

African Statesmen Initiative

FINAL REPORT

Leadership & Democratization
Inaugural Symposium
Bamako, Mali
June 5-8, 2005





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Inaugural Symposium on Leadership and Democratization
African Statesmen Initiative

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The views expressed during the ASI symposium, as well as in this publication and other symposium documents, do not necessarily reflect those of the organizations supporting the event.

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Executive Summary

During the last decade, Africa has experienced a visible expansion of political space, and democratic elections have led to peaceful political transitions in many countries. There now exists a group of elder statesmen who provide leadership to mitigate conflict and advance democratic institutions and processes across the continent. The African Statesmen Initiative (ASI) is a concept embraced by African former heads of state and government who seek to continue their contributions to the political and economic development of the continent. These leaders are uniquely positioned to contribute to ongoing democratization and good governance efforts.

Discussions with democratic African leaders about the formation of ASI underscored the need to build sustainable capacity on “Leadership and Democratization in Africa.” Accordingly, the ASI symposium was planned to lay the foundation for sharing post-presidential leadership experiences and expanding efforts to advance peace, prosperity, and democracy on the continent.

From June 5 to 8, 2005, 17 former heads of state and government convened in Bamako, Mali, to participate in a historic symposium. Drawn from 14 African countries and two countries from Europe and North America, these leaders were joined by experts in a variety of relevant fields. The conference sought to encourage democratic leaders who have demonstrated an ongoing commitment to political, social, and economic development to continue to play a constructive role in democratization initiatives across the continent; provide a forum for these leaders to share experiences from democratization and conflict management initiatives that they have undertaken since leaving office; and highlight their efforts and potential new outlets for their expertise in the areas of democratization and good governance.

In an agreement entitled the “Bamako Declaration,” the assembled statesmen highlighted their dedication to promoting political, social, and economic development on the continent. This document recognizes democracy as “the sole form of government that permits the development of the range of national institutions needed to ensure sustainable peace, security, economic growth and social well-being.” Moreover, through signing this declaration, the participating leaders expressed their commitment to “continuing to use [their] good offices to foster dialogue and the peaceful resolution of the continent’s conflicts, and to promote human security and democratic models of government that offer citizens the opportunity to choose their leaders freely and participate fully in the political life of their countries.” (See Appendix A for full text.)

Following recommendations by the participating African leaders, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and other program partners continue to seek ways to channel the enthusiasm sparked by this inaugural event. Notably, NDI has helped link like-minded organizations and partners with African former heads of state and continues to look for ways to assist the participants with documenting their past, present, and future efforts to promote good causes in Africa. Along with the former heads of state, NDI and its partners are exploring avenues to institutionalize the initiative in the hopes of working together with similar continent-wide endeavors, such as the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD).

Development of the African Statesmen Initiative

African Context

Credible elections and a peaceful turnover of political power in many African countries during the last decade have led to a noticeable expansion of political space on the continent. While in 1975, Freedom House ranked three sub-Saharan African countries as “free” and 16 as “partially free,” by 2004, 10 were ranked as “free” and 20 as “partially free.”¹ Africa now enjoys increased freedom of independent media, the emergence of a vibrant civil society and a greater number of women running for public office. Moreover, new initiatives have emerged within the African Union to foster economic and political development, including NEPAD and the peer review mechanism, as well as the Peace and Security Council.



Malian President Amadou Toumani Touré (left) greets former Nigerien President Mahamane Ousmane (right).

At the same time, serious challenges remain. In countries such as Zimbabwe, Guinea, Cameroon, and Gabon, incumbent leaders have been unwilling to cede power despite holding office for decades. These leaders have impeded attempts at meaningful transitions in their countries where the democratization process has stalled, political discourse is polarized, fraudulent elections are rampant, and the potential for conflict is high. They have sought to hinder democratic openings beyond their borders as well, which has contributed to further destabilization on the continent.



Former Heads of State Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria (left), Manuel Pinto da Costa of Sao Tome and Principe (center), and Amos Sawyer of Liberia (right) greet at the ASI symposium.

Some analysts contend that African heads of state cling to power using all means possible because they see no role for themselves after serving in the State House, when they may stand to lose their sense of security, personal safety, income and stature upon leaving office. This reasoning, coupled with the often violent nature of politics in some countries, is frequently covered by the media in a manner that perpetuates perceptions that autocratic power represents the rule rather than the exception on the continent.

Nonetheless, the democratization efforts of the last decade have led to a peaceful turnover of political power in a number of countries. Between 1960 and 1980, only three leaders voluntarily retired from office. However, by 2000, a total of 30 leaders had either retired from office or stepped down after losing an election.² These former presidents are an invaluable

¹Freedom House. *Freedom in the World Country Ratings 1972-2004*. <http://www.freedomhouse.org/ratings>.

²Goldsmith, Arthur A. “Risk, Rule, and Reason in Africa.” *African Economic Policy Discussion Paper 46*, (Washington: USAID, 2000).

resource and embody a new force capable of providing the leadership needed to promote democratic principles, peaceful conflict resolution, and other positive causes across the continent.

Africa's former presidents are uniquely placed to make a difference in such endeavors. They are often widely respected for their public service careers, and, in retirement, they are able to rise above domestic partisan political frays to address daunting political, economic, and social challenges.

ASI brings together such democratic African statesmen. The ASI program was born from a simple idea: there exists a significant group of elder statesmen who have contributed to development in their respective countries and can continue to seek solutions to Africa's developmental challenges. The ASI inaugural symposium was particularly timely due to the number of qualified participants among African former heads of state, as well as its potential to positively influence similar initiatives across the continent and elsewhere. The Initiative was designed to complement programs that exist or are planned at the United Nations (UN), within the African Union (AU), and within the Commonwealth.



Former heads of state and government gather with Malian President Amadou Toumani Touré at the inaugural symposium of the African Statesmen Initiative.

Symposium Planning and Organization

In September 2001, NDI initiated a series of consultations with African leaders, including current and former heads of state, to discuss life after the presidency and challenges to peaceful political transitions in Africa. In subsequent years, NDI met with a core group of African former heads of state who indicated interest in serving on a convening committee. Information collected during these deliberations laid the groundwork for organizing a gathering among African statesmen. Former presidents who provided initial guidance included Abdou Diouf of Senegal, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Alpha Oumar Konaré of Mali, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Mahamane Ousmane of Niger, Manuel Pinto da Costa of Sao Tome and Principe, Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, Shehu Shagari of Nigeria, and Nicéphore Soglo of Benin.

As symposium plans progressed, NDI met with several current heads of state, including Amadou Toumani Touré of Mali and Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, to discuss possible venues for the gathering. The Government of Mali formally agreed to host the event in Bamako and to provide in-kind contributions to ensure the forum's success. In collaboration with the Government of Mali and partner organizations, the ASI symposium was held in Bamako from June 5 to 8, 2005.

During the preparatory period, NDI developed a network of partnerships with organizations representing public and non-governmental sectors in Africa, Europe, and the United States. The support of the following partner organizations made the symposium possible: the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, the Club of Madrid, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Government of Germany, the Government of Mali, the National Endowment for Democracy, the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, the Open Society Initiative for West Africa, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United States Agency for International Development, and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy. To solicit thematic input, NDI also consulted closely with experts on Africa and senior staff from a number of organizations and agencies in Washington, D.C., including the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Freedom House, the U.S. Congress, the U.S. Institute of Peace, and the U.S. Department of State. NDI also met with a number of Washington-based African ambassadors. Those consulted offered constructive recommendations regarding the inaugural symposium.

A consensus on criteria for participation in ASI was reached through consultations with African former heads of state, as well as NDI's partner organizations. Those criteria included former leaders who voluntarily left office or stepped down following electoral defeat, were democratically elected but deposed by a coup, or retired from partisan political activity but continue to champion good causes. Using these criteria, 25 African former heads of state were identified and invited to participate in the program. Invitations were also extended to several former prime ministers and heads of government from Africa and other regions of the world.



Former heads of state and government gather at the inaugural symposium of the African Statesmen Initiative.

During the initial consultations, consensus also emerged around summit objectives: to encourage democratic former heads of state to continue to play constructive roles in democratization efforts in their respective countries and across the continent; to highlight their accomplishments and willingness to leave power as positive examples for incumbent presidents; to provide a forum for participating leaders to share experiences on democratization, conflict management, and other initiatives undertaken since leaving office; and to expose participants to new outlets for their expertise and energies in the areas of democratization and good governance. Recommendations from several former heads of state and substantive input from partner organizations formed the basis of the conference agenda.

Inaugural Symposium of the African Statesmen Initiative

The inaugural ASI symposium was convened June 5 to 8, 2005, in Bamako, Mali. (See Appendix B for symposium agenda.) Seventeen former heads of state and government from 14 African countries and two countries in Europe and North America were joined by experts in a variety of relevant fields. (Participant biographies are included in Appendix C.) The symposium featured an opening plenary session, six thematic panels, a working dinner discussion, special delegate sessions, and a concluding press conference. In each session, delegates analyzed specific challenges confronting the African continent and ways that former leaders could advance efforts to address such challenges.

Opening Plenary Session

The symposium opened with a plenary session featuring speeches by H. E. Amadou Toumani Touré, the current president of Mali; H.E. Ketumile Masire, the former president of Botswana; Abdoulie Janneh, the director of UNDP's Regional Bureau for Africa; and Kenneth Wollack, NDI's president. (See Appendix D for a transcript of opening remarks.) Speakers welcomed



Malian President Amadou Toumani Touré (left), NDI President Kenneth Wollack (center), and Abdoulie Janneh, Director of UNDP's Regional Bureau for Africa (right), welcome participants to the inaugural symposium.

the delegates, experts, and observers to the ASI inaugural symposium and described the development of the Initiative, its goals, and its intended outcome. The profound sense of responsibility to serve Africa, which is shared by participants and partners, was also highlighted. The speakers recognized the unique role that former heads of state can play in addressing challenges to development and noted the opportune timing of the symposium, following a 20-year shift toward more democratic governance in African politics. They also stressed the importance of building broad partnerships to better enable former heads of state to champion good causes.

Panel Discussions

The symposium included a host of thematic panel discussions targeting major challenges to democratic development on the continent and focusing on areas that could benefit from the leadership of former presidents. During each panel discussion, a moderator outlined the context of the discussion, and then participating leaders and experts shared experiences and practical suggestions for enhancing efforts to make a difference in the respective sectors. Following the initial presentations, other former heads of state joined in a free-flowing discussion, during which they expanded upon, or in some cases critiqued, the commentary of their colleagues. Participants appreciated the open and unrestricted nature of the discussion.



Former Presidents Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania (left) and Dawda Kairaba Jawara of The Gambia (right) participate in the panel discussions.

PANEL I: LEADERSHIP, SECURITY, AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Moderator: DR. CHRISTOPHER FOMUNYOH, Senior Associate for Africa, NDI
Panelists: H.E. JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS, former President of Ghana
H.E. AMOS SAWYER, former President of Liberia
GENERAL (RET.) CARLTON W. FULFORD, JR., Director, Africa Center for Strategic Studies
AMBASSADOR AHMEDOU OULD-ABDALLAH, UN Special Representative to the Secretary-General for West Africa

African former heads of state bring a unique and powerful perspective to the challenges of security and conflict management across the continent. Their leadership experience can assist in overcoming obstacles to human security, which include endemic poverty, widespread disease, weak governance, and environmental neglect.

During this session, panelists examined the effects of weak democratic institutions and the politics of exclusion on African countries, outlining actions leaders could take to reverse negative trends and incentives that could be employed to promote inclusion and conflict resolution. Expert panelists recommended the creation of opportunities to showcase the experience and expertise of democratic African leaders, particularly within the context of sub-regional and regional organizations, and underscored the benefits of frequent consultations among these leaders on matters of security and conflict management.



Former President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana (left) and NDI Senior Associate for Africa Christopher Fomunyoh (right) discuss leadership and security in Africa.

Speakers addressed the link between security and development, stressing that until a country provides security for its citizens, it cannot ensure economic development or furnish adequate health services. Participants emphasized that former heads of state have a responsibility to remain engaged and serve as a voice of conscience, reminding sitting leaders to serve honorably and respect the rule of law and constitutional term limits. They also agreed that former presidents can play a prominent role in mediation and conflict resolution efforts because of the wealth of practical political experience they gathered while in office. As former state officeholders and visible figures, former heads of state can serve as effective mediators in both intra-state, as well as inter-state, tensions and conflicts.

Some speakers urged African former heads of state to help ensure that governance arrangements specified in peace accords support or consolidate democracy throughout the future. Panelists acknowledged that poor governance is a key cause of many conflicts on the African continent. They also recognized the need to build solid relationships with international partners to promote human security, and they agreed that African former heads of state would be more effective if they worked as a group under the aegis of a formal network of their own creation.

Some suggested that former heads of state with experience in defusing crisis situations should collaborate to create a “how-to” manual describing their cumulative experience, best practices, and lessons learned about mediation, conflict prevention, and conflict resolution in Africa. A lively debate ensued about the most appropriate approach for former heads of state to assist in resolving ongoing political crises, given the prevalence of such situations on the continent. In the spirited exchange that followed, African leaders stressed that priority be given to concrete steps currently underway by officeholders or regional organizations to further cooperation and avoid duplication.

