe



Source : <http://www.franceinter.fr/depeche-crise-migratoire-sommet-europe-afrique-a-malte>

These statistics hide great disparities and probably mitigate the deplorable level of haemorrhage. The WHO report published in 2004 is very alarming. For Africa, with around 890 million inhabitants, have fewer doctors than Germany (82 million inhabitants) or Italy (58 million inhabitants). Moreover, 34 African countries have less than 2 doctors per 10,000 population (Docquier et al, 2005). This situation can be transposed to any other area. Data from the US National Science Foundation for 1997 indicates that 29,300 engineers and scientists living in the US were from Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa. In total, nearly 74,000 African graduates leave Africa each year.

3. The global and African crisis: between accountability and unaccountability A-World crises before and after 2008

The modern world is slow to stand out from the interconnection/interdependence of the banking economic systems because of which the world lived and suffered the economic crisis of 1929-1932. If, at the time, the Wall Street Centre Stock Exchange seemed to be the nerve centre of

finance and the international stock market, today, despite the ideological victory of capitalism over socialism, the modern world continues to suffer its consequences. Does not is not delivered. The occurrence and spread of the recent economic crisis, based on the gloom of the US banking system, provides proof. The similarities between the economic or financial crisis of 1929 and that of 2008 are obviously very different in terms of multipolar transmission sequences, compared to that of 1929. The authors of the book inspiring this work decline the genesis and its profusion multipolar: "It all started when US banks could not carry out their operations, for lack of cash. The blockage and collapse of the bank credit system has led to the paralysis of real estate business, investors in this area being unable, on the one hand, to continue and put to profit their projects already started and, on the other hand, to repay their loans from the banks " (Otovescu et al., 2012: 105).

Long before, the modern world has experienced more or less complex crisis, equally dramatic, between the sixteenth and twenty-first centuries. Taking over the American journalist Ross Bonander, Dumitru Otovescu and the other authors enumerate, until 2008, ten major crises that the world has experienced:

- The panic of 1907 (United States);
- The crisis of Mexico, 1994;
- The economic crisis in Argentina, 1999-2002;
- The hyperinflation in Germany after the First World War, 1918-1924;
- The crisis of the Souk Al-Manakh Kuwait Stock Exchange, 1982;
- The Black Monday, 19 October 1987;
- The Russian financial crisis, 1998;
- The Asian crisis of 1997-1999;
- The Great Depression between the two world wars, 1929-1933;
- The oil crisis of 1973 (Otovescu, 2012: 96).

B-Africa before global crises

The dominant political and diplomatic discourse presents Africa as a continent riddled with misery and bent under the weight of the immensity of financial debts. After the hopes - unfortunately - ephemeral created by the independence of 1960 and poorly maintained by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), black Africa in particular is subject to comment. It provokes an all-out mobilization of all the agencies around a vast program of development. At the first sign of hope in 1960, political violence, the violation of human rights, the unleashing of hatred and the rise of the warlords, the explosive expansion of the AIDS and misleading images propagated by the international media (Dubresson et al, 2003: 5). In the early 1980s, sub-Saharan Africa was declared stricken by international institutions and donors (IMF and World Bank in this case). If African leaders desperately try to save the continent's honour, if they face and fight for the survival of the various states, they must face a particularly difficult situation

that is actually the result of concomitant tangled unfortunately not at this intermittent cycle of war. Nature and spatio-temporal indices differ, of course, but combine. What makes any analysis complex is the extreme difficulty in identifying the connections between economic, political, social and spatial systems.

Between 1960 and 2008, Africa suffered the various economic and social crises that shook the world, without being able to bend or resorb them. Indeed, the statistics and growth indicators provided by the IMF and the World Bank make it possible to understand the level of embryonic development in Africa. For the example the Human Development Index (HDI) of some African countries (*Jeune Afrique*, 2006) in 2005: Burundi, 0.378-rank: 169/177; Cameroon, 0.497-rank: 148/177; Congo-Brazzaville, 0.512-rank: 142/177; DRC, 0.385-rank: 167/177; RCA, 0.355-rank: 171/177; Gabon, 0.635-row: 123/177; Equatorial Guinea, 0.655-rank: 121/177; Chad, 0.341-rank: 173/177, etc. These figures reflect the deplorable level of the economies of African countries that hide poorly the disparity between rich, less affluent, poor and miserable. Indeed, the paradox of Africa is that it is the poorest continent on the richest land. In this regard, the various reports of the United Nations Development Program show the incomprehensible disparities between the availability of mines and the level of development in Africa. With more than 220 million people living in poverty in Africa, the estimations of the year 2000 set the course for more than half of the population living below the poverty line in sub-Saharan Africa. This income poverty affects nearly two-thirds of the population in The Gambia or Zambia; more than half in Cameroon, Guinea-Bissau or Uganda (Rantrua, 1997: 84-85).

