



# The African Leadership Forum 2014

*"MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF AFRICA'S TRANSFORMATION"*



**UONGOZI Institute**

Institute of African Leadership for  
Sustainable Development



The United Republic of Tanzania

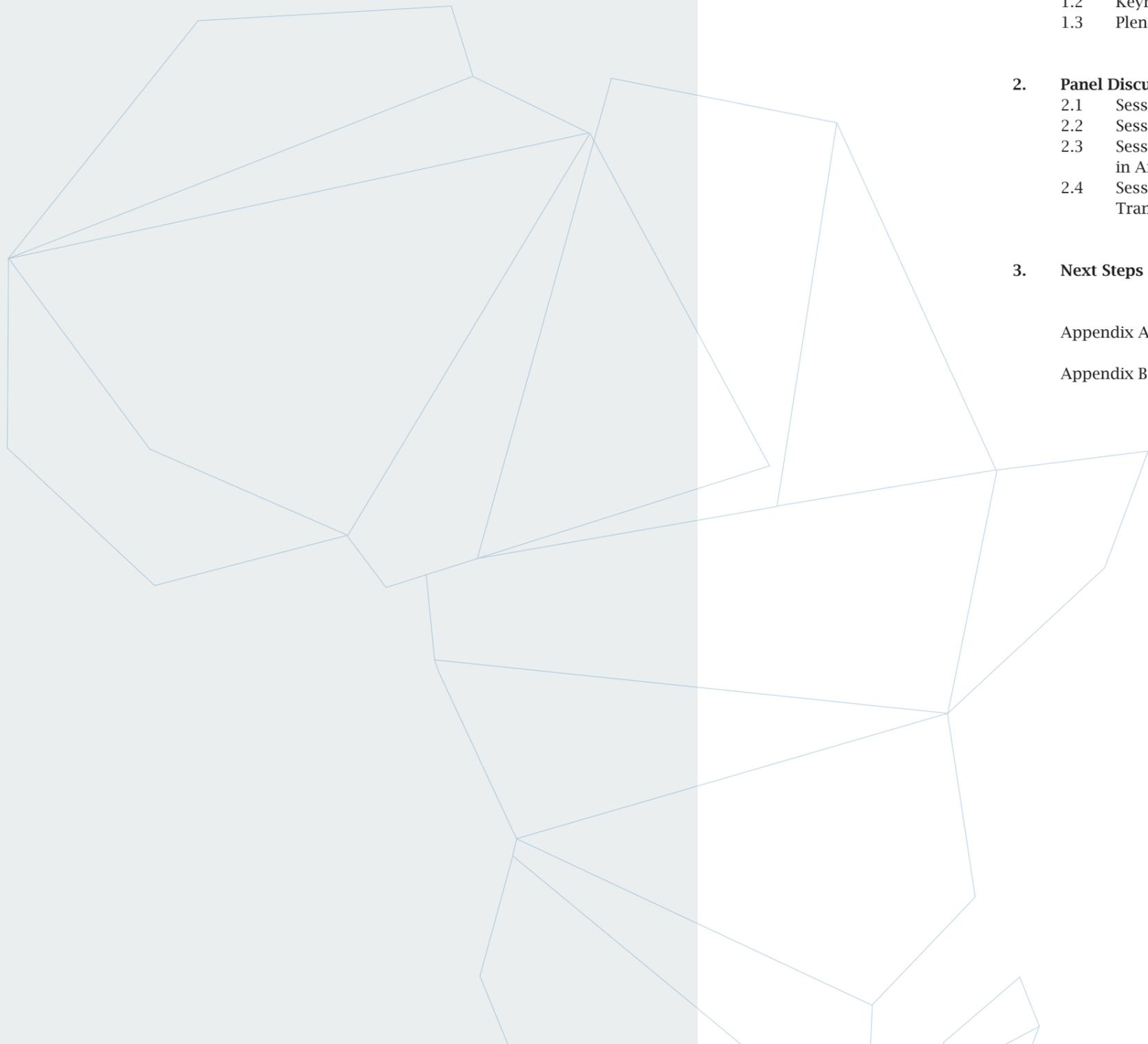
**Benjamin William Mkapa**

*Former President of the United Republic of Tanzania*



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# Acronyms and Abbreviations

ALF	-	African Leadership Forum
AAU	-	Association of African Universities
AfDB	-	African Development Bank
APRM	-	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	-	African Union
AUC	-	African Union Commission
CEO	-	Chief Executive Officer
COSTECH	-	Commission for Science and Technology
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOSOCC	-	Economic Social and Cultural Council
FPLA	-	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (Sudan)
FRELIMO	-	Frente de Libertação Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front)
ICC	-	International Criminal Court
IGAD	-	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
ITV	-	Independent Television
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCCR	-	National Committee for Constitutional Reform
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OATUU	-	Organization of African Trade Union Unity
OAU	-	Organization of African Unity
OECD	-	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PDB	-	President's Delivery Bureau
PO-PSM	-	President's Office - Public Service Management
PWC	-	Price Waterhouse Coopers
REPOA	-	Policy Research for Development
SID	-	Society for International Development
SPLM	-	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SUA	-	Sokoine University of Agriculture
TBC	-	Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation
TPSF	-	Tanzania Private Sector Foundation
UN	-	United Nations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	-	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

# Executive Summary



A new Africa has emerged. An African renaissance is underway, whereby a growing number of determined and self-confident Africans are working to transform their countries' economies to accelerate the rate of human and economic development. Given the continent's stage of development, Africa has the opportunity to become the catalyst and driving force for sustainable development globally. To achieve this, Africa will need to tap into its past successes whilst planning and pursuing a logical, inclusive, collective and sustainable path to national, regional and continental progress.

It is against this background that the former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, H.E. Benjamin Mkapa convened the inaugural African Leadership Forum (ALF) in Dar es Salaam on 31 July 2014. Organized by the Institute of African Leadership for Sustainable Development, popularly known as the UONGOZI Institute, the event brought together political leaders including former heads of state as well as leaders from government, business, civil society and academia.<sup>1</sup>

The theme of the Forum was *"Meeting the Challenges of Africa's Transformation"*. The ALF provided a platform to reflect on Africa's journey thus far, take stock of challenges and opportunities, and envision the future. Through constructive dialogue, delegates to the conference were tasked to explore ways to exploit existing opportunities, forge stronger and more meaningful partnerships within the continent and identify ways to support African leaders to overcome the pressing and strategic challenges facing their countries.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A for a list of delegates to the Forum.

## Keynote address by H.E. Thabo Mbeki, President of South Africa, 1999-2008

His Excellency Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa delivered the keynote address. In his address, President Mbeki sought to provide answers to the Forum's overarching question of how can Africans lead and support the continent's sustainable development with a focus on the complex task of managing diversity to enable peace and prosperity.

In his speech, he maintained that the sustained success of African nation states will require the cultivation and entrenchment of a common sense of national identity and shared destiny, and, in turn, this will depend decisively on the proper management of diversity. The successful management of diversity will necessarily entail that all citizens, regardless of their sectional identities should have and feel that they can contribute to determine their own destinies and that of their nations through inclusive and legitimate processes, and be confident that they share a 'common political citizenship' due to an entrenched system of a non-discriminatory implementation of the rule of law. Furthermore, all socio-economic development needs to be organized such that the resulting material benefits are shared by all citizens across their 'sectional identities'.

To inculcate the sense of common political citizenship in the national consciousness will require determined and sustained interventions to cultivate respect for and honestly celebrate the various identities within a nation. He stressed that to preserve and enjoy any one sectional identity requires that citizens accept, respect and celebrate other sectional identities. Only in this way can a nation of diverse constituencies achieve a shared sense of unity and cohesion.

To achieve these complex objective and subjective tasks will necessarily require concerted action by all sectors of African societies—including governments, political parties, the business sector and all components of civil society, including trade unions, peasant associations, traditional authorities, religious communities, community-based organizations, academia and the media. Leadership at all social levels will be critically important, and processes and practices will need to be implemented to make unity attractive.

He called on the African intelligentsia, at home and in the diaspora, to bring their individual and collective capacities to bear in addressing the difficult challenges faced by the continent, starting immediately with today's important discussions. He further recommended that the African Leadership Forum establish a process of permanent structural cooperation with existing institutions such as the Africa Forum, the foundations established by former heads of state and governments, and other leading African institutions, such as, the Association of African Universities (AAU), Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and African Union Commission (AUC) and associated institutions.

## Plenary on the Keynote Address and Panel Discussions

Through a plenary discussion on the keynote address and a series of four panel discussions<sup>2</sup>, delegates were invited to contribute their experience and ideas on the pre-requisites for Africa's successful transformation and on solutions to address the continent's pressing and strategic challenges. In particular, how African countries,

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B for the Programme of the Forum

rich in diversity, blessed with a youthful population, and possessing enormous untapped wealth in natural resources can partner together to promote national, regional and continental development.

The wide-ranging discussions throughout the Forum were open and frank. Some of the key messages that emerged from discussions were as follows:

#### **Leadership**

Leadership at all levels within and between nations, from village representatives to heads of state, and across all aspects of African societies, including cultural, religious, civil society and business leadership, will be critically important in advancing the continent's transformation agenda and in securing peace and prosperity for its population. Where required, the capability of states to deal with internal weaknesses and resolve conflicts will need to be strengthened.

Development depends on the capacity of states and its leaders to follow-up and implement policy and deliver appropriate state and social services.

A consciousness and culture of common citizenship and leadership will also need to be instilled and nurtured among Africa's youth to prepare them to be the next generation of leaders. Mechanisms will be needed for keeping young people connected to national, regional and continental aspirations.

The Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) was identified as a valuable tool for supporting leaders and resolving conflicts. As such, delegates recommended that the APRM be reinvigorated as an instrument to pro-actively mentor leaders, seek sustainable solutions to serious challenges, and ensure accountability for leaders' actions. Delegates further reached a consensus that the African Leadership Forum should be formalized as an annual event and that relevant issues facing the African continent should be listed and analyzed through the Forum.

#### **Inclusive development**

To successfully manage the diversity within states, African countries will need to promote a vision that is politically, socially and economically inclusive, and realize that vision through the creation of inclusive institutions, underpinned by national constitutions that deliver opportunities in an equal manner to all citizens, regardless of their sectional identities.

A central pillar of inclusiveness will be the promotion of gender equity and the empowerment and participation of women and youth. Africa's women will need to be fully engaged in identifying and implementing solutions to the continent's challenges. Transforming national economies will involve transforming agriculture, and agricultural production cannot be transformed without involving women, who are the mainstay of the sector's labour force. Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) create between 60% and 80% of the jobs in Africa, and approximately 40% of SMEs are led by women.

In addition, three-fifths of Africa's population are young people—the most productive age group. But to harness their energy and enthusiasm, youth will need to be provided with the opportunities to fully participate and benefit from the

economic transformation in Africa. The need also exists to encourage inter-generational conversations to instil a sense of a shared future, a sense of belonging and a sense of responsibility among African youth.

Providing access to education, skills training and gainful employment for women and youth will be a cornerstone of an African renaissance. Africa's successful transformation towards sustainable development cannot take place without their participation.

#### **Human resource capacity**

To move forward, Africa needs a critical mass of highly educated people with the capacity for independent thinking and problem solving. Therefore, deliberate investment in Africa's human resource has to be a core strategy for the continent's transformation. In particular, the capacity of universities across the continent will need to be strengthened to resurrect their vital role in African development.

Delegates agreed on the urgent need to build the knowledge base within individual countries and to promote the transfer of knowledge and expertise regionally and continentally. African leaders and government officials need to be equipped with the skills to negotiate partnerships and to promote and protect their nations' interests at the highest international level.

#### **Collaboration and cooperation**

African governments and businesses need to look beyond national borders to partner and invest together across the continent. Delegates recommended that physical infrastructure needs to be built to facilitate increased trade among African countries. Therefore, physical and statutory trade barriers between states should be progressively eliminated. Further liberalization of inter-country travel would also be beneficial. Too often, African governments negotiate economic partnership agreements with developed nations that have more favourable conditions than those provided to fellow African countries. This model has to be changed. Moreover, by building strategic alliances between countries, African nations can significantly strengthen bargaining power in international negotiations and partnership agreements.

In response to the question on "Why Africans are poor while others are making huge profits out of us?" President Mogae remarked that it is precisely because "we do not implement agreements and resolutions about working together." To change this situation, African businesses must collaborate and governments must collaborate on the ground. National legislation and regulations need to be revised to make it easier for African businesses to open or register a company in a neighbouring country.

#### **A long-term vision for Africa's transformation**

With a projected population of two billion people in 2050, a long-term vision for Africa's transformation is essential. The continent has a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to prudently utilize the resources of the continent for broad-based development to improve the quality of life for future generations of Africans. Strategic partnerships will necessarily be required for transformation. But, to realize its continental vision of sustainable development for peace and prosperity, Africa will need to be absolutely clear as to the kind of social and economic transformation it wants, choose her partners accordingly, and strenuously defend her interests at every turn.

# 1 The Opening Session

## 1.1 Welcome by H.E. Benjamin Mkapa



H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo and  
H.E. Benjamin Mkapa

As the initiator of the African Leadership Forum, the former President of Tanzania H.E. Benjamin Mkapa invited robust discussion on the significant challenges facing Africa as a rising economy with ample resources available for development. He challenged delegates to reflect on the course of development for the past 50 years in the critical areas of peace and security, regional integration, and gender and women's development. The final outcome should be a road map that will guide the realization of the goals that Africa sets for itself. He encouraged delegates to be frank and truthful without looking over their shoulders.

He concluded his opening remarks by thanking the former President of the Republic of South Africa H.E. Thabo Mbeki, whom he described as a powerful mind, voice and will, for agreeing to deliver the keynote address to set the tone of the Forum.

## 1.2 Keynote Address by H.E. Thabo Mbeki

### HOW CAN AFRICANS LEAD AND SUPPORT AFRICA'S SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT? THE COMPLEX TASK OF MANAGING DIVERSITY

In his opening address, President Mbeki stated his intention to provide practical answers to the question posed in President Mkapa's letter of invitation to delegates:

*"How [can] we as Africans contribute in our individual and collective capacities to lead and support Africa's sustainable development?"*

*"The critical task remains that we must continue firmly to defend our inalienable right to freely determine our destiny."*

H.E. Thabo Mbeki



With reference to the lecture by Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim on the occasion of Africa Day in South Africa in May 2014, President Mbeki shared his conviction that to understand where Africa is headed, current and future African leaders need to have a deep appreciation of the continent's past. In particular, he insisted that delegates, in understanding the past to negotiate the future, must remember Africans' fierce defence of independence and their right to self-determination.

In this context, he stressed that Africans must very firmly defend such instruments of international law as the *Charter of the United Nations* and the *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People*, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1960.

President Mbeki then enumerated some of the pressing and strategic issues that Africa as a continent needs to address. These include:

- Poverty eradication and the achievement of human development through sustainable development
- Achievement of durable peace and stability
- The national and social cohesion of individual countries, including the emancipation of women

- Institutionalization of democratic processes to ensure inclusive and meaningful participation of the population in the political process
- The building of capable states which serve the people without discrimination
- African integration and unity
- The need for Africa to take her rightful place among the community of nations.

To realize any of these goals would necessarily require many interventions over an extended period of time, and to properly answer President Mkapa's question would require, first of all, the identification of interventions for each of the issues listed. However, in line with the organization of the current dialogue under three themes—diversity, natural resources and partnerships—President Mbeki indicated that his speech would focus on the first of these themes, the complex issue of diversity.

To preface his remarks on diversity, President Mbeki underlined that through the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its successor organization, the African Union (AU), the Continent has already developed an extensive set of continental policies that cover a wide spectrum of issues, including Africa's politics, her economy, war and peace, gender equality, justice, children's rights, education and the development of human capital, culture, and international relations.

These policies, which are, at least, formally binding on all member states of the African Union, provide a point of entry and leverage to persuade countries and regions to implement these policies where this would help to address the Continent's pressing and strategic challenges— even if it is perceived that specific policies need further improvement. Thus, in motivating and activating national governments to achieve Africa's transformational goals, he strongly suggested reference to these extant and approved policies. It would be a waste of time to reinvent the wheel.

Returning to the central topic of his address, President Mbeki highlighted that Africa's failure to successfully manage its diverse societies has had very negative consequences, including unrelenting social instability, civil wars and violent conflicts (such as those in Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone and the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo), exclusion and inequality, the absence of social and national cohesion, and the failure to mobilize national and human capital for development.

In speaking of the diversity of African societies within nation states, President Mbeki indicated that nations are constituted of people with various "sectional identities" in addition to their common "national identity". The sectional identities with which citizens of a nation may identify include those based on membership of particular ethnic, language, racial and/or religious groups, on gender, on residence (urban as against rural populations), on age (young and old generations) and on social classes.



He strongly maintained that the sustained success of African nation states, which is based upon the cultivation and entrenchment of a common sense of national identity

He strongly maintained that the sustained success of African nation states, which is based upon the cultivation and entrenchment of a common sense of national identity and shared destiny, depends decisively on the proper management of diversity.

*The real challenge we face is seriously and successfully to answer the strategic questions: What interventions should be made, and by whom, to ensure that these “sectional” identities, while they exist as legitimate “identities” informing the richness of the nation, do not threaten national cohesion and the development of a shared sense of common nationhood?*

He suggested that the African intelligentsia has a critical role to play in answering these strategic questions, and he suggested that the present Forum needed to include in its deliberations how to reinstate the African intelligentsia, including those in the diaspora, to participate in addressing the challenges faced by the continent.

President Mbeki further recommended that the thinking, planning and action on the management of diversity would helpfully be viewed and organized along objective and subjective lines.

On the objective plane, he indicated that successfully managing diversity requires that all citizens, regardless of their sectional identities should have and feel that they can contribute to determine their destiny and that of the nation as a whole through inclusive and legitimate processes, and can be confident that they share a ‘common political citizenship’ due to an entrenched system of a non-discriminatory implementation of the rule of law. Furthermore, all socio-economic development needs to be organized such that the resulting material benefits are shared by all citizens, across their ‘sectional identities’.

On the subjective plane, President Mbeki considered it is critical that a determined and sustained intervention is made whereby a common political citizenship is inculcated in the national consciousness, and respect for a nation’s sectional identities is cultivated. The different identities need to be honestly celebrated as vital components of what makes for the rich diversity which gives a unique, distinguishing and welcome character to the nation. He stressed that to preserve and enjoy any one sectional identity requires that citizens accept, respect and celebrate other sectional identities. Only in this way can a nation of diverse constituencies achieve a shared sense of unity and cohesion.

To achieve these complex objective and subjective tasks will require concerted action by all sectors of African societies—including governments, political parties, the business sector, and all components of civil society, including trade unions, peasant associations, traditional authorities, religious communities, community-based organizations, academia and the media.

Leadership at all social levels will be critically important, and processes and practices will need to be implemented to make unity attractive.

*“...the construction of the lasting unity of our diverse societies can only succeed if such diverse components find it of material and other benefit to themselves to remain within the ‘association’...”*

He further suggested that the African Leadership Forum establish a process of permanent structural cooperation with existing institutions such as the Africa Forum, the foundations established by former heads of state and governments, important African NGOs, such as, the Association of African Universities (AAU), Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), as well as the African Union Commission (AUC) and associated institutions such as the Economic Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) of the Africa Union.

In concluding his address, President Mbeki remarked that despite the widespread and correct observation that “Africa is rising!” the continent’s pressing and strategic challenges persist. It is, therefore, the solemn task of all delegates at the Forum to contribute their collective capacities to bear in successfully surmounting these challenges.

### 1.3 Plenary Discussion on the Keynote Address

Following the keynote address, President Mkapa invited delegates to a general discussion on the broad framework of the keynote address. The following comments from delegates and responses from the former presidents highlight some of the key topics raised in response to President Mbeki’s speech.

#### ON YOUTH DEVELOPMENT



Dr. Frannie Léautier

**Dr. Frannie Léautier, Partner and Chief Executive Officer, Mkoba Private Equity Fund**, agreed that the notion of common citizenship referred to by President Mbeki will be crucial. Achieving sustainable development will require a relationship with nature, with communities, and also to link up the past, present and future. She added that to create a sense of a shared future will demand a keen focus on young people. Within Africa’s youth there is a group that’s very optimistic and planning ahead and thinking ahead, but there is a group that’s feeling disillusioned. Young people will need good education and decent jobs. And, a mechanism, like the earlier institution of national service in Tanzania, will be needed to keep young people connected to nationality and regionality or continentality that can help grow a generation of young leaders. She concluded by remarking that Africa with foresight and inspired leadership has the potential to be a global leader in sustainable development.

Later in the discussion, **Mr. Arnold Kilewo, Former Executive Managing Director of Tanzania Breweries Limited**, stressed that to enable economic development, Africa must stem the constant movement of youth from Africa to Europe, with so many tragically drowning in the Mediterranean Sea. This issue should not be left to the European Union and others to address. We need to identify and put in place the kind of development and infrastructure to deal with the problem of unemployment. Investments are needed in education and in research and development to produce the scientists and the solutions to handle the problems which cut across Africa and developing countries.



## ON ENSURING THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF LEADERS

**Dr. Ken Kwaku, President, The Kwaku Group**, remarked that African leaders must be held accountable for their actions. He said that there is no shortage of laws in this continent. What is short is the certainty of punishment, is the certainty of dealing with the consequences of those laws. His model and hero on this front was Botswana. Botswana has jailed vice presidents, ministers, and heads of state, for just breaking the law. He further recommended the need for civic education to train leaders in public service.

**Mr. Joseph Butiku, Executive Director—Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation**, asked the question as to who bears responsibility for ensuring that decisions made by the African Union are implemented at the national level, and suggested that it would be helpful to make a thorough assessment of implementation. He suggested that through its leadership, Tanzania was able to build a nation from around 126 different ethnic groups. Diversity was seen as a blessing not a curse. He requested that at the second meeting of the Forum, the heads of state, retired or current, would provide such an assessment of the performance of Africa's leadership.

## ON CONTINENTAL COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION

*"...we should explore opportunities of investing with one another in Eastern and Southern Africa to start with..."*

H.E. Festus Mogae



**The former President of Botswana H.E. Festus Mogae** stressed the need for African businesses to cooperate more, nationally and regionally. Businesses need to look beyond their own domestic prospects and "work together, invest together across boundaries over the continent."

Later in the session, in response to the question from **Ms. Tonia Kandiero, Resident Representative (Tanzania)— African Development Bank** on the role of the African Development Bank in Africa in policy implementation, **President Mogae** expressed his opinion that the AfDB was operating optimally in its role to raise finances in capital markets and finance regional projects. The challenge he insisted was for Africa to come up with viable regional projects.

In response to the question, "Why Africans are poor while others are making huge profits out of us?", he answered that it is precisely because "we do not implement agreements and resolutions about working together." To change this situation, African businesses must collaborate and governments must collaborate on the ground. To do this, national legislation and regulations need to be revised so that it is easier for African businesses to open or register a company in a neighbouring country.

**Mr. Austin Muneku, Executive Secretary—Southern Africa Trade Union Coordination Council** added that to achieve common citizenship entails that resources be shared. He suggested that good practices could be drawn from existing institutions like the Southern African Customs Union. Current politics also needs to move beyond partisan politics so as to cultivate the much needed continental interest.

From his experience as **President of the Society for International Development and former Secretary General of the East African Community, Mr. Juma Mwapachu** said that the speed and direction of social and economic transformations at national and regional levels are not aligned with continent-wide development goals. He suggested that the African Union is increasingly lagging behind programs of transformation at regional community levels and cautioned that the bureaucratization of decisions in the name of a continental integration needs to be avoided. Harking back to the example of President Julius Nyerere in his efforts to use Tanzania's universities and intelligentsia to build an ethos of East Africanness and to **President Mbeki's 1996 speech at the adoption of The Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill, "I Am an African"**, he confirmed the present need for institutions to build national and continental pride and identity.

## ON THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF THE NATION STATE

*"We have to accept that the building block, the serious implementation block in Africa is the nation state."*

Hon. Cleopa Msuya



Reflecting on his experience representing Tanzania at international meetings, **former Prime Minister of Tanzania, Hon. Cleopa Msuya** stressed the continuing and urgent need for countries to build the capacity of their universities to seriously analyze and understand their internal problems and chart out the visions and strategies to overcome these challenges. Similarly, national delegates to international forums need to be well prepared so as to be able to table concrete proposals in their nation's interests.

He emphasized that the fundamental building block, the serious implementation block in Africa is the nation state. "Why don't we concentrate and make sure that the nation states understand the precarious situation of their people and the institutions within their communities and then evolve visions and policies that are consistent with the community which they can then project upwards at the regional, national or continental level?" In addition to strengthening educational institutions, he recommended the development of a news agency at the African level, like Al Jazeera, which could objectively analyze issues, state by state with an African perspective.

## ON ENCOURAGING AND EQUIPPING AFRICAN LEADERS

*"...how do we shock them [our current leaders] into the reality that is different..."*

H.E. Benjamin Mkapa



**President Mkapa** hoped that the African Leadership Forum would be a forum "that does analyze differently, recommend differently and monitor implementation differently." He counselled that it is not enough to say that our universities are not doing enough or that today's leaders are narrow-minded, but this Forum has to come up with ideas and instruments that will deliver sustainable solutions for Africa's development.

Referring to a statement by President Obasanjo from years gone by, President Mogae reflected that "if we [Africans] are not achieving our objectives because other people are outsmarting us and continue to exploit us, maybe it used to be their fault, then later our joint fault and maybe nowadays, it is entirely our fault." He added that the African Peer Review Mechanism for objectively analyzing national leaders and issues ought to be reinvented.

## 2 Panel Discussions

**President Mbeki** concurred that action must be taken to increase the capacity of universities across the continent and resurrect their vital role in African development. He further agreed that African leaders need to be well equipped with the skills to perform well in international meetings and conferences. In closing, he cited two practical cases—with respect to Kenya and Ghana—of the usefulness of the Peer Review Mechanism. Like President Mkapa, he hoped by the end of the Forum, that some ideas to strengthen the capacity of our leaders at all levels will be identified.

*“All that we need to do in Africa, we can do it. It is a question of either lack of will or lack of continuity.”*

*H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo*



Citing the well-known aphorism of Albert Einstein that “Insanity is doing the same over and over again and expecting a different result”, **former President of Nigeria H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo** counselled that Africa has to analyze and do things differently to be effective and to put itself on the path to sanity.

He added: “And doing things differently means that we have to find a way of influencing the current leaders. Of reaching out to them, of influencing them, I think President Mkapa talked of shocking them. Where we have a need to shock them, let’s shock them. Where we need to, I won’t use the word threat, because they have the capacity to threaten us rather than we threaten them. Let us talk to them. We must be able to speak out when we need to speak out.”

**President Mkapa** concluded the plenary discussion by thanking participants for their practical illustrations of the various challenges faced by the African continent. He confirmed that the question of managing diversity is indeed the single biggest impediment in Africa’s transformation. A basis for common thinking—which was highlighted by President Mbeki in his keynote address—will need to be put in place otherwise no headway will be made in implementing the wonderful plans in the pipeline for Africa’s development.

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

- Session 1: Managing Diversity in Africa
- Session 2: Meeting the Challenges of Africa’s Transformation
- Session 3: Managing Natural Resources to Ensure Prosperity in Africa
- Session 4: Strategic Partnerships for Realizing the Transformation Agenda

### 2.1 Session 1: Managing Diversity in Africa

**Moderator:** Julie Gichuru

**Panellists:**

- 1 H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria
- 2 H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of the Republic of South Africa
- 3 Amb. Eng. Mahboub Maalim, Executive Secretary, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
- 4 Amb. Augustine Mahiga, former United Nations Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Office for Somalia

#### Preamble

One of the most stunning characteristics of the African continent is its enormous diversity. The continent is home to myriad ethnic, cultural, racial, religious, socio-economic and political differences. Rather than being a source of strength and opportunity for development, diversity has been partly blamed for the inability of Africa to turn its enormous multiple endowments into an opportunity for development. In part, this is due to the impact of diversity within numerous tensions and conflicts that have rocked countries across the continent. Some have blamed Africa’s diversity for other ills ranging from low economic growth, political instability, high levels of economic inequality, and the abysmal performance of governments in the provision of public goods and other functions of government.

As part of efforts to better understand the nexus between Africa’s diversity and its development, the opening panel session explored ways to better manage diversity in Africa to resolve conflicts and achieve sustainable development.





Moderator: Julie Gichuru

In opening the session, **Ms. Julie Gichuru, moderator**, reflected back to the year 1958. Ghana was one year into independence, and, in December of that year, political leaders from across the continent came together for the first All-African People's Conference. In her remarks, she made the observation that Africa seemed to be fully cognizant of its problems at that time, that Africa knew the challenges it faced when managing diversity. But now, more than 50 years later, the continent remains mired in the same problems. So rather than focus on what needs to be done, she asked panellists to delve deeper to answer the question: Why don't we implement things that we know we must?"

**President Obasanjo** agreed that leaders in most African countries managed diversity into independence no matter where and how, for example, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Léopold Senghor in Senegal, and Nelson Mandela in South Africa. However, he remarked that Nigeria has not managed its tribal diversity well, opting from the start for a federal system of three regions that has since become 36 states. He expressed his belief that diversity is God-given. "How do we make this commonality of diversity become an asset rather than a liability? Because it's an asset."

## ON STRATEGIES TO MANAGE DIVERSITY AND RESOLVE CONFLICT

**Ms. Gichuru** asked **Ambassador Mahboub Maalim** how IGAD was addressing peace and the resolution of conflict in South Sudan, and in terms of managing diversity, what needs to be done?"

*"Once we identify these different kinds of development, then we will definitely address the issue of diversity and we will address the issue of conflict."*

Amb. Mahboub Maalim



In his response, **Amb. Maalim** cited a series of cross-cutting issues that need to be addressed to better manage diversity and conflict throughout Africa, not just in South Sudan. Instruments and interventions need to be put in place to:

- Strengthen the capability of states to deal with internal weaknesses. A state and its leaders must be given the capacity to follow-up and implement policy, and discharge its contract with the citizens to deliver appropriate state and social services such as education and healthcare.
- Address the competition for resources, which is frequently the cause of deadly conflicts. This must be done at both the local community level and at the national and global levels where powerful business interests are often involved.
- Adopt a "discrete development" approach. Development interventions need to be carefully designed to meet the specific needs of different areas and communities.
- Avoid the situation of "break-point" development, for example, where roads have been started, but never completed, where initial schemes have been designed but not implemented. Instead, development goals, even if small in nature, need to be able to be carried forward and realized, finished and satisfied before moving on to the next one.

**Amb. Maalim** further stressed that the President is not the only leader in a country. Leaders start from the smallest communities; if there are 4 huts in a village, then there is a leader in that village, and so on to the next level and the next until the highest level of political leadership. There is also religious and cultural leadership. Leadership cuts across the entire society. Therefore, we need to identify the various types of leadership in individual countries and put in place appropriate mechanisms to ensure accountability at all levels. At the regional level, he also counselled that the organization and mandate for regional institutions need to be periodically examined to reflect desired continental goals.

## ON THE ROOT CAUSES AND RESOLUTIONS FOR CONFLICT: MOVING FROM POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EXCLUSION TO INCLUSIVENESS

**Ms. Gichuru** then welcomed **Ambassador Augustine Mahiga, former Head of the United Nations Office for Somalia** to share his perspective on the complex notion of identity...sectoral, national, regional and continental...from his work in Somalia and elsewhere.

*"It is not enough to envision [an inclusive society], we must create inclusive institutions and the centre of an inclusive institution is the constitution. A constitution crafted that will deliver political opportunities in an equal manner, a constitution that will deliver economic opportunities to all the groups, however diverse and different they are and [these] institutions must be translated into policies."*

Amb. Augustine Mahiga



**Amb. Mahiga** began with the general statement that Africa is blessed with diversity. But from the time of independence, Africa has been challenged or cursed by the lack of managing that diversity. In particular, the mismanagement of diversity had led to inequalities and exclusion, political exclusion and economic exclusion.

He emphatically remarked that political competition and economic competition have been at the root of all conflicts across the continent, whether in the Congo, Sudan or Liberia. Therefore, addressing diversity in Africa must begin by finding ways and means of restoring or correcting that exclusion, both in political terms and in economic terms.

Political inclusiveness needs to be coupled with economic opportunities for all of the different groups in the country. At the centre of this management of diversity, the leadership must have a vision that is inclusive, the leadership must have a commitment, and the leadership must have a national investment.

In turn, countries need to develop inclusive institutions supported by a national constitution. In Tanzania, one of the areas of addressing diversity and minimizing conflict is through opportunities towards education, where you generate and craft an educational system that will provide opportunity to all.

He added that while addressing these inherited and historical inequalities, newly emerging diversities will need to be addressed, for example, the pluralism that arises through the democratic process and the diversities created by market-based societies, such as elites and the unemployed. Gender inequality, too, must no longer be neglected.



## ON THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP TO MANAGE DIVERSITY

In response to the testimony from the two ambassadors, **Ms. Gichuru** asked the panellists how do we start to demand more of our leaders and how do we contain selfish leaders who represent their personal interests and not the interests of their countries or citizens. "Who needs to play with these big boys, to sit with them at the table and tell them enough is enough."

In reply, **President Mbeki** said that the management of diversity is a question of leadership. He agreed with the statements by the ambassadors that a state must be capable to serve the interests of the people, it must have a growing economy, it must share the cake, but added that all of those things come from leadership. They won't drop from the skies. He then described at some length the background to the present civil war in South Sudan which erupted in December 2013. He believed that this conflict and the 40 years of civil war in Sudan as a whole from 1955-1972 and again from 1983 to 2005 were the consequences of a failure of leadership to adequately manage diversity.

**President Obasanjo** concurred with President Mbeki's analysis but added his recollection of the words of former President of Kenya, H.E. Daniel arap Moi that the situation in Sudan was not a fragile relationship between the north and the south of the country but rather a master-slave relationship. Hence, there could be no meeting point by virtue of the accident of the path that had created Sudan. Speaking more broadly, he considered that the real issue underlying the current problems is the path that was historically set down that we now must navigate.



Hon. Zitto Kabwe

**Hon. Zitto Kabwe, a Member of the Parliament of Tanzania** felt that the problem with South Sudan is simply corruption. Upon independence, every military General got a state, became a governor. He considered that this problem was everywhere in Africa. The solution was to have a push for accountability.

**Amb. Maalim** recommended that a strong coalition needs to be established to take issues of leadership head on and address the root causes of problems in African countries.

## ON THE CURRENT STRUCTURE OF GLOBAL POWER AND AFRICA

In his final comments, **President Mbeki** agreed that Africa needed to better manage diversity through leadership. But, taking the examples of the over-fishing of the territorial waters of Senegal by European fishing fleets and the intervention of the U.N. Security Council in Libya the President highlighted that the exercise of international power can undermine the best efforts of the African Union. In effect, in Libya, Western countries were arrogantly saying that "we can decide the fate of any African country as we choose and they did, and we didn't do anything". So, despite African attempts to seriously address African problems and challenges, we must be aware that a structure of global power exists. As part of seeking answers, we will also need to ask ourselves the question, what do we do about it? How do we address this structural problem that we have on our plates.

## 2.2 Session 2: Meeting the Challenges of Africa's Transformation

**Moderator:** Godfrey Mutizwa

**Panellists:**

- 1 H.E. Festus Mogae, former President of Botswana
- 2 Dr. Carlos Lopes, Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
- 3 Dr. Wendy Luhabe, Founder and Chair, Women's Private Equity Fund
- 4 Mr. Omari Issa, Chief Executive Officer, President's Delivery Bureau, Tanzania

### Preamble

Africa needs to transform its economies to create wealth, reduce poverty, minimize inequalities, strengthen productive capacities, enhance the social conditions of its people and achieve sustainable development. With a generally favourable macroeconomic context, Africa has a window of opportunity to change its fortunes permanently, and progress from aid-dependent, low-income countries to middle-income status. However, Africa's capacity to design and implement a successful transformation agenda has been undermined by internal and external factors. While some of these factors are currently being addressed, others persist. This second panel discussion which focused on identifying the pre-requisites for Africa's transformation was televised as a special edition of CNBC Africa.

**Watch the panel discussion using the following link:** <http://goo.gl/oOGi07>

Reflecting on Africa's wealth in natural resources and the current economic boom across the continent, the facilitator **Mr. Godfrey Mutizwa** set the tone of the discussion by asking panellists what was needed to realize this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. Over the course of the session, the following key issues were raised by panellists and the audience.

## ON IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

*"We have wasted so much time that we cannot basically be the new tigers... We have to be cheetahs. Cheetahs run much faster."*

Dr. Carlos Lopes



**Dr. Carlos Lopes, Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa** highlighted the astounding performance of the continent over the last decade in terms of both macro-economic and social indicators, such as the substantial reduction in infant mortality. However, he highlighted that the quality of that growth is lacking. It is growth largely characterized by rent-seeking, with 80% of the continent's exports coming from the extraction and sale of raw minerals without adding value. Growth to date has not tackled social inequality or the problem of unemployment. To change this situation, greater industrialization will be required as has been the case in Asia.



## ON GREATER INCLUSION FOR WOMEN AND YOUTH

**Dr. Wendy Luhabe, Founder and Chair of the Women's Private Equity Fund** remarked it is not a lack of ideas or discussion that is the challenge for the continent, but the inability to implement and to execute. And the obvious solution is the increase of the representation of women—who are the people most qualified to execute and to implement—in the political, economic and institutional leadership of African countries.

And to achieve Africa's full potential will take the re-invention of the African mind. The role and the nature of education will also need to be examined so as to equip women and young people to not only take responsibility for their own transformation, but also to contribute towards finding solutions for Africa's transformation.

**President Mogae** described his pursuit of pro-women policy during his tenure as President. He related that women in his country were very active but when the time came for elections they nominated and voted for men. As a consequence, he now believed in the need for quotas for women to increase representation. Later, in his closing remarks, he reiterated the need for forums such as the ALF to include more women and youth as participants.

In subsequent discussion from the floor, **Dr. Léautier, Partner and Chief Executive Officer, Mkoba Private Equity Fund** added that Africa cannot be transformed without transforming agriculture and you cannot transform agriculture without involving women, because women represent 80% of the labour in agriculture. So that is the first critical sector for Africa's transformation and one of the fastest ways for inclusiveness. The second one is the private sector. Small- and medium-scale enterprises (SMEs) create between 60% and 80% of the jobs in Africa, and 40% of SMEs are led by women, so again this will be a source of inclusive, transformative growth.

## ON HARNESSING THE PRIVATE SECTOR FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT



Mr. Omari Issa

**Mr. Omari Issa, CEO of the President's Delivery Bureau, Tanzania**, highlighted that solutions needed to be sought beyond government. He suggested that much can be learnt from the private sector. Decision making in the sector is swift and accountable. People in the private sector are accountable; you deliver, you get promoted, you get a bonus. You don't deliver, you are out. And you are not out after three years, you are out the following day because you didn't deliver and it's very clear cut. But governments do not have a similar structure. If somebody doesn't deliver in year one, he's still there. Year two, he's still there. Year three, he's still there. Hence, the government is not accountable.

However, in later discussion, **Mr. Issa** remarked that the private sector in Africa is not effectively working together, sometimes even within the same country. He remarked that "People prefer to own one hundred percent of 10 as opposed to fifty percent of 2,000." This mindset and mistrust must be overcome so that African businesses are able to recognize the benefits of collaboration in business growth and risk reduction. He further encouraged the private sector to directly participate

## ON MENTORING LEADERSHIP TO PROMOTE ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY

in the development of policies and regulations not just show up in the grounds of parliament to complain once legislation is enacted. The sector has mechanisms within and between countries to be able to be pro-active. And if they played a more pro-active role, the private sector would grow and more jobs would be created.

**Mr. Issa** highlighted the remarkable work of the Government of Tanzania, which is implementing the Big Results Now (BRN) initiative whereby ministries have key performance indicators and so do ministers. Under this initiative, reports are provided by ministries on a weekly basis. He related that:

*"On a weekly basis, we review what they have been able to do. We don't say, 'Look you have scored red this week'. We say where are the problems this week and we sit with them to find solutions. In this way, accountability becomes very visible as opposed to hiding it through task forces, committees and the like. And I think, gradually, if we continue this process we started with six ministries, we're now rolling in another five ministries and then the sixth one before the end of the year; twelve ministries will have this discipline and you will see a remarkable change, a remarkable transformation of the way the government delivers."*

**Dr. Lopes** added that Africa is scheduled to have 37 elections in 2015, which was unthinkable about fifteen years ago, and a significant indicator of progress in governance across the continent despite the real and serious concerns of conflict and insecurity in many parts of Africa. He counselled that the perception of Africa is always very negative so we need to balance this with a positive sentiment and approach to "brand Africa", because if we don't nobody else is going to.

Once again, the Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) was highlighted as a valuable tool for improving leadership and resolving conflicts. President Mogae said "It has strong teeth because we have heard what advice it has given previous governments and when its advice was ignored, then consequences followed. I think therefore we have to continue to persist and persevere with that arrangement. You don't solve all the problems overnight."

## ON THE NEED TO PROMOTE INTER-AFRICAN TRADE

**President Mogae** further emphasized the need to invest in physical infrastructure to facilitate inter-African trade. African businesses should look beyond national borders and establish partnerships and investment across Africa. Similarly, we must liberalize inter-African travel.

In his closing remarks, **Dr. Lopes** added that African leaders have signed the Yamoussoukro Agreement to free air travel within the continent but have not yet implemented it. Yet they give conditions of access to European airlines that they don't give to other African airlines. Another illustration is that African governments are negotiating economic partnership agreements with Europe, and giving them conditions that we don't give to fellow African countries. This model has to be changed.



Mr. Issa further suggested that knowledge sharing among African countries needs to be encouraged. Best practices and effective solutions that have been proven in neighbouring countries can be more applicable than those found further away.

## ON SUPPORTING PLURALISM

In response to the question on how to build parliaments and other institutions that protect the interests of all citizens, **President Mbeki** remarked that there was no ruling party anywhere on the continent with a monopoly on wisdom. It doesn't exist. Therefore, it is very important that whatever institutions and processes are established give space for the expression of diverse opinions. He gave the example of the electoral laws in South Africa. Following intensive negotiation, a proportional representation system was enacted to support the expression of opinion, such that even the smallest parties and interests have the space to exist and win seats in the parliament.

In his closing remarks to the session, **President Mogae** concurred that the proportional representation system in South Africa is more reflective of the opinion of a country, but his party in Botswana did not support its introduction which he feels is a shortcoming.

In respect to the opposition in Tanzania, **President Mkapa** said that it was not his role to foster the opposition. It was their duty to foster themselves. His primary responsibility was to foster his own party. However, he added that he did not impede the opposition from fostering themselves and he did not put up any obstacles to anyone else outside the country fostering them. Additionally, he allowed the newspaper industry to flourish and he encouraged the founding of Mwananchi publications, which includes The Citizen newspaper. And importantly, during his presidency, for the first time Tanzania produced a national vision... Vision 2025... through a process that was inclusive of all political parties and parliamentarians, religious groups, civil society and so on.

## 2.3 Session 3: Managing Natural Resources to Ensure Prosperity in Africa

**Moderator:** Godfrey Mutizwa

**Panellists:**

- 1 H.E. Festus Mogae, former President of Botswana
- 2 Mr. Ali Mufuruki, Chief Executive Officer, InfoTech Investment Group Ltd.
- 3 Mr. Antonio Pedro, Director, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Sub-Regional Office for Eastern Africa (SRO-EA)

### Preamble

Africa's endowments of natural resources are of world significance. The extraction of these resources has the potential to finance rapid, sustained and broad-based development. Governance will play a key role in managing these natural resources and the use of revenues will have a profound impact on the future course of African economies and the prosperity of Africans for good or ill. Therefore, this session reflected on how countries in Africa, rich in natural assets can better manage their resources.

**Godfrey Mutizwa**, the moderator of the session, challenged the panellists to come up with specific ideas about appropriate models for the exploitation and distribution of natural resources.

## ON THE NEED FOR A LONG-TERM VISION ON EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES

*"A long-term vision of development is required. Otherwise, in thirty years time, the continent may need to import the minerals that it is currently exporting."*

Mr. Antonio Pedro

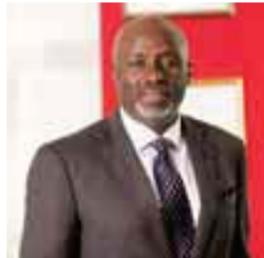


**Mr. Antonio Pedro, Director, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Sub-Regional Office for Eastern Africa** questioned whether the current production-consumption pattern of exporting all of the raw materials will ensure a sustainable Africa in 2050. With a projected population of two billion people in 2050, the continent will need good roads, good cities and good houses. And all of that development will require minerals, iron ore, copper and so on. A long-term vision of development is required. Otherwise, in thirty years time, the continent may need to import the minerals that it is currently exporting. This vision is not solely about mining or optimizing mining, it's about development. It's about how to use these resources with the view to promoting broad-based development. That's the essence of the African Mining Vision.



Later in the discussion, **Mr. Ali Mufuruki, Chief Executive Officer, InfoTech Investment Group Ltd** added that the current fixation on taxation is more a case of politics than a genuine attempt to find solutions. The resource industry and tax regimes and formulae have been around for a long time. He suggested that what is more important especially for investors, for countries and for populations, is the stance that a country adopts towards business. The choices with regard to taxation will be determined by the development choices made by countries. The attitude towards taxation is likely to be very different depending on whether the country simply waits for the resource to be extracted and receives revenue in taxes or royalties from a foreign company, or whether the state itself is the main player in a given sector. So, first of all, Africa needs to think long term.

He said:



Mr. Ali Mufuruki,

*“Do we want to use these resources to actually transform our economy and change it from what it is now, a primitive basis, and base the economy on something more modern? You are going to find that a different fiscal regime will be needed to encourage investments in that sector. You are going to provide training. You are going to charge them less taxes. I think we are having more of a political conversation in terms of let's tax these guys because they are taking a lot of money because we are not those guys. But if we decide to be those guys, if we build a national oil company, a national gas company that does 80% of the gas business, not only will we be talking about gas here, we'll be talking about how are we going to employ? What kind of industries are we going to build? What kind of infrastructure are we going to build with the money?”*

## ON STRATEGIES FOR AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO SECURE GOOD DEALS

**President Mogae** related that at the time of entering the country's first agreement with the diamond company De Beers, Botswana had only 40 college graduates. The agreement allowed De Beers to recover their capital investment on an accelerated basis, which the company estimated would take seven years. But, as it happened, they recovered their investment in only eighteen months. So that's when the government started re-negotiating. But given the government's limited capacity, it brought together a team of international advisors to negotiate on its behalf. The re-negotiation took two years but it resulted in significant long-term benefit for the country.

Later in the discussion, **Mr. Ali Mufuruki** cautioned that Africa needs to be very careful in whom we seek for advice on how to build a national oil or gas company as advisors may provide advice based on their interests not the country's. He suggested that Africans need to talk to one another and build alliances so as to achieve greater bargaining power rather than negotiate as individual countries.

**Mr. Antonio Pedro**, added that the good news is that the establishment of the **African Minerals Development Centre (AMDC)** under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa as a one-stop facility that all African countries and institutions can go to for advice.

**Dr. Léautier, Partner and Chief Executive Officer—Mkoba Private Equity Fund**, stated that the taxation regime needs to be balanced such that companies pay a reasonable proportion of the value of the resources they extract. Therefore, it is critical to have the ability to know when a company has earned far beyond the value of a particular agreement. In these cases, agreements may need to be re-negotiated or windfall taxes introduced. But, there are also reasons when taxes may need to be lowered to encourage exploration which is the most expensive part. If taxes are high, then investors may not come in. So, getting the balance right is important.

**Dr. Carlos Lopes** further counselled that African countries will not only be dealing with extractive companies that actually mine resources but also with commodity traders. And a further important development in this field which adds even greater complexity is when a trader merges with a producer. Therefore, you end up with situations where a country like Zambia has Switzerland as its number one trading partner, although Zambia doesn't export a kilo of anything to Switzerland. But on paper it does, because we are dealing with traders listed on the Swiss stock exchange. This is the most dangerous development because it creates a relationship which is not with the long-term investor which is a mining company, but with speculators.

In response to the moderator's question on whether there is a better model for distributing resources from mining beyond taxing companies or awaiting payments of dividends or royalties, **Dr. Léautier** introduced a series of important issues. First, with respect to implementing agreements to share the revenues from extractive industries, the fluctuating nature of commodity prices must be considered. Second, the process of exploration, which coincides with the period of licensing, is not certain and therefore a lot of the fudging arises at that stage. These two issues have significant implications for the action by African countries. The first one is on the capacity to know what we own, which is very limited right now. Heeding the experience and success of Botswana, if African countries do not have the capacity to know what we own then we should buy that expertise, and, secondly, we must have the flexibility to learn and adjust as time goes which means having the capacity to break contracts. The Guinean example [see below] is a very important one because it gives you that possibility.

Later in the discussion, **Mr. Pedro** reiterated the importance of investing in geology and mineral explorations so as to better know the resources that the continent has. In addition, he said that a skills revolution in the mineral sector in Africa is needed; a revolution beyond the traditional miners and geologists but which includes experts in accountancy, tax and law. By putting in place the whole set of scientists and social experts Africa will be able to maximize the benefits.



## ON SUCCESSFUL MODELS FOR RESOURCE EXPLOITATION IN AFRICA

**Dr. Carlos Lopes, Executive Director, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa** offered several practical examples of well-managed, state-run models for natural resource exploitation. The Société Nationale Industrielle et Minière (SNIM) in Mauritania is an excellent model not only for the extraction of oil but also for its full chain of control in running a railway of 700 kilometres in the middle of the desert. The company's capital is completely in the hands of Mauritania. And the entire staff of the company which is one of the largest, the third largest in Africa, is Mauritanian.

Sonangol Group, the parastatal that oversees petroleum and natural gas extraction in Angola, is another outstanding example of a state-owned company that requires all extraction companies operating in the country to either share the capital and ownership with the Group or for Sonangol to be owners of a proportion of the capital of their main company.

An important feature of these examples is that the natural resource sector has a vision that extends beyond simple exploitation of the resources to integrate the sector into these countries' larger economic missions.

He also highlighted the successful recent re-negotiation of iron ore contracts in Guinea where the value of the agreement for two blocks of the Simandou mine increased from 250 million to 20 billion dollars.

## ON SOCIAL VALUE AND LOCAL EMPOWERMENT



**Ms. Nicole Robins, Director and Founder of Incite, South Africa**, stated that beyond taxation, it is critical that licenses to operate need to be linked to the business model. And if the business model is just focusing on the financial value, then Africa should say that's inadequate. Social value must be present in the business model not simply through the payment of taxes, but through the creation of value of the business itself.

*"I think we need both governments and private sector to have a conversation that will make local populations an integral part of the development process, not passive participants in the economic process."*

Amb. Ami Mpungwe

**Amb. Ami Mpungwe, Chairman, Tanzania Chamber of Minerals and Energy (TCME)**, added that African people expect a lot from Africa's resources and we need to address those concerns and expectations by developing public policies that truly benefit local populations. The old model which was informed by the colonialism that you go into a country and exploit the resources and then leave without offering anything, that era is gone. I think we need both governments and the private sector to have a conversation that will make local populations an integral part of the development process, not passive participants in the economic process. The issue of local empowerment and local involvement needs to be addressed in managing the resources and the benefits of exploration.

## 2.4 Session 4: Strategic Partnerships for Realizing the Transformation Agenda

**Moderator:** Julie Gichuru

**Panellists:**

- 1 H.E. Benjamin Mkapa, former President of Tanzania
- 2 H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa
- 3 Prof. Yash Tandon, former Executive Director of the South Centre

### Preamble

African countries can and should be playing a more strategic role in global partnerships. Africa is the foundation of the global supply chain—a strategic source of raw materials, agriculture, fresh water and energy essential for global growth. Its rainforests play a central role in the planet's climate. Its one billion people are increasingly important consumers. And Africa is strategically placed between time zones, continents and hemispheres.

To maximize the developmental benefits of all its partnerships, Africa needs to implement coherent, coordinated and complementary strategies vis-à-vis different partners, so as to better align its actions and approaches to African-owned objectives and plans. The aim of this session was to reflect on global partnerships to better support sustainable development in Africa.

The moderator, **Ms. Gichuru** opened discussions by inviting President Mbeki to respond to the question: Is there an Africa, a united Africa? Does she know what she needs?

## ON THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN AFRICA AND CHINA

**President Mbeki** gave his answer with reference to the recent history of Africa's negotiation of partnerships with China. Through the Forum on Africa-China Cooperation an agreement between the African continent and China was drafted on how to structure the partnership. That agreement includes what Africa wants out of China and what Africa does not want out of China. And of course it includes what China wants out of Africa.

However, problems arise in the implementation of partnerships at the individual country level, because of the imbalance in strength, in negotiating strength between individual countries and China. African countries may very well have the continental agreement in front of them but they don't have the capacity to negotiate an agreement that remains consistent to this vision. To overcome this problem, South Africa proposed a bilateral agreement with China such that South Africa would provide oversight on any agreement negotiated on the continent to advise if they were contrary to the continental agreement. This latter proposal was not taken up. But throughout, it was clear that because the African continent knew exactly what it wanted it



could negotiate that agreement with China. And it is possible to structure the relationship between Africa and China that is consistent with that agreement. Therefore, if the relationship between China and Africa goes wrong, it's our fault.

## ON STRENGTHENING NEGOTIATING CAPACITY



Prof. Yash Tandon

In response to the moderator's question: "Why doesn't Africa have the capacity to represent its interests?", **Professor Tandon** explained that the Southern East Africa Trade Information and Negotiations Institute (SEATINI) was established with the aim of building the capacity of our people to negotiate. It has three offices, in Zimbabwe, in Uganda and in Kenya. Through training and workshops, ministerial staff are increasing their negotiation skills and improving their knowledge of the language of the World Trade Organization (WTO), but challenges remain. In particular, there's heavy turnover of people in government service. So a state does not have the capacity except those officials who are more or less permanently stationed in Geneva in the WTO. So we have good teams, but because of turnover they are not institutionalized at the country level. Bureaucratic expertise at the highest level needs to be strengthened.

In spite of the extremely good ethical work done with experts in Geneva, **Prof. Tandon** related that when it comes to taking a decision at the highest level, African heads of state do not have significant clout. And he was aware that many corporations get direct calls from the presidents of European countries to sign or axe. So there is considerable asymmetry in power.

## ON THE NATURE OF TRANSFORMATION DESIRED BY AFRICA

In reply to the moderator's question on how to strengthen our relations with strategic partners and position Africa where she can take her space confidently at the negotiating table, **President Mkapa** asked the further question as to what sort of transformation Africa was seeking. Strategic partnerships are for transformation, but transformation to what? Do we wish to have partnerships to build Dubai-like developments in Maputo, in Dar es Salaam and in Lagos, is that the kind of social or economic transformation that we want?

**President Mkapa** counselled that partnerships are about the defence of interests. But he suggested that the types of partnerships now prevailing...which he likened to partnerships between a horse and its rider... ignores or undermines our interests and actively promote others' interests. Rather, we must first agree on what areas of immediate transformation are desired and what partners are needed. He wished for us to be very clear about the kind of transformation Africa desires. Particularly, poor countries like Tanzania. It is not the towers of Dubai but things like books and proper sanitation in our primary schools. It is health, education and food security.

## ON THE NEED FOR IMPLEMENTATION, FOR DOING NOT SAYING

In his closing remarks, **President Obasanjo** related his belief that all of the ingredients of the partnerships that Africa needs are in the continent. It is now up to us. He recommended that current leaders across the continent needed to be linked up, so that they better understand the world we live in and compete in. And impress upon them the correct definition of our interest and then adequately protect and promote that interest. Finally we have to stick together, we must do it together, it must be a social type of partnership. If we don't we will sink. He concluded with a call to action:

*"Let us do more of the do campaign. Let us do more of the do campaign."*

**President Mogae** concluded by saying he wants Africans to be implementation oriented, very practical, and for a change, do what we say we want. Implement. If we implemented half of the resolutions we have made, we would have come very far.

### 3 Next Steps and Closing Remarks by H.E. Benjamin Mkapa

Upon the invitation of **President Mkapa** to identify the next steps in Africa's interest, **Mr. Mufuruki** said that there is a strong correlation between successful development in other countries and tertiary enrolment. Countries like South Korea have tertiary enrolment rates of more than 70%. Most European countries have rates of 50% and above, while Latin America is in the 17-20% range. In comparison, Africa's tertiary enrolment is between 1 and 4%. To move forward, Africa needs a critical mass of highly educated people with the capacity for independent thinking and problem solving. Therefore, deliberate investment in Africa's human resources has to be a core strategy for the continent's development.

In closing the final session and the Forum, President Mkapa spoke of an unknown future:

**"I can't forecast what it will be like, but I do look at my grandchildren. Then ask this, what future do these people have? Have I given them an identity enough in the family level, in the national level, at the continental level and then in the larger world, and the world at large."**

In summing up the outcomes from the Forum, President Mkapa suggested that the Africa Peer Review Mechanism had been identified as one key tool of transformation to strengthen and use as a vehicle for assessing the competence and dedication of the continent's leaders. The Forum had also agreed on the importance of increasing capacity through education. A rider must have the skills to ride the horse. However, he felt that not enough had been discussed about youth. In many countries, youth are not being given a chance to govern. Rather, elders whether they are the first generation or the second generation are reserving all the opportunities and the power for themselves.

To conclude, he thanked the delegates for their attendance and participation. He suggested that the Forum had played a very good part in starting the war to end the system of dependency, the notion that other countries were created by the almighty Lord to be the leaders, politically and economically. Africans and Africa must get rid of this.

## Appendix A: List of Delegates

Name	Designation	Institution
H.E. Benjamin Mkapa (Host)	Former President	United Republic of Tanzania
H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo	Former President	Republic of Nigeria
H.E. Thabo Mbeki	Former President	Republic of South Africa
H.E. Festus Mogae	Former President	Republic of Botswana
Amb. Ombeni Sefue	Chief Secretary	United Republic of Tanzania
Prof. Joseph Semboja	Chief Executive Officer	UONGOZI Institute
Dr. Carlos Lopes	Executive Secretary	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)
Amb. Augustine Mahiga	Former UN Special Representative and Head of the UN Office for Somalia	
Prof. Yash Tandon	Former Executive Director	South Centre
Elsie Kanza	Director for Africa	World Economic Forum
Ali Mufuruki	Chief Executive Officer	Infotech Investment Group Ltd.
Amb. Mahboub Maalim	Executive Secretary	IGAD
Kwacha Chisiza	Charge D'Affairs	Malawi High Commission
Moremi Marwa	Chief Executive Officer	Dar es Salaam Stock Exchange
Hassan Mshinda	Director General	COSTECH
George Otoo	Head- Office of UN Resident Coordinator	UNDP
Dr. Mpavile Msisika	Senior Lecturer	Birkbeck, University of London
Dr. Titus Mlengeya Kamani	Minister	Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development, Tanzania
Aisha Karanja	Executive Director	The Green Belt Movement
Rosheen Kriegler	Managing Director	Blackie and Associates
Amb. Ali Abeid Karume	Member of the National Executive Committee	CCM

# Appendix A: List of Delegates

Name	Designation	Institution
Omari Issa	Chief Executive Officer	President's Delivery Bureau, Tanzania
Emmanuel Ole Naiko	Honourable Consul	Consulate of Botswana
Jacob Frederiks	Ambassador	Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
Mahadhi Juma Maalim	Deputy Minister	Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Tanzania
Florens N. Turuka	Permanent Secretary	Prime Minister's Office, Tanzania
Mosena John Nyambabe	Secretary General	NCCR Mageuzi
Faustin Sungura	Head of Department	NCCR Mageuzi
John Ulanga	Executive Director	The Foundation for Civil Society
Maria Sarungi Tsehai	Director	Compass Communications
Yusuph Kamote	Assistant Manager Star Bunge TV	Sahara Media Group
Baraka H. Luvanda	Coordinator	Chief Secretary's Office- State House, Tanzania
Nasama M. Massinda	Chief Executive Officer	Capital Markets and Securities Authority, Tanzania
Prof. Tolly Salvator A. Mbwette	Vice-Chancellor	Open University of Tanzania
Amb. Ami Mpungwe	Chairman	Tanzania Chamber of Minerals and Energy (TCME)
Austin Chiyaze Muneku	Executive Secretary	Southern Africa Trade Union Council
Antonio Pedro	Director – Sub-Regional Office for Eastern Africa	UNECA
Dr. Wendy Luhabe	Chair	Women's Private Equity Fund
Francis Okomo-Okello	Chairman	Barclays-Kenya

Name	Designation	Institution
Nicola Dale Robins	Director	Incite, South Africa
Hon. Cleopa David Msuya	Retired Prime Minister and Vice President	United Republic of Tanzania
Dr. Frannie Léautier	Partner and CEO	Mkoba Private Equity Fund
Prof. Andrew Temu	Professor of Economics	Sokoine University of Agriculture
Prof. Rwekeza Mukandala	Vice-Chancellor	University of Dar es Salaam
Dr. Ken Kwaku	Executive Chairman	The Kwaku Group
Prof. Mwesiga Baregu Tanzania	Professor	St. Augustine University (SAUT)
Butiku Joseph Waryoba	Executive Director	The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation
Prof. Samwel Wangwe	Executive Director	REPOA
Amb. Juma V. Mwapachu	President	Society for International Development (SID)
Arnold B.S. Kilewo	Managing Director	Saami Holdings LTD
Jackson H. Samwel	Assistant Director	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Tanzania
Tonia Kandiero	Resident Representative Tanzania	African Development Bank
Hon. Frederick Sumaye	Former Prime Minister	United Republic of Tanzania
Amos Chombo	Civil Servant	
Hon. Judge Joseph Warioba	Former Prime Minister	United Republic of Tanzania
Hon. Salim A. Salim	Former Prime Minister	United Republic of Tanzania
Joyce Mhavile	Managing Director	ITV
Rogers Dhliwayo	Economic Advisor	UNDP
Dr. Samwel Nyantahe	Chairman	Confederation of Tanzania Industries

# Appendix A: List of Delegates



Amb. Ali Abeid Karume with Amb. Ombeni Sefue, Chief Secretary of the United Republic of Tanzania

Name	Designation	Institution
Terry Govender	Charge D’Affairs	South African High Commission
Norah Lema Katarwa	Ambassador	Uganda High Commission
Ambrosio Lukoki	Ambassador	Embassy of Angola
Mnaku Mbani	Editor	Business Times, Tanzania
Dr. Shaaban R. Mwintaka	Permanent Secretary	Ministry of Transport, United Republic of Tanzania
Phillip Mpango	Executive Secretary	Planning Commission, United Republic of Tanzania
Job D. Masima	Permanent Secretary	Ministry of Defence and National Service, United Republic of Tanzania
Yamungu Kayandabila	Deputy Permanent Secretary	Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives, United Republic of Tanzania
Malena Rosman	Deputy Head of Development Coop.	Embassy of Sweden
Lillian Secelela Madeje	Chapter Head (Tanzania)	Africa 2.0
Prof. Ammon V.Y. Mbelle	Lead Researcher	UONGOZI Institute
George D. Yambesi	Permanent Secretary	President’s Office, Public Service Management, United Republic of Tanzania
Kabwe Zuberi Zitto	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania
Derek Hudson	President	British Gas East Africa
David Tarimo	Country Senior Partner	PriceWaterhouseCoopers, Tanzania
Godfrey Simbeye	Executive Director	Tanzania Private Sector Foundation



Former Prime Minister, Hon. Salim Ahmed Salim with H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria

Name	Designation	Institution
Sano Lambert	Charge D’Affaires a.i.	Rwanda High Commission
Hector Mphohoni	2nd Secretary: Political	South African High Commission
Japhet Isaack	High Commissioner	High Commission of Namibia
Prefere Ndayishimiye	First Secretary (Ambassador’s Assistant)	Burundi Embassy, Dar es Salaam



Dr. Mpavile Msisika with Amb. Augustine Mahiga



Dr. Ken Kwaku with H.E. Festus Mogae, former president of Botswana



Delegates at the African Leadership Forum



Dr. Carlos Lopes with Miss Elsie Kanza

# Appendix B: Programme of the Forum

## Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> July 2014

Arrival of Participants

19:30 - 21:30

Informal Dinner - Dar es Salaam  
Serena Hotel, Dar es Salaam

## Thursday 31st July 2014

8:30 - 10.30

Dar es Salaam Serena Hotel  
Room Kivukoni 1 & 2

Welcome Remarks by H.E. Benjamin Mkapa, former President of Tanzania  
Keynote Address by H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of the Republic of South Africa  
Plenary discussion on the Keynote Address – Moderated by H.E. Benjamin Mkapa

10.30-11.00

Coffee/Tea Break

11.00-13.00

Dar es Salaam Serena Hotel  
Room Kivukoni 3

**Session I: Managing Diversity in Africa**

**Moderator: Julie Gichuru**

**Panellists:**

H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria

H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of the Republic of South Africa

Amb. Eng. Mahboub Maalim, Executive Secretary, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

Amb. Augustine Mahiga, Former UN Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Office for Somalia

**Session II: Meeting the Challenges of Africa's Transformation (Televised session)**

**Moderator: Godfrey Mutizwa**

**Panellists:**

H.E. Mogae, former President of Botswana

Dr. Carlos Lopes, Executive Director, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)

Dr. Wendy Luhabe, Founder and Chair, Women's Private Equity Fund

Mr. Omari Issa, Chief Executive Officer, President's Delivery Bureau, Tanzania



Professor Joseph Semboja with H.E. Benjamin Mkapa

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## Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> July 2014

Arrival of Participants

**19:30 - 21:30**

Informal Dinner - Dar es Salaam  
Serena Hotel, Dar es Salaam

## Thursday 31st July 2014

**13.00-14.00**  
Lunch

**14.00-16.00**  
Room Kivukoni 3

**Session III:**  
Managing Natural Resources to Ensure Prosperity in Africa

**Moderator:** Godfrey Mutizwa

**Panellists:**

H.E. Festus Mogae, former President of Botswana

Mr. Ali Mufuruki, Chief Executive Officer, Infotech Investment Group Ltd.

Mr. Antonio Pedro, Director, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA),

Sub-regional Office for Eastern Africa (SRO-EA)

**16.00-16.30**  
Coffee/Tea Break

**16.30-18.00**  
Room Kivukoni 3

**Session IV- Strategic Partnerships for Realizing the Transformation Agenda:**  
How Should Africa Engage with Others?

**Moderator:** Julie Gichuru

**Panellists:**

H.E. Benjamin Mkapa, former President of Tanzania

H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa

Prof. Yash Tandon, former Executive Director of the South Centre

**NEXT STEP**  
**19.00-21.30**

Gala Dinner  
Hosted by  
H.E. Benjamin Mkapa  
at the Garden





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**UONGOZI Institute**

Institute of African Leadership for  
Sustainable Development



The United Republic of Tanzania

**Benjamin William Mkapa**

*Former President of the United Republic of Tanzania*