PANEL II: OBSERVER MISSIONS AND ELECTION STANDARDS

Moderator: MR. SAMUEL KIVUITU, Chairman, Electoral Commission of Kenya
Panelists: H.E. NICEPHORE D. SOGLO, former President of Benin
H.E. ALBERT ZAFY, former President of Madagascar
MR. PATRICK MERLOE, Senior Associate and Director of Programs on Election and Political Processes, NDI

Former heads of state bring unique leadership and expertise to election observation missions, not least of which are their personal experiences in running for elected office. Several recent controversial elections on the continent highlight the need for effective election monitoring efforts. Additionally, Africans are increasingly holding their elections to higher standards. The influence of democratic former heads of state and their stature across Africa provide them a platform from which to promote transparent, democratic elections and reforms that can bolster citizen confidence in the electoral process.



Former President Nicéphore Soglo of Benin (left) and Kenya's Electoral Commission Chairman, Samuel Kivuitu (right), discuss election standards.

During the panel discussion, several participating leaders who have contributed to the field of election reform and observation shared their views on current challenges to credible elections on the continent. Experts on democratic elections discussed the emerging global consensus that election rules should be standardized and a code of ethics for election observers be developed to further strengthen election monitoring efforts worldwide. Furthermore, participants discussed elections as a method of settling competition for power through peaceful means, and noted that through the process of choosing leaders, elections promote the exercise of sovereignty by a country's population. However, participants warned that elections are often erroneously viewed as a panacea for resolving conflict situations, and they highlighted the paradoxical finding that elections can both resolve and fuel conflict. They stressed the importance of civic education and an informed citizenry for the conduct of meaningful elections, and they recognized the critical role former heads of state can, and have, played in managing election-related crises in Africa and elsewhere. Former presidents can have a powerful impact by promoting dialogue

among competing political actors in a highly charged environment, or by encouraging those in power, as well as those competing for elective office, to act responsibly to avoid conflict and violence. Several examples were cited of African leaders who have played such a role in the last decade.



Pat Merloe, Director of NDI's programs on elections (left), and former Prime Minister Sadig Al-Mahdi of Sudan (right) discuss election standards.

Participants agreed that free and fair elections are necessary for democracy and sustainable development, but that each election must be evaluated in its country-specific context. Discussion also touched on potential tensions that can arise from international participation in elections, for instance, when the need for indigenous ownership of the electoral process may clash with the role of outside observers, including former heads of state. While participants acknowledged that an election belongs to the voters of the host country, a review of case studies indicated that the involvement of former heads of state as election observers can encourage contesting candidates to accept legitimate results. Participants also

stressed the importance of monitoring all phases of an election, from the development of the legal framework and registration of voters to the proclamation of results and adjudication of election complaints.

PANEL III: PUBLIC HEALTH CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS IN AFRICA: MALARIA, TUBERCULOSIS, AND HIV/AIDS

- Moderator: DR. CHRISTOPHER FOMUNYOH, Senior Associate for Africa, NDI
Panelists: H.E. YAKUBU GOWON, former Head of State of Nigeria
H.E. DAWDA KAIRABA JAWARA, former President of The Gambia
H.E. SAM NUJOMA, former President of Namibia
DR. GAIL ANDREWS, Director of the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS Research Alliance, Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa
DR. AWA MARIE COLL-SECK, Executive Secretary, Roll Back Malaria Partnership, Secretariat hosted by World Health Organization

Deadly diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, and HIV/AIDS have created a state of emergency in Africa, negatively affecting the economic, social, and political well-being of countries on the continent. Malaria causes approximately 20 percent of childhood deaths in Africa, killing nearly 3,000 children in sub-Saharan Africa daily.³ The incidence rate of tuberculosis has tripled in Africa in the past 15 years, despite decreases in much of the rest of the world.⁴ More than 25 million sub-Saharan Africans are living with HIV/AIDS, with



Awa Marie Coll-Seck (left), Executive Secretary of the Roll Back Malaria Partnership, and former Head of State Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria (right) discuss public health challenges to democratic transitions in Africa.

³UNICEF. *Malaria: A Major Cause of Child Death and Poverty in Africa*. (New York: UNICEF, 2004) 1.

⁴World Health Organization. "TB cases and deaths linked to HIV now at alarming levels in Africa." <http://www.who.int/tb/wtbd2005/en/print.html>.

2 million dying each year.⁵

Populations exposed to health pandemics in a context of minimal social services and little education on health issues are less likely to embrace democratic transitions, particularly if the government fails to provide needed social services and adequate healthcare. While political leaders in many countries are working to develop more effective national responses, a number of countries lack adequate legislation, policies, and coordinated responses.



(from left to right) Former Prime Minister Sadig Al-Mahdi of Sudan, former President Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro of Cape Verde, former President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, former Prime Minister Kim Campbell of Canada, former President Ketumile Masire of Botswana, and former Prime Minister Petre Roman of Romania represent the Club of Madrid at the ASI symposium.

Participants in this panel agreed that HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis are epidemics with huge socio-economic and developmental challenges. To address these challenges, the panelists discussed various roles that former leaders can play in promoting citizen awareness and information campaigns, working on attitude and behavior changes, and fostering improved access to health care and resource mobilization from the private and public sectors. Active leadership from former heads of state can draw attention to public health crises and facilitate positive responses at the national and international levels. Their constructive involvement could help strengthen initiatives currently underway, spearhead new efforts in underserved communities, and promote increased dialogue on the best practices and lessons learned across borders and regions.

Participants underscored the need for political will and commitment at all levels, from the highest officials to the grassroots activists, for genuine progress to be made in curbing the spread of disease. Former heads of state clearly can serve as advocates for better public health and new approaches to addressing deadly diseases. They can also serve as respected voices within their nations to raise awareness regarding prevention, treatment, affordable care and support for those affected by these deadly diseases. Former heads of state can also advocate a greater level of investment in the public health sector and promote coordination by international donors and African public and private sectors. The leaders acknowledged that they could help overcome cultural barriers and stigmas by engaging in highly visible ways with citizens groups and elected officials and leading civic education campaigns.

It was recommended that ASI become a focal point for creating multi-country, regional, or continent-wide partnerships and strategies to address health concerns. Panelists agreed that former heads of state must summon the collective will to speak out and, where necessary, assist current leadership to address these deadly diseases that threaten peace, prosperity, and democratic development.



Former Presidents Miguel Trovoada of Sao Tome and Principe (left) and Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro of Cape Verde (right) discuss issues raised during the panel discussions.

⁵The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. *HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria: The Status and Impact of the Three Diseases*. (2005) 14.

PANEL IV: DEMOCRATIZATION: GOVERNMENT, PARLIAMENT, AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Moderator: MRS. OUMOU TOURE, President of Malian Women's Association
Panelists: H.E. JOAQUIM CHISSANO, former President of Mozambique;
Member, Club of Madrid
H.E. MAHAMANE OUSMANE, former President of Niger



Former President Mahamane Ousmane of Niger (left) and Mrs. Oumou Touré, president of Malian Women's Association (right), discuss democratic development of the executive branch, legislature, and civil society.

Former heads of state bring a singular perspective to the development of democratic institutions. The viability of parliament, the judiciary, political parties, and civil society determines the success and sustainability of democracy on the continent. Former presidents can influence the development of these institutions without appearing to usurp their successors' constitutional role. They can act as catalysts to strengthen the development of effective and credible institutions, expand political participation to underrepresented groups, and serve as civic advocates on issues of national or regional interest. Former heads of state know first-hand the institutional challenges to democratic consolidation, and they are uniquely placed to help reformers in

Africa better tackle existing challenges to democratic governance. Their leadership and vision, for example, can inspire women and youth to overcome obstacles that limit their leadership roles in politics.

During the panel discussion, participants considered the need to promote effective working relationships among the legislative branch, the executive branch, and civil society in countries across Africa. They stressed the importance of increasing the scope of parliamentary debates to include the views of underrepresented or marginalized political parties in parliament, civil society groups, and community organizations, and they urged improved communication and information-sharing between parliamentarians and their constituents. Participants also agreed on the importance of strengthening the rule of law in African countries, noting from their experiences that failure to respect and adhere to such principles is a recipe for chaos and anarchy.



A journalist (right) interviews former President Nicéphore Soglo of Benin (left).

Key themes during this panel discussion included the empowerment of women and expanding opportunities for women in political leadership positions across the continent. African leaders highlighted the importance of including women in the electoral process and acknowledged the contributions that women have made during legislative and presidential elections thus far, although

no woman has been elected head of state of an African country.⁶ The leaders agreed to invite African female candidates who had run for president to a future sitting of ASI.

Participants focused in particular on the role former leaders can play in inspiring women and youth to overcome obstacles that limit their leadership roles in politics. Some argued that the exclusion of women narrows the scope of the deliberative process, which, in turn, may lead to poor decisions. Opening up the process to more divergent views, including those of women and youth, would strengthen debate, proposals, and policies.

PANEL V: LEADERSHIP FOR DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES: THE G8, THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS, AND INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Moderator: H.E. JOAQUIM CHISSANO, former President of Mozambique; Member, Club of Madrid

Panelists: H.E. ANTONIO MANUEL MASCARENHAS MONTEIRO, former President of Cape Verde; Member, Club of Madrid

H.E. ALI HASSAN MWINYI, former President of Tanzania

H.E. SADIG AL-MAHDI, former Prime Minister of Sudan; Member, Club of Madrid

PROFESSOR JEFFREY D. SACHS, Director of the UN Millennium Project and Special Advisor to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan on the Millennium Development Goals

Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region in the world that has grown poorer during the last generation, accounting for 13 percent of the world's population and 28 percent of its poverty. This panel evaluated current initiatives to reduce poverty and promote economic development on the continent, with a focus on the Millennium Development Goals and the role of multilateral lending and aid organizations, the G8, and the Blair Commission on Africa. With a growing consensus on the connections between economic growth and political reform, these issues were discussed in the context of democratic governance and the role of Africa's former presidents in supporting democratization efforts on the continent.



Former Presidents Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique (left) and Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro of Cape Verde (right) discuss the connections between economic development and governance.

During the deliberations, the African participants agreed that reaching all of the Millennium Development Goals presupposes a commitment to good governance at the national level and among donor countries internationally. They stressed that many African leaders agree with the findings of the Blair Commission, and they expressed hope that the G8 would adopt the Commission's approach to supporting efforts to reach the Millennium Development Goals. They advocated

⁶Since the Bamako conference, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected President of Liberia in November 2005.

greater political will on the part of developed countries to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

With respect to international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, participants asserted that structural adjustment programs have worsened the situations of many of the poorest countries on the continent. They also raised concerns about the seeming lack of coordination among the international financial institutions and donors on economic reform policies and assistance.

Emphasizing the responsibility that African leaders bear to advance economic development in their countries, participants noted that former heads of state can draw on their experiences in office to serve as advocates or advisors on economic development. They could also represent their countries' and continent's needs to individuals and organizations internationally.

PANEL VI: LEADING AFTER LEAVING: LEADERSHIP AND PARTNERSHIPS IN LIFE AFTER OFFICE

Moderator: H.E. KIM CAMPBELL, former Prime Minister of Canada; Secretary General, Club of Madrid

Panelists: H.E. KETUMILE MASIRE, former President of Botswana; Member, Club of Madrid

H.E. PETRE ROMAN, former Prime Minister of Romania; Member, Club of Madrid

AMBASSADOR CHARLES STITH, Director, African Presidential Archives and Research Center

This panel addressed some of the concrete ways that former heads of state can take advantage of their stature on the continent to further political, social and economic development across Africa. Panelists focused on the effectiveness of building alliances with other leaders, as well as local, national, or international partners. Former heads of state and government discussed ways they can bring their high-level experience to bear after leaving office. Participants shared examples of opportunities and initiatives they have undertaken since leaving office.

The panelists noted that ASI participants have endured the exceptional experience of political office in a democratic setting and have a duty to pass on the lessons they have learned to subsequent generations. They agreed on the need to document their collective experiences, especially as documentation of presidential leadership still lags on the African continent. Panelists encouraged former heads of state to help create an environment in which civic action is effective, by helping citizens understand



Former President Ketumile Masire of Botswana (left) and Ambassador Charles Stith, Director of the African Presidential Archives and Research Center (right), discuss opportunities for service after leaving office.

their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society. Panelists also noted the significant role that these leaders can play in urging their peers and successors to promote democracy and good governance.



Former Prime Minister Kim Campbell of Canada (left) and former Prime Minister Petre Roman of Romania (right) focus on opportunities for service after leaving office.

It was recognized that most of the leaders participating in the ASI symposium are already spearheading initiatives to better the lives of Africans, such as working to prevent the spread of AIDS, providing care for orphans, awarding scholarships for science education, and serving as election monitors or special envoys for the UN in mediation and conflict resolution missions, just to name a few. One of the participants contended that just as these leaders have helped their respective countries overcome colonialism, Cold War divisions, and apartheid, they could help rebuild Africa's socio-economic and political infrastructure and alleviate poverty.

Some speakers raised the challenges that African former presidents may encounter in post-government service. For example, a lack of resources may constrain the capacity of former heads of state to promote development objectives in their countries. They also may be viewed with suspicion by current presidents who fear being challenged by former heads of state. At the same time, they may face a stereotype that paints African leaders as corrupt or incompetent—perceptions that could impede their credibility and international standing. The participants agreed that former heads of state committed to promoting good causes on the continent can serve as positive examples to change such negative perspectives. Africa's former presidents can help build others' faith in Africa's enormous potential, playing a unique role as symbols of hope both within and outside the continent.