The above indices, far from being the only ones, seem to us to be of a major influence in the genesis and development of complex crises in Africa. These complex crises often take several forms: contestation of border plots, difficult coexistence between native and non-native peoples, complexity of human realities, frustration and hatred born from the sharing of economic incomes, foreign interference in the name of the search for wealth, splitting and politicization of ethnic groups make Africa (central in this case) a vast field of contemporary social and political violence. In other words, Africa, taken as a whole, has always been in crisis, one way or another.

4. Global responses to the crisis versus African responses?

A-Global responses to the crisis: between individualism and selectivism

The immediacy of global crisis and its complexity has never convinced the developed nations authorizing officer of economic decisions countries to envisage global and concerted solutions. If it was for previous crises, it was for the economic and financial crisis of 2008. In the United States, the extent of the crisis (3.6 million unemployed employees, unemployment rate of 6 , 5% in 2009).

To cope, US President Barack Obama has set up the program called Recovery and Investment Plan, estimated at more than 800 billion dollars. This amount was intended to create 2.5 million jobs, to reduce taxes, to end social shelters, to finance the education and health system and to scientific research (Otovescu et al, 2012: 209-210). As for the other major economic powers, they have adopted economic recovery plans. Canada's \$ 40.2 billion Canadian economic recovery plan has reduced taxes for citizens on average and cash and invested in infrastructure recovery. For Japan, the economic stimulus package, amounting to 200 billion euros (about 25,000 yen), helped fund family allowances, benefits for the elderly, small businesses, assistance for young workers in precarious financial situations, etc. (Otovescu et al., 2012: 210-211). China has set up a national economic stimulus plan worth 586 billion US dollars. This plan has made it possible to support the expenditure of key areas of the economy, to ensure the growth of loans for small and medium-sized enterprises, to finance the construction of transport infrastructure (motorways, railways, airports).

Rural infrastructure, innovation and environmental protection. In Germany, the stimulus package was extended by providing nearly € 500 billion in aid to banks threatened with bankruptcy. Similarly, 23 billion euros had been granted to businesses to stimulate investment. Also, the state has renounced nearly 9 billion euros in taxes to facilitate access to consumption for citizens and German companies. In France, the economic stimulus plan has enabled: the granting of financial aid of 40 billion euros to banks in financial deadlock; provision of 320 billion euros for inter-bank loan insurance; the creation of a social investment fund worth 1.5 billion euros; the reduction of the income tax; compensation for technical unemployment; professional training ; etc.

At the global level, nine measures were taken and listed in the book coordinated by Dumitru Otovescu. It is :

- 1-The restriction of the scope of the financial groups and the limitation of the risks assumed by the banks, recommended by the President of the United States at the beginning of the year 2010;
- 2-Temporary nationalization of some problem banks;
- 3- The constitution of banks for losses, able to take back the toxic products of the international financial system. This measure is one of the measures proposed by the Davos Economic Forum (28 January 2009);
- 4-The need for reform of the global financial system, including institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank;
- 5-The increase in consumption (including by reducing prices), a solution supported in December 2008 by Dominique Strauss Kahn, President of the IMF;
- 6-The revival of credit offered by banks, the relaxation of loan conditions and the reduction of interest rates with a view to the resumption of significant investments;

- 7-The allocation of bonus shares to various companies in the event that buyers acquire the products of the company concerned;
- 8-The continuation of the privatization process in the economy, especially in the old communist societies of Europe, which still have many State properties and whose sale could reinvigorate the public budget;
- 9-The nationalization of economic giants in bankruptcy.

B-African Perception and Reception of the Arab Spring

From December 2010, North Africa has offered the world a lesson in a living history, which pulsates with its time and engages the people on the paths of conquering their long-fated destiny. Far from a sleepy necropolis, spotted shadows, silent palaces, sleep was broken and the coagulated blood of the fight streamed through large neighbouring windows. Tunisia gave the signal. Egypt and Libya followed. Dictatorships, according to westerners, have faded, offering citizens eager for freedom, the idea of reforming their relationship to politics and the state. Moreover, the construction of young people in Africa and elsewhere, the forms of organization and mobilities, the dynamics of deployment and their engagement in and out of politics, stimulate new questions and new research to deepen the theme related to the place young people in the colour revolutions and the Arab Spring. Far from interpretative or theoretical models, the reference to the engagement of young people in the passive or active revolution is topical.

