



AFRICAN LEADERSHIP FORUM 2015

“MOVING TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED AFRICA”

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The United Republic of Tanzania

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ACBF	-	African Capacity Building Foundation
ALF	-	African Leadership Forum
AfDB	-	African Development Bank
AU	-	African Union
AUC	-	African Union Commission
CCR	-	Centre for Conflict Resolution (Cape Town, South Africa)
CEO	-	Chief Executive Officer
CFTA	-	Continental Free Trade Area
CODESRIA	-	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
COMESA	-	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
IGAD	-	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAU	-	Organization of African Unity
OECD	-	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PDB	-	President's Delivery Bureau
REC	-	Regional economic community
SADC	-	Southern African Development Community
TFTA	-	Tripartite Free Trade Area
UN	-	United Nations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	-	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

Executive Summary



Participants of the African Leadership Forum (ALF) 2015 in a group photo with former African Presidents and statesmen. Seated from left: Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim (former O.A.U SG), H.E Hifikepunye Pohamba of Namibia, H.E Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, H.E Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania and host of the ALF, H.E Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, H.E Festus Mogae of Botswana and H.E Bakili Muluzi of Malawi.

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)— now the African Union (AU)—the Heads of State and Government expressed their commitment to the enduring Pan-African vision of an *'integrated, prosperous, and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena'*. Within this context, at the twenty-first ordinary session of the Assembly of the African Union, they produced a solemn declaration that set out the priority areas for Africa's development over the next fifty years.

"Integration is something we have to achieve whether we like it or not because we can only swim together or sink individually, sink separately."



H.E. President Obasanjo

To ensure that the solemn declaration was transformed into reality, the Heads of State and Government tasked the African Union Commission with crafting a new vision for the continent through a people-driven approach. This new vision entitled Agenda 2063 was adopted by the Heads of State and Government at the twenty-fourth ordinary session of the Assembly of the African Union held in January 2015.

Recognizing the critical importance of integration to the transformation and sustainable development of Africa as envisioned by Agenda 2063, **the former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, H.E. Benjamin Mkapa** convened the second African Leadership Forum (ALF) in Dar es Salaam on 30 July 2015.

Organized by the Institute of African Leadership for Sustainable Development, popularly known as the UONGOZI Institute, the event brought together political leaders, including current and former Heads of State, as well as leaders from government, business, civil society and academia.

The theme of the Forum was *"Moving Towards an Integrated Africa"*. The event provided a platform to explore how best to overcome the obstacles to intra-African interaction, collaboration, coordination and harmonization so that Africa's richness could be better marshalled to realize the common goals of prosperity and security of the continent and its people.



President of Uganda, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, delivers his keynote address at the ALF, which was held on 30th July 2015.

Keynote address by H.E. Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda

H.E. Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda delivered the keynote address. To begin, the President highlighted the abundance of Africa's linguistic and cultural linkages. However, the history of the continent was also characterized by a lack of integration which proved a fatal weakness when confronting imperialism. As a consequence of the low level of integration among Africa's traditional chiefs, the entire continent was conquered and colonised by European powers.

Fortunately, through a combination of factors, including the collective resistance of Africans against colonialism, the continent regained its freedom. But, having proved fatal to Africa in the past, President Museveni warned that the same low level of political integration remains a great threat to the continent's future and survival.

Therefore, he emphatically counselled that the continent pursue a path towards greater integration both economically and politically. With respect to economic integration, President Museveni felt that there need be no limit. The whole of Africa should be involved. With respect to political integration, he considered that this should only be pursued among groups with a high degree of compatibility, as is the case among the people and countries of East Africa. In short, the answers to achieving prosperity and security in Africa, and, in turn, the continent's growth and transformation, lay in integration.

“How will African families, how will African businesses, become prosperous? How will Africans, individually and collectively, be secure at the strategic level? The answers to the two questions are: integration, sometimes just economic, and, sometimes, both economic and political. It is that prosperity and that security that will give us growth and transformation.”

“If the people know clearly that integration is for their prosperity, they will support it. If they know that political federation is for their strategic security and survival as a free people, they would support it. It is the leaders that must understand this and convey it to the masses.”
—H.E. President Museveni

The President saw the principal challenge to integration as “definitional”, i.e., the purpose of integration must be clearly defined to the people. He said that:

“If the people know clearly that integration is for their prosperity, they will support it. If they know that political federation is for their strategic security and survival as a free people, they would support it. It is the leaders that must understand this and convey it to the masses.”

To conclude his address the President cited two key lessons from past integration efforts. The first was that leaders must not procrastinate; they must act decisively and promptly to secure the benefits and protections of integration. The second lesson is to avoid the short-sightedness of thinking that natural resources are the most important factor in national or continental advancement. Rather, it is the continent's wealth in human resources that will lead to greater prosperity and sustainability. And realizing the importance of the human resource will lead to greater integration.

Plenary and Panel Discussions

In addition to the keynote address, a plenary discussion on the theme of the Forum and a series of three panel discussions were held. The topics of the panel sessions were:

- Session 1: Establishing and Strengthening Institutions to Support Integration
- Session 2: Diversity and Inequality: Challenges and Opportunities for Integration
- Session 3: Global Partnerships and Relations: Implications for African Integration

At each session, the panellists and audience were invited to contribute their experience and ideas on the challenges to and opportunities for greater regional and continental integration. The discussions throughout the Forum were open and candid. Some of the key messages that emerged from discussions were as follows:

“I will want any African to come to Nigeria to join us in developing Nigeria. For me, any development, if you have an African making progress it is good for Africa.”

—H.E. President Obasanjo

Confidence

To accelerate integration, Africans must build confidence in and among themselves. Since the struggle for independence, the continent has had a Pan African identity but this now needs to



be made more meaningful and practical. The strength of Africa lies in its unity and cohesion. Through integration, all African countries will win.

Freedom of movement

Integration is not primarily about the exchange of goods and commodities. Integration is about people. To promote greater integration, barriers to the movement of people between countries in Africa must be removed. Increasing intra-African trade will be impossible without freedom of movement.

Leadership

As was the case in fighting colonialism and defeating apartheid, leadership will be absolutely essential for achieving greater integration. For integration to become a reality, African leaders must be willing to implement regional and continental resolutions and domesticate them in national legislation. And, as in the past, the pursuit of continental goals will entail sacrifice for the common good. To achieve both a dedicated space for African dialogue as well as enable the continent to communicate a strong, united voice internationally, the organization of a strategic calendar for sitting Heads of State would be a valuable short-term action. Former Heads of State could also be engaged to act as spokespeople and champions for regional integration.

Civil society

As well as mobilizing their political leaders, African countries must empower civil society to demand accountability and push for integration. The benefits of integration to different countries can be increased through the sharing of different backgrounds, skills and attitudes. To this end, student exchanges between universities as well as bringing together journalists, NGOs, parliamentarians and representatives of the private sector from different countries would help to promote a groundswell of popular support for integration. In this way, leaders of member states and regional economic communities can be provided with a much stronger mandate to pursue integration.

Education

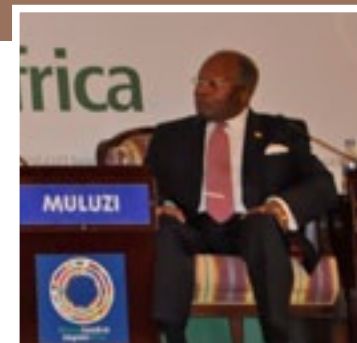
Education is critical to integration efforts on two fronts: first, to promote tolerance and appreciation of the continent's strength in diversity; and, second, to equip Africa's youth, many of whom are unemployed and unskilled, with the quality education and training to become a force for development.

"...when we have an integrated Africa, all African countries will win."



H.E. Dr. Salim

"How we empower our people to do business is very important. If indeed we want improvement in regional integration, the private sector must be brought in... It is the private sector that can push development... and...bring regional integration."



H.E. President Muluzi

In addition, expert knowledge and skills in negotiation will be required to achieve favourable outcomes in treaties and agreements so as to halt the continued exploitation of the continent. Talented aspiring youth must be given the necessary exposure and experience to become the leaders of tomorrow.

Private sector

The private sector will be central to promoting people-centred integration and development. For the private sector to thrive, the public sector must provide a conducive business environment, in particular, by reducing the barriers to the movement of people and goods between countries.

Finance

African countries must be willing to equitably and adequately contribute their own resources to fund the continent's integration and development agenda, including the African Union, the regional economic communities (RECs), institutions of higher learning and research, and trans-national infrastructure. Resources are available to finance integration; it is now up to African leaders to commit the necessary funds.

Institutional capacity

The capacities of the existing institutions for regional and continental integration—chief among them being the African Union and its various organs, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the 8 regional economic communities (RECs), including the Eastern African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC)—are slowly being built up but vary markedly across the different institutions. To become more proactive building blocks of continental integration, the RECs will require a more clear definition of their roles with respect to Agenda 2063 as well as further empowerment so as to enable them to make decisions and follow up implementation by member states.

Most importantly, regional bodies and national bodies within member states need to be closely and coherently linked so that what is decided at regional level is mainstreamed into national plans and budgets and effectively monitored. Similarly, the RECs need to be aligned and coordinated with the process of continental integration at AU level. However, despite the institutional limitations identified, the panellists emphasized that regional integration must proceed.



1 The Opening Session



Former Tanzanian President and host of the ALF 2015 H.E. Benjamin Mkapa gives his opening remarks during the commencement of the forum.

