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Next Generation Democracy

NGD Regional Partner



INSTITUTE FOR
SECURITY STUDIES

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NEXT GENERATION DEMOCRACY SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA ROUNDTABLE DAKAR, SENEGAL 21-22 APRIL 2016

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The Next Generation Democracy¹ (NGD) Sub-Saharan Africa Roundtable was held on 21 and 22 April 2016 in the King Fahd Palace Conference Center in Dakar, Senegal. This Roundtable was organized by the Club de Madrid, in collaboration with the African Governance Institute and the Government of Senegal, through the Ministry of the African Integration, the NEPAD and the Promotion of Good Governance, with the support of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the African Development Bank, Trust Africa and the African Capacity Building Foundation. NGD regional partner, the Institute for Security Studies (Africa), as well as NGD global partners, the Bertelsmann Stiftung and International IDEA, also played a relevant role in the organization of this event. An African Scientific Committee, chaired by the Senegalese Government and supported by the African Governance Institute, has been key for the Roundtable research and preparatory work and is also involved in the drafting of the NGD Agenda for Sub-Saharan Africa, together with Club de Madrid Members.

This Roundtable discussion² gathered around 50 African political and civil society leaders³, including Club de Madrid Members, high-level government authorities, regional organizations and civil society representatives, academics and experts in democratization processes. It represented a unique opportunity to discuss current trends and projections on democratic governance in the African continent and to set the grounds for a NGD Agenda for the region that will be based on good practices and transformative ideas. The Roundtable concluded with a public event on “The Present

¹ More information on the NGD project available at: www.nextgenerationdemocracy.org

² For a detailed program, please see Annex I.

³ For a complete list of participants, please see Annex II. Among participants, around 40 percent were women and 60 percent men.

and Future of Democracy in Africa: Reflections and Perspectives of the Youth” that gathered a panel of African leaders with around 150 youth representatives, coming from Universities, political parties and civil society.

Club de Madrid Members that joined the Roundtable include Joaquim Chissano (President of Mozambique, 1986-2005), Hamadi Jebali (Prime Minister of Tunisia, 2011-2013) and Olusegun Obasanjo (President of Nigeria, 1976-1979, 1999-2007), as well as the nominated Club de Madrid Member Joyce Banda (President of Malawi, 2011-2013).

FIRST PANEL: SETTING THE SCENE

The panel started with an introduction providing an overview of the NGD process as a response to the crisis of democracy and an analysis of the major challenges and opportunities for Sub-Saharan Africa regarding the NGD track I on People and Communities and track II on Business and the Economy.

According to research on NGD Track I on People and Communities, Sub-Saharan Africa shows a mixed record of political participation, with most countries having elections periodically but often with questionable quality. Freedom of association and expression are normally enshrined in Constitutions and legal frameworks, but in practice some governments impose media restrictions and some form of media interference. The separation of powers within most African countries tends to be weak and the level of independence of the judiciary is generally low. Party systems seem to be under-developed, even if there have been some improvements in the last years. Civil society participation tends to be weak and welcomed by governments only when restricted to the development field. Despite the still existing low level of equality of opportunities, particularly for women, there have been consistent improvements in the last years. Corruption remains one of the most pressuring issues in most African countries, with disastrous episodes, but progress has been made, especially regarding institutional development and the definition of institutional roles and mandates.

The key message of NGD Track II on Business and the Economy is that Sub-Saharan Africa has the capacity to realize its own development, retaining a huge potential for economic progress. Its demographic dividend may position Africa as the continent of the future, which requires investing in human capital and creating quality jobs. Sub-Saharan Africa has the opportunity to position itself as a profitable attractive market with a unified identity through economic and political integration of the continent. This requires a regulation of foreign direct investment according to a model defined by the continent on the basis of “economic patriotism”. The region must develop a ‘plural economy’ combining public, private and social economies in order to undertake and create wealth redistribution. The African institutional framework needs to build a business identity enabling the economy to meet its social objectives. Some initial ideas proposed during the panel are increasing intra-regional trade, implementing regional investment programs defined by NEPAD, the AU and the AfDB, promoting an active policy to support SMEs, strengthening OHADA and regional institutions for economic integration, as well as controlling and promoting the transformation of industrial and handicraft products within the region for a greater consumption of local products.

Regarding NGD Track II challenges in particular, the panel discussed how the African economic democracy faces monopolistic trends and the seizure of land and natural resources, as well as unbalanced negotiations with private actors leading to concession contracts, or power asymmetries reflected for example in trade agreements. Africa should lead towards “economic patriotism”, the protection of common goods and adequate regulation of the economy. This entails providing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with the financial resources that should allow the exploitation of resources in the framework of regional norms. It indeed entails regional integration so that the investments are profitable, but also transparency and public participation, including participatory budgets, and inclusive public policies. Only citizens’ movements can facilitate a Next Generation Democracy along these lines.

PANEL: IMPLEMENTING NGD TRANSFORMATIVE IDEAS THROUGH INTER- AFRICAN COOPERATION

The panel initiated the discussion providing an overview of the African Governance Architecture (AGA), as the overarching political and institutional framework for promoting and sustaining democracy and human rights in Africa. It complements the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), which addresses the AU’s peace and security agenda. Both frameworks are bridged by the African Governance Platform.

The co-ordination among AU and Regional Economic Community (REC) organs and institutions with the mandate to strengthen democracy has been ad hoc. The level of compliance and implementation of AU and RECs norms and standards is of particular concern. In general terms, the results of this cooperation have been inefficient and ineffective, usually with a duplication of efforts and resources, but it is important to note that significant progress has been made in articulating and establishing the referred common frameworks. The Panel reached a consensus on the idea that participation of African citizens in continental and national initiatives to strengthen and consolidate democracy is crucial, and the AGA should urgently address this issue.

In this context, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is perhaps the most promising instrument to enhance governance improvements on the continent. It has been described as “Africa’s unique and innovative approach to governance” with the objective of improving governance dynamics at the local, national and continental levels. The APRM is an African self-monitoring mechanism aiming to encourage consensus among African countries with regard to political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and standards, in order to fulfill the objectives in socio-economic development established by the New Partnership for Africa's Development. It is based on experience sharing and the reinforcement of successful and best practices, including identifying deficiencies and capacity building needs assessment. NGD is built on a methodology, which is very similar to that pioneered by the APRM. The host country of the Sub-Saharan Africa Roundtable, Senegal, is currently being examined by the APRM, which gave the panel an opportunity to elaborate on the procedures of the reporting system taking Senegal as an example.

WORKING GROUPS' CONCLUSIONS: MAIN ELEMENTS OF A NGD AGENDA FOR AFRICA

- **Working Group 1 on Democratic Values and Institutions: Enhancing Political Participation in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Facilitator: Abdoulaye Sène, President of Global Local Forum

Rapporteurs: Sidiki Abdoul Daff, Alliance pour Refonder la Gouvernance en Afrique / Awa Doucouré, Université Virtuelle du Sénégal

Catalysts: Ambassador Alberto Virella, Embassy of Spain / Cecilia Alupo Engole, Teso Women Peace Activists / Augustine Magolowondo, NIMD

CdM Insight: Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali and President Joyce Banda

The main conclusion of this working group is that many countries in the African region seem to be negotiating a new social contract, based on local demands and capacities. Democracy in Africa must be built on local realities, promoting national ownership and social participation, and not only on foreign standards imposed from external forces. The discussion focused on identifying good practices and transformative ideas to develop democracy in the continent, proposing African solutions to African problems.

In *Rwanda*, some social participation dynamics, based in long-running cultural traditions, show new forms to understand democratic governance. This has allowed the country to develop home grown solutions to development issues, which include participatory conflict resolution mechanisms (Ubudehe), traditional justice (Gacaca), community work (Umuganda) and performance contracts (Imihigo), among many other initiatives.

In *Senegal*, the decentralization process allowed for the adoption of participatory budgets at the local level in some regions, such as Kolda, as well as the possibility to create municipal taxes. Through participatory budgeting, citizens and communities can decide how to allocate part of municipal budgets, having a positive impact on the development of local communities. Other practices promoting the renewal of democracy in Senegal include the social mobilization before the last Presidential elections, where the role of the youth was key to promote public participation, through a network of bloggers, rap and reggae musicians and radio hosts who took an active role in civic and voter education.

Youth participation and inclusion are essential elements in democracy building, since young people account for a major part of the population in the African continent. Reflecting on how to promote youth inclusion is a good exercise that can help identify the most pressing issues. The research conducted by the Wathi, a Citizens' Think Tank for West Africa, has analyzed the factors underlying youth unemployment in the region.