WORKING DINNER: GLOBAL TRENDS IN HUMAN SECURITY: PUBLIC HEALTH, SECURITY, AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

Moderator: AMBASSADOR DIARRA CHEICK OUMAR, former Malian Ambassador to the United States

Speakers: H.E. KIM CAMPBELL, former Prime Minister of Canada; Secretary General, Club of Madrid

GENERAL (RET.) CARLTON W. FULFORD, JR., Director, Africa Center for Strategic Studies

DR. BACARI KONE, former Minister of Finance of Mali

Human security is a broad concept encompassing many of the themes discussed at the ASI symposium, including physical security from violent conflict, security from hunger, and security from deadly diseases. The working dinner provided an additional opportunity to discuss and reinforce the overlapping connections among these themes. Panelists observed that attaining

peace within nations is a vital factor for human progress. They also urged African leaders to serve as counterweights to voices of extremism, both globally and in parts of Africa. They noted that former heads of state can alert citizens about the dangers of terrorism and internecine conflicts, which inhibit development and nation-building.



A journalist questions participants at the press conference.

Panelists noted the importance of multilateralism, upholding the rule of law, and respecting human rights at all times, including in the fight against terrorism. They also discussed the impact of globalization on Africa, as most African countries struggle to meet the basic needs of their citizens in healthcare, education, and infrastructure.

A case study was mentioned that underscored the “power of convening,” through which participating leaders can use their good offices to promote international or pan-regional dialogue seeking consensus on the global challenges of human security and terrorism. Speakers stressed that former presidents possess the power to bring groups of people together and that this influence is enhanced when they join together in an initiative such as ASI. The ability to bring stakeholders together is compelling and can enable policymakers to initiate dialogue that might not otherwise occur, tackling pivotal issues from above the political fray.

Press Conference and Media Coverage

To highlight the participating leaders as positive examples of African democracy, media outlets from across Africa, as well as international news agencies, covered the summit, widely publicizing its significance and the substance of its deliberations. Media representatives were invited to observe the forum, and several of the leaders granted interviews on their contributions to democratization across the continent and their activities after leaving office. The symposium ended with a press conference, during which participating leaders presented their thoughts on the issues raised during the symposium.

The Initiative received significant press coverage before, during, and after the symposium. Newspaper articles were published in more than 25 media outlets in countries across Africa. In addition, several international media outlets published stories about the conference and featured live interviews with some of the participants. (See Appendix E for press releases and Appendix F for a listing of articles and interviews on ASI.)



Journalists take notes during the press conference.

Bamako Declaration

During the concluding press conference, participating African leaders presented the “Bamako Declaration of the African Statesmen Initiative,” a joint communiqué issued to reinforce their commitment to be lead advocates for presidential leadership and good governance in Africa. In the declaration, the African former heads of state and government participating in the symposium expressed their commitment to “continuing to use our good offices to foster dialogue and the peaceful resolution of the continent’s conflicts, and to promote human security and democratic models of government that offer citizens the opportunity to choose their leaders freely and participate fully in the political life of their countries.” They also pledged to address “the threat of HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and other public health crises, and to encourage sustainable economic development and the protection of our rich but fragile ecosystems.” (See Appendix A for full text.)



Former President Ketumile Masire of Botswana (left) reads the Bamako Declaration at the final press conference, while former Presidents Sam Nujoma of Namibia, Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, and Manuel Pinto da Costa of Sao Tome and Principe look on.



Former Presidents Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania (left), Nicéphore Soglo of Benin (center), and Albert Zafy of Madagascar (right) read the Bamako Declaration.

The Bamako Declaration was developed during closed-door sessions in which the former heads of state and government met to discuss—off-the-record—the issues raised during the panel discussions. It was signed by the 15 African leaders present at the symposium.

Looking Forward

Since the conclusion of the symposium in Bamako, the participating former heads of state and government have continued their efforts to promote political, social, and economic development across Africa. NDI also continues to disseminate information about the Initiative and the symposium. NDI has created an ASI website (<http://asi.ndi.org>), which the Institute continues to update with information about the symposium, highlights from the discussion sessions, media coverage regarding the Initiative, and reports on the participants' activities to promote good causes across the continent.

During the symposium, participating African leaders recognized the need for partnerships to advance good governance and development objectives across the continent. Some suggested that ASI participants and partners should evaluate the many



(from left to right) United States Congressman Donald Payne, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan, and former Presidents Ketumile Masire of Botswana, Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro of Cape Verde, and Mahamane Ousmane of Niger speak at the Congressional Black Caucus Brain Trust on Africa in Washington, DC, on September 23, 2005.



Former Presidents Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro of Cape Verde (left), Ketumile Masire of Botswana (center), and Mahamane Ousmane of Niger (right) share their perspectives on African development at a Voice of America Newsmaker briefing in Washington, DC, on September 23, 2005.

organizations and existing opportunities for action to avoid wasted efforts and resources through duplicative initiatives. NDI will facilitate continued dialogue and partnership among the participating heads of state and partner organizations. Participants and partner organizations expect the ASI inaugural symposium to mark the beginning of constructive cooperation and anticipate that symposium participants will build on the conference momentum to create an ongoing forum through which they can address challenges facing the African continent.



Former President Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro of Cape Verde (left), former U.S. Secretary of State and NDI Chairman Madeleine Albright (center), and former President Mahamane Ousmane of Niger (right) discuss follow-up activities for the African Statesmen Initiative.

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Appendix A: Bamako Declaration



BAMAKO DECLARATION of the AFRICAN STATESMEN INITIATIVE JUNE 8, 2005

We, 15 former heads of state and government from across the African continent, have gathered in Bamako, Mali, from June 5 to 8, 2005, to discuss the individual and collaborative contributions that former leaders can make to address the urgent challenges facing Africa today. We believe that democracy is the sole form of government that permits the development of the range of national institutions needed to ensure sustainable peace, security, economic growth and social wellbeing. We applaud the spread of democratic values and respect for the rights of citizens in a growing number of African countries. We commit ourselves to continuing to use our good offices to foster dialogue and the peaceful resolution of the continent's conflicts, and to promote human security and democratic models of government that offer citizens the opportunity to choose their leaders freely and participate fully in the political life of their countries. We will continue to work to address the threat of HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and other public health crises, and to encourage sustainable economic development and the protection of our rich but fragile ecosystems.

Since leaving office, African leaders have offered their experience and expertise and often succeeded in promoting peace, democracy and human rights across the continent and in international forums. They have sought to safeguard the integrity and transparency of electoral systems, to draw attention to the ravages of malaria, tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, and other infectious diseases, to encourage the participation of women in politics, and to improve access to education and economic opportunities for Africans, especially youth. They have acted as mediators in resolving conflicts in a number of countries, while analyzing and drawing attention to the root causes of war in others. Many former leaders have contributed to the development and progress of emerging regional and sub-regional bodies such as the African Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). At the same time, former leaders also serve as a voice for Africa in the international community.

We acknowledge that Africa is a mosaic where in many places, political leaders – both governing and opposition – and civil society are building and reinforcing the institutions of democratic change and renewal, while forming important alliances to alleviate poverty, combat disease and protect our environments. We welcome the future participation of outgoing heads of state and government in efforts to promote democratic principles, good governance, and human security and development through individual and collective action.

We believe that by harnessing the rich human and material resources available to the continent, it is possible – and indeed vital – to help transform an African dream of peace, prosperity, and opportunity into reality for the continent’s citizens. We note with appreciation the work of existing forums to bring together former heads of state and government, including the Club de Madrid, the Council of Presidents and Prime Ministers of the Americas and Boston University’s African Presidential Archives and Research Center, as well as international organizations, academia and non-governmental organizations that have offered technical expertise and created opportunities for former heads of state to serve the continent in meaningful ways. We welcome new initiatives being discussed, such as the Council of Elders by NEPAD, and within the Commonwealth. We support the initiative of the United Nations Development Programme to establish the Africa Governance Institute as an incubator of innovative ideas, an institutional vehicle for assembling tried and tested measures, and a forum for dialogue between international and local partners on governance issues.

In concluding our deliberations over the past three days, we affirm and commit ourselves to the following:

Leadership, Security and Conflict Resolution

Individually and collectively, we commit to promoting strong and sustainable processes and institutions of democratic governance on the continent. We highlight the important role of militaries and security forces in protecting citizens, as well as the necessity for civilian oversight of the military. We recognize the importance of addressing the challenges and root causes of conflicts that undermine the development of accountable and inclusive democratic rule. We encourage the international community to commit resources to the prevention of conflicts and to support fully peacekeeping efforts by regional and international bodies.

We are preoccupied by the prevalence of conflict in a number of African countries, and support efforts by the United Nations, the African Union and other regional bodies to resolve them through dialogue and reconciliation. We will continue to be available to undertake mediation and conflict prevention efforts, and to assist the process of conflict resolution through the development and implementation of sustainable peace processes based on reconciliation, justice and democratic principles.

We affirm that changes of power and political succession should always be based on constitutional rule and democratic principles. We are gravely concerned that a number of countries are still experiencing serious difficulties in meeting such requirements for successful democratic transitions. We urge that inclusive frameworks for dialogue be created in such countries in order to chart a course toward reconciliation and consolidation of democracy.

Sustainable Democratization

We affirm the special responsibility of former heads of state and government to support the development of strong, well functioning legislative and judicial bodies, as well as other public institutions to ensure public accountability. We commit to addressing the barriers that prevent the full political participation of women. We will continue to support the development of free and participatory electoral processes as the method for settling peacefully the competition for power.

We recognize that no election can be separated from its broader historical and cultural context and that elections must be conducted with full respect for internationally recognized civil and political rights. When organized hastily in post-conflict situations and without attention to the root causes of violence or to overcoming previous exclusionary policies and practices, we know from experience that elections can exacerbate rather than resolve instability. Yet, we recognize that while elections are insufficient to create democracy, democratic governance is not possible without genuine elections. Such elections require workable and participatory political systems, and the promotion and support of wider civic and voter education efforts.

Drawing on African traditions of consensus and inclusive dialogue, we note in particular the need to foster internal democracy within political parties, and to develop and reinforce the role of opposition and minority voices in governance structures. We draw attention to the ongoing decentralization programs of many countries and encourage these efforts to extend democratic participation to the communal level. We encourage the international community to commit resources to democratization efforts at all levels of governance. In this regard, we acknowledge the recently proposed United Nations democracy fund and encourage that it be appropriately funded if approved.

Public Health Imperatives

We recognize that deadly diseases, such as malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS, create a health crisis that is robbing the continent of valuable human resources and exacerbating poverty. Their unchecked spread undermines confidence in nascent democracies, as citizens' expectations for improved socio-economic standards are frustrated. As former heads of state and government, we want to join with others in government and civil society to promote awareness, mobilize resources and improve access to health care. We encourage in particular the international community to commit the resources necessary to effectively address these public health challenges. We commit ourselves to working toward a continent-wide consensus on an integrated approach to limit the impact of and ultimately eradicate disease. Of serious concern is the increasing exodus of qualified health workers from the continent. In the search for solutions, incentives must be created to retain and reward them.

Social and Economic Development

As former heads of state and government, we have an ongoing responsibility to support efforts that address poverty and stimulate sustainable social and economic growth. During this gathering, we reviewed the initiatives, instruments and institutions essential for Africa's economic development and social well-being, with the understanding that the establishment of democratic institutions at all levels of government is the best way to assure sustainable development. Rural dislocation, environmental degradation and agricultural policies that lead to famine can best be overcome by political systems that are responsive and accountable to their citizens. At the same time, the international community must in our view make greater financial investments in human and infrastructure development on the continent.

Greater efforts must be undertaken in partnership with the international community and international financial institutions to improve food security and access to potable water. Special attention must be paid to improving Africans' access to the internet and other forms of

communication that bind nations and individuals together in today's global economy. We support the promotion of trade and economic exchange within Africa and between Africa and the broader international community in accordance with the NEPAD economic program. In addition, we emphasize the need to invest much more in the continent's educational institutions to train and prepare the youth of today for the challenges of tomorrow. We note with special concern the importance of extending educational opportunities to girls, who are more often than boys denied access to primary and secondary schools.

We wish to express our gratitude to President Amadou Toumani Touré and the Government of Mali for helping to facilitate this meeting of the African Statesmen Initiative, and the Malian people for their hospitality. We also express our thanks to the National Democratic Institute (NDI) for supporting this initiative as well as other organizations that have contributed to this effort. They are: the National Endowment for Democracy; the Club de Madrid; the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation; the United Nations Development Programme; the Government of Germany; the Institute for Multiparty Democracy of the Netherlands; the Africa Center for Strategic Studies; the Open Society Institute of West Africa; the Westminster Foundation for Democracy and USAID.

We also express our gratitude for the participation in this meeting of former Canadian Prime Minister Kim Campbell and former Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, both Club de Madrid members, and others who contributed to our deliberations.

