

**Collective for Solidarity with Social  
and Political Struggle in Africa Paris**  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org>

**Paris, 23 February 2015**  
English translation 22 March 2015

**Ms. Federica Mogherini**  
European External Action Service  
242 rue de la Loi,  
1049 Brussels, Belgium

**Mr. Neven Nimica**  
Development and Cooperation- EuropeAid  
170, rue de la Loi,  
1040 Brussels, Belgium

**An open letter to:**

- **Federica Mogherini**, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Vice President
- **Neven Nimica**, European Commissioner for International Cooperation and Development

**Subject: Nine proposals to the European Union to support democratization in Africa**

Madam High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Vice President  
Mr. Commissioner for International Cooperation and Development,

The Paris-based Collective for Solidarity with Social and Political Struggle in Africa has worked since 2009 in support of African democrats. Observation of the difficulties encountered in the implementation of electoral processes leads it to propose some measures of improvement for a reform of French and European policies to facilitate democratization in Africa.

On 10 December 2014, the European Union's Human Rights day, the Council of the European Union and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, announced the renewal in 2015 of the European Union's Strategic Framework for Human Rights and Democracy with its Action Plan<sup>1</sup>.

The list of presidential and legislative elections to be held in Africa in 2015 and 2016 is lengthy. Taking into account presidential terms that will come to an end, without including potential postponements, 10 presidential and 11 parliamentary elections will be held in 2015, and 16 presidential and 12 parliamentary elections in 2016<sup>2</sup>. A total of 21 elections in 2015 and 27 in 2016, 26 of which will be presidential and 23 parliamentary. In all there will be 49 elections in 54 countries over a period of two years<sup>3</sup>.

Because of these elections, these two years will be critical for the democratization of the continent. The time has come to revive Europe-Africa relationships by being more effective and by getting better results in support of democracy by improving the quality of electoral processes.

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<sup>1</sup> Federica Mogherini, European Union on Human Rights Day, 10/12/14:

[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/146137.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/146137.pdf) , 25.06.12 'Strategic Framework on Human Rights and Democracy Action Plan with year': [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/131173.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/131173.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> and 2 presidents elected by parliaments.

<sup>3</sup> without taking into account two implausible polls in South Sudan on 30.06.15, synthetic calendar of elections in 53 African countries 2015 to 2016: <https://regardexcentrique.files.wordpress.com/2012/08/141215syntheseagendaelectionsafrique2015-2016limitationnombremandats.pdf>

The issue of limiting the number of presidential terms<sup>4</sup>, often mentioned by US diplomacy and addressed by the President of France at the 30 November 2014 summit meeting of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie in Dakar, was taken up in late 2014 by the United Nations. Its secretary general, Ban Ki-Moon spoke clearly on the subject at the last summit of the African Union, on 30 January 2015: "I share the concerns raised vis-à-vis the leaders who refuse to leave office at the end of their term. Non-democratic changes to Constitutions and legal loopholes should not be used to cling to power"<sup>5</sup>.

From the perspective of the number of years spent in power and the absence of the possibility of democratic change, combined with the lack of quality of electoral processes, it is possible to determine which heads of state put up the most resistance to democracy: those who want to remove constitutional limitations on the number of presidential terms, in Burundi, Congo Kinshasa and Congo Brazzaville<sup>6</sup>; those who have never had them, in Gambia and Equatorial Guinea, and those who have already abolished them, in Uganda, Gabon, Chad, Cameroon and in Djibouti<sup>7</sup>, or Togo where the Head of State refuses the application of the Global Political Agreement<sup>8</sup> which followed his bloody rise to power.

Following recent events in Burkina Faso and the Democratic Republic of Congo, in anticipation of further confrontations elsewhere between Democrats and irremovable power structures, faced with changes that are structuring the future political development of Africa, driven by the people themselves, a stand is expected from Europe equal to the resources that have already been committed.

