

# AFRICAN LEADERSHIP FORUM 2017

PEACE AND SECURITY FOR AN INTEGRATED, UNITED AND SUSTAINABLE AFRICA

24<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> August 2017 | Johannesburg, South Africa



*Thabo Mbeki*  
FOUNDATION

*Dedicated to Africa's Renaissance*

● ● UONGOZI  
● Institute

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## Acronyms and abbreviations

AFRICOM	-	United States Africa Command
ALF	-	African Leadership Forum
AMISOM	-	African Union Mission in Somalia
APSA	-	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASF	-	African Standby Force
AU	-	African Union
CAADP	-	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CEO	-	Chief Executive Officer
CEWS	-	Continental Early Warning System
ECCAS	-	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
HIPPO	-	High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations
ICT	-	Information and communications technology
IGAD	-	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
ISIS	-	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for Africa's Development
PSC	-	Peace and Security Council (of the African Union)
REC	-	Regional Economic Community
UK	-	United Kingdom
UN	-	United Nations
US	-	United States



From L-R: H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria; H.E. Jakaya M. Kikwete, former President of Tanzania; H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa; H.E. Benjamin W. Mkapa, former President of Tanzania; H.E. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, former President of Somalia; H.E. Mohamed Moncef Marzouki, former President of Tunisia; and H.E. Bakili Muluzi, former President of Malawi

## Executive Summary

Achieving peace and security in Africa is of the utmost concern not only due to the immediate, destructive and often fatal outcomes from outbreaks of violence, but also because the presence of conflict undermines the continent’s long-term sustainable development. Consequently, the African Union has given peace and security due prominence. “A peaceful and secure Africa” is one of the key aspirations of the AU’s Agenda 2063 with the goal that “by 2020 all guns will be silent.” The continent has also put in place the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), a set of structures for the prevention, management and resolution of crises and conflicts, as well as post-conflict reconstruction.

Unfortunately, despite these intentions and efforts to date, lasting peace and security on the continent remains elusive. Africa continues to be the region with the highest number of conflicts. Currently, 21 of the 54 countries in Africa are experiencing some form of conflict, representing almost half of all conflicts worldwide.

It is against this background that H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa, and H.E. Benjamin Mkapa, former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, convened the fourth African Leadership Forum (ALF) in Johannesburg on 24-25 August 2017 under the theme “Peace and Security for an Integrated, United and Sustainable Africa”. The organization of the Forum was managed by the Thabo Mbeki Foundation and the UONGOZI Institute with support from the Wits School of Governance, South Africa.

### Rationale and objectives of ALF 2017

The African Leadership Forum brings together former heads of state as well as leaders from all sectors across Africa to discuss pressing issues facing the continent. ALF 2017 builds on the successful series of three dialogues from 2014 through 2016 that focused on Africa’s transformation, the integration of the continent, and African business, respectively. This year’s dialogue examined the complex dynamics that fuel conflicts on the continent and how to practically navigate these dynamics to secure lasting peace. The Forum’s overarching objective was to answer the following question:

“What are the issues and circumstances that hinder peace and security, and what needs to be done to curb them for sustained peace and security?”

The event featured a keynote address by H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria, followed by a public plenary and three discussion sessions, each with introductions by expert presenters.<sup>1</sup> The topics of the discussion sessions were:

- Session I: Moving Towards Inclusiveness
- Session II: Good Governance and the Rule of Law
- Session III: Africa’s Position in the Global Security Architecture

Throughout the event, the presenters, panellists and delegates candidly contributed their experiences and ideas to overcome the challenges to the sustained peace and security of the continent. Key messages that emerged from the discussions are summarized in the sections below.

### What issues and circumstances hinder peace and security in Africa?

#### Internal conflicts are the most immediate and prominent crises facing the continent

Despite external push and pull factors that contribute to undermining Africa’s peace and security, the most immediate and prominent crises facing the continent are internal conflicts. And where these internal conflicts have taken a violent turn, other systemic threats to peace and security have followed, including human rights violations, displacement of people, food insecurity and disease epidemics.

#### Demographic and socio-economic drivers of conflict

Many underlying demographic and socio-economic factors contribute to the emergence and perpetuation of conflicts in Africa. Rapid population growth and urbanization, rising youth unemployment, adverse climate change and environmental degradation, and extremism and terrorism are significant factors that impact stability within and across the region. The illicit exploitation of natural resources (and accompanying illicit financial flows) is another common denominator in many prolonged conflicts on the continent.

In particular, inequality and exclusion have been drivers of conflicts across the continent. Social exclusion disadvantages different groups and communities with respect to the provision of education and health services, democratic participation and civic engagement, while economic exclusion severely limits people’s access to and control of resources as well opportunities for securing employment, thereby entrenching poverty. These exclusions marginalize and alienate people from their broader society and cause preventable tensions that all too frequently escalate into conflicts.

#### Political disagreements are at the heart of most conflicts in Africa

Despite different country contexts, different ethnic groups and different leaders involved, most conflicts in Africa that have degenerated into full-blown violence originated in political disagreements or were fuelled by power politics. It is important to note, however, that many of these disputes can be traced back to the arbitrary partitioning of the continent by colonizing powers. Rather than designing and building states that represented the collective expression of Africa’s citizens and supported their aspirations to live long and to live well, the continent effectively inherited states—along with their accompanying capitalist and imperialist systems of governance—that were inherently conflictual. Beyond the large-scale theft of Africa’s resources, the colonial project served to divide to rule, alienate the subject peoples one from another, and create a class of rulers and the ruled.

#### Self-interested leadership elites

In many African countries, leadership has been viewed as top-down, whereby leadership elites have pursued their own aspirations and those of their power base at the expense of the aspirations of the rest of society. Moreover, the prevailing patterns of social and economic exclusion and inequality on the continent represent a continuation of the historical injustice of colonization whereby Africa’s peoples were dispossessed of their assets and interests. In many states, following independence, African elites replaced colonial ones.

Over the past decade, the trend has been for African elites to tighten their grip on power by reducing freedom of expression, stifling civil society, stoking ethnic and other social divisions, sustaining vast patronage networks and conducting unfair elections. Levels of freedom and openness in Africa have regressed, and indicators of corruption and the performance of the bureaucracy have deteriorated significantly. Elections have become the means of securing the power of incumbents to protect and extend their economic interests.

### What needs to be done to address these challenges so as to realize sustained peace and security for development in Africa?

During discussions, delegates made a number of recommendations to address the challenges to peace and security in Africa, which are summarized in the sections below.

#### Promote national dialogue

All countries throughout Africa must actively promote and engage in national dialogue to find common ground and resolve differences among stakeholders. Of vital importance, opposing political groups need to come together before catastrophe strikes not after conflicts erupt.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B for the Forum program.





Hon. Thoko Didiza (MP), Chairing the Forum

**Prioritize inclusiveness**

Social and political cohesion in Africa will not be achieved if significant proportions of Africa’s population, especially its youth, continue to live in conditions of deprivation and exclusion. Therefore, governments will need to develop policies that prioritize inclusiveness so as to urgently tackle unemployment, improve livelihoods and alleviate poverty. Everybody needs to be involved in meaningful economic activity. Given that the majority of Africa’s population continues to reside in rural areas, policies for rural transformation will be important. Similarly, in urban areas, authorities will need to empower people to participate productively in the economy, including the large numbers engaged in the informal sector. In both contexts, improving access to and quality of education and training will be a fundamental aspect of moving towards inclusiveness. Recent technological advances also offer a path to greater inclusiveness. For example, mobile money has significantly enhanced financial inclusion.

**Strengthen governance and the rule of law**

Closing the gap between Africa’s present reality and its aspirations for lasting peace and security is the task of good governance and the rule of law. All power must be exercised legitimately and respect the dignity and rights of all citizens. Most importantly, the constitution, which is the fundamental law of the state and sets the standards of expectations and aspirations for a nation as a whole, must be binding on everybody, especially the country’s leaders. Here again, education will be fundamental for ensuring that citizens understand the concepts of good governance and rule of law, but first and foremost, Africa’s leadership must lead by example. Leaders must follow the rules.

The continent has made considerable progress with respect to democratic governance, notably, the transition of all African countries from single-party states to multi-party democracies and the conduct of regular democratic elections. However, it remains a work in progress. In particular, national parliaments will need to fearlessly exercise their role of oversight to ensure that governments are held accountable for their actions. Further improvements are also required to ensure that elections are free and fair, and that outcomes of elections are respected. On this latter issue, all African countries must resort to dispute resolution mechanisms which are prescribed in every country’s electoral laws and regulations to avoid disputes developing into conflicts.

Lastly, those excluded must be given a voice. Countries must begin to reconstruct a new social contract with citizens based on trust and inclusion. In particular, Africa’s vibrant youth population has to be educated and meaningfully engaged and taken away from frustration and anger. Without inclusive political systems in which people can make their voices heard and their votes count, the interests of elites will always prevail over those of ordinary citizens. And when patterns of exclusion continue unabated, peace and stability will remain a distant dream.

**Enhance regional economic integration**

Collaboration, coordination and partnership between and among both state and non-state actors are crucial for the promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa. To this end, African countries need to revitalize efforts towards greater regional economic integration. By creating effective regional trading blocs to advance the continent’s development, the interests of African countries become ever more intertwined. In the same way that the continent had a clear and common denominator during its struggles against colonization and apartheid, Africa needs to foster the inclusive ownership and implementation of Agenda 2063 for an integrated, prosperous and peaceful continent.

**Strengthen the structures for peace and security**

As President Obasanjo observed: “No conflict comes without giving some form of notice. When those notices are given, we must do something about them.” Therefore, all African states must actively support and participate in the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The structure of the APSA as well as the roles and responsibilities of its three central instruments—the African Union (AU), which has the primary responsibility for promoting peace, security and stability in Africa, and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Regional Mechanisms (RMs)—are outlined in the Peace and Security Council (PSC) Protocol of 2002. APSA is further supported by the Panel of the Wise, the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the African Standby Force (ASF) and the Peace Fund. Delegates also called for the strengthening of the African Elders’ Council and the African Peer Review Mechanism, which both build on African cultural values of mediation and reconciliation in preventing, managing and resolving intra-state and inter-state conflicts.

**Uphold the primacy of politics in resolving conflicts**

Lasting peace is achieved through political solutions not through military interventions. Therefore, it is critically important to uphold the primacy of political solutions in all AU and UN peace initiatives. In this way, conflict prevention and mediation are prioritized, and the AU will not be embroiled in armed conflicts it cannot win.

Within the existing global security architecture, the UN and particularly the Security Council decide on deployments on the African continent. But given its comparative advantages in conflict prevention and mediation, the AU should not only lead deployments in a technical sense but also provide the political leadership to identify and address the fundamental causes of conflicts in member states.

**Build the capacity of African leaders to prevent conflict**

Given the current geo-political and economic stresses around the world, Africa must increasingly act to solve its own problems. It does not have the luxury of waiting for outsiders to resolve its conflicts. And, in many cases, external interventions have been inimical to Africa’s long-term interests.

Existing resource constraints mean that Africa alone cannot solve all of its peace and security issues but the continent must take the lead role in proffering workable solutions and spearheading the implementation of these solutions. This will require building the capacity of leaders to steer their countries away from conflagration.

Africa must also critically examine the very idea of leadership. Leadership, especially in society in the context of peace and security, is an interactive process in pursuit of common goals. Therefore, to transform the continent requires transforming the interactions between a country’s leaders and its citizens. One fundamental thing that needs to transform is how power is held and exercised. Leadership should not be about coercive power. Rather, leadership is needed as a development tool to manage life in common and realize the collective aspirations of the people.





H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa welcoming participants to the African Leadership Forum 2017

## 1. The Opening Session

### 1.1 Welcome by H.E. Thabo Mbeki

On behalf of President Mkapa, the UONGOZI Institute and Thabo Mbeki Foundation, H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa, warmly welcomed delegates to the conference, the first in the series of African Leadership Forums to be held in South Africa. He said that the topic of this year's forum—the peace and security of the continent—was obviously of the utmost importance. Beyond the challenges of the current conflicts on the continent, there is always the risk even in those countries now at peace that conflict may break out in the future. He hoped that the forum's discussions would produce practical outcomes, that the ideas presented would be able to feed into processes on the continent to address the challenges of present conflicts, which are claiming the lives of too many people, impeding development, and blocking the way towards national unity within the affected countries as well as the strategic integration of the continent.



H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria delivering the Keynote Address

### 1.2 Keynote Address: Realizing Sustained Peace and Security for Development in Africa

H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria

To commence his address, President Obasanjo observed that the present gathering could not have come at a better time, given that the world at large, and Africa in particular, are grappling with threats to peace and security in so many forms, degrees and dimensions. He then introduced the subject of his address in question form:

*What are the issues and circumstances that hinder peace and security and, therefore, development, and what needs to be done to curb them for sustained peace and security in our continent?*

In opening, he said that conflict and oppression have always afflicted humankind. He described how the Bible is replete with conflicts among families, communities and peoples, and between and among nations. Indeed, to record the history of the world, scholars and chroniclers have been bound by acts of conflict, treachery, conquest, domination, suppression, oppression, exploitation, injustice and enslavement. It is no different in Africa. At different times, most of the continent has been subjected to regimes of the utmost callousness, insensitivity and inhumanity—slavery and the slave trade, and the colonization and domination inherited at independence. Moreover, the colonial powers arbitrarily divided the continent, which strengthened the hold of those regimes over Africa, and sowed the seeds of future disputes.

#### Different contexts, common causes

To effectively chart a roadmap to sustained peace and security, President Obasanjo believed that “before we move to where we should go, we should know where we are coming from.” He related that, for over 50 years, he has been actively involved in peace-making, peace-building, peace-keeping, conflict prevention and management in many African countries, including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, South Sudan, Guinea - Bissau and in his home country of Nigeria. However, despite the different contexts, different ethnic groups and different dramatis personae involved, all of these conflicts could be traced back to similar causes.

*At the most micro-level, anywhere in Africa, conflicts are a product of power struggle or squabbles with some mindless power elite taking more than a fair share of what is due to all, and, thus, undermining the weaker elements in their midst and domains.*

He continued:

*We, as leaders, can cast back our minds and replicate in our different social, cultural, political or economic settings and see if power sharing and unfair-minded leadership with selfishness and lack of adequate consideration do not rank high in why Africans have turned to bearing arms against fellow compatriots in needless conflicts and wars when socio-economic development and inclusion should have been our priority.*



Yet, he wondered aloud:

*If peace and security are desired by all, why is it difficult for people to embrace peace and why is security elusive in all parts of the globe and in less quantity and quality in Africa?*

To answer this question, one first has to understand what peace and security are.

#### **Peace and security mean more than the absence of war or conflict**

For President Obasanjo, peace signifies a situation of harmony and concord, or, in other words, a state of tranquillity. It presupposes the absence of low or high-level conflicts, of violence of any kind, including the conventional or unconventional prosecution of hot or cold war. In an organized society, it represents not just the presence of the rule of law but law and order reigning supreme. Closely related to and supportive of peace, security is the state of feeling safe, stable, and free from fear or anxiety whether for individuals or groups, classes or nations.

He added that intellectually-minded people have traditionally considered peace to mean the absence of war but he felt that this is a narrow prescription for a world that is in a permanent state of tension in the hands of powerful nations, people, elements and circumstances. He said:

*No hungry man is at peace. That is why we now have terms like food insecurity. No man at the mercy of weather or whose home or farm is being devastated by flood, tsunami, sand dunes, desertification or pestilence can claim to be at peace. This is why we have environmental crisis.*

Indeed, he related that only yesterday at least 1,000 people in Sierra Leone were swept to their deaths by floods and mudslides.