Nicéphore Soglo, former President, Benin
Ketumile Masire, former President, Botswana
Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro, former President, Cape Verde
Dawda Kairaba Jawara, former President, The Gambia
Jerry Rawlings, former President, Ghana
Amos Sawyer, former President, Liberia
Albert Zafy, former President, Madagascar
Joaquim Chissano, former President, Mozambique
Sam Nujoma, former President, Namibia
Mahamane Ousmane, former President, Niger
Yakubu Gowon, former Head of State, Nigeria
Manuel Pinto da Costa, former President, Sao Tome and Principe
Miguel Trovoada, former President, Sao Tome and Principe
Al Sadig Al-Mahdi, former Prime Minister, Sudan
Ali Hassan Mwinyi, former President, Tanzania

Appendix B: Symposium Agenda



Leadership and Democratic Governance

Bamako, Mali

June 5-8, 2005

SUNDAY, JUNE 5, 2005

7:30 pm **Welcome Reception for All Participants**
Sponsored by the United States Agency for International Development

MONDAY, JUNE 6, 2005

9:30 am **Opening Ceremony**

Welcome

Mr. Kenneth Wollack, President, National Democratic Institute

Remarks on ASI Partnership

Mr. Abdoulie Janneh, Director, United Nations Development Programme
Regional Bureau for Africa

Presentation of Panels

H.E. Ketumile Masire, Former President of Botswana; Member, Club of Madrid

Opening Remarks

H.E. Amadou Toumani Touré, President of Mali

11:30 am **Panel I: Leadership, Security, and Conflict Management**

Sponsored by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies

Moderator: **Dr. Chris Fomunyoh**, Senior Associate for Africa, National
Democratic Institute

Panelists: **H.E. Jerry Rawlings**, Former President of Ghana
H.E. Amos Sawyer, Former President of Liberia
Ambassador Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah, United Nations Special
Representative to the Secretary-General for Africa
General (Ret.) Carlton W. Fulford, Jr., Director, Africa Center
for Strategic Studies

1:00 pm Lunch

- 2:45 pm **Panel II: Observer Missions and Election Standards**
*Sponsored by the National Democratic Institute and the United Nations
Development Programme*
- Moderator: **Mr. Samuel Kivuitu**, Chairman, Electoral Commission of Kenya
Panelists: **H.E. Nicéphore Soglo**, Former President of Benin
 H.E. Albert Zafy, Former President of Madagascar
 H.E. Miguel Trovoada, Former President of Sao Tome and
 Principe
 Mr. Pat Merloe, Senior Associate and Director of Programs on
 Election and Political Processes, National Democratic Institute
- 7:00 pm **Welcome Reception hosted by the Government of Mali for Former Heads of
State and Panel Experts**
- 7:30 pm **Dinner for Participants**
Sponsored by the Government of Mali
- TUESDAY, JUNE 7, 2005**
- 8:50 am **Greeting from Former U. S. President Bill Clinton by Video**
Sponsored by the Club of Madrid
- 9:00 am **Panel III: Public Health Challenges to Democratic Transitions in Africa:
Malaria, Tuberculosis, and HIV/AIDS**
Sponsored by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation
- Moderator: **Dr. Chris Fomunyoh**, Senior Associate for Africa, National
Democratic Institute
Panelists: **H.E. Dawda Kairaba Jawara**, Former President of The Gambia
 H.E. Yakubu Gowon, Former Head of State of Nigeria
 H.E. Sam Nujoma, Former President of Namibia
 Dr. Gail Andrews, Director of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS
 Research Alliance, Human Sciences Research Council of
 South Africa
 Dr. Awa Marie Coll-Seck, Executive Secretary, Roll Back Malaria
 Partnership, Secretariat hosted by World Health Organization
- 11:30 am **Panel IV: Democratization: Government, Parliament, and Civil Society**
Sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme
- Moderator: **Mrs. Oumou Touré**, President, Malian Women's Association
Panelists: **H.E. Manuel Pinto da Costa**, Former President of Sao Tome and
 Principe
 H.E. Joaquim Chissano, Former President of Mozambique;
 Member, Club of Madrid
 H.E. Mahamane Ousmane, Former President of Niger

1:00 pm **Lunch and Introductory Remarks on the Economic Development Panel**
Sponsored by the Club of Madrid

Introduction: **H.E. Joaquim Chissano**, Former President of Mozambique;
Member, Club of Madrid

Speaker: **Professor Jeffrey Sachs**, Director, United Nations Millennium
Project

3:00 pm **Panel V: Leadership for Development Initiatives: the G8, the
Millennium Development Goals, and International Financial Institutions**
Sponsored by the Club of Madrid

Moderator: **H.E. Joaquim Chissano**, Former President of Mozambique;
Member, Club of Madrid

Panelists: **H.E. Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro**, Former President of Cape
Verde; Member, Club of Madrid

H.E. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, Former President of Tanzania

H.E. Sadig Al-Mahdi, Former Prime Minister of Sudan;
Member, Club of Madrid

Professor Jeffrey Sachs, Director, United Nations Millennium
Project

5:00 pm **ASI Leaders' Special Session** (Former Heads of State and Club of Madrid
Members Only)

7:30 pm **Working Dinner: Global Trends in Human Security: Public Health, Security,
and Counter-terrorism**

*Sponsored by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies and the Bill & Melinda
Gates Foundation*

Moderator: **Ambassador Diarra Cheick Oumar**, Former Malian Ambassador
to the United States

Speakers: **General (Ret.) Carlton W. Fulford Jr.**, Director, Africa Center
for Strategic Studies

H.E. Kim Campbell, Former Prime Minister of Canada;
Secretary General, Club of Madrid

Dr. Bacari Koné, Former Minister of Finance of Mali

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 2005

9:00 am **Panel VI: Leading after Leaving: Leadership and Partnership in Life after
Office**

Sponsored by the Club of Madrid

Moderator: **H.E. Kim Campbell**, Former Prime Minister of Canada;
Secretary General, Club of Madrid

Panelists: **H.E. Petre Roman**, Former Prime Minister of Romania;
Member, Club of Madrid
 H.E. Ketumile Masire, Former President of Botswana; Member,
Club of Madrid
 Ambassador Charles Stith, Director, African Presidential
Archives and Research Center at Boston University

11:00 am **Review of Draft Document**

1:00 pm **Closing Ceremony Luncheon**

2:30 pm **Press Conference**

Appendix C: Participant Biographies

African Statesmen



H.E. JOAQUIM ALBERTO CHISSANO, former President of Mozambique (1986-2004); Member, Club of Madrid

Joaquim Alberto Chissano became President of the Republic of Mozambique in 1986. As head of state, he undertook important socio-economic reforms, opening the country to a multiparty system and introducing free market reforms. He also signed the 1992 peace treaty that ended 16 years of civil war with the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO). In 1994, he won the country's first multiparty elections, and he was reelected in 1999. Chissano chose not to run for another term in the 2004 elections. During his presidency, Chissano held several important international positions, including the presidency of the African Union.



H.E. YAKUBU GOWON, former Head of State of Nigeria (1966-1975)

Yakubu Gowon became head of the Nigerian Federal Military Government and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces in 1966. Since his departure from office in 1975, Gowon has earned a Doctorate degree in Political Science from the London School of Law and Economics and received numerous honorary degrees and awards. He is currently Associate Research Professor at the Centre for Development Studies in Nigeria, and he serves as Chairman of the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF). Gowon also launched the Gowon Center and has become a prominent activist in the campaign to eradicate guinea worm on the continent.



H.E. DAWDA KAIRABA JAWARA, former President of The Gambia (1970-1994)

Dawda Kairaba Jawara became the first President of The Gambia after a 1970 referendum abolished the monarchy and transformed the country into a republic. The founder of the People's Progressive Party, Jawara was reelected several times until he was deposed in a 1994 coup. He lived in exile until 2002, when the government lifted the ban imposed on him and his political party. Prior to his presidency, Jawara was serving as Prime Minister in 1965 when The Gambia became independent, and he served as Minister of Education before independence.



H.E. KETUMILE MASIRE, former President of Botswana (1980-1998); Member, Club of Madrid

Ketumile Masire, a former teacher and parliamentarian, became the second President of Botswana in 1980. He won reelection in 1984 and served until his retirement from public service in 1998. Masire maintains a keen interest in hu-

manitarian issues. From 1998 to 2000, he chaired the Eminent Personalities of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Committee Investigating the Circumstances Surrounding the 1994 Rwanda Genocide, and from 2000 to 2003, he served as the facilitator for the Inter-Congolese National Dialogue. In 2005, he was the Lloyd G. Balfour African President-in-Residence at the African Presidential Archives and Research Center (APARC) of Boston University. Masire holds several Honorary Doctorates and the Africa Prize for Leadership for the Sustainable End of Hunger, the Honorary Knighthood of the Grand Cross of Saint Michael and Saint George (UK), and the Namibia Order of the Welwitschia. He has also participated in international elections observation missions in countries including Ethiopia.



H.E. ANTONIO MANUEL MASCARENHAS MONTEIRO, former President of the Republic of Cape Verde (1991-2001); Member, Club of Madrid

Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas Monteiro, a political leader and former President of the Supreme Court, was elected President of the Republic of Cape Verde in 1991 and reelected in 1996. During his term in office, Monteiro chaired the Third Conference on a Regional System of Human Rights Protection in Africa and Europe; he also was elected President of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) in 1998. After leaving office, Monteiro served as Chairman of the Contact Group that the OAU sent to Madagascar to mediate the conflict that broke out following the presidential elections of 2001. He participated in the January 2003 NEPAD and Security Forum organized by the Global Coalition for Africa in Accra, Ghana.



H.E. ALI HASSAN MWINYI, former President of Tanzania (1984-1995)

Ali Hassan Mwinyi became President of Tanzania in 1984 after serving as interim President of Zanzibar. After overseeing Tanzania's transition toward multiparty politics, he stepped down at the end of his second presidential term in 1995, in observation of the term limit stipulated in the 1992 Constitution. In 2000, he was appointed by President Benjamin Mkapa to head the national effort in the fight against HIV/AIDS. As one of the nation's most distinguished elder statesmen, President Mwinyi continues to play a vital role in the civic life of Tanzania.



H.E. SAM NUJOMA, former President of Namibia (1990-2005)

Sam Nujoma was elected Namibia's first President in 1990 and was reelected twice, serving until 2005 when he retired from active politics. Prior to his presidency, Nujoma led the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in opposing South African rule and its extension of apartheid to Namibia. After leaving office, President Nujoma founded the Sam Nujoma Foundation, a charitable trust providing financial assistance to Namibian students studying Science and Technology and care for orphaned and HIV-infected children.



H.E. MAHAMANE OUSMANE, former President of Niger (1993-1996)

Mahamane Ousmane served as the first democratically elected President of Niger from 1993 until 1996, when he was deposed in a military coup. During his presidency, Ousmane negotiated peace with Tuareg rebels following six years of armed conflict. After leaving the presidency, Ousmane was elected as a Member of Parliament and Speaker of the National Assembly. He is currently President of the International Association of French Speaking Parliamentarians. He has also co-led international election monitoring missions in countries such as Nigeria.



H.E. MANUEL PINTO DA COSTA, former President of Sao Tome and Principe (1975-1990)

Manuel Pinto da Costa became the first President of independent Sao Tome and Principe in 1975, the same year the nation gained independence, and held this post until 1990, when he stepped down. In 1989, he led his country in a transition to a multiparty democracy. His efforts resulted in the country's adoption of a new constitution establishing a multiparty political system and two five-year terms for the presidency, as well as guaranteeing human rights protections. Since leaving office, Pinto da Costa has participated in international election missions in countries including Burundi.



H.E. JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS, former President of Ghana (1979, 1981-2001)

Jerry John Rawlings first came to power in 1979 as Chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council. He handed over power to a civilian administration four months later when the Council organized elections. In 1981, Rawlings returned to office, and he restored multiparty politics in Ghana in 1992. He won the 1992 and 1996 presidential elections as the National Democratic Congress (NDC) candidate. Rawlings was awarded the 1993 World Hunger Prize and was named a UN Eminent Person for the International Year of Volunteers in 2001. After leaving office, Rawlings was appointed UN Special Representative on sexually transmitted diseases, and he has led the way for effective mobilization of resources and field medical treatment for buruli ulcer, guinea worm and malaria patients.



H.E. AMOS SAWYER, former President of Liberia (1990-1994)

Amos Sawyer became President of Liberia's Interim Government of National Unity in 1990, as the country went through a tumultuous period of civil war. He was elected to the post by a group representing Liberian political parties and interest groups during mediation efforts convened by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). After retiring from Liberian politics, Sawyer returned to academia and is currently a Research Scholar and Associate Director at Indiana University's (USA) Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis.



H.E. NICEPHORE D. SOGLO, former President of Benin (1991-1996)

Nicéphore D. Soglo, an economist and former World Bank official, was elected President of Benin in 1991 and held this post until 1996. Since leaving office, Soglo has used his World Bank experience to contribute to economic policy studies in sub-Saharan Africa. He also was a Presidential Fellow in Residence at Harvard University and has co-led several international election monitoring delegations.



H.E. MIGUEL TROVOADA, former President of Sao Tome and Principe (1991-2001)

Miguel Trovoada was elected President of Sao Tome and Principe in 1991, in the country's first multiparty elections. He was reelected for a second term in 1996 and stepped down from power in 2001 as required by the constitution. During his presidency, Trovoada built strong relationships with the international donor community and successfully implemented several economic reforms. In recent years, Trovoada has been involved in conflict resolution missions in West and Central Africa.



H.E. ALBERT ZAFY, former President of Madagascar (1993-1996)

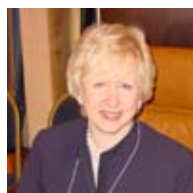
Albert Zafy was elected President of Madagascar in 1993 in an election that marked Madagascar's return to civilian rule after decades of military rule. Prior to his presidency, Zafy was nominated in 1991 to lead a transitional body responsible for drafting the constitution that restored a multiparty system in Madagascar. Under his leadership, the coalition of opposition parties, "Living Forces," successfully led the movement towards democracy in the country. He has remained in the medical profession since leaving office.