The overall European approach is associated with budget distribution, in particular through the European Development Fund. However, the management of priorities between the three major areas of 'Peace and Security', 'Development' and 'Democracy and Rule of Law'<sup>9</sup> is regularly unbalanced by the needs of crisis management and the common defence policy. The part for assistance to economic 'Development' benefits to a certain extent from economic consensus between the European Union and many African powers. The difficulty encountered in supporting the strengthening of democracy and the rule of law, especially in countries at the beginning of democratization, can thus be seen as a weak link in European policy.

Yet the study of political and military conflicts shows that a major factor in the arrival of these crises is the absence of democracy and the rule of law. Similarly, underdevelopment and lack of wealth-sharing also partly originate from the survival of illegitimate regimes that resist social progress and democratic reform of institutions.

Under the 11th European Development Fund, for the period 2014-2020, 30.5 billion euros will be allocated for all African, Caribbean and Pacific countries nearly 14 billion of which will go to support the national programmes of African States. European taxpayers are invited to participate in the financing of a type of development based on real progress being made in democracy and the rule of law, but in the most recalcitrant dictatorships, in spite of several revisions of the Cotonou Agreement, the European global approach has not

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<sup>4</sup> NGO campaign "Turn the Page" <http://tournonslapage.com/> Regis Marzin 15.10.14 'In 2015 and 2016, the limiting of the number of terms for African presidents, a lever to accelerate democratization?' <https://regardexcentrique.wordpress.com/2014/10/16/en-2015-et-2016-la-limitation-du-nombre-de-mandats-des-presidents-africains-un-levier-pour-accelerer-la-democratisation/>

<sup>5</sup> 01/30/15 Ban Ki-Moon, translation by AFP : <http://www.romandie.com/news/Ban-Kimoon-appelle-les-dirigeants-africains-a-ne-pas-saccrocher-au-pouvoir/560686.rom> , Official discourse <http://www.un.org/apps/newsFr/storyF.asp?NewsID=34173>

<sup>6</sup> Regis Marzin, 8.1.15, Burundi, DRC, Rwanda: the Great Lakes between limitations on the number of presidential terms and peace agreements, <https://regardexcentrique.wordpress.com/2015/01/08/grands-lacs-entre-limitations-du-nombre-de-mandats-presidentiels-et-accords-de-paix/>

<sup>7</sup> And in Algeria, where it is being planned to reintroduce the limitation. Table of limitations in the number of mandates in 54 African countries: <https://regardexcentrique.files.wordpress.com/2015/01/150108constitutionetlimitationmandatstableau54pays.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> [http://www.synergietogo.com/IMG/pdf/accord\\_politique\\_global\\_200806.pdf](http://www.synergietogo.com/IMG/pdf/accord_politique_global_200806.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> Classification into 3 main areas proposed by the Collective for Solidarity with Social and Political Struggle in Africa, excluding some areas such as health, migration, international trade ...

proven effective. The money of European taxpayers dedicated to democracy and good governance in Africa is dependent on the power of governments and heads of state who have not been democratically elected, and a part of it is wasted through lack of practical solutions, while the clans in power enrich themselves through the management of natural resources. The European taxpayer has the legitimate right to seek clarification about, and improvement of, the practical modalities of support for democracy in non-democratic countries, as well as greater transparency and a better match between results on the ground and the initial policy objectives.

Based on these observations and analyses, which have already been presented in the document 'Union européenne et élections en Afrique en 2015 et 2016 : relancer la relation Europe - Afrique par un soutien accru à la démocratisation - European Union and elections in Africa in 2015 and 2016: restart the Europe - Africa relationship through increased support to democratization'<sup>10</sup>, which demonstrates its concern for the continuous improvement of the relationship between Europe and Africa, while remaining attentive to the renewal in 2015 of the Action Plan associated with the Strategic Framework on Human Rights and Democracy in the European Union, the Collective for Solidarity with Social and Political and Social Struggle in Africa, recommends:

1. That European policy be redefined, in agreement with the Member States, through rebalancing of the three major areas of "defence and security policy, economic development policy and the policy for support for democracy and the rule of law, by moving towards an increase in support for democracy.
2. That African democrats be supported in their demands for respect of presidential term limits in constitutions, and that a stand be taken on the absence of democratic change and the poor quality of electoral processes in countries where there is no limit on the number of presidential terms.
3. That, given the number of elections to be held in Africa in 2015 and 2016, the European Union reinforces its resources and competencies engaged in the electoral processes, with regard to electoral observation missions, especially for technical support for the electoral processes that lead up to elections, such as censuses, identification and voter registration.
4. That turning around of presidential or parliamentary election results be taken into account, as well as previous history of the diplomatic and political handling of elections, and that the modalities of economic sanctions be redefined to restore partial conditionality of aid in a way that will not directly affect populations.
5. That the implementation of 'democratic governance' programmes should include the condition that a minimum number of elements of the rule of law be present, including freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, the right to demonstrate, the right to a fair defence in court and the absence of extra-judicial arrests.
6. That the implementation of 'democratic governance' projects financed by the European Development Fund be improved by strengthening specifications, monitoring and evaluation, and making the selection and funding of partners independent of the government of the recipient country.
7. That monitoring of the use of European aid in the least democratic countries be strengthened, in particular of the European Development Fund, especially in Central Africa, and that the use of aid be made transparent through locally accessible communications.
8. That harmonization of Member States' diplomatic, economic and military policies be encouraged, particularly through observation and monitoring of the effects of military cooperation between Member States on the democratization of African States.
9. That the African Union's activities and its evolution towards a policy supportive of democracy based on the quality of electoral processes be supported.

### **Collective for Solidarity with Social and Political Struggle in Africa, Paris, 23 February 2015**

Signatories (15: 14 on 02.23.15 + 1 on 02.3.15):

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<sup>10</sup> 23/02/15, <http://www.electionsafrique.org/UE-et-elections-en-Afrique-en-2015.html>

Europe Ecology-The Greens, The Left Party, Ensemble, Amicale PanAfricaine, Afriques en lutte (African Struggles),  
Cameroon: Collective of Democratic and Patriotic Organizations of the Cameroonian Diaspora (CODE, Brussels), Union of the Peoples of Cameroon,  
Central African Republic: Action Committee for the Conquest of Democracy in the Central African Republic (CACDCA)  
Congo-Brazzaville: Federation of the Congolese Diaspora  
Djibouti: Union for National Salvation (USN)  
Gabon: Ca suffit comme ça (in Gabon) - Enough is Enough!  
Equatorial Guinea: Movement for Democratic Restoration (MRD)  
Chad: Chadian Vital Forces in Exile, National Republican Rally (RNR)  
Togo: Ile-de-France chapter of National Alliance for Change (ANC-IDF).

**Open letter to Ms. Federica Mogherini and Mr. Neven Nimica, with email copies to:**

- Laurent Fabius, Foreign Minister, of the French government
- H  l  ne Le Gall, Mr. Thomas M  lonio, French Presidential advisors for Africa
- Micha  lle Jean, Secretary General of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie
- James Duddridge, Parliamentary under-secretary of State, UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- G  nter Nooke, Personal Representative for Africa to the German Chancellor
- Nick Westcott, Managing Director for Africa, European External Action Service (EEAS)
- Hans-Peter Schadek, Director West and Central Africa, EEAS
- Silvio M Gonzato, Director Human Rights and Democracy, EEAS
- Pierre Amilhat, DG Development and Cooperation-EuropeAid, responsible for West and Central Africa
- Elmar Brok, Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament
- Linda McAvan, Chair of the European Parliament's Development Committee
- Elena Valenciano, Chair sub-committee on Human Rights of the European Parliament
- The European Union Delegates to : the African Union: Gary Quince, Cameroon; Fran  oise Collet, the Central African Republic: Jean-Pierre Reymondet-Commoy, Congo-Brazzaville: Marcel Van Opstal, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea: Cristina Martins Barreira, Chad: H  l  ne Cave, the Democratic Republic of Congo: Saskia De Lang, Togo: Nicolas Berlanga-Martinez, Djibouti: Joseph Silva, Mauritania: Jose-Antonio Sabadell