Similarly, in terms of international relations, peace and war may once have been seen as binary opposites, such that peace was construed to mean the absence of states engaging in open confrontations with one another. But, here, too, he considered the concept to be “more vast, tenuous and crafty in its manifestations.” In the Cold War era, traditional arrangements for peace and security were situated in the global balance of power and collective security architectures. However, in the post-Cold War era other realities have been brought to the fore.

*Today, Cold Peace has replaced Cold War. Competition has become fiercer than ever before. Economic survival, environmental issues, religious ideologies and issues of injustice, hunger, starvation, unemployment, poverty and sustainable development have degenerated into tension, claiming more casualties than on the battlefields and the two World Wars known to man.*

Hence, it is the plight of individuals and the quality of their lives within their immediate environments that are now of greatest concern. He lamented that more Africans each year are risking their lives in search of peace and greener pastures beyond the Sahara Desert and across the Mediterranean Sea to escape the harsh economic realities foisted on them by corrupt, inept and clueless leaders. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has reported that human trafficking and migrant flows are on the rise. So far this year, 84,830 people have arrived on Italy’s shores from Libya, which represents a 19% increase from the same period last year. Already, over 2,108 had died while trying to make the perilous crossing, often organized by ruthless smugglers in unseaworthy and rickety boats.

*These are all signs that peace has taken flight not because of war but because of ill-conceived and poorly implemented policies and graft by mindless and poor leadership.*

If, as these facts make apparent, Africa’s leaders are robbing people of the opportunity to pursue happy, comfortable and joyous lives, then the pressing question becomes:

*“How do we as leaders engender the absence of fear among our hapless, helpless and frustrated citizens?”*

#### **Africa must look for solutions to its peace and security from within**

President Obasanjo counselled that Africa must increasingly act to solve its own problems. Given the stresses and strains across the globe—including the crises in Yemen, Iraq and Syria, and the brewing tensions around the South China Sea and North Korea—there is stiff competition for the attention of the international community to build or mediate peace globally.

*Gone are the days when adequate attention was paid to Africa’s peace and security issues. Today, Africa has to begin to look for solutions to its peace and security issues from within.*

In addition, many European countries such as Britain, France, Germany and Belgium, which have intervened in African crises in the past, are grappling with internal attacks by terrorists, whether home-grown or imported. And the election of President Donald Trump of the United States of America has ushered in “America first” anti-globalization policies. Therefore:

*...we Africans simply do not have the luxury of waiting for outsiders to solve our problems for us. And in any case, their interventions have been mostly inimical to African interests.*





**Internal conflicts are the most immediate and prominent crises facing Africa**

While acknowledging that there are other push and pull factors undermining Africa’s peace and security, President Obasanjo said:

*It is of absolute necessity to point out that internal conflicts are the single most prominent and immediate circumstances hindering peace and security in Africa.*

To underscore that most of Africa’s security challenges are caused by Africans, especially self-conceited leaders—and hence must be solved by Africans—he listed some of the recent conflicts on the continent. These include:

- Border conflicts such as between Eritrea and Ethiopia
- Development conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Darfur in Sudan
- Marginalization conflicts, real or perceived, such as south-eastern Nigeria
- Poor leadership and bad governance conflicts, such as Burundi and Guinea Bissau
- Electoral conflicts, such as Central African Republic
- Induced conflicts, such as in Mali and Libya
- Resource-based conflicts, such as in Libya, Sudan-South Sudan and Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria
- Fundamentalist conflicts (religious or nationalistic), such as Egypt.

He made particular reference to the Boko Haram insurgency, which has ravaged the north-eastern part of Nigeria, as well as parts of Chad, Cameroon and Niger. The insurgency has killed more than 20,000 people and rendered over 2.3 million others displaced. Personally involved in identifying the causes of the conflict, he found out that:

*...the refusal of the governments to pay compensation, as ordered by the Court, to the family of Boko Haram leaders who were innocently killed, was partly responsible for the escalation of violent extremism ... How I wish that a serious conciliatory solution had been embraced at the beginning of the crisis. I cannot but partly blame the escalation of the insurgency in the entire region to the inertia of our ruling class!*

What’s more, Boko Haram’s accomplice in East Africa, Al-Shabaab, with between 7,000 and 9,000 fighters, is separately unleashing catastrophes and destruction. In addition, splinter groups of militants and terrorists have found temporary abode in Libya, an unstable if not a failed state since the Arab Spring swept through it, and, with the support of the West, consumed its former leader, Muammar Gaddafi, in 2011. There is further danger that when the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

(ISIS) is defeated, its fighters may find a place in Libya. South Sudan, the youngest sovereign nation in the world, has also plunged into a bloody civil war, having spent decades seeking independence from Sudan. The Central African Republic hasn’t fared better and the entire Sahel Region is a hotspot for terrorism and violent extremism.

**The broad and devastating impacts of internal conflicts on peace and security**

President Obasanjo then highlighted the widespread and devastating impacts of internal conflicts on peace and security within a country.

*When internal conflicts take a violent turn (which they often do), other systemic threats to peace and security, such as human rights violations, displacement of people, malnutrition and diseases often follow. The resultant effects of internal conflicts, as well as their intertwinement, are numerous; a country devastated by conflict relegates democracy and good governance to the background, its people are often violated by the same institutions that are supposed to protect them, and no sane investors would commit their capital to a country whose climate is destructive.*

In particular, poverty in conjunction with uncontrolled population growth is a most disturbing phenomenon, with the potential to breed social discord, especially youth restiveness. Unemployed young men and women are especially vulnerable to the temptations of violence and can be easily instrumentalized for that purpose. Indeed, a World Bank survey in 2011 found that about 40% of those who joined rebel movements and terrorism said they were motivated by lack of jobs. Therefore, he cautioned:

*...if African youths are not properly educated, empowered and engaged, we are sitting on a keg of gunpowder which, as a matter of when, not if, will explode in our faces in a manner that we could find irredeemable.*

**Political disagreements are at the heart of most conflicts in Africa**

To know what to do to more effectively prevent or manage conflicts necessarily requires an understanding of their underlying causes. Here, President Obasanjo reiterated that the biggest issue hindering peace and security in Africa stems from the continent’s political climate and leadership deficiencies. He related that most conflicts that have degenerated into full-blown violence either began with a political disagreement or were fuelled by power politics. He said:

*Whether it is the political fallout between South Sudan’s president Salva Kiir and his estranged former Vice President Riek Machar, or the recently renewed...agitation for the creation of Biafra in Nigeria, politics is always somewhere at the heart of conflict in Africa. We need less of politics and more of altruistic governance.*

**Building the capacity of leaders and institutions to prevent conflict**

Having identified the principal causes of Africa’s conflicts, President Obasanjo turned his attention to what needs to be done. Here again, he reiterated that since Africa’s security challenges are nearly all African-created problems, then the continent should rely less on peacekeepers from outside.

*The real solution lies in Africa and among Africans. My view is that to stimulate peace and engender security, we must creatively engage progressive-minded Africans in strategic and proactive management of our geopolitical and economic space. Africans themselves must desire and work for peace and security.*

This will require building the capacity of leaders and institutions to prevent conflicts. Indeed, the foremost duty and responsibility of a country’s leader is to ensure peace and security, as a foundation for economic and social development and progress.

*For a start we need to build a crop of leaders, with the capacity and acumen to steer respective countries away from flagration. This crop of leaders must be complemented with the building of institutions that can nip potential conflicts in the bud.*

**Strengthening the structures for peace and security**

President Obasanjo strongly suggested that the Thabo Mbeki Foundation and UONGOZI Institute and similar organizations and institutions in Africa, must work separately and collectively for peace and security in Africa, and he emphasized the value of meetings and conferences like the current forum. However, he counselled that such meetings must be supplemented by action.

*No conflict comes without giving some form of notice. When those notices are given, we must do something about them.*

Therefore, he stressed the need to revisit the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), which is built around structures, objectives, principles and values, as well as decision-making processes relating to the

prevention, management and resolution of crises and conflicts, post-conflict reconstruction and development in the continent. The various components of the APSA as well as their roles and responsibilities are outlined in the Peace and Security Council (PSC) Protocol of December 2003, which was adopted by African leaders in Durban, South Africa in July 2002. APSA is supported by structures such as: the Commission, the Panel of the Wise, the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the African Standby Force (ASF) and the Peace Fund. It also defines the relationship between the African Union (AU), which has the primary responsibility for promoting peace, security and stability in Africa, and the Regional Economic Communities/Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (RECs/RMs).

He added that collaboration, coordination and partnership between and among both state and non-state actors are crucial for the promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa. APSA’s peace and security agenda includes: the promotion of early warning and conflict prevention, peace-making, peace support operations, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction and development; democratic practices, good governance and respect for human rights; and humanitarian action and disaster management. He counselled that the provisions of these vital documents should be implemented and sacredly adhered to.

Reiterating his personal stance on African solutions for African problems, President Obasanjo also called for the strengthening of the African Elders’ Council, a mechanism that builds on African cultural values of mediation and reconciliation in preventing, managing and resolving intrastate and interstate conflicts. As he had stated earlier, the international community is already overwhelmed by crises in other parts of the globe. But more importantly, he believed that “African countries have an accumulated wealth of experience and wisdom derived from indigenous cultures that have not been adequately utilized.”

He highlighted two recent examples of successful collaboration between African member states. First, military operations were launched by the governments of Chad, Niger, Cameroon and Nigeria to curb Boko Haram attacks. With the understanding of the African Union, this joint task force pooled human and material resources towards the common goal of defeating the group. Though Boko Haram has not been completely destroyed, the success of this multinational effort is becoming apparent. The prevention of post-electoral conflict in The Gambia through the collective effort of countries in the West African sub-region early in 2017 was another success. However, with respect to the latter incident, President Obasanjo stressed that:

*...all African countries must resort to elective dispute*



resolution mechanisms which are prescribed in every country's electoral laws and regulations to avoid disputes developing into conflicts.

**Responding to humanitarian crises**

At the same time, the President stressed the need to urgently and adequately respond to the humanitarian challenges caused by food insecurity, drought, climate change, refugees and internally displaced persons in conflict areas. For example, in north-east Nigeria alone, over two million people are in need of humanitarian support, and in South Sudan, as at May 2017, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has rendered humanitarian support to over 2.5 million people, and hopes to provide assistance to up to 5.8 million people. Beyond immediate humanitarian aid to save the lives of people, innovative approaches from countries in regions prone to crisis are needed, such as the establishment of common markets and regional economic revitalization plans.

**Addressing the underlying causes of insecurity and instability**

To conclude, the President said that success in the long run will depend on how effectively the continent addresses the underlying causes of insecurity and instability by finding lasting solutions to weak governance, weak democratic institutions, and lack of opportunities.

*Working with regional and international partners, African countries must strengthen their institutions and be more proactive in tackling the security, economic, social, and political and development challenges. Countries must also begin to reconstruct a new social contract with citizens based on trust and inclusion. The keg of gunpowder we are sitting on—our vibrant youth population—has to be educated and meaningfully engaged to be made positively active and taken away from frustration and anger.*

Local, regional and international efforts were also needed to address the security threats posed by violent extremists and criminal networks including drug barons, money launderers and human traffickers.

Africa alone cannot solve all of its peace and security issues but the continent must take the lead role.

*We must be seen as taking a lead role in proffering workable solutions to our problems and spearheading the implementation of the solutions, ready to pay the price and make the sacrifices that are necessary. The international community will be more than ready to join hands with us if we are proactive.*

In closing, he thanked the organizers for their invitation and expressed his hope that through forums such as this, supported with action, the continent would realize its full potential and claim its rightful share of the global division of labour and decision-making as well as global prosperity in peace and security.



Public Plenary panel discussion. From L-R: H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, Ms. Julie Gichuru (Moderator), H.E. Mohamed Moncef Marzouki, Hon. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, Prof. Funmi Olonisakin and Mr. Francois Lounceny Fall.

**1.3 Public Plenary**

Moderator: Ms. Julie Gichuru

Panellists:

- H.E Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria
- H.E. Mohamed Moncef Marzouki, former President of Tunisia
- Hon. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, Deputy Prime Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of Namibia
- Prof. Funmi Olonisakin, Director of the African Leadership Centre, King's College, London
- Mr. François Louncény Fall, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Central Africa

**Preamble**

In recent decades, Africa has experienced tremendous growth and development, yet, the attainment of peace across the continent has been elusive. Despite concerted efforts to put in place the common foundations of peace and security—the equitable distribution of resources, good governance and the rule of law—many countries remain mired in conflict and instability. Increasing numbers of Africans, particularly the young, are risking their lives to leave the continent

in search of safety and prosperity. Given that peace is a prerequisite for achieving an integrated, unified and sustainable Africa, the plenary session focused on what needs to be done to respond to the crises facing Africa and cement the foundations for lasting security and prosperity on the continent. Edited highlights of the discussion are summarized in the sections below.

**The central importance of national dialogue for realizing peace and security**

To open his remarks, **H.E. Mohamed Moncef Marzouki, former President of Tunisia** expressed his pride in his home country and the continent. He explained that, etymologically, Tunisians were the first Africans. The word “Africa” is an Arab word that was originally coined to describe the northern part of Tunisia, and then it became the name for the whole of Tunisia, then the name of the whole area of the Maghreb<sup>2</sup> and then the name of the continent. He said: *So we are the first Africans and we are very proud of it.*

He also expressed his pride in Tunisia’s peaceful revolution. Not only did Tunisia’s revolution start the wave of revolutions in northern Africa and the Middle East known as the Arab Spring, but it is also one of the most peaceful revolutions in Africa and in the Arab world. Tunisia has not solved all of its problems but it now has a stable, peaceful government, which is in stark contrast with the outcome in neighbouring Libya, which

<sup>2</sup> The Maghreb is a major region of northern Africa that consists of five main countries: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania.



is still in the grips of civil war.

He asked: How did this happen when the people of Tunisia and Libya share the language, the same culture and the same religion? Indeed, the people of the two countries are the same people. So what's the difference? In answer, he said it would be simplistic to think that there was only one reason to explain the complexity of the situation in both countries, but he highlighted that Tunisia's habit of engaging in national dialogue was one of the most important things in achieving a peaceful outcome. In Libya, they do not have this habit for dialogue. He counselled that for countries to avert conflict:

*We must have the national dialogue before catastrophe not just after catastrophe because people have to sit together and people have to talk together...And this is why in Tunisia I think we have had this very different outcome because we had this national dialogue going all the time.*

Therefore, he advised that all countries throughout Africa must actively promote and engage in national dialogue if the continent is to achieve peace and security.

*If we don't promote national dialogue within our countries we are not going to solve our problems. National dialogue is the most important part of the solution and its absence is the most important part of the problem...This is the message we should give as wisdom from a head of state to the young generation [of leaders]: "Go and talk to your enemies. Go and talk with your opponent because you have to share power and wealth with them. If you don't share power and wealth, you will have instability all of the time, you will have civil war all of the time." This is my message.*

**Ownership of the national and continental agenda for development**

Expanding upon the comments by President Marzouki, **Hon. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, Deputy Prime Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of Namibia**, highlighted the critical importance of inclusive and broad-based ownership of the continent's agenda for development, in the same way that Africa had a clear and common denominator when it was fighting for decolonization. She gave the example of her home country of Namibia. As a liberation movement, the country had the slogan: "Everything for the struggle. All for victory. Independence or death. We shall win." This was the guiding principle. Then when Namibia won its independence, the victorious South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) adopted a policy of national reconciliation to transform the country from the climate of apartheid that prevailed before independence to one of greater inclusion to bring everybody on board so as to sustain peace.