Capacity building is also a key factor for democratic consolidation. Through training experiences, vulnerable and marginalized social groups can be empowered to participate actively in society. The Senegalese Council of Women (COSEF) shared its experience building capacities of women in several fields, such as leadership, local governance, participatory budgeting and land rights, among others. These trainings

allowed women in Senegal to take an active role in promoting democratization. Teso Women Peace Activists, a rural women's organization in Northern Uganda, has strengthened the capacities of rural women in conflict resolution, peace building processes and economic empowerment and has also sensitized and educated teachers and communities in gender equality issues.

Within this context, women's participation at all levels of the decision-making process is an essential factor to consolidate democratic governance in Africa. The average representation of women in Sub-Saharan Africa Parliaments is 23.3 percent. Among the six countries with the highest presence of women in Parliament worldwide, there are three African countries, including Rwanda (with 63.8 percent of women in the lowest chamber), Seychelles (with 43.8 percent) and Senegal (with 42.7 percent). Some countries, such as Rwanda and Senegal, have reached a gender-balanced participation in national parliaments, thanks in part to mandatory gender quotas in their legal frameworks. Other countries without gender quota requirements have also been able to foster women's political participation with a number of capacity building and advocacy initiatives. In Madagascar, women's representation in the National Assembly reached 23.1 percent following the 2013 elections. A number of initiatives had been previously organized by Malagasy stakeholders to foster women's participation, such as a capacity strengthening programs for women candidates, journalists, civil society and political parties led by the National Independent Election Commission for Transition, as well as women associations' efforts to develop a national gender and elections Strategy and an advocacy strategy to reach out to political parties.

Transparent elections are at the core of democracy and election observation has the potential to increase the transparency in electoral processes while reducing fraud. African local observers have conducted *Parallel Vote Tabulation* (PVT) in a number of countries in the continent, such as Zimbabwe (2007), Kenya (2010 and 2013), Malawi (2009), Nigeria (2011 and 2012) and Ghana (2008 and 2012), among others. This good practice is a powerful tool that allows citizens to assess the quality of the voting and counting processes and the accuracy of official election results.

Limiting the duration and number of Presidential terms can have a beneficial effect on democratic governance. In *Ghana*, for instance, the Presidential term is four years and is limited to two terms since the 1992 constitutional referendum.

ICT tools can offer new possibilities to enhance citizens' participation in monitoring of democratic institutions. In *Kenya*, the online platform "Mzalendo, Eye on Kenyan Parliament" allows for an effective follow-up on parliamentary activities, strengthening the accountability of the decision and policy makers, as well as the credibility of democratic institutions in the country.

The development of regional and sub-regional early warning systems and situation rooms, such as the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the ECOWAS Early Warning and Response Mechanism (ECOWARN) or the SADC Regional Early Warning System, has allowed for an improved crisis information management and better capacities for a coordinated response.

- **Working Group 2 on Sustainable Growth and Social Cohesion: Advancing Access and Inclusiveness in Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Facilitator: Roelf Meyer, Director of In Transformation Initiative

Rapporteurs: Demba Seydi, Oxfam Senegal / Richard Murray, Mo Ibrahim Foundation

Catalysts: Eunice Ajambo, UNECA / Eva Kouka, Ford Foundation

CdM Insight: President Joaquim Chissano

Democracy is often conceived as the result of holding transparent elections and respecting civil and political rights. This narrow view on democracy, which is a well-spread idea, neglects the important role that business and the economy have in its consolidation. The economic dimension of democracy has been broadly analyzed in the second track of the NGD reports, which defend that sustainable growth and social inclusion are key to consolidate and develop democratic governance.

Africa has a great potential in terms of human and natural resources and has become a very interesting market for business. Taking this into consideration, it seems that Africa has the capacity to finance its own growth and development. However, there is a huge contrast between the potential of available resources in the continent and its levels of poverty. To overcome this gap, a step change is necessary in resource management and regional institutional and normative frameworks. In this context, an active and engaged citizenry must be at the core of this revitalized participation.

Africa has the capacity to finance its own development, taking into account the existing economic, natural and human resources in the continent. To do so, it is essential to strengthen the transparency and accountability of African governments in managing resources. Many African countries have adhered to initiatives promoting transparency, such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), among other effective international instruments.

Certain African States also seem to be making serious efforts in terms of taxation. The tax revenue on the continent grew from USD 331 billion in 2009 to USD 528 billion in 2012, which is mainly due to tax revenue from resource rich countries. It is estimated that the continent can raise about additional USD 520 billion through effective tax mobilization, compared to USD 50 billion received through foreign aid.

