

AFRICAN UNION

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**FIRST CONFERENCE OF INTELLECTUALS
OF AFRICA AND THE DIASPORA
6 – 9 October 2004
DAKAR, SENEGAL**

Rapt/Rpt/CAID (I)

**REPORT OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE
OF INTELLECTUALS OF AFRICA
AND THE DIASPORA**

REPORT OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE
OF INTELLECTUALS OF AFRICA AND THE DIASPORA

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The First Conference of Intellectuals of Africa and of the Diaspora organized by the African Union in collaboration with the Republic of Senegal was held at the Hotel Le Méridien, in Dakar, Senegal, from 6 to 9 October 2004. The Conference was a follow up to, and a logical extension of, the first Meeting of African Intellectuals and Personalities of Culture which took place in Dakar, Senegal, in 1996.

2. Around seven hundred (700) intellectuals and men and women of culture from Africa and its Diasporas particularly those from North, Central and South America, the Caribbean, Europe and the Arab world attended the Conference. The Meeting was graced by the presence of Heads of State, Heads of Government and Vice-President of the following countries: South Africa, Cape Verde, Mali, Nigeria, Uganda, Senegal and the Gambia. Also in attendance were representatives of other Member State's Governments as well as the international organizations and organizations of the United Nations system.

3. The general theme around which the Conference was held was "Africa in the 21st Century: Integration and Renaissance". To facilitate deliberation, this general theme was sub-divided into six (6) sub-themes, namely:

- Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century;
- Contribution of Intellectuals of Africa and of the Diaspora to the Strengthening of African Integration in the Global Context of the 21st Century;
- Relations between Africa and its Diasporas;
- The African Identity within a multi-Cultural Context;
- The Place of Africa in the World; and
- Africa, Science and Technology: Stakes and Prospects.

4. The above sub-themes were presented to participants in plenary sessions and discussed in-depth in various Committees in accordance with programme of the Conference hereunder.

5. The report which follows presents summarily the deliberations of the Conference. It also recalls the context of the Conference and its various constituent elements namely, the Opening Ceremony and the Roundtable of the Heads of State, the reports of the thematic Committees with the recommendation made from the deliberations, finally the closing ceremony.

II. PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE AND CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS

6. The General Programme of the Conference is attached as Annex. In addition to the discussions on the Sixth Themes which constitute the framework, the programme of the Conference also included:

- Gala Evening in honour of the African Nobel Laureates. In attendance were over 800 personalities among whom were Prof. Wole Soyinka and H.E. Frederick de Klerk of South Africa;
- Roundtable of Heads of State;
- Intergeneration Dialogue during which over 1,000 African youth exchange views with African personalities on issues revolving around culture, globalization, education, training and health;
- Sound and Light Show at Gorée Island, a historical site.

7. The inter-generational dialogue and the Gala Evening will be the subject of separate reports which are annexed to this report.

BUREAU OF THE CONFERENCE

8. The Bureau of the Conference was elected by acclamation as follows:

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|--|
| - Chairperson | : | Mr. Adigun Ade ABIODUN |
| - Vice-Chairperson | : | Prof. Iba Der THIAM |
| - Vice-Chairperson | : | Ms. Martha JOHNSON |
| - Vice-Chairperson | : | Mr. Edem KODJO |
| - Vice-Chairperson | : | Ms. Zen TADESE |
| - Rapporteur | : | Mr. Théophile OBENGA
assisted by Mr. Alioune SALL |

III. OPENING CEREMONY AND ROUNDTABLE OF HEADS OF STATE

9. The Opening Ceremony was chaired by His Excellency Maître Abdoulaye WADE President of the Republic of Senegal, host of the Conference. The occasion was marked by two addresses:

A. Address by Mr. Alpha Oumar Konaré, Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union

10. After expressing his immense joy at participating in the event, the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union, Alpha Oumar Konaré paid deserving tribute to Maître Abdoulaye Wade, President of the Republic of Senegal, and Brother Leader Muammar Al Gaddafi whose contribution made it possible to convene this meeting.

11. Through Maître Abdoulaye Wade, he extended his fraternal greetings to the people of Senegal and paid his respect to African Heads of State, and the Nobel Prize Laureates from Africa and the Diaspora before recalling the two major areas of the Conference, integration and renaissance of Africa. He also paid tribute to the Noble Laureates of Africa and the Diaspora, then thanked the intellectuals of Africa and the Diaspora and all Africanists who have agreed to contribute to the building of the future of Africa through their thoughts.

12. Chairperson Konaré then highlighted the capacity of resistance demonstrated by the peoples of Africa and of the Diaspora and call upon them to continue that resistance according to new modalities. It is in this context that he placed the contribution of the intellectuals: think with a critical mind. An African modernity to be invented and which would focus on meeting the needs of the peoples and individuals. Chairperson Konaré also stressed several major challenges facing Africa such as development financing, developing African languages and indigenous knowledge, integrating science into culture, the struggle for integration which defines Africa without reference to its linguistic or geographical particularities, contributing to implementation of programmes initiated by the African Union and NEPAD.

13. Chairperson Konaré concluded his statement by calling upon the Heads of State to offer their hands to the intellectuals to solicit their varied expertise and build a totally integrated Africa by shouldering their duty of solidarity with Diaspora.

B. Opening Statement by H.E. Maître Abdoulaye Wade, President of the Republic of Senegal

14. President WADE first welcomed the Conference participants to Senegal and then thanked his Peers for accepting his invitation. He, in particular, expressed gratitude to Brother Leader Gaddafi for supporting, from the onset the idea of convening the Conference of Intellectuals of Africa and of the Diaspora. He further commended the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, H.E. Alpha Oumar Konaré, for the able manner in which he has been managing affairs of the Continent.

15. President Wade then traced the events leading up to the Conference, with special mention of the First Congress of Black Writers and Artists held in 1956, and the first meeting of African Intellectuals in 1996. He emphasized the importance of the Conference which, he said, was intended to that would revisit the History of Africa, build Africa's awareness, forge a new continental identity and explore ways and means of projecting Africa's image in a changing and complex world.

16. President WADE further underscored the decisive role played by African intellectuals, most of who have for long, and for the most part, been marginalized for fear that they could vehicle innovative ideas. He called for sustained interaction between Civil Society and governments in order to build a new integrated and united Africa.

17. President WADE commended the founding Fathers of Pan-Africanism and their successors for their action and for their firm commitment to the cause of Africa. He then dwelt at length on Pan-Africanism which, in his view, constitutes a pragmatic response to the collective aspirations of the African people. Highlighting the pivoted role to be played by the Diaspora, the President recalled the initiative to declare it as the 6th Region of Africa, with a coordinator and a representative to the African Union in charge of relations with the Diaspora. President WADE pointed to the need for restoring peace in the Continent and expressed satisfaction and welcomed the idea of launching the Decade of Peace in Africa.

18. Turning to NEPAD, President WADE touched on its three basic parameters – freedom, as the foundation of development, good governance and the region. As regards governance, he at length deplored the lack of negotiating capacity in some African Executives, which resulted in the squandering our national heritage. He then recommended of a common investment code for all African countries as a way of bringing an end to certain competitive situations detrimental to Africa.

19. He concluded his statement by urging the intellectuals of Africa and of the Diaspora to bring their long-expected inputs to the African Renaissance process. He then declared the Conference open and wished the participants full success in their deliberations.

IV. ROUNDTABLE OF HEADS OF STATE

A. Introduction

20. At the end of the Opening Ceremony, a Roundtable was organized on the general theme of the Conference in which Presidents Thabo Mbeki (South Africa), Yoweri Museveni (Uganda), Pedro Pires (Cape Verde), Amadou Toumani Toure (Mali) and Abdoulaye Wade (Senegal) participated. Mrs. Isatou Njie-Saidy (Vice-President of The Gambia) and the representatives of the Heads of State of Algeria and Gabon also took floor during that part of the deliberations.

B. Proceedings of the Roundtable

Contribution by President Thabo MBEKI

21. In his contribution, H.E. Mr. Thabo MBEKI, underlined two points: First, that the Conference belonged to the intellectuals rather than Heads of State; and second, that the one common denominator among all those

present was the commitment to changing Africa for the better. Recalling Karl Marx's dictum that "philosophy only interpreted the world; the point however, is to change it", President Mbeki called upon the intelligentsia to be guided by this wisdom henceforth. In his view, it was critically important that the intelligentsia was not only engaged, but constructively engaged with the priority questions and concerns confronting the Continent. Thereafter, he proceeded to post three questions that should guide the intelligentsia in its work. The intelligentsia should help find replies to the second question which is "from where Africa can obtain resources to develop itself?". "How to obtain huge capital for Africa while there is substantial capital outflow because of debt?"

22. The third point raised by the President was "is possible to achieve Africa integration and renaissance without progressive element? Or instance, issues like emancipation of women and empowerment of rural masses could not be championed by conservatives.

23. To conclude he stressed the need for the Diaspora to adopt a pragmatic approach to its work and to actively engage in the deliberations with the various concerns facing Africa.

Contribution by President Yoweri MUSEVENI

24. In his contribution, President MUSEVENI, identified eight (8) issues that he considered as strategic constraints to Africa's development according to his observation in a period of about 10 years.

Africa's Small Population, Societal Distortion and Balkanization

25. The colonial conquest was facilitated by the fact that Africa was a vast continent, sparsely populated and controlled by small kingdoms with abundance of natural resources. This factor, rather than the classical argument of technological superiority, had a dominant influence in the colonization of Africa. Before colonization there were three (3) classes in African societies: feudal, handicraft and peasant segments. The colonialists distorted African social structures. This distortion has not been adequately corrected to this day and Africa continues to suffer from weak social structures dominated by economically weak peasantry. The President deplored the continuous fragmentation of African nation States that placed Africa in a position of weakness during negotiation with powerful countries. He gave the example of China, which is capable of initiating economic negotiations from a position of strength. He urged Africa to unite and consolidate its negotiating position in the world and to avoid "Balkanization" of the continent. The President deplored the continuous fragmentation of African States/national unites which placed Africa in a position of weakness during negotiation with powerful countries. He gave the example of China which is capable of initiating economic negotiations from a position of force. He urged Africa to consolidate its negotiating position in the world.

Lack of Infrastructure and Underdeveloped Private Sector

26. Weak transport and communication links hinder Inter-African trade and integration of the African peoples. Citing Uganda as an example, the President said that the private sector can enhance efficiency in the economy as compared to public enterprises. However, privatization need not be implemented religiously as prescribed by the IMF and the World Bank.

Export of Raw Materials, Import Substitutes and Human Resources Development

27. The President noted how African countries were losing income as well as jobs by selling raw cotton fiber and seeds instead of the final products. He also mentioned the example of coffee to show differences in income between the export of raw materials and sale of the final product. The building of factories to meet the demand in 70s and 80s could not stimulate the African economy rather led to huge debt burden because of small non-sustainable national markets. He stressed the need to look for access to bigger markets in other continents and to obtain assistance for building the capacity of Africa to market rather than to simply meet the national demand. The President urged African countries to develop their human resources in order to build capacities to add value to raw materials and create wealth.

Contribution by President Pedro PIRES

28. In his contribution, President Pedro PIRES of Cape Verde stressed the need for Africa to take advantage of its human, cultural and technological resources. He called for the modernization of African societies through the utilization of its existing technical capacities with a view to finding solutions to Africa's challenges that will enable her implement policies to overcome crisis situations and achieve socio-economic democracy. He stated that Africa has the necessary human resources to manage changes in the African society. He further underlined the importance of developing qualitative training and educational programmes for the people.

29. On the issue of brain drain, he called on the Conference of Intellectuals to find ways and means to keep qualified human resources within the country. In this regard, he invited the Conference to consider the causes of brain drain in Africa, among others, lack of confidence between political and intellectuals' powers, inadequate emoluments or simply, pessimism. He stressed the need for confidence building between politicians and intellectuals, for both elements are essential in facing and conquering the challenges of development, with the assistance of the Diaspora and other countries. He also called for more solidarity in order to eradicate racism and discrimination, and urged the intellectuals to identify activities to be undertaken jointly with the politicians under the African Union and its programme NEPAD.

Contribution by President Amadou Toumani TOURE

30. In his intervention, President Amadou Toumani TOURE of Mali, used onomatopoeia to develop two ideas about poverty and democracy.

31. With regard to poverty he said that it was only the state of mind and that Mali, although classified according to Western criteria, among the poorest countries of the world, had a remarkable cultural identity and that it hosted the University of Timbuktu, one of the oldest in the world; a culture which did not isolate the old people in old people's homes and which did not also encourage the proliferation of the homeless. Therefore, it was necessary to make the conceptualization of poverty criteria more relative.

32. The same applied to democracy for, in the same way that we see non-democratic military people in Africa we also see dictators in the developed world. Therefore, he concluded that there were no pre-established rules to judge the good and bad democrats.

Contribution by Vice-President Mrs Isatou NJIE-SAIDY

33. In her contribution the Vice-President of The Gambia, congratulated the African leaders for having introduced gender equality in the Commission of the African Union. She also commended the adoption of a Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights relating to the Rights of Women in Africa at the Assembly of the African Union in Maputo in July 2003, while also lamenting the fact that while more than thirty (30) countries had signed the Protocol, only a few countries had ratified it commending the practice of President Wade along with him on different missions in order to expose them to the issues confronting their country and the rest of the Continent, she appealed for inclusion of the youth, women and civil society to be fully engaged in what goes on in their countries. She further observed that while Africa had a weak start, the problems facing the Continent do not stay the same, but rather have evolved over time. In the same way, ways of solving these changing problems had also evolved over time, to an extent where the APRM process was now in place as a good check to African leaders to remain vigilant. While recognizing Africa's capacity to face the problems and the richness of its traditions and while reiterating her confidence in the participants in the Conference, the Vice-President called upon participants to go beyond mere theories to concrete action likely to have an impact on the people.

Contribution of the Representative of the President of Gabon

34. The representative of the Republic of Gabon conveyed the full support of President Bango for this initiative. He acknowledged the important note of intellectuals in meeting the challenge of development and urged that reflections at this gathering of intellectuals should go beyond theoretical consideration to embrace the demands of implementation of developments agenda as envisaged in the NEPAD Programme. This gathering must also help to define Africa's relationship with the rest of the world in concrete

terms of necessity, this task would also entail the deepening of democracy in various countries. Democratization is inevitable but the process is associated with certain problems. The proliferation of wars and conflict on the Continent is one of such problems and it underscores the need for a peaceful environment as a pre-requisite for development. The Gala night held for Nobel Prize Winners on 5th October and the Declaration of a Decade for Peace are, therefore, steps in the right direction. Finally, the enthusiasm that has been shown here today at this gathering of intellectuals in the Continent and of the Diaspora is a positive force that should be harnessed as imperative to promoting development on the African Continent.

Contribution of the Representative of the President of Algeria

35. After paying deserved tribute to His Excellency, President Abdoulaye Wade and His Excellency Alpha Oumar Konaré whose combined efforts he said, led to the successful organization of the Conference, the Representative of the President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria expressed delight at Africa's re-entry into the international scene which in his view was today characterized by radical changes occasioned by new political and economic values. These changes had made it imperative for Africa to organize its Renaissance on the foundation of integration, as the only way for the Continent to take full advantage of the globalised economy.

36. The speaker noted that the integration which was being conducted under the political leadership of the African Union, would materialize through concrete projects mapped out and driven by the people of Africa, such as the NEPAD. By contributing to the execution of these projects, the intellectuals of Africa and of the Diaspora would have enhanced the living conditions of the people of Africa and the political and social maturity of the Continent.

37. Underscoring the essence of democracy, the representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria stated that genuine democracy transcends mere institutional formalism. It is not a definitive goal; rather, it develops from the cross-fertilization of ideas and interests requiring both initiation and permanent training, of which the intellectual is the teacher.

38. The speaker defined the optimal conditions for such integration and called upon intellectuals of Africa and of the Diaspora to develop Africa's technological potential and strive for further achievements in science and technology, without which our democratic freedom could be eroded. Such a mastery depended on the priority choices in education and research.

Intervention by Muammar Al Gaddafi, Leader of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, by video conference

39. Addressing African intellectuals by video-conference, the Leader of the Libyan Revolution, Brother Leader Muammar Al Gaddafi, thanked them for coming from across the world to attend the Conference. According to the Guide, this was proof of their commitment to the continent of their forebears

reinforced his confidence in the African. It also showed that Africa is in the process of closing its ranks and becoming united. Brother Leader Gaddafi then expressed his opinion about Africa and Africans through the following seven (7) reference points:

- Language: Brother Gaddafi stated that we should rehabilitate African languages by choosing three or four of them, with specific alphabets that are not tied to the Latin alphabet which deforms our native languages. He warned that if we lose our languages we will lose our identity, roots, technologies and cultures.
- African indigenous religion and beliefs: The Brother Leader advised that we should promote traditional religions to unite Africa.
- African Housing: there is the need to rehabilitate and preserve the African traditional houses and architecture because they are suited to our climatic conditions.
- African food traditions must be developed and promoted to encourage food security;
- Africa's stability: the Leader of the Libyan Revolution traced Africa's political progress in three stages, starting from the Founding Fathers of the OAU who liberated their people from the yoke of colonialism; the military era characterized by instability in the continent, and then the period of elections – another source of instability; and finally, the era of revolts against democratically elected Presidents. He urged for people-centered leadership through the Peoples' Congresses.
- Africa must unite so as to acquire greater negotiating powers; the Leader suggested the establishment of common Ministries of Trade, Foreign Affairs and Defense for the whole continent, as well as one well-resourced African Congress with real powers to promote Africa;
- He urged the African Diaspora to assist Africa and contribute to her economic development.

40. The Leader concluded his intervention by recommending to the participants of the Conference to:

- Read the "Green Book"
- Create a Diaspora Front to assist mother Africa;
- Make efforts towards establishing United States of Africa, and
- Establish a Pan-African Congress.

V. DEBATE ON THE INTERVENTIONS OF HEADS OF STATE

41. In the debate that ensued after the presentations of the Heads of State and their representatives, interventions from the floor either provided additional information and/or dwelt on the following major issues:

- reversal of the capital flight, a phenomenon which hampers the financing of the Continent's economy. Heads of State were urged to come up with restraining measures against Africans who keep capital abroad;
- the relations between intellectuals and politicians are often marked by distrust and almost exclusive appropriation of development issues by the politicians. These relations would be reflected by the lack of impact of intellectuals on Africa's development;
- use of Africa's raw materials: how can our raw materials be processed locally so as to enhance their value added?
- Pursuant to President Wade's proposals on the eventual recommendations of this Conference, one Speaker suggested that:
 - i) the African Union works towards establishing a common government;
 - ii) this government takes on board the initiatives of the intellectuals in their various fields of competence; and
 - iii) that the concept of "intellectual" be given a more inclusive definition;
- shouldn't the theme of the Conference be "Integration and Development", since the term "Renaissance" is rooted on Western ideals of rediscovery after a dark phase?
- the need for the Diaspora to organize itself to become the 6th Region of the African Union was stressed. He recalled that the World Council of the African Diaspora had already been established which called on the Heads of State to establish a partnership and prepare solutions to the problems of the Continent. Have the different African Diasporas already resolved their identity problem in their respective geographical localities to be able to provide an input to the resolution of the problems of the Continent?

42. The Heads of State provided answers to some of the above questions.

- on the issue of fear of intellectuals by governments: the intellectuals should themselves, on the basis of the principle of cooperation, make clear the various disciplines so as to allow for

useful complementarity. The Heads of State observed that, in general, the climate of fear was incidental to oppressive regimes which gave little importance to education and scientific research. In any case they stressed that it could be useful to set up a consultation mechanism between the intellectuals and politicians;

- on the issue of the theme of the Conference Renaissance or Development. Westerners have no monopoly over the meaning of the concept of the idea of reviving the fundamental values indispensable for building African modernity;
- on the Diaspora, its different geographical locations should not constitute a problem. What is important is that the Diaspora should be integrated into the countries to which they belong, while at the same time contributing to the construction of the Continent of its forebears;
- on the local processing of raw materials, Africa has the minimum expertise to stimulate industrialization. However, it is constrained by the shortage of capital. Some African countries have already established mechanisms to enhance intellectual creativity in the technological field.

VI. PLENARY SESSIONS AND DELIBERATION IN COMMITTEES ON THE THEMES OF THE CONFERENCE

43. With respect to the 6 sub-themes of the Conference there were two presentations followed by two comments by invited readers. The full presentations and comments have been included in the proceedings of Conference. At this juncture, this report presents a synoptic overview of all the deliberations focusing on key issues and debates as follows:

1. Sum up the papers and related comments;
2. Highlight the major questions raised by participants;
3. Present the recommendations made at the end of the deliberations;
4. Present, where applicable, the follow-up mechanisms.

44. The deliberations of the committees reflected very much the mood set by the deliberations of the Heads of State particularly the call by Leader Gaddafi for the need to move towards uniting Africa. Further, the need to consider ways of using technology to enhance Africa's development and the need to tap on Africa's intellectual resources both on the continent and in the Diaspora were emphasized. The need to rethink what Pan-Africanism will be needed to inspire Africans was given considerable attention with all committees interrogating the concept of Pan-Africanism in the 21st century. Throughout the deliberations a number of themes emerged as crosscutting and these are summarized in the reports below.

COMMITTEE 1:

THEME: PAN-AFRICANISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

45. The Committee considered the above theme; its deliberations were directed by the following Bureau:

Bureau:

Chairperson: Prof. Oba T'SHAKA
Rapporteurs: - Prof. George Nzougou
- Dr. Alinah Kelo Segobye

46. Two presentations were made on this theme:

- Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century (Prof. Elikia M'BOKOLO)

47. Considering that Pan-Africanism was a purely African ideology (if we mean by ideology a system of ideas, representation social concepts which express the interests of social categories and groups) and its roots are in word of African-American liberation expressing the aspirations of Africans and peoples of Africa. Prof. M'Bokolo analyzed in his document the intellectual and political evolution of Pan-Africanism, its nature and a sense of its multiple struggle, its real impact in African societies, the magnitude of its successes and failures, and finally, the relevance of Pan-Africanism vis-à-vis the challenges of contemporary Africa.

48. He addressed two questions:

- Which history for Pan-Africanism?
- The history of Pan-Africanism, for what purpose?

Which history for Pan-Africanism?

49. Prof. M'Bokolo observed that re-visiting the history of Pan-Africanism is critical to an appreciation of the complexity of Pan-Africanism. There would thus be a history of Pan-Africanism conventionally based on a "Trans-Atlantic Triangle" approach with three components – Anglophone, Francophone and Latin America, particularly Brazil or Pan-Africanism as an integral movement. Prof. M.BOKOLO therefore proposed the re-constitution of this "Triangle" in his paper.

50. There is also an aspect of the complexity of Pan-Africanism which was not taken on board should now be considered:

- A Pan-Africanism of the "Congresses" (five Pan-African "Congresses" between 1900 and 1945);
- A Pan-Africanism that emerged from the Manchester Conference where the role of African-Americans was highlighted.

51. In addressing the second questions, Prof. M'Bokolo noted that it was urgent to learn from what happened in the past in order to take stock of the situation. He concluded his presentation by asking question about the role of intellectual in society.

**- Pan-Africanism, 1441 to the 21st Century:
Building on the vision of our ancestors by Tony Martin**

52. Tony Martin's objective in his paper was to give a broad overview of Pan-Africanism. His analysis goes back to the transatlantic slave trade which had a crucial impact on the peoples of Africa resulting from the desire of Africans in the Diaspora to return to their homeland, with the feeling that in order to return, they must unite. Consequently, there were many return movements (e.g. Trinidad and Tobago, Haiti).

53. These movements produced the nuclei of a definition of Pan-Africanism, that is, the recognition until 1900 of a global community of African peoples wishing to return to mother Africa. From 1900 onwards, a new element was introduced into Pan-Africanism which was no longer merely a desire to return to Africa, but rather a demand for the emancipation of African peoples and more rights for African-Americans. Forced globalization subsequently led to a new Pan-Africanism.

54. In concluding, Tony Martin highlights six (6) ideas namely:

- The need for the formation of a Global African Community;
- Gradual return of Pan-Africanism towards Africa, its original matrix;
- Africa as a base for black peoples;
- Advocacy for the idea of a United States of Africa;
- Establishment of economies of scale;
- Need for Africans to have political impact on the world.

Discussion:

55. Pan-Africanism was defined by some as an ideology, by others as a political doctrine for the African Renaissance and the transformation of Africa. It was seen as a political, cultural, social and economic vision of African Renaissance that represents a set of values based on Africa to which we all adhere wherever we are.

56. The under-representation of the contributions of the Francophone in the Pan-Africanist movement was highlighted. A consensus was reached on a definition of Pan-Africanism as being the cultural, political unity and development of Africans throughout the world. It must compromise the whole of Africa and the African Union should be the focal point. Pan-Africanism is a challenge for the future, a dynamic vision of African Renaissance symbolizing a partnership of State and citizens whose need for

direct participation in the affairs of the Government and decision-making was stressed.

57. The cultural and governance practices subtending African Unity, the utilization/adaptation of the African consensus system in the Parliaments, the facilitation of travel of Africans across borders were considered as well as the issues of African conflicts which placed Pan-Africanism in bad light and on which there was need for critical debate.

The Concept of a United States of Africa (USA) was interrogated:

58. It focused on two questions on what did a USA mean for Africa?

- a) What is the process of building the United States of Africa?
- b) What is the process for establishing the constitution of United States of Africa (USA)?
 - The concept of United States of Africa is a legacy of the founding fathers of Pan Africanism. It is the ultimate political integration of Africa. However, its content is varied and needs to be debated, in order to arrive at a consensus on the acceptable model.
 - The process of establishing the constitution of the United States of Africa is already underway. A second Draft Constitution is in circulation, while a 3rd Draft is anticipated in May 2005 (see ACSO doc.). The Conference of African intellectuals and the Diaspora should catalyze the process of establishing the constitution of the United States of Africa, as part of the follow-up mechanism of this forum.

The Diaspora as a 6th Region of the AU was proposed:

59. The question on how to structure the Diaspora to make it as the 6th region was raised. To that effect:

- There is need to establish a representative body including the major regions of the world.
- 20 Diaspora organizations will be part of ECOSOCC, the advisory body of the African Union.
- There is a need to clearly define the Diaspora.
 - First generation or ancient Diaspora or African-American;
 - Second generation or new African Diaspora.

Recommendations

- a) Setting up of an African experts group to serve as a 'think tank' to the AU.
- b) Promotion of publications on African history and culture and their wide dissemination through all media to promote the knowledge of Africa and the Diaspora and to be used by all African schools.
- c) Restoration and strengthening of African history, African languages, African studies and support for cultural exchange of scholars, establishment and/or revitalization of Institutes of African studies, to sustain the universities.
- d) Promotion of creative arts and literature and support for the work of Pan African Association.
- e) Development of databases of associations to promote networking.
- f) To call for all African governments to support the universities, freedom of speech, academic and media freedom.
- g) To promote the concept of African citizenship and the establishment of an African Passport.
- h) To promote the concept of the United States of Africa and initiate/launch the debate in order to reach a consensus on an acceptable model.

COMMITTEE 2

THEME: CONTRIBUTION OF INTELLECTUALS FROM AFRICA AND OF THE DIASPORA TO THE STRENGTHENING OF AFRICAN INTEGRATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

60. The Committee considered the above theme; its deliberations were directed by the following bureau:

Bureau:

Chairperson: Madam Monique Ilboudo
Rapporteurs: - Mr. Atutse Abogbli
- Mrs. Suzanne Kala-Lobé

61. Two papers were presented by Mr. Thandika Mkandawire and Mr. Mamadou Diouf.

Presentation by Mr. Thandika MKANDAWIRE

62. Mr. Thandika Mkandawire focused his presentation on the relationship between Pan-Africanism and Africa's contemporary concerns. Originating from the Diaspora and in the determination of blacks to combat slavery, Pan-Africanism was both an ideology and a programme of action, although contingencies often detached it from day-to-day concerns.

63. As a programme of action, Pan-Africanism concentrated only on decolonization, since issues relating to political unity and economic integration proved to be its downfall. However, it is precisely the concerns of unity and integration which, in Africa's present context, constitute the greatest challenges. This failure justifies an analytic evaluation of Pan-Africanism to: (i) identify the causes of its inefficiency, and (ii) instill the conditions for the renewal of its substance and focus.

64. Dr. Mkandawire listed a series of cumulative causes of the failure of Pan-Africanism: lack of national anchorage, demonization of ethnic identities, the predominance of the State and its laws over individual rights, and the absence of citizenship all of which ensured the failure of integration.

65. The speaker concluded that there was an urgent need to work out a new approach to Pan-Africanism, according to a paradigm that would take on board effective democratization, the participation of all segments of the society and the struggle for democracy, justice and human rights.

Presentation by Mamadou DIOUF

66. Mr. Mamadou DIOUF posed the question how the stakes involved in African Renaissance would be managed and controlled in relation to the imperatives of building integration in the current political context of the African Union. Using an investigative method relying on a historical model, he embarked on a re-design of the geography of Pan-Africanism using bibliographic archives. This approach could enable contemporary Africa to take an interest in Pan-Africanism today. This interest resides in two fundamental values inherent in the origin of Pan-Africanism, namely: diversity and modernity.

67. The history of Pan-Africanism had indeed been fashioned from geographical, linguistic, cultural and physical diversities. The lesson to be drawn therefrom is simple and forceful: Africa's integration would avoid getting mired in narrow minded, simplistic and homogenizing models in

order for it to be realized with the totality of the diversities existing in the continent.

68. Contemporary Africa was in a position to organize and reflect on the question of its integration on the basis of a modernity paradigm involving debate, views-sharing and diversity of opinion, thus moving along the same lines as the Pan-Africanist movement dating back to the 18th Century.

Discussion

69. Discussions were structured around the following three issues:

1. Evaluation of the contribution of intellectuals of Africa and of the Diaspora to integration issues and process.
2. The condition of intellectuals in Africa and in the Diaspora and their role in the consolidation of African integration; constraints and commitments.
3. Various levels of integration and major instruments of integration: the African Union and its programme (NEPAD); the regional economic communities; the inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations in Africa and in the Diaspora working on integration issues.

70. The main thrust of the discussions consisted in the definition or understanding of a number of concepts such as: African intellectuals, their role and sense of commitment; the nature of relationships between intellectuals and politicians; the question of intellectuals being subjected to contingent realities and, the difficulty in revitalizing African thought. These observations developed in various ways by many of the speakers in a sense enabled the participants to readily evaluate the contribution of intellectuals of Africa and of the Diaspora to integration issues and processes.

71. It was observed that after the high points of the early 1960s when many intellectuals were prolific in projecting the African thinking, with scholars such as Cheikh Anta Diop, and politicians like Kwame Nkrumah, the concept of Pan-Africanism remained embryonic. Even though it was somehow revived by the "FEANF" it gained wide popularity only among the students' movements in the Diaspora. Cheikh Anta Diop's works and Nkrumah's theses featured among the prominent references. But right from the 1980s, the African thinking stagnated. It expanded or eventually broke up into new particularisms without clear definition that sustained the notions of ethnocentrism under the pretext of a return to the sources of African traditional values. In other words, in answering the question as to how the African intellectuals contributed to the efforts of African integration, it was noticed that many of them relatively renounced the dissident thinking; and many of them merely posed as experts or technocrats in Ministerial offices, and resigned themselves to the policies they had to implement.

72. Such an evaluation led to the description of the condition of the intellectuals based on their integration into the sphere of power, after observing the isolation of several of them. But whereas the diction on the notion of the role and commitment of the intellectuals permeated the debate, the Committee found it difficult to precisely determine the correlation between the condition of the intellectuals and their role in consolidating African integration. Torn between constraints and commitments, the condition of the intellectuals rather had a negative influence on their contributions. On the strength of this reminder, the Committee's contribution was to be found in the following few points listed in the Report.

73. African integration is a state and a process. It has taken various forms, from economic and regional unions, or institutions which were established in the past in pursuance of Nkrumah's dream. The OAU was dissolved in favour of the African Union with the view to accelerating the integration process.

74. The Union needs objective evaluation. Can the regional structures put in place to promote integration be evaluated today when at this point in time, it is observed that the only means of communication do not exist?

75. This evaluation would make it possible to perceive African integration as a sociological process, a political will and a societal project, which has a history, but the onus is on the intellectuals to clarify the stakes.

76. Other considerations were how to operationalize and render effective the different structures and other institutions at regional level. Can African integration be achieved without harmonizing the State's options? democracy and economic development among others.

77. Strategic issues and prioritization were discussed: should economic integration be separated from political integration or do they go hand in hand?

Conclusions

78. An evaluation of all these issues calls for a continuation in order for the momentum of exchanges to reactivate the function and the role of intellectuals, without claiming to be exhaustive.

79. The urgent need to re-launch the union strategies is stronger than ever insofar as Africa can now carry out a critical analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of various attempts at union: successes: the European Union, the United States: failures: Pan-Arabism, Russia. It can learn from these experiences, in terms of pace, the realities of states, historical and sociological constraints, and the obligation for a certain realism, and above all, a great political sense. However, the question still remains: the African Union of peoples or of States? Nonetheless, it should take ownership of its past and its heroes, without brandishing them as trophies to enable it to

nurture the work. Intellectuals should go back to the drawing board and «rethink the unthinkable» of their societies.

Recommendations

- a) The commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the death of Cheikh Anta Diop in February 2006 should be used as an opportunity to organize another forum on the issue.
- b) A memorandum should be drafted to brief members of the Union about the principal issues addressed by the intellectuals during this first Conference.
- c) That a Pantheon should be erected in memory of celebrated figures of African history such as P. Lunumba, Kawme Nkrumah, Cheikh Anta Diop and many others.
- d) That the African Union should encourage and backstop Inter-disciplinary Research Institutes in the Continent and further to encourage the work of intellectuals in the areas of research and creativity, and promote the critical spirit and the spirit of self-appraisal.
- e) That intellectuals should organize themselves in a network to enable them to participate in creating follow-up mechanisms for the recommendations.
- f) Take stock of the studies that have been undertaken on issues concerning the State, cultural supremacy, Pan-Africanism, democracy and citizenship, as well as on such concepts as civil society, and thereby monitor the debates on such issues and underscore the interlinkages of Africans.
- g) Evaluate the potential of one or several working African languages in the African Union, and seek practical ways and means to institute such languages.
- h) Reflect on the question of African Unity in dynamic terms; that is, view it as a process with stages leading to a United States of Africa, and with implementation modalities that take into consideration the pace and level of development of African societies.

Follow-up Mechanisms and the Actors

80. The establishment of a permanent Secretariat to activate the establishment of a management and coordination structure for the network of intellectuals of Africa and the Diaspora. Such Secretariat will have the responsibility to make proposals for taking on board the concerns expressed by intellectuals at this Conference and also prepare for the next conference.

81. To ensure that this structure does not have financial implications on the budget of the Commission, voluntary contributions will be enlisted. The Structure could be set up within several centers in the form of information and coordination offices both in Africa and in the countries of the Diaspora.

82. Preparation of a forum, with specific themes and a broad participation. In this regard, special attention will have to be made by the African Union to ensure linguistic, geographical, disciplinary and generational balance and to allow for complete gender parity.

COMMITTEE 3

THEME: RELATIONS BETWEEN AFRICA AND ITS DIASPORA

83. The Committee considered the above theme; its deliberations were directed by the following Bureau:

Bureau:

Chairperson: Mr. Fred Constant
Rapporteurs: - Prof. Sheila Walker
- Dr. Desta Meghoo-Peddie

84. Only one presentation by Dr. Molefi Asante was made at this session. The paper was discussed by Prof. Sheila Walker.

Presentation by Dr. Molefi ASANTE

85. In his presentation, Dr. Molefi ASANTE recalled the voices of prominent African ancestors as setting the pace for this historic meeting under the auspices of the African Union. He defined the African Diaspora as representing a dispersal of African peoples outside their traditional homeland and encompassing millions of people and many nations. He described this Diaspora as comprising three elements: concept, process and situation. Conceptually, the Diaspora involves a manifestation of the historic interface of all segments of the African community that contains a potential for influencing economic and social issues while affirming the creativity of African ancestors. It is also a social process of becoming through, which those who have migrated integrate what they left behind into what they are now. It is also a situation in which those who are dispersed find themselves. African everywhere must recognize and acknowledge this situation by allowing children of those countries to see Africans acting on behalf of other Africans.