*We feel that has...served us well ... But we cannot really say that our peace is not fragile, because the socio-economic situation is still a challenge.*

Here, too, the government is seeking to mobilize the population to eradicate poverty. Recently, it developed the Harambee Prosperity Plan. In designing this program, she said:

*We even decided to use a word which is not part of any of the Namibian local languages, [namely] "Harambee", which is a Swahili word. It means: "Let us pull together in the same direction".*

She said that taking a word from one language may have been perceived as favouring that particular ethnic group.

Similarly, at the continental level, Hon. Nandi-Ndaitwah strongly recommended that all African countries should strive to implement the African Union's Agenda 2063. To achieve this, all Africans, both within government and outside government, including the private sector and civil society, need to own this Pan African vision for an integrated, prosperous and peaceful continent.

*So my dream really is to see the realization of Agenda 2063 to be owned by Africa, to be funded by Africa ... If we are not funding it, if we are not managing it, it will not meet our objectives. So I am underlining ownership of everything we do.*

In comments from the floor, **Dr. Cristina Duarte, former Minister of Finance and Planning, Cape Verde Islands**, strongly agreed with Hon. Nandi-Ndaitwah on



Hon. Nandi-Ndaitwah on the panel



Dr. Christina Duarte contributing from the floor

the urgent need for African ownership.

*I am not going to talk as a former minister but as an African citizen. There is lack of ownership in Africa. Let's ask: Do we own our financial resources? Our natural resources? No. Natural resource management in Africa is submitted to mispricing and we lose billions of dollars per year. Do we own our fiscal resources? No. We lose 50 billion dollars in illicit flows every year. At the same time, we wait, 3, 4, 5 years to get the same amount to finance infrastructure in Africa. Which is a paradox. It seems like we wait for our own money.*

As a result, African policy makers are still concentrating on managing poverty in a rich continent. A shift is needed from simply managing poverty to taking ownership and managing Africa's resources to secure peace and prosperity. And to do that the continent requires leadership.

*We need leadership as a development tool. Not as a goal by itself. Leadership needs to be exercised ... It's not a position, it is service delivery.*

And in the absence of leadership, Africa will produce weak institutions, and with weak institutions Africa will never have peace and security.

**Transforming leadership away from coercive power towards collective aspiration**

Echoing the words of President Obasanjo, **Prof. Funmi Olonisakin, Director of the African Leadership Centre**, said that a long view of Africa's history is needed to understand its current peace and security challenges. What does that long view of history tell us?

First, Professor Olonisakin considered that Africa had built "war-making states rather than peace-making states across the board. In explanation, she said that, during the independence struggle, Africa had fought to liberate states that had been created by the colonizing powers. It may not have been by design but Africa's independence leaders took those states, framed them, and kept them as they were externally to prevent conflicts between the new states. However, "because those states are not the collective expressions of our citizens, they bar the kind of future they will build together."

Perhaps, even more importantly:

*...within those states we kept rigidly to the idea that all we needed to do was for governments to claim the monopoly of the means of force.*

Hence, rather than design and build the kind of states that would help us collectively realize our aspirations to live long and to live well, Africa effectively inherited states that were conflictual both within and without.

Second, Africa must critically examine the very idea of leadership. Leadership, especially in society in the context of peace and security, is an interactive process in pursuit of common goals. Within the field of leadership study, nowhere is leadership about the leader. Yet, up until now, in many African countries, leadership is viewed as top-down, i.e., as something in which a person in a position of authority is simply the be all and end all. This is a big aspect of the problem. It is not only a cultural issue but also reflects how African states were initially created, in which elites pursued their own aspirations at the expense of the aspirations of the rest of society. That's the present reality of our continent. Therefore, to transform the continent and take Africa to next level requires transforming the ideas that shape what we do and transforming the interactions between us. And one fundamental thing that needs to transform is how power is held and exercised. She said:

*Leadership cannot be about coercive power. The moment it's about coercive power it already has stopped mediating society. It must be about the collective aspiration of our people and how to manage life in common with our people so that we collectively aspire to live well, live long and realize our full potential.*

**Enhancing regional integration and cooperation for peace and security**





H.E. Jakaya Kikwete makes a contribution from the floor on peace keeping efforts in Libya. On his right is H.E. Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and on his left is H.E. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud of Somalia.

**Mr. Francois Louncény Fall, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Central Africa**, based his remarks on the situation in the central African region but stressed that all regions of Africa face similar challenges to peace and security.

*First ... no region in Africa is immune to the challenges to peace, security and sustainable development. Violent conflicts, extremism and terrorism, rising inequality, demographic change with pressure arising from a growing youth population and rising youth unemployment, gender inequality, illicit exploitation of natural resources, illicit financial flows, climate change, new technology and other global and continental trends are all interconnected and have potential to cause further instability within and across the region.*

Therefore, he felt that it is critically important for African countries to revitalize efforts towards greater regional co-operation and integration to enable the continent to tackle its peace, security and development challenges.

Later, in comments from the floor, the issue of regional integration featured strongly. One participant highlighted the need for Africa to create effective regional trading blocks to advance the continent's development. In this way, the interests of African countries become intertwined.

*A businessman that comes from another country is not seen as a question of migration but we have a common interest as Africans to address African issues.*

However, **Dr. Babafemi Badejo**, former Head of Political Affairs at the United Nations Mission in Darfur cautioned that a problem exists about which African countries are very, very silent, i.e., that some countries have purposely acted at times to destabilize their neighbours. Therefore, he agreed with President Obasanjo that a council of elders was needed but it must have courage to tell countries not to negatively interfere in neighbouring states.

**Addressing the socio-economic causes of conflicts**

Echoing another theme of the keynote address, **Mr. Louncény** said that greater focus must be placed on addressing the root socio-economic causes of conflicts not just the symptoms. For example, the post-election disputes in Burundi, Congo and Gabon remain a source of potential tension amidst a deepening economic crisis. In Chad, recent strike action over the non-payment of salary arrears, the effect of declining oil prices, austerity measures, weaknesses in governance and regional

security, and challenges arising from the activity of Boko Haram, have all collectively contributed to exacerbating the link between poverty, inequality and vulnerability, especially among youth, who are seduced to join violent extremist and terrorist groups.

Later, in comments from the floor, **Mr. Raphael Obonyo, Africa's representative in the World Bank's Global Coordination Board on Youth and Anti-Corruption**, also noted that inequality and youth unemployment were drivers of conflicts.

*For as long as we fail to address the question of inequality ... we will continue facing conflicts. So we must ensure equal distribution of resources. The second thing to which other speakers have alluded is the issue of youth. If you want to know the stability of any community, of any society, look at the position and the condition of youth. In this continent, 60% of jobless people are young people. You cannot expect peace and security in a situation where we have jobless young people.*

**Ms. Gwendolyn Myers, a global youth peace and security advocate from Sierra Leone and member of the World Economic Forum's Global Shapers Community Advisory Council**, said that young people were so often used to foment violence and conflict. In every conflict setting, young people are tragically involved. Hence, peace and security in Africa cannot be sustained without investing in the youth of the continent. On this issue, she highlighted the importance of the newly adopted United Nations Security Council Resolution on Youth, Peace and Security (UNSCR 2250), which aims to protect young people from armed conflict. She strongly encouraged that young people need to be engaged within their local communities; interventions to prevent and resolve conflicts would be meaningless if they do not have any impact at the local level. She also recommended that young people needed to be represented in the mediation and negotiation teams to broker and build peace.

**Hon. Nandi-Ndaitwah** highlighted the presence of strategic natural resources—and the accompanying greed to benefit from those resources—is so often a common denominator in conflicts on the continent. African leaders must acknowledge this problem if conflicts are to be resolved:



*Why [is it that] this country where there are strategic resources we have such prolonged conflicts. Who is benefitting? Is it ourselves? is it outside? is it a mix? That is really a challenge that we have to face in order to solve these problems.*

Closely related to this, **President Marzouki** highlighted the endemic issue of corruption, not just in Africa but globally. He said:

*Because the problem is that the whole world and not only in Africa, we are shifting from corrupt dictatorship to corrupt democracy. I can assure you that the main problem everywhere is corruption.*

### Building the architecture for conflict prevention and good governance

If peace and security are to be fostered, **Mr. Louncény** argued that resilient capacities as well as accountable and inclusive institutions need to be built. This will require investing in national and regional structures for peace and good governance and creating open space for the engagement of all stakeholders, so as to encourage political dialogue to resolve differences and find peaceful solutions to conflicts. So too, civil society institutions, such as youth groups and women's groups, need to be strengthened. Lastly, sustainable funding by member states is essential not only to finance security operations but also to strengthen regional bodies.

### Resolving complex crises: The cases of Libya and South Sudan

Following the opening comments by the panellists, the moderator asked how African elders can act and be supported to resolve complex crises such as South Sudan and Libya. Responses from the panellists and from plenary participants highlighted the complexity of these conflicts as well as the urgent need for concerted and coordinated actions by incumbent leaders.

**President Obasanjo** said that African elders have a role to play but, first and foremost, the responsibility for resolving present conflicts rests with incumbent leaders. On Libya, he believed that if African leaders had been more decisive then an African solution may have been achieved.

On South Sudan, **Prof. Olonisakin** was astounded that peace in that country was negotiated and the state established around two leaders rather than the people.

*We had an African process ... yet ... we rushed to go through elections and we framed everything, the future and the destiny of the people of South Sudan around two individuals and then we expected that they would acquiesce to all of the national conversations that would let them pursue a future with the people.*

On a positive note, **Mr. Louncény** described a series of examples where African leadership had successfully

intervened in conflicts but even with concerted efforts to prevent conflicts, escalation can arise for many reasons. He commended the efforts of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in negotiating a peace plan in South Sudan even though this initiative was not able to be sustained. Similarly, IGAD was successfully involved in resolving aspects of the conflict in Somalia. He also highlighted aspects of the continent's security architecture that were working well, including the early warning system of the African Union as well as the ECOWAS mediation system in West Africa. However, other regional systems for conflict prevention and resolution, for example, for ECCAS countries in Central Africa, are not as well developed, hence the importance of strengthening the capacity of regional blocks in preventing and managing conflicts.

**Former President of Tanzania, Jakaya Kikwete** related that when conflict broke out in Libya, African leaders were the first to take action and formed a committee of five heads of state—South Africa, Uganda, Mauritania, Congo and Mali—which met with President Gaddafi in Tripoli and the leaders of the rebellion in Benghazi, and tried to convince the President that he should think of stepping aside. But that these actions were followed by the passage of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973 in March 2011 to establish a no-fly zone, and shortly thereafter the NATO-led bombing of the country commenced. The bombing was briefly halted to enable South Africa's President Jacob Zuma to fly to Libya and meet Gaddafi. But:

*Immediately after he left they bombed the place where he met the leader. And then that was the end of the African initiative. And it was just the bombing, the bombing, the bombing until the leader was killed. Their mission was accomplished they left. They left the country in the hands of nobody.*

Six years later, including civil war over the last three years, there is a UN-recognized government in Tripoli and Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar, the commander of the Libyan National Army, controls the eastern part of the country. Recently, the AU has created a committee and appointed President Kikwete as the high representative. But he felt that Africa had lost the initiative on Libya.

On the events in Libya, **President Mbeki** remarked that three African countries—South Africa, Nigeria and Gabon—were on the UN Security Council when Resolution 1973 was adopted. And all of them voted for that Resolution. If they hadn't, that Resolution would not have passed.

Asked why the African leadership did not act with a common voice and purpose, **President Obasanjo** said:

*... how can you have three African countries in the Security Council and vote for something that is not supported by Africa? Nigeria is there. South Africa is there, so that is what I was saying about leadership. Now I sympathize with President Kikwete, he's trying to say what happened. But what happened is that they did not put their act together.*



Mr. Francois Lounceny Fall, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Central Africa speaking on the panel

*Let's call a spade a spade.*

**President Mkapa** was even more forthright:

*I am sorry, it may sound very arrogant but the leadership is disorganized, the leadership lacks courage, and they don't have the guts even to defend their own national interests let alone the continental one.*

**President Hassan, former President of Somalia** agreed with President Mkapa and President Obasanjo. He said that with respect to the Libyan conflict, African leaders were not coordinated. However, he added leaders who do resist frequently face consequences, hence, it is critically important for the African Union to present a unified voice in the international arena. He also highlighted that Libya is an extremely complex case. As an African country, an Arab country and a Mediterranean country, multiple competing players are working to defend their particular interests. He said:

*As Africans, we have to intervene but we must understand that in cases like Libya, specifically like Libya, you have other partners and we have to work with them. If we want to find the solution to Libya I am quite sure that we cannot do it as just as African leaders. We have to talk to the other partners—European partners and Arab partners. Otherwise, the problem won't be solved. I am afraid that it's the same thing everywhere.*

**President Obasanjo** agreed with President Hassan.

*Libya is an Arab country; the Arabs are not united on the issue of Libya. It's an African country, it's a Mediterranean country, and the Mediterraneans are not united on the issue of Libya. So, as President Kikwete has rightly said, it's now completely out of the hands of Africa. To ask the AU to take on the job of dealing with the problem of Libya is asking the AU to do the impossible.*

### The need for strong national leadership

**Amb. Ami Mpungwe, former Ambassador of Tanzania to South Africa**, remarked that the issue of conflict resolution in Africa has been dealt with for a very long time and yet we are not getting anywhere. So, first and foremost, strong national leaders are needed who can effectively manage problems in their own countries.

*Before going to other countries, I think we have to address our own internal issues and have leadership that can stand up and... even criticize their former parties that they used to lead when they are going wrong in terms of peace and stability.*

Second, in agreement with Hon. Nandi-Ndaitwah, he felt that different sets of leadership skills are needed



to respond to the new challenges on the continent and move from the struggle for independence and freedom to the struggle for development.

*During struggles for independence and liberation, we had people mobilize us...preachers, trade unionists mobilized us ... but now we are dealing with management of resources and markets. I think we need a new type of new generation of leadership that can handle the challenges of our time.*

Later in the discussion, **Hon. Pelonomi Venson-Moitoi, Minister Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in Botswana**, highlighted the need for the values of traditional leadership in Africa, which was historically focused on tribal chiefs, to be replaced with the values for republican leadership. She said:

*It [republican leadership] has nothing to do with traditional leadership. You are leading people of a myriad of expectations, of a myriad of tribes and religions, who don't care what tribe you belong to. And they have rights that you are going to have to respect.*

She added that leaders are trusted by citizens to manage their resources, their economies, to put bread on their plates. And they trust you with their wildlife, with their minerals, with their water, with everything that the country has. Therefore, leaders must share it equally and equitably and put in place a justice system that is fair and transparent.

*If you have a system that is transparent and people know that you are doing it properly, maybe you have a chance at peace.*

**Ms. Ottilia Maunganidze from the Institute for Security Studies** offered a different but related perspective. She said that Africa is a continent of over 1.2 billion people, who want peace, stability, prosperity, justice and security. She posed the relevant question:

*How do we move away from centring accountability, responsibility and action on a few leaders and make it about those 1.2 billion people?*

**On sharing and relinquishing power**

Reflecting on the history of his home country of Tanzania, **Amb. Mpungwe** related that the country's one-party system following independence can be criticized for many reasons but it resulted in a very strong united country across tribal and religious divisions. Now, upon transition to a multi-party system, he sees instances where former colleagues have become bitter enemies. Given the new multi-party context throughout the continent, he wondered why African countries persist with electoral systems whereby the winner takes all, i.e., the party winning 51, 60, 70, 80%

of the vote, takes 100% of the power. He suggested that governments of national unity may work better to promote peace and stability.

