

DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA - THE WAY FORWARD CONFERENCE



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BACKGROUND

BACKGROUND OF AFRICAN DEMOCRACY FORUM

The ADF, launched in Abuja, Nigeria, in October 2000, is an African regional network of democracy, human rights, and governance organizations. The ADF mandate as per its founding Constitution is to be an active advocate for democracy, the defense and promotion of human rights, good governance, and the rule of law. The ADF will seek to ensure that the principles of democracy, human rights, good governance, and the rule of law are fully observed and respected throughout Africa. On the African continent, the ADF endeavors to speak on issues pertinent to the safety and security of its members and in defense of democracy, human rights, good governance, and the rule of law. To achieve these desired goals, the ADF collaborates with organizations and individuals that work for the defense of democracy, human rights, good governance, and the rule of law. Various interventions tools are deployed as the circumstances and situations require as the ADF seeks to promote the rights of youth and women who have been historically marginalized.

The organization is designed to strengthen democracy movements in Africa by embracing the wealth of experience, expertise and knowledge derived from its members. Since its inception the ADF has been the platform that organizes and coordinates regional issues around democracy movements, activism and practitioners. Providing a space where ideas can be shares continent wide and to the betterment of the continent. The African Democracy Forum is composed of its General Assembly, the Management Committee and the Secretariat currently hosted by Never Again Rwanda in Kigali, Rwanda. The 2016-2019 cohort of the ADF Management Committee is:

Dr. Joseph Nkurunziza
Djingarey Maiga
Kingsley Nneji Bangwell
Maximilienne C. Ngombe
Terence Chitapi
Jean-Robert Ilunga Numbi
Abdurashid Ali
Chairperson
Vice Chairperson
Member

VISION

An independent, sustainable and strategic regional network that advances values and practices of democracy, good governance, the rule of law and peace in Africa.

MISSION

To strengthen democracy and human rights civil society organizations and interest groups in Africa.

VALUES

Diversity I Networking I Integrity I Excellence I Ingenuity

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

- 1. To further the recognition and implementation of regional and international mechanisms that promote democracy, good governance and the rule of law across Africa
- 2. To increase, establish and promote spaces for women and youth to fully and meaningfully participate in democracy, good governance and human rights in Africa for the advancement of their rights
- 3. To advocate and promote a culture of human rights and safety of human rights defenders
- 4. To support mechanisms for peace building and conflict prevention on the continent
- 5. To build ADFs capacity to become an independent, sustainable and strategic regional network that advocates for principles of democracy, good governance, the rule of law, human rights and peace in Africa
- 6. To create and strengthen a platform for exchanges of ideas, information sharing and networking amongst civil society in Africa.

THEMATIC AREAS OF FOCUS

The objectives of the ADF deal with the promotion of ideals to the betterment of the African continent and forms the base of our Thematic Areas. The ADF along with all other CSOs are able to create awareness of these areas of focus and will contribute significantly to the progress of the African people and the continent at large. The themes are intended to guide programming and priorities on the most pressing issues that face the African continent at the present moment. These are:

- Democracy, good governance and elections
- 2. Peace building and conflict prevention
- 3. Human Rights and Human Rights Defenders
- 4. Youth and woman participation

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

...this conference on Democracy in Africa is a testimony that the role of civil society in Africa's democratization and development is growing, and becoming substantive and positive.



Between May 24th and 25th, over 30 men and women from across Africa converged at the Marriott Hotel, Kigali to participate in the African Democracy Forum's conference on Democracy - The way forward. Participants were members of the African Union Commission, Development Partners, Civil Society Organizations, academia, the media and think tanks representing the four corners of Africa.

The conference was in collaboration with Never Again Rwanda who also hosts the African Democracy Forum in Rwanda. The conference aimed at giving the invited thought leaders the platform at which to discuss democracy in Africa, by so doing improving the understanding of democracy on the continent. Despite the efforts in arrangement by the Secretariat of the ADF and the Communications Department of NAR none of it would have been possible without the support of NED (National Endowment for Democracy).

The MC for the event Mr. Terence Chitapi who is a member of the African Democracy Forum Management Committee and founder of Organize for Zimbabwe opened proceedings doing the initial welcoming and calling everyone to order. He invited the Chairperson of the African Democracy Forum Dr. Joseph Nkrunziza for official proceedings. Dr. Nkurunziza welcomed all guests to Rwanda and emphasized the importance of Africans discussing democracy and understanding what it means to Africa and for Africans. He called on participants to deeply reflect on what would be discussed over the two-days and to come up with strategies for women and youth to meaningfully engage in the process of democratization on the continent.

He acknowledged the progress made in the adoption of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance, stating that it was a good move to adopt the charter and that it was a solid mechanism for states to use. The adoption of the Charter he said implied that Africa should refrain from perceiving democracy as western this because the charter contextualizes democracy in African terms. He spoke concerning the establishment of the African Continental Free Trade Area whose meetings took place in Kigali, Rwanda during the month of March. The agreement will create in Africa a unified market of 1.2 billion people with a Gross Product of US\$3 trillion. The signing of this agreement by African heads of state is indicative of the positive things to come out of Africa; this would also improve the working relationship between African countries. In conclusion he welcomed the Keynote Speaker and Special Guest of the ADF Conference Prof. Shyaka Anastase, the Chief Executive Officer of the Rwanda Governance Board (RGB), responsible for promoting the principles of good governance in Rwanda.

Prof. Shyaka welcomed the foreign delegates to Rwanda and continued to thank the African Democracy Forum for organizing a conference on democracy; he added that it is a timely discussion to have on the continent. He mentioned that Africa has many needs and in some instances major deficits of democracy, that requires the collective effort of all stakeholders (Governments; CSOs and the citizens) to play their respective role in the democratization and development process. Beyond the generic meaning of democracy as the power of the people, by the people and for the people, Prof. Shyaka pointed out that democracy in Africa should spur development



Democracy is not an end in itself but a means to an end.



and as such the following requirements are essential – national survival and security; inclusivity of governance towards meeting the need of stability and development. He continued by adding that "democracy is not an end in itself but a means to an end." Citizen participation is essential to the progress of Africa as such he added that it is imperative that government ensure the:

- · Participation of citizens
- · Satisfying the needs and interests of citizens
- Being accountable to citizens

In highlighting some of the challenges faced on the African continent Prof. Shyaka mentioned the concerns with ethnicity and sub-national identity fragmentation which hinders progress toward democratization on the continent. Considering all the lives lost on the African continent on account of ethnic difference he suggested a supra-identity i.e. Pan-Africanism as an ideal that all of Africa can rally on. In line with Pan-Africanism he advocated for greater inclusivity of women and youth on the continent, this he said is a part of the transformation that the continent seeks and that it advocating for the role of women and youth we'd be cementing good governance and self-reliance in Africa.

In speaking on the important of the conference Prof. Shyaka stated that "this conference on Democracy in Africa is a testimony that the role of civil society in Africa's democratization and development is growing, and becoming substantive and positive".

With the closing of Prof. Anastase's remarks we took a short coffee break during which time we took a group photo (see Annex I) and gave the guests the first real opportunity to engage informally.

The ADF conference consisted of panel discussions each with an applicable topic as it pertains to the democratization in Africa (see Annex 2 for the conference agenda and concept note). Each panel had a moderator and three panelists.



¹On account of a last minute cancellation by Amb. Salah Siddig Hammad this panel consisted of only two participants.

DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA TO THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE



Distinguished participants

Democracy is the engine of socioeconomic transformation in society. Thus, Africa needs transformation towards rapid growth, greater inclusiveness of youth and women, as well as the engine to ensure greater security of our nations and cementing good governance and self-reliance. Democracy is commonly referred to as the power of the people, by the people and for the people. As such at its core democracy entails:

- Participation of citizens
- Satisfying the needs and interests of citizens
- Accountability to citizens

Democracy in Africa is both old and new for the following reasons:

- Because Africans embraced the new concepts of democracy
- Old because our traditional structures of governance allows citizens to participate

The History of Africa and other parts of the world, in relation to democracy has been violent, oppressive and destructive. The legacy of slavery, colonialism and imperialism have been the most eminent impediments to democratic devolution and stability on our continent. In fact, democracy as conceived in theory and democracy as it is practiced are different things. Such discrepancy between theory and practice create the following deviations:

- **Liberal ideals** as practiced in the western world has become the only form of democracy
- Western practiced democracy tends to become the only form of democracy that everybody should emulate
- Any attempt of innovation is seen as a violation of democratic principles
- Democracy has become a business of political parties yet they are the only stakeholders

That said, however, there are important lessons we can learn from political party systems in the developed world. After the Second World War, the ideological dimensions of political parties in the Western democracy have been founded on the following two important characteristics:

- **Socioeconomic dimension** is the most important ideological dimension of the battlefield for political parties to access to power.
- **Identity-based dimension** (ethnic, regional, religion, etc.) is perceived as a danger to democracy.



For Africa to develop there is great need to overcome major deficits to democratic governance.