A number of countries have made serious efforts to promote a more equitable wealth distribution. In *Burkina Faso*, 1 percent of mining revenues are shared with communities through a local development fund. This initiative was adopted following the demands of civil society organizations to increase accountability and transparency in resource management. In the case of *Ghana*, an important part of oil revenues is also invested in agricultural development. Ghana looked at the Norway experience, EEC directives and Frank Dodds directives in oil management, but it is important to apply these principles of best practice in each specific local context. An effective wealth distribution is key to promote social cohesion and sustainable growth, which are elements at the heart of democratic governance.

The relation between civil society and government authorities is of the highest importance in the promotion of social inclusion and sustainable growth. The effectiveness of distributive policies depends on a large extent on the public's participation in their formulation. Civil society mobilization was instrumental for tax reform in the cases of mining and oil revenues in Burkina Faso and Ghana, respectively. In *Ghana*, a series of consultations with civil society were led by the government before adopting the new tax on the oil industry. Also, the organized labor can have a constructive and positive relation with governments while defending the workers' rights, such as in the cases of ATAF and CABRI trade unions, among others. Public participation of communities in resource management requires strengthening capacities of civil society and media to be effective.

Public services such as education and healthcare are cornerstones of sustainable growth and social cohesion. In *Mozambique*, the expansion of higher education allowed for the improvement of the country's human capital, which, in turn, promoted growth and domestic ownership. In *South Africa*, the initiative "Partners for Possibility", an innovative partnership between private sector and schools, can help develop champions in leadership. A quality education is also necessary to develop research in new technologies, which can in turn have a huge impact on the economic growth of the continent. Civil society can also support the provision of public services. For instance, experience from health mobilization in Sierra Leone shows the power of civil society organizations in holding public expenditure to account.

Infrastructure development can be an important aspect of sustainable growth, particularly in countries with serious infrastructure under-development. This is not always well understood by the population, which might have a different understanding of government priorities. However, roads and basic infrastructure can promote communications, trade and employment, contributing to human development.

To consolidate democratic resource management, strong and efficient institutions are required, also at the trans-national level with sub-regional organizations. There has been a regional harmonization of policies, legal frameworks and standards for resource management. For instance, SADC's Mining Protocol or the ECOWAS Directive on the Harmonization of Guiding Principles and Policies in the Mining Sector offer an example of the efforts made by sub-regional organizations to harmonize standards and frameworks in resource management.

Corruption is a well-rooted reality in many African countries and it is essential to develop national legal frameworks fighting corruption and enhancing accountable and transparent systems for resource management. Otherwise, social cohesion and sustainable growth can be seriously undermined.

The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) was pointed to as an independent tool which could provide an independent and holistic assessment of governance. The Index measures government's across all 54 Nations across participatory democracy, national security and economic and human development measures.

PUBLIC EVENT: AFRICAN LEADERS MEET THE YOUTH

Next Generation Democracy is about both the next generation of democracy and democracy for the next generation. This public event on “The Present and Future of Democracy in Africa: Reflections and Perspectives of the Youth” gathered a panel of African leaders with around 150 youth representatives, coming from universities, political parties and civil society. The aim of this meeting was to discuss the youth’s perspective on the state and future of democracy in the African continent and to promote a dialogue with eminent leaders so that they could share with the youth their experience in leadership and democratic governance. The panel of African leaders was composed by Joaquim Chissano, Hamadi Jebali, Joyce Banda, Abdoulie Janneh and Roelf Meyer.

Three representatives of the youth shared their views on the Africa of tomorrow, highlighting the need to improve education and healthcare and promote youth employment, offering the youth opportunities to become active stakeholders in democracy building. Well-established guarantees for the respect of human rights in Africa, in particular democratic elections, freedom of expression and the right to information, are also a key factor for the human development of young people and can empower them to play an active role in society. The youth activists made clear that they do not expect governments to facilitate all these conditions for youth development by themselves, since this can only be achieved through the mobilization of an articulated civil society demanding governments to fulfill their human rights obligations.

The youth representatives underlined the need to promote national ownership in democratic consolidation and to avoid external interference from the West. Modern democracy can also be fed with the African experience and Africa needs to build its own model of democracy, capitalizing its own traditions and culture that are in line with human rights. The speakers outlined that in Africa young men and women have valuable referents of people who fought for democracy in their respective countries. President Joaquim Chissano fought for the independence of Mozambique and contributed to the creation and consolidation of the independent State. Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali from Tunisia spent 16 years in jail under the Ben Ali dictatorship because of his political ideas and during all his life he remained loyal to democratic principles and values. President Joyce Banda from Malawi showed that leadership is not exclusive for men and that women are as capable as men to lead their communities towards a better future. While people in government sometimes tend to conceive power as the expression of personal satisfaction, these leaders dedicated their lives to improve the living conditions in their countries and were convinced that the aim of politics is to serve the people you represent. A Next Generation Democracy would not be possible in Africa unless, following these examples of good leadership, the youth commits to become a new generation of democrats.

President Joyce Banda: “The youth should not be conceived as the leaders of tomorrow. They should be the leaders of today”.

President Joyce Banda shared her leadership experience with the youth, highlighting the importance to have a purpose in life and draw a clear plan and a mission, because

life is very short. Without this mission, people run around and copy others without achieving much in life. In her case, at age 31, she decided to dedicate her life to assist women and youth gain social and political empowerment through business and education. As the Minister of Women and Children, the Foreign Affairs Minister, the Vice-President and the President of Malawi, she used her power and political influence to promote the rights of women and the youth. She advised the youth to get as much education as possible, but reminded them that the most important is to have a clear plan and to get to know what you want to stand for in life. President Banda encouraged young people, especially women, to consider a political career, since the youth needs to play an active role in society, but also in Parliaments, where the laws are made. During her Presidential mandate, her cabinet composition also included young men and women and she realized that the youth dynamism can bring fresh air and new ideas to democratic institutions.

The youth should not be conceived as the leaders of tomorrow. This is an excuse to exclude them from current leadership, because the youth should be the leaders of today. In the sixties, it was people in their twenties and thirties who were kicking out governments and running for elections. Now the political life is dominated by older people and the youth seems to be excluded from this sphere. But the youth is much more qualified nowadays than back then in old times when they used to accept responsibility positions. When she came into office, President Banda made more than one hundred high-level nominations to promote the representation of women and the youth in the public administration. To conclude, President Banda challenged the Senegalese youth to organize itself to demand accountability and transparency.

Former Minister Roelf Meyer: “The youth can renew democracy through new technologies”.

Roelf Meyer, former Minister of Constitutional Affairs in South Africa, outlined the fact that he was one of the few persons in the room who are African and white at the same time and that he is very proud to be an African, which is only possible thanks to the democratization process that South Africa went through, bringing the end of apartheid and racial discrimination. It was under the leadership of their founding father, Nelson Mandela, that democratization was instituted in South Africa in 1994. But democracy is under pressure in all countries in the African continent and there are, unfortunately, on an ongoing basis and in many parts of the continent, efforts to undermine democracy. At the same time, democracy will be renewed on an ongoing basis thanks to electronics. No matter what anybody says, it can be immediately in the public domain. The use of cell phones and many other tools of the electronic era are extremely powerful and can be used to promote democracy. This was the case of Tunisia, where social networks allowed for an enhanced participation of the youth in the 2011 revolution. As the next generation and users of new technologies, the youth can have a major role in reinventing and strengthening democracy in the region and worldwide.

It is really important to keep in mind what democracy is really about. There is not a single answer or a true definition of democracy, which is good, because that keeps the debate going. Mr. Meyer presented five key elements of what democracy means: 1.

Participation (exercising your vote but also raising your voice), 2. Regular and transparent elections, 3. Accountability, 4. Political freedom and 5. Human dignity.

Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali: “Freedom is the highest value in democracy”.

Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali from Tunisia explained his political background and ideological evolution throughout his life, making clear that in life you need a mission. He started his political engagement when his father was imprisoned under the Bourguiba dictatorship and risked to be sentenced to death. Since his childhood, he got involved in politics and started to look for his own voice. As many young people at that time, he moved between different political sensibilities and ideologies, including Nasser’s pan-Arabic nationalism and also the leftist revolutionary groups when he got close to the Socialist Party while studying in France. He kept looking for himself, asking questions: “why this Arab and Muslim nation is so decadent?”, or “how to build a nation at the service of humanity?” Years later he got involved with the Islamic party Ennahdha. Prime Minister Jebali explained how he spent 16 years in prison because of his political conviction. He mentioned that those years were the best of his life, since prison was a school that allowed him to consolidate his ideas, values and convictions. In prison he learnt that you need to consecrate your life to a mission at the highest level, at the service of freedom. For Prime Minister Jebali, religion is based on freedom and this freedom needs to impregnate the social and political life of his country and also the whole humanity. Democracy is a result of freedom, a way to manage life and society in freedom and to respond to the need of the poor, the unemployed and the marginalized. He encouraged the youth to find their own way and to dedicate their lives to consolidate freedom and democracy. In Senegal, with the Next Generation Democracy Roundtable, we are building a fantastic project, at the service of peace, justice and human dignity.

President Joaquim Chissano: “Take the plunge! It is time for the youth to assume responsibilities”. (Plongez-vous dans la piscine. C’est à vous d’assumer cette responsabilité)

President Joaquim Chissano always keeps in mind the beginning of his activity in public life. He was 15 or 16 when he became a member of the Black Students’ Association of Mozambique, which gathered the few black students in Mozambique at that time and allowed them to support each other. They learnt how to create organizations and how to manage human structures, facing racial discrimination, well spread back then with official schools for only white people. His struggle started back then. Later on, after finishing his secondary school, he moved to Portugal to study at University. At that moment the Portuguese colonies were starting the decolonization movement and, with the outbreak of war in Angola and Guinea Bisau, life in Portugal was difficult for students coming from the colonies, so they had to leave Portugal in mass and head to France undocumented. In France they organized the National Union of Students and started to mobilize, realizing that there were already some liberation movements ongoing in Mozambique and other neighboring countries. They decided to reunify the liberation movements and he became a member of the National Liberation Front at age 22. Their fight lasted 12 years and later he became the First Minister of the Transition Government at age 34.

President Chissano remembered that when he was asked to create a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he had no referents and was completely unaware of how to fulfill this task. They had no idea of how to create a Foreign Affairs Ministry, since there were no black people in the Portuguese colonial administration, but he did not hesitate and started to work in this project, taking the plunge. And when the waves came, he knew how to swim. President Chissano advised young people in the room that they should not be scared to accept responsibilities, since one learns to do something new by doing it.

The African youth has started to build a common conscience, the idea that they are the new generation of democrats. They will not wait for governments to respond to their needs: the youth has the power to transform society. Young people must fight to find their place, as President Chissano did when he was young, in very different conditions. He expressed his satisfaction to see young people proud to be African and demanding their space, the responsibility to change their own lives and also that of their country.

Following the African leaders' interventions, participants engaged in an open debate, which mainly focused on the need to fight against existing human rights violations in different countries of the continent, including genocide and mass atrocities, torture, electoral fraud, unreasonable limitations to freedom of expression and association, cutting off the internet or persecuting vulnerable groups such as LGBT persons and ethnic or religious minorities, among many others. In most cases, the AU's limited mandate does not allow for military interventions to counter these human rights violations. President Chissano outlined the role that the youth needs to play to fight these human rights violations by denouncing them through mass and social media and mobilizing themselves to advocate for human rights and social inclusion.

NEXT STEPS FOR NGD IN AFRICA

As a result of the Next Generation Democracy Roundtable in Senegal, a set of good practices and transformative ideas have been identified to develop a NGD Agenda for Sub-Saharan Africa, which will be enriched with NGD reports and a collection of best practices. Club de Madrid will coordinate the development of all regional NGD Agendas. In the case of the NGD Sub-Saharan Africa Agenda, the Institute for Security Studies in Africa and the Scientific Committee will also play a major role in the development of this document.



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SHAPING A NEXT GENERATION DEMOCRACY AGENDA FOR AFRICA

King Fahd Palace Conference Center, Dakar, Senegal • 21-22 April 2016
Working Languages: French and English

Next Generation Democracy (NGD) is a two-year, multi-stakeholder process led by the Club de Madrid. The overall aim of NGD is to better enable democracy to meet the expectations and needs of all citizens and preserve their freedom and dignity while securing a sustainable future for generations to come.

NGD facilitates a discussion on the state and future of democracy in order to formulate both regional agendas and a global agenda, to reverse disquieting trends and advance democracy worldwide. The project progressively offers a comprehensive analysis of regional dynamics in democratic governance, a projection of relevant trends, and a compilation of transformative practices and transformative ideas to be discussed in a series of policy dialogues as well as through on-line exchanges. This will help generate collective responses, rather than fragmented and independent actions, and shape consensus around shared, forward-looking, action-oriented agendas.

The main objective of NGD Regional Roundtables is to identify key elements for the corresponding Regional Agendas, which may include sub-regional chapters, on the basis on NGD Reports and other relevant contributions by experts and regional stakeholders. In the case of Africa, the discussion and the drafting of the agenda will be led by CdM African Members as well as by a Scientific Committee chaired by the Senegalese Government and supported by the African Governance Institute.

NGD will also facilitate a cross-learning exercise among regions in order to fine-tune proposals to advance democracy. Those elements referring to trends and actions transcending regions, as well as those considered effective to advance democracy globally, will be incorporated into the future NGD Global Agenda.