Thus, the understanding of North African revolutions requires the highlighting of cultural stereotypes, aesthetic codes, and intellectual referents, literary or scientific. Collective action or the convergence of attitudes, here, structures the permanent psychology of young people's claim to the world. The protest, the insubordination, the indignation, the claim, the revolt, the revenge, etc. become their mode of expression. In the profusion of communication technologies (Facebook, Twitter, Al Jazeera, etc.) offered by the civilization of the universal, the youth has been reconstituted, empowered, systematized and refused torrid once again of the pain of taking part in the historic struggle for the emergence of societies, certainly plural, but more resilient. African youth cannot be understood without being put back into a long process, in which the relation to the past, to the State, to the holders of public power, to normative values took different forms and deferred. Given that contemporary history has appropriated the mutations around the Mediterranean, it is now a question of defining and exploring the historicization of the identity referents and the demands of the youth of Africa.

However, despite hopes raised by the Arab Spring, more ferocious dictatorships (example Egypt) and maintained status were maintained here (Egypt and Algeria) and the catastrophic demolition there (Libya). For the rest, the Arab Spring or Peoples will have been less than expected. Its repercussion in sub-Saharan Africa had been desired, to destructure unproductive political

regimes for several decades. Although this did not happen, it should be noted that youth mobilizations, on the North African model were able to nucleate corporations through which Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade was defeated and Blaise Compaore removed from power in Burkina Faso. Of these juvenile corporations, three stand out by their activism: the citizen broom (Burkina Faso); the Movement Y'en tired (Senegal), Lucha and Filimbi (Democratic Republic of Congo). It is clear, then, that kingdom Africa is shrinking. African-style democracy, too, is deteriorating more and more. The contagious breakthrough that began in Tunisia and spread in several Arab countries still inspires the masses. Strong protests in the form of popular uprisings (Tunisia, Libya), violent uprisings (Bahrain, Yemen, Syria) and peaceful protests (Morocco, Jordan, Mauritania) have inspired several countries including Algeria, Saudi Arabia. The latter have anticipated the combination of a secure grid with "generous" responses to popular demands. Although the social and political contexts in which these movements are inscribed are different from one country to another, it is clear that the vectors of these movements are similar: telephones, internet and satellite televisions thanks to which the demands have been a transnational scope.

C-The future of Africa leaded? Between hope and despair

Africa is besieged on all sides by internal turbulence that escapes its appropriation and the stealthy and poorly controlled issues that spur its relations abroad. Thus, the future of Africa is driven by an escalation of hope and despair; hope in view of the irreversible rejuvenation of its population and natural wealth, and despair in the face of its pervasive absence in the great international fora and the turmoil that agitates it at regular intervals.

Hope and despair combine on the subject of Africa. In general, the continent interests the major mining groups because it contains 30% of the world's mineral reserves. Its deposits of platinum, chromium, manganese, cobalt, phosphate and gold are the most important on the planet (Maury, 2007: 116-120). Thus, multinationals such as BHP Billiton, Anglo-American, Rio Tinto, Xtrata, Alcan, etc. provide a near-monopoly because they record the best results and multiply acquisitions (Maury, 2007: 121). Coveted for its oil, its minerals, Africa is also courted for its natural gas. African gas exploitation has remained limited due to the narrowness of regional markets and flaring (gas burning) practices of major oil producers such as Nigeria or Angola. According to experts, African gas production represents 13% of the world total. Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Congo and many other African countries have impressive reserves (Johnson, 2009: 82).

Clearly, the Gulf of Guinea offers a series of significant comparative advantages (appreciable taxation, terms of favourable operating contract) that make it a privileged area. Thus, joint-ventures (Association between the national

companies and the foreign oil companies for the exploitation of the oil) are constituted and ensure the optimal exploitation of the deposits. This is the example of Malaysian Petronas in Gabon. In Equatorial Guinea, the Spanish Cepsa, ExxonMobil and Amerada; etc. take the lion's share. In Congo-Brazzaville, Chevron, Texaco and TotalFinaElf are the main operators. Although this list is not exhaustive, it consolidates the finding that the French group TotalFinaElf holds 30% of its revenue from the oil exploitation of Central Africa.