1.1 Welcome by H.E. Benjamin Mkapa

As the host of the African Leadership Forum, the **former President of Tanzania H.E. Benjamin Mkapa** welcomed all delegates and offered a special word of thanks to the former Heads of State and Government in attendance. In his introductory remarks, President Mkapa posed a series of questions to set the stage for the Forum's discussion on how Africa can successfully integrate.

To begin, President Mkapa quoted Tom Burgis, an investigations correspondent with The Financial Times:

"Africa is the world's poorest continent and, arguably, its richest. Although accounting for 2% of global GDP, it is reported to have 15% of the planet's crude oil resources, 40% of its gold and 80% of its platinum. Beneath its soils lies a third of the mineral resources found on Earth. But this treasure trove has proved to be not a salvation but a curse."

Reflecting on this historical reality, President Mkapa added:

"Natural resources should make people rich, but they do not do so in Africa. Why not in Africa? Is financial colonialism a reality? Is this why we do not integrate faster?"

President Mkapa then turned his attention to Agenda 2063, a vision and action plan to accelerate development and fight the poverty on the continent. Agenda 2063 was adopted

"Are Africans of one mind about integration?"

—H.E. President Mkapa

by the Heads of State and Government in 2013 as part of celebrations to mark the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the OAU/African Union. The realization of Agenda 2063 presupposes as its pillars, functioning regional institutions. Some of these institutions already exist, including the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Eastern African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

However, President Mkapa raised a further set of questions on the status of these institutions:

"Are they functioning? Are they dynamic integrationist institutions? Can they be made to transform into more proactive agents of integration? If yes, how?"

President Mkapa also pondered whether Africans themselves are of the same mind about integration:

"The Swahili saying goes 'When minds are the same, that which is far off will come nigh.' Are Africans of one mind about integration? Are they of one aspiration? Are they one about sacrificing for the common good?"

Moreover, in the pursuit of integration, he asked:

"...how much importance is being given to economic cooperation as a major yardstick and driver of change and development and, especially, of political union? What can we learn from the history and experience of other continental organizations, such as those in Europe, the Americas and Asia? And what impact will evolving economic and trading pacts in other continents...have on African continental common markets and the industrialization agenda?"

Acknowledging that Africa is a multicultural, multi-tribal entity, he wondered:

"Are there African values that can accelerate integration? Is there an African renaissance? Are Africans looking at development through African eyes. Or do they look at Africa through European eyes?"

On these and other critical issues for integration, he invited all assembled to participate in robust discussions during the Forum.



1.2 Introduction of Keynote Speaker

President Mkapa welcomed H.E. President Museveni to the Forum. In introducing him as the keynote speaker, President Mkapa said that he had known President Museveni for close to four decades from his early student days at the University of Dar es Salaam. At that time, President Mkapa was the editor of various departmental newspapers in Tanzania and he related in good humour that:

“... the young Museveni was almost a nuisance at the editorial desk! Not only was the future President fighting the dictatorship in Uganda and for democracy in Uganda but also arguing the case for Pan Africanism, that Africans were one people with one destiny.”

President Mkapa related that, in his political career, President Museveni had liberated his country from the dictatorship of Idi Amin, led his country to a developing democratic state, and been a prime force in re-igniting Eastern African cooperation and re-establishing the EAC.

He added that he had purposefully invited President Museveni to deliver the keynote address given his direct involvement and great passion for accelerating re-integration in East Africa, and for his knowledge of the popular support and obstacles that lie in the way of integration for the region and the continent. Describing President Museveni as a Pan Africanist and an integrationist, President Mkapa could think of no better example of the leadership that is needed to support continental integration. He thanked President Museveni for accepting the call to give the keynote and invited him to address the Forum.



President Yoweri Museveni (front right) with Hon. Jorge Santos, Member of the Pan African Parliament

1.3 Keynote Address by H.E. Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda—The Challenges of Integrating Africa to Achieve Sustainable Growth and Transformation and Ensure that Africa and Africans Contribute to and Benefit from the “Global Pie”

Following salutations to President Mkapa and the other distinguished guests, President Museveni drew the audience’s attention to the Ugandan proverb *“Owarumwa enjoka, atiina omwiina”*, meaning, “If the snake bites you once, you are, forever, wary of all holes in the ground.” The proverb’s English equivalent is “Once bitten, twice shy.” The full significance of this proverb to the President’s message became clear in the course of his address.

Through a series of examples, President Museveni highlighted the shared linguistic heritage of the people of Africa. He related that, since time immemorial, Africa had been inhabited by four linguistic groups: the Niger-Congo (including the Bantu and Kwa dialects), the Nilo-Saharan, the Afro-Asiatic (including Arabic, Tigrinya and Amharic), and the Khoisan dialects of southern Africa (the so-called bushmen). Rather than being peopled by many disparate groups with no linkages or similarities, the people of Africa are linked linguistically, culturally, and, in some cases, historically. He continued:

“Therefore, the issue about Africa is not oneness. It is not similarities or linkages. Those abound in plenty. The issue about Africa is that much of it was not governed together before colonialism. The oneness of the people is clear, the linkages are clear, but the problem was that we were not governed together... We are one but were not governed together; neither in pre-colonial history, nor in colonial times nor now. That is where the problem is.”

The President then related that geography and latitude largely accounted for this lack of political integration. Africa’s geography, characterized by thick forests, rivers, swamps, high mountains and forbidding deserts, was perilously difficult to traverse and her latitudes meant that much of the continent has warm temperatures in which man’s natural enemies, particularly insects, such as tsetse flies and mosquitoes, thrive along with the diseases they carry. As a result, the huge African continent was inhabited by a chronically small population. By 1900, the population of the whole of Africa was only 133 million people. A small population occupying a vast land mass with ample natural resources provided little incentive for integration or sustained integration. However:

“This lack of integration was a fatal weakness when it came to confronting the new enemy—imperialism.”



President Museveni related that a span of 364 years elapsed between the journey of the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama around the Cape of Good Hope and up the entire coast of East Africa on his way to India in 1498, and the arrival of the first European, John Hanning Speke, in Uganda in 1862 searching for the source of the Nile. But instead of recognizing the potential threat and uniting to protect their people against these new and powerful enemies, Uganda's traditional feudalist chiefs remained isolated, more occupied with fomenting wars amongst themselves. He continued:

“The consequence was that these little kings, by 1900, a mere 38 years since the arrival of Speke in Uganda, had been enslaved, along with their poor subjects. In the whole of Africa, it was only Ethiopia that defeated a European power and was not colonized. So, the consequence of the low level of integration was the quick conquest of the whole of Africa, except for Ethiopia. Even Ethiopia, however, led by the reactionary feudalists, could not for long guarantee its independence. Mussolini conquered it in 1935.”



President Museveni shares a word with one of the event's participants.

Fortunately, through a combination of factors—the continued resistance of Africans against colonialism, the support of socialist countries to the liberation movements, and the fratricidal inter-imperialist wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 which weakened the colonial powers—Africans regained their freedom. But, having proved fatal to Africa in the past, President Museveni warned that the same low level of political integration remains a great threat to the continent's future and survival. He said that Africa has not yet learned the full importance of the proverb quoted at the beginning of his speech.

“Unfortunately, we have not learnt the import of the Ugandan proverb that I quoted at the beginning of this speech, whose meaning in English would be... ‘Once bitten, twice shy’. We were bitten but we did not learn anything. We were conquered because of a low level of integration. We have now had freedom for 50 years almost 60 years but we are still there. We are very comfortable with the same low level of integration which caused problems for us in the first place.”

Even if the continent were to choose not to heed the import of the proverb, President Museveni emphatically counselled that the continent must pursue integration—both economically and politically—to ensure the prosperity and security of Africa and its citizens.

He related that, in Uganda, communities are becoming more prosperous through production, by getting out of subsistence farming with its singular focus on food security, and into commercial farming and the moneyed economy so as to support the fulfilment of broader human needs, such as better housing, education, healthcare and transport. But to achieve

this transition from subsistence to commercial farming requires other communities and bigger markets to purchase and consume one's produce.

On the imperative of integration to prosperity, President Museveni cited the example of the milk industry in Uganda. In 1986, the country produced 200 million litres of milk per annum. Now, Uganda is producing 2 billion litres of milk per annum but Ugandans consume only 800 million litres per annum. Hence, the surplus must be exported.

“If it was not for East and Central Africa and the export market in general, this industry would have collapsed... The same goes for maize.”

Economic integration and trade among different communities, tribes and religious groups within individual countries and between countries across Africa are, therefore, essential to achieve prosperity. It is not the individual tribe that allows this transition and ensures prosperity but the existence of other communities in Uganda, and markets in East Africa and beyond. Hence:

“We believe in Pan Africanism because it is Pan Africanism that can help us to be prosperous... If Africa does not integrate, there is no way we can sustainably ensure our prosperity because even the route of exporting to the international market will, in the end, depend on our own market.”

On the side of economic integration, President Museveni felt that there should be no limit.

“The whole of Africa should be involved. Trade can be with anybody.”

However, to guarantee Africa's strategic security, President Museveni stressed that political integration will be needed in addition to economic integration. But, unlike the late Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi, he believed that it was neither possible nor desirable to aim at the political integration of the whole of Africa. Rather, political integration should only be pursued among groups with a high degree of compatibility, as is the case among the people and countries of East Africa who share significant similarities and linkages, above all being the neutral Swahili dialect. He further suggested that the extent of economic and political integration could be usefully be guided by the notions of “identity” and “interests”. He said:

“The two words—‘identity’ and ‘interests’—should help us. The economic community of the whole of Africa deals with the ‘interests’. The only boundary that one would think about is geography—the whole African continent. When it comes to political integration, it should be both ‘interest’ and ‘identity’ that should be looked at.”