If the role of the civil society is to be to be impactful, this conference should reflect on the aforementioned deviations. For Africa to develop there is great need to overcome major deficits to democratic governance. Deficits such as:

- The legacy of colonial past that create dependency, and particularly dependency of mind
- Ethnicity and identity fragmentation resulting into violence and destruction
- Democratization that spurs accountability, fighting corruption and the rule of law
- Limited linkage between theory and practice of democratic process
- Linkage between democracy and national sovereignty, Africa stability and prosperity.

The post-genocide governance of Rwanda is built on consensual democracy, as an imperative to learn from the past, to project the future. This choice was based on identifying and assessing the factors of annihilation and drivers of transformation. I would admit that our model is not perfect, but it is working. It still has setbacks and unanswered questions, yet it is addressing our socioeconomic needs and security imperatives.

For democracy in Africa to spur sustainable development, the following imperatives must be met:

- The imperative for national survival and security
- The imperative of inclusive governance for stability
- The imperative of development and transformation
- The imperative to deal with globalization, global realpolitik and powers of geopolitics that require Africa to think about the state of the continent for 100 to 200 years to come

Homegrown democracy is what helped Rwanda's rapid reconstruction for the last 24 years. This democracy has been founded on primacy of rejecting confrontational politics and embracing consensus and power sharing as constitutional imperatives. AS H.E President Paul Kagame stated "we chose to stay together (unity), we chose to be accountable to ourselves (accountability) and we chose to think big.

Today Africa has set ambitious targets through agenda 2063 and AU reforms towards becoming an Africa of good governance, democracy, and respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law. Therefore, Africa is no longer showed the way. The road towards the Africa we want is paved and the direction is known. What remains is to combine efforts to be able to get there"!





(Director, UHAI Africa Ltd.) - Zimbabwe

Panelist: Dr. Sydney Mufamadi

(Director of Leadership, Univ. Johannesburg) - South Africa

Dr. Eric Ndushabandi (Director, IRDP) - Rwanda

Discussion premise:

In a post conflict Africa, looking to improve the economy situation of the continent and eradicate poverty to the improvement of people's lives what does democracy mean? Why

does it remain important and how does it influence lived experiences of peo-

- Africans must not change solutions to fit their context, instead they must create different solutions altogether.
- If democracy is to be successful in different African countries, it needs to have roots in the culture of each and every one of those countries.
- Africans must pay attention to public representatives in order to develop a strategic vision, especially for political parties.
- Africans must stop viewing their own people as mere footnotes when it comes making history. This needs to change because it has kept Africans behind as a people & as a continent.







Moderator: Adv. Marcel Wetsh'Okonda

(Member of the Bar Association) – DRC

Panelists: Dr. Eric Ndushabandi

(Director, IRDP) - Rwanda

Dr. Pierre Flambeau

(Senator, Cameroon government) - Cameroon

Dr. Andre Mbata Mangu

(Founder, IDGPD) - South Africa

Discussion premise:

Implementing democracy is not just the responsibility of the executive how does legal frameworks impact democratization and how can political parties / opposition parties hold governance accountable when it comes to realizing democratic values in Africa?

- Democracy means securing or preventing the erosion of authoritarianism in all structures. Stabilizing Africa's overall systems as well as its electoral systems is imperative.
- Do we reduce development to economic growth? Democracy is also development; it is social development. Therefore Democracy is a means to an end. There cannot be a trade-off between democracy & development. We can't choose between the two.
- · Building strong Judiciaries in African countries. A strong judiciary is essential to democracy.
- · Reducing the strength of Africa's Military Juntas.
- Reducing the notion of "Constitutional authoritarianism" on the African continent, where leaders use the constitution to cement their power. An example supporting this recommendation was given in the form of The Gambia, where Yaya Djameh lost power to a coalition in elections after 32 years in power.



Moderator: Mr. Gilbert Sendugwa

(ED, Africa Freedom of Information Center) - Uganda

Panelists: Dr. Chukwuemeka B. Eze

(ED, West Africa Network for Peacebuilding) - Ghana

Prof. Mabassa Fall

(International Federation for Human Rights) - Senegal

Ms. Betty Mutesi

(Country Director, International Alert) - Rwanda

Mr. Job Kiija

(Head of Democracy and Rule of Law, Great Lakes Institute

for Strategic Studies) - Uganda

Discussion premise:

Civil Society plays the role of being watchdog to the actions of governments, why is this a necessity? What is about CSOs that makes them an important component of democracy? How it is that CSOs keep governments accountable and who ensures that CSOs are accountable for their actions also?

- The notion of CSOs existing as an alternative to government must be deconstructed. Heads of CSOs in Africa need to ensure transparency & quality leadership before they demand it of government.
- CSOs must focus more on other aspects of democracy i.e. strong systems such as the judiciary. In order to achieve this, CSOs must invest more in civic education of the youth.
- It is important to not only educate the youth & women, but the previous generations who are in power. It's important for CSOs to educate everyone so that the laws previous generations put in place do not turn back on us.
- Coalitions on the continent must continue to be assured. Concepts such as citizen security should not be issues for CSOs. CSOs must build coalitions, work together and engage government in order to remove the negative perceptions. Coalitions between CSOs will also reduce the so-called "vacuums" because when CSOs themselves continue to compete, then they are the ones who create them. Slowly but surely, CSOs can build legitimacy.

RWANDA

Panel three concluded the first day of the conference. However to give our guests a feel for Rwandan politics and its history. As such the African Democracy Forum arranged a visit to the Rwandan Parliament where the Campaign Against Genocide Museum is located. The 1 hour 30 minutes tour depicts in detail how the campaign against genocide was executed by the Rwanda Patriotic Front following the withdrawal of UN troops at the height of the genocide against the Tutsi. It tells the story if the RPF soldiers who rescued victims and eventually defeated the genocidal forces. See annex 3 for more detail.



TERRORISM AND EXTREMISM: THE CHALLENGES TO **DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA**



Distinguished participants

Happy Africa Day! What are we celebrating today? As Africans are tweeting away and wishing everyone a happy Africa Day I wonder how many of them know that today we mark the 55th anniversary of the Organization of African Unity that would become the African Union.

We talk about Africa, and how to make it great but we don't know Africa! Get to know Africa, before talking about Africa. Let's get to know ourselves!

Africa has come a long way – in the last 16 or so months we have seen sixteen peaceful transitions of power on the continent! Mainly in West and Southern Africa, there is a lot to be proud of a lot that is happening here. But Africa is also a continent of paradox! In 2002 the African Union adopted its Peace and Security Protocol immediately after its adoption about 14 countries were on the agenda of the Protocol these were all crises situations. Today in 2018 with a few exceptions the same countries remain on that Peace and Security Protocol agenda. What does it say about Africa? What does it say about what we are able to do? What does it say about the progress that we have made? Therefore as much as what we celebrate the progress lets be mindful of the challenges, let's get to know ourselves!

Let's however get to the topic at hand here today. Terrorism. Terrorism is a threat to democracy as much as the lack of democracy is fueling terrorism. In September 2013 I found myself stuck in the Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi, Kenya where an Al Shabab group was taking hostages. In the aftermath I found myself thinking about what it is that would lead a young man to be a part of such a heinous attack? How much hate does it require for someone to do such a thing?

One thing that I have learnt is that when a terrorist says they will attack you - they will attack you, they might take time but it will happen. The bad news is that terrorism is not going anywhere anytime soon and it is expanding and becoming much more complicated.

Africa is ranked number one in comparison to other continents in terms of the presence of terrorist groups and is considered a major theater for all the groups who will be coming here on our continent. There's an increase in frequency in terms of what terrorists are doing now.

What worries me beyond this is that wherever terrorists are right now, they are becoming good at providing social services and acting as an alternate to local governments. In Al Shabab controlled areas, they deliver timely justice and enforce rulings. Example, if you have a complaint and go to them for help, they will tell you that they won't take more than 72 hours before they have made a judgment. Try going to our courts and see how long it will take before you can have justice.

They have an effective taxation system, they are not corrupt and are efficient. I tie this to democracy because we have reached a time where people forfeit their freedom just to meet their fundamental basic rights like safety and security. That is what is fueling these terrorist organizations.



How we deal with terrorism has given us reprieve but is not enough!



What are we doing about it? Quite a lot; various protocols have been signed in order to deal with the issues that will arise due to terrorism linked to Artificial Intelligence. We have drafted an African Union model law to help member states make sure that we have the same common laws so that people don't abuse the term terrorism for instance. We have deployed new tools, one of them being Continental Structural Conflict Prevention Framework. This tool helps member states to assess their own vulnerabilities and resilience. We also help them to mitigate strategies.

How we deal with terrorism has given us reprieve but is not enough! As such we need to address what leads to radicalization because radicalism leads to violence. Radicalization is the sum of small injustices. If you suffer small injustices day in day out you will become radicalized. We need to realize why people fight. They fight for four reasons:

- Power contestation
- Lack of inclusivity
- Unequal distribution of resources
- **Impunity**

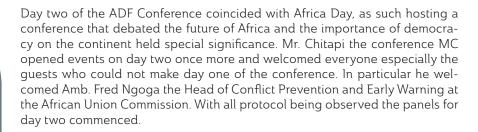
Let me conclude by saying that in Africa we have a crisis of values and we need to reclaim our value system and not normalize what is bad. What is not acceptable is not acceptable, what is intolerable remains intolerable. In Africa we should aim for investment and trade and not aid as a reality and not just a slogan. In Africa we should realize the importance of being pan-African. We are nothing fragmented, we should strive for one market, we should strive for one currency. It is important to get organized, as the future belongs to the organized and the better future belongs to the better organized! Let's get the Africa we want!











Moderator: Mr. Terence Chitapi

(Founder, Organize for Zimbabwe) - Zimbabwe

Panelists: Mr. Gilbert Sendugwa

(ED, Africa Freedom of Information Center) - Uganda

Mr. Andrew Karamagi

(Social Justice Advocate) - Uganda

Mr. Brian Kagoro

(Director, UHAI Africa Ltd.) - Zimbabwe

Discussion premise:

How has social media and increased Information Technology influenced African leaders? How has knowing influenced the position of leaders? What has access to information done for the average African citizen and how they interact with government?

- Social media is an empowering tool & access to information can enable citizens to fight for their rights. For example, in Ethiopia access to information checked designs of infrastructure & helped government save \$3.5 million and in Kenya information request allowed girls to receive sanitary pads that the government hadn't paid for.
- Social media affords citizens the ability to check power & leaders.
- A free media makes for a healthy democracy. The concept of " Citizen Journalism", whereby a citizen can write their own ideas from his/her own platform i.e. smartphones was mentioned as an example.
- Data costs need to be reduced in Africa because Data companies still charge a lot.



- African leaders should not think about legislating access to information because more often than not it does more harm than good. Censoring information has brought paranoia from African leaders about the digital information.
- Africans must stop being "happy protesters" and learn to set up alternatives to social media.

With the conclusion of panel four the conference hosted Isoko Arts a performing artist's organization that is youth run and based in Kigali. They through interpretive art gave us what their understanding of democracy was as young Africans and the next generation of leaders. In conclusion they advocated for their hashtag #woyocracy (women and youth in democracy). Please see Annex 4 for more details.

Following the presentation of Isoko Arts the conference had the pleasure of hearing Amb. Fred Ngoga speak, he did a presentation on terrorism and extremism in Africa and the challenges that it poses to democracy on the continent. His presentation focused on the following comments:

Conflict on the African continent is too common place; yearly too many people lose their lives to violence. Terrorist groups in parts of Africa strain the possibility for peace and progress. How can countries work collectively toward ending the instance of rebel groups? What is the impact of good governance and the insistence on the implementation of the rule of law and how does it prevent terrorism and extremism on the continent?

Key points and recommendations:

- Terrorists now have effective social systems such as effective taxation, security, etc. They have now become alternatives to governments.
- There is more emphasis on countering violent extremism instead of preventing violent extremism. Radicalization is the sum of small injustices and inequality. We need to deal with small injustices and better allocate resources.
- We need to encourage participation. The African youth don't simply want to be at the heart of democratic initiatives and actions, but they must be actors of those said initiatives.
- Impunity is a challenge of this generation. Justice is the only weapon that we have against impunity. As soon as we try to give certain individuals impunity, we render justice ineffective.
- We are normalizing intolerable behavior.
- We have a crisis of values on the African continent. We need to reclaim our value system. If there is conflict, don't tweet; get organized.
- Africans need to help one another. We should be one market, one currency. We need more investment and trade as a reality not just as slogans.
- Fragmentation- As long as we are fragmented, people will take advantage of us. Africans always blame other people. We never look at ourselves. We never look at the people we elect. We need to get our act together. Let us mobilize as Africans & look into our contribution. Let us own up.

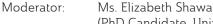












(PhD Candidate, University of Pretoria) - Malawi

Panelists: Adv. Alice Nkom

(Human Rights Lawyer) - Cameroon

Ms. Adama Dicko

(Pres. International Planned Parenthood Federation) - Mali

Ms. Satang Nabaneh

(Founder and Editor, Law Hub) - Gambia

Ms. Maximilienne Ngo Mbe (ED. REDHAC) - Cameroon

Discussion premise:

Africa is home to about 1.2 billion people approximately 60% is aged under 25, moreover the continent's population is said to double to about 2.4 billion by 2050. How do we provide governance structures that support youth in becoming leaders of the future? Leaders that positively contributes to the principles of democracy in society? The role of women in Africa has increased, however how do we propel this? What is the role of women in the democratization process?

- Women can also look for men who share their ideas & ambitions. There are some men in Africa who are champions of the role of women in the democratization process. Women can look into finding such men & making sure that they champion their causes, for better advancement of the democratization process in Africa.
- Access to information means people will know what is going on in terms of democracy. Informing people better will make sure future leaders are well informed, whether they are men or women.
- Even though many democratic movements were started by the youth, we need both the old & the young. You can be biologically young but ideologically old.
- The youth must challenge the old in an overt manner by working with them.



Day two should have started with this panel. However as the conference coincided with the Pan-African Movement conference one of our quests (Brian Kagora) had to also attend that event. As such we had to make some concessions

³Ms. Mbe is the Treasurer of the Management Committee of the ADF. She requested to be a part of the panel so that she could introduce Ms. Nkom who is a very influential human rights advocate in Cameroon



The panel on women and youth concluded the panel discussions of the ADF conference, Ms. Mikhaila Musoni the Coordinator of the African Democracy Forum having collected through the aid of the conference rapporteurs the recommendations that came out of the conference (see section below on recommendations). She stated the value of it being Africa Day and having had the opportunity to bring together African thought leaders. In picking from some of the comments made during the two days Ms. Musoni concluded that it was important that we could bring together decision-makers within government together with civil society organizations. At the end of the day both parties work toward the same end, the conference gave both organs the opportunity to see the value of collective work.

Thereafter Dr. Joseph Nkurunziza the Chairperson of the African Democracy Forum introduced the organizations youth competition, at which time he urged all participants to share the premise of the competition with the youth in their constituencies so that we can reach the desired 100 contestants. (See annex 6 for more details concerning the conference).

Whilst still addressing the conference participants Dr. Joseph Nkurunziza mentioned that Rwanda is a great example of democracy in action, despite the negative publicity that the country contends with. When talking about what is usually considered as self-censorship among people in Rwanda, Dr. Joseph mentioned that because of the country's history one of inequality and self-censorship that culminated in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, Rwanda deals with a traumatized society. This notwithstanding he mentioned 24 years after the fact Rwandans are recovering and enjoying greater freedom of speech.

The event was officially closed by Amb. Fred Ngoga during his closing remarks he reiterated that "the values of democracy need to start at home". It is important he said that we teach children discipline and honesty, if we fail in this "they will not respect the rule of law or they will be corrupt". He urged guests to teach children values in a language that they can understand and relate to as such he advocated for local languages and their continued used. Amb. Ngoga stated that one of the central challenges that we face in Africa at present moment is to "reclaim our values, African values that reject the normalization of intolerance and impunity ... as long as we are fragmented, people will take advantage of us ... Africans always blame other people ... We need to look at the people we elect". He concluded that democracy is an important component of the way forward for Africa and requires the support and dedication of all people, people who are committed to the course, people who are willing to hold government officials accountable.

AFRICAN DEMOCRACY FORUM



Distinguished guests we've heard now from young people, from women about their role about the impact that we know they can have on democracy. Many times as Executive Director of Never Again Rwanda I hear the complaint from our youth that an older generation does not want to listen to them, does not value their opinion. Does not even think that they have an opinion.

We saw young people give us their interpretation of democracy. We heard them also make the call that we do not leave them behind.

With that in mind ... In having the desire to not leave them behind. We are launching the African Democracy Forum Youth Competition. To enable them to use technology that we've spoken of today ... To add our voice to the notion that "democracy is a contact sport" to quote Andrew Karamagi.

This competition calls on African youth to through the means of video/images to share with us what they think the challenges to democracy are in their countries.

We've launched on our social media as I am speaking and I am hoping that you will help us share this competition. That you will help us give African youth a voice.

Thank you!







Dear distinguished guests, over the past two-days we have met here to discuss Democracy in Africa: The way forward. There have been many a good idea that has come up, and I am certain as you sit here members of governments and Civil Society Organizations, though leaders and advocates of the tenets of democracy that you will go home and put the

I have the pleasure to thank all the organizers involved in arranging this conference on Democracy in Africa: A way forward. I thank the African Democracy Forum and Never Again Rwanda for hosting this event and inviting me to participate in discussions that addresses the wellbeing of the African people.

Democracy as a system of governance is geared toward citizen participation and involvement in how leaders better serve them. Since its creation in 2000 organizations such as the African Democracy Forum has played a role in creating awareness concerning democracy on the continent. Raising the concerns that citizens are faced with. So to Never Again Rwanda with its attention to peacebuilding initiatives with an emphasis on youth contribute to the strengthening of democratic values.

Though mainly associated with the process of elections, democracy cannot only be about electing leaders into office. It is fundamentally about those leaders and their chosen government's ability to create positive change in the lives of the people that they serve. This because elections do not meet the most pressing needs of a people and on its own cannot guarantee prosperity.

Democracy is about respect for human rights, and government's ability to ensure access to those most basic of rights. In building a post-conflict Rwanda the government has placed great emphasis on the role of women, and ensuring that they are empowered. Gender equality in the country is a key component to growth, in Rwanda 64% of parliamentarian seats are held by women and emphasis placed on providing education to the girl-child to ensure a prosperous future. In general we are working toward universal primary education with the aim of empowering the future generation.

The government of Rwanda also believes in the value of citizen participation as a basic principle of democracy and a fundamental right for all citizens. As such we value the home grown initiatives at the core of our service delivery efforts and the decision-making ability presented to citizens through it. Through genuine consultation, local leaders and citizens exchange their needs and perspectives and reach joint decisions and strategies. The end result of this process is the ownership of the policies by the citizens and the culture of accountability among local leaders which grows stronger, leading to sustained development efforts.

Moreover, democracy is about political tolerance; respect for the rule of law and good governance.

Distinguished guests,

Aspiring to these democratic principles allows us to achieve economic transformation on the continent. It allows us to provide opportunities for the youth of this continent. In Africa the road has never been easy; there is no part of the continent that has been left unmarred of the shackles of war. There are so many African nations still wrapped in the chains of ongoing war. Poverty remains a battle that is yet to be overcome. There have been so many instances in our collective history where the future seemed bleak and yet despite it Africa has proven the naysayer wrong.

Along with the citizens that we serve the people who are seated here today have a role to play in how Africans experience democracy, how they interact with their leaders. As such we acknowledge the role of the many stakeholders seated here today working in the domain of good governance for their tireless contribution in identifying the existing gaps, for highlighting what the challenges are and where improvements need to be made.

We value the contribution made by CSOs in supporting best practices and taking charge of seeing it cross borders. We have witnessed the role of working together for the collective good. We have seen what can happen when African leaders work together an example of which is the establishment of the African Continental Free Trade Area that will create in Africa a unified market of 1.2 billion people with a Gross Product of US\$3 trillion. Chairperson of the African Union Commission His Excellency Moussa Faki Mahamat noted that this would increase intra-African trade by 52% by 2022. But most importantly it will elevate "African integration" and "increase the prospects of the people."

The work at the level of the African Union, and the work that is taking place within the majority of African countries at present moment is evidence of the commitment to democracy, good governance and the rule of law.

It is our strong belief that democracy is working on the African continent and that there is a commitment from governments and citizens alike to see a prosperous continent. We notice more and more the people of the continent reaping the rewards of democracy. As Her Excellency former Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf stated on accepting the Mo Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership "Africa continues its unstoppable march toward participatory democracy."

This conference on democracy that will be taking place over the next two days towards finding solutions and developing recommendations in support of African governments ability to improve the experiences of its people plays a pivotal role in the future of the continent. It is in debating, sharing experiences and taking home best practices that we uplift nations.

We are proud to welcome you to Rwanda, proud to share with you our experiences and our hope for a brighter future not only for the Rwandan people but for this Africa that we call home.



OBSERVATIONS/OUTCOMES

The panel discussions provided the participants with a great deal of information as it applies to their role in democracy and recommended solutions regarding how they can participate beyond the democratic movements they represent.

In recommendations concerning the gerontocracy that is dominant within African governance it was concluded that it be best to work alongside an older generation and thereby challenging them overtly. This was stated after it was pointed out that even though several democratic movements were launched by the youth (especially in Africa). Inclusiveness from both youth and an older generation is required.

During the presentation on terrorism and extremism in Africa new insights on bringing about democracy were given by Amb. Frederic Gareretse-Ngoga. He argued that Africans themselves need to encourage participation because African youth don't simply want to be at the heart of democratic initiatives & actions, but they must be actors of those initiatives themselves. Governments must make sure that their systems are operated properly because when systems do not work well, more often than not it leads to corruption, inequality and injustice which could lead to violent extremism. In order to prevent this from happening governments need to ensure that small injustices and inequalities that can impede the future of our youth do not occur in the first place.

KEY EMERGING ISSUES

Democracy as conceived in theory and democracy as it is practiced are two different things. These discrepancies between theory and practice create the following deviations:

- Liberal ideals as practiced in the Western world have become the only form of democracy and what every country should be emulating.
- Any attempt to deviate from what is happening in a Western democracy is perceived as a violation of democratic principles.
- Democracy has become a business of political parties, despite them not being the only stakeholders.

Africa has the lowest human development

The Spaces for civil society in Africa is shrinking

Kleptocracy within ruling parties and the risk of monolithic ruling system

Limited public participation

Identity based politics

Claims of e-democracy (virtual democracy)

WOMEN AND YOUTH ENGAGEMENT

There was general consensus that the role of women and youth in Africa is of great importance. During the conference the panel discussing the concerns of women and youth was unique in the sense that all panelists including the moderator were female.

During the discussion it was highlighted that through the promotion we should not neglect the needs and the role of men in society as such it is imperative that women can look for men who share their ideas and ambitions, this because there are men in Africa who are champions of the role of women in the process of democratization.

LESSONS LEARNED

- In order for democracy to be successful in different countries on the African continent, it needs to have firm roots in the culture of each and every one of those countries.
- African countries must build strong judiciaries because a strong judiciary is essential to democracy. This requires that Africans are informed and for that to happen African countries must invest more in the civic education of the youth.
- Concepts such as "Citizen Journalism" (whereby a citizen can write their own ideas from platforms like smartphones) must be promoted because a free media makes for a healthy democracy.
- Access to information means that future leaders are well informed, whether they are men or women and it means

⁴The event was supposed to be closed by Hon. Minister of Justice in Rwanda Johnston Busingye, however as official business prevented him from attending the conference. We request that Amb. Ngoga do the honours for us

they will know what is going on in terms of democracy.

CHALLENGES

One of the fundamental challenges that this conference faced was the active role of women. This was indicative of the conference hosting one panel of women and that only one other panel on the role of civil society had a female participant. The shortage of women participants wasn't what was expected, during the planning phase the Secretariat sent the invitation out to as many women as men. However the response level was very low. The conference also sought to have participants from all four regions of Africa – despite our best efforts in sending out invitations. The North Africa region was only represented by the North African Embassies present in Rwanda.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Following deliberations on the current trends, challenges, prospects and opportunities to consolidate democratic governance in Africa, participants noted the following issues and recommendations:

- For Africa to develop, participants highlighted the great need to overcome major deficits to democratic governance:
- · The legacy of colonial past that create dependency, and particularly dependency of mind
- Ethnicity and identity fragmentation resulting into violence and destruction
- · Democratization that spurs accountability, fighting corruption and the rule of law.
- Limited linkage between theory and practice of democratic process
- Linkage between democracy and national sovereignty, Africa stability and prosperity.
- For democracy to improve the economic situation of the continent and eradicate poverty there shouldn't be a trade-off between democracy & development. Instead democracy should be the engine for development and prosperity of the people.

- In order to mitigate confrontational politics, Africa's democratization process should take into account the identity dimension which seems to be ignored in the western democracy model. It is imperative for the supra-national identity to prevail in order for democracy to spur development.
- Democracy actors in Africa should demystify the difference between Political majority and ethnic majority. Democracy should lay the building blocks for the shared future for all the people.
- Going on ten years now, only 31/55 nations have ratified the African charter on democracy, election and good governance. Civil society and other democracy actors should push their governments to ratify this charter.
- Democracy cannot function without checks and balance mechanisms. Governments and civil society in Africa should figure out ways to move together in democracy. In that move, civil society in Africa should rethink on constructive ways of engaging the governments to prevent the continuously shrinking civic space.
- Civic and Peace education must be the tools to use in order to build Africa's democracy which takes into consideration the values and culture of the people it is meant to serve. Participants underlined a greater need to invest in civic education for Africa's young generation and get them interested in politics.
- Governments should abolish all restrictions barring civil society from engaging in politics because politics is a way of life, and governments telling civil society to leave politics means to stop their business. Rather, efforts to consolidate democracy in Africa should support civil society to exercise its expected role in the democratization process.

NEXT STEPS

To ensure that the ADF conference does not become an event in which thought leaders were brought together to share and not implement ideas. The Secretariat has considered the following steps at the conclusion of the conference. In the first instance it is important that we share the recommendations with all participants. The Secretariat will also maintain contact with the participants and follow-up with the various CSOs that were in attendance to review whether

the recommendations of the conference have been added to the agendas for this year or even the upcoming year. So too with the decision-makers within in governments that attended the event we would like to see the recommendations become a part of their portfolio, and look to how we can support their efforts as it pertains to their constituencies..

MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Progress Marker	Evidence
Youths: 1.1 Male and female citizens respond to invitations.	More male participants responded to the call to join the conference than females.
1.2 Male and Female youth use dialogue and debate to discuss and reach consensus.	N/A
CSO´s:	The following CSOs were present at the conference:
2.1 CSO" s accept invitations to attend events organized by ADF.	RWANDA:
	Never Again Rwanda, International Alert, Institute for Research and Dialogue for Peace
	ZIMBABWE:
	Organize for Zimbabwe
	GAMBIA:
	Law Hub Gambia
	DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO:
	CREEDA, Les Amis de Nelson Mandela pour la defense des Driots Humains
	UGANDA:
	Arica Freedom of Information Center, Great Lakes Institute for Strategic Studies
	Action Against Violence
	GHANA:
	West African Network for Peacebuilding

Progress Marker	Evidence
CSO's: 2.1 CSO"s accept invitations to attend events organized by ADF.	MALI: International Planned Parenthood Federation , Femmes et Driots Humains SENEGAL: International Federation of Human Rights CAMEROON: Central Africa Human Rights Defenders Network
Media: 3.1 Media respond to invitations to record and report on consultation processes.	The following media houses were present at the conference: Rwanda Broadcasting Authority East African The Independent

ANNEX

GROUP PHOTO DAY 1



GROUP PHOTO DAY 2



CONFERENCE CONCEPT NOTES:

DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA – A WAY FORWARD CONCEPT NOTE

CALL FOR PAPERS: All papers to be received no later than 2 May 2018

DATE: 24 – 25 May 2018

VENUE: The Marriott Hotel - Kigali, Rwanda

Introduction:

At the end of World War II in line with the Atlantic Charter a majority of states have looked to democracy as a form of government that best meet the needs of citizenry. For this reason the discussions and debates on democracy remain pertinent to the progress of humanity. In Africa a continent new to democracy as a form of government the debate has gained traction as the people in the 54 countries that make up Africa demand for rights and that such rights be protected. Despite the cynics regarding democracy in Africa, stating that the continent harbors "important attributes of democracy [but is] not considered fully democratic." Afrobarometer research indicates that "on average across the continent, Africans prefer democracy to any kind of government." Considering the need for democracy in Africa it is essential that we have this debate on what democracy in Africa is at present and what it should be.

Democracy trends in Africa:

This conference seeks to deal with the impact, role and importance of democracy in Africa. Looking at a modern Africa one that is part of "a new world order" joined together with the world "to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind – peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law." What does democracy mean to Africa and how do its people experience it on a daily basis.

What has events within government on the continent had on the outlook of democracy? If one considers the court involvement in the Kenyan elections, the military's involvement in the ousting of Robert Mugabe as president in Zimbabwe, constitutional changes in the Republic of Gabon 2011, in the Republic of Chad in 2005, the Republic of Cameroon in 2008, the Republic of Congo Brazzaville in 2015 and the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2011 with the sole objective of maintaining power without democratic alternation, to name but a few of the issues present on the continent. These events and the others not mentioned influence democracy as it is also influenced by the various cultures and traditions of the people. As such the conference poses the following questions:

- · What does democracy mean in African? Can one talk of African democracy as opposed to Western democracy? What are the challenges and where has progress been made?
- · What is the role of civil society in Africa and how does it contribute to the consolidation of democratic instruments on the continent?
- · Is the promotion of civil servants for the quest for democracy guaranteed?

⁶ Collier, D & Levitsky, S. 1997. Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research. World Politics 49 (April 1997): 430-451

Afrobarometer. Democracy in Africa Demand and Supply. [Online] http://afrobarometer.org/blogs/do-africans-still-want-democracy-new-report-gives-qualified-yes.

Bush, G. 29 January 1991. Address before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union. [Online] https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=19253. Accessed 28 November 2017

The African Democracy Forum will be hosting this conference Democracy in Africa – the way forward in Kigali, Rwanda and aim to bring together scholars, civil servants and civil society representatives familiar and expert on democracy in Africa to debate and discuss the state of it here. The conference will be taking place over two days and we will host seven sessions in which the following topics will be discussed. These topics are as follows:

- 1. The African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance - positives, challenges and country involvement
- 2. Defining the way forward for the democracy in Africa
- Consolidating democracy a review of political parties in Africa, specifically opposition political parties 3.
- 4. The role of Civil Society in the fulfillment of democracy in Africa
- 5. The role of women and youth in the democratization process
- Terrorism and extremism in Africa the challenge to democracy in Africa

We are looking forward to receiving your academic papers and welcome your participation in this initiative.

Please address all inquiries to mikhaila@africademocracyforum.org and send all papers to the ADF Secretariat africadf. secretariat@gmail.com

CONFERENCE OUTLINE AND AGENDA:

AFRICAN DEMOCRACY FORUM DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA – A WAY FORWARD

DATE: 24 - 25 May 2018

VENUE: The Marriott Hotel - Kigali, Rwanda

Conference:

The conference on Democracy in Africa: a way forward is being hosted by the African Democracy Forum in collaboration with Never Again Rwanda. It aims to bring together a host of experts from all over Africa to share ideas on the successes in democratization in Africa. These experts will make recommendations on what the way forward for democracy on the continent is. These recommendations will serve as the foundation for the ADF Online Journal to be produced in 2018 and which will serve as a source of knowledge on the outlook of democracy and good governance in Africa for other Civil Society Organizations and actors.

Background to the African Democracy Forum:

The African Democracy Forum is hosted by Never Again Rwanda in Kigali, Rwanda and was launched in Abuja, Nigeria in 2000 as a regional network on democracy, human rights and governance. The ADF mandate as per its founding Constitution is to be an active advocate for democracy, the defense and promotion of human right, good governance and the rule of law. The ADF seeks to ensure that the principles of democracy, human rights, good governance and the rule of law are fully observed and respected in Africa. The organization is designed to strengthen democracy movements in Africa by embracing the wealth of experience, expertise and knowledge derived from its members. Since 2000 the ADF has been the platform that organizes and coordinates regional issues around democracy movements, activism and practitioners. Providing a space where ideas can be shared continent wide and to the betterment of it.

Objectives of the African Democracy Forum:

- · To further the recognition and implementation of regional and international mechanisms that promote democracy, good governance and the rule of law across Africa
- To increase, establish and promote spaces for women and youth to fully and meaningfully participate in democracy, good governance and human rights in Africa for the advancement of their rights
- · To advocate and promote a culture of human rights and safety for human rights defenders
- · To support mechanisms for peacebuilding and conflict prevention on the continent
- · To build ADFs capacity to become an independent, sustainable and strategic regional network that advocates for principles of democracy, good governance, the rule of law, human rights and peace in Africa
- · To create and strengthen a platform for exchanges of ideas, information sharing and networking amongst civil society in Africa

Objectives of the Conference:

The objectives of the Democracy in Africa: a way forward conference is to:

- · Bring together a collection of experts on African democracy who are also based on the African continent
- · To discuss and debate the progress and concerns regarding to democracy in Africa
- · To collaborate on how CSOs and other actors can play a positive role in the progress of democracy in Africa

Participants / Experts:

The conference will bring together ±30 experts from across Africa focused on the rights of women and youth on the continent, International Relations and good governance. Expected representatives are coming from Rwanda, Mali, Nigeria, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, DR Congo, Somalia, Uganda and the African Union.

Conference format:

The Conference will consist of panels in which different topics pertaining to democracy in Africa will be addressed.

AGENDA - DAY 1

Time	Activity
08:30 – 09:00	Registration of participants (Registration will take place in the front hall of the venue)
MC for the event:	Mr. Terence Chitapi, Organize for Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe
09:00 – 09:30	Opening remarks and welcoming: Dr. Joseph Nkurunziza Ryarasa, Executive Director Never Again Rwanda and Chairperson of the ADF
09:30 – 10:00	Keynote speaker: Prof. Shyaka Anastase, CEO Rwanda Governance Board
10:00 – 11:00	Morning coffee and group photo
11:30 – 12:00	Session 1: Defining a way forward for democracy in Africa

In a post conflict Africa, looking to improve the economy situation of the continent and eradicate poverty to the improvement of people's lives what does democracy mean? Why does it remain important and how does it influence lived experiences of people?

Moderator	Mr. Brian Kagoro, Director UHAl Africa Ltd, Zimbabwe
	Panelist: Dr. Sydney Mufamadi – Director of leadership Univ. of Johannesburg and former Minister South African government (1994-2008)
	Dr. Eric Ndushabandi (Director, Institute for Research and Dialogue for Peace)
12:00 – 13:0	Lunch
13:00 – 14:00	Session 2: Consolidating democracy in Africa – The role of the judiciary, state organs and political parties

Implementing democracy is not just the responsibility of the executive how does legal frameworks impact democratization and how can political parties / opposition parties hold governance accountable when it comes to realizing democratic values in Africa?

