# DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE AND THE PAN-AFRICAN IDEA:
## Whither Africa?

**In Honour of the late Tajudeen Abdul Raheem
- A foremost Pan-Africanist**

Economic Commission for Africa

A High Level Colloquium on the theme:

# Democracy, Governance and the Pan-African Idea: Whither Africa?

In Honour of the late Tajudeen Abdul Raheem-A foremost Pan-Africanist

## Report of Colloquium

24th May 2012
UNCC Conference Centre, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Organized by the
Governance and Public Administration Division (GPAD)

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# Introduction

The High level Colloquium on the theme: "Democracy, Governance and the Pan-African Idea: Whither Africa?" was organized by the Governance and Public Administration Division (GPAD) of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) as part of its governance project. The Colloquium aims at promoting greater awareness, sensitisation, knowledge generation and provide policy direction on governance in Africa. The High Level Colloquium while provoking debate and discussion was designated in honour of a notable Pan-African civil activist - Tajudeen Abdul Raheem, who died three years ago on 25th May 2009, while on active service to the continent and the United Nations. Tajudeen worked tirelessly in the service of the continent and played a major civil society role in the formation of the African Union. The colloquium took place on Date: 24th May 2012 at the United Nations Conference Centre, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Pan-Africanism arose out of a burning desire to restore the dignity and integrity of the black race globally and promote egalitarian, socially inclusive and democratic societies around the World. Although, it was a movement which started in Europe and the Americas, its relevance and domestication has sought profound meaning within the African context, which undergird the struggle for political independence, the post-colonial struggles for economic progress, democracy, good governance and development, and the current initiative on the unification and integration of the continent through the discourse on the Continental Union Government (CUG) and the United States of Africa (USA).

As ECA is mandated with undertaking policy research, generating knowledge and conducting policy analysis and advocacy to foster Africa's development and integration, the institution consequently organized the colloquium on the theme: "Democracy, Governance and Pan-African Idea: Whither Africa?". The ECA in promoting democracy and democratic values in Africa, amongst other programmes and activities, undertakes the publication of the African Governance Report (AGR), of which two editions have been produced and the third edition is on the theme: Elections and the Management of Diversity in Africa. The Colloquium is meant to complement the initiative of the AGR. The Roundtable is to reflect on the journey of the continent in promoting democracy and good governance in Africa as articulated in the Pan-African ideas and ideals of the 1950s and 60s on the continent and in the Diaspora.

The Discussions at the high level Colloquium were led by eight distinguished Pan-Africanists, with relevant academic, policy and practical backgrounds and orientation on the issues of pan-Africanism, democracy and governance in Africa. They are also committed and organic intellectuals who have played major roles in advancing the African development agenda. The panelists addressed different aspects of the theme and thereafter participants were invited to contribute to the discussion.

Presentations made covered broad areas, which include rendition on Tajudeen Abdul Raheem; pan-Africanism, freedom, and democracy: The ideas, dreams, and expectations; reflections on the pan-African project: Any progress?; the external factor in Africa's democratic project;  leadership, democracy and the pan-African idea; political parties, democracy and the pan-African idea; civil society and the democratic agenda in Africa; the media and pan Africanism and Africa's regional instruments and the prospects for democracy in Africa.

The Chairperson of the high level Colloquium, the Deputy Executive Secretary, Mr. Abdalla Hamdok, thanked all the panellists and participants for making the roundtable possible. He then informed the participants about the extensive work of Tajudeen Abdul Raheem including his work at Justice Africa and his role in support of the African Union agenda. He combined this with his role as General Secretary of the Pan-African Movement, Chairperson of the Centre for Democracy and Development and the Pan-African Development Education and Advocacy Programme. He noted that Tajudeen was a fighter in the struggle to get the UN's Millennium Development Campaign to support the eradication of poverty in Africa. Indeed, there was hardly a Pan-African initiative that took place without his unique presence, support, humour and political perspectives. Moreover, he managed to combine all of this with writing his weekly "Pan-African Postcards" that were published regularly in several newspapers. Mr. Hamdok urged that the departure of Tajudeen left massive holes in all our lives, but if his life is to mean anything participants must follow his call in the signature line of his emails, "Do not agonise, organise".