Heads of Government Sponsored by the Club of Madrid



H.E. SADIG AL-MAHDI, former Prime Minister of Sudan (1966-1967, 1986-1989); Member, Club of Madrid

Sadig Al-Mahdi won the general elections to become Prime Minister of Sudan in 1986, a position he retained until the government was overthrown in 1989. Despite spending years in prison and exile, Al-Mahdi has worked to promote democratization, peace, and national reconciliation within Sudan. His leadership contributed to the downfall of the Aboud dictatorship in 1964, an accord of national reconciliation mandating democratic reform in 1977, and the revolution of April 1985. In 2003, he signed the Cairo Declaration for peace and democratic transformation with the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). Currently, Al-Mahdi continues his mobilization efforts to restore peace and democracy to Sudan, and to solve the dialectic between modern life and religious revival in the Muslim World.



H.E. KIM CAMPBELL, former Prime Minister of Canada (1993); Secretary General, Club of Madrid

Kim Campbell served as Canada's first female Prime Minister after she was elected Leader of the Canadian Progressive Conservative Party in 1993. Prior to serving as Prime Minister, she was the first woman to hold the Justice and Defense portfolios and the first woman to serve as Defense Minister of a NATO country. Since her tenure as Prime Minister, Campbell has served as the Canadian Consul-General in Los Angeles (1996-2000), President of the Council of Women World Leaders (1999-2003), and President of the International Women's Forum (2003-present). In addition, she is Director of the International Leadership Association and chairs the International Advisory Board to the Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation. She became Secretary General of the Club of Madrid in 2004.



H.E. PETRE ROMAN, former Prime Minister of Romania (1989-1991); Member, Club of Madrid

Petre Roman was a founding member of the National Salvation Front and in 1989 became the first Prime Minister of post-communist Romania, serving until 1991. In 1992 he became a member of the Chamber of Deputies, where he chaired the Defense Committee until 1996. Subsequently, he served as a Senator and as Chairman of the Defense Committee from 1996 to 1999 and Minister of State and Foreign Affairs from 1999 to 2000. He also held the post of Chairman of the Democratic Party of Romania from 1993 to 2001 and was Chairman of the Senate from 1997 to 2001. He was reelected as a Senator in November of 2000 and continues to serve in that capacity. Roman was a Special Rapporteur to the North Atlantic Assembly from 1993 to 1996 and the Acting President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation from 1997 to 1998.

Expert Panelists

DR. GAIL ANDREWS, Director of the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS Research Alliance (SAHARA) at the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa

Dr. Gail Andrews is currently Director of the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS Research Alliance (SAHARA). Dr. Andrews played a key role in challenging apartheid health services as the Chairperson of the South African Health and Social Services Organization in the Western Cape in the 1980s. Prior to joining SAHARA, she was Head of Health Promotion and Senior Lecturer of Health Policy and Management at the University of Pretoria School of Health Systems and Public Health. In 2004, Dr. Andrews played a leadership role in developing strategies to support the South African Response to HIV and AIDS. She received a Ph.D. in Public Health from the University of the Western Cape and a Master of Public Health from the University of Wales.

DR. AWA MARIE COLL-SECK, Executive Secretary, Roll Back Malaria Partnership, Secretariat hosted by World Health Organization

Dr. Awa Marie Coll-Seck has been Executive Secretary of the Roll Back Malaria Partnership since March 2004. Her distinguished international and academic career in public health and medicine includes serving as Minister of Health of the Government of the Republic of Senegal, and Director for Policy, Strategy and Research of the Joint UN Programme for HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS). She is the author of over 150 publications on subjects including malaria, measles, tetanus, tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, and cardiovascular diseases.

DR. CHRIS FOMUNYOH, Senior Associate and Regional Director for Central and West Africa, National Democratic Institute

Dr. Chris Fomunyoh is currently the Senior Associate for Africa at NDI. He has organized and advised international election observation missions and has designed and supervised country-specific democracy support programs with civic organizations, political parties, and legislative bodies in many African countries. He holds a Licence en Droit from Yaoundé University in Cameroon, a Master's Degree (LL.M.) in International Law from Harvard Law School, and a Ph.D. in Political Science from Boston University. Dr. Fomunyoh is an adjunct professor of African Politics and Government at Georgetown University and adjunct faculty at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies.

GENERAL (RET.) CARLTON W. FULFORD, JR., Director, Africa Center for Strategic Studies

General Carlton Fulford Jr. has been Director of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies since 2003. He retired from the U.S. Marine Corps in February 2003 with the rank of General after serving as Deputy Commander of the U.S. European Command, a position that included extensive work on U.S.-Africa relations and travel throughout Africa. Prior to this position, he served in the Pacific and the Gulf as Commanding General, Commanding Officer and as Director and Vice

Director of the Joint Staff, and he has received many medals for his distinguished service. A graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, he holds a Master's degree from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. He also graduated from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, a strategic component of the National Defense University.

MR. ABDOULIE JANNEH, Director, United Nations Development Programme Regional Bureau for Africa

Abdoulie Janneh has been Assistant Secretary-General and Director of the UNDP Regional Bureau for Africa since 2000. He first joined UNDP in 1979 as a Programme Advisor in Burkina Faso. He later served as a Program Officer in New York and in Sierra Leone. He also served as Deputy Executive Secretary for the UN Capital Development Fund and Resident Representative in Niger and Ghana. Before joining UNDP, Mr. Janneh was a development planner for the Government of The Gambia. He holds a Master's Degree in Urban and Regional Planning studies from the University of Nottingham in England. He also attended Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone (Engineering Science), as well as the University of Bradford, England (Project Planning and Appraisal), and the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank (Project Management).

MR. SAMUEL KIVUITU, Chairman, Electoral Commission of Kenya

Samuel Kivuitu, a former Member of Parliament, is the current Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK). A member of the Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) party and a lawyer by profession, Mr. Kivuitu has been immersed in politics since 1964, when he was a student leader at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. Having served on a number of international observation missions, including the UN observation of South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, Mr. Kivuitu was appointed as a member of the Electoral Commission in 1992 and served as Vice-Chair in 1996, before his appointment as Chairman in December 1997. Mr. Kivuitu has won the admiration of the international community for having exhibited exceptional leadership skills in guiding the ECK through Kenya's political transition.

DR. BACARI KONE, Coordinator, Finance Sector Development Project, Ministry of Economy and Finances; Former Minister of Finance of Mali

Dr. Bacari Koné is the coordinator of Mali's Finance Sector Development Project at the Ministry of Economy and Finances. Prior to his current post, Dr. Koné served from 2000 to 2002 as Mali's Minister of Economy and Finances. He also served as Director of the National Treasury and Public Accountancy from 1999 to 2000, and as Director of Mali's National Budget from 1991 to 1999. Dr. Koné has a Ph.D. in Public Administration with a specialization in Public Finances from the State University of New York in Albany (SUNY-Albany).

MR. PATRICK MERLOE, Senior Associate and Director of Programs on Election and Political Processes, National Democratic Institute

Patrick Merloe directs NDI's electoral programs, including constitutional and law reform projects on electoral issues, programs involving domestic non-governmental organizations and

political parties in election monitoring, and international election assessment and observation delegations. He is also involved in NDI programs relating to rule of law and public policy advocacy. Before joining NDI in 1993, Mr. Merloe was an attorney with Heller Ehrman White & McAuliffe. He also taught international human rights law at the University of San Francisco School of Law. He received his Juris Doctor Degree at the University of Pennsylvania Law School, completed graduate studies in public policy analysis at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., and received his undergraduate education at Temple University.

AMBASSADOR AHMEDOU OULD-ABDALLAH, United Nations Special Representative to the Secretary-General for West Africa

Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah was appointed UN Special Representative to the Secretary-General for West Africa in September 2002. In this capacity, he has focused heavily on the Ivorian crisis, representing the Secretary-General throughout the Marcoussis negotiations. He also represented the Secretary-General at the ECOWAS-led peace negotiations on Liberia in Accra in July 2003, and he has played a leadership role in discussing strategies for promoting peace and stability in the sub-region with ECOWAS leaders. Ambassador Ould-Abdallah is also the Chairman of the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission, which was established in November 2002 and holds bimonthly meetings in Yaoundé and Abuja.

PROFESSOR JEFFREY D. SACHS, Director of the United Nations Millennium Project and Special Advisor to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan on the Millennium Development Goals

Jeffrey D. Sachs is the Director of the Earth Institute, Quetelet Professor of Sustainable Development, and Professor of Health Policy and Management at Columbia University. He is also Director of the UN Millennium Project and Special Advisor to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan on the Millennium Development Goals. Prior to his arrival at Columbia University in July 2002, Sachs spent over 20 years at Harvard University, most recently as Director of the Center for International Development and Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade. He received his B.A., *summa cum laude*, from Harvard College in 1976, and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1978 and 1980 respectively. He joined the Harvard faculty in 1980, became an Associate Professor in 1982, and was promoted to Full Professor in 1983.

AMBASSADOR CHARLES STITH, Director, African Presidential Archives and Research Center

Charles Stith was appointed by Boston University's Chancellor to establish the African Presidential Archives and Research Center (APARC) and currently serves as the Center's Director. Prior to assuming this position, Stith served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to the United Republic of Tanzania. He is a graduate of Baker University, the Interdenominational Theological Center's Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, and Harvard University Divinity School. Ambassador Stith is founder and former National President of the Organization for a New Equality (O.N.E.), which focuses on expanding economic opportunities for minorities and women. He has been an adjunct faculty member at Boston College and Harvard Divinity School.

H.E. AMADOU TOUMANI TOURE, President of Mali (2002-present)

Amadou Toumani Touré became leader of the Transitional Committee for the Welfare of the People of Mali, functioning as Head of State during Mali's transitional period towards democracy following a coup against Moussa Traoré in 1991. President Touré organized Mali's national conference and the legislative and presidential elections in 1992. After the election, he relinquished power to the newly-elected president, Alpha Oumar Konaré, and was subsequently nicknamed "The Soldier of Democracy." In June 2001, President Touré became the Special Envoy of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to the Central African Republic after the failed coup attempt in that country. In 2001, he retired from the army and resumed his political career by becoming a candidate in the presidential elections. President Touré was elected President of Mali in 2002. While President Touré is not affiliated with any political party, his government is comprised of members from all political parties in the country.

MRS. OUMOU TOURE, President of Malian Women's Association

Oumou Touré is a socio-linguist, trainer, and educator, specializing in issues concerning women. Mrs. Touré is a member of the Malian Democratic Movement and of the Women's Collective of Mali (COFEM). She is also the president of a non-governmental community-based development organization that works at the rural level with a specific focus on women. Mrs. Touré currently serves as president of the Malian Women's Association (CAFO), which has a membership of 2,044 women's organizations throughout Mali and is regarded both in Mali and in the sub-region as an emerging, powerful promoter of responsible women's participation.

MR. KENNETH WOLLACK, President, National Democratic Institute

Kenneth Wollack joined NDI in 1986 as executive vice president and was elected president by the Institute's board of directors in March 1993. Prior to NDI, Wollack co-edited the Middle East Policy Survey, a Washington-based newsletter, and wrote regularly on foreign affairs for the Los Angeles Times. From 1973 to 1980, he served as legislative director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). He also served on the national staff of the McGovern presidential campaign in 1972. Wollack is a graduate of Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, and has studied abroad at the University of London. He is a member of the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid and is the President of the U.S. Committee of the UNDP.

Appendix D: Opening Remarks

African Statesmen Initiative Symposium: Leadership and Democratization Opening Ceremony June 6, 2005

Remarks by Kenneth Wollack, President, National Democratic Institute

President Touré, Your Excellencies, the former heads of state from 14 countries on the African continent, Prime Ministers Campbell, Roman and Al-Mahdi from the Club of Madrid, ASI supporters from Africa, Europe, the United States and from the United Nations, members of the Malian government and civil society, distinguished participants, guests, observers and members of the media. It gives me great pleasure to welcome all of you to the inaugural gathering of the African Statesmen Initiative. I am Ken Wollack, president of the National Democratic Institute, an international organization based in Washington, DC, dedicated to the advancement of democratic values, institutions and processes worldwide.

The African Statesmen Initiative (ASI) was first conceived almost four years ago by former African leaders and through extensive consultations with Chris Fomunyoh, NDI's Senior Associate for Africa. My institute is proud to have played a supporting role in helping to bring this idea to fruition. To give you an idea how long ASI has been in the making, Chris Fomunyoh first consulted with President Touré not as a prospective host of the inaugural gathering, but as a participant in the initiative—he was a former president at the time.

The ASI initiative was born out of a simple idea: that there now exists a significant group of former political leaders on the continent who have contributed to the economic, social and political development in their respective countries and who can continue to address—collectively and individually—African problems, ranging from conflict resolution and peace-building to good elections and governance, and to mobilize efforts against the ravages of deadly diseases, such as HIV/AIDS.

Consider this one stark reminder of the changing political face of Africa. Between 1960 and 1980, only three African presidents or prime ministers retired voluntarily or left office after losing an election. Since 1990, that figure has risen to 32. While many of these former leaders already serve as role models for their successors and have already been involved in regional humanitarian and democratization efforts, the challenge today is how to best mobilize their skills and experience to help meet pressing continental and international challenges.

At the heart of NDI's work is bringing people together with diverse experiences and expertise to share what they know and what they have learned. This international solidarity network has demonstrated that democratic progress is inseparable from democratic cooperation. In this growing interdependent world, we are responsible for each other as events in one nation can impact, for good or for evil, events in other nations. We must use our interconnectedness as a

force for mutual support, as a strategic weapon for peace. That is our common humanity. Each failure averted will avert others.