In short, President Museveni believed that the answers to achieving prosperity and security, and, in turn, growth and transformation, lay in integration.

“How will African families, how will African businesses, become prosperous? How will Africans, individually and collectively, be secure at the strategic level? The answers to these two questions are: integration, sometimes just economic, and, sometimes, both economic and political. It is that prosperity and that security that will give us growth and transformation.”

With respect to handling diversity, President Museveni felt that this need not represent a problem if an appropriate language policy is adopted within the integrated entity. For example, even now within Uganda a three languages policy is followed: indigenous dialects are used as the medium of instruction in the first four classes of primary school with English used after that. The local dialects are used in councils where the districts are populated by homogenous groups, while Swahili is taught and used for regional interaction and in the Army as well as for public meetings in some districts.

With respect to powers and resources within a federation, President Museveni recommended that these be shared.

“Powers like defence, foreign affairs, citizenship, currency, external trade, the railways, aircraft regulation, etc., could belong to the federal level. The rest should either belong to the states or even the local level.”

Moreover, with respect to the problem of inequality, he said:

“...integration actually cures inequality better than non-integration because people from...disadvantaged areas can move to the more prosperous areas and look for jobs, for business, but also for trade.”

He related that the two kings of the modern economy are the consumer and the producer and integration increases the numbers of these two categories. The rest—the bureaucrats, infrastructure and other people—are just links between these two.

President Museveni did counsel that rural-to-rural peasant migration needs to be watched as tensions can arise between the indigenous peoples and the migrants, especially in circumstances when this is exploited for electoral purposes. In these instances, strong central government will be required to banish sectarianism and emphasize merit.

In contrast, he viewed rural-to-urban migration as easier to manage. Hence, expediting industrialization is crucial. And to expedite industrialization demands the development of infrastructure to lower the costs of doing business. Where there is inequality in infrastructure development, this can be rectified by deliberately focusing funds and attention to under-developed areas of the country. Indeed, such areas often offer better prospects for large-scale agricultural and industrial production as they have bigger and freer areas of land for projects and fewer residents so compensation payable to previous occupants may be less. For example, northern Uganda offers greater prospects for better-planned industrial growth than the crowded and the not-so-well-planned Kampala-Entebbe area.

On the issues of land and jobs, President Museveni recommended that:

“...[land] should be handled by the districts so that the fear of the ‘foreigners’ grabbing land goes away. The jobs in the bureaucracy and the extractive industries can be reserved for the locals. However, the jobs in industries must be open to all citizens of the Union because it is the purchasing power of the Union consumers that supports those factories. The services jobs need more discussion.”

As to the key challenges facing integration, President Museveni identified the main challenge as “definitional”, i.e., the purpose of integration must be clearly defined to the people.

“If the people know clearly that integration is for their prosperity, they will support it. If they know that political federation is for their strategic security and survival as a free people, they would support it. It is the leaders that must understand this and convey it to the masses.”

He concluded his address by citing two key lessons from past integration efforts. The first big lesson is that “procrastination is the thief of time.” He added that Tanzania’s independence leaders:

“Mzee Nyerere and Mzee Karume acted at the right moment and their product has endured and saved Tanganyika and Zanzibar from a lot of trouble, arguing, for instance, about the economic zones in the ocean, etc., given that their geography is intertwined.”



The second big mistake suffered with respect to integration is what the President called “Katangaism.”

“Katangaism is the myopia of thinking that natural resources are the most decisive factor of a modern life and forgetting that the human resource is the most decisive factor.”

In conclusion, the President counselled that if well utilized, the human resource would always lead to greater prosperity and sustainability over the exploitation of natural resources.

“Realising the importance of human resources leads to integration. Focusing on natural resources leads to the mentality of the fewer the better, and, eventually to Katangaism because those who sit atop the natural resources do not want to share in the imagined wealth with others. But, what is greater wealth...minerals or the human resource?”

Many in Africa do not know that the human resource is the greater wealth than the minerals in the ground. That is how China, Japan, India and even South Korea are much richer than Saudi Arabia .”



Participants in one of the plenary discussions at the ALF 2015.

1.4 Plenary Discussion: Moving Towards an Integrated Africa

Moderator: Ms. Julie Gichuru

Panellists:

1. H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
2. H.E. Jerry Rawlings, former President of the Republic of Ghana
3. H.E. Bakili Muluzi, former President of the Republic of Malawi
4. H.E. Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, former Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity

Preamble

The Forum included a public plenary which focused on how Africans can better harmonize and integrate for mutual and continental benefit. The esteemed members of the panel were tasked with discussing how Africa could start thinking and working as a continent.

In introducing the discussion, the moderator Ms. Julie Gichuru asked the panellists not to focus on historical failures in integration nor where it might have gone wrong, but rather what is being done to change the situation and ensure that we are integrating the continent. She asked:

“Does the leadership of Africa have its eye on this issue? What progress in terms of integration is being made and what challenges must be dealt with? And, if we are not doing certain things, what should be done?”

Important issues raised during the plenary are highlighted in the sections below.

ON THE CURRENT INSTITUTIONS FOR REGIONAL INTEGRATION

In his opening statement to the plenary, **President Muluzi** affirmed that institutions have emerged such as COMESA, SADC and the African Union itself that clearly indicate that the leadership in Africa has been and is serious about regional integration. But one concern is the overlapping of activities and mandates of the different institutions, which all cost money



in terms of contributions. For example, Malawi is member of both COMESA and SADC but these institutions have similar aims.

President Rawlings extended this discussion to encompass the issue of security:

“In terms of security, if we could rely a lot more on our own institutions, on our people, for our security, quite frankly, I think, we would make a lot more progress. I’m saying this because, a little too often, some of us, have become a little too over-reliant on the colonial masters for our security. As a result of which, they call the shots. It is most unfortunate.”

ON THE IMPACT OF EXTRA-CONTINENTAL AFFAIRS ON AFRICA’S DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY



H.E. Jerry Rawlings emphasizes a point during the forum.

Taking a broader regional and global view on the factors affecting African integration, **President Rawlings** commended the will of regional powers in dealing with the scourge of terrorism but hastened to add that the world’s continuing failure to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict had wrought *“damage to the greenhouse layer of international morality”* and created a hole which needed to be sealed and healed. He felt that if a solution was not found to the Israeli-Palestinian problem it would continue to be a blight on the conscious of the world, with the potential to percolate downwards to generate pockets of resistance and terrorist activities and create insecurity on the African continent. He felt that Africa was quite vulnerable due to the mix and diversity of the continent and counselled that disparity in development needed to be addressed lest it become a source of stress and tension for the people that outsiders could take advantage of.

ON THE FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE IN AFRICA

In his opening words to the forum, **H.E. Dr. Salim** commented that the question of integration and cooperation had pre-occupied the continent and its leaders since the formation of the Organization of African Unity, and he felt that there had been some notable successes, including the re-establishment of the East African Community in 2000. However, serious problems remain.

In particular, he considered that the continent’s attitude towards integration needed to change. Recalling a conversation with the then President of the World Bank in 1991, he lamented that it is still easier for an *“mzungu”* (a white foreigner) to travel between countries in Africa than it is for an African.

“Integration is not about the exchange of goods and commodities only. Integration is about people.”
—H.E. Dr. Salim

“The truth remains that...Africans still find extremely difficult to travel from one country to another. And I think almost all our countries are guilty of that...If we are to really take the question of integration seriously, we have to understand that we are talking about our people.”

Citing the experience of West Africa, **President Obasanjo** went a step further in calling for the free movement of people on the continent by abolishing visas. He added that increasing intra-African trade would be impossible without freedom of movement. He also dismissed as nonsense the argument that African countries have no reason to trade amongst themselves because they produce similar commodities. **President Rawlings** added his voice to the benefits arising from the free movement of people across countries in West Africa but cautioned that there can be costs involved, too.

ON THE IMPERATIVE OF LEADERSHIP AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Reflecting on the past successes of the continent in fighting colonialism and ending apartheid, **President Obasanjo** highlighted the imperative of leadership in pursuing continental integration. However, he counselled that moving 54 countries in one direction is asking for the impossible. Therefore, as was the case in establishing the OAU and more recently the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), a core group of countries is needed to spearhead integration.

“Let us have a core of countries that understands, and they are ready to spearhead and let them go.”

President Obasanjo also counselled that young leaders must be given opportunities to learn and develop.

“Whether we talk of African leaders or Africans, wisdom comes from understanding, knowledge and experience, and, most of us, both leaders and the led, we don’t seem to have enough of these essential ingredients of wisdom and also exposure.”

Therefore, he recommended that more young men and young women need to be invited to meetings such as the current Forum so that they can gain the necessary experience and exposure to become the leaders of tomorrow.

Asked for his perspective on integration, **Dr. Richard Sezibera, Executive Director of the East African Community**, agreed with **President Obasanjo** that ethical leadership is critical for integration. He said that *“It has to be the leaders who will do this and the people will follow them.”*



ON THE NEED FOR CONFIDENCE AMONG AFRICANS



Former Organization for African Unity (OAU) Secretary-General Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim gives his contribution during the discussion.

Asked what was needed to accelerate progress in integration, Dr. Salim replied that *“First and foremost, we must build confidence in ourselves and among ourselves.”* Continuing, he commended West Africa on its efforts towards regional integration.

“Frankly, as far as the question of movement of people and as far as regional integration are concerned, West Africans have done very well. It is not perfect but they have done well.”

By forgetting the petty suspicions and false beliefs, for example, “that everybody wants to come to Tanzania” or that others have “grand schemes against our country”, he believed that the process of integration would become much easier and bring benefits to all African countries. He added that:

“...when we have an integrated Africa, all African countries will win. It cannot be a question of this country or that country, we will all win. Without political and economic integration, frankly, we are all losing daily, because the strength of Africa lies in its unity and its cohesion.”

ON A UNIFYING IDENTITY IN AFRICA

Asked whether Africa has a unifying identity, a common Pan-African identity, **President Obasanjo quipped:**

“Of course we do. We have common underdevelopment! If that is not a commonality, then I wonder what is that should inspire us. That should make us go.”

In answer to the same question, Dr. Salim believed that from the time of the struggle for independence there has been a Pan-African identity. Indeed, from his experience living in the United States, he found that the rest of the world interacts with people from the continent as if they are all Africans rather than citizens of individual countries. But, with respect to this identity he added:

“...what we need to do is to enhance it. To make it more practical, to make it more meaningful. It is not simply that we are Africans but it is about what we can do for ourselves.”

President Rawlings concurred with Dr Salim’s assessment of the international perception of Africa and Africans:

“Whether we like it or not, the international perception sees us as one identifiable group anyway. And, if we don’t realize that at home, when we are outside, that identity dawns on us, and we relate.”

ON INTERNATIONAL OPPOSITION TO AFRICAN INTEGRATION

In response to the moderator’s question on how the world communicates with Africa and on international factors affecting African integration, **President Obasanjo** recalled a conversation that he had with former French President Jacques Chirac with respect to the formation of ECOWAS.

“[France] didn’t want us to do it. But then, as I said to President Chirac...I said, look, Mr. President, I understand your interests in Francophone African countries. Your interest is economic, your interest is linguistic, but my interest is anthropology, geography, relationship. There is nothing you can do to make the Republic of Guinea not to be the neighbour of Nigeria. There is nothing you can do, absolutely nothing. And, I say look, let us understand that. Leave me the room to do what I need to do. I will not stand in your economic way. But, do not stand in my relational way and we agreed on that.”

During question time, **Professor Issa Shivji** followed up President Obasanjo’s comments:

“It is not that we are not integrated. We are very much integrated but the question is: ‘With whom?’ We are actually trying to integrate with the North and it is making us competitive. Therefore regional integration becomes more and more difficult since it is not in the interest of the North. The question is not one of identity; the question is of the common problem and the common history of oppression and exploitation and a common enemy of imperialists. The struggle for independence was a Pan-African project and this should not be forgotten.”

ON FINANCING INTEGRATION

Relating his experience as chair of the High-Level Panel on Alternative Sources of Financing the African Union, **President Obasanjo** said that the panel recommended that member states give the AU a minimum of 50 million dollars a year, but that some African leaders and countries complained that this contribution was too much. As a result, he said that:



"...for about three or four years, we couldn't move. [Then] we celebrated 50 years of OAU, and we were beating our chest, 'African solutions for African problems'. But we don't want African money to solve African problems!"

Citing the example of providing a loan to Ghana for constructing a gas pipeline from Nigeria to Ghana via Guinea and Togo, **President Obasanjo** made clear that if African countries are serious about integration and development then their leaders must be ready to pay the price. African countries must be willing to lend to each other. He added:

"I will want any African to come to Nigeria to join us in developing Nigeria. For me, any development, if you have an African making progress it is good for Africa."

Ms. Takyiwaa Manuh said that despite the reality that regional integration is taking place among the citizenry of neighbouring countries, African states still plan on national scale. For example:

"When you plan a hospital in Ghana, you think that only Ghanaians mothers are delivering in the hospitals when you know that every day people are moving in from Togo [and] come into Ghana [to give birth]...We talk regional integration but we plan nationally. We don't plan on a regional scale and this is a source of hostility among the population."

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF MOBILIZING CIVIL SOCIETY ESPECIALLY YOUTH

President Muluzi emphasized the need to invest in youth, to give them the training and skills needed to conduct business and be a force for development in Africa. The role of higher learning also needs to be addressed as there is a significant "brain drain" with very skilled people leaving the continent to pursue opportunities overseas.

In addition to mobilizing the leadership of African countries, **Dr. Salim** strongly recommended that:

"We must use every possible means to coordinate, to mobilize our people. The importance of civil societies cannot be over-emphasized, because through civil societies, you get governments involved. Some of our governments have to be pressurized to do something. And, the best pressure must come from our people."



Twenty-one year old Munyaradzi Chifetete from Zimbabwe receives an award certificate from former President of Botswana H.E Festus Mogae after being announced overall winner of UONGOZI Institute's Youth Leadership Essay Competition 2015 at the ALF. On the far right is CEO for UONGOZI Institute Prof. Joseph Semboja.

Later in the discussion, **President Rawlings** took up this issue. He said:

"You know, I keep singing this song all the time, we must find ways and means for empowering the people. To give them the capacity to defy, not to defy anything, but to defy wrongdoing, to contain corruption, for instance.... but sometimes, when we empower them, they will turn around and demand accountability from us, and, why not? And why should we be afraid to be accountable to the people? Instead, of sitting up there, I think that is not good enough. We could make a lot more progress, we could bring a lot more energy, out of the environment, out of our people."

ON PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT TO FOSTER INTEGRATION

President Muluzi highlighted the importance of the private sector in fostering regional integration:

"How we empower our people to do business is very important. If indeed we want improvement in regional integration, the private sector must be brought in...It is the private sector that can push development... and...bring regional integration."



2 Panel Discussions

This section presents selected highlights from the series of three panel discussions hosted during the 2015 African Leadership Forum. The three sessions were:

Session 1: Establishing and Strengthening Institutions to Support Integration

Session 2: Diversity and Inequality: Challenges and Opportunities for Integration

Session 3: Global Partnerships and Relations: Implications for African Integration

2.1 Session 1: Establishing and Strengthening Institutions to Support Integration

Moderator: Ms. Nozipho Mbanjwa

Panellists:

1. H.E. Festus Mogae, former President of the Republic of Botswana
2. Mr. Abdoulie Janneh, Executive Director, Mo Ibrahim Foundation
3. Dr. Stergomena Tax, Executive Secretary, Southern African Development Community
4. Prof. Emmanuel Nnadozie, Executive Secretary, African Capacity Building Foundation
5. Dr. Richard Sezibera, Secretary General, East African Community

Preamble

An integrated Africa requires a continental process of ‘nation building’. This necessarily relies on the relevance, strength and sustainability of institutions. Whether these are formal institutions (such as organizations, structures and laws) or informal institutions (such as customs, art and language), they are pre-requisites for, and the reflections of, the achievements and aspirations of communities and societies. Therefore, the first panel session focused on how to identify, strengthen, coordinate and establish institutions (including an African intelligentsia) that support African integration. Key issues discussed during the session are highlighted in the sections below.

ON THE FAILURE OF LEADERS, NOT INSTITUTIONS TO SUPPORT INTEGRATION



H.E. Festus Mogae makes a point during the Forum discussions.

In his opening statement to the panel, **President Mogae** expressed his belief that the institutions that have been mandated with implementing the integration agenda do have the capacity to deliver what is asked of them. Rather, what is lacking is the will of leaders to act on and implement the resolutions passed by those institutions, the most important one being the African Union. He said that:

“In the AU, we discuss the right issues and in a way make the right decisions but then we don’t insist on their implementation. Instead, we make new decisions all the time. So, I think the weaknesses of intra-African institutions or Pan-African institutions to a very large extent lie with leaders themselves. They are not insisting on what they agreed by not obeying or doing what they have undertaken to do.”

For integration to become a reality, regional and continental resolutions must be domesticated in national legislation.

Dr. Sezibera also stressed the absolute necessity of leadership in realizing integration. To begin, he said that *“It seems to me that what we need to agree on is ‘Integration for what?’”*

Giving the example of recent successful actions to improve the flow of goods across the Kenya-Uganda border, he highlighted that, above all, leadership is required to make integration a reality. He related that, since 2005, East African countries have been part of a customs union with a common external tariff. However, the movement of goods remained problematic because of non-tariff barriers to trade, in other words, road blocks, such as customs officials who didn’t accept certain papers or regulatory agencies that did not trust one another.

Therefore, he agreed with the members of the panel that there is a need to build the capacity of regional institutions, but, first and foremost, countries have to decide whether they really want to integrate. In short, he felt that:

“If we do want to integrate then the institutions which we have can help us get there. But, if we do not, then, regardless of how we capacitate the institutions, we will not make headway.”



ON EXISTING INSTITUTIONS FOR REGIONAL AND CONTINENTAL INTEGRATION

In his opening statement to the panel, Mr. Janneh quoted the enduring Pan African Vision that is included in Agenda 2063:

“An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena.”

He felt that this slogan should be repeated by every African so as to feel an integral part of that vision. He then outlined the three levels of institutions that are imperative for furthering African integration: 1) the African Union and its various organs, such as the Pan African Parliament, and other continental-level entities; 2) the regional economic communities (RECs), such as ECOWAS and EAC, that should not only mirror what the African Union is doing but also should be empowered to drive the agenda for political union; and 3) the nation states, which must be capable of delivering what citizens expect from governments.

ON FINANCING INTEGRATION

Echoing the plenary discussion, **Mr. Janneh** reiterated the importance of mobilizing African resources to finance the integration agenda. To this end, he highlighted the imperative of stopping illicit flows of funds out of Africa, which are estimated to be between 50 and 100 billion dollars per year. He also proposed that the African Union could be amply resourced with just 0.5% of what African countries expect from donors.

Asked why African governments are reluctant to fund the African Union and regional institutions, **President Mogae** replied that some countries face genuine budgetary constraints but others default for no apparent reason. **Mr. Janneh** agreed. He said that:

“All these states talk integration and think nationally. There is no doubt about that. There is very little priority either in funding or in attention and in follow up to the integration agenda.”

To overcome the issue of different financial capacity among states, he proposed setting a formula, for example, 0.7% of GDP, to provide sufficient resources to fund the African Union and RECs and drive the African agenda. Once consensus was reached on the basis for contributions, the accumulated funds could then be distributed based on the capabilities of the member states. He emphatically refused to believe that Africa does not have the capacity to adequately and equitably fund its integration agenda.



East African Community
(EAC) Secretary General
Dr. Richard Sezibera
emphasizes a point during
the Forum discussions.

Prof. Nnadozie added that if all member states could not agree to a formula for funding the African Union then perhaps it would be necessary “to move with a coalition of the willing... That might be one way of dealing with the leadership problem.”

ON THE CAPACITY OF EXISTING INSTITUTIONS FOR INTEGRATION

Prof. Nnadozie identified four kinds of institutions that are needed to accelerate regional integration and to implement Agenda 2063: 1) institutions that define the rules of the game; 2) those that define the agenda and objectives of integration; 3) organizations, either international or national, to implement the integration agenda; and 4) institutions that monitor and evaluate implementation and ensure compliance. But he added that many challenges remain to achieve functioning institutions.

Prof. Nnadozie also highlighted the marked differences in capacity between the RECs. The EAC, ECOWAS and SADC are doing well but others have limited institutional and human resource capacity to do the job they are supposed to be doing. And, with respect to compliance, the continent still lacks independent mechanisms to monitor implementation of decisions and resolutions of the African Union.



As part of her opening remarks to the panel, **Dr. Tax** felt that the capacity of the RECs was being built up slowly but the role of the RECs and how they can contribute to realizing Agenda 2063 needed to be more clearly defined. She concurred with Prof. Nnadozie that a monitoring mechanism was needed at continental level. She also considered that the RECs need to have an additional kind of mandate whereby they are empowered to make some decisions and follow up on implementation.

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF COHERENT COORDINATION BETWEEN REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND MEMBER STATES

Responding to the question posed by **President Mkapa** at the outset of the forum on whether Africa has functioning and dynamic regional institutions, Dr. Tax said that the ultimate objective of the regional economic communities (RECs) is to contribute to the continental integration agenda. Therefore, institutions are required to ensure coherent coordination between the RECs and member states and between the RECs and the African Union.

ON INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS

Prof. Nnadozie suggested that informal institutions may prove far more important to regional integration than formal institutions, for instance, a sense of shared cultural values, of Pan Africanism, of African solidarity. He cited the example that every country in Europe flies its national flag as well as the flag of the European Union, but he does not see this in any country in Africa. In closing, he said:

“Those are the simple symbolic rules that we have to think about. How do we get to embed this Africanism or the sense of Africanism in the youngsters and make sure they believe in Africa, see themselves as African first, before they see themselves as coming from respective nations.”

ON STUDENT EXCHANGE AND KNOWLEDGE SHARING

Asked how Africa could move beyond declarations, **President Mogae** suggested that leaders could at least agree “that a certain number of students in each of our institutions [universities] could come from neighbouring countries”. In this way, at least symbolically, leaders could take a small step towards greater integration.

Professor **Alan Hirsch** agreed with President Mogae on the importance of broadening the base of people who support the Pan-African agenda. Just as wars are too important to be left to generals, the integration agenda should not be left to the leaders or the RECs alone.

Therefore, he strongly supported not only student exchanges between universities but also bringing together journalists, NGOs, parliamentarians and representatives of the private sector from different countries. By promoting a groundswell of popular support, leaders of member states and regional economic communities can be provided with a much stronger mandate to pursue integration.

Dr. Mpalive Msiska further endorsed the importance of student exchanges to build Pan Africanism. But he also suggested that African universities can seek to collaborate on cutting edge research—for example, joint health projects—and bring together the best minds to better attract funding and share the knowledge benefits. He said that funding a research proposal from two or more African investors makes much more sense to a prospective donor when the potential impact of the project extends beyond a single area or country.

ON CROSS-BORDER INFRASTRUCTURE AND REMOVAL OF VISAS TO FOSTER INTEGRATION



Executive Director of the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation Joseph Butiku (left) in a discussion with his fellow participants of the ALF 2015.

Asked about the status of trans-national infrastructure to support integration, President Mogae remarked that both the World Bank and African Development Bank (AfDB) have set aside funds for regional projects but countries are not adequately collaborating to utilize those windows. Despite clear benefits, fundraising for regional initiatives is fraught with political objections from individual countries on who pays for what.

Mr. Janneh added that the Africa 50 Infrastructure Fund administered by the AfDB had just hit 1 billion dollars. The continent also boasts a number of colossal pension funds that could be used to finance projects. Add to these the contributions of the private sector and it is clear that Africa has the means to fund all of its infrastructure needs so long as there is good will and determination on the part of national leaders.

On the issue of cross-border infrastructure, **Dr. Sezibera** said that 100 billion dollars will be needed in East Africa over the next ten years for rail, energy, water and port facilities. However, he felt that two things were lacking for implementation: 1) general procurement rules across different countries; and 2) functional regional windows for funding trans-national projects. The latter, he suggested, were still effectively national windows.

Echoing the morning plenary, the panellists recommended the removal of visa restrictions to create a more enabling environment for private sector development across Africa. On this issue, **Dr. Sezibera** related the experience of the EAC when President Museveni asked why



national identity cards were not being used as travel documents. When it was explained to him that it was because Uganda didn't have identity cards, President Museveni had replied that: "Ugandans have voter cards. If they can use them to vote for their President, why can't they be used to move across the region?" As a result, Ugandan voter cards are now accepted as travel documents in the EAC.

ON INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS TO ACCOMMODATE GREATER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

In response to a question from the floor on what institutional reforms may be needed to the current "spaghetti bowl" of regional bodies to accommodate the proposed Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA) between member states of COMESA, SADC and the EAC, and the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA), **Dr. Sezibera** considered that eventually the different RECs will eventually merge. He said that:

"The tripartite free trade area will mean eventually that EAC, COMESA and SADC merge. This decision was taken in 2008 in Kampala. And I'm sure if you want to do the continental free trade area, we shall have to take tough decisions about some of the institutions we have. I'm not worried about the spaghetti. Myself, I like spaghetti...but I think in Africa we will have to take some tough decisions."

On the same question, Dr. Tax indicated that operationalizing the TFTA and CFTA is less about the regional institutions and more about the commitment of member states. Speaking candidly, she said:

"The free trade area has been launched but what does it mean? To me...it is a theoretical statement, because the conditions to operationalize a free trade area are not ready. We have to negotiate our offers because the offers are the ones which are going to guide the implementation of free trade areas. We have not finalized preparation of our rules of origins... But, more importantly, the agreements...must be ratified by member states, so that is only going to happen if the member states are going to take that quick action of ratifying the tripartite agreement. It is not about institutions, it's about the commitment by member states to do what is required to be done."



Former African Presidents in a group photo with the winners of the Youth Leadership Essay during the gala dinner of the ALF.

In summing up, **Prof. Nnadozie** counselled that regional integration must proceed despite institutional limitations, that Africa cannot wait for the ideal conditions before it moves towards integration.

"We shouldn't be saying that the only way regional integration would accelerate or happen in Africa is only when we have all institutions that we need or when they are all functioning in an optimal manner. Rather what we should say is how do we accelerate integration in spite of not having all the institutions in place and in spite of all institutional weakness that we have in place. This, therefore, means that we have got to find the way to sing and dance at the same time."



Chief Secretary Amb. Ombeni Sefue (left) speaks to the Executive Secretary of the Tanzania National Business Council Mr. Raymond Mbilinyi, CEO of the President's Delivery Bureau, Mr. Omari Issa and the CEO of the Southern Agriculture Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT) Mr. Geoffrey Kirenga.





2.2 Session II: Diversity and Inequality—Challenges and Opportunities for Integration

Moderator: Ms. Julie Gichuru

Panellists:

- 1 H.E. Hifikepunye Pohamba, former President of the Republic of Namibia
- 2 Prof. Issa Shivji, Ret . Professor of Constitutional Law, University of Dar es Salaam
- 3 Ms. Takyiwaa Manuh, Director, Social Development Division, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)
- 4 Dr. Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution

Preamble

Differences between and within African countries can pose significant challenges to integration efforts. These can stem not only from the rich diversity that Africa embodies but also increasingly from inequality. This session focused on meeting the challenges and embracing the opportunities for regional integration that supports Africa's sustainable development and transformation. Key issues discussed during the session are highlighted in the sections below.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE RECs



H.E. Hifikepunye Pohamba of Namibia gives his contribution during one of the ongoing sessions.

In his opening statement, **President Pohamba** reiterated that the idea of a union government for Africa has been discussed since the time of the formation of the OAU more than 50 years ago. However, at that time, given the diversity and inequality of development between African states he personally considered that it was not yet time to form such a union government.

“I was one of those who felt that it’s not yet time for us to form a union government...We had unequal development...for example, we had South Africa more advanced than many member states of the OAU. Therefore, we said, let’s develop the RECs to a certain level and then we will be prepared for union government.”

However, he felt that the RECs are still not at the requisite level in terms of financial and human resources. Therefore, he proposed that this meeting should make recommendations to the Commission of the African Union on how to strengthen these aspects of the RECs.

ON A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF INEQUALITY

In his opening statement to the panel, Prof. Shivji made clear that inequality does not present an opportunity, it is a problem to be resolved. In contrast, he viewed that diversity is not a problem unless it is manipulated for political aims.

“Diversity actually enriches life. But diversity becomes a problem when it is politicized and becomes a political division.”

Taking a historical perspective, **Prof. Shivji** said that from its colonial past, the continent inherited extremely uneven development between and within countries. Nationalist leaders, such as the late President Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, worked diligently to address some of the problems within their own countries during the 1960s and 1970s. However, the neo-liberalist agenda since the late 1970s had exacerbated inequality such that the four most unequal countries in the world are found in Africa and “the neo-liberal South Africa is more unequal today than apartheid South Africa.” These inequalities then feed into and express themselves through various ethnic differences, such as the xenophobia on the right.

Prof. Shivji argued that these problems cannot be addressed economically, they must be addressed politically. He said that:

“Pan Africanism is always a political project not an economic project. It is a political project! Many of the economic problems that we have been facing cannot be addressed except politically. You must put politics in command in my view. And that can be shown even in the case of the European Union today. The fact that monetary union preceded political union is giving them problems. So, in my view we are putting the cart before the horse. We are talking about economic integration and we will eventually reach political union. We are putting the cart before the horse. We have to start politically.”



ON THE NEED FOR INCLUSIVENESS TO UNDERPIN INTEGRATION



Ms. Manuh agreed that the diversity of Africa should be seen as a strength not a weakness and that the benefits of integration to different countries can be increased through the sharing of different backgrounds, skills and attitudes.

However, expanding on the points raised by Prof. Shivji, she expressed great concern at the rise of inequality and informality across Africa. Economic growth has not been inclusive and now the majority of people are engaged in the informal sector which is characterized by insecurity, leading to the movement of people around Africa, and, in turn, the phenomena of intolerance and xenophobia. These systemic issues of inequality and vulnerability need to be addressed lest they act to undermine the project of integration.

(L) Hon. Jorge Santos, Member of the Pan African Parliament, with (R) Prof. Issa Shivji, University of Dar es Salaam

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION TO INTEGRATION

Ms. Manuh considered education to be critical on two fronts; to promote inclusiveness and foster integration. First, tolerance can be promoted through informing people of their recent and past history so as to allow them to appreciate the richness in diversity as well as the contributions that others bring to the economy. Second, it is critical to address the demographic challenge that Africa is facing. Africa's youth, many of whom are unemployed and unskilled, must be given quality education and training. Economies must be inclusive otherwise youth will continue to leave the continent and intolerance and xenophobia will continue to arise.

Later in the session, she stressed that higher learning and other educational institutions in Africa will be critically important to integration but currently the orientation of the continent on knowledge, experience and wisdom is outward looking.

"We cannot talk about integration...if we think that everything African is second class."

—Prof. Manuh

"We cannot talk about integration...if we think that everything African is second class— the way we eat, the way we dress, our whole orientation toward the world. And this is where the role of knowledge and institutions come in. Our leaders listen to consultancies from everywhere [but] they do not take the knowledge that is produced from Africa."

She cited the valuable work of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). However, this organization does not receive a penny from any African government but relies entirely on foreign donors. Therefore, to validate the knowledge and capacity of its people, she strongly asserted that African countries must be prepared to fund their institutions of higher learning.

ON ENDING THE CURSE OF THE CONFERENCE OF BERLIN 1884-85



Executive Director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution Dr. Adeboye Adebajo makes a point during the plenary discussion.

Dr. Adebajo called for a Pan-African conference to re-think and re-imagine the map of Africa so as to end the curse of the notorious Berlin Conference of 1884-85 at which European imperial powers imposed artificial government and political systems across the continent, and, in doing so, sowed the seeds of many African conflicts. Indeed, it is estimated that over 6 million Africans have died defending the colonial borders established at the conference. He added that:

"We must, however, accept our own responsibility... In retrospect, Africa's independence leaders did not do enough to reverse the blighted legacy [of the conference] and to develop indigenous systems for managing diversity. Crafting federations and conceding autonomy to minority groups were rejected by most nation builders. And instead, one party states proliferated...as this was seen as the only means to avoid destabilizing ethnic wars and preserve unity. No single ruling party lost power in Africa between 1960 and 1990, and only three leaders actually voluntarily stepped down...[and]...many regional differences were exacerbated by nepotism and favouritism."

Therefore, he called for a "new Berlin conference on our own continent" that brings together African leaders and civil society actors to "craft new arrangements that better reflect our realities...[and]...reverse the scandalous act of chiefs imposed on Africa hundred and thirty years ago."

Prof. Mutua spoke out in support of Dr Adebajo's proposal.

"The question of the viability of African states is not a settled one and the notion...of new cartography is not crazy. Personally, I have wondered for a long time and I think we want to be honest with ourselves and speak openly about this. There are some states within Africa whose rationale for existence is not clear to me."



ON THE NEED FOR GREATER INTEGRATION FOR NATIONAL SURVIVAL

Later in the discussion, Dr. Adebajo added that the economies of a number of countries in Africa are so small that regional integration was imperative for their national survival. He also proposed that regional integration was unlikely to happen unless the most powerful countries in each region drove the process of integration, just as Germany and France were instrumental in the establishment of the European Union.

“I think I would also argue as a proposal that the five hegemonies that are capable [are]: Algeria in north Africa, Nigeria in west Africa, a revived DRC at the centre of the continent, maybe Kenya and Ethiopia in the east, and South Africa down south...It is a great shame that 50 years after independence, only 12% of trade is intra- regional. There is 50% in Asia and 80% in Europe. So, we really need to get to move on.”

However, **Prof. Shivji** was uncomfortable with the notion of regional hegemonies as a path to greater integration. He thought that the path to greater unity need not entail getting a dictator.

ON RETAINING AFRICAN EXPERTS IN AFRICA

In his closing remarks to the panel, **President Pohamba** considered that efforts to stem and reverse the flow of qualified people leaving the continent should be prioritized. To this end, he suggested establishing a fund administered by the Commission of the African Union under NEPAD dedicated to training and keeping African experts in Africa. He added that money for this fund can be sourced from member states as well as from the many companies that are exploiting the natural resources of the continent.



Former Presidents Mkapa, Obasanjo and Rawlings arrive ahead of the session proceedings for the African Leadership Forum.

2.3 Session 3: Global Partnerships and Relations: Their Implications for African Integration

Moderator: Ms. Nozipho Mbanjwa

Panellists:

1. H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
2. Dr. Monde Muyangwa, Director, Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C.
3. Dr. Frannie Leautier, Partner and Chief Executive Officer, Mkoba Private Equity Fund
4. Prof. Makau Mutua, Distinguished Professor of Law, State University of New York

Partner and Chief Executive Officer of Mkoba Private Equity Fund Dr. Frannie Leautier stresses a point during the plenary discussion.



Preamble

Africa does not exist in a vacuum. An integrated Africa has significant implications not only within and between African countries but also between Africa and African states on one hand and the rest of the world on the other. This necessarily involves trade-offs which must be understood, considered and navigated as the continent moves towards greater integration. This session sought to examine how Africa is positioned in the current global architecture, and what partnerships and frameworks exist that support or impede African integration. Key issues discussed during the session are highlighted in the sections below.

ON A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION TO THE LEGACY OF COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

In his opening remarks, President Obasanjo related a number of personal experiences both as a Yoruba man and as Nigerian Head of State to highlight the absurd yet deeply serious situations that occurred as a result of the arbitrary borders imposed on the continent by colonial powers. However, he strongly counselled that to reverse this legacy, only democratic solutions should be pursued. He said that:

“... one country has done one thing that I believe we may even take as a guide for the AU and that is Ethiopia. Ethiopia has put a self-determination clause in their constitution which means any province of state can opt out or anybody can opt in. Let us have that. If Gambia wants to opt into Senegal, why not? If Republic of Guinea wants to opt into Nigeria, why not? But it should not be done by force. It should be a willing country or a willing people.”



ON AFRICAN PREPAREDNESS FOR INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS

President Obasanjo reiterated his comment from the morning plenary session that it is not in the interest of the rest of the world for Africa to integrate.

“It’s not in their interest and I know that it’s not their interest because if we integrate the exploitation that is still going on—and we shouldn’t deceive ourselves that it is going on—we will probably be able to manage it.”

He added that expert knowledge and skills in negotiation would be required to overcome the continued exploitation of the continent. However, from his experience, African representatives are ill-prepared to negotiate treaties and agreements. He said:

“Whether it’s economic, political [or] whatever [type of] negotiation, we are inadequately prepared for them...The private sector man that will come from Europe or from America is fully prepared. He comes with experts, expert lawyers, expert financial people, but we are ill-prepared. And then after that... [the agreements negotiated are]...only a shade better than the treaties that were signed by our traditional rulers.”

ON CHALLENGES FACING AFRICA IN THE GLOBAL ARENA

Dr. Muyangwa fully agreed with President Obasanjo’s observation that African negotiation teams were ill-prepared for their dealings in the global arena. Continuing, she highlighted a series of challenges related to the continent’s standing internationally. These included:

- Africa’s weak status of integration at home is reflected in the global arena. In many global mechanisms and institutions, Africa is sitting on the margins, Africa is not at the table.
- Africa has a very strong aspiration to become a global player but does not have a strategy or work plan to make that aspiration a reality.
- Africa’s voice in global governance is fragmented, hence, her potential power of negotiation is limited. Changing this situation will require repositioning Africa within existing global governance regimes, such as the World Bank, IMF, World Trade Organization, the G20 and the United Nations. For example, *“twelve of the top 22 troop-contributing countries are African. Yet, Africa does not have a permanent seat at the Security Council.”*
- Africa’s representation in the global environment is very varied. Some countries send their very best people, others do not.

- Africa cannot move forward in global relations if it is always looking back to the mistakes of the past. Therefore, Africa needs to be more visionary and strategic in shaping the environment rather than waiting for things to happen in Africa before reacting. In particular, Africa needs to have a discourse on how to leverage the huge current interest in the continent’s resources and its markets.
- There is a huge gap between the rhetoric and reality of integration. African leaders may say they are committed to integration but integration requires that they hand over a certain level of sovereignty and many of them are not going to do that. In reality, all that African leaders are prepared to do is cooperate which does not require giving up sovereignty. If that is the case, then we need a different strategic position. How do we best capitalize on those areas where we want to cooperate rather than pushing up an integration agenda for which we are not prepared to give up the sovereignty that is required?
- For Africa to own its integration it needs to be financed by Africans.

ON AFRICA’S OPPORTUNITIES IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

Dr. Leautier adopted an optimistic stance on Africa’s opportunities. Among them, she highlighted:

- The present competition for Africa. Everybody is looking at Africa as a place to do business, a place to engage, so that opportunity can be leveraged to shape the type of future that we want and that future lies on us working together. If Africa properly integrates it will be less dependent on the outside world. For example, it can use its own minerals and other natural resources for its own development and, hence, will be less impacted by fluctuations in global commodity prices.
- A growing proportion of people actually think Africa—the African elite, the Diaspora, the youth—and this population has the potential to transform the rest of society.
- Young entrepreneurial business people across the continent represent a huge driver for change. Business people look for markets and integration is in their interest.

ON STARK REALITIES THAT IMPEDE AFRICAN INTEGRATION

Prof. Mutua was less hopeful of the prospects for African integration. To begin, he believed that the conditions required for regional integration were not yet fulfilled. He said:

“I think the parties that are integrating must be viable societies or viable states. But...we as Africans, and, in particular, our leaders, we have failed to create viable policies...When we begin to talk about regional integration, we should understand that partly we are putting the cart before our horse because the parties that you are asking to integrate are not viable internally.”



Prof. Mutua viewed that another significant problem with respect to integration is that Africa has suffered a lot of traumas.

“Africa is a traumatized continent and clemency alone is not going to cure that trauma. There is the trauma of slavery, trauma of colonialism, trauma of the cold war and there are internal traumas that we subject ourselves to. The result is a population which is manipulated, a population which does not ask for accountability and a political elite that is irresponsible. We must call these things out...We have to start looking inwards as Africans and we don’t dare enough for that.”

ON THE CHOICE BETWEEN COMPETITION OR PARTNERSHIP

In comments from the floor, **Ambassador Sefue** thought that Africans need to ask themselves the fundamental question:

“...are we competitors or partners? Because if we are competitors we are likely to fall into the hands of those who do not want us to integrate... If we went to fight the colonization process as competitors, perhaps we would have not been independent today. At that time, Africa was united. Pan Africanism meant something, that we had a common enemy. My problem is that I don’t see that sense that Africa today has a common enemy and that worries me.”

In response to the comments of Amb. Sefue, **Prof. Mutua** felt that Africa does not need to “invent enemies who are lined up against Africa.” Rather, he viewed that:

“The problem of the continent is really in the structure of state system that colonization left to us. As a legal fact, decolonization created what I would call legal state structure in which every state was given a formal juridical ecology. So, by definition, every African state is a competitor of every other African state by virtue of being entrenched by this structure of law...That is why you find that even in countries that are very similar and related, like Kenya and Tanzania, there are any number of rivalries that prevent cooperation within a region.”

Therefore, he considered that a larger political project would be required to transcend these barriers to integration.

Dr. Leautier suggested that African countries needed to identify and decide which national issues could be better solved through cooperation on a regional basis and which ones may involve competition with neighbouring countries, i.e., countries need to differentiate the areas for collaboration and the areas for competition:

“There may be a few areas where there is stiff competition...and... coming from the private sector, I would say competition is actually good because the best winners come out of that. However, that is where political leadership needs to come in to manage any negative effects that can come out of that competition. So, I think we can do regional integration in a globalized world: compete, differentiate and collaborate.”

Dr. Muyangwa considered that Africa has both competitors and partners. Given the importance of integration but the slow pace of action, she felt that identifying entry points and then putting collective efforts behind those issues was going to be key.

ON CREATING A SPACE FOR AFRICAN LEADERS TO MEET ON THEIR OWN

Amb. Sefue also raised the issue that at gatherings of the African Union, African leaders are continually pulled aside for bilateral meetings with non-African delegations. In contrast, the G8 or G20 may symbolically pick one or two countries to attend but they largely meet on their own. Therefore, he wondered: “Why can’t Africans meet on their own to have a space to focus on things that matter for them?”

To achieve both a dedicated space for African dialogue as well as enable the continent to communicate a strong, united voice internationally, **Dr. Leautier** felt that the most important short-term action would be to organize “a strategic calendar of the Heads of State” so that the continent can truly leverage the role of the Heads of State to its advantage.

“Why can’t Africans meet on their own to have a space to focus on things that matter for them?”
—Amb. Sefue

In her final remarks, **Dr. Muyangwa** proposed that former African leaders be increasingly engaged to promote integration:

“I personally feel that former African leaders are an underutilized resource, given the access that they have internationally and on the continent, given the networks that they have internationally and on the continent, given the passion and authority with which they speak on a number of key issues. If we are going to do a campaign on elevating regional integration in Africa, I see no better spokespeople, no better champions than the African leaders who spoke here and others to really push that agenda.”



Former OAU SG Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, in a light moment with Chief Secretary of the Government of Tanzania Amb. Ombeni Sefue



3 Final Remarks by the Former Heads of State



AFRICAN
LEADERSHIP
FORUM 2015

Moving towards an integrated Africa

A group photo of the former African Presidents in attendance at the ALF 2015.

From left: H.E Hifikepunye Pohamba of Namibia, H.E Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, H.E Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania and host of the ALF, H.E Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, H.E Festus Mogae of Botswana and H.E Bakili Muluzi of Malawi.

To conclude the Forum, the moderator invited the former Heads of State to share their final reflections on the day's discussions. The section below presents brief excerpts from their contributions.

Echoing the keynote address of President Museveni, **President Obasanjo** felt that greater integration was essential for achieving common security and common prosperity. He highlighted the paramount importance of the private sector in promoting integration that is people-centred. And for the private sector to thrive the public sector must provide a conducive atmosphere.

"If you have visa barriers, you are not going anywhere. If you have barriers on the roads and you are stopped every time, you cannot go anywhere. Integration is for the people, the private sector will make it happen, the youth will make it happen, but the public sector will provide the conducive environment."

President Muluzi highlighted the importance of the day's deliberations and proposed that the issues raised at the meeting be brought to the sitting Heads of State. He encouraged President Mkapa to consider another meeting as quickly as possible.

In his closing comments, **President Pohamba** lent his support to the proposal of President Muluzi that the recommendations from the current meeting be forwarded to the sitting presidents. However, instead of taking them to individual presidents throughout the continent, he suggested that they be channelled through the RECs. In turn, the RECs can deliberate and propose mechanisms that could be forwarded to the African Union. In this way, the Forum's discussions could be translated into AU action to provide appropriate directives to the member states.

"On the issue of identity, if we don't identify ourselves for what we are, then others will misidentify us."

—President Obasanjo

"It is very educative and it is probably one of the finest meetings I have been to in Africa. And I would like to encourage the Foundation and President Mkapa to hold these [gatherings] as much as possible and to bring in as many people as possible."

—President Rawlings



"We don't have much time on this continent. Yet, there is an opportunity we could take advantage of. The current generations are so vibrant, so dynamic, and so smart...we have to do everything possible to bring them on board so that they can pinch their state in this new global situation."

Responding to earlier remarks on the past failures of African leaders, **President Mogae** felt that it was precisely when countries stood alone that bad things happened. As such, concerted efforts toward integration offered hope and possibility of a better future. He said:

"Integration will make us do better than when we were alone. In other words, we can achieve economies of scale when we work together. Some countries were saying we are not viable. Maybe they are viable, maybe they are not. If they are not viable on their own, they can be viable by attaching them or integrating them to more viable ones. Integration does not mean defeating and absorbing them and making them lose their self-respect. Integration means that you bring them together and together you work to achieve something so that they can see themselves as partners."

President Rawlings commended President Mkapa on the Forum and encouraged him to convene future meetings.

In his closing testimony, he spoke of the wholesale assimilation of Africa by corporate entities with the exception of Nigeria, which has been one of the few countries on the continent that has been able to resist. From personal experience, he spoke of the widespread racism and ruthlessness that Africans and African leaders had to deal with in their relations and negotiations with the West. He spoke also of the damage to international morality wrought by globalization. He passionately asserted that "with our experience we should be the conscience of the world like Mandela was."

He ended on a more hopeful note but counselled that the continent has little time to act decisively to stop the process of assimilation.

4 Closing Remarks by H.E. Benjamin Mkapa

H.E Benjamin Mkapa fielding questions from the press during the AFL 2015.