Finally, the wood (forest) of Africa (and especially of Central Africa) is mainly exploited by the French company Rougier, the first French multinational of the African wood created in 1923 and present in Africa for more than fifty years. Central Africa remains its favourite area with 1.5 million hectares of forest it controls in Cameroon, Gabon and Congo-Brazzaville. This exploitation causes the loss of 500,000 m³ of timber, which is transported each year to the ports of Douala and Port-Gentil, whose net profit is estimated at 2.9 million Euros in 2000 (Mbonda, 2004: 242). This exploitation is ensured by the omnipresence of the French company Rougier. It exploits the forest of Ipassa-Mingouli in Gabon, that of Mokabi in the North of Congo (370,500 hectares), that of Dimako (100,000 hectares) and Meyomessala in Cameroon. Its oldest subsidiary in Cameroon is the Forestry and Industrial Society of Doumé (SFID). But for more than a decade, Rougier has operated in a competitive environment. She is forced to share the same space with the Frenchman Vincent Bolloré, owner of the Industrial Company of African Wood (SIBAF) and the Forest of Campo (HFC) in Cameroon (Mbonda, 2004: 242). In the end, Africa is of particular importance to foreign companies. The new growth of the oil business it knows (24 billion barrels of reserves, alone, 4.5% of world reserves), cyclically re-ignites the vulnerability of these states and maintain their gradual fragmentation.

Moreover, urban dynamics, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, are more accentuated in capital cities, bolstering binary urban logic: political capital and economic capital. This is the case of: Bamako and Segou for Mali; Yaoundé and Douala for Cameroon; Porto Novo and Cotonou for Benin; Yamoussoukro and Abidjan for Côte d'Ivoire; N'Djamena and Moundou for Chad; Brazzaville and Pointe Noire for Congo-Brazzaville; Libreville and Port Gentil for Gabon, etc. In these metropolitan cities, the uncontrolled and peripheral popular neighbourhoods (with informal constructions) are adjacent to a few rare administrative and residential neighbourhoods, mostly damned and chess. In the same way, these cities obey the logic of urbanization from below. Most of these are the cities are linear (that is to say on both sides of the road), following the establishment of the roads. Because these are the colonial cities with high agricultural and forestry potential, many of which benefited from the attention of colonial administrators.

Finally, from the outside, Africa is a permanent "pathological subject" (Nana Sinkam, 1999: 24) whose integration into world economic relations

remains uncertain. British Prime Minister Tony Blair (2008) equated it with "a plague on the conscience of the world". With 5.9% of the share in international trade in 1980, Africa accounted for 2.0% in international trade in 2000. It is often equated with an "Afrique des comptoirs" which is easily expressed in the field of trade, power, war and the accumulation of property.

5. Conclusions

The panorama of Africa in general and Central Africa in particular is affected by ethnic-political and tribal armed conflicts. These conflicts, "horrible" inventions of the nature and "exploit" of the Man of yesterday and that of today, attack the old and the young, the accused and innocent. They engage millions of people on the roads of exile, having left on hospital beds millions of wounded, maimed and dead. This situation has always been accompanied by a failure of any endogenous or exogenous development process in Africa. This intolerable reality, widely criticized, is continually fought by the United Nations and a coalition of NGOs such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, etc.

The state regulator and peacemaker in theory, is characterized as the holder of the exploitation of the rents, of the financial scam, the illicit networks which are means of survival for many. The rise of crime, the inflation of violence, the recrudescence of social intolerance do not make any attempt at inventory easy. Even if the regimes in place are more and more devoting themselves, without succeeding, to deconstruct the chains of misunderstanding and violence, their efforts stop at a majority and active youth, opposing anarchy of survival.

Far from being a new fact in Africa or limited to Africa, the culture of violence has proliferated since the second half of the twentieth century, as the deterrence and militarization of public action, which favours brutality. The outbreak of militia and armed gangs does not provide stability at borders and in many countries. The management system, conceived as a sharing of profits, does not ensure, either, the economic future of the sub-region. The elections, circus where insults and laudation are the key campaign arguments, do not ensure post-election peace. Certificates of democracies as designed by France in La Baule remain difficult to apply verbatim. The "paralysis" suffered by Africa in general, and CEMAC in particular, requires the urgency of an innovation of political and socio-economic language, but also a new ethic of power.

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