Chief host and special guest of honour, Executive Secretary of the UNECA, Mr. Abdoulie Janneh welcomed all participants to the High Level Colloquium. Mr. Janneh explained that the objectives of the meeting were two-fold. The first objective of the meeting is to have a discussion on democracy, governance and the Pan-African idea led by a distinguished panel and the active participation of all guests. The second objective is to pay homage to the late Tajudeen Abdul Raheem. Mr. Janneh highlighted the timeliness of the theme of the meeting. Indeed, Africa at large has been speaking loudly about the progress that has taken place in the areas of democracy and governance. The African continent takes pride in publishing African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) of which now 31 countries are signatories to it and country reviews are taking place around the continent. In addition, the African charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, 2007 has been put in place, which should expectedly take Africa to a new height on democratic practice.

Mr. Janneh explained that this colloquium looks at the reality on the ground and the actual implementation of these initiatives. The panellists are highly informed and will be able to shed more insights on the realities on the ground. The UNECA plays a large role in the implementation of the APRM; however, he asserted that there is need for greater dialogue and engagement with the APRM process. Mr. Janneh argued that a separation cannot be made between improved governance and economic prospects in Africa. Therefore, African aspirations for becoming a growth pole can only be

*From left, Mr. Horace G.Campbell, Mr. Said Adejumobi and Mr. Abdalla Hamdok.*

achieved through sustained commitment to better governance. Moreover, regional integration must be regarded as an integral part of the pan-African idea. He closed his speech by thanking all participants for coming to the meeting and wished participants an enjoyable stay in Addis Ababa.

Mr. Said Adejumobi, Officer-in-Charge, GPAD, welcomed all participants to the colloquium. He provided the context for GPAD roundtable series and the colloquium. He noted that there are two tracks in GPAD's policy engagement: track-one meetings comprise the regular platform of expert meetings; whereas track-two is an informal platform for dialogue on topical issues in the area of governance. Mr. Adejumobi explained that participants often feel constrained in the context of formal expert meetings-track one and there is a need for a platform where people can speak their minds freely through the track two engagement process. Mr. Adejumobi went on to discuss the ground rules for participation at the colloquium; that the roundtable would take place based on Chatham House rules in which views expressed are personal, and not ascribed to any organisation. The views expressed by participants at the colloquium will not be recorded and participants' anonymity will be protected. This is to ensure free and frank debate/discussion, where participants can openly speak their minds. He informed the participants that the ultimate result of the meeting would be the production of a policy document that captures the discussions and key policy issues articulated. In his closing remarks, Mr. Adejumobi said a few words on Tajudeen Abdul Raheem. He noted that there are a few things that people may not know about Tajudeen. This includes Tajudeen's commitment to women's liberation on the continent; that the following quotations originated from Tajudeen: "No Women Should Die Giving Birth", "Every Day is Women's Day". He urged that coming together on this day and celebrating him is the least that could be done for him. He reiterated the great idea of

Tajudeen "Forward ever and Backward never", which inspires Africans to move forward in the dream for a well-governed Africa.

**Panellists and topics addressed**

1.  **Thomas Deve,** Pan-African Activist and Southern Africa Representative of the Global Pan-African Movement, spoke on **"***Rendition on Tajudeen Abdul Raheem***"**.

2.  **Horace G.Campbell,** Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University, presented on *"Pan-Africanism, Freedom, and Democracy: The Ideas, Dreams, and Expectations"*.

3.  **Napoleon Abdullahi,** UNDP Liberia, presented on *"Reflections on the Pan-African Project: Any Progress?"*.

4.  **Patricia Daley,** Oxford University, presented on *"The External Factor in Africa's Democratic Project"*.

5.  **Thomas Deve,** Pan-African Activist and Southern Africa Representative of the Global Pan-African Movement, presented on "*Leadership, Democracy and the Pan-African Idea"*.

6.  **Khabele Matlosa,** UNDP Ethiopia, made presentation on *"Political Parties, Democracy and the Pan-African Idea"*.

7.  **Hussaini Abdu,** Director, Action Aid Nigeria, spoke on the topic *"Civil society and the Democratic Agenda in Africa"*.

8.  **Uduak Amimo,** Journalist**,** spoke on *"The Media and Pan Africanism"*.

9.  **Brian Kagoro,** UNDP South Africa, made presentation on *"Africa's Regional Instruments and the Prospects for Democracy in Africa"*.

All the panellists and participants spoke in their individual capacities.

**Thomas Deve**, **Pan-African Activist and Southern Africa Representative of the Global Pan-African Movement, gave a *"Rendition on Tajudeen Abdul Raheem"***

Mr. Thomas Deve shared with the participants a photologue of the life and times of Tajudeen Abdul Raheem. He made the following points:

(a)   Tajudeen was one of the most irrepressible Pan-Africanist of his generation and died in Nairobi on Africa Liberation Day, 25 May 2009 on his way to Kigali, Rwanda. He explained that since his passing away, over 200 tributes have poured into various websites citing his commitment to pan- Africanism, African Unity and social justice. To be sure, at only 48 years of age, Tajudeen left an indelible mark on all those who met him, read his weekly postcard or heard him speak;

(b)   Tajudeen received a Rhodes scholarship and spent three years at St. Peter's College, Oxford, writing his DPhil degree in politics. Tajudeen was engaged in an astonishing range of African and anti-imperial activities including the Pan-African Movement, the All African Anti-Imperialist Youth Front, the Movement for Awareness and Advancement, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Save the Sharpeville Six Campaign and several magazines including the Africa Research and Information Bureau;

(c)   In 1992, Tajudeen was appointed General-Secretary for the Secretariat organizing the Seventh Pan-African Congress in Kampala, Uganda. In a time where many Africans were leaving the Continent, Tajudeen moved back to Uganda. The theme of the meeting was 'Africa: Facing the Future in Unity, Social Progress and Democracy' but the Congress was overshadowed by the unfolding genocide in Rwanda; and



*Mr. Thomas Deve*

(d)   Tajudeen believed that people should use their every day life to advance pan-African-ism. Tajudeen was against exploitation and when meeting wealthy people he always urged them to finance the revolution. The following question concluded the presenta-tion: if Tajudeen wrote a postcard from heaven what would it look like? He argued that Tajudeen would plead the case "forward forever and backward never".

## Horace G. Campbell, Professor of Political Science, Syracuse University, presented on *"Pan-Africanism, Freedom, and Democracy: The Ideas, Dreams, and Expectations"*

Professor Campbell's presentation focused on the ideas, dreams and expectations of Pan-Africanism. The main themes of his presentation were the Pan-African ideas of the past and future including free-dom and democracy in Africa. He made the following observations:

(a)   The Egyptian Revolution was based on the search for dignity. Dignity in the 21$^{st}$ century is different from the idea of dignity during slavery, civil rights, etc. As a major theme of Pan-Africanism, the challenge had always been to take Pan-African ideas out of confer-ences and boardrooms and to the streets, to the people;

(b)    Pan-Africanism is multifaceted in nature, and includes themes like transformation of material conditions and the transformation of consciousness. Yet, the challenge for Pan-Africanists today is to redefine and reconstruct the basic ideals behind the movement;

(c)   Democracy in the Pan-African movement must be a democracy that fulfils the African ambition to be full human beings. Democratic institutions in Africa must be informed by the changes of material conditions of the people. The right to be respected, freedoms such as the right to speech, the right to live in a clean environment and development must be protected. For that reason, he argued, it must go beyond the Western liberal paradigm that promotes the right to vote;

(d)   The most democratic issue in Africa right now is the right to water. Environmental de-mocracy is vital to any future. He discussed the notion of 'Earth Democracy' based on a book by Vandana Shiva, which centers on the very right to live in the 21$^{st}$ century;

(e)   The idea of democracy must be informed by new technological and scientific progress. He discussed the implications of synthetic life and the decisions made on who has con-trol over life. In the midst of all this, there must be some conception of our relationship with the natural world and the relations between human beings;

(f)   Elaborated on the central role of women in the Pan-African movement - how indeed, they have been the substance of the movement itself;
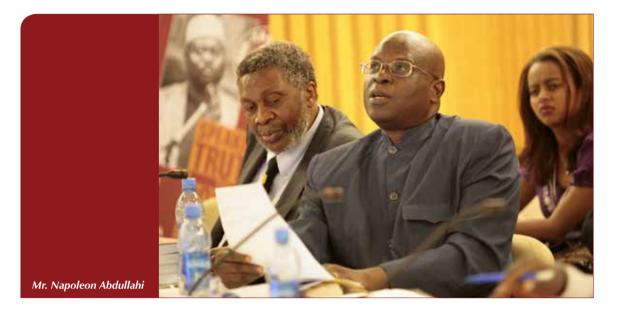
*Prof. Horace G. Campbell*

(g)  Pan-Africanism today requires a "quantum leap". The freedom of corporations should not supersede the freedom of people, and the challenge of climate change requires a system's change; and

(h)  There is now a global recognition that the future of the world economy is in Africa. The question now is how to use these vast ecological resources to build on unity. He offered that the integration of Africa should be based on the integration of major water systems. He also commended that Pan-Africanism must focus on building the capacity of the African people for generations, not just for five or ten years.

## Napoleon Abdullahi, UNDP Liberia, presented on *"Reflections on the Pan-African Project: Any Progress?"*

Mr. Abdullahi's presentation focused on the historical roots of the Pan-African movement, and how Tajudeen fit into the long legacy of Pan-African activists. His presentation dwelt on the following issues:

(a)  A discussion of some of the people that were major influences on Tajudeen's life, and lessons learnt in their struggle. One such lesson was that no matter where you go on the Continent, you could always find someone who works for the cause of the African struggle. Tajudeen described it as "One struggle, many fronts", meaning that the African

*Mr. Napoleon Abdullahi*

struggle could be advanced at many levels. What unites them is the unity of the Continent;

(b)    He explained in length about the origins of the Pan-African movement, and the successive Pan-African Congresses. He also explained the significance of the fifth conference in Manchester, England in 1945, which was the first to raise the question of how African countries can gain political independence;

(c)    He enumerated on the roles of certain African leaders and thinkers that impacted Tajudeen's life including W.E.B. DuBois, Kwame Nkrumah, Frantz Fanon, Amilcar Cabral, and Julius Nyerere in the Pan-African movement;

(d)    He explained the significance of looking back at history, stating that it is important to remember international solidarity. Especially he noted the importance of the seventh Pan-African Congress in bringing Pan-African idea into action; and

(e)    He emphasised the commitment of Tajudeen to the Pan-African struggle, and traced the trajection of his involvement, rise and profile in the struggle. He noted that history and posterity will hold a noble place for Tajudeen when the story of Pan-Africanism is reflected on the continent.

## Patricia Daley, Oxford University, presented on *"The External Factor in Africa's Democratic Project"*

Patricia Daley's presentation elucidated on the role of external actors in Africa's democratic project. She focused on the conceptions of democracy, resource scarcity and the global economy, and militarization and its implications for Africa. Her observations were as follows:

(a) Mental emancipation would never come from without. Tajudeen always said to never expect anyone to save you. Tajudeen was also not afraid to use the term 'imperialism' where appropriate. Imperialism relates to the global expansion of capital, and, as he always warned, can come dressed in any guise;

(b) In the academic literature, there is now a lot of interest in racialized geo-politics and economics, despite the fact that Pan-Africanists have been looking at this since the movement's inception. A new element, however, is that this examination is much more gendered. In a new world economy, the dominant workers are now women;

(c) Africa was seen as inconsequential by external actors, that it was considered peripheral to the global economy. This perception changed with 9/11 and the 2008 financial crisis;

(d) A specific variety of democracy has always been pushed from the outside. She elaborated on the circumstances which led to the shift in language from 'democracy' to 'good governance' in the 1990s. Alongside this came the rise of 'NGO-ism', but she questioned the extent to which this represents democracy;



*Ms. Patricia Daley*

(e)    Challenging the notion of the strong states, as we see in the West, and a consideration of how far they have gone to protect corporations. Is this the type of state we want to see in Africa?;

(f)    The growing influence of the Chinese throughout the African continent. Though the Chinese have been accused by the West of undermining good governance, she suspects that what this discourse disguises is the West's inability to compete;

(g)    She reflected on the implications of biotechnology, and cautioned that it would lead to the eventual commodification of human life; and

(h)    She discussed the implications of the crisis of capital in the West. Historically, the means by which the West has sought to solve this problem was through militarization. Therefore, there is a need to be vigilant and critical of military intervention in the guise of humanitarian action.


## Thomas Deve, Pan-African Activist and Southern Africa Representative of the Global Pan-African Movement, presented on "*Leadership, Democracy and the Pan-African Idea*"

Thomas Deve made the following points:

(a)    Young people should be conscious of and express political ideas in becoming leaders of today and not tomorrow. Despite the fact that young people are not in a position of power, they do have knowledge. Black consciousness is an important aspect of pan-Africanism. In this regard, Tajudeen used to say that we should dream the democratic future we want and actively pursue this;

(b)    There are three major factors that influence leadership and democracy in Africa, respectively, social, political and global factors. With regard to the social factor, it is critical to look at basic human rights and safeguard and protect against poverty and exploitation. The political factor addresses the need to understand how political systems function and how plans are implemented. In this regard, the pan-African idea is influenced by the need to understand how resources and opportunities are distributed. The global factor addresses the reality that Africans nowadays have multiple identities. Indeed, the different ways Africans dress and express themselves should not divide but rather unite people for pan-Africanism. Instead of fighting the increasing global nature of the world, there is a need to learn and understand how this system affects Africa; and Picture 92 10

(c)    There are continued colonial modes of governmental systems as African governments are comprised of an elite class of people. Although liberal democracy originates from the west, Africa is on the road to democratisation. There is a need to popularise the

*Mr. Thomas Deve*

struggle. People should go out and organise rather than agonise. We are all striving to be public intellectuals.

## Khabele Matlosa, UNDP Ethiopia, made presentation on *"Political Parties, Democracy and the Pan-African Idea"*

He made the following observations:

(a)  Multi-party political systems have become an entrenched norm in Africa. Since the re-introduction of multi-party democracy in the late 1980s and early 1990s, political parties have played a key role in the governance process. While parties are key agents of democratization, the extent to which they play an effective role in multiparty democracy is conditioned by both external and internal challenges that they face;

(b)  On the one hand, there are countries that practice electoral democracy whose focus is on formal processes of elections. On the other hand, there are countries which practice liberal democracy which emphasizes competition and participation including protection and promotion of political rights and civil liberties during and between elections. There is need for social democracy in Africa which comprises of liberal democracy plus the promotion and protection of socio-economic rights. Africa should imagine and strive towards an African brand of democracy with clear-cut social democratic features which would also be adapted to deal with diversity questions on the continent. To be sure, democracy should ensure unity within diversity;

Mr. Khabele Matlosa

(c)    The political system in Africa went through various distinct phases, namely, the adop-
       tion of multiparty political systems (1960s); one party, one-person or military regimes
       (mid-1960s and early 1970s); and the reintroduction of multi-party political systems
       (late 1980s and early 1990s). Also there are four types of party systems, respectively:
       one party state; two-party system; dominant party system; and the multi-party system.
       Many African countries are marked by dominant party systems as against the other three
       typologies of party systems. Challenges to democracy in Africa are party leadership,
       ideological clarity and free and fair elections. Political parties in Africa tend to exclude
       or marginalize the largest segments of society namely women (more than 50%) and
       young people (around 60%);

(d)    Regarding the role of political parties as drivers of the pan-African idea, at all the three
       levels of integration (national, sub-national and international); all key social forces in
       African societies (including political parties) have a major role to play. Political parties
       need to be champions of integration at all the aforementioned three levels.

**Hussaini Abdu**, Action Aid, Nigeria, spoke on the topic *"Civil society and the Democratic Agenda in Africa"*

His presentation dwelt on the following issues:

(a) Civil society has played different roles in Africa's political history, namely from colonial and liberation struggles to the current democratic renewal in the second and third waves of democratisation. The discourse on the democratic agenda in Africa is influenced by different historical struggles on the Continent. This agenda was hijacked in the 1980s by the elite and ruling class when many countries transitioned from military rule to multi-party states. This same elite is still in power in many countries;

(b) There is a significant contrast between the adoption of democratic frameworks and the actual implementation on the ground. These democratic frameworks are tailored around the interests of the ruling class. Democracy is viewed as an occasion where you vote in contrast to a system of values and ways of life. To be sure, democracy is considered an end in itself by some African governments;

(c) African democracies are challenged by deficits such as: weak political parties; dominant one party mode; corruption; ethnic politics; and high levels of poverty. Despite positive economic growth rates, poverty is still rampant on the continent especially in rural Africa;

(d) Africans need to organise and transform their society independently instead of relying on aid through foreign NGOs. The space for civil society in many African countries is shrinking through the adoption of laws that inhibit the activities of foreign and grassroots



*Mr. Hussaini Abdu*

organisations. Civil society is in many instances viewed in a depoliticized manner as the trend in Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Rwanda and Zambia demonstrates, among others. This influences the manner in which governments assess the role of civil society in governance. Indeed, democracy is a politicized process and without civil society being organized and politicized, there will be no impact; and

(e)     There are new avenues for organisation currently being used by young people. It is critical to channel the anger of the youth in Africa and this may harbour opportunities as well as challenges for the democratisation project.

## Uduak Amimo, Journalist, spoke on *"The Media and Pan Africanism"*

Uduak Amimo made the following points:

(a)     The media started during colonial period to maintain colonial dominance and the trend continued in the post colonial period. During the colonial period reference was made to London and Paris, however, currently the content of news are dominated by the western media;

(b)     Consequently, the media have not been impartial in some African countries, especially where crisis happened as demonstrated in the Rwandan genocide and Kenyan post election crisis. Accordingly, it is imperative to train and educate journalists;



*Ms. Uduak Amimo*

UDUAK AMIMO

(c) The internet through social media like facebook, twitter, mobile phones, you-tube etc is democratizing politics in Africa. The issue of citizens' journalism is also growing across the Continent;

(d) Currently, the media in Africa has two dimensions. The formal media pass information from the government to the citizens, while the social media pass information from the citizens to the government;

(e) However, media ownership is still a big challenge in Africa. Hence, the objectivity of information is usually compromised; and

(f) It has been a challenge to construct or establish Pan-African media on the Continent that focuses on the interests, values, expectations and future of Africa rather than parochial elite, ruling class or external interests. The question then is; how will Africa institute a Pan-African media to serve its interest and project it internationally?

## Brian Kagoro, UNDP South Africa, made presentation on *"Africa's Regional Instruments and the Prospects for Democracy in Africa"*

His observations are as follows:

(a) Africa has managed to succumb to the capitalist system but did not become democratized;

(b) At the institutional level, we have seen the advent of several policies and Charters. What frustrated Tajudeen was that this change was happening in an intellectual vacuum;

(c) The search in Africa should be for a state that is both developmental and democratic in character. Yet there are two points of tension in that pursuit. The first is a tension between radical and liberal nuances; How should such developmental state emerge and can it be democratic? Picture 9268

(d) He explained in length the different African regional instruments, which includes the African Charter on democracy, Elections and Governance, 2007; the Public Service Charter, the APRM, NEPAD e.t.c.

(e) Orientation of the public sector is crucial. Nothing happens in a country without an effective public sector. The African Union has a Charter on the Public Sector, and while no one can disagree with its basic principles, yet it is hardly utilized. There is no need for new frameworks – what we require now is implementation;

(f) The capacity and capability of the African state on financial and human resource issues are crucial. He also noted that currently Pan-Africansim is challenged by trans-national crime, illicit financial flows, migration, internally displaced persons, which require more regulations and should be taken up more seriously by the RECs and the AU; and

*Mr. Brian Kagoro*

(g)    Recognition of African philanthropy and the mobilization of domestic resources is an important area the Pan-Africa agenda should take up.

# Discussion and main issues raised:

Following the presentations, the floor was opened to participants. The main points of discussion were as follows:

(1)    **Liberal democracy in Africa**:  The Roundtable called for the prospects for an African brand of democracy that accommodates diversity. A respondent offered that there are certain principles universal to all societies, but specific components of liberal democracy, based on capitalist expansion, may not be appropriate to the African context. In this regard, it is pertinent to interrogate  the history and content of democracy in Africa;

(2)    **'Artificial divisions' and regional integration**: It seems political leaders in Africa only pay lip service to integration, while 'artificial divisions' such as North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa; Anglophone, Francophone and Lusophone Africa continue to divide the people. While there are artificial barriers and borders of the state system, African people are actively engaged through trading informally with one another. There is need to dissolve the official barriers for free movement of people in Africa;

(3)    **Role of Youth**: The Roundtable recommended that the political space for youth as political actor is shrinking in Africa. Creating employment opportunity for the youth was also highlighted;

(4) **The challenge of Leadership in Africa**: In Africa, most leaders are not being held accountable by their constituents and are looking for legitimacy from outside. The ensuing discussion revolved around the leadership challenge in Africa. A comment was put forth that we can hardly ask leaders to be accountable when we are not accountable ourselves. It was noted that no one would have remembered Tajudeen if he had not lived by his ideals;

(5) **Future of the Pan-African movement**: In the past, the main issue uniting African people was the struggle for decolonization. In today's world, the challenges facing the continent are varied. However, it was agreed by the participants that the issue likely to serve as a rallying point for Africans in the future is the environment, as this is central to nearly all aspects of life in Africa;

(6) **Globalization and African identities**: A question was raised that if liberal democracy is considered a Western ideal, and African identities are continually shifting in a globalizing world, what are the implications for the democratic project in Africa? The argument was made that if Africans know their history, globalization will not change their core principles;

(7) **Context for social transformation:** It is precisely due to the retreat from the idea and ideals of social transformation that Pan-Africanism is so important today. There must be a conception of how to connect the struggle for transformation with Pan-Africanism;

(8) **The Role of ICTs:** The role of ICTs in the democratization process of African countries was also highlighted especially in relation to the recent Arab Spring. ICTs helped to revolutionize politics in the North African countries though it has its own challenges. Africa is likely to see increasing role of information technology in the democratization process.
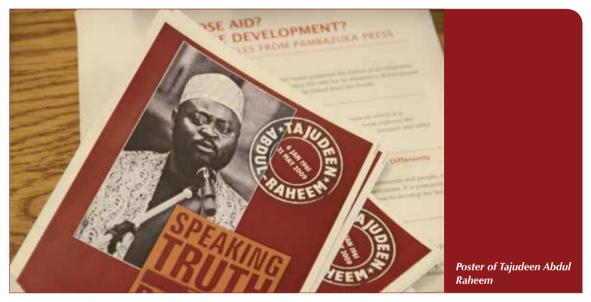
# Policy recommendations

From the rich discussion that took place during the Colloquium, the following concrete policy recommendations emerged:

(1) **Utilizing local models in the democratic project**: As a model that is based on capitalist expansion and focuses on homogeneity, liberal democracy may not be appropriate to the African context. There must be a close examination of local models that include space for diversity;

(2) **Resources and unification**: Work towards achieving regional integration based on the continent's vast natural resources, and its water resources in particular;

(3) **Building credible institutions:** The Colloquium recommended that it is important to build credible institutions that promote regional integration at the continental level and promote free, fair and credible elections at the country level. In this regard, it is impera-

*Group Photo of the High level Colloquium on the theme: "Democracy, Governance and the Pan-African Idea: Whither Africa?" inside Africa Hall, UNECA.*

tive to have robust debates on Pan-African institutions underpinned by democratic spirit especially, on shared values as indicated by the African Union Commission (AUC). It is also important to draw out lessons from the largest democracy in the World like India on how to build institutions that promote democracy;

**(4)** **Monitoring policy recommendations of the APRM country reports:** The Colloquium recommended that meaningful discussions must be held at the level of APRM Forum of Heads of State and Government. In addition, there must be monitoring mechanisms of the implementation of policies coming out of the country review;

**(5)** **African youth**: African Youth constitute significant part of the society and must be integrated into the political and democratization processes. Moreover, African youth and civil society must be engaged in the integration agenda of the Continent. The effort of GPAD-UNECA and IDEA to organise an International Conference on Youth and Democratization in Africa was highly commended as a step in the right direction;

**(6)** **Role of the media:** It was recommended that the media should play a more positive, proactive and Pan-African role in the struggle for democracy, and political freedom in Africa. Efforts should be made to establish a Pan-African media organisation that would serve as mouthpiece for the Continent and project it internationally; and

**(7)** **Economic empowerment**: The importance of domestic capital formation and economic empowerment was emphasized as crucial to the promotion of Pan-Africanism. Economic freedom is a sin qua non for achieving political democracy.

*Poster of Tajudeen Abdul Raheem*

# Closing Ceremony

The closing ceremony was chaired by Mr. Said Adejumobi, OIC, GPAD-UNECA. He thanked the panellists for taking off time from their busy schedule to participate in the Colloquium. He also thanked the audience and staff of GPAD-UNECA who attended the Colloquium. He noted in conclusion that Tajudeen Abdul Raheem is an idea, and ideas do not die. Tajudeen Abdul Raheem lives on!