In closing the proceedings, President Mkapa thanked all assembled and the panellists for their precise, in-depth, path-finding contributions and challenges, with particular thanks to the participants from Ghana and Nigeria for “their wonderful example in partnership and competition.”

He expressed his satisfaction that the issues raised in his opening remarks had been well covered and that the day’s discussions had given much hope.

“I can say categorically that this year’s Forum has been more reflective than last year’s...It has been unique because everyone has spoken frankly, has given suggestions that came from their hearts but also they have given hope that integration is not only achievable but inevitable.”

He closed the dialogue with the thoughts of Ghana’s independence leader, Kwame Nkrumah.

“Kwame Nkrumah said that the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked to the independence of the whole continent. The freedom and development of this continent will not be achieved unless it is promoted by the integration of all African countries and all African people. That is what we should learn from Kwame and I hope that is what we are going to implement.”



Official communiqué to the African Union

The African Leadership Forum 2015 was held in Dar es salaam, Tanzania on 30th July 2015, and brought together former Heads of State, H.E. Olusegun of Nigeria; H.E. Jerry Rawlings of Ghana; H.E. Bakili Muluzi of Malawi; H.E. Festus Mogae of Botswana and H.E. Hifikepunye Pohamba of Namibia; Heads of Regional Economic Communities (RECs); and leaders from business, government, civil society and academia from across Africa. The Forum explored how to overcome the challenges of integrating Africa so that it can become the backbone for sustainable growth and desirable transformation with H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of Uganda, as the keynote speaker.

The one day event was organized across three major themes: (i) *establishing and strengthening institutions to support integration*; (ii) *diversity and inequality as both a challenge and opportunity to integration*; and (iii) *global partnerships and relations, and their implications on African integration*.

Listed below are the key messages that came out of the meeting.

- I There was recognition that, in many ways, Africans are one people. They share a history, commonality of languages and dialects, cultures, and significantly, underdevelopment. They need integration in order to secure better terms in the continent’s relationships with global partners, and achieve common strategic security.
- II While integration has been part of the continent’s agenda for more than half a century, there is much more that needs to be done in order to accelerate the pace towards achieving meaningful integration across the continent, and its intended benefits.
- III Where Africa united and worked in unison, with a strong political will, it succeeded. Examples given included the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, where leadership, both at the national and continental levels was critical and was ready to make national sacrifices for a common African course. Countries made available significant financial and human resources to this Pan African course at the time they needed the resources most to develop newly independent nations.
- IV The integration sought for Africa must be people based, allowing people to work together and share prosperity, and in order to propel this, emphasis needs to be placed on cross-border transport and communication infrastructure, and freedom of movement of people. A call was made for African governments to remove visa requirements for Africans moving within Africa, as a matter for immediate implementation.
- V It is important that African governments actively contribute towards the strengthening, and use of African institutions charged with integration. African governments should develop and agree on mechanisms for financing the respective institutions, including the African Union Commission.
- VI Regional Economic Cooperation arrangements provide an excellent opportunity for building institutions supporting the integration process. RECs should therefore be empowered to drive the process, develop supra-national plans, and enforce implementation.
- VII The process of integration may be on two distinct but mutually dependent tracks, because of the distinguished prerequisites and the ease they present for implementation. On one hand, there is scope for accelerated economic integration and as a result an expanded market, to serve increased productivity, but, on the other hand, political integration could be more gradual, building on regional social similarities (e.g. language) and synergies.
- VIII There is need to broaden support for the integration agenda within countries, especially in the regional hegemony, with particular focus on progressive elements in the private sector, civil society, in parliaments, among youth and in the media.
- IX African governments should take deliberate steps to increase the visibility and awareness of the benefits and institutions of integration. For this purpose, countries should actively consider mainstreaming the Pan-African agenda in the education curricula, in the political agenda of political parties, and in the popular media to ensure broad and right awareness. African governments should also consider student exchange, especially at tertiary education level, as a means towards integrating societies across the continent.
- X Africa needs to be better prepared to play a rightful role and take its place on the global arena, by identifying and articulating its interests and designing strategies for it to work with both partners and foes to achieve what it needs.

Benjamin William Mkapa
FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA



A: List of Delegates

H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

President

Republic of Uganda

H.E. Benjamin Mkapa (Host)

Former President

United Republic of Tanzania

H.E. Festus Mogae

Former President

Republic of Botswana

H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo

Former President

Federal Republic of Nigeria

H.E. Hifikepunye Pohamba

Former President

Republic of Namibia

H.E. Jerry Rawlings

Former President

Republic of Ghana

H.E. Bakili Muluzi

Former President

Republic of Malawi

Prof. Joseph Semboja

Executive Director

UONGOZI Institute

Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim

Former Secretary General

Organization of African Unity (now African Union)

Mr. Abdoulie Janneh

Executive Director

Mo Ibrahim Foundation

Dr. Stergomena Tax

Executive Secretary

Southern Africa Development

Community (SADC)

Prof. Emmanuel Nnadozie

Executive Secretary

African Capacity Building

Foundation

Prof. Issa Shivji

Rtd. Professor of Constitutional Law

University of Dar es Salaam

Ms. Takyiwa Manuh

Director of Social Development and Policy Division

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

Dr. Adekeye Adebajo

Executive Director

Centre for Conflict Resolution

Dr. Monde Muyangwa

Director, Africa Program

Woodrow Wilson Center

Dr. Frannie Leautier

Partner and Chief Executive Officer

Mkoba Private Equity Fund

Prof. Makau Mutua

Distinguished Professor of Law

State University of New York

Dr. Angelo Mondlane

Director—Policy, Planning and

Resource

SADC Secretariat

Mobilisation

Amb. Ombeni Sefue

Chief Secretary

Government of Tanzania

Ms. Christine Musisi

Regional Director

UN Women for Eastern and

Southern Africa

Hon. Bernadette Lahai MP

4th Vice President

Pan African Parliament

Hon. Jorges Santos

Member

Pan African Parliament

Mr. Omari Issa

Chief Executive Officer

Presidential Delivery Bureau, Tanzania

Dr. Francis K. Kagema

Secretary General

African Council of Religious Leaders

Elsie Kanza

Director for Africa

World Economic Forum

Younes Maamar

Managing Partner

eOne Investments LLP

Sarah Owusu

Chief Executive Officer

Africa 2.0

Akosua Adomako Ampofo

Director, Institute of African Studies

University of Ghana

Jean-Christophe B. Bazika

Directuer General

Centre d'Etudes et de Recherche sur les Analyses et

Politiques

Nakomo Duchee

Economiques (CERAPE)

Prof. Kwesi Kwaa Prah

Founder

University of Liberia

Dr. Mpalive Msiska

Department of English and Humanities

Centre for Advanced Studies of African

Society (CASAS)

Prof. Alan Hirsch

Director of the Graduate School of Development

Policy and Practice

University of London

Salim Amin

Chairman

University of Cape Town

Ms. Adelaide Addo-Fening

Vice Chair, Steering Committee

Africa24 Media/Camerapix

Mr. Desire Assogbavi

Head of Office and Resident Representative

to the African Union

STAR-Ghana

Ms. Nicola Robins

Director

Oxfam International

Dr. Ken Kwaku

Executive Chairman

Incite

The Kwaku Group

Appendix B: Programme of the Forum

Agenda

29th July 2015

Arrival of Participants

20.00

Informal Dinner - Dar es Salaam Serena Hotel – Serengeti Restaurant

30th July 2015 - Dar es Salaam Serena Hotel

8:30 – 12:00

Plenary Session: Moving towards an integrated Africa: What needs to be done?

Keynote Address by H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda

Panel Discussion with:

- H.E. Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda
- H.E. Jerry Rawlings, former President of Ghana
- H.E. Bakili Muluzi, former President of Malawi
- H.E. Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, former Secretary General of OAU

Moderator: Julie Gichuru

12:00 – 13:45 – **Lunch and Networking**

13:45 – 15:15

Session I: Establishing and Strengthening Institutions to Support Integration

Panel Discussion with:

- H.E. Festus Mogae, former President of Botswana
- Mr. Abdoulie Janneh, Executive Director, Mo Ibrahim Foundation
- Dr. Stergomena Tax, Executive Secretary, SADC
- Prof. Emmanuel Nnadozie, Executive Secretary, ACBF

Moderator: Nozipho Mbanjwa

15:15 - 15:30 - **Group Photo**

15:30 - 17:00

Session II: Diversity and Inequality as both a Challenge and Opportunity to Integration

Panel Discussion with:

- H.E. Hifikepunye Pohamba, former President of Namibia
- Prof. Issa Shivji, distinguished Professor of Law, University of Dar es Salaam
- Dr. Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution
Prof. Takiwaa Manuh, Director - Social Development Division, UNECA

Moderator: Julie Gichuru

17:00 - 18.30

Session III: Global Partnerships and Relations and their Implications on African Integration

Panel Discussion with:

- H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria
- Prof. Makau Mutua, SUNY Distinguished Professor
- Dr. Monde Muyangwa, Director, Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson Center
- Dr. Frannie Leautier, Founder and CEO, Mkoba Private Equity Fund

Moderator: Nozipho Mbanjwa

18.30 - 18:45 **Declarations from the Forum**

18.30 - 18:45 **Closing Remarks by H.E. Benjamin Mkapa**

19.00 - 21:30 **Dinner Gala at Serena Garden hosted by H.E. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, President of the United Republic of Tanzania**





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Institute of African Leadership for
Sustainable Development