Now, to be brutally frank, to much of the uninformed outside world, Africa is often portrayed as a vast continent dominated by autocrats and mired in conflict, poverty, disease and corruption. But those sitting around this table offer a different optic through which this continent should be viewed. Without minimizing all the problems—and they are real and significant—the Africa of today is in fact a mosaic where political leadership—both governing and opposition—and civil society are beginning to build what Salim Salim calls the “architecture” for democratic change. To be successful, however, the effort must tap all the talent this continent has to offer. President Kennedy once said that democracy is not a final achievement but a call to an untiring effort. That may describe best what brings us together.

We at NDI recognize, however, that the ASI does not operate in isolation—complementary initiatives have come before us and others will follow. We have learned from the President Carter-led Council of Presidents and Prime Ministers of the Americas. We have cooperated with Ambassador Stith’s extraordinary program for former African leaders at Boston University, and observed and worked closely with the Club of Madrid, which in a few short years has brought former leaders to help resolve conflict in almost every region of the world. We are aware of new initiatives being discussed, such as the “Council of Elders” by NEPAD, and within the Commonwealth. The ASI can both contribute to and benefit from all of these ongoing and future efforts.

President Mbeki characterized this process in a different context when he described the development of South Africa’s new constitution. “Our sense of elation,” he said, “derives from the fact that this magnificent product is the unique creation of African hands and African minds. But it also constitutes a tribute to our loss of vanity that we could, despite the temptation to treat ourselves as an exceptional fragment of humanity, draw on the accumulated experience and wisdom of all humankind, to define for ourselves what we want to be.”

Let me conclude by thanking those who generously have given their support to the ASI initiative. They are the Government of Mali, which has done so much to welcome us, the Club of Madrid, the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy in the Netherlands, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Government of Germany, the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, the National Endowment for Democracy, the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, the Open Society Initiative for West Africa and USAID.

Finally, I would like to note a serious deficiency in the ASI—and that is the absence of women. There has not been a female head of state in Africa. Let us hope that as ASI evolves, you will be forced to expand the initials to ASSI, the African Statesmen and Stateswomen Initiative.

It now gives me great pleasure to introduce Abdoulie Janneh, the Regional Director for Africa of the UNDP. NDI is proud to have partnered with the UNDP in so many places around the world. All of us know and appreciate the role the UNDP plays in the issues we will be discussing during this forum.

**Introductory Statement by
Mr. Abdoulie Janneh
UN Assistant Secretary General and
UNDP Regional Director for Africa⁷**

**African Statesmen Initiative Meeting
5-8 June 2005
Bamako-Mali**

- Excellencies,

- Honorable guests,

- Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and on my own behalf, I would like to join the President of NDI, Kenneth Wollack and all representatives of the ASI Partnership in welcoming you to Bamako and to this symposium.

First of all, I have the pleasant duty of paying tribute to the African country welcoming us here, the Republic of Mali, and its illustrious President, His Excellency General Amadou Toumani Touré. Since 1991, the Malian people and President Touré have shown great wisdom and patriotism in transforming this country into a performing democracy that has seen two turnovers of power, taking place through calm and dignified elections. In addition to being a textbook example for democratic transition in Africa, Mali has another, lesser known lesson, that of having resolved the anti-Government conflict of the Touareg rebellion in the North.

Allow me now to pay tribute to NDI. Since its creation, the Institute has significantly contributed to the democratization process in countries transitioning from authoritarianism to democracy throughout the world. Its support of this process in Africa, through observation of elections, the promotion of civil society, and the reinforcement of parliamentary institutions, among other actions, deserves our congratulations and all our recognition.

Excellencies,

This meeting takes place at a critical juncture in the history of Africa. This forum is occurring at a time that we see encouraging signs of Africa's determination to seize the development initiative and provide leadership to meet the challenges facing the continent. UNDP and I personally, are thus encouraged by the increasing boldness of the African Union and the Regional Economic Communities to tackle the challenges of peace and security, democratic governance, social and economic development.

⁷Parts of speech translated from French to English.

We are also pleased by the changing trends in the international community. The commitment of the world community to support Africa's development since the publication of the UN Millennium project report, *Investing in Development*, is heart-warming. And so is the mobilization of support by the Commission for Africa Report, *Our Common Interest*.

I am sure that from now through the G-8 meeting to the Heads of State Summit to be convened by the UN Secretary-General in September this year in New York to take stock of the status of achievement of the Millennium Declaration a lot of pronouncements and commitments will be made in support of Africa. This meeting therefore comes against a background of what I characterize as a positive momentum for Africa. And the importance of our deliberations, I venture to say, will be partly assessed in how all the participants here continue to encourage African governments to persevere in the implementation of the necessary policy measures. Our deliberations here will also have been successful if all the eminent persons here continue to engage the world community to come through with its commitments of support to the continent.

We in UNDP consider ourselves to be a privileged partner of Africa and are glad to be associated with an initiative that has brought together such illustrious citizens of the continent. Our partnership with Africa is built on a shared vision of a united, prosperous and peaceful continent in which the citizenry is permitted, encouraged and empowered to play a central role in determining a positive course for the future. It is this shared vision which will continue to guide us in our work in Africa and in support to the many ongoing initiatives as Africa transits to a new era.

Excellencies,

I will not bore you with the details of the various challenges that the continent continues to face. These are known to all of you, whom I believe in different ways have led transitions during your tenure as Heads of State in your respective countries that promoted governance and socio-economic reforms. UNDP and NDI are therefore very privileged to have you in this forum as we count on your insights and guidance to help improve our programme support to economic and governance reforms, the challenges of HIV/AIDS and malaria, trade and globalization.

As an introduction to why UNDP is supportive of the ASI, I would like to highlight a few initiatives UNDP is supporting in Africa and for which we seek your continued support and engagement going-forward, and also for which the lessons from this forum will be extremely beneficial.

First UNDP has been mandated by the UN Secretary General to help coordinate UN efforts at the National level in support of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In this regard, and in accordance with our continued effort to assist developing countries in promoting good governance, UNDP is proud to associate itself with the ASI for purposes of achieving this goal. We are pleased to see the growing determination of African peoples and governments to improve the system and the practice of governance in order to win the war against poverty, HIV/AIDS, malaria and other endemic diseases. For it is only by finding solutions to these challenges that we can hope to realize the MDGs. Your support of the MDG agenda will be greatly appreciated.

Second, UNDP is a participant and key partner in the institutional transformation of the African Union, an important institution not only for continental unity but also for policy coherence and programme synergy in all spheres of development in a globalizing and competitive environment. In this regard, we are supporting the creation of departments such as the Peace and Security Council to strengthen its role in conflict prevention and peace making as well as in the implementation of the strategic plan of the AU Commission.

The African Union has a critical role to play in uniting the continent to overcome poverty, armed conflicts and environmental degradation. In addition to supporting the strategic plan and priority programme of action of the AU, UNDP is also supportive of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review mechanism (APRM). NEPAD has an enormous potential for increased synergy, policy coherence, programme coordination and ultimately the enlargement of Africa's internal market while forging a common front to confront globalization and international trade issues. Your support for the AU and its development agenda is indispensable for its success.

The APRM is a concrete demonstration of Africa's commitment to enhance and deepen economic and democratic governance. It takes system-wide view of the governance processes, undertakes an exhaustive review of the systems, sets base-line indicators and produces an action plan to progressively improve governance in the countries which have voluntarily signed on to the mechanism. At the present time some 23 countries have signed on to the APRM and the exercise has already been undertaken in 5 countries with very enthusiastic support and participation from government and civil society. It is desirable for all African countries to adhere to the APRM as this will increase the credibility of African governments with respect to their support for democratic governance.

The final UNDP initiative that I would like to bring to your attention is the establishment of an African Governance Institute. This Institute which has been endorsed by the African Union will be launched at a UNDP conference facilitated by CODESRIA (Council for the Development for Social Research in Africa) in Dakar later this week.

The AGI will serve as an incubator of innovative ideas, an institutional vehicle for assembling lessons learnt and good practices as well as a forum for dialogue with international and local partners on governance issues. We are very encouraged by the overwhelming endorsement it has received from the African Union Commission as it sees it as one more pillar in the governance innovation in Africa. We hope that in due course, and when the Institute is established, it will have the opportunity to benefit from your wisdom in order to make its work more meaningful and realistic in Africa.

Excellencies,

Your participation in this forum sends an important message about your continuous engagement with Africa to ensure that the gains that are being made are sustained and improved upon. Your presence also underlies the fact that you subscribe to the importance of cohesion and policy coordination across the continent in order to ably meet the challenges of development which increasingly overwhelm individual countries. Your presence here also demonstrates your support for Africa's progress.

Our objective here is to see how the work you have done can be consolidated and the foundations of good governance you created in Africa can be built upon to take Africa to greater heights. We in UNDP feel privileged to be part of this process and we look forward to very fruitful discussions here in Bamako. I thank you very much for your attention.

**African Statesmen Initiative
Opening Ceremony
June 6, 2005**

**Remarks by H.E. Ketumile Masire
Former President of Botswana
Member Club of Madrid**

Your Excellencies,
Distinguished Guests
Ladies and Gentlemen

1. Let me begin by expressing my sincere gratitude to the National Democratic Institute and the Club of Madrid for organising and inviting me to this meeting of the African Statesmen Initiative. I am also particularly grateful for the special invitation by His Excellency President Amadou Toumani Touré; with whom I worked on a different assignment some 3 years ago.

2. Excellencies, during this Summit we will be addressing some issues of great significance to Africa under the theme: “Leadership and Democratic Governance”. We will explore the essentials of sustainable democracies for Africa.

3. We will also consider the paradigm shift in Africa’s socio-economic development -- resulting from the challenges created by, among other things, malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS epidemics.

4. Furthermore, we will review some of the initiatives, instruments and institutions that are essential for Africa’s economic development. These include -- but are not limited to -- the International Monetary Fund, the G8, and the Millennium Development Goals.

5. For the management of our work programme, we will adopt a Panel discussions strategy. There will be 6 such Panels, as illustrated in the draft agenda:

Panel. 1: Leadership, Security and Conflict Management

Panel. 2: Observer Missions and Election Standards

Panel. 3: Public Health Challenges to Democratic Transitions in Africa: Malaria, Tuberculosis, and HIV/AIDS

Panel. 4: Economic Development, the IMF, G8, and the Millennium Development Goals in Africa

Panel. 5: Democratization: Government, Parliament, and Civil Society

Panel. 6: Building Partnerships with Former Heads of State: Leading after Leaving

6. Your Excellencies, although some among us have since retired from public office, there should be no doubt that we still have the desire -- and the ability -- to serve Africa in a different capacity. Therefore, our primary objective now is to be helpful in maximising the benefits that our continent can derive from the global environment. There is a lot that we can contribute on the basis of experience that we accumulated over a number of years -- and, indeed, under very trying circumstances.

7. Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, at this juncture let me share with you some of my recent personal experiences. As some of you would be aware, I retired from public office on 31st of March 1998. That was after many years of dedicated service to my country.

8. I was looking forward to retire to my passionate occupation of farming. But, regrettably, I had hardly cleared my office of my bare essentials when I was assigned the responsibility to investigate the circumstances of the 1994 Rwanda genocide and the surrounding events. The traumatic experience of such a tragedy still haunts many souls -- not only in our continent -- but throughout the length and breadth of the peace-loving world.

9. I worked very closely with H.E. President Amadou Toumani Touré on that assignment. Mr. President, I look forward to a few moments of pleasant reminiscence with you during this visit to Bamako.

10. It took us many months of hard work to produce our report and complete our assignment. It was with some alacrity that I proceeded to present our report to the Secretary General of the OAU, H.E. Dr. Salim Ahmad Salim in December 2000. My task was done -- so I thought.

11. I was, therefore, taken by surprise when the OAU Secretary General, leading a group of Congolese -- whom I came to know as the Parties to the Lusaka Agreement -- informed me that I had been chosen to be the Facilitator for the Inter-Congolese Dialogue.

12. That was the beginning of yet another assignment. My efforts to decline were futile. The pressure on me to accept was unbearable. I sought the protection of my President in Botswana, but to no avail.

13. With great reluctance, I acquiesced to be the Facilitator for the Inter-Congolese Dialogue for a new political dispensation in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Dialogue took 3 years of painstaking negotiations, punctuated by acrimonious walk-outs and by outside interference. Worse still, the talks were peppered with an apparent lack of good faith on the part of some of the parties to the negotiations.

14. Through careful husbandry, however, involving a lot of confidence building mechanisms, the Congolese parties finally concluded their negotiations. They signed The Final Act and endorsed the Resolutions arising from the negotiations, on the 2nd April, 2003 at Sun City in South Africa.

15. I had hoped to retire from my retirement when I left Sun City. However, providence being what it is, my hoped-for retirement remained a mirage – it was a mere optical illusion. I say that because I am still toiling!

16. I join you today in my capacity as The Balfour African President in Residence at the African Presidential Archives and Research Centre (APARC) at Boston University.

17. The purpose of my assignment is two-fold. First, it provides Boston University and the broader American community with access to African personalities with practical experience in -- and a different insight into -- the African political and economic dynamics.

18. Secondly, it provides a venue for a useful exchange of views and opinions between a wide spectrum of American personalities, on the one hand, and representatives of the African society, on the other.

19. Excellencies, I hope that very soon I will be able to retreat to my humble abode, where I can resume my simple preoccupation of raising livestock and crops. Whatever the circumstances, as of now, I have no regrets. I am happy that, while I have the energy, the time and zeal, I am available to serve humanity.