Program – NGD SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA ROUNDTABLE

April 21st, 2016

Shaping a NGD Agenda for Africa

8:45 *Registration*

9:30-11h **Opening Ceremony: African Democracy or Democracy in Africa. What Prospects?**

- Ibrahima Dème, Director of Good Governance, Government of Senegal
- Abdoulie Jannet, Chairman of the AGI Board/ Executive Director of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation
- Hamadi Jebali, Prime Minister of Tunisia (2011-2013), Club de Madrid Member
- Joaquim Chissano, President of Mozambique (1986-2005), Club de Madrid Member
- Olusegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria (1999-2007), Club de Madrid Member
- Mahammed Boun Abdallah Dionne, Prime Minister of the Republic of Senegal

The Opening Ceremony will be open to a wider audience and media representatives

11h – 11:30 *Coffee Break*

11:30-13:30 ***Setting the Scene – Advancing Democratic Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa***

Moderator : Ebrima Sall, President of the Scientific Committee

Framing the discussion:

- Luis Peral, Senior Analyst in Global and Strategic Affairs, Club de Madrid
- Falilou Mbacke Cisse, Senior Program Officer, African Governance Institute

Conclusions from NGD Research:

- Lori-Anne Thérout-Bénoni, Office Head, Institute for Security Studies, Dakar
- Abdou Salam Fall, Université Cheick Anta Diop de Dakar
- Mame Penda Ba, Université Gaston Berger de Saint Louis

General discussion

13:30-15h *Lunch*

15h-17:30 **Parallel Working Group Sessions**

Experts, regional stakeholders and Club de Madrid Members from Sub-Saharan Africa will focus on identifying good practices and transformative ideas emerging in SSA which could help face the challenges identified in the NGD Track I Report on "People and Communities" and the Track II Draft Report on "Business and the Economy".

In each of the parallel Working Groups, transformative democratic practices and ideas in the Africa will be discussed alongside the three following dimensions:

- Advancing Democratic Values and Transforming Institutions
- Advancing Access and Inclusiveness in Democracy
- Advancing Democratic Policies and Management Practices

Working Group I - Democratic Values and Institutions: Enhancing Political Participation in Sub Saharan Africa

- **Facilitator:** Abdoulaye Sène, President of Global Local Forum
- **Rapporteurs:** Sidiki Abdoul Daff, Alliance pour Refonder la Gouvernance en Afrique / Awa Doucouré, Université Virtuelle du Sénégal
- **Catalysts:** Ambassador Alberto Virella, Embassy of Spain / Cecilia Alupo Engole, Teso Women Peace Activists / Augustine Magolowondo, NIMD
- **CdM Insight:** Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali and President Joyce Banda

Tea and coffee will be served in the meeting room. A 30 minutes break will take place at 16:00

Working Group II - Sustainable Growth and Social Cohesion: Advancing Access and Inclusiveness in Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa

- **Facilitator:** Roelf Meyer, Director of In Transformation Initiative
- **Rapporteurs:** Demba Seydi, Oxfam Senegal / Richard Murray, Mo Ibrahim Foundation
- **Catalysts:** Eunice Ajambo, UNECA / Eva Kouka, Ford Foundation.
- **CdM Insight:** Presidents Joaquim Chissano and Olusegun Obasanjo

Tea and coffee will be served in the meeting room. A 30 minutes break will take place at 16:00

19:30-22h Dinner: Discussion – The Agenda 2063 and the Future of Democracy in Africa

- **Facilitator:** Abdoulie Janneh, Chairman of the AGI Board/ Executive Director of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation

Panelists:

- Joyce Banda, President of Malawi, Club de Madrid nominated Member
- Rhoda Osei-Afful, Ghana Center for Democratic Development
- Youth representatives : Ndongo Sylla / Ato Onomo

April 22nd, 2016

9:30-11h Implementing NGD Transformative Ideas through Inter-African Cooperation

Facilitator:

- Tendai Murisa, Trust Africa

Panelists:

- Ba Babacar, Regional Director of NEPAD
- Mamadu Lamine Ndongo, Resident Representative of the African Development Bank
- Abdoulie Janneh, Chairman of the AGI Board/ Executive Director of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation

11h-11:30 Coffee Break

11:30-13h Conclusions: Main Elements of a NGD Agenda for Africa

- **President of the session:** Khadim Diop, Minister of African Integration, NEPAD and the Promotion of Good Governance
- **Facilitator:** Falilou Mbacké Cissé, Program Officer, African Governance Institute
- **Rapporteurs of Working Groups I and II**
- Ebrima Sall, President of the Scientific Committee
- **Club de Madrid Members:** Joaquim Chissano, Hamadi Jebali and Joyce Banda.
- **Closing speech:** Khadim Diop, Minister of African Integration, NEPAD and the Promotion of Good Governance

13h-14:30 *Lunch*

15h -18h **PUBLIC EVENT. The present and future of democracy in Africa: reflections and perspectives of the youth**

This inspiring conversation will gather Club de Madrid Members and the Scientific Committee, together with youth representatives, allowing them to discuss about the state and future of democracy in Africa.



Next Generation Democracy

Sub-Saharan Africa Roundtable Dakar, Senegal • 21-22 April 2016 PARTICIPANTS LIST

Club de Madrid Members

- Joyce Banda
President of Malawi (2012-2014), nominated Club de Madrid Member
- Joaquim Chissano
President of Mozambique (1986-2005)
- Hamadi Jebali
Prime Minister Tunisia (2011-2013)
- Olusegun Obasanjo
President of Nigeria (1976-1979, 1999-2007)

Scientific Committee Members

- Mr. Ba Babacar
Regional Director, NEPAD
- Ms. Ba Mame Penda
Director, Laboratoire d'analyse des sociétés et pouvoirs, Afrique-Diaspora, Université Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis, Senegal
- Mr. Falilou Mbacké Cissé
Senior Programme Officer, African Governance Institute (AGI)
- Mr. Daff Sidiki Abdoul
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- Ms. Dème Ibrahima
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- Mr. Samab Diop
Governance Advisor, Primature, Government of Senegal
- Ms. Awa Doucouré
Researcher, Université Virtuelle du Sénégal
- Mr. Abdou Salam Fall
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- Mr. Abdoulie Janneh
Executive Director, Mo Ibrahim Foundation / Chair, AGI Governing Board

- Mr. Lo Abdou Karim
Permanent Secretary, MAEP Senegal
- Mr. Niane Abdoulaye
Researcher, Université Alioune Diop de Bambey, Senegal
- Mr. Ebrima Sall
Executive Secretary, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA)
- Ms. Samb Mame Bousso
Conseil Sénégalais des Femmes
- Mr. Sène Abdoulaye
President, Global Local Forum, Senegal
- Ms. Seydi Demba
Oxfam Senegal
- Mr. Seynou Vieux
President, Conseil National de la Jeunesse, Senegal

Authorities, Participants, Experts and Discussants

- Mr. Mahammed Boun Abdallah Dionne
Prime Minister of the Republic of Senegal, Government of Senegal
- Mr. Khadim Diop
Minister, Ministry of African Integration, NEPAD and the Promotion of Good Governance
- Ms. Aisha Abdullahi
Commissioner for Political Affairs, African Union
- Mr. Richard Murray
Senior Programme Manager, Mo Ibrahim Foundation
- Ms. Chloé Bailey
Programme Officer, Mo Ibrahim Foundation
- Mr. Tendai Murisa
Executive Director, Trust Africa
- Ms. Eunice Ajambo
Economic Affairs Officer, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
- Mr. Mathieu Ciowela
Country Director, UNDP Senegal
- Ms. Seynabou Diaw Ba
UNDP Senegal
- Mr. Mamadu Lamine Ndongo
Resident Representative, African Development Bank in Senegal
- Ms. Eva Kouka-Quenum
Program Officer, Ford Foundation West Africa
-

- Mr. Joaquín González-Ducay
EU Ambassador and Head of EU Delegation to the Republic of Senegal
- Mr. Alberto Virella
Embajador de España en Senegal
- Mr. Roelf Meyer
Former Minister, Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs, South Africa, and
Director, In Transformation Initiative
- Ms. Elsbeth Dixon
Chief Executive, Common Purpose South Africa
- Ms. Eva Palmans
European Center for Electoral Support (ECES)
- Mr. Fabio Bargiachi
Executive Director, ECES Management Unit
- Mr. Amadou Diallo
Ambassador, NEPAD
- Ms. Djingarey Maiga
Executive Director, Femnet, Mali
- Mr. Augustine Magolowondo
Regional Manager, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD)
- Ms. Rhoda Osei-Afful
Ghana Center for Democratic Development
- Ms. Cecilia Engole
Teso Women Peace Activists, Uganda
- Ms. Lori-Anne Thérout-Bénoni
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