Moderator	Adv. Marcel Wetsh'Okonda – Member of the Bar, DRC
	Panelist: Dr. Eric Ndushabandi (Director, Institute for Research and Dialogue for Peace)
	Dr. Pierre Flambeau – Senator Cameroon
	Dr. Andre Mbata Mangu – Founder, Institute for Democracy, Governance, Peace and Development in Africa
14:00 – 14:30	Coffee break
14:30 – 15:30	Session 3: The role of Civil Society in the fulfillment of democracy in Africa

Civil Society plays the role of being watchdog to the actions of governments, why is this a necessity? What is about CSOs that makes them an important component of democracy? How it is that CSOs keep governments accountable and who ensures that CSOs are accountable for their actions also?

Moderator	Mr. Gilbert Sendugwa, ED- Africa Freedom of Information Centre, Uganda
	Panelist: Dr. Chukwuemeka B. Eze, West Africa Network for Peacebuilding, Ghana
	Prof. Mabassa Fall – International Federation for Human Rights
	Ms. Betty Mutesi, Country Director International Alert, Rwanda
	Mr. Job Kiija, Head of Democracy and Rule of Law, Great Lakes Institute for Strategic Studies, Uganda
15:30 – 15:40	Conclusion of day 1 – wrap up
16:00 – 17:30	Excursion to the Campaign against Genocide Museum, Rwanda Parliament

The museum located inside the Rwandan Parliament was inaugurated by Rwandan President Paul Kagame on 13 December 2017. It tells the story of the Rwanda Patriotic Army's military campaign towards ending the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi that left over one million people dead over the course of 100 days.

DAY 2

Time	Activity
09:00 – 09:15	Introduction to day 2
09:15 – 10:15	Session 4: The importance of access to information in the implementation of democracy in Africa

How has social media and increased Information Technology influenced African leaders? How has knowing influenced the position of leaders? What has access to information done for the average African citizen and how they interact with government?

Moderator	Mr. Terence Chitapi, Organize for Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe
	Panelist: Mr. Gilbert Sendugwa, Executive Director: Africa Freedom of Information Centre, Uganda
	Andrew Karamagi – Public Interest Lawyer, Social Justice Advocate, Youth leader
	Mr. Brian Kagoro, Director UHAI Africa Ltd., Zimbabwe Lunch
10:15 – 10:45	ISOKO ARTS – YOUTH PRESENTATION
10:45 – 11:15	Morning coffee
11:15 – 12:00	Presentation : Terrorism and extremism in Africa – the challenges to democracy in Africa – Amb. Frederic Gareretse-Ngoga: Head of Conflict Prevention and Early Warning Division, African Union Commission

Conflict on the African continent is too common place; yearly too many people lose their lives to violence. Terrorist groups in parts of Africa strain the possibility for peace and progress. How can countries work collectively toward ending the instance of rebel groups? What is the impact of good governance and the insistence on the implementation of the rule of law and how does it prevent terrorism and extremism on the continent?

12:00 – 12:15	Q&A – to follow – MC - Terence Chitapi, Organize for Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe
12:15 – 13:15	Lunch
13:15 – 14:15	Session 5:The role of women and youth in the democratization process in Africa

Africa is home to about 1.2 billion people approximately 60% is aged under 25, moreover the continent's population is said to double to about 2.4 billion by 2050. How do we provide governance structures that support youth in becoming leaders of the future? Leaders that positively contributes to the principles of democracy in society? The role of women in Africa has increased, however how do we propel this? What is the role of women in the democratization process?

Moderator	Ms. Elizabeth Shawa, PhD Candidate, Malawi
	Panelist: Adv. Alice Nkom – Human Rights Lawyer, Cameroon
	Ms. Adama Dicko, President of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, Mali
	Ms. Satang Nabaneh – Founder and Editor, Law Hub Gambia
14:15 – 14:45	Session 6: Session 6: Conclusions drawn from conference – Ms. Mikhaila Cupido Musoni (Coordinator, African Democracy Forum)
14:45 – 15:15	Hon. Minister Johnston Busingye – Rwanda Minister of Justice
15:15 – 15:30	GROUP PHOTO & COFFEE

* Cocktail event – 16:00-18:00 Poolside Marriott Kigali Hotel

Dress code: Smart / Casual / African / traditional attire

PANELLIST BIOGRAPHIES:

Ambassador Frederic Gateretse-Ngoga is a Burundian national and currently serves as head of the Conflict Prevention and Early Warning Division (CPEWD) at the African Union Commission. The Division includes the Continental Early Warning System, the Panel of the Wise, and the AU Border Program. Prior to this, he worked as a senior officer with the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Ambassador Ngoga studied in France as well as the United States where he attended the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard University, and Suffolk University. He also received numerous professional trainings on peacekeeping and international security with Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, the African Center for Research and Study on Terrorism in Algeria (ACSRT), and the British Army's Defense Intelligence and Security Center (DISC) in Chicksands, United Kingdom. He was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Burundi on April 16, 2014.

Andrew Karamagi is a lawyer, social justice activist and budding scholar who works as the Project Coordinator—Shrinking Civic and Political Space at ActionAid International Uganda. Previously, he worked at the Human Rights and Peace Centre, a department of the School of Law, Makerere University and is a pioneer founding member of the Young Leaders' Forum, a reflection platform which seeks to bring together youth from various political parties in pursuit of a shared and national political agenda. Together, this team developed the National Youth Manifesto 2016-2021. He is a Core Associate Trainer at the MS-Training Centre for Development Cooperation in Arusha, Tanzania. Karamagi has co-authored in the international journal, Agenda, and wrote a chapter on youth participation in electoral politics in the Ugandan best seller, Controlling Consent: Uganda's 2016 Elections. He contributes opinions for Uganda's leading daily newspapers and is a regular panellist on a number of the country's radio and television talk shows.

Betty Mutesi is the Country Director for International Alert for Rwanda and Burundi with over 12 years of experience in peace building work and human rights. She also holds a Bachelor's in Law, Diploma in Transitional Justice studies and Masters in Peace studies and Development. She has previously worked for the Rwanda Governance Board, Ministry of Finance and Economic planning, International Centre for transitional justice and International Criminal Court.

Adama Dicko is a social entrepreneur with a Master's degree in Business Law and Human Resources Management. She embraces associative life very quickly and was involved in the Children's Parliament in Mali where she trained as peer educator by NGO JIGI, an NGO intervening in the field of the sexual health. As Adama undertook awareness raising about sexual health and sexual rights the opposition to it was many. Over the years, she became a young parliamentarian, vice-president of the National Network of Peer Educators in Mali, president of the Youth Association for active Citizenship and Democra-

cy (AJCAD) and a member of the IPPF governance council. It participates actively at national and international level in all decision-making and advocacy bodies in favour of SRH / FP and especially against child marriage. In 2015 UNFPA in Mali recognized the merit and work of Adam DICKO and appointed her "Ardent Defender" of Youth Rights for the SRHR / PF following her appointment she became a member of the UNFPA Advisory Board on issues of youth rights. In 2016 she was appointed as a Family Planning Champion by French NGO EQUIPOP.

Brian Kagoro is the Founder and Executive Director of UHAI Africa Group a Pan-African Governance, Leadership and Development Consulting firm operating in Johannesburg, Harare and Nairobi. Brian is a committed and practising Pan Africanist. He is a Constitutional and International Economic Relations Lawyer with extensive regional and global experience. Prior to establishing UHAI Africa Group in 2015, Brian was the Regional Governance and Public Administration Programme Advisor for UNDP and also the Governance Team Leader for the Africa Region within the UNDP Regional Service Centre for Africa. Prior to that Brian served as Pan African Head of Policy and Advocacy at Action Aid International. He was a Law Partner in a leading Law Firm in Zimbabwe. Brian is an Alumni of both the World Economic Forum - Young Global Leaders Forum (2005) and YALE World Fellows Programme (2003). He has extensive leadership, policy research and advocacy experience and expertise, including in African philanthropy, transitional justice, regional integration, public administration reform, governance of natural resources and organisational strategy development.

Dr. Chukwuemeka B. Eze is the Executive Director of the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP). He holds a Bachelor's Degree in Political Science and Master's and Doctorate Degrees in Peace and Strategic Studies with bias in Conflict Early Warning Systems. Between November 2016 and May 2017, he served as Senior Adviser on Mediation and Political Dialogue to the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in Guinea Bissau. Eze has 20 years' experience in peacebuilding, political dialogue, early warning and conflict assessment. Eze is pioneer Deputy Registrar and Fellow of the Institute for Chartered Mediators and Conciliators, Fellow of the Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP), and Fellow of the Danish Fellowship program in Copenhagen Denmark. He teaches peacebuilding practice at the University of Utah in the USA, Kofi Anna International Peacekeeping Training Centre and West Africa Peacebuilding Institute and has serval journals, articles and books to his credit.

Elizabeth Shawa a PhD candidate in Development Studies at the University of Pretoria is involved in the 50:50 Campaign Malawi, a movement aimed at advocating and campaigning for an increase of women political participation. Strategically focusing on the 2019 elections, the campaign holds initiatives and platforms to assist women including youth in retaining and securing new political positions. Elizabeth is an alumnus of the Barack Obama Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI), an alumnus of the Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS) and a recipient of the World Bank's Margaret McNamara Education grant due to her community initiatives on women and youth. Her areas of interest include social policy, democracy and governance, youth development and women empowerment.

Gilbert Sendugwa is the Executive Director of the Africa Freedom of Information Centre (AFIC), the largest CSO network and resource centre promoting citizens' right to information in Africa. Gilbert works on key topics such as open government, open contracting, social accountability and citizen access to information in Africa. He is a Steering Committee member on AU-EU partnerships on human rights and democratic governance; Member of the Freedom of Information Advocates' Network (FOIAnet) and a Council Member of the International Freedom of Expression Exchange. He has previously worked with the International Labour Organisation, Transparency International and Save the Children. Gilbert holds a BA in Social Work and Social Administration from Makerere University, Uganda, a Diploma in Project Planning and Management and an MA in Management Studies, both from Uganda Management Institute.

Job Kiija has over ten years' experience in Civil Society and development work. He is an activist that has been at the fore front of several civil society led campaigns in Uganda, including the Black Monday Movement against corruption, electoral reform campaigns and the Citizens Manifesto process. Job is part of the movement against life presidency in Uganda and remains part of citizen struggles for the first ever peaceful transfer of power in Uganda. He is also actively engaged in the youth movement and sits on a number of youth lead organizations boards. Currently Job heads the Democracy and Rule of Law Program at the Great Lakes Institute for Strategic Studies- GLISS, a policy think tank specializing in Research and Documentation. He formerly worked with the Uganda National NGO Forum, and was the focal person for the Uganda Governance Monitoring Platform (UGMP), a pan civil society governance trends monitoring group. Job's core competencies are

in research and documentation, citizen mobilization, lobbying and advocacy. He studied International Business, at Makerere University, and Educational Planning at the University of London.

Satang Nabaneh is a seasoned human rights defender, researcher and consultant. She is the co-founder of Think Young Women (TYW), a young women-led non-profit organization in The Gambia. Ms. Nabaneh has extensive experience in the non-profit sector as a frontline advocate for the rights of women, children and youth. She is the Gambian Country Reporter for the 'Constitutions of the Countries of the World' published by the Oxford University Press and the University of Pretoria. Satang has published book chapters and academic articles in reputable journals. Satang is actively engaged in the promotion of free access to law in The Gambia. She founded Law Hub Gambia (www.lawhubgambia.com), a repository of consolidated resources on the Gambian legal system including case law, statutes, and commentaries on legal, legislative and policy developments in The Gambia. Her research interests include a broad range of issues related to human rights, democracy and constitutionalism. She holds a Master of Laws (LLM) in Human Rights and Democratisation in Africa from the Centre for Human Rights, University of Pretoria, and LL.B (Hons) from University of The Gambia. She is currently pursuing studies towards a PhD in Law.

Dr. Sydney Mufamadi is a lifelong opponent of apartheid who commenced his political activism in his teens. He played a key role in the launch and maiden leadership of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU in 1985), represented the African National Congress (ANC) at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in which the constitutional framework for the new South Africa was negotiated and helped draft the National Peace Accord of 1991. In 1994, he was one of the two youngest members of cabinet at the age of 35. He was appointed the foundation Minister for Safety and Security in the post-apartheid republic. Subsequently (1999-2008), he was twice appointed Minister for Provincial and Local Government. He has been involved in mediation in Mozambique, Lesotho, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zimbabwe. In addition he has served as Expert Advisor to the African Union High- Level Panel on Darfur. His current research interest focuses on complex emergencies associated with insurgency and counter- insurgency campaigns in the Horn of Africa. He is the Director of the School of Leadership in the Faculty of Management at the University of Johannesburg. He is also a Visiting Professor of Practice at Central European University (CEU) in Budapest.

Prof. Mabassa Fall is from Senegal and holds a PhD. in Political Science from the University of Paris XI. He serves as Professor of Political Science at the University of Saint Louis and at the Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar. Previously he served as the Secretary General of the National Organization of Human Rights of Senegal and has also held the position of Secretary General in charge of International Relations of the Inter-African Union of Human Rights. Being involved in many human rights related activities Prof. Fall also serves as the Executive Director of the African Center for the Prevention and Resolution of Conflicts and is the Representative of FIDH to the African Union.

Marcel Wetsh'Okonda is an attorney from Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of Congo, he also serves as the Head of the European Union Technical Assistance Mission to the Thematic Group on Justice and Human Rights (GTJDH) and is member of the Research and Study Center on the Rule of Law in Africa (CREEDA). Marcel holds a Diploma of Higher Studies (DHS) in Public Law from the University of Kinshasa and an Inter University Diploma in Fundamental Rights from the University of Nantes. Currently he is working towards a PhD in Public Law at the University of Kinshasa. Marcel is a seasoned author having published a great deal including "La protection des droits de l'homme par le juge constitutionnel congolais. Analyse critique et jurisprudence", Paris, L'Harmattan, 2016 and "Les textes constitutionnels congolais annotés", Kinshasa, CDHC, 2010.

ANNEX 3:

VISIT TO THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST GENOCIDE MUSEUM

Campaign Against Genocide Museum (CAG) Introduction

Campaign Against Genocide Museum is a museum located in the Parliamentary building, in Kigali just 800 meters behind conventional center road point, and just 4.9km, 9 minutes' drive from Kanombe Airport. This campaign against Genocide Museum was opened officially on 13th December, 2017 by H.E Paul Kagame.

CAG Museum is built in the Parliamentary building which was once known as Conseil National de Development because this building hosted the Rwandan Patriotic Front politicians and the 600 man protection force (3BN) from 28th December 1993 as they were in the preparations for the installation of Broad Based Transitional Government and the National Transitional Assembly and these 600 man protection force the (3BN) were the ones given the order first on 07/04/1994 by the RPA Chairman of High Command Major General Paul Kagame to break out from their initial positions defend themselves and rescue victims of Genocide in their vicinity when campaign against Genocide began

CAG Museum depicts in details how the Campaign Against Genocide Plan was executed by RPF/A following the withdrawal of UN troops leaving the targeted Tutsi under the mercy of the Genocidaires and how only the RPF/A forces who were in the war of liberation took the unilateral decision to stop Genocide, Rescue victims of Genocide and defeat the Genocidal forces. This CAG Museum also has its outer part comprised of monuments including that of the 12.7mm Machine Gun that helped in containing the advancing genocidal forces.



ISOKO ARTS – WOYOCRACY SCRIPT:

Stageplay

ACT 1

SCENE 1

STAGE SET UP READY NARRATOR ENTERS STAGE.

NARRATOR:

In the last couple of years there have been a lot of things happening in Africa. Actually the last twelve months have been a confusing time for African democracy. We have seen coups that didn't look like coups and elections that didn't look like elections. In this sense, it was a year of illusions, so in the next 30 minutes allow me to walk you through more illusions, and illusions, unimaginable recites and great achievements all spinning around my new religion and hopefully many of you shall get converted this morning. But remember it is just one more illusion.

pining papers on the board behind.

NARRATOR:

Not that i underestimate your ability to go through papers and get news and updates but allow me to walk you through the famous 5 myth to explore.

pins another paper on the board.

NARRATOR: (cont'd)

Is Africa an undemocratic continent ruled by autocratic old men who pay lip service to the wishes of the people who elected them? From the US to Uganda, most countries grapple with a democratic deficit. Yet there is a popular perception that Africa lags behind the rest of the world in this most nebulous of political terms. This is despite the fact that millions of people elsewhere in the world live under regimes that can be described as authoritarian, oppressive and undemocratic, while millions of people within Africa enjoy the benefits of relatively good governance.

Again he pins on the board

NARRATOR: (cont'd)

nbr 1. Democracy is not spreading across Africa Some countries defy the narrative of a democratic deficit in Africa, however. In its 2016 Freedom in the World report, Freedom House named Nigeria, Liberia and Ivory Coast among the countries with the biggest improvements in political rights and civil liberties. In Nigeria, 2015 was the first year an opposition party gained power through elections. Botswana, Ghana, Cape Verde and Benin have also been lauded as democratic examples. (MORE)

NARRATOR: (cont'd)

In 2016, at least 16 African nations had presidential elections. Although elections do not automatically lead to representative governments, competitive, multi-party elections constitute a sine qua non for democracy, and regular ballots indicate progress towards ensuring citizens are able to choose their leaders.

He joins the audience and ask them to make a sign that they are following.

NARRATOR:

nbr 2. Africa is dominated by Big Men A club of authoritarian leaders have maintained an iron grip on power in parts of Africa, either by amending laws to extend their terms of office, hosting rubber-stamp elections or repressing opposition and civil society. Of course, African countries are not alone in this - Singapore's founding father, Lee Kuan Yew, led for more than

three decades; Cambodia's Hun Sen has also been in power for more than three decades; and in Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev has held office since before the collapse of the Soviet Union.