**Prof. Tim Murithi, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation**, remarked that leaders refusing to relinquish power was a significant issue that needed to be addressed.

*I think there's a small elephant in the room that we are failing to grapple with, which is the issue of incumbent presidents who have outlived their best-before date. President Obasanjo has said the biggest challenge is the failure to grab the bull by the horns and I think we need to deal with this elephant in the room. We see these former presidents here. They seem quite healthy, quite happy, so there is life after presidency. Concretely, what can the former heads of state do to help us to encourage those leaders who've overstayed their term of office? Beyond 10 years is too long, 25 years and 45 years is ridiculous ... It seems like we need to have a program of sorts to encourage these so-called leaders to leave their positions so that citizens of Africa can live in peace.*

**On the importance of inclusive dialogue and replicating what works**

In closing, President Obasanjo had three things to say. First, he said that Africa is not an unmitigated failure. He recommended that whatever interventions have succeeded to address conflict, whether at national or community level, need to be replicated. Second, he felt that taking a broad brush and painting everybody black or white or brown will not lead us anywhere. And finally, as President Marzouki had said at the opening of the plenary, inclusive communication is key. On this score, President Obasanjo advised that Africans need to talk with ourselves rather than at ourselves. To conclude, he said:

*We don't talk with ourselves. I believe Africa will be better off if we talk with ourselves at every level. And if we do that, we will probably make progress in security and in all other aspects of our national and continental life.*



Hon. Pelonomi Venson-Moitoi, Minister Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in Botswana, speaks on the need for republican leadership values and transparency to maintain peace





Public Plenary panel discussion. From L-R: H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, Ms. Julie Gichuru (Moderator), H.E. Mohamed Moncef Marzouki, Hon. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, Prof. Funmi Olonisakin and Mr. Francois Lounceny Fall.

## 2. Discussion Sessions

This section presents selected highlights from the series of three discussion sessions hosted during the 2017 African Leadership Forum. The three sessions were:

- Session I: Moving Towards Inclusiveness
- Session II: Good Governance and the Rule of Law
- Session III: Africa's Position in the Global Security Architecture

### 2.1 Session I: Moving Towards Inclusiveness

Presentation: Mr. Mcebisi Jonas, former Deputy Minister of Finance, South Africa

#### Panellists:

- H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa
- H.E. Bakili Muluzi, former President of Malawi
- Mr. Abbey Chikane, Chair of Sub Sahara Investment Holdings and former Chair of the Kimberley Process
- Mr. Ayabongwa Cawe, Managing Director, Xesibe Holdings (Pty) Ltd

#### Preamble

Inequality and exclusion have been the root of many conflicts across the continent. Social exclusion disadvantages different groups and communities with respect to the provision of education and health services, democratic participation and civic engagement. In addition, economic exclusion can severely limit opportunities for employment and access to financial products and services. There is a very close correlation between social exclusion and economic exclusion, social exclusion often leads to economic exclusion and vice versa. These exclusions marginalize and alienate people from their broader society and cause preventable tensions that can escalate into conflicts. Therefore, the forum's first discussion session examined how African states could move towards inclusiveness as a means of fostering greater peace, security, stability and development on the continent. The session commenced with a presentation by Mcebisi Jonas, former Deputy Minister of Finance, South Africa, followed by a panel discussion.

#### 2.1.2 Presentation: Policies for Inclusivity

##### Mr. Mcebisi Jonas, former Deputy Minister of Finance, South Africa

The address of Mr. Jonas was two-fold. In the first part, he outlined why African states should prioritize inclusivity. In the second part, he described which policies for inclusivity have worked and what are the implications for peace and stability where socio-economic exclusion prevails.

#### Why prioritize inclusivity?

Mr. Jonas argued that there are two core reasons why African leaders cannot afford to ignore the issue of inclusivity. First, the patterns of social exclusion and inequality prevailing on the continent today represent a continuation of the historical injustice of colonization whereby Africa's peoples were dispossessed of their assets and interests. In fact, many of the continent's decolonization and indigenization programs have merely served to replace old elites with new ones.

Second, there can be no social and political cohesion in Africa when high proportions of Africa's population are living in conditions of deprivation and exclusion. Indeed, looking at the continent as a whole reveals an even more dangerous truth. Inequality across Africa as measured by the GINI index has increased consistently. For example, over 40% of the total gain in consumption over the previous decade went to the wealthiest 5% of Africa citizens. Hence, the uneven growth that Africa has recently experienced has not benefitted the poorest and most vulnerable of our people. Unless African economies can be made more inclusive, economic growth will not lead to large-scale poverty alleviation with potentially devastating social consequences. He said:

*... if the livelihoods of hundreds of millions of Africans do not improve quickly then social security and stability will be threatened. It is no coincidence that the recent rise in populism is anchored in growing ranks of unemployed youths.*

Moreover, Mr. Jonas contended that African countries will not be able to expand and sustain growth of productive capabilities and output with such levels of inequality. He pointed to the growing consensus amongst economists (even now confirmed by the International Monetary Fund) that inequality



Mr. Mcebisi Jonas presenting on Policies for Inclusivity





Various participants of the Forum during Mr. Mcebisi Jonas' presentation

The second causal determinant relates to the voice of the poor and the excluded. By 2005, over 40 countries in Africa held competitive democratic elections including Kenya, Ghana, South Africa and many others, but, over the past decade, levels of freedom and openness in Africa have regressed. These trends are reflected in stagnating scores for the Ibrahim Index of African Governance.<sup>3</sup> Africa's performance has deteriorated significantly with regard to corruption and the performance of bureaucracy. Although almost every country in Africa now holds regular elections, recent surveys show that only 40% of Africans believed that the results of the last election were free and fair, and just 25% said that they trusted their national electoral commission. Elections themselves have become means of securing the power of the incumbent usually to protect and extend the economic interests of the elite. He said:

*We must connect the dots between the structure of African economies, the rent-seeking interests of elites and the sustained patterns of autocracy that remain pretty strong in many of our countries. Over the past decade, the trend has been for African elites to tighten their grip on power by reducing freedom of expression, stifling civil society, and stoking ethnic and other social divisions, sustaining vast patronage networks and conducting unfair elections. This is something that urgently requires collective attention. Without inclusive political systems where people can make their voices heard and their votes count, the interests of elites will always prevail over those of ordinary citizens. Patterns of exclusion will continue unabated and peace and stability will remain a distant dream.*

**Policy responses to socio-economic exclusion:  
What has worked?**

In the next part of this presentation, Mr. Jonas described the pros and cons of the four main policy responses to address socio-economic exclusion: direct redistribution, fiscal redistribution, regulation and inclusive growth. On direct asset redistribution, such as land redistribution, Mr. Jonas noted its popular appeal but he argued that the *"redistribution of assets, especially productive assets must be and should be an outcome of inclusivity, not just a strategy for inclusivity."* Looking at the experience of African and Latin American countries, it is evident that asset redistribution has a positive impact on inclusivity but only where there is increased aggregate investment. Under these conditions, growth both expands the fiscal resources available for redistribution as well as expands the wealth and assets available for redistribution. In contrast, where asset redistribution is accompanied by declining investment, these measures adversely affect both the rich and the poor; even where inequality may be reduced, levels of poverty are also likely to increase.

The second important policy approach for inclusivity is fiscal redistribution, which has been used with good effect around the world to reduce deprivation and poverty. Fiscal redistribution, including progressive taxation, combined with state spending on grants, services and social infrastructure, is a proven method of increasing inclusivity. Here, the provision of quality public education is the real winner, since it both increases economic growth potential and increases the employment prospects for the marginalized. However, fiscal redistribution may have its limits if the structure of the economy is not transformed. For example, the extensive fiscal redistribution programs and succession of minimum wage increases implemented by Brazil during the presidency of Lula da Silva (2003-2010) had an important impact on social exclusion but they could not be sustained because the structural causes of exclusion were not addressed. Indeed, Lula's fiscal redistribution triumphs were mixed with de-industrialisation and a continual shift away from the value-adding industrial sector towards the financial sector and resource-based extraction. Mirroring many African economies this has created new vulnerabilities and social tensions as weak commodity demand and fickle financial foes now threaten the sustainability of Brazil's fiscal redistribution package.

The third set of policy measures revolve around regulation, which can include a whole range of positive discrimination, for example, labour market interventions, such as minimum wage increases, or preferential issue of licenses. However, these measures have had mixed success. They have been less effective when the state is weak and unable to effectively target disadvantaged groups or when benefits are captured by elites. Indeed, in many instances, conflicts have arisen precisely around how regulations are used to issue licenses.

The final set of measures are what he called "inclusive growth". Historically, economic theory has veered between two competing paradigms: the neo-orthodox trickle-down approach, which posits that economic growth will eventually lead to reductions in inequality, and the other approach (influenced by the Kuznets Hypothesis) that growth was irrelevant to reducing inequality as the poor do not benefit from a growing economy, because of their low capital stock and poor education. Clearly, the first has not worked—even the IMF now accept that growth in itself will not lead to inclusivity. There's now widespread acceptance that growth from the 1980s to 2007 based on globalization, liberalization of trade and capital flows, financial sector de-regulation, monetarism and fiscal austerity has not delivered the anticipated outcomes.

The approach has led many leaders to view growth as unimportant. But recent studies suggest that a more nuanced assessment is needed. The correlation between growth and inequality reduction differs from

<sup>3</sup> The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) is a tool that measures and monitors governance performance in African countries. See <http://mo.ibrahim.foundation/iiag/>.

undermines growth. Countries which have been able to achieve sustained levels of high growth generally have low levels of inequality. In particular, inequality in education constrains growth and inclusivity. The higher the levels of inequality in educational provision, the more likely it will be that benefits disproportionately accrue to the better educated. Thus, educational inequality can trap people in poverty and limit the development of human capabilities for rapid economic growth.

**What are the causes of exclusion?**

Addressing inequality is both good for the economy and for peace and stability. But to craft a strategy for inclusivity requires an understanding of what causes socio-economic exclusion. Among the many and multidimensional causes of exclusion, Mr. Jonas highlighted two principal determinants. The first relates to the structure of the economy. Economies which are highly concentrated on extractive industries and overly dependent on commodities, and/or highly financialized

tend to have extremely embedded patterns of economic exclusion. He remarked:

*I think there is a direct correlation between levels of rent-seeking and exclusion. Many African economies remain trapped in their historical growth models and unable to overcome their legacies of dependence and subordination in global value chains.*

Following independence, self-serving rent-seeking by old colonial powers continued unabated often in cahoots with new black African elites.

*Unfortunately many decades later, these patterns remain intact with African economies too dependent on foreign savings and financial flows for their investments, too reliant on commodity booms for growth and revenue, too vulnerable to global sharks and with too little new wealth being created and shared amongst those that have been historically excluded.*





Mr. Abbey Chikane stresses a point during the panel discussion

country to country depending on the initial structural conditions and policy considerations. Countries that have deliberately pursued industrial policy aimed at diversifying, de-concentrating economic ownership, reducing barriers to entry, and enabling new entrants through access to technology and finance have achieved growth with inequality reduction. Growth also generates revenue for states to pursue other policy measures such as fiscal redistribution. Hence, one cannot discount the importance of growth.

#### What needs to be done to foster inclusivity?

To conclude, Mr. Jonas offered three proposals for improving inclusivity. First, the continent needs to develop and implement an inclusive industrial policy so as to reduce Africa's over-dependence on the commodity trade. Second, state and business sector capacity needs to be strengthened. Without credible leadership, the continent will not be able to deal with its challenges. Moreover, growth will remain a pipe dream because the state has to manoeuvre different sections of society in a particular developmental direction. For example, in South Africa, the credibility of the state is being eaten into and reduced by corruption, state capture and a whole range of other ills. Lastly, those excluded must be given a voice. Here, urgent attention needs to be directed to reduce marginalization among young people and women.

#### Panel discussion

To commence the panel discussion, the moderator reiterated that moving towards inclusiveness makes sense. It is good governance. It's good for the economy which means it's good for business. But, ultimately it's also good in and of itself. Noting that everyone in the room agreed that inclusion was a positive and critical thing, she asked each panellist to share his/her thoughts on the topic at hand. Edited highlights of the panellists' responses and comments from the floor are presented in the sections below.

#### The potential of state-owned enterprises

To begin, **Mr. Abbey Chikane** was pleased to share that a global consensus was emerging on the need for a more socially-inclusive approach to economic growth. Indeed, the latest report of the World Economic Forum

proposed a set of national key performance indicators (KPIs) to provide a more complete picture of a country's economic performance, and these KPIs have been compiled in a composite global index, the Inclusive Development Index (IDI).<sup>4</sup> He strongly recommended that African countries follow these developments as the IDI provides invaluable information on what is required to promote greater inclusiveness.

From his experience as a board member for various organizations, Mr. Chikane felt that state-owned entities can play a significant role in improving the economies in African countries. This view was informed by a recent global survey undertaken in 84 countries, which concluded that the performance of state-owned entities can match or even exceed that of private entities provided that their governance and regulatory framework as well as institutional capacity and capability are carefully engineered. And another study found that private sector CEOs believed that government ownership may confer advantages in important areas, for example, furthering social outcomes, providing physical infrastructure and creating stability in times of crisis, within and across supply chain. However, the report is quick to caution that state-owned entities or state ownership can destroy value in the absence of good governance.

Mr. Chikane added that, at present, state-owned South African entities do not necessarily operate at a level commensurate of a private entity. However, the asset base of these state-owned entities is over 1 trillion rand, equivalent to about one-third of the South African economy. Therefore, there is huge potential for these entities to play a role in encouraging inclusive growth.

#### Building a social compact at the local level

**Mr. Ayabongwa Cawe** said that for inclusive development to be realized not only requires that all stakeholders are present at the table—not just the government—but also that all involved have a clear sense of the social compact that is being put in place, including its rules and responsibilities and the distribution of power. And this process of dialogue will need to understand the economic and sociological roots of violence: Why are certain polities and economies threatened by violence and under what conditions does such violence happen?

<sup>4</sup> See World Economic Forum "The Inclusive Growth and Development Report 2017"

Here, Africa's history is very instructive. To begin, the legitimacy and credibility of the colonial state was often defended through violence. So, too, one of the aspects of engagement by the anti-colonial struggles with those states was violence. Citing the work of Nigerian scholar, Ebenezer Obadare, Mr. Cawe observed that, historically, people have used violence to access the orbit of the state and so others continue to see it as a viable pathway into that state. He added:

*I am in no way romanticizing violence but I am saying we need to understand, in a very nuanced way, how violence is deployed as a tactic to achieve particular ends. Because if you look at it in this way then it becomes a question of what is it about how we exclude people that makes violence a viable proposition for them in order to access the orbit of the state.*

This is particularly important for informing what we can do to engage young people across the continent not only from a policy perspective but also a pragmatic perspective.

For the state to develop a social compact, it also needs to recognize that people largely experience and understand the state at the local level. Yet, resources often tend to concentrated at the national level. So how do we create a social compact that encourages creativity and innovation in mobilizing resources at the local level? For example, South Africa's Financial and Fiscal Commission is starting a conversation based on the outcome of a few studies of what can be done by municipalities to raise money to finance integrated transport systems that undo the spatial divide that entrenches exclusion within our society.

**Mr. Cawe** also highlighted that South Africa is doing a very bad job of supporting the informal sector. Indeed, rather than support the informal sector as a necessary safety net in the context of high unemployment and underemployment, it tends to criminalize its activities. And that entrenches a limited form of inclusion and discontent that can express itself in violence, because that has become the language of engaging with the state. With respect to the labour market, he related how the national minimum wage process in South Africa has been an important lever to regulate income at the bottom end of the distribution—among those referred to as the "working poor".

Lastly, he stressed that the fourth industrial revolution is already here, so large-scale public and private investment is needed in ICTs. On this, he commended initiatives like Project Isizwe that are being driven from the municipal level to broaden access to the digital economy<sup>5</sup>. These initiatives should be part and parcel of the social compact that is developed between the different stakeholders in society.

Beyond individual countries, the social compact needs to extend to the regional level, not only from a purely commercial perspective but also geopolitically so that continent moves away from its dependence on external

<sup>5</sup> See <http://www.projectisizwe.org/>

agents, which has constrained African economies to the point that we are unable to foresee and plan a prosperous future around the resources that we have. And by principle, this needs to move away from some narrow form of accumulation by an elite that is not in the interests of the people.

#### Practical considerations for moving towards inclusiveness

**H.E. Bakili Muluzi, former President of Malawi**, commended Mr. Jonas on his presentation. In particular, he agreed that promoting greater inclusiveness will rely on improving the capacity and the credibility of the state. From his experience as President of Malawi during the country's transition from a one-party state to multiparty democracy, he related how institutions were created to support democratization of the state, for example, the Law Commission, the Human Rights Commission, the Anti-Corruption Bureau, Office of the Ombudsman, the independent electoral commission, the independent judiciary as well as a number of civil society organizations. All of which was very important. But beyond these institutions, the government had to address the poverty of the people and create employment. And here the first step was to educate the population as it is the key for national development and the key for poverty alleviation. By introducing free primary education, the country was able to increase the number of children enrolled in primary schools from 1.9 million to about 3.3 million in 1994, which was really a revolution. It is in these ways that states can demonstrate their capacity and credibility to serve the people.

Expanding on the contribution of President Muluzi, **H.E. Thabo Mbeki** said that in moving towards inclusiveness, the first objective must be to ensure that everybody is involved in meaningful economic activity. And this must start in rural areas where the bulk (70%) of the African population resides. A larger percentage of women also live in the rural areas. Hence, rural areas are critical in terms of inclusivity generally and for women's empowerment specifically.

Here, the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) was developed by NEPAD in 2002, which encompassed all facets of agriculture, including provision of seeds and infrastructure, agro-processing, irrigation, access to markets, and training of people. So, CAADP is a starting point to achieve inclusiveness and ensure that the rural population is empowered to participate productively in the economy. Similarly, Africa needs to work out what strategies are effective to improve inclusiveness in urban areas. In particular, authorities will need to engage people in the informal sector, not despise or discriminate against them. Vitality, in both contexts, the continent must work to achieve the inclusion of youth in meaningful economic activity. This, in turn, means education and training programs. And implementing all of these interventions demands a strong state with progressive leadership that serves the people.



Technology as a path to greater inclusiveness

Mr. Jonathan Kiwana, a lawyer from Uganda, remarked that advances in technology are going a long way towards inclusiveness. For example, mobile money and agency banking in Kenya have significantly enhanced financial inclusion. If governments put in place an enabling regulatory framework these advances have the potential to bring in many more people who were previously unable to access the banking system.

Is it rocket science to minimize poverty and transform the quality of people’s lives?

One participant said that:

When people join the long queues during elections their expectations are very simple: the total transformation of the quality of their lives. But we are still talking poverty even in this era when we have achieved African freedom.

Therefore, he posed the questions: Why, when the economy is growing, are the poor excluded. Even when the economy is downgraded, the poor are excluded. What is the science of economics failing to understand how this situation can be turned around so at least the level of poverty can be minimized? Is it rocket science to champion industrialisation and localize some of the economic activities and inject the cash to the poor?

Taking up these thoughts, Ms. Gichuru asked the panellists for their final thoughts on why African countries have failed to transform their economies. Despite all the developments, the continent is still over-dependent on the commodity trade and commodity cycles. Why have we not been able to develop scaled-up manufacturing and value-adding activities for its minerals?

In response, Mr. Jonas reiterated that the continent will not be able to break out of its current situation without an active industrial policy, one that seeks to identify areas where it has comparative advantage and to build skills and credibility and to add value in those areas. And to drive industrial policies you need very strong and effective states. Looking frankly at Africa’s interventions in the areas of industrial support and industrial planning, he considered that by and large, these have been pretty weak.

Mr. Chikane said he might be a bit ahead of the discussion. He was more concerned about the sources of resources and management of those resources—because Africa’s does have the resources! He believed that governments should encourage the banks to do what they need to do to increase the resources available to African businesses. But, to start, state-owned entities have assets and capital that can be utilized. Therefore, states already have resources that can be made available to address poverty and the challenges in rural areas and for women. State-owned entities have a critical role to play and need to be brought on board.

Mr. Cawe cautioned that the regulations or

interventions used to undo a very exclusive economic structure can have unintended consequences. For example, the program of fiscal transfers in South Africa was outsourced to a private entity, and the company involved used the system as an opportunity to add-on other sale elements. For example, an individual would go collect a grant but other things would be marketed, such as airtime and loans.

So I think we must move away from this thing that says all attempts at financial inclusion are altruistic by nature. I think a big part of it is also subject to the commercial and, at times, predatory instinct of finance capital.

In his closing remarks, President Mbeki observed that African economies without exception are capitalist economies. And that the behaviour of the banks mentioned by Mr. Cawe was how any bank in a capitalist society will behave. He said:

You can’t blame them for being capitalists. It’s in the nature of the capitalist system.

But the capitalist system also produces the inequality which Mr. Mcebisi spoke about. It is inherent in the system. Therefore, the critical challenge becomes: What do governments need to do to impact on the functioning of the capitalist system so that it does not produce negative outcomes, such as inequality and exclusion. What do governments need to do to produce more beneficial outcomes? Only when African governments address this fundamental challenge with respect to the operation of the capitalist system will the problems of unemployment, of inequality and exclusion be solved.



H.E. Bakili Muluzi contributing to the panel



L-R: Ms. Julie Gichuru, Moderator; Prof. Barney Pityana, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of South Africa; H.E. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, former President of Somalia; H.E. Jakaya M. Kikwete, former President of Tanzania; and Justice Bart M. Katureebe, Chief Justice of Uganda

2.2 Session II: Good Governance and the Rule of Law

Presentation: Prof. Barney Pityana, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of South Africa, Advisory Board member, Thabo Mbeki Foundation and Council member, University of the Witwatersrand

Panellists:

- H.E. Jakaya Kikwete, former President of Tanzania
- H.E. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, former President of Somalia
- Hon. Justice Bart M. Katureebe, Chief Justice of Uganda

Preamble

Good governance is about ensuring that the processes of making and implementing decisions are ethical. It is an all-encompassing model that includes adherence to the rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus building, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, and participation. Where good governance is practiced, it assures that all in society feel valued and included in processes and decisions that impact on their livelihoods and well-being, and have equal status before the law. It promotes conditions that can bring together diverse groups in shared understanding. Often, however, different facets of good governance are not fully adhered to, leaving room for discontent and tension amongst citizens, even in the absence of exclusion.

This second discussion session examines why good governance and the rule of law have been elusive in Africa, and what Africa’s leaders need to do to enhance governance and uphold the rule of law so as to prevent and resolve conflicts on the continent. The session commenced with a presentation by Professor Barney Pityana on the status of governance in Africa followed by a panel discussion.

Presentation: The status of governance and the rule of law in Africa

Prof. Barney Pityana

Acknowledging and challenging the failure of post-independence politics in Africa

Professor Pityana commenced his address with a forthright assessment of Africa’s political life following independence.

After years of experimenting with failed politics and perhaps with honest efforts at constructing an African identity in political life, it has come to be accepted, I think, that all politics of Africa after independence had failed. This politics failed not because it dared to challenge the Western paradigm of good governance and functional democracy and human rights. It failed I think because it failed the people of Africa themselves.

Prof. Pityana said that he preferred to use the term “experiments” because, at their best, Africa’s leaders made honest efforts to discover the African soul in





Prof. Barney Pityana delivering a presentation on the status of governance and rule of law in Africa

democracy. In many ways the pioneers of Pan-Africanism established models like president-for-life and one-party states because they were perceived to be necessary for national unity and fairness to all. However, he felt:

*...it is fair to say that accompanying such experiments were...authoritarian regimes, violations of human rights, and unaccountability in terms of the wealth of the land, the patrimony of the nation as well as the development of big men politics.*

Prof. Pityana acknowledged that none of this was possible without the large-scale interference by the big powers of the world, so as to maintain hegemony and control of the fortunes of Africa by other means after colonization. However, what he found shocking was that external powers never seemed to struggle to find pawns in their games who would do their bidding even at the expense of Africa's people.

So, it is true to say that imperialism and capitalism found new ways to exploit the continent after independence. But it is difficult to accept the assumption underlying this thesis that African leaders were so ignorant or so passive that, under the guise of independence, they allowed a special form of colonial power to ravage the resources of their nations. Indeed, many of these leaders espoused the politics of Pan-Africanism and had personally participated in the struggles for independence. Rather, quoting Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, the Kenyan writer, Prof. Pityana said this argument fails to recognize that the colonial project—with its accompanying capitalist and imperialist systems of governance—delivered a total package “of the conceptualization of the world, including, for instance,

its notion of democracy, its commitment to a state in the form of a nation state, it's rationality and its epistemology.” He said:

*Religion, language and acculturation had the effect of creating pawns of the colonial project that served essentially to divide to rule, alienate the subject peoples one from another, and create a class of rulers and the ruled. In other words, the colonial project was more than the large-scale and total theft and transfer of resources from Africa to the colonial clients. It served to undermine the humanity of being African.*

Therefore, any project of resistance has to transcend the material tangible appropriation of the levers of power to assert the humanity of the African and challenge the paradigm of feckless, unprincipled leadership in Africa, of the image of failed states, of the basket case that Africa had become. He considered that this paradigm needs to be challenged not so much according the dictum attributed to Kwame Nkrumah, that “we shall exercise our right to govern or misgovern ourselves.” He countered:

*“No. As a matter of fact we have no right to misgovern ourselves.”*

Nor will it be challenged if recent improvements in the continent's political and economic performance are presented in such a way that what Africa aspires to is already a reality. Rather, it will only be challenged by clearly stating the gap between the continent's present reality and the content of its aspiration, and acting concertedly to close that gap. And fundamental to this

task will good governance.

### The moral nature and role of good governance

Professor Pityana counselled that closing the gap between Africa's present reality and fundamental to this task will be good governance.

*Good governance in my view is about minding the gap, and bridging that gap so that it does not become a trap into which one falls...Good governance is no mere tick-box exercise. Good governance is ethics. Good governance entails the recognition that, if I may use a biblical image, “We have this treasure in jars of clay” as Second Corinthians says. That we are entrusted with a big responsibility to preserve and to honour its value for generations to come. We also know that it is a fragile instrument. It's a fragile instrument that with careless handling it could break into smithereens and would not be put together again.*

Continuing, Professor Pityana defined “ethics” as “practical reason.” Ethics aims to balance or moderate human conduct, enabling both creativity and innovation as well as countering the tendency towards excesses. Vitrally, ethics is less about the self than it is about the purpose for which life has meaning. Hence, ethical standards are essential in prudently managing power relationships between institutions and individuals and between social classes. And without ethical awareness, politics will ultimately fail the people it seeks to serve because it fails to subject itself to the conscience and to moral checks. He said:

*A society bereft of moral order, any sense of right and wrong, that relies merely on power and the powerful would ride roughshod over the rights of others and undermine the dignity of others. There are rules of life, implicit and explicit, that bind all actors in society to equality of relationships and mutual obligation that set limits and expectations. Those rules are founded on the moral nature of society... This moral universe is often unstated and often taken for granted. But when it is violated then one becomes aware that it exists because it elicits a societal backlash of outrage and condemnation.*

### The rule of law

Professor Pityana then turned his attention to the rule of law. The rule of the law is one of the bows in the armoury of good governance. It requires that all power must be exercised in a manner that is legitimate. As such, the rule of law seeks to restrict the arbitrary and unaccountable exercise of public power. It ensures that all are equal before the law. By its nature, rule of law requires that power be dispersed across a variety of centres but must at all times be guided by the principles of legality and rationality. He said:

*In practice this entails that power should not be vested in one person or institution and that all power should be subject to checks and balances, and that all power is ultimately*

*provisional to the extent that it can be challenged and reversed. It also means that all power should be exercised in a public and transparent manner if it is to earn public support.*

Most importantly, the constitution is the fundamental law of a nation, which sets the standards of expectations and aspirations for a nation as a whole. The constitution is binding on everybody, including and especially the country's leaders.

*Constitutions are not just aspirational or restraining documents. They also become the pride of the nation. They become the nations' self expression of identity. A constitution represents the heart and soul of the nation. To rip the constitution apart is to rip apart the heart of the people.*

Therefore, good governance begins by honouring the constitution and the values it espouses. These values are often implied and they express the spirit and the mind of the people. And each individual and leader needs to do more than merely complying with the letter of the law but must also embrace the spirit of the law. Hence:

*Constitutional power ought never to be exercised in an arbitrary manner that is disrespectful of the dignity of those adversely affected. Politics does not have to become a game for rogues. Decency and refinement as well as a moral compass are necessary elements that go towards giving [people] confidence about their future and their public resources entrusted to political leaders.*

### The existing framework of continental governance

Professor Pityana then described how Africa already has a comprehensive framework for good governance. Notably, the Constitutive Act of the African Union 2000, provides an architecture for the life and work of African nations among themselves and with the rest of the world as well as the life and work of individual states with their own citizens. The Act is an instrument for the advancement of Africa's ideals of peace and security, human rights and freedoms, development, social progress and human flourishing. In turn, to ensure that the principles and the objectives of the Act are given effect, the Act sets out and is upheld by a range of organs and instruments, for example, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. In addition, the New Partnership on Africa's Development (NEPAD) is also central to government processes on the continent supplemented by the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The African Governance Architecture (AGA) was also established in 2012 to become the organizing framework for linkages between the various continental organs in Africa and member states.

Despite all these laudable initiatives and instruments, Africa still struggles to present a united and confident stance on governance issues, which, in part, is due to the fact that leaders or states have not been sanctioned for deviation from the accepted and expected standards. Prof. Pityana expressed that the AU itself has not been powerful enough to execute a mechanism for



sanctions given that many superpowers may not heed the prescripts of the AU, and the UN Security Council is controlled by states that have permanent membership. In addition, he felt that obstructive alliances and factions within the AU were undermining its authority and impeding the Union’s ability to act in a concerted fashion.

Here, Professor Pityana observed that:

*For many states, a government may be nice to have but if [it is] perceived to undermine national interests, it is dispensable. A trend has developed whereby a growing number of states have taken to extending the terms of office of their presidents beyond the two-term limit by amending the constitution.*

Therefore, the AU needs to effectively exercise “soft power”, i.e., the power to persuade by appeal to moral argument. Beyond soft power, the pursuit of good governance requires states just like corporations to subject themselves to regular auditing and reporting because the failure to prescribe to good governance reporting standards is a reputational risk. With this in mind, the APRM was established, under which states subject themselves voluntarily to review on their governance performance by their peers.

In closing, Professor Pityana said that Africa cannot isolate itself from the cut and thrust of the world order. African states are participants in all multilateral forums, which are responsible for global governance and oversight. But he counselled that Africa’s voice in those forums will only be respected to the extent that Africans are capable of making African institutions achieve what they set out to do. Only then will Africans become leaders in generating their own solutions to African problems.