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There is an information pack in French associated with this letter

Union europ  enne et   lections en Afrique en 2015 et 2016 :

**relancer la relation Europe-Afrique par un soutien accru    la d  mocratisation '**

**Author: R  gis Marzin, Paris, 23 February 2015. English translation Paris 22 March 2015**

It is available at :

<http://www.electionsafrique.org>

<http://www.electionsafrique.org/UE-et-elections-en-Afrique-en-2015.html>

An information pack produced as part of the work of the Paris-based Collective for Solidarity with Social and Political Struggle in Africa, in connection with the open letter "Nine proposals to the European Union to support democratization in Africa" for the attention of Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Vice President, and Neven Nimica, European Commissioner for International Cooperation and Development.

<http://www.electionsafrique.org/>

The **Collective for Solidarity with Social and Political Struggle in Africa** has devoted itself to a number of events and crises, focusing on electoral processes, in particular:

February 2015, Nine proposals to the European Union to support democratization in Africa  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Lettre-9-propositions-al-UE-pour.html>

February 2015, The EU and elections in Africa in 2015 and 2016: restart the Europe-Africa relationship by increased support for democratization'  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/UE-et-elections-en-Afrique-en-2015.html>

November 2014, Chad, widespread repression against protesters and shut-down of international communications  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Communique-Tchad-repression.html>

October 2014, Burkina Faso, Africa: limitation of the number of presidential terms, no exception is any longer acceptable  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Burkina-Faso-Afrique-limitation-du.html>

October 2014, Chad, support for civil society in Chad following 'ghost town' day  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Communique-Tchad-soutien-de-la.html>

March 2014, Central African Republic and Chad, Influence and involvement of Déby in CAR from mid-2012 to January 2014  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Influence-et-implication-d-Idriss.html>

January 2014, Djibouti, communiqué on press repression, electoral disputes and European policy  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Communique-Djibouti-l-Union.html>

December 2013 Chad, Information Pack on the impossible rehabilitation of Déby  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Tchad-2013-la-rehabilitation.html>

November 2013, Togo, communiqué on Faure Gnassingbé at the Elysée:  
<http://electionsafrique.org/Communique-et-si-le-terroriste-au.html>

October 2013, communiqué on French policy in Chad  
<http://electionsafrique.org/communique-Tchad-combien-de-temps.html>

Cameroon in September 2013, communiqué on the parliamentary elections:  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Communique-Cameroun-legislatives.html>

July 2013, French policy in Africa, communiqué on military influence  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Communique-Sortir-de-l-influence.html>

May 2013, Equatorial Guinea elections: a communiqué on oil and elections  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Communique-du-Collectif-Guinee.html>

April 2013, Togo, Fire in Lomé Togo Market, a letter to French Minister for Foreign Affairs Fabius  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Togo-Lettre-du-collectif-a-Laurent.html>

February 2013, Djibouti, Togo, Cameroon, Guinea parliamentary elections, an open letter to the French National Assembly  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Elections-legislatives-a-Djibouti.html>

February 2013, Djibouti, parliamentary elections, press release  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Elections-legislatives-du-22.html>

January 2013, Togo, parliamentary elections, a collective open letter to the European Union  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Togo-elections-legislatives-Lettre.html>

July 2012, Congo Brazzaville, parliamentary elections, a press release from the collective  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Elections-legislatives-des-15-et.html>

December 2011, Gabon, parliamentary elections: an information kit written by the French NGO Survie  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Dossier-d-information-Legislatives.html>

October 2011, Cameroon, presidential election, an information kit, participant mobilization and organization of a meeting  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Election-presidentielle-du-9.html>

2010: Fifty years of Independences, participant mobilizations, including one event on July 14, 2010:  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Manifestation-du-13-Juillet-2010.html>

March 2010, Togo, presidential elections, participant mobilizations, a communiqué of advocacy to the European Union  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Togo-Election-presidentielle-du-28.html>

June 2009, Mauritania, a statement from the Collective  
<http://www.electionsafrique.org/Mauritanie-declaration-du.html>