86. To apply the Diaspora as an instrument of African renaissance, Africans must embrace their cultures and languages as a basis for revitalization of the continent and African lives. Africans must also commit themselves to African and African interests in the Diaspora by assuming an Afrocentric ideology that centres thinking on Africa and uses African culture and experience as a basis for defining a better world vision.

87. Dr. ASANTE puts forward five recommendations for the integration of the Diaspora and the continent. These include the provision of curricula information from the African Diaspora in African schools, assigning responsibility to people in the ministries of African states to interface with the Diaspora, operations from a perspective of strength rather than weakness, the need for African leaders to have precise knowledge of Diaspora communities as a basis for strengthening relations and the acceptance of the right of return for the African Diaspora. Finally, he expressed confidence about Africa's readiness to create an integrated African world that will re-establish itself as the centre of the world.

88. In her intervention, Prof. Sheila Walker expressed her disappointment that no woman presented a lead paper in spite of the fact that the African Union has constantly advertised its gender parity principle. She also directed attention to the prevalence of US and Caribbean presence among Diaspora representatives whereas the bulk of the African Diaspora constituency resides in South and Central America, especially Brazil. She further underlined the spread of African Diaspora communities around the globe in places where they seem invisible. She noted that these communities were becoming more aware of their culture and their Africanity and stressed the need to create a new definition of what is common knowledge as we embrace a Diaspora consciousness. Moreover, she underlined the interconnectivity of Africans on the continent and the Diaspora. One does not make sense without the other because they are united by common culture. Thus she underscored the significance of African contributions to modern civilization to buttress ASANTE's definition of the Diaspora as a process and situation and noted that this understanding should encourage us as Africans help ourselves.

Key issues and Recommendations

89. Five key issues were subject of recommendations. Preliminary discussions were held regarding the modalities for their implementation.

a. Creation of a specific structure of coordination as a follow up mechanism

- The African Union should establish a Secretariat as a follow up mechanism to engage in advocacy and to promote a permanent policy dialogue between intellectuals and policy makers in Africa and the Diaspora.
- The African Union should set up or adopt existing institutions, to serve as "Africa Houses" within strategic global and African locations to promote African interests abroad, improve awareness and knowledge about Africa, and support commercial and other links between the Diaspora and Africa.

Modalities for Implementation

90. The Secretariat and Africa Houses should:

- Utilise the experience and resources of existing specialized organizations, institutions and individuals;
- Create publications to disseminate information;
- Host follow-up meetings with heads of African Diaspora intellectual organizations to determine their roles in the Secretariat and intellectual programmes of the African Union ;
- Promote access to the media for wider distribution of information by creating media and public relations division;
- Create strategies to fund the implementation of this initiative;
- Strengthen and publicize databanks of African and Diaspora intellectuals.

b. Creation of a new curriculum for Africa and the Diaspora

- In order to promote an awareness of the historical and contemporary cultures and contributions of peoples of Africa and the African Diaspora, the African Union should create a curriculum council to develop and disseminate print visual and electronic educational materials for all educational levels for Africa and the Diaspora.

c. Promotion of an African Citizenship Initiative

- In recognition of the importance of identity as a mobilizing factor for development, the African Union should develop a framework for a wider African Citizenship Initiative.

Modalities for Implementation

91. The African Union Commission should:

- Develop, in consultation with the Diaspora, proposals for a Bill of Citizenship that establishes rights, entitlements, and duties of African Citizens on the continent and in the Diaspora, including the responsibility of Member States and the African Union, and submit this to the Executive Council and Summit for consideration and approval.
- As a punctual action, the Conference mandate the African Union to engage in a major initiative in favour of Haiti in relation with the bi-centenary of the first black Republic.

d. Establishing The Diaspora as The Sixth Region of The African Union

- Taking into consideration the continuing participation, the critical contributions, and the consistent commitment of intellectuals in the Diaspora to the African Renaissance, the committee endorses the establishment of the Diaspora as the sixth region of the African Union.
- The Diaspora should initiate and, wherever it already exists should, broaden a process of consultation and regular meetings culminating in the establishment of transparent representative organs, to engage with the African Union.
- The African Union Mission, Vision, and Strategy document should be disseminated widely within Africa and its Diaspora, and used as a basis for ongoing discussion and engagement with the African Union.

Modalities for Implementation

92. The African Union Commission should:

- Prepare a Policy paper or framework document on how to implement the 6th region initiative;
- Submit this for consideration as an agenda item to be discussed and approved by African leaders at the July Summit;
- Build support among Member States, and African Civil Society Organizations to facilitate approval of this proposal.

e) Restitution or Reparations for Slavery and Colonialism

- Acknowledging the subsequent harm to both continental Africa and her children, the descendants of the brutal crime against humanity known as the transatlantic slave trade, advocate reparations including but not limited to debt relief, return of artifacts and archives, and monetary relief to advance the African Renaissance and to bridge the economic, educational, health and technological divide.

Modalities for Implementation

93. The African Union, Member States, and Intellectuals in Africa and the Diaspora should:

- Promote and consolidate support for reparations,

- Lobby responsible parties that have benefited from the Slave Trade,
- Engage in negotiations to secure reparations,
- Establish a mechanism to ensure that reparations are utilized productively.

COMMITTEE 4

THEME: AFRICAN IDENTITY IN A MULTI-CULTURAL CONTEXT

94. The Committee considered the above theme; its deliberations were directed by the following Bureau:

Bureau:

Chairperson: Mr. Adama SAMASSEKOU
Rapporteurs: - Prof. Paul NKWI
- Prof. Fatou SOW

Presentation by Mr. Mahmood MAMDANI

95. The first presentation was by Mahmood MANDANI, under the title: “Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism.”

96. Mamdani’s main thesis was that the problem is not cultural difference as such, but rather, the politicisation of cultural differences. Arguing that there was no single country in Africa except mainland Tanzania under Julius Nyerere, where no single group had been singled out for political repression, Mamdani posed the question: “Why?” To find the answer to this it was necessary to go beyond political processes and zero in state processes.

97. Using the colonial constructions of “race” and “tribe” to illustrate his contention Mamdani proceeded to show how the legal significances attached to “race” and “tribe” were used to construct, base and justify distinctions which led to discriminations. The legal project thus masked a political project, whose result was, in part, rigidification of customary laws that had in fact formerly been not only flexible, but also specific and located in terms of both time and space/geography. Many customary laws in place in the different countries statutory law recognized and one overall the others.

98. The problem, he said was that post-independence African states had “de-racialized,” but had not “de-ethniced.” This had spawned a lot of problems for the post-colonial states because while some groups were perceived as being “indigenous”, others were seen/treated as “non-indigenous.” Since rights followed the “indigenous/non-indigenous”, the dispossession arising from this created problems. Nyerere had managed to avoid such tensions because Tanzania had “de-racialized” and “de-

ethniced” both law and instruments of state, and built a single unified system drawing from multiple sources, Mamdani argued.

99. While cultural communities have a common past, they did not necessary have to have a common future, or even territory, he said. In his view, the main challenge was to create a single citizenry from diverse traditions.

Presentation by Mr. Souleymane Bachir DIAGNE

100. The second presentation was by Souleymane Bachir DIAGNE, under the title “African Identity in a Multi-cultural Context.”

101. There were a number of ways in which to approach the issue of African identity in a multi-cultural context. One option would be to look at the uniformity of the globalizing world as threatening African identity. The other option would be to see the opportunities offered/available within the globalisation. The third way, which was Diagne’s preferred option, was to prioritize African identities and commit to internal pluralism.

102. Building upon the thesis contained in his paper that there is time and space/place specificity to what constitutes African identity, Diagne argued that, therefore, the answer to what constitutes African identity today had to be addressed in light of today’s realities. In his view, this called for recognition and accommodation of differences within African itself, as well as within the world as a whole – because any pretended homogeneity would only mask fissures that were bound to crack open with time.

103. According to him, whereas reactive and sustained Africanness was an appropriate response to colonial negation, today’s reflection should be aligned to the imperatives of the situation which requires that Africanness should be regarded as open and diverse, an Africanness committed to pluralism not only at internal but also at global levels. He further indicated that it was important to assert the values of individuals and that it is the individual that transforms the world.

Key issues highlighted during the deliberations

104. The Chairperson of this Commission started by exhorting the group to concentrate on making concrete recommendations regarding ways and means through which addressing the issue of African identity in a multi-cultural context. He noted that this was a turning point in relations between the African Union and the Diaspora, as the common identity forged thereby could be the basis for renaissance in Africa in the twenty-first century. It was necessary to identify the elements of this African identity so that thenceforth those who claimed African identity would be able to say “this is what and who I am”. The Chairperson also underscored the multi-dimensionality of identity, in that identity contains, among others, religious, political, language, and family dimensions.

Discussion

105. In the ensuing discussion a number of key issues and observations were highlighted, including the following:

1. Identity and boundaries - When dealing with the notion of identity what usually comes through is a focus on boundaries; boundaries start in the mind and then get translated/implemented on the ground. There is, therefore, need to problematise the concept of boundaries, and to undertake further research into the boundary issue.
2. Multiplicity of identities – There are many other identities that came before the African identity. African identity is thus both cumulative and diverse. African Renaissance is only possible when it is founded on cultural identity and diversity.
3. Confronting the cultural genocide – There is need for intellectuals to undertake concerted action/work in order to stop the disappearance of African languages, cultures and religion which constitute values and symbols identity.
4. Language and the Diaspora - Language is critically important since it is one of the first symbols of identity that we learn. Therefore mastery of one of the African languages by those in the Diaspora becomes a visible symbol of their great attachment to the motherland.
5. The “opaqueness” and vagueness of the notion of identity – There is need for a greater intellectual discourse that provide a clearer vision and understanding of what African identity is about.
6. Listing of African Patrimony - Of all the world heritage sites protected under the 1972 UNESCO Heritage Convention –, only 78 are African, and yet there are many important African heritage sites that need protection.
7. The heterogeneity of the Diaspora – It was critical to acknowledge that the Diaspora itself is not monolithic; rather, it is quite heterogeneous and contains diversities within itself as well.
8. Legal pluralism – It was important to acknowledge the existence of African juridical systems, already plural in themselves, whose complexities were further compounded by imposition of colonial juridical systems. There is, therefore, a necessity to overhaul the entire legal systems by adapting these legal systems to African cultural identities and realities.
9. Leadership – The greatest problem in Africa is the provision of effective, progressive leadership which seeks not to be served but

to serve, a leadership that goes beyond verbal declarations to action. Concern was expressed that there was no leadership training offered in academic and tertiary institutions.

10. There is need for clear and deliberate activities of “African image-making” to counter the negative image of Africa that has been conveyed by the western media, and to create and promote the images that Africa wants to convey about itself. In this regard, Africa can draw lessons from activities of the Asian “Dialogue on Image Making in Asia” which looks at how Asians have been portrayed in the West over the past years, with a view to creating and disseminating their own image of themselves as they perceive themselves. This can be achieved through, among others, the production of TV and Radio programmes, African-produced films, audio-visual materials, the performing arts, crafts, fashion, and publications.

Conclusions and Recommendations

- a) The AU should set up an independent and inter-generational Commission on Culture and Identity, characterized by both gender and regional balance, to pull together the best qualified intellectuals in Africa and the Diaspora, with responsibility for:
 - providing an inventory of research and knowledge on the subject;
 - providing an inventory and assessment of existing policies, actions and institutions, what has worked and what has not worked;
 - define ways forward (on ideas, policies, actions, theories and institutions);
 - helping to define and operationalise what it means to be African on the continent and in the Diaspora;
 - assist in identifying, collecting and disseminating major African texts/works/books, especially those on African issues such as culture and identity.
- b) The AU should advocate for the creation of an enabling environment for the expression and development of African identity/identities in a multicultural global and continental context.
- c) There is need to create an African University to focus on the patrimony and cultures in Africa and in the Diaspora.

- d) There is need to establish a continental radio and Website to promote the identity, history and culture of Africa.
- e) There is need to establish a Special Fund/Foundation to support research, meetings, the production of knowledge, publications, networks and activities that support African cultures and identities.
- f) There is need for a more dynamic management by African peoples of their relationship to the rest of the world.
- g) There is need to review and remodel the curricula of institutions of higher learning by incorporating specialized courses on African history, civilizations, cultural heritage and values of identity.
- h) There is need to revitalize the regional centres of research and documentation on oral traditions and for the promotion of African languages, created in 1975 in Accra under the auspices of OAU and UNESCO: CELTHO (Niamey), CERDOTOLA (Yaounde), EACROTANAL (Dar es Salaam). Furthermore, there is need to adopt and develop dynamic approaches to oral traditions.
- i) There is need to fund African research on cultural identity as a priority.
- j) There is need for Member States to encourage youths to look inwards, and stimulate in them positive African values, culture and unity of purpose.

COMMITTEE 5

THEME: THE PLACE OF AFRICA IN THE WORLD

106. The Committee considered the above theme; its deliberations were directed by the following Bureau:

Bureau:

Chairperson: Henri Lopes
Rapporteurs: - Sophie Bessis
- Obadiah Mailafia

Summary of presentations

Presentation by Professor Samir Amin

107. From the onset, the speaker refuted the assertion whereby most of Sub-Saharan Africa was outside the global system, or only superficially integrated into this system, or still that the poverty of African people is the result of their economies not being sufficiently integrated into the global system. Pointing to the fact that all developed countries had been built

historically as self-reliant economies, the speaker added that the global system had an asymmetric structure in the sense that the centres are simultaneously inward and open; the peripheries are not inward looking and therefore integrated in the global system in a passive way. From this standpoint, the speaker concluded that all regions of the world were equally integrated into the global system but in different ways. He then reviewed the various phases of Africa's integration in the global system and identified the specific ways in which this integration operated.

108. The speaker then highlighted the «alter globalization» trends that emerged during the post-colonial era, in the aftermath of national liberation movements whose results were mitigated by the adaptation capacities of capitalism and the restriction of Africa in the old division of labour, that is, production of raw materials.

109. He attributed the failure of the national development projects in the 1960s and 1970s to the abrupt reversal of the balance between social forces in the 1980s in favour of capital represented by multinationals whose strategy does allow Africa to move beyond the international distribution of labour. The Speaker observed that, as far as Africa is concerned, the alternative lies in developing self-reliant economies and societies and in participating in the global system.

110. The Speaker concluded his statement by pointing to the need for far-reaching changes at various levels in the States, changes that go beyond good governance and multi-party democracy that could give birth to a new models of globalization and help in correcting Africa's inadequate integration into the global system.

Presentation by Prof. Théophile OBENGA

111. The theme of Prof. Obenga's presentation was "the Place of Africa in the World" and the Paper focused mainly on the problem of Africa's Renaissance in the 21st Century. The Speaker first made a critical and retrospective review of modern globalization which, he said, is just a repetition of the long-dated recurrent Western model – a process of scramble for markets prevalent from time immemorial to the present day, at the root of the tragedy cleverly theorized, concretized, desired and maintained by the West, which Africa experienced over the past six centuries. Africa occupies the "Third World" position on the world market; it has no place in the global economy and has been developing within a global context defined without its contribution.

112. The Speaker highlighted the fact that the West was not the only historical and intellectual space affording the world a social, political, economic and cultural paradigm for initiation by the rest of humanity in order for it to secure a position in the world. He therefore stressed the need for Africans to seriously examine their own cultural heritage and their value systems by drawing especially on the African cultural paradigm of the Pharaonic Egypt. In this regard, he pointed to the cultural inferiority and

the fragile nature of the Western paradigm as compared to the Pharaonic paradigm and underscored the need for Africans to conceive development differently from the Western format – a development designed to confer dignity on the human society and upgrade the latter from the animal to the human status.

113. It is in this context that the Speaker proposed initiatives to be taken along with the following tasks to be accomplished for a development that would vest Africa with its full human responsibility, and with its deserved position in the world:

- The African integration whose ultimate goal is the Federal State of Africa;
- The African University within the context of the African Union; and
- African Renaissance as the only option.

114. The Speaker dwelt at length on the history of the Renaissance, its justification in the light of the global geo-politics and geo-strategies of the 21st Century world and its content, stages and strategies. For its materialization he suggested the definition of strategies and establishment of an action plan within a timeframe whose basic elements are sensitization, establishment of the World Congress of Africans, execution of large-scale projects, establishment of a Federal State of Africa and implementation of the African nuclear programme, among other things.

Comments

115. The commentator Dr. Adebayo Alukosi, while backing the ideas regarding the Continent's poor integration (rather than its marginalisation), recognized the pivotal nature of the question of "self reliance" which in his view, should not be confused with autarchy. Africa needs to create the conditions for a self-reliant development and, at the same time, implement appropriate strategies and policies to attract capital.

116. The commentator then urged the Committee to undertake an in-depth brainstorming on a number of key issues especially the structural adjustment programmes imposed on Africa whose outcomes are known to everyone; negotiating skill and capacity so as to defend and safeguard Africa's interest; how best to move from orthodoxy to "heterodoxy"; the role of the State and the nature of that role; in a nutshell, how to effect a paradigmatic transformation in order to build for Africa its proper role in the world.

Summary of the Debate

117. The Committee debated at length the issue raised and a consensus emerged on the need to find a way to kick off our Continent's reconstruction

through an approach which includes the concept of African renaissance. Following the consensus, a wide range of views were expressed in the Committee on the causes and nature of the problems currently facing Africa and on the Continent's relation with the rest of the world.

118. Opinions were divided between those who felt that Africa's underdeveloped stemmed from external causes (looking of her resources, the weight of history, debt, structural adjustment and other forms of exploitation) and those who further blamed Africa's situation on internal causes (bad governance, lack of responsibility of the elites and the need to accept the changes necessary to revive the development momentum).

119. As a result of this divergence of opinion, some participants came up with the idea of making break and refocusing on Africa's past and present values, while some pointed to the dangers of isolation and the fact that Africa is not alone in the world. The latter school of thought underscored the need to find a common ground between the aspirations of Africans and the principle of reality.

Emerging key issues

120. A number of key ideas emerged from the debate predominant among which were:

- the need to explore the reasons as to why the unity of Africa had been unsuccessful and, consequently, to redirect efforts to the more realistic level of regional integration;
- what type of development does Africa need? All the Speakers underscored the fact that the Continent's development should be equitable and sustainable; it should be rooted in the internal forces of the Continent without, by that token, discarding external inputs. Sustainability was the only credible way to combat the systemic risks of the dominant liberal order;
- Africa should be able to reinforce its room for manoeuvre in international negotiations to ensure that decisions at such forums are not detrimental to its interest: renegotiate debt, renegotiate the modalities for its integration into the global economy (opening up of markets; the problems of Euro-American subsidies);
- Africa should strengthen its capacities to cater for its interest and stand on its feet. To this end, many speakers underscored the need to strengthen democratic practices by further associating the civil society in decision-making process;

- Many speakers also deplored the leadership crisis and the bad governance prevalent in several countries, and called for greater stringency in the management of public affairs;
- Regain control of Africa's resources and utilize same more meaningfully – which implies a redefinition of the role of the State in general and the various economic and political players;
- Many speakers highlighted the importance of analyzing one's relationship with oneself and with one's society in order to be able to analyze Africans' relationship with others;
- The image which the Continent portrays of itself was also discussed at length. This image was all the more negative because it was compounded by Western prejudices against Africa and the crises and conflicts prevalent in the Continent. On the other hand, many participants raised the question as to whether the contemporary world needed Africa, and if it has any real interest in the Continent, other than its resources.

Recommendations:

121. The Committee recommends:

- a) that African Leaders should be more open to dialogue with the intellectuals and create an environment conducive to their effective participation in the African renaissance process. Good governance, leadership and political will were recognized as essential elements for the creation of such an environment;
- b) that the African Presidents who sponsored the Dakar Conference should be at the vanguard of the leaders of the continent for the promotion of good governance;
- c) that the African Union prepare a code of good governance applicable to all Member States;
- d) that the Heads of State adopt as much as possible a continental united approach as far as international relations are concerned;
- e) the establishment of an agenda so as to achieve Africa's economic and political integration by the year 2030;
- f) the establishment within the African Union Commission of a light structure to collate and disseminate knowledge, ideas and information about regional economic and political integration so as to ensure a speedy realization of the 5 regional economic communities which should serve as a basis for the integration of the whole continent;

- g) that African leaders take all necessary steps to trigger another globalization that is more favourable to Africa's positive integration within the world system and the expression of its responsibility in the development of humanity;
- h) that an African Academy be established aimed at providing facilities to former African Leaders of State and/or government who have voluntarily retired from their offices or have left office peacefully, following defeat in an election. The idea of such academy is:-
 - i. to give honour and due recognition to such leaders and, through such honour, encourage the practice of voluntary retirement;
 - ii. to tap on the knowledge and experience of such leaders by organizing periodic, regular lectures and seminars to benefit succeeding generations of Africans;
 - iii. to use the wisdom and experience of such leaders to help in conflict resolution in Africa.
- i) The AU could convene an African World Congress that would include intellectuals, teachers, parents, students' activists from the continent and the Diaspora in order to define a strategy and draw a plan of action that should give all Africans a voice and let Africans speak for themselves;
- j) The people of Africa have the duty to take ownership of their own destiny by drawing up a self-reliant and enterprise-oriented programme. In this connection, it is important to focus on efforts aimed at restructuring the rural agricultural sector and linking it to agro-industries, and on added value production to improve the mechanism for the circulation of goods between the rural and urban areas and their consumption;
- k) the establishment of an Institute for political studies in each African region. This institute will train an African elite capable of meeting the concerns of African citizens in terms of political thinking, commitment and operational management of state resources;

- **Long Term**

- l) African States and citizenry take steps to assume control of their natural resources so as to enhance economic independence in order that Africans can provide adequate resources for health, education, agricultural, industrial development and technological advancement for their citizenry;

- **Short Term**

- m) African States embark upon a comprehensive education programme in scholars for **all** children and youth. Joining hands with the Diaspora, African develops Curriculum to teach accurate African history and culture in education establishments;
- n) The African Union should draw on widest available expertise on the continent and in the Diaspora to strengthen its international negotiating capability in order to maximize the benefits which the people of the continent reap from their natural resources;
- o) Given the current interest in, and actions of the United States and its corporations, and those of other countries, in massively increasing their exploitation of African oil, and given the widespread expertise in the oil industry which exists within the African world, it is timely and urgent for the African Union to take steps, through NEPAD or any other appropriate mechanism, to mobilize this expertise to provide advice to the AU and governments of oil rich nations in Africa, to assist in planning and negotiation, and in re-negotiation of contracts, and to provide all other services necessary to ensure that African countries receive the wealth which is their just due from their oil resources;
- p) To cut down on foreign technical assistance and thereby strengthen the capacities of African countries, the use of African experts and experts from the Diaspora was highly recommended, irrespective of the national origins of the experts. In this connection, the African Union must create a Diaspora Development Fund in Africa to strengthen contacts with the Diaspora;
- q) Africa is still marginalized in world economic, monetary and political affairs. This is particularly evident by its lack of representations in international decision-making bodies such as the G8, lack of permanent seat in the UN Security Council, and Boards of Bretton Woods institutions. In addition, its shares in world trade and foreign direct investment remains very small;
- r) To remedy that situation, African governments are encouraged to increase their representations in world affairs and promote economic integration;
- s) As well as the economic and political integration which will enable Africa to play a more important role on the international scene, it is recommended that governments of African countries do everything possible to facilitate the introduction of a single currency for the continent as soon as possible.

Follow up strategies

122. The Committee recommended the establishment of a Center for reflection to maintain the momentum that has been generated by this Conference. In that regard, it recommended that the Chairpersons of each of the Committees together with the Rapporteurs should form the core of a follow up Committee with the African Union and a Committee of Heads of States. This Committee will look into all the recommendations that have been made and will develop and action plan in order to ensure their implementation.

COMMITTEE 6

THEME: AFRICA, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY – STAKES AND PROSPECTS

123. The Committee considered the above theme; its deliberations were directed by the following Bureau:

Bureau :

Chairperson: Prof. Henri HOGBE NLEND
Rapporteurs: - Prof. Fidele Pierre NZE NGUEMA
- Prof. Yacouba KONATE

124. Professors Henri HOGBE NLEND and Adigun Ade ABIODUN made two presentations introducing the theme. The presentations are summarized as follows hereunder.

Presengtation by Prof. Henri Hogbe NLEND

125. The first presenter, Prof. Henri Hogbe NLEND, began by defining the new concept of wealth and prosperity of a nation as being its intellectual innovation capabilities rather than its natural endowments which are exhaustible. He, in that light, underscored the need for Africa to strengthen its capabilities for the development, ownership and control of science and technology (S&T) in all spheres of human endeavour. The presenter then endeavoured to draw up a minimum programme of action derived from the numerous recommendations, decisions and strategies produced by the various undertakings in the field of (S&T). The programme elements are as follows:

- 1) Mobilization of scientific and technical expertise within the continent and from outside;
- 2) Establishment of scientific and technical information and documentation centres;

- 3) Improvement of science and technical education in primary and secondary schools;
- 4) Strengthening centres of excellence and research networks in science and technology;
- 5) Promotion of science and technology in Africa including introduction of awards for African technological and scientific renaissance;
- 6) Training African decision makers in science and technology policy;
- 7) Organizing the African scientific and technical community;
- 8) Strengthening the capacity for controlling new technologies;
- 9) Safeguarding and developing traditional technologies;
- 10) Documenting and publishing the history of science and technology; and
- 11) Adoption of sustainable funding mechanisms for science and technology in Africa.

126. In developing its science and technology capabilities, the presenter underscored Africa's need for forming partnerships with countries in both the North and South. He, however, underlined the requirement that the envisaged partnership has to aim at helping Africa build and conduct its own process of endogenous ownership and control over science and technology as well as be based on a strong mutual interest benefiting each partner. The presenter then outlined some key principles that could be used to guide a charter of cooperation for that undertaking.

127. Finally, the presenter illustrated how science and technology could be utilized to add value to Africa's commodities, create new knowledge based wealth and arrest Africa's unending indebtedness.

Presentation by Prof. Adigun Ade ABIODUN

128. The second presentation, done by Mr. Adigun Ade ABIODUN, situated Africa's development and future in the context of the ongoing process of globalization. In this regard, the presenter observed that, with its seriously constrained productive capacities, Africa can hardly contribute meaningfully or become an effective partner in the international community. In meeting the challenge of capacity building, the catalytic and facilitative roles of science and technology are, therefore, crucial to the continent's development endeavour.

129. A historic account of Africa's efforts in the development of its science and technology capabilities since the early days of independence was given. This was through, among others:

- Establishment and strengthening of centres of higher learning including polytechnics;
- Running of scholarship and fellowship programmes; and
- Hosting and managing some prominent science and technology international institutions in Africa.

130. The presenter then highlighted a number of achievements of African experts and institutions in the various fields of science and technology. He, however, lamented the fact that most of the earlier successes in science and technology have been gradually eroded and, consequently, the technological gap between Africa and the rest of the world is widening unabatedly. He cited the main causes for this state of affairs as being:

- Lack of guiding policy and political commitment;
- Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) of the 1980s;
- Low domestic funding due to serious resource constraints;
- Lack of conducive environment for attracting investments; and
- Lack of appropriate recognition and remuneration of scientific and technical skills.

131. In pointing the way forward, the presenter referred to the NEPAD initiative of the African Union as the key strategy. He, particularly, underscored its collaborative mechanism that would enable African countries to pool their efforts and energies for bringing about the desired accelerated development and sustained growth in the continent. He finally enumerated a number of factors which he deemed essential for the successful implementation of the NEPAD science and technology component as follows:

- Fostering collaboration between scientists and researchers at national, regional and continental levels and support for the utilization of African scientists;
- Rationalization and strengthening of science and technology institutions;
- Strengthening core science and technology disciplines including mathematics, information and communication technologies (ICT) and frontline research; and

- Mobilizing adequate resources for science and technology programmes.

Discussion:

132. Following the presentations, the Committee discussed at length the situation regarding science and technology in Africa and raised a number of issues that were seen to have a critical bearing on the development of the sector itself as well as on the contribution of the sector to the improvement of the lives of Africans. These included the following:

- 1) Absence of policy and strategy for the development of science and technology was interpreted to mean lack of direction and commitment to this sector as far as investment and other developmental issues are concerned;
- 2) Living and working conditions of researchers and inventors, including their security and their social and political consideration need to be addressed as a matter of priority. It was acknowledged that there was a general lack of scientific culture in the continent which was undermining efforts to minimize the technological gap between the continent and the rest of the world.
- 3) Lack of human and financial resources was noted as a major constraint to advancement of scientific endeavours in the continent;
- 4) The participants expressed concern that basic needs of the people such as water, health and sanitation, employment, agricultural and other equipment, were not being helped by the weak state of science and technology;
- 5) It was duly observed that the competitive ability of Africa was being eroded by the inability to add value to commodities exported to world markets. Further, the lack of promotion and valorization of research results was seen as discouraging to scientists and researchers and a set-back to whole industry;
- 6) The low priority accorded to science and technology by decision-makers was also seen as an undermining factor for the sector. Further inadequate and deteriorating centres of excellence was noted as another constraint to development in science and technology in Africa;
- 7) The absence of a database and information system for science and technology was considered a serious shortcoming and hindrance to any attempt at strengthening the sector;

- 8) It was observed that the share of science and technology subjects in African schools and institutes of higher learning was very low compared to other disciplines and this was slowing the pace of development in that area with girls and women being highly marginalized;
- 9) Poor collaboration among African countries as well as with the Diaspora was also considered as less helpful in speeding up the development of this area.

Recommendations

133. The Committee raised several issues and made the following principal recommendations:

- a) Formulation of policies and strategies for the development of science and technology in the Continent;
- b) Declaration of an African Decade for Science and Technology;
- c) The Committee urged Heads of State to grant African researchers and inventors decent living and working conditions, particularly security. Similarly, it is recommended that priority be given to national and continental skills;
- d) The up-grading, according to criteria of quality, of some universities to African regional universities for the promotion of exchange programmes for students, researchers and lecturers;
- e) The use of Science and Technology to meet the basic needs of populations and combat natural disasters;
- f) The mobilization of resources from the public and private sectors, particularly industries and enterprises;
- g) The development of mechanisms for collaboration with the Diaspora;
- h) The establishment of cooperation channels with other countries of the South, particularly India, China, Indonesia, Brazil, etc.;
- i) The allocation by African countries of 1% of their GDP to the Science and Technology budget, in keeping with the target of the Lagos Plan of Action;
- j) The establishment of financing mechanisms for the development of Science and Technology;
- k) Strengthening the capacities of African regional structures and institutions in the area of Science and Technology;

- l) Interconnection of the Continent's databases and research centers for the already existing Digital Solidarity Fund;
- m) Establishment by the AU of follow-up mechanisms to promote and stimulate the actions of already existing scientific associations and structures.

CLOSING CEREMONY

134. President Abdoulaye WADE of Senegal, as it was the case for the opening, personally chaired the closing ceremony. Four (4) statements were made on the occasion, namely by the Chairman of the Bureau of the Conference, a representative of the Diaspora, the General Rapporteur of the Conference and H.E. Maître Abdoulaye WADE, President of Senegal and Chair of the Session.

a) Statement of the Chairperson of the Bureau of the Conference

135. The Chairperson of the Bureau of the Conference, Mr. Obiodun, started by thanking President Wade as well as the Government and people of Senegal for hosting the Conference. He informed President Wade that the Conference had addressed wide-ranging issues affecting the continent, its people and its future. The Conference had also taken stock of the past, where the continent stood at present, and where the continent was headed. The Conference had acknowledged the achievements made as well as the inadequacies. The Conference had stressed the imperative to look ahead, and build a future based on lessons from the past. The Conference noted that Africa was blessed with human talent, so much so that there was no field of human endeavour in which Africans could not be found. He also informed President Wade that deliberations had been concluded, and recommendations were being finalized, and appealed to President Wade and his colleagues to take the recommendations with commitment in order to give the best to Africa.

136. Prof. Obiodun referred to the need to address some of the most confronting issues in Africa such as health, HIV/AIDS and poverty. The idea of the trans-Africa highway should not be shelved, he said. He also stressed the need for Africa to be fully involved in ICT, and noted with great appreciation that Senegal links Africa to the rest of the world in the area of fibre-optics.

137. He expressed the hope that the contribution of intellectuals would not be limited to thinking only, but that they would be involved as partners in the implementation process. He further hoped that Africans, whether on the continent or in the Diaspora, would get preference in the search for work in Africa. It was also his hope that the recommendations proposed by the Conference would be found to be achievable, realistic, affordable and practical. In addition, he observed that if Africa was to move forward, it had

to adopt a culture of science and technology. He concluded by thanking the President, as well as all those present.

b) Statement by Prof. Sheila Walker

138. On behalf of the Diaspora, Professor Sheila Walker expressed her delight to be in the land of Terranga with the African Union and marveled at the boldness of the organizers who did not fear to bring together activist intellectuals to reflect upon Africa's renaissance. She recalled the image of Queen Isis of ancient Egypt who gathered the scattered pieces of King Osiris to describe the Diaspora gathered from various parts of the world back to its African source. She saluted the initiative of Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Konaré to establish the organization of African Women Intellectuals and of the Diaspora, which will represent the female voice of the AU. She paid tribute to the ancestors of the Diaspora who created wealth in the Americas and assured the Conference of the Diaspora's commitment to assist Africa move from afro pessimism to optimism and to the African renaissance.

c) Presentation of the report by the General Rapporteur of the Conference

139. Professor Theophile Obenga, general rapporteur of the Conference then presented the conclusions of the deliberations. He said that the deliberations had been fruitful and had taken place in a serene, cordial and frank atmosphere because of inputs of each and everyone. He noted that a first meeting of intellectuals was held in Dakar in 1996 and that Dakar has again played host to the 1st Conference of Intellectuals from Africa and the Diaspora thanks to the tenacity of President Konaré. Professor Obenga then recalled the six themes of the Conference and the composition of the Bureau, adding that the documents and summaries of the discussions would be sent to participants in due course. He concluded by reading out a vote of thanks addressed to H.E. Maître Abdoulaye Wade.

d) Closing remarks by President A. Wade

140. Maître Abdoulaye Wade said that the Nobel Prize won by Africa in the person of Madam Wangari Matai was a blessing, coming as it did at a time the Conference was being held, and called on the Conference to send her a message of congratulation. He was appreciative of the spirit of frankness and freedom which prevailed throughout the discussions and which made it possible to exchange views and ideas, thus clearing the way for Africa in its march towards the future. He recalled the six themes discussed and said that the lesson to be drawn was that Africa without its diaspora was incomplete, which was why it was deemed necessary to make it the sixth region of Africa, an idea endorsed by the Libyan Leader Ghadaffi and President Obasanjo. He proposed that the next conference be held in a country of the Diaspora, like Brazil or the United States. He welcomed the solidarity of the conference vis-à-vis Haiti and the appeal made for a humanitarian assistance to be coordinated by the African Union.

141. President Wade underscored the importance of a follow-up and consultation mechanism as well as a permanent contact network, particularly a contact network between women from Africa and the Diaspora. He proposed that all the Heads of State be apprised of the conclusions of the Conference to enable them to reflect on the periodicity of the conference in the future, as well as on the establishment of a Secretariat. Lastly, after comparing the Diaspora to a lost and found score sheet of a symphonic orchestra, he declared the Conference closed.

VOTE OF THANKS

142. At the end of the Conference, participants adopted by acclamation the following Vote of Thanks:

**VOTE OF THANKS
TO HIS EXCELLENCY MAITRE ABDOULAYE WADE
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL**

143. The Conference of Intellectuals from Africa and the Diaspora held in Dakar, on the African soil of Senegal, from 07 to 09 October 2004, under the auspices of the African Union, expresses its profound and sincere gratitude to His Excellency Maître Abdoulaye WADE, President of the Republic of Senegal for having taken the happy initiative to convene this Conference and having agreed to host it in Senegal.

144. The Conference unanimously reiterates its deep appreciation for his outstanding intellectual contribution to its deliberations, as well as the wise and pertinent guidelines expressed in his different interventions, which enabled participants to come up with concrete recommendations, and contributed in no small measure to the success of the Conference.

Done in Dakar, on 9 October 2004
The Conference