### Panel discussion

Opening the discussion, Julie Gichuru asked panellists: Why is it that good governance and the rule of law seem so elusive for the African continent? Edited highlights of their responses and comments from the floor are presented below.

#### Africa’s leaders must lead by example

**President Mohamud** acknowledged the great insights of Professor Pityana but suggested that practical considerations with respect to governance and the rule of law need to be emphasized. He said that the bottom line to the problem of governance in Africa:

*... is how can we make our people believe that the state, the rules, the regulations in place are impersonal, neutral and serve their interests.*

He recognized that education is fundamental for ensuring that citizens understand the concepts of good governance and rule of law, but that this is not enough. First and foremost, Africa’s leadership must

lead by example. Our leaders must follow the rules. For example, how can the citizens of a country believe that their leaders are acting in their interests, when they see their leaders changing the constitution so as to cling to power, or when the state imprisons the persons they wish, or gives special privileges to some people while depriving other people of their rights?

*So I think most of all, the culture that we need to develop is respecting the rules by the leaders not the people. By the leaders. Then only the people will start to respect the rules and the practice of good governance.*

#### Democratic governance in Africa

Taking a more positive stance, **President Kikwete** considered that to say that the rule of law and good governance in Africa is elusive is being dishonest. The continent may not yet have reached an optimal point with respect to governance but considerable progress had been made, notably, the transition of all African countries from single-party states to multi-party democracies and the conduct of regular democratic elections. Granted, it is work in progress. Many political parties are still very young, having only been established for 20 or 25 years. But ruling parties also need to improve their practices. In particular, some ruling parties look at opposition parties as their enemies and, at times, take draconian measures to prevent them from functioning or organizing.

*So if there’s anything this forum can come up or a message is to encourage the powers that be not to perceive opposition parties as enemies. But look at them as opponents, as partners in the governance of the country.*

Indeed, opposition parties are essential within a democratic state to ensure that the government of the day does not go to sleep, and to hold the government accountable for its actions. Here, **President Kikwete** highlighted the vital oversight role of all parliamentarians, including members of the government.

*We have to have strong parliaments. Parliaments are important institutions for enacting laws, but also for oversight of government. Good governance without a strong parliament is a mirage. So we have to have strong parliaments with parliamentarians who [not only] assume the role of making good laws [but also] oversee the function of governments fearlessly. They tell what is good, they tell what is wrong. Because if parliaments don’t do this, governments will not be on alert. If parliaments don’t do this, corruption will be rampant in government. There will be no transparency, there’ll be no accountability. The institution better placed to hold governments accountable are parliaments.*

He also said that African states, by and large, are conducting regular democratic elections and national electoral commissions are making improvements. All countries need to ensure that their elections are free



H.E. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud commenting on Prof. Pityana’s presentation on the status of governance and rule of law in Africa

and fair. But President Kikwete recognized that problems persist, and that most conflicts in Africa are triggered by elections. In particular, the outcomes of elections are not always respected. Even in countries where elections are well-organized, the notion persists that “elections are free and fair only if I win.” Hence, Africa must build a culture of conceding defeat.

#### Rebuilding trust in the state after collapse

Asked about the experience of Somalia, **President Mohamud** related that after decades of military rule and dictatorship and civil war, the whole structure of the state and harmony within society had been dismantled. Literally, the country was broken into pieces. Everyone went back to their traditional or clan territory, and in areas left ungoverned for such a long time, extremist/terrorist groups took hold. So the difficulty now is how to rebuild trust in state institutions when the lingering memories of those institutions are violence and theft and chaos. So too, the social and economic infrastructure of the country needs to be rebuilt. Indeed, most of fighters with Al-Shabaab are there for economic reasons not ideological reasons. He said:

*Imagine a boy who was 6 years old, school-going age in 1990 when the collapse happened. Maybe, he studied for 3 or 4 years only, but most probably this boy never went to school. He never went to any type of training. He’s living in a remote village with maybe 1 or 2 kids of his own or his old mother and his old father with him. So frustrated he can’t do it...he has no the tools of life in his own hands. What happens then? Someone comes and says ‘Aah, you have a problem. Now come and join us we will give you at the end of the month, we will give you 50 dollars.*

He counseled that changing a state may take a long time, but it is very costly to make a state collapse however bad that state is.

#### Respecting the human dignity of all citizens is the foundation of good governance

Reflecting on the history of his home country of Uganda, **Justice Katureebe** related that the most serious abuses and conflicts, including the violent excesses that occurred during the reign of Idi Amin, had arisen through the failure of country’s leadership to respect the constitution and abide by the rule of law.

*These are problems bestowed on the country by people who didn’t recognize, in my view, their responsibility as leaders. When we offer ourselves to leadership we must recognize that the people we are going to lead have their human dignity as human beings. Whether they are peasants in villages, whether they are business people, wherever they are, they must be treated with dignity. And to treat them with dignity means to rule them in accordance with laws. Open transparent laws enacted in a transparent manner so that even a peasant knows if I breach this law I will be handled this way.*

Continuing, he cited the case of the young fruit seller in Tunisia who set off the revolution. And just last week in Kampala in Uganda, he related the story of how a woman, who was hawking vegetables, was chased by askaris (policemen) of the city council seeking to arrest her, and she fell in the channel which crosses Kampala and drowned. Her fellow traders then retrieved her body and carried it physically across Kampala to the City Hall and demanded to know why the city council did this to a mother of three children. Justice Katureebe stressed that this woman needed to be treated with dignity and she wasn’t. It was a failure of governance. Good governance must be seen in that context.

In comments from the floor, **Prof. Olonisakin** highlighted that to improve governance and the rule of law necessarily requires that all citizens are recognized and represented by those laws.



*If we are talking about the rule of law and I as a citizen cannot recognize myself in the laws of the country... i.e. there are many men, no women; many old people, no young people ... what does that say? If I am a citizen of a country but I cannot confer citizenship on a partner because I am a woman, but my brother can. Those are the sort of conversations around inclusion and exclusion that need to come into the matter.*

**Protecting the rights of all citizens**

**Adv. Sipho Mantula**, University of South Africa highlighted that peace and security is not a privilege but a right as stipulated by Article 23 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. Hence, it becomes a question of how can member states of the AU be encouraged to domesticate the Charter.

Asked where respect for the rule of law could be improved, President Kikwete said that a lot of work is still required to ensure the rights of all citizens, including their political and economic rights. Second, the independence of the judiciary must be assured in two respects. Not only must the judiciary be independent of the executive arm of government but judges and magistrates need to be independent of the influence of the people who have the money. This is yet to be the case. In every governance survey, the courts and the police are ranked by citizens as the most corrupt institutions.

Expanding on President Kikwete's observations, Justice Katureebe said that leaders in Africa must respect the rights of its citizens not so that they can get a pat on the back from the Americans or the United Nations but because it is a duty. Indeed, in discussing peace and security, what does this mean?

*Peace for whom and security for whom? It can't be peace for the leaders if there's no peace at the grassroots. It can't be security for the leaders if there's no security at the grassroots. The people we lead must have a system where they can resolve their disputes either among themselves or where I have a dispute with the state, I can go to a meaningful institution, a quality court.*

**Justice Katureebe** also stressed that to realize good governance requires that sufficient resources are allocated to the judiciary. For example, in Uganda, a legal officer in private practice is paid around 20 million shillings, while someone with similar or even better qualifications who wants to make a career in the judiciary and becomes a magistrate is paid 1 million shillings. This failure to appropriately remunerate and establish the environment for a functioning independent judiciary opens the gate to corruption. Yet, in Uganda, this year, the share of the judiciary in the national budget has again been reduced from 0.6% to 0.45%.

In impassioned comments from the floor, one participant called for a recovery of Africa's traditional

values so that the continent can take advantage of its extraordinary and diverse wealth.

*Africa is rich, in philosophy, in spirituality and many, many things. We have Ubuntu which means the entire Africa can be one family and the rest of the world will be our relatives. If we have values like this, we should not ignore them. Our traditional values, our rich knowledge, our spirituality, our struggle heritage have to be really incorporated so that we build a new public service commitment. Public service should not be public masters.*

**Active citizenship is a prerequisite for producing good leaders**

**Mr. Raphael Obonyo** remarked that good leaders don't fall from heaven. They come from among citizens. Therefore, he emphasized the importance of active citizenship. African countries cannot expect to have better leaders without an engaged citizenry. He also observed that a new narrative of youth leadership was being embraced across the continent and many people imagined that youth leadership was going to solve Africa's problems. But he considered that youth leadership is not a silver bullet, it's not a panacea.

*If you look at Kenya's 2013 elections, we had the youngest leaders in the history of our national assembly. If you look at the senate, we had the youngest senate across Africa but the good story ends there. Because, if you look at the corruption, the young people, youthful leaders in parliament are queuing for the same ills.*

Therefore, rather than simply focusing on youth leadership, Africa needs to model a new generation of leadership that is based on vision and value.



Hon. Justice Bart M. Katureebe, Chief Justice of Uganda



Amb. Ombeni Sefue, former Chief Secretary of Tanzania

Somalia was at its lowest level. The country was simply not safe enough. In the same year, the first AU contingent from Uganda landed in Mogadishu. Today, the situation is far from perfect. The administration in some parts of the country is still very weak.

*But in every part of Somalia today there's some sort of administration that is elected by the local people, not nominated by central government. And this has come through dialogue.*

He said that this dialogue still has a long way to. *It has to "go deep, deep down until it unravels those layers and layers of mistrust ... but the process is going on and the culture has started."* But he said that the African Union mission in Somalia is working. It is the main reason why Somalia is making progress and demonstrates that African solutions can be successfully applied to African problems.

**Implementing the instruments for good governance depends on leadership**

In closing, Professor Pityana reiterated that Africa has the instruments in place that are supposed to generate a culture and environment and a regime of good governance. And that Africa is also putting instruments in place, such as APRM and NEPAD, to monitor and oversee that national governments are abiding by these instruments. But, ultimately, whether these obligations are fulfilled depends on the quality of the leaders that we elect. To conclude, he said:

*So really we remain with a question, not that there are no treaties and instruments and documents. They are there. But that they are not functioning as it is expected because there's a deficit with the quality of leadership that we have. That is the question we need to confront.*

Speaking from his personal experience as a member of the panel of eminent persons of the APRM, **Amb. Ombeni Sefue, former Chief Secretary of the United Republic of Tanzania** highlighted a worrying decline in the interest of African countries to join or continue to serve on the APRM. Given that the APRM is a vital part of the continent's governance architecture, he called upon the elders and former leaders present to actively participate and support its activities.

**African solutions to African problems**

**President Hassan** closed the session on an optimistic note. In 2007, he related that the number of NGO staff in





Left: H.E. Thabo Mbeki delivering a presentation on Africa's position within the global architecture for security  
Right: Amb. Ami Mpungwe responding to the presentation

## 2.3 Session III: Africa's Position in the Global Security Architecture

**Presenter:** H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa

**Respondent:** Amb. Ami Mpungwe, former Ambassador of Tanzania to South Africa

### Discussion Group 1: International Factors Shaping African Peace and Security Responses

**Chair:** H.E. Benjamin W. Mkapa, former President of Tanzania

**Introduction:** Dr. Awino Okech, lecturer at the Centre for Gender Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London

### Discussion Group 2: Aligning National, Continental and International Peace and Security Frameworks

**Chair:** H.E. Moncef Marzouki, former President of Tunisia

**Introduction:** Prof. Tim Murithi, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Cape Town, South Africa, and Professor of African Studies, Centre for African Studies, University of Free State, South Africa

### Preamble

Matters calling for global action are constantly increasing. What were once considered distant places are no longer so far away. Today, the world's people and their governments have no other option but to live by neighbourhood values and work in partnership to maintain peace and order. Whilst the drivers and solutions to conflicts originate within states, external factors can also play a role not only in triggering or escalating conflicts but also in ending them. However, despite this interdependence being hailed as a source of development, there is ample evidence that more powerful nations use it to influence the affairs of less powerful and less developed

countries. Studies in the region have shown the interference of international bodies and institutions and the use of economic leverage to further the interests of very few which have resulted in conflicts. On the flipside, regional peace and security can enhance regional and international integration and cooperation for mutually beneficial outcomes. Therefore, African countries need strike a balance between being an equal member of the global community, and a strong integrated bloc that advances the security and prosperity of its people.

This third and final session of the forum commenced with a presentation by President Thabo Mbeki on Africa's position in the global peace and security architecture, followed by a response from Amb. Ali Mpungwe. Delegates then broke into two discussion groups. The first group was tasked with examining the international factors that are shaping African peace and security responses; the second was asked how existing national, continental and international peace and security frameworks could be better aligned. This section of the report presents edited highlights of President Mbeki's introduction and Amb. Mpungwe's response along with summaries from the two discussion groups.

### Presentation by H.E. Thabo Mbeki

#### Africa's position within the global architecture for security

To begin, **President Mbeki** outlined some of the principal components of the global architecture for security. First and foremost, as member states of the United Nations, African countries are required to fulfil in good faith their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations<sup>7</sup>. The Charter has the specific purpose of maintaining international peace and security (Article 1)<sup>8</sup>, the primary responsibility for which is conferred upon the Security Council (Article 24)<sup>9</sup>, which is composed of five permanent members (China, Russia, France, the United Kingdom and the United States) and ten non-permanent members. The mandate for the Council is spelt out in Chapter VII of the Charter. For example, should the Council consider that measures taken to achieve the peaceful resolution of conflict are inadequate, then:

...it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations (Article 42).

Here again, once the Security Council takes a decision to act, it becomes binding on the member states of the African continent. Hence, the UN Charter and the Security Council are two of the most important aspects related to the continent's position in the global architecture.

With respect to the use of force, President Mbeki also highlighted that: "Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee" (Article 46), which "shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives" (Article 47).

He said:

*Essentially what this means is that if the Security Council considers it is necessary to deploy forces by air, by sea, by whatever, in any of our countries that deployment without any reference to anyone of us...The Charter gives them that right.*

Second, the Charter also says that: "The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine (Article 48 (1)), and such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members (Article 48 (2)).

Here, President Mbeki considered that this part of the Charter would have been used to give backing for NATO actions in Libya in 2011 following the passage of Security Council Resolution 1973.

The President also highlighted the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter on regional arrangements. Article 52 (1) states that:

Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

Hence, Africa's position in the global security architecture:

*... is partly having to do what the security council says particularly under Chapter 7 and partly what we can do, still under the Charter as under Chapter 8...and as a continent we formally recognize the importance centrality of the Security Council in terms of that architecture, which is, for instance, stated specifically in the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union.*

<sup>7</sup>The full text of the Charter is available at <http://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/index.html>

<sup>8</sup>Article 1, Paragraph 1 of the Charter reads: The purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

<sup>9</sup>Article 24

In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.



## The benefits for Africa of international peace and security architecture

Having posited Africa's place in the global security architecture, President Mbeki said that, by and large, the continent is benefiting from the actions taken to resolve conflicts. For example, 9 out of the total of 16 international peace missions undertaken by the United Nations as at June 2017 were in African countries. And between July 2016 and June 2017, those 9 missions cost USD 5.9 billion, which would be a huge burden for the continent to carry alone. So the position of Africa in the international architecture is generally positive. But the question remains: Who should lead and take decisions on issues affecting African countries, particularly decisions to deploy armed forces or peace-keeping missions?