20. This reconstruction of events since my retirement from the Presidency evokes a lot of memories -- some very agonising, some very hilarious, and some very pleasant. I could go on endlessly. But I am cognisant of the fact that time is a scarce resource to be used prudently. With this constraint in mind, I am willing to share more of these anecdotes with Your Excellencies in the corridors.

21. I thank you for your attention and I wish you very productive deliberations.

Introductory Statement
By
His Excellency
Mr. Amadou Toumani Touré
President of the Republic, Head of State of Mali
During the “African Statesmen Initiative”⁸

Bamako, June 6, 2005

Excellencies, Presidents, and Government Leaders;

Prime Minister of Mali;

Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of Government;

Ladies and Gentlemen, Presidents or Representatives of Institutions of the Republic;

Excellencies, Ladies, Gentlemen, Ambassadors and Representatives of International Organizations;

Distinguished Guests;

Ladies, Gentlemen,

First of all, on behalf of the people of Mali, I would like to extend a warm and fraternal welcome to all former Statesmen as well as to the eminent personalities invited to this important symposium.

Choosing Bamako for this conference represents, for us Malians, a mark of esteem and consideration on the part of the National Democratic Institute (NDI).

I express my profound gratitude to the heads of this prestigious Institution, the commitment and devotion of which have made this meeting possible.

Excellencies, Presidents;
Distinguished Guests,

It is not uncommon, in conversations about our continent and outside of it, to hear that Africa has changed.

This change is due to a multitude of events or issues that would be tedious to list here.

⁸Speech translated from French to English.

The key to this evolution is you, my dear elders, for the decisive role each one of you has played in the political changes in your respective countries.

This Symposium proves that, in fact, Africa has changed.

The status of Former African Statesmen no longer arouses curiosity on our continent. It has become a reality as the circle has grown.

I am happy to see in this room all these statesmen, each of whom symbolizes, in his own way, a facet of Africa's political history.

Following the fine and loyal service that you have rendered to your peoples, the Bamako Symposium is interested in bringing you together to reflect, all together, for the good of our continent.

The theme of the meeting was judiciously chosen, as "Democratic Governance, Peace, and Security" hold no mysteries for former statesmen like you.

You owe your current status to the fact that you have retired from power respecting the rules of the game of democracy.

Your opinions, suggestions, and criticisms on the political governance of our States are therefore not only in order, but they can help us improve the administration of our countries.

By casting your glance on Africa today, you have the dual advantage of issuing a judgment based on experience as well as on hindsight.

Peace and security are also questions with which you have been actively familiar.

The proposals of the Symposium will contribute to enriching global reflection on the prevention and management of conflicts on our continent.

Excellencies, Presidents;
Ladies, Gentlemen;

Beyond the conclusions of your works, the Bamako Symposium can and should be the starting point for a broader implication for former statesmen in the lives of our countries.

Their capital experience, their adherence to the values of democracy and freedom are so many assets for the successful accomplishment of the missions that may be entrusted to them.

This is the place to acknowledge the humanitarian commitment of many of you to diverse causes benefiting the populations of Africa.

Furthermore, I am happy to note that the Bamako Symposium has enabled a bridge to be built between former African leaders and personalities who have held eminent positions as Prime Minister in Canada, Portugal, and Romania.

Allow me to thank, on your behalf, all these illustrious guests for their presence in Bamako and for their interest in the African continent.

Mr. Presidents, Dear Elders,

Africa's development is experiencing the mobilization of all its forces: public authorities, political parties, civil society, each entity contributes a block to the collective building.

In this effort, the contribution of former statesmen should not be among those of least importance.

I know you are busy, and thank you for allowing us to disturb your tranquility, to mobilize you in the service of Africa.

In renewing my congratulations to NDI for taking the initiative for this meeting:

-I declare the African Statesmen Initiative open and wish you all success in your work.

Thank you for your attention!

Appendix E: Press Releases



PRESS RELEASE

CONTACT:

Jean Freedberg (English)
+(1) 202.728.5527
asipress@ndi.org

Walarigaton Coulibaly (Français)
+(1) 202.728.5539
asipress@ndi.org

Grant Godfrey (Português)
+(1) 202.728.5546
asipress@ndi.org

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MAY 6, 2005

AFRICAN STATESMEN TO MEET TO CONFRONT CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND HUMAN SECURITY

Former African heads of state to convene in Bamako, Mali, June 5-8

WASHINGTON DC-- More than 20 former heads of state and government will attend a June 5-8 symposium to discuss the challenges of peaceful political transitions in Africa and to share experiences on humanitarian and democratization efforts across the continent. The symposium, called the African Statesmen Initiative (ASI), will be held in Bamako, Mali.

The goals of ASI are to encourage democratic former heads of state to continue to play a constructive role in democratization efforts on the continent and provide a forum for these leaders to share experiences on initiatives on democratization and other challenges that they have undertaken since leaving office.

The three-day symposium will include discussions on topics including democratization and security, conflict management, economic development, health challenges affecting Africa, elections, democratic governance, parliaments and civil society.

This initiative by African leaders is being supported by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, the Club of Madrid, the Gates Foundation, the National Democratic Institute, the National Endowment for Democracy, the United Nations Development Programme and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy.

For more information about the African Statesmen Initiative, please visit the website at www.ndi.org/asi/.

NOTE: MEMBERS OF THE MEDIA ARE INVITED TO COVER THE SYMPOSIUM.

The plenary discussions are open to media.

Press will be required to pre-register, so please contact NDI if interested in attending.

A more detailed program, lists of participants and panelists will be made available at a later date.



PRESS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MAY 25, 2005

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Program: Chris Fomunyoh (202) 728-5540 /chrisf@ndi.org

Media: Jean Freedberg (202)728-5527 /jfreedberg@ndi.org

**AFRICAN STATESMEN TO MEET TO CONFRONT CHALLENGES OF
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND HUMAN SECURITY**

Former African heads of state to convene in Bamako, Mali, June 5-8

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The goals of ASI are to encourage democratic former heads of state to continue to play a constructive role in democratization efforts on the continent and provide a forum for these leaders to share experiences on initiatives on democratization and other challenges that they have undertaken since leaving office.

The three-day symposium will include discussions on topics including democratization and security, conflict management, economic development, health challenges affecting Africa, elections, democratic governance, parliaments and civil society.

Confirmed participants to date include:

Nicéphore Soglo (<i>Benin</i>)	Mahamane Ousmane (<i>Niger</i>)
Ketumile Masire (<i>Botswana</i>)	Alhaji Shehu Shagari (<i>Nigeria</i>)
Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro (<i>Cape Verde</i>)	Abdulsalami Abubakar (<i>Nigeria</i>)
Arístides Maria Pereira (<i>Cape Verde</i>)	Yakubu Gowon (<i>Nigeria</i>)
Dawda Kairaba Jawara (<i>The Gambia</i>)	Manuel Pinto da Costa (<i>Sao Tome and Principe</i>)
Jerry Rawlings (<i>Ghana</i>)	Miguel Trovoada (<i>Sao Tome and Principe</i>)
Malam Bacai Sanhá (<i>Guinea-Bissau</i>)	Ali Hassan Mwinyi (<i>Tanzania</i>)
Amos Sawyer (<i>Liberia</i>)	Joaquim Chissano (<i>Mozambique</i>)
Albert Zafy (<i>Madagascar</i>)	Sam Nujoma (<i>Namibia</i>)
Karl Auguste Offmann (<i>Mauritius</i>)	Kenneth Kaunda (<i>Zambia</i>)

Over the course of the three day symposium, participants will be joined by Club of Madrid members Kim Campbell (*former Prime Minister of Canada*), Antonio Guterres Oliveira (*former Prime Minister of Portugal*), Petre Roman (*former Prime Minister of Romania*) and Sadig Al-Mahdi (*former Prime Minister of Sudan*).

International experts will also be attending, including Jeffrey Sachs (*Earth Institute, Columbia University*), Awa Marie Coll-Seck (*Roll Back Malaria Partnership, Secretariat hosted by World Health Organization*), Carlton W. Fulford, Jr. (*Africa Center for Strategic Studies*), Charles R. Stith (*African Presidential Archives and Research Center*), Bernard Kouchner (*founder of Médecins sans Frontières*) and Abdoulie Janneh (*United Nations Development Programme*).

This initiative by African leaders is being supported by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, the Club of Madrid, the Gates Foundation, the National Democratic Institute, the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, the National Endowment for Democracy, the United Nations Development Programme and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy.

For more information about the African Statesmen Initiative, please visit the website at www.ndi.org/asi/.

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NOTE TO THE PRESS:

MEMBERS OF THE MEDIA ARE INVITED TO COVER THE SYMPOSIUM.

The plenary discussions will be open to press coverage.

Press will be required to pre-register, so please contact NDI if interested in attending.

Visit our website at www.ndi.org/asi/ to register and for more details about the program.

Appendix F: Media Coverage

LIVE INTERVIEWS

Voice of America: Newsmaker Press Conference – September 23, 2005

Former African Presidents Address Africa's Challenges

Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas Monteiro, former president of Cape Verde; Ketumile Masire, former president of Botswana; and Mahamane Ousmane, former president of Niger, address Africa's political and developmental challenges in a press conference hosted by the Voice of America.

http://www.voanews.com/english/Africa/former_african_presidents.cfm

Voice of America: Straight Talk Africa – June 29, 2005

Africa: Life After the Presidency

Host Shaka Ssali talked to former Ghanaian President Jerry Rawlings about life after the presidency and what other African former leaders are doing to encourage others to hand over the reigns of power through the ballot box.

BBC World Service – June 2005

African Statesmen Speak Their Minds

Elizabeth Blunt met with five of Africa's elder statesmen to find out what their message would be to the leaders of the eight richest and most powerful nations, in advance of the G8 summit: Jerry Rawlings, Former President of Ghana; Sadig Al-Mahdi, Former Prime Minister of Sudan; Amos Sawyer, Former President of Liberia; Sam Nujoma, Former President of Namibia; and Nicéphore Soglo, Former President of Benin.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/programmes/worldtoday/news/story/2005/06/050616_africa_leaders.shtml

BBC World Service: Africa Live – June 8, 2005

“What to do with former heads of state when they leave office is a source of debate for many Africans. The African Statesmen Initiative, which is being launched in Mali, is hoping to focus on the positive examples of life after office. On BBC Africa Live, we're asking: Is there life after the presidency? Should retired presidents be involved in politics? And should they continue to enjoy immunity?”

Interview I features: Kenneth Wollack, NDI President; H.E. Ketumile Masire, Former President of Botswana; Ambassador Charles Stith, Director, African Presidential Archives and Research Center; and H.E. Jerry Rawlings, Former President of Ghana.

Interview II features: H.E. Amos Sawyer, Former President of Liberia; H.E. Jerry Rawlings, Former President of Ghana; and Dr. Chris Fomunyoh, Senior Associate for Africa, NDI.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

September 23, 2005

Former African Leaders Cautious about Democratic Progress

Voice of America

<http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2005-09/2005-09-23-voa60.cfm?CFID=39702083&CFTOKEN=89028432>

Robert Daguillard

September 23, 2005

Former Leaders Meet at VOA to Discuss African 'Renaissance'

Voice of America

<http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2005-09/2005-09-23-voa59.cfm?CFID=39702083&CFTOKEN=89028432>

July 21, 2005

The African Statesmen Initiative: Finding Relevance for Ex-African Leaders

Daily Trust (Nigeria)

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200507210334.html>

Is'haq Modibbo Kawu

July 15, 2005

Life After Presidency: Role of Ex-Presidents in Africa

The Namibian

<http://www.namibian.com.na/2005/July/columns/05C54DC545.html>

Henning Melber

June 17, 2005

Christopher Fomunyuh "En tant que Camerounais, je suis préoccupé par l'avenir de mon pays"

icicemac.com

<http://www.icicemac.com/nouvelle/index.php3?nid=4184>

Pius N. Njawé

June 16, 2005

Rawlings Back From Attending African Statesmen Initiative

Ghana News Today

<http://www.ghananewstoday.com/portal/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=690>

Clement Akapame

June 15, 2005

Former African Leaders Resolve to Assist Incumbents

The News (Liberia)

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200506150288.html>

Jerome Dalieh

June 14, 2005

Help Africa to get as much as it gives

Atlanta Journal-Constitution

<http://www.ajc.com/opinion/content/opinion/0605/14edstith.html>

Ambassador Charles Stith

June 14, 2005

En marge du symposium des anciens chefs d'Etat africains tenu à Bamako, la problématique de la bonne gouvernance et de l'alternative du pouvoir en Afrique

Le Potentiel (Democratic Republic of the Congo)

<http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/200506140162.html>

Angelo Mobateli

June 13, 2005

Former African Leaders End Summit in Bamako

The Inquirer (Liberia)

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200506141154.html>

Melissa Chea Annan

June 13, 2005

Rawlings Slams Eyadema as Author of Togo Crisis

Vanguard (Nigeria)

<http://www.vanguardngr.com/articles/2002/world/w213062005.html>

Emmanuel Aziken

June 13, 2005

Symposium de Bamako, épilogue : de quoi vivent les chefs d'Etat africains à la retraite?

Le Potentiel (Democratic Republic of the Congo)

<http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/200506130133.html>

Angelo Mobateli

June 12-18, 2005

Sommet des anciens

L'Intelligent/Jeune Afrique

June 12, 2005

Symposium des Anciens Chefs d'Etat Africains sur le Leadership Présidentiel en Afrique

Bendré (Burkina Faso)

http://www.bendre.africa-web.org/article.php3?id_article=927

Pabeba Sawadogo

June 12, 2005

Keep off 2007!

Vanguard (Nigeria)

<http://vanguardngr.com/articles/2002/headline/f112062005.html>

June 10, 2005

Anciens chefs d'état africains : nouvelle mission pour les retraités

Wal Fadjri (Senegal)

<http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/200506100728.html>

June 10, 2005

Symposium des anciens chefs d'Etat de l'Afrique : déclaration de Bamako

Le Messager (Cameroon)

<http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/200506120014.html>

June 9, 2005

Bamako: Le dialogue dans la gestion des conflits

Angola Press

<http://www.angolapress-angop.ao/noticia-f.asp?ID=347320>

June 9, 2005

OSIWA a convoyé 30 journalistes au symposium des ex-chefs d'Etat

Angola Press

<http://www.angolapress-angop.ao/noticia-f.asp?ID=346926>

June 8, 2005

Déclaration de Bamako de l'Initiative des Chefs d'Etat Africains

Malikounda

http://www.malikounda.com/nouvelle_voir.php?idNouvelle=3842

June 8, 2005

Bamako Declaration of the African Statesmen Initiative

AllAfrica.com

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200506080610.html>

June 8, 2005

Africa's Elder Statesmen Parley

BBC News

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/africa/4074270.stm>

Elizabeth Blunt

June 8, 2005

15 chefs d'Etat écrivent une nouvelle page de l'histoire africaine

Le Potentiel (Democratic Republic of the Congo)

http://www.lepotentiel.com/afficher_article_archive.php?id_article=7773&id_edition=3445&yearID=2005&monthID=06&dayID=08

Angelo Mobateli

June 8, 2005

Vers la création d'un Forum des éditeurs africains

L'Intelligent/Jeune Afrique

http://www.jeuneafrique.com/gabarits/articleDEP_online.asp?art_cle=PAN50025verslsniaci0

June 8, 2005

Mali : Didier Ratsiraka absent, Zafy Albert présent à Bamako!

Midi Madagasikara (Madagascar)

<http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/printable/200506090540.html>

June 7, 2005

Gouvernance Démocratique en Afrique : L'implication des anciens Chefs d'Etat sollicitée

Nouvel Horizon

http://www.malikounda.com/nouvelle_voir.php?idNouvelle=3799

Daba Balla Keita

June 7, 2005

BU APARC Director Charles Stith to Address African Statesmen

Boston University

<http://www.bu.edu/phpbin/news/releases/display.php?id=952>

June 7, 2005

ATT face aux anciens chefs d'Etat : "Votre statut est devenu une réalité

24 Heures (Cote d'Ivoire)

<http://news.abidjan.net/article/?n=132124>

Presthone Brou

June 7, 2005

Ouverture du symposium de Bamako

Le Messenger (Cameroon)

<http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/200506070517.html>

Pius N. Njawé

June 7, 2005

Le mérite de Sao Tome et Principe

Le Messenger (Cameroon)

<http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/200506070251.html>

Pius N. Njawé

June 7, 2005

Démocratisation et bonne gouvernance : les efforts de l'Afrique examinés par d'anciens chefs d'État

Le Soleil (Senegal)

<http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/200506070229.html>

Mamadou Cisse

June 7, 2005

Gouvernance, démocratie: les anciens chefs d'Etat ont leur mot à dire

L'Essor (Mali)

http://www.africatime.com/afrique/nouv_pana.asp?no_nouvelle=193574&no_categorie=1
S. Doumbia

June 7, 2005

Symposium des Anciens Chefs d'Etat: La Gouvernance Africaine a la Loupe!

Info-Matin (Mali)

http://www.maliweb.net/news.php?pageid=4&news_no=4255&cat=82

Seydina Oumar Diarra-Sod

June 6, 2005

IBB, Moi barred from Africa leaders' summit

Daily Independent

<http://www.independentng.com/news/nnjun060501.htm>

Tony Eluemunor

June 6, 2005

20 Former heads of state Begin 3-Day Confab in Mali

The Inquirer (Liberia)

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200506070066.html>

June 6, 2005

Former African Leaders Discuss Good Governance

AFP

June 6, 2005

Etat d'urgence virtuel en Afrique à cause des maladies mortelles

L'Intelligent/Jeune Afrique

http://www.jeuneafrique.com/gabarits/articleDEP_online.asp?art_cle=PAN50025etatdsellet0

June 6, 2005

Leadership Présidentiel En Afrique : Vingt anciens chefs d'Etat en conclave à Bamako

Nouvel Horizon (Mali)

http://malikounda.com/nouvelle_voir.php?idNouvelle=3796

Daba Balla Keita

June 5, 2005

Rawlings Leaves for Bamako

GhanaWeb/Ghana News Agency

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=83010>

June 4, 2005

BU Goes to Mali

Boston Globe (United States)

http://www.boston.com/ae/celebrity/articles/2005/06/04/join_the_brotherhood/

Carol Beggy & Mark Shanahan

June 4, 2005

Leadership présidentiel: les anciens chefs d'Etat en conclave à Bamako

Le Soleil (Senegal)

<http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/200506060079.html>

Mamadou Cisse

June 3, 2005

Is there life after the presidency?

BBC News

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4607269.stm>

June 3, 2005

Masire to Attend Ex-Leaders Summit in Mali

Daily News (Botswana)

<http://www.gov.bw/cgi-bin/news.cgi?d=20050603&i=Masire to attend ex-leaders summit in>

[Mali](http://www.gov.bw/cgi-bin/news.cgi?d=20050603&i=Masire to attend ex-leaders summit in)

June 3, 2005

Bamako: ouverture dimanche du premier symposium des anciens leaders africains

Guinée News

<http://www.boubah.com/article/article.asp?num=790&cat=5>

Alsény Ben Bangoura

June 1, 2005

Bamako : symposium des anciens chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement

Le Potentiel (Democratic Republic of the Congo)

<http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/200506010660.html>

Tiémoko Traoré - F. Monsa

May 31, 2005

Rencontre Des Anciens Chefs D'Etat : Débats sur les défis

Les Echos (Mali)

http://www.malikounda.com/nouvelle_voir.php?idNouvelle=3735

May 30, 2005

Can the summit of Former African Leaders Raise Hope?

Business Day (Nigeria)

<http://www.businessdayonline.com/index.php?fArticleId=7378>

May 26, 2005

Former African Leaders Meet in Bamako

The Analyst (Liberia)

http://www.analystnewspaper.com/former_african_leaders_meet_in_bamako.htm

Wleh Bedell

May 26, 2005

Former African Leaders Meet in Bamako

allAfrica.com

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200505260527.html>

May 25, 2005

Former African heads of state meet to address presidential leadership in Africa

icicemac.com

<http://www.icicemac.com/nouvelle/index.php3?id=4027>

May 20, 2005

Shagari, Gowon, Abubakar to Participate in African Statesmen Symposium

allAfrica.com

<http://www.vanguardngr.com/articles/2002/north/nt120052005.html>

Emmanuel Aziken

May 20, 2005

Symposium sur la démocratie au Mali : Des ex présidents partagent leurs expériences

Nordsudmedia.com

<http://www.nordsudmedia.com/nslire.asp?id=141&rid=11>

Coulibaly Brahim

May 13, 2005

Transitions en Afrique : Le club des anciens chefs d'Etat se met en place

Walf Fadji

http://www.walf.sn/international/suite.php?rub=6&id_art=19341

May 11, 2005

Symposium des anciens chefs d'Etat africains sur la gouvernance démocratique

le Soleil (Senegal)

May 10, 2005

Une initiative d'anciens chefs d'États sans la Cemac

Le Messenger

http://www.lemessenger.net/details_articles.php?code=12&code_art=5831#

Alex Gustave AZEBAZE

May 9, 2005

Afin de réfléchir sur la bonne gouvernance en Afrique Des anciens chefs d'Etat en conclave à Bamako

L'intelligent d'Abidjan

<http://www.lintelligentdabidjan.org/Quotidien/index.php?p=971>

Appendix G: Partner Organizations

The following organizations are proud to support the efforts of African leaders to advance peace and democracy on the continent:

AFRICA CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

www.africacenter.org

Founded in 1999 by the United States Department of Defense, the Africa Center for Strategic Studies supports the development of U.S. strategic policy towards Africa by providing a variety of programs, fostering awareness of and dialogue on U.S. strategic priorities and African security issues, building trusting long-term relationships with African military and civilian leaders, assisting U.S. policymakers in formulating effective African policy, and articulating African perspectives to U.S. policymakers.

The Africa Center also supports the efforts of the Department of Defense and other U.S. agencies to promote democracy and assist African nations in improving their security by promoting good governance, security sector professionalism, and democratic civil-military relations. The Africa Center endeavors to promote the development of long-term, mutually beneficial security relations between the U.S. and African countries by its open and frank consultations and seminars.

CLUB OF MADRID

www.clubmadrid.org

The Club of Madrid is an independent organization dedicated to strengthening democracy around the world. By drawing on the unique experience and resources of its members—68 democratic former heads of state and government—it launches global initiatives, engages in country-specific projects, and frequently acts as a consultative body for governments, democratic leaders and institutions involved in processes of democratic transition and consolidation.

The Club of Madrid President is former President of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Its Vice-President is the former President of Ireland, Mary Robinson, and Kim Campbell, the former Prime Minister of Canada, is the Club's Secretary General.

BILL & MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION

www.gatesfoundation.org

Created in 2000 through the merger of the Gates Learning Foundation, which worked to expand access to technology through public libraries, and the William H. Gates Foundation, which focused on improving global health, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation is building upon the unprecedented opportunities of the 21st century to improve equity in global health and learning. Led by Bill Gates' father, William H. Gates Sr., and Patty Stonesifer, the Seattle-based Foundation has an endowment of approximately \$28.8 billion. The Foundation works to promote greater equity in four areas: global health, education, public libraries, and support for at-risk families in Washington state and Oregon.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

www.ndi.org

Founded in 1983, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices, and institutions. NDI works with democrats in every region of the world to build political and civic organizations, safeguard elections, and promote citizen participation, openness and accountability in government.

NDI assists advocates of democracy in many countries around the world to build national legislatures and local governments that function with openness and competence; broad-based political parties that are vehicles for public policy debates; and nonpartisan civic organizations that promote democratic values and citizen participation. Since 1983, NDI has forged strong ties with political, civic and governmental leaders and organizations in more than 100 countries.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

www.ned.org

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is a private, nonprofit organization created in 1983 to strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. The Endowment is governed by an independent, nonpartisan board of directors. With its annual congressional appropriation, it makes hundreds of grants each year to support pro-democracy groups in Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and the former Soviet Union.

The Endowment is guided by the belief that freedom is a universal human aspiration that can be realized through the development of democratic institutions, procedures, and values. Democracy cannot be achieved through a single election and need not be based upon the model of the United States or any other particular country. Rather, it evolves according to the needs and traditions of diverse political cultures. By supporting this process, NED helps strengthen the bond between indigenous democratic movements abroad and the people of the United States—a bond based on a common commitment to representative government and freedom as a way of life.

NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY

www.nimd.org

In line with the development cooperation policy of the Dutch Government and as a response to the international requests for support by political parties and groups abroad, the Dutch political parties PvdA, VVD, CDA, D66, Green Party, RPF, SGP and GPV decided to set up a new foundation: the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD). This foundation was established on 18 April 2000.

IMD's main objective is to support the process of democratization in young democracies by strengthening political parties as the pillars of parliamentary democracy in order to help create a well-functioning, sustainable, pluralistic system of party politics.

OPEN SOCIETY INITIATIVE FOR WEST AFRICA

www.osiwa.org

Established in December 2000, the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) is part of the global network of 32 autonomous foundations founded and supported by George Soros. These nonprofit foundations share a commitment to the advancement of open societies that recognize the importance of different views and interests and remain forever open to improvement.

The Initiative is dedicated to supporting the creation of open societies in West Africa marked by functioning democracy, good governance, the rule of law, basic freedoms, and widespread civic participation. OSIWA believes that it best serves by sustaining catalytic and innovative initiatives that add value to the efforts of West Africa's civil society. The Initiative seeks to collaborate with advocacy groups, like-minded foundations, governments, and donors.

UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

www.undp.org

Founded in 1965, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is the United Nations' global development network, an organization advocating for change and connecting countries through knowledge, experience, and resources to help people build a better life. UNDP is on the ground in 166 countries, working with local partners to develop their own solutions to global and national development challenges.

World leaders have pledged to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, including the overarching goal of cutting poverty in half, by 2015. UNDP's network links and coordinates global and national efforts to reach these goals. Its focus is helping countries build and share solutions to the challenges of democratic governance, poverty reduction, crisis prevention and recovery, energy and the environment, and HIV/AIDS. In all its activities, UNDP encourages the protection of human rights and the empowerment of women.

WESTMINSTER FOUNDATION FOR DEMOCRACY

www.wfd.org

Established in 1992, the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) aims to provide assistance in building and strengthening pluralist democratic institutions overseas. The Foundation receives a grant-in-aid from the British Government which is currently £4 million. It accounts to Parliament for the resources through the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

WFD also undertakes selected extra-budgetary technical assistance projects and seeks contributions from the private sector and other funding organizations. The Foundation is independent of the Government in setting its priorities and its choice of projects.

The three main UK political parties are each represented on the Board of Governors, and are appointