ASSEMBLY OF THE AFRICAN UNION
Fourteenth Ordinary Session
31 January – 2 February 2010
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Assembly/AU/4(XIV)

REPORT OF THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE COMMISSION ON THE
PREVENTION OF UNCONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES OF GOVERNMENT
AND STRENGTHENEING THE CAPACITIES OF THE
AFRICAN UNION TO MANAGE SUCH SITUATIONS
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I. INTRODUCTION

1. This report is submitted pursuant to Decision Assembly/AU/Dec.253(XIII) adopted by the Assembly of the Union at its 13th Ordinary Session held in Sirte, Libya, from 1 to 4 July 2009. It first recalls the principal elements of the Interim Report on the Prevention of Unconstitutional Changes of Government and Strengthening the Capabilities of the African Union to Manage such Situations [Document Assembly/AU/7 (XIII)], which I presented at the Sirte session, and then gives an account of measures taken as a follow up to Decision Assembly/AU/Dec.253(XIII) adopted in Sirte, before making specific recommendations on the way forward.

II. BACKGROUND

2. At its 12th Ordinary Session held in Addis Ababa from 1 to 4 February 2009, the Assembly of the Union adopted Decision Assembly/AU/Dec.220(XII) on the Resurgence of the Scourge of Coups d’état in Africa. In this decision, the Assembly expressed its deep concern over this situation, stressing that it constitutes not only a dangerous political downturn and a serious setback to the democratic processes, but also a threat to peace, security and stability in Africa, and called on Member States to react firmly and unequivocally to put an end to this scourge. The Assembly requested that I submit concrete recommendations in the form of appropriate preventive measures against unconstitutional changes of government, as well as recommendations to enhance the efficiency and capacity building in early warning, good offices and mediation of the AU, including through the Panel of the Wise.

3. Pursuant to this decision, I submitted an interim report to the 13th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union. The report was supposed to be a preliminary reflection designed to facilitate the deliberations of the Assembly and enable the Commission to enrich its document, so as to be able to submit more comprehensive recommendations in January 2010. In that context, the report focused on the following elements:

   (i) A recapitulation of AU instruments relating to unconstitutional changes of Government;

   (ii) An account of the reaction of the AU concerning the unconstitutional changes that occurred since August 2008; and

   (iii) Recommendations on the measures the AU could consider taking in order to improve sanctioning and prevention of unconstitutional changes of government.
4. Concerning in particular the instruments the AU has at its disposal, the report referred essentially to the Declaration on the Framework for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes of Government, adopted by the 36th Ordinary Session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held in Lomé, Togo, from 10 to 12 July 2000, and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, adopted by the Assembly of the Union in January 2007. In addition, the relevant provisions of the Constitutive Act of the African Union and the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) were mentioned.

5. It should be recalled here that the Lomé Declaration revolves around four axes: a set of common values and principles for democratic governance; a definition of what constitutes an unconstitutional change; measures and actions that the OAU (AU) would progressively take to respond to an unconstitutional change of government; and an implementation mechanism.

6. The Declaration defines an unconstitutional change of government as follows: military coup d’état against a democratically elected Government; intervention by mercenaries to replace a democratically elected Government; replacement of democratically elected Government by armed dissident groups and rebel movements; the refusal by an incumbent government to relinquish power to the winning party after free, fair and regular elections. It stipulates that in the event of an unconstitutional change in a Member State, the Current Chairman and the Secretary General (Chairperson of the Commission), on behalf of the OAU/AU, should immediately and publicly condemn such a change and urge for the speedy return to constitutional order. Following the initial response of condemning the unconstitutional change, a maximum period of six months should be given to restore constitutional order. During that period, the Government concerned should be suspended from participating in the Policy Organs of the AU. At the expiration of this period, a range of limited and targeted sanctions against the regime that stubbornly refuses to restore constitutional order should be instituted. These sanctions could include visa denials for the perpetrators of an unconstitutional change, restrictions of contacts with the de facto authorities, trade restrictions, etc.

7. The African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance considerably reinforces the legal system governing the reaction of the AU to unconstitutional changes of government. On the one hand, the Charter adds to the definition of unconstitutional changes of government, as contained in the Lomé Declaration: « Any amendment or revision of the constitution or legal instruments, which is an infringement on the principles of democratic change of government » [Art 23(5)]. On the other hand, it considerably toughens the sanctions to be applied in case of an unconstitutional change. In fact, in addition to the suspension of the country concerned, the Charter provides for the following measures: non participation of the perpetrators of unconstitutional change in elections held to restore constitutional order and not being allowed to hold any position of responsibility in political institutions of their State; their trial before the competent court of the Union; and the possibility of the Assembly of the Union imposing other forms of sanctions, including punitive economic sanctions. Furthermore, the Charter provides for the possibility of the Assembly of the Union imposing sanctions on any State Party that is proved to have instigated or supported
unconstitutional change of government in another State; that State Parties shall not harbour or give sanctuary to perpetrators of unconstitutional changes of government; and the signing of bilateral extradition agreements as well as the adoption of legal instruments on extradition and mutual legal assistance. To date, twenty-nine Member States have signed and three have ratified the Charter. Fifteen ratifications are required for its entry into force.

8. In conclusion, the report underscored the fact that during the past decade, the AU had adopted a number of instruments on the issue of unconstitutional changes of government, adding that this development was eloquent proof of the determination of African leaders to consolidate the democratic processes embarked upon in the early 90s, while confirming the recurrence of the scourge of unconstitutional changes and the need for continuous action to find a more appropriate response to this problem. The report also recalled that faced with this situation, the AU, at the level of the Commission as well as at the level of the PSC and other competent organs of the Union, had deployed sustained efforts to facilitate the return to constitutional order in the countries concerned. These efforts essentially took the following forms: immediate suspension of the participation of the countries concerned in AU activities, the adoption of sanctions when the de facto authorities stubbornly impede the return to constitutional order, sustained interaction with the parties concerned in order to find a consensual solution based on the respect of the constitutional provisions in force. At the same time, and in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Lomé Declaration, the AU endeavoured to mobilize the support of its partners, particularly through the establishment of International Contact Groups.

9. In a more concrete manner, the report highlighted the importance of enhancing the effectiveness of the AU’s action to deal with such situations, indicating that the objective should not necessarily be the elaboration of new instruments, for indeed, the AU is well endowed at that level, but rather the effective implementation of existing texts. It was in this spirit that proposals were made, which revolved around three axes: enhancing the effectiveness of the AU response to unconstitutional changes of government; more dynamic preventive action; and improved coordination at regional and international levels.

10. Having taken note of my interim report, the 13th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union adopted Decision Assembly/AU/Dec.253(XIII), by which I was requested to initiate consultations with the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), the Pan-African Parliament, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) and other relevant AU organs and institutions on the ways and means of strengthening the capacity of the AU to deal with the scourge of unconstitutional changes of government, and submit, in the light of these consultations, as well as relevant international experiences, a final report together with comprehensive recommendations on the matter, to its next Ordinary Session. In the meantime, the Assembly reiterated the AU’s strong commitment to the provisions of Articles 4(p) and 30 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council, the Algiers Decision of July 1999 and the Lomé Declaration. In this regard, the Assembly urged all Member States that have not yet done so to take the necessary steps to sign/ratify the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and
Governance, in order to strengthen the capacity of the AU to deal with the scourge of unconstitutional changes of Government.

III. FOLLOW-UP OF DECISION ASSEMBLY/AU/DEC.253(XIII)

11. Pursuant to Decision Assembly/AU/Dec.253(XIII), the Commission sent communications to all RECs requesting them to forward to it contributions that present their relevant instruments on unconstitutional changes of Government, their own experiences on the issue and any proposals they would like to make, including those on coordination between RECs and the AU in managing issues related to unconstitutional changes of Government. Similarly, the Commission formally wrote to the Pan-African Parliament and to ECOSOCC, in a bid to gather the opinion of parliamentarians and the civil society.

12. Similar communications were sent to several AU partner institutions requesting them to focus particularly on sharing experiences and strengthening coordination mechanisms with the AU. These institutions include the United Nations, the League of Arab States, the International Organisation of la Francophonie, the European Union and the Organization of American States.

13. Subsequently, the issue of unconstitutional changes was discussed during the annual meeting of top officials of the AU Commission and of REC executive organs in Akosombo, Ghana, from 10 to 11 December 2009. The meeting expressed its deep concern over the resurgence of coups d’Etat and other forms of unconstitutional change of Government occurring on the continent, including the manipulation of Constitutions and electoral laws in violation of constitutional provisions, and recalling, in that regard, the relevant paragraphs of the Tripoli Declaration on the Elimination of Conflicts in Africa and the Promotion of Sustainable Peace in Africa adopted by the Special Session of the Assembly of the Union held on 31 August 2009 [SP/ASSEMBLY/PS/DECL.(I)]. It lauded the measures taken to enhance Africa’s capacity to address this scourge of unconstitutional changes of Government. The meeting agreed that the AU and RECs should initiate joint actions to facilitate ratification of the Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, noting that a rapid entry into force, and implementation, of that instrument would aid Africa, in a lasting manner, to better address this scourge of unconstitutional changes of Government.

14. It should also be stressed that, during its retreat at Ezulwini, Swaziland, from 17 to 19 December 2009, the PSC held in-depth discussions on the issue of unconstitutional change of Government. The conclusions adopted on that occasion concern:

(i) enhancing the legal framework relating to unconstitutional changes of Government. In that regard, the PSC reaffirmed the central position of the Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance in the AU’s legal mechanism, and formulated recommendations to strengthen the Lomé Declaration;

(ii) increasing effectiveness in implementing sanctions decided in case of
unconstitutional changes of Government, including appropriate information gathering to inform the decision-making process, in collaboration with the Committee of Intelligence and Security Services of Africa (CISSA) and the Intelligence and Security Committee (ISC) of the Commission, as well as ensuring close cooperation between the AU and other international players concerned, and the transmission, by Member States, of information on actions they have taken in application of the sanctions decided by the PSC; and,

(iii) effectively establishing the Committee on Sanctions, the creation of which was decided by the PSC at its 178th meeting held on 13 March 2009, as a permanent subsidiary body. The PSC’s retreat adopted rules relating to the mandate, chairmanship and functions of the committee, as well as other pertinent aspects related to the functioning of that structure.

15. It is important, lastly, to indicate that during the period under review, the Commission continued its efforts to restore constitutional order in the Member States concerned. The developments recorded in that respect are reflected in the report on activities of the Commission for the period from June 2009 to January 2010.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS TO ENHANCE AFRICA’S CAPACITY TO ADDRESS UNCONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES OF GOVERNMENT

16. In light of the consultations the Commission held with various partner institutions, as well as the conclusions of the PSC retreat and from experience gained in managing situations of unconstitutional changes of Government, the Commission refined the recommendations it made in Sirte. These relate to three areas: enhancing the effectiveness of AU response to unconstitutional changes of Government and modalities for accompanying transitions; injecting more life into preventive action; and more effective coordination at regional and international levels. All said, the exercise was aimed less at giving rise to the elaboration of new instruments, because as indicated above, the AU is fairly well-equipped in that domain; it was rather aimed at encouraging effective implementation of existing texts by making, where feasible, useful clarifications, improvements and adaptations.

a) Enhancing the effectiveness of AU response to unconstitutional changes and modalities for accompanying transitions

17. As indicated in the interim report of July 2009, in order to further prevent the risks of unconstitutional changes, it is important for the AU to significantly strengthen its response to such situations whenever they occur. It is clear that those tempted to seize power by illegal means would think twice before acting if they knew that the AU would react strongly against any unconstitutional change of Government and that their action would have no chances of success. In this regard, it should be borne in mind that the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance has considerably strengthened the regime of sanctions in cases of unconstitutional change. Obviously, this instrument is more likely to deter potential perpetrators of unconstitutional changes from putting their plans into action if the Charter should rapidly support and extend the instruments presently in force.
18. In light of the foregoing, the following actions are proposed for enhancing the effectiveness of AU response to unconstitutional changes of Government:

(i) As a starting point, intensify efforts to ensure the signing and ratification of the Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. Three years after its adoption, the Charter has so far been signed by twenty-nine Member States and ratified by only three, whereas fifteen ratifications are required for this instrument to enter into force. The Assembly should, again, reiterate its appeal to all the Member States concerned to take urgent steps as required of them to become parties to the Charter. The Commission, on its part, in collaboration with the competent structures of the Union, particularly the Pan-African Parliament, should step up its efforts to raise the awareness of all the players concerned to speed up the Charter ratification process. As a follow-up to the Akosombo meeting of December 2009, the Commission and the Secretariats of the RECs agreed to undertake joint actions to that effect, so that this actualization of the continental doctrine should be harmoniously managed and applied uniformly in all regions.

(ii) In the meantime, this session of the Assembly of the Union should consider adopting a decision to reiterate the provisions set out in Chapter VIII of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance with the following heading: “Sanctions in Cases of Unconstitutional Changes of Government”. This decision should be adopted in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Lomé Declaration which it will supplement in respect of all what concerns the measures to take in the event of unconstitutional change. The mechanism in question is the subject of an annex to this report.

(iii) Lastly, it is important, as soon as an unconstitutional change of Government occurs, to mobilize Member States and international partners to refrain from granting any accreditations to the de facto authorities in non-African international institutions. By so doing, the goal is to strengthen the automatic suspension measure taken by the AU against those countries where unconstitutional changes have taken place. Over and above the suspension measure, international partners, particularly the Security Council of the United Nations, should lend more effective support to the sanctions decided by the AU. Similarly, partners, like the Bretton Woods institutions and the European Union notably, should harmonize their own responses with that of the African Union, both in terms of their content and their implementation schedule, so that the African action to restore constitutional order should gain vigour in the coherence and rigour of the support that is lent to it directly or indirectly by the rest of the international community.

19. Moreover, it is necessary, when need arises, to appeal to Heads of State and Government to lend their direct support to the decisions taken concerning unconstitutional changes of Government. This support would be expressed either at the
PSC meeting at Heads of State level, or through the highest Authority of the AU, which is the Assembly. The decisions taken, notably immediate condemnation, suspension of the country concerned from the activities of the organs of the Union and imposition of targeted sanctions, would then acquire more authority and effectiveness, particularly through a consistent implementation of the said decisions across the continent.

20. In case of a breakdown in constitutional order, the accompanying measures must be such that they maintain continuous manifold pressure on the perpetrators of the unconstitutional change, and facilitate a return to legality in a credible and transparent manner, and as soon as possible. All measures must be taken to avoid any unilateral initiative, particularly from the perpetrators of unconstitutional change, which can undermine the credibility and transparency of the process.

b) **Revitalization of the mechanism for structural prevention of unconstitutional changes of Government**

21. In recent years, the OAU/AU has adopted a number of instruments on democracy, elections and good governance. Mention should be made, inter alia, of the Solemn Declaration on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) and the Memorandum of Understanding adopted by the Assembly of the OAU Heads of State and Government held on 8 and 9 July 2002 in Durban, South Africa - the provisions of these two documents, which deal with issues of stability, contain specific commitments regarding the promotion of democracy and good governance; the various instruments adopted within the framework of NEPAD commitments including the African Peer Review Mechanism, the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights and its various Protocols, as well as the OAU Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa. These instruments and the provisions of the Constitutive Democratic Act attest to the commitment of Member States to democratic governance.

22. Since the late eighties, African States have undoubtedly made undeniable progress in the democratization of their institutions. The regular conduct of elections, efforts to set up institutions that actually function, the progress recorded in the field of freedom of the press and the birth of a dynamic civil society are factors which attest to this encouraging development. At the same time, it should be recognized that much remains to be done to truly consolidate the values of democracy and good governance in our continent. It is therefore expedient to work towards a better fulfilment and effective follow up on the commitments made by the States, as the Lomé Declaration rightly underscores, that profound changes in the democratization process will considerably reduce the risks of political crises that are likely to cause unconstitutional changes.
23. During their Special Session in Tripoli on 31 August 2009, the Heads of State and Government particularly reiterated the need for Member States to promote good governance, comply with the rule of law and respect their own Constitutions, particularly when introducing constitutional reforms, bearing in mind that non-compliance with these provisions may lead to tension that could in turn trigger political crises. Similarly, they agreed to take all necessary measures, including condemnation and sanctions against any African State that encourages, supports or harbours armed groups with the aim of destabilizing another State.

24. During its retreat at Ezulwini, the PSC strongly emphasized that the Constitution should not be manipulated by Authorities in office with the aim to remain in power against the will of the people. The PSC also insisted that the drafting or revision process of the Constitutions should not be based on personal interests that might compromise the people’s aspirations.

25. To give the required effect to this preventive approach, the Assembly should consider taking the following measures:

(i) The Assembly of the Union should strongly underscore the importance of the signing and ratification, by Member States that have not yet done so, of the relevant instruments mentioned above, and the need to implement the commitments made by Member States as concerns democracy, good governance and elections, as well as good neighbourliness and non-subversion. On its part, in line with the Tripoli Declaration on the Elimination of Conflicts in Africa and the Promotion of Sustainable Peace, the Commission will take all the necessary steps to raise the awareness of Member States and other players concerned, including by enlisting the contribution of the various organs and institutions concerned, and thereafter conduct a thorough and systematic review of the implementation status of the instruments with a view to submitting concrete proposals to the Assembly of the Union, while making sure that they will be better observed.

(ii) The PSC should review on a regular basis the progress achieved in the democratisation process based on an annual report. This review is in line with Article 7(m) of the Protocol relating to the establishment of the PSC, which stipulates that this body, in collaboration with the Chairperson of the Commission, shall “follow-up, within the framework of its conflict prevention responsibilities, the progress towards the promotion of democratic practices, good governance, the rule of law, protection of human rights and fundamental freedom, respect for the sanctity of human life and international humanitarian law by Member States”. This action would make it possible to make a report on a regular basis on the status of democratisation efforts in the continent, and to
identify the progress made so far and the challenges that are yet to be tackled. This would be done based on a report prepared by an independent rapporteur who will be given the necessary support in terms of personnel and expertise.

(iii) Relentless efforts should be made to ensure the monitoring and effective implementation of the recommendations made by the Panel of the Wise in its report on the strengthening of the role of the African Union in the prevention, management and resolution of election-related disputes and violent conflicts in Africa [Document Assembly/AU/6(XIII)], considering the fact that differences concerning the conduct of an electoral process is a contributing factor to the occurrence of unconstitutional change of Government. The report of the Panel of the Wise was endorsed by the 13th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union [Decision Assembly / AU / Dec. 254(XIII) Rev.1], requesting that necessary steps be taken to implement the recommendations contained therein.

(iv) It is therefore important to build the AU’s proactive capacity, through a much more dynamic preventive action. What needs to be done in this regard is, among other things, to rely on the information gathered through the Continental Early Warning System, the establishment of which is at an advanced stage; to make full use of the Panel of the Wise and other eminent African personalities to defuse tensions and crises that could culminate in unconstitutional changes of Government. Similarly, Member States should give the Chairperson of the Commission all the necessary support and cooperation in the use of the powers conferred on him by the Protocol establishing the PSC, including greater use of preventive diplomacy practices and resources, to contribute more effectively to the prevention of crises and tensions that could lead to unconstitutional changes.

c) Better coordination at regional and international levels

26. In order to be effective, the AU action on unconstitutional changes of Government must have the full support of the Regional Mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution and of AU partners within the International Community. It is to be recalled at this juncture that the Lomé Declaration stipulates that in the event of unconstitutional change, the incumbent Chairperson and the Chairperson of the Commission must promote consistent action at bilateral, sub-regional and international levels.

27. With regard more specifically to the Regional Mechanisms, the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the PSC stipulates, in its Article 16, that they are part of the continental peace and security architecture of the Union, which has the primary responsibility for promoting peace, security and stability in Africa. In this regard, the PSC and the Chairperson of the Commission have the responsibility to harmonise and coordinate the activities of the Regional Mechanisms in the fields of peace, security and stability to ensure that these activities are consistent with the objectives and principles
of the Union.

28. In light of the aforesaid, the following was proposed:

(i) The Assembly of the Union may wish to reiterate the primacy of the Union’s responsibility in the promotion of peace, security and stability in the continent. As a result, it is important, every time the AU takes a decision on an unconstitutional change situation, that the Regional Mechanisms conform to the decision thus taken and, in particular, refrain from admitting in the said Mechanisms, the States suspended from participating in AU activities, bearing in mind the relevant provisions of the AU instruments and the primary responsibility devolving on the PSC and the Union, generally-speaking. In this respect, it is necessary, in the framework of the Protocol on cooperation between the AU and the Regional Mechanisms in the domain of peace and security, to ensure regular consultations between the continental and regional levels.

(ii) The Assembly of the Union may wish to ask the bilateral as well as multilateral partners of the AU, including the United Nations, to lend their firm support to the decisions taken by the AU in situations of unconstitutional change of Government and refrain from any action which could weaken the AU’s efforts and send confusing signals to the authors of unconstitutional change. In particular, the States suspended from participating in AU activities as a result of unconstitutional change, should not be allowed to take the floor at the United Nations, particularly during General Assembly debates, and at meetings of other relevant international bodies.

In this respect, it is needful to refer to the Presidential Statement adopted by the United Nations Security Council on 5 May 2009, to envisage more concrete support from the International Community for AU decisions on the matter. In that declaration, the Security Council expressed its deep concern over the recent resurgence of unconstitutional changes of Government in a few African countries and its concern at the violence that may accompany these events as well as the negative impact on the economic and social welfare of the people and the development of affected countries; and stressed the importance of expeditiously restoring constitutional order including through open and transparent elections. The Security Council welcomed the continuing important efforts of the AU and sub-regional organisations consistent with Security Council resolutions and decisions to settle conflicts and promote human rights, democracy, the rule of law and constitutional order in Africa. The Security Council lastly welcomed the preventive measures undertaken by the AU and sub-regional organisations against unconstitutional changes of Government.

(iii) Finally, there is the need to systematise the use of the International Contact Group formula, and this, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Lomé Declaration and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, which request the Chairperson of the Commission to mobilise International Community support for the decisions taken by the AU. These last two years’
experience has shown that the AU generally managed to rally behind its position its partners, mobilised within the framework of the International Contact Groups. The role of these Contact Groups has proved to be important. Based on this experience, what now remains to be done is to strengthen the functioning of the International Contact Groups, including the consultation mechanisms, under AU leadership.

V. CONCLUSIONS

29. As the 12th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union underlined, the resurgence of the scourge of coups d’Etat and other forms of unconstitutional changes represented a serious step backward in the democratisation process that has been in progress throughout the continent since the 1990s, and a threat to peace and security in Africa. This situation calls for a firm and unequivocal reaction on the part of the AU and all its Member States, including through the scrupulous compliance with the decisions taken by the relevant Union authorities.

30. The AU should not only have a “zero tolerance” policy on coups d’Etat; it should also show the same firmness with regard to transgressions in democratic standards which, if persistent and repeated, could lead to unconstitutional changes of Government. In fact, the relevant AU authorities have to fully play their prevention role, relying on the Union instruments according to which the Member States are committed to abide by democratic principles. Any approach centred solely on the repression of coups would not be in accordance with the relevant AU instruments and would only be of limited effectiveness, since the prevention of coups largely resided in the quality of democratic life in any country and the constitutional functioning of its institutions.

31. At this dawn of 2010, the year of peace and security in Africa, a year which marks the fiftieth anniversary of the independence movements, it is only natural as African States progress collectively towards the realisation of the shared values of their people, and towards their advancement to development and integration, that the phenomenon of unconstitutional change of Government be eradicated once and for all. In so doing, Africa would unleash a lot of energy by sparing itself crises and tensions, build greater stability, manage its diversities and its immense wealth and project, on the international scene, the image and reality of a continent that promotes and benefits from the universal values of democracy and peace at the service of the continent’s unity.