### **African Politics, African Peace: The need for the 'primacy of politics'**

To review and report on the current state of UN peace operations and how the whole international peace architecture was working, Ban Ki-Moon, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, established the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO) in 2014. The panel was led by Ramos Horta, the former President of East Timor. Among its principal recommendations, the panel advised that lasting peace is achieved through political solutions and not through military and technical engagements alone. It argued that political solutions should guide all UN peace operations.<sup>10</sup> The final report highlighted the need for the United Nation to take seriously its partnership with the African Union. It says:

The United Nations and the African Union Peace and Security Council and AU Commission should approach the partnership as a strategic tool of real value to all organizations. Recognizing the primacy of the Security Council for matters of international peace and security, they should define evolving and complementary roles, which bring the combined capacities, influence and experience of each organization to bear in ensuring a coherent response in each context. This requires not just changes in form, but in approach and attitude wherein the organizations recognize that they have distinct comparative advantages that when leveraged together can address shared problems more effectively (p. 63)

In response to the HIPPO initiative, the African Union commissioned the World Peace Foundation to examine peace-making and peace-keeping in Africa and make recommendations about what else Africa should do to address the challenge to achieve permanent peace and stability on our Continent. The final report entitled African Politics, African Peace<sup>11</sup> was published last year. As the title suggests, the report similarly argues for "centralizing the 'primacy of political' within all AU responses". It continues:

This will help to ensure that the rising trend of resorting to military enforcement operations will not jeopardize Africa's hard-won peace and security norms. It will enable African ownership of peace processes, and the prioritization of conflict prevention and mediation. It will protect the imperative of making armed operations the servant of political strategy.

And it says:

Today's emergent emphasis on hard security approaches results in AU responses that are reactive to crisis situations, overly dependent on military interventions, and threaten to embroil the organization in armed conflicts it cannot win. This direction is financially burdensome and unsuitable for the AU.

The report highlights the comparative advantages of the African Union in prevention and mediation. But, within the existing global security architecture, it is the United Nations and particularly the Security Council that leads and decides on deployments on the African continent. It is here that change is needed. President Mbeki counselled.

*It would be better that Africa should lead whether these deployments are going to be on the African continent and not only lead in a technical sense but lead by providing the political leadership in order to solve these problems because the origins of the conflicts are political. But it's not just to say: 'Stop shooting. Let the guns stop firing.' It is also to address the fundamental causes of the conflicts.*

On the financing the peace operations on the continent, African Politics, African Peace says that the AU cannot expect to have ownership of the continent's peace and security agenda until such time as it is financially autonomous, i.e., it is unclear how African ownership can be achieved if the AU is seeking funds from external parties that have their own political priorities. New methods for financing peace operations have been discussed at the AU, such as a tax on imports, but the issue of funds remains a significant issue with respect to the global architecture and Africa's relationships with partners, such as with the European Union, which is supporting the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

### **The end of the Cold War and its impact on the global security architecture**

President Mbeki then described how the end of the Cold War and the emergence of the United States as the sole superpower profoundly affected the global balance of

power and, in turn, the arrangements for peace and security internationally including those related to Africa. Here, he highlighted both the situations in Libya and Cote d'Ivoire. On Libya, he considered that the decision of the Security Council on 17 March 2011, which was directly contrary to the decision of the AU on March 10, was partly an expression of this changed balance of power, which had radically weakened Africa's position in the global security architecture.

The military intervention by UN and French peace-keeping forces to arrest and forcibly remove President Gbagbo in Cote d'Ivoire was another case in point. Here, the Peace and Security Council of the AU passed a resolution at the time of President Gbagbo's removal which emphasized the imperative for sustained efforts by all Ivorian parties to promote national reconciliation and the country's socio-economic recovery of Cote d'Ivoire, and encouraged the incoming President Ouattara to establish a government of national unity and reconciliation. But that never happened, and there has been no follow up on any of those issues.

### **The challenge of terrorism**

Another enormous challenge with respect to global peace and security and for the African continent is the issue of terrorism. The whole Sahel region from Mauritania in the west to Eritrea in the east is particularly affected. Yet, there is no global architecture to deal with the problem of terrorism so it is another challenge that as a continent we need to answer. Here, the relationships between countries of the Arabian Gulf and countries in northern African and the Horn of Africa are vitally important to achieve peace and security.

### **Other international and internal issues that impact upon Africa's future peace and prosperity**

President Mbeki highlighted a series of geo-political issues that significantly impact the continent's place in the global security architecture and its efforts to achieve sustainable peace and security. These include China's growing economic interests in the continent's resources as well as the recent election of Donald Trump in the United States and the pro-Brexit referendum in the United Kingdom, which both potentially involve the re-negotiation of all sorts of treaties. These events along with the rise of far-right politics has led to heightened hostility towards African immigrants in Europe.

The presence of foreign military bases on the continent is another huge issue. For example, Djibouti now hosts six bases: US, French, Spanish, Japanese, Chinese and Saudi Arabia. He said:

*I don't know if the African continent has ever discussed this. The implication of one of its member states being a kind of headquarters for foreign military forces.*

All across Africa, the US and France have a very strong military footprint on the continent. Again, these are bilateral agreements with individual countries, but this situation impacts and raises questions on Africa's position in the global security architecture. For instance, the US has a military presence in at least 24 African countries. What are they doing there? Notably, a report from the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) to the Senate Committee on Armed Services said the Africa Command continues to pursue the objective of strengthening democratic institutions, spurring economic growth, trade and investment, advancing peace and security, and promoting opportunity and development throughout Africa. This strongly indicates the much broader agenda of countries investing in the security of Africa.

A further worrying phenomenon is the re-emergence of domestic movements for self-determination, for example, in Kenya and Nigeria. Here, individual countries and the continent will need to build a program of action to ensure national consensus and address issues of exclusion of different tribes or areas, lest divisions lead to conflict. And he cautioned:

*We are very familiar with the fact that colonialism used tribalism as one of its points of entry in order to achieve its purposes. And it's clearly this kind of development which creates a possibility for the rest of the world pursuing its own interest in Africa, to intervene to take advantage of these divisions among ourselves.*

### **The capacity for implementation**

In closing, President Mbeki quoted from *African Politics, African Peace*:

The compendium of existing commitments to the norms, principles and instruments of the AU is comprehensive and far-reaching. The challenge facing the AU is primarily one of implementing these existing commitments. A major part of the implementation challenge is ensuring that the officials and staff entrusted with the continent's peace and security agenda are fully cognizant of their responsibilities and capabilities. Equally important is the domestication and integration of these commitments into national governance and foreign and security policy processes of AU member states. Another part is public education, so that the African public is similarly aware of what their leaders have undertaken to do (p. 20).

Therefore, echoing remarks from earlier sessions of the forum, a comprehensive African Peace and Security Architecture is in place. So the challenge that lies ahead is in implementation and developing the continent's capacity to achieve lasting peace and prosperity.

<sup>10</sup> See UN information note on HIPPO (June 15, 2016) at <http://www.un.org/undpa/en/speeches-statements/16062015/HIPPO-report>.

<sup>11</sup> Report available at <https://sites.tufts.edu/wpff/files/2017/05/WPF-African-Politics-African-Peace.pdf>



### Response by Amb. Ami Mpungwe

As protocol required, Amb. Mpungwe gave a short address in response to President Mbeki's remarks. In proffering his view of the prevailing global architecture in the United Nations, he started with a Kiswahili proverb:

*'Mchawi mpe mtoto alee', which basically means 'give a child to a witch in case you're in doubt on the child's upbringing or survival.'*

He concurred with the President's assessments of challenges that the continent faces, many of which have their origins in the post-Cold War era. Combined with significant developments in science and technology, particularly information and communications technology (ICT), these changes have created an entirely new global environment. Many of the challenges of this new global order were discussed at length during the first day of the forum such as economic inclusiveness and universal values of democracy, good governance and the rule of law. Amb. Mpungwe also highlighted that the process of globalization has seen the collapse of national boundaries into markets and the movement towards integration of these markets. But, recent developments, such as the election of Donald Trump and Brexit, are more inward-looking and seek to reverse that trend.

In particular, on the topic of inclusiveness, Amb. Mpungwe was reminded of the work of President Mkapa during his tenure as co-chairman of the International Labour Organization's World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization<sup>12</sup> between 2002 and 2004. The Commission did a lot of work on issues of inclusiveness and recommended that while pursuing globalization, safety nets needed to be created so that everybody benefited. He felt that if the world had listened to what President Mkapa and the Commission had said then, we might not be facing the problems that President Mbeki had outlined today.

He agreed that new forms of global peace and security architecture are needed to respond to the challenges facing Africa so as to realize the goals of Agenda 2063 and "make the 21st century our own". Optimistically, he believed that Africa had the requisite leadership with the capacity to respond. In particular, the formation of the AU in 1990 soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall reflected that "Africa has always been in the front line in appreciating these changes and responding." But, in closing, he concurred that the continent's response has not been adequate and strong enough and effective enough to deal with these issues, and this was the challenge of the two working groups.

### Reports from breakaway sessions

#### Discussion Group 1: International Factors Shaping African Peace and Security Responses

Two key issues were identified by the group: i) strengthening the relationship between the AU and UN in terms of peace and security issues, and ii) moving from military interventions to political and diplomatic solutions to the continent's conflicts

With respect to the first issue, **Amb. Welile Nhlapo, former Ambassador for South Africa to the United States**, highlighted the importance of strengthening the African Union office in New York. This was critical given that most activities of the Security Council, indeed, most issues with respect to global peace and security are handled in New York. He said that, presently, there is no effective co-ordination and information flow between the AU Headquarters in Addis Ababa and New York. The New York office needs to be upgraded so that it is not just a meeting venue for the African Group but also active in collecting relevant information and providing timely warnings to the AU on threats to African interests, for example, if Africa's positions on UN issues are going to get undermined. But, most importantly, whenever needed, Africa needs to act on information in order to be meaningfully engaged in the processes of the UN. Similarly, the AU presence in Geneva also needs to be strengthened, in particular, its representation at the World Trade Organization.

With respect to the second issue, the African Union has committed to silencing the guns by 2020. Here, **President Mkapa** raised the serious concern that Africa is increasingly a destination for arms. He asked: "Why are we letting so many weapons into the continent?" He stressed that this multinational interest of selling arms to the continent needs to be investigated.

The group also proposed that forming regional military pacts could reduce the number of foreign military interventions on the continent. Women's increased involvement in conflict resolution would also be critical, and diplomatic and political interventions should be exhausted before any military intervention is contemplated. However, as President Obasanjo had highlighted during the forum, funding of peace operations is a difficult hurdle. Many African states still don't prioritize the issue of funding for security.

Perhaps, most importantly, the natures of Africa's conflicts need to be better understood before deciding upon the response. Here, the group identified three major push and pull factors: youth, the digital agenda and climate change. In particular, innovative ways are needed to engage youth and forge inter-generational linkages with elders. If elders are the sole mediators, where does this leave the youth who'll remain behind and inherit the same problems that the elders are trying to deal with?

#### Discussion Group 2: Aligning National, Continental and International Peace and Security Frameworks

The overall conclusion of the second group was that national, continental and international peace and security policy frameworks require re-alignment. The group developed a series of recommendations for re-aligning the frameworks at three levels: national, regional (which encompasses the RECs as well as the AU) and finally at the global level by looking at the UN system.

At the national level, governments need to be more proactive not so much with regards to policy making but rather with policy implementation. Importantly, government and civil society should see themselves as co-creators of the national security policy agenda. At the continental level, there is a need to transform Africa's value systems so as to better promote African solidarity and ensure that states take the lead in advancing our common humanity. In short, African states need to be part of the change that we are looking for. Mindful of the need for greater inclusiveness, states need to pay close attention to the empowerment of women and marginalized groups. Also at this level, peace-keeping, peace-building and governance systems need to be harmonized between states, the various regional blocs and the African Union.

By harmonizing and taking ownership of the African Peace and Security Architecture, the continent's voice can be unified and amplified at the global level. In this way, too, the challenges impacting on the African security agenda can be identified and effectively communicated—for example, on terrorism and forced and irregular migration—and comprehensive and coherent approaches developed to address these concerns. Africans must be involved in global platforms where these issues are discussed.

Members of the group also insisted that persons chosen to lead missions on the continent should be African. To this end, the capacity of our officials needs to be strengthened through training on current global security issues and how power (both formal and informal) impacts on security arrangements. At the global level, more emphasis should be placed on strengthening the relationship between the UN and the AU rather than its relationship with individual states. The group also agreed that the current global security architecture based on the UN Charter from 1945 is outdated and needs to be changed to promote more equitable participation and outcomes for all countries.



Adv. Sipho Mantula presenting feedback from group 1 discussions on international factors shaping African Peace and Security Responses

<sup>12</sup>The final report of the Commission, A Fair Globalization: Creating Opportunities for All is available at <http://www.ilo.org/fairglobalization/report/lang--en/index.htm>





H.E. Benjamin W. Mkapa delivering the closing remarks

### 3. Closing Remarks by H.E. Benjamin Mkapa

In closing the forum, President Mkapa extended special thanks to President Mbeki for his generosity and leadership in co-sponsoring the forum. He also thanked the other fellow former Presidents, especially President Obasanjo for delivering the keynote address which provided an excellent framework for the forum's discussion.

In his note of thanks to all participants and organizers, he wished to acknowledge the depth of coverage and of courage with which delegates discussed the critical challenge of peace and security on the continent. He said that the event had given him renewed hope and confidence in the spirit of African renaissance but that the larger task lies ahead.

*We must re-dedicate ourselves to promoting renaissance which was defined by colonialism and apartheid. We must re-discover our identity and we must re-affirm it before the international community. We are what we make of ourselves. And we can make ourselves respected, sought after, and listened to if we remain Africans.*



Prof. Anthoni van Nieuwkerk presenting the Statement of the Forum

## Appendix A: Statement of the African Leadership Forum 2017

Delegates of the African Leadership Forum assembled in Johannesburg, South Africa, on 24 and 25 August 2017, to deliberate on 'peace and security for an integrated, united and sustainable Africa'. The Forum was represented by 7 former Heads of State and representatives of state and non-state sectors, including academia and youth. .

We, as representatives of the former political leadership of the continent and now a voice for African civil society appeal to the current African leadership to be more proactive and purposeful in matters of peace and security on the continent.

In the wake of increasing global security concerns, Africa can neither afford to be a bystander in its development trajectory at the expense of its sustainability nor a global player with divided interests that are of little benefit to the people of the continent. In the words of former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, Africa needs to ensure that it has "the capacity to manage conflict...and must rely less on peacekeepers from outside. We need less politics and more altruistic governments; African Solutions to African Problems. For the leadership deficit on our continent allows conflict to fester until they become wars."

It is in the interests of the continent to unite and re-establish a stronger continental commitment to the African Renaissance, economically, politically and socially. To accomplish that vision and make it a reality, we need continental leadership, governments, civil society and African business to place the well-being of the people of this continent at the forefront of their endeavours. African development and sustainability depends on the cooperative, responsible and accountable efforts of all those who live within its precinct, and contribute towards its development.

We call upon African leadership at all levels to advocate for stronger national and regional institutions to protect the continent, for they are imperative. We ask that the African commerce and development sectors commit to the developmental and financial sustainability of our institutions of governance to ensure the continent's inclusive economic development and guardianship of its growing adherence to good governance.



The responsibility of good governance is the duty of all those who live and do business in the continent and in the words of former President of Somalia, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, “the commitment of African political leadership to this end should serve as an example to the people of the continent.” Similarly, in the words of former President Jakaya Kikwete of Tanzania, “*Good government without strong parliament is a mirage. The institution best placed to hold government accountable is parliament*”.

Furthermore in Kikwete’s words, “*it is important for Africa to remember to look at where we come from and where we are and to continue to say there has been progress. We are not yet at the most optimal point. But we should not get to a point where we say everything in Africa is bad; there are so many good things happening. This,” the pursuit of good governance “is work in progress”.*

There is a need for this ‘work in progress’ to translate into an increasingly African way of doing that is rooted in African culture and its spirit of Ubuntu. This call was echoed by Honourable Chief Justice Katureebe, who said that “as leaders in Africa, respect for the rights of our people should not be done so America and the international community pat us on the back, but for the benefit of our own people”

Former South African President Thabo Mbeki added his voice in response to the pressing economic issues contributing towards a number of growing security concerns such as inequalities and exclusive growth calling for accountable continental economic management. He stated: “What is it that we need to do to impact on the functioning of the capitalist system so that it does not produce these negative impacts?”

It is thus that the delegates of the African Leadership Forum ask that Africans renew their commitment to the continent: Therefore we:

- Call on Africa to hear its own voice on matters of peace, security and sustainable development through increased and improved national dialogue; and by taking ownership of its peace and security concerns in matters of policy and political interventions by the strengthening of regional institutions that can hold African leadership accountable to its people.
- Ask Africa to shape the dialogue around the continent’s vision and create its own roadmap for sustained peace and stability and communicate with a unified voice, working on behalf of its own interests and the interests of its people for inclusive economic development and a growing adherence toward good governance.
- Insist on taking its rightful position at the forefront of defining Africa’s role in the global peace and security architecture by providing decisive and purposeful political leadership on international matters pertaining to Africa.
- Resist the increasing militarization of Africa’s peace and security architecture especially relating to the arms trade, terrorism, and the tendency of allowing managers of the African security sector to be trained by outsiders with external agendas.
- Call on all people of the continent to rise to a democratic consciousness and a growing activist citizenry that will lead to a culture of growing leadership, deepening democracy and enhancing civic education. This vision of Africans shaping their personal and collective destiny must be taken forward by Africa’s most valuable asset: its youth.

Thus the ALF as directed by UONGOZI and the Thabo Mbeki Foundation undertakes to jointly develop a programme of action based on the conclusions of these Forum deliberations, with a specific emphasis on an agenda relating to the improvement of national, regional and continental peace and security policy and practice, as reflected in the forthcoming comprehensive conference report.

**Prepared by Prof Anthoni van Nieuwkerk and the team of ALF2017 rapporteurs**

Appendix B: Agenda of the Forum

Time	Activity	Particulars
Wednesday 23rd August, 2017		
Arrival of Guests & Dinner for former Heads of State hosted by the Thabo Mbeki Foundation		
Thursday 24th August, 2017		
Chair: Hon. Thoko Didiza, MP		
8:30 - 9:00	Arrival and Registration	All
9:00 - 9:10	Welcoming Remarks from Co-conveners	H.E Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa
9:10 - 10:00	Keynote Address	H.E Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria
10:00 - 12:30	Plenary Session:  "Cementing Foundations for Sustainable Peace and Security"	Panellists: H.E Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria
		H.E. Mohamed Moncef Marzouki, former President of Tunisia
		Hon. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of Namibia
		Prof. Funmi Olonisakin, Director of the African Leadership Centre, King's College London
		Mr. Francois Louceny Fall, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Central Africa
	Lunch and Networking	All
14:00 - 15:30	Session I:  "Moving Towards Inclusiveness"	Presenter: Mcebisi Jonas, former Deputy Minister of Finance, South Africa
		Panellists:  H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa
		H.E. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, former President of Somalia
		Abbey Chikane, Chair of Sub Sahara Investment Holdings and former Chair of the Kimberley Process
		Ayabongwa Cawe, Managing Director, Xesibe Holdings (Pty) Ltd
15:30 - 16:00	Tea Break & Group Photo	All
16:00 - 17:30	Session II:  "Good Governance and the Rule of Law"	Presenter: Prof. Barney Pityana, former Vice Chancellor of the University of South Africa, Advisory Board member, Thabo Mbeki Foundation and Council member, University of the Witwatersrand
		Panellists:  H.E. Jakaya Kikwete, former President of Tanzania
		Hon. Justice Bart M. Katureebe, Chief Justice of Uganda
		H.E. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, former President of Somalia



19:00 – 21:30	Dinner Gala	All
		Friday 25th August, 2017 Chair: Hon. Thoko Didiza, MP
9:00 – 11:00	Session III:  “Africa’s Position in the Global Peace and Security Architecture”	<u>Presenter:</u> H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa  <u>Respondent:</u> Amb. Ami Mpungwe, former Ambassador of Tanzania to South Africa  Break-away conversations:  Group 1: Chaired by H.E. Benjamin Mkapa  International Factors Shaping African Peace and Security Responses (Introduction given by Dr Awino Okech, lecturer at the Centre for Gender Studies at School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London  Group 2: Chaired by H.E. Moncef Marzouki  Aligning National, Continental and International Peace and Security Policy Frameworks (Introduction given by Prof. Tim Murithi, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Cape Town, and Professor of African Studies, Centre for African Studies, University of Free State, South Africa)
11:00 – 11:30	Tea Break	
11:30 – 12:30	Group Presentations and Discussion	All
12:30 – 12:45	Statement from the Forum	Prof. Anthoni van Nieuwkerk, Academic Director, Wits School of Governance
12:45 – 13:00	Closing Remarks	H.E. Benjamin Mkapa, former President of Tanzania
13:00 – 14:00	Lunch	All
1500 -	Youth Forum “Preparing for the Future”	Youth in conversation with former Heads of State

## Appendix C: List of Delegates

Hosts:

**H.E. Thabo Mbeki – Former President of South Africa**  
**H.E. Benjamin William Mkapa – Former President of Tanzania**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>1. H.E. Bakili Mulizi</b><br>Former President of Malawi  | <b>15. Mr. Francois Lounceny Fall</b><br>Special Representative of the SecretaryGeneral for the Central Africa region              |
| <b>2. H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo</b><br>Former President of Nigeria   | <b>16. Air Vice Marshal Griffiths Santrofi Evans</b><br>Commandant, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) |
| <b>3. H.E. Mohamed Moncef Marzouki</b><br>Former President of Tunisia   | <b>17. Amb. Ombeni Sefue</b><br>Former Chief Secretary, Tanzania   |
| <b>4. H.E. Jakaya Kikwete</b><br>Former President of Tanzania   | <b>18. Ms. Kigwene Germaine</b><br>Congo Peace Network   |
| <b>5. H.E. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud</b><br>Former President of Somalia   | <b>19. Mme. Bineta Diop</b><br>AU Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security   |
| <b>6. Hon. Justice Bart M. Katureebe</b><br>Chief Justice, Uganda   | <b>20. Dr. Said Moufti</b><br>Research Director, Royal Institute for Strategic Studies   |
| <b>7. Hon. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah</b><br>Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, Namibia | <b>21. Mr. Fredrick B. Kamara</b><br>Executive Director, African Youth Peace Initiatives   |
| <b>8. Hon. Adolf Mwesige</b><br>Minister of Defence and Veteran Affairs , Uganda  | <b>22. Dr. Kidane Kiros</b><br>Director, Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)   |
| <b>9. Hon. Hon. Sydney Sekeramayi</b><br>Minister of Defence, Zimbabwe  | <b>23. Ms. Michelle Ndiaye</b><br>Director, Africa Peace and Security Programme, IPSS  |
| <b>10. Hon. Pelonomi Venson-Moitoi</b><br>Minister of International Affairs and Cooperation, Botswana                           | <b>24. Dr. Yonas Adaye</b><br>Associate Academic Director, IPSS  |
| <b>11. Mr. Sindiso Ndema Ngwenya</b><br>Secretary General, Common Market for Eastern and Souther Africa (COMESA)                | <b>25. Mr. Ahmed Muckson Sesay</b><br>Director, Organisation for Peace, Reconciliation and Development Sierra Leone                |
| <b>12. Amb. Zachary Muburi-Muita</b><br>Executive Secretary , International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR)        | <b>26. Ms. Jestina M.Mukoko</b><br>National Director, Zimbabwe Peace Project   |
| <b>13. Amb. Sahle-Work Zewde</b><br>Director-General, United Nations Office in Nairobi (UNON)                                   |  |
| <b>14. Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas</b><br>Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for West Africa and the Sahel         |  |



27. **Prof. Funmi Olonisakin**  
Founding Director,  
African Leadership Centre
28. **Mr. Charles Kwenin**  
Senior Regional Advisor for  
Sub-Saharan Africa,  
International Ogranization for Migration
29. **Mr. Abbey Chikane**  
Chair of Sub Sahara Investment Holdings and  
former Chair of the Kimberley Process
30. **Dr. Iraj Abedian**  
Chair of Pan African Investment and  
Research Services and Professor at  
the Gordon Institute of Business Science ,  
University of Pretoria
31. **Mr. Ayabongwa Cawe**  
Managing Director, Xesibe Holdings (Pty) Ltd
32. **Hon. Roger Nkodo Dang**  
President of the Pan African Parliament
33. **Dr. Awino Okech**  
Lecturer at the Centre for  
Gender Studies at School of Oriental and  
African Studies (SOAS), University of London
34. **Prof. Tim Murithi**  
Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in  
Cape Town, South Africa and Professor of  
African Studies, Centre for African Studies,  
University of Free State, South Africa
35. **Mr. Daniel Bekele Mulugeta**  
Executive Director of the Africa Division,  
Human Rights Watch
36. **Ms. Elizabeth Taiti**  
Kenya Peace Initiative
37. **Mr. Jean Paul Mugiraneza**  
Regional Director for Eastern and  
Central Africa, Interpeace
38. **Madame Christina Duarte**  
UONGOZI Institute Board Member
39. **Mr. Korsi Senyo Kumedzina**  
Executive Director,  
Africa Centre for Peacebuilding

40. **Prof. Edward Ayensu**  
Board of Trustees, UN University for Peace
41. **Mr. Max Jarrett**  
Director-in-Charge,  
Africa Progress Panel
42. **Mr. Kingsley Mamabolo**  
Acting Joint Special Representative for  
Darfur and Head of the African Union  
United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur
43. **Prof. Modimowabarwa Kanyane**  
Research Director, Democracy,  
Governance and Service Delivery
44. **Dr. Leake Shilimwati Hangala**  
Executive Chairman, Hangala Group
45. **Dr. Ken Kwaku**  
Executive Chairman, Kwaku Group
46. **Amb. Peter Kallaghe**  
Senior Consulting Officer for Foreign Affairs,  
National Defence College, Tanzania
47. **Prof. Adekeye Adebajo**  
Director, Institute of Pan-African  
Thought and Conversation,  
University of Johannesburg
48. **Mr. Abdoulie Janneh**  
Executive Director,  
Mo Ibrahim Foundation
49. **Ms. Modey-Ebi**  
UNHCR Deputy Regional Representative
50. **Ms. Catherine Liao**  
OHCHR - Deputy Regional  
Representative for Souther Africa
51. **Advocate Vasu Gounden**  
Founder and Executive Director,  
African centre for the Constructive  
Resolution of Conflicts (ACCORD)
52. **Dr. Monde Muyangwa**  
Director of the Africa Program at  
the Woodrow Wilson Center
53. **Mr. Max Boqwana**  
CEO, Thabo Mbeki Foundation

54. **Prof. Joseph Semboja**  
CEO, UONGOZI Institute
55. **Mr. Kagni S. Dieudonne**  
Secretary General,  
Universal Peace Federation
56. **Dr. Elsie Kanza**  
Director for Africa,  
World Economic Forum
57. **Amb. Ami Mpungwe**  
Former Ambassador of Tanzania to  
South Africa
58. **Dr. Laurian Ndumbaro**  
Board Member, UONGOZI Institute
59. **Prof. Imraan Valodia**  
Wits University
60. **Prof. Gilbert Khadiagala**  
Wits University
61. **Prof. Mandla Makhanya**  
University of South Africa
62. **Prof. Somadoda Fikeni**  
University of South Africa
63. **Prof. Dirk Kotze**  
University of South Africa
64. **Prof. Vusi Gumede**  
University of South Africa
65. **Prof. Sifiso Ndlovu**  
University of South Africa
66. **Adv. Sipho Mantula**  
University of South Africa
67. **Dr. Andreas Velthuisen**  
University of South Africa
68. **Dr. Tsegai Gebretekle**  
University of South Africa
69. **Dr. Martin Rupiya**  
University of South Africa

70. **Prof. Chris Landsberg**  
University of Johannesburg
71. **Prof. Cheryl Hendricks**  
University of Johannesburg
72. **Prof Siphamandla Zondi**  
University of Pretoria
73. **Prof Maxi Schoeman**  
University of Pretoria
74. **Prof Heidi Hudson**  
University of Free State
75. **Prof Shamil Jeppie**  
University of Free State
76. **Prof Sekgothe Mokgoatsana**  
University of Limpopo
77. **Mr. Joel Netshitentze**  
Executive Director,  
Mapungubwe Institute for  
Strategic Reflection
78. **Ms. Sanusha Naidu**  
Senior Research Fellow,  
Institute for Global Dialogue,  
South Africa
79. **Mr. Anton du Plessis**  
Managing Director, ISS Africa
80. **Mr. Vasu Gounden**  
Executive Director,  
African Centre for the Constructive  
Resolution of Disputes
81. **Mr. Tshepo Mashiane**  
Programme Director,  
Centre for the Advancement of Citizenry  
Participation in International Relations
82. **Mr. Mcebisi Jonas**  
Former Deputy Minister of Finance,  
South Africa
83. **Mr. Chris Maroleng**  
Group Executive: Corporate Affairs, MTN



84. **Dr Brigalia Bam**  
Thabo Mbeki Foundation Trustee
85. **Adv. Mojanku Gumbi**  
Thabo Mbeki Foundation Trustee
86. **Prof Wiseman Nkuhlu**  
Thabo Mbeki Foundation Trustee
87. **Mr. Aziz Pahad**  
Thabo Mbeki Foundation Trustee
88. **Mrs Zanele Mbeki**  
Thabo Mbeki Foundation Trustee
89. **Hon Thoko Didiza**  
Thabo Mbeki Foundation Trustee
90. **Prof Barney Pityana**  
Thabo Mbeki Foundation Trustee
91. **Mrs. Kalyan Koosum**  
Thabo Mbeki Foundation Trustee
92. **Mr Julius Malema**  
Leader, Economic Freedom Fighters
93. **Mr. Mmusi Maimane**  
Leader, Democratic Alliance
94. **Amb Welile Nhlapo**  
Former Ambassador of South Africa
95. **Amb George Nene**  
Former Ambassador of South Africa  
Youth Representatives
96. **Ms. Francine Muyumba**  
President of the Pan-African Youth Union
97. **Ms. Vanessa Anyoti**  
Deputy Executive Director of the  
Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)
98. **Mr. Ahmed Salim**  
Vice-President of Teneo Strategy,  
Business Consultancy firm
99. **Mr. Benedict Kikove**  
Vice-Chairperson,  
United Nations Association of Tanzania

100. **Mr. Youssef Fennira**  
Director of CORP Youth Employment &  
Entrepreneurship programme
101. **Dr. Ayak Alak**  
Anataban & National Transformational  
Leadership Institute
102. **Mr. Raphael Obonyo**  
Africa Representative to the  
World Bank's Global Coordination  
Board of Youth Network on Anti-Corruption
103. **Ms. Gwendolyn S. Myers**  
Founder & Executive Director of  
Messengers of Peace
104. **Mr. Youssef Fennira**  
Director of CORP Youth Employment &  
Entrepreneurship programme
105. **Dr. Babafemi Badejo**  
Former Head of Political Affairs at the United  
Nations Mission in Darfur
106. **Mr. Raphael Obonyo**  
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