In Africa, nine leaders have wielded power for more than 20 years; three of them have been at the helm for more than 30 years. Equatorial Guinea's President TeodoroObiangNguemaMbasogo seized power from his uncle in 1979, the same year that Angola's José Eduardo dos Santos rose to power. Yoweri Museveni won this month's election in Uganda to continue his rule after a vote marred by a lack of transparency. But Africa is about more than this club of big men. Aside from the growing number of leaders passing power peacefully after elections, there have also been cases of public backlash against leaders who have tried to prolong their tenures, such as Zambia's Frederick Chilubaand Malawi's BakiliMuluzi. In 2014, Blaise Compaoré's bid to extend his 27-year presidency in Burkina Faso was thwarted by a violent popular uprising, while upheaval in Burundi was sparked by President Pierre Nkurunziza's successful bid to prolong his term. Nor is leadership the sole preserve of men. In 2006, Liberia's Ellen Johnson Sirleafbecame Africa's first democratically elected female head of state. She was followed by Joyce Banda in Malawi and AmeenahGurib-Fakim in Mauritius. plus, As he prepared to step down as president in 2005, Tanzania's Benjamin Mkapa called for a new, home-grown democracy. "That Africa ended up with big men at State House is not entirely unrelated to this colonial legacy. Colonialists did not prepare Africans for selfdemocratic rule," Mkapa said.

he ask for a sign from the audience.

NARRATOR: (cont'd)

okay, this small process will continue in a few minutes. I just have one Question to ask before, I listened to 2 old people having a conversation, and let me walk you through that and we will get back to this.

he exits the stage as 2 actors enters.

ACTOR 1:

Lately, I hear so much talk about generations and how they are different. How they are frustrated with each other. How they think differently. How they act differently.

to be honest with you, I was immediately on the negatives or frustrations that come with trying to understand and work with people who think differently than us, Is it not hard to embrace the idea that they have something to teach us?

To be clear, I come from the school of thought that the younger can and should learn from the older. I am not so sure it is a two way street. It hardly can be.

ACTOR 2:

But is this worry really justified? Are we less productive as we age?

It is quite obvious that our body becomes slower and weaker as we grow old - but what about our brain? First, while physical strength is surely declining with age, for some abilities our bodies actually have a remarkable capability to maintain them - as long as we use them on a regular basis.

Second, and even more remarkable, is the capability of our brain to compensate declines in some capabilities with an increase in others.

It is true that certain basic and higher-level cognitive functions - notably the speed of information processing and episodic memory - are declining with age. But there are other functions - like semantic memory, language, and speech - that are improving with age. Importantly, for some declining functions, like perception - that is, the ability to hear, sense, and see there are easy and inexpensive fixes!

ACTOR 1:

But arguably the most important advantage of older people is experience - and we can even observe it in the organizational pattern of the brain itself. Successful older people manage to use their brains differently, and by doing so are doing things even better than younger people. One interpretation is that older people - having a larger set of knowledge - are relying more on their experience when processing new

(MORE)

ACTOR 1: (cont'd)

information. Instead of considering all the new information when making a decision, they might extrapolate from past experience, dismissing some new information, but working more efficiently with the information they have and ultimately doing just as well as younger people in a shorter time and energy with more powerful brains.

ACTOR 2:

So, young people are indeed able to run faster, but old people know the shortcuts. In the end, older people make it to the finish line just as fast or if I may say faster.

this leads the narrator to step back in fast and ask!

NARRATOR:

wow! but then what is wrong with the young people!

ACTOR 2:

Listen son, you need to understand that a leader can not be a simple influenced person. take a look at all these terrorist groups; Boko Haram, Al shabab or even check this rebels and forest fighters, cross check history in Rwanda in the Interahamwe the majority of these are young people, kids i may say! how would you put the fate of a country in the hands of simply influenced people.

NARRATOR:

I agree with you sir, just wondering how credible is that as a reason. Influenced people, but then they are influenced by who!? anyway let us ask the founder Mo Ibrahim Foundation. Mr Mo. Ibrahim himself. what do you think about having only older people as our leaders.

sound of the Speech... 4 min

POEM YOUTH ARE FIGHTING TO FIND THEIR PLACE IN.

dancers and mopre actors enters the stage and perform the poem!

"ANY SOCIETY THAT DOES NOT SUCCEED IN TAPPING INTO THE ENERGY AND CREATIVITY OF ITS YOUTH WILL BE LEFT BEHIND."

SONG ON THE ABOVE QUOTE

as they end dancing narrator gets back on stage.

NARRATOR:

I hope you did not forget about me and the 5 myths. let us run to number 3: Elections are the sole indicator of a thriving democracy. often the first things people point to as proof of democracy, elections are a precursor rather than the sole signifier of democratic rule. When asked whether elections were giving democracy a bad name, former UN secretary general Kofi Annan said: "Democracy is not just about one day every four or five years when elections are held, but a system of government that respects the separation of powers, fundamental freedoms like the freedom of thought, religion, expression, association and assembly and the rule of law ... Any regime that rides roughshod on these principles loses its democratic legitimacy, regardless of whether it initially won an election." and again i would say

Pins again on the board

NARRATOR:

again since we are talking about votes, here is another fact. DID YOU KNOW! . Judges can't promote democracy on their own? The Kenyan Supreme Court made history when it became the first judicial body on the continent to nullify the election of a sitting president - Uhuru Kenyatta - on 1 September. This remarkable assertion of judicial independence was celebrated

throughout Africa and beyond, as democrats dared to dream of a new phase of judicial activism. Instead, the second poll was just as controversial as the first as evidence emerged of continued political interference in the electoral commission and the main opposition candidate, Raila Odinga, boycotted the contest.

almost pinning the paper he comes back and ask!

NARRATOR:

but then I wonder, when Democracy is not functioning in a country who can solve that issue?? Do we have people that can rise against a malfunctioning government.

WOMEN!

ACTOR 3:

"When you see that something is not right you have to stand up, but often you're standing up to a bunch of bullies".

ACTOR 4:

In 2014, then president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, sought a nuclear deal with Vladimir Putin worth \$76 billion. South Africa's plans to build nuclear plants with Russia seemed to have been substantiating, until they were challenged by two women.

These women, MakomaLekalakala and Liz McDaid, mounted a spirited resistance to this deal by launching a court battle, in which they won. It was a protracted five-year battle with the government to ensure the deal did not come to fruition. It could be safe to say that their story serves as good precedent to other citizens in the country and in Africa as well that governments can be challenged.

Speaking to the BBC, Ms McDaid said, "Government tends to regard its citizens as sheep that will do what it says".

AUDIO THE WOMAN WHO ENDED LIBERIA'S CIVIL WAR.

As the audio plays actor 3 and 4 are reproducing it on stage.

NARRATOR 2:

Am sure you needed a woman narrating after this super intervention. Because you need to understand that the power in a woman can sustain a nation. Moving forward we still have 2 myth to explore.

She pins another page.

NARRATOR 2: (cont'd)

nbr4. High voter turnout means corruption A common perception is that high turnouts indicate fraud or ballot box stuffing. The reality is complex. A reported 89% of Rwanda's voting population cast ballots in the most recent election in 2013. The party of President Paul Kagame, who has held his position for 16 years, won 93% of the vote. Was this a sign of a country freely giving a vote of approval to a popular leader, or a sign of coercion? It is worth bearing in mind that 25 sub-Saharan African countries recorded voter turnouts of more than 50% at their last election, including in those widely viewed as democratic such as in Sierra Leone (88%), and Ghana (82%).

Pinning another page.

NARRATOR 2: (cont'd)

finally, the last myth is The passing of power is often violent. When voters believe there has been election fraud, the risk of violence is high. In some cases the violence is initiated by incumbent leaders who feel threatened by opponents and incite protests, further destabilising their countries. While the elections in Africa that garner the most international attention

are often those that turn violent, many more are peaceful. Voters in Central African Republic went to the polls in February hoping to end years of conflict, and the presidential run-off took place peacefully despite months of sectarian and ethnic violence, albeit with a lower turnout.

Narrator 1 and 2 meet on stage and they exchange the next pages.

NARRATOR:

you see what we have been trying to tell you as young people how we see democracy in Africa. we walked you through the myths, the Illusions and how we compare our democracy and western's

NARRATOR 2:

we believe only Africa has the ability to change this. they presented to us democracy, and we are introducing to the world WOYOCRACY. ladies and gentlemen a hand of applause.

MUSIC STARTS AND THE RHYTHM RISES THE WHOLE CREW GETS ON STAGE.

ACTOR 1:

Its a new system

ACTOR 3:

Its the best system

ACTOR 2:

Where the youth is the present

ACTOR 4:

And the women in their rightful place.

NARRATOR: of the people for the people and by the people. Narrator: (cont'd)

WE SIGNED IN FOR WOYOCRACY WAITING FOR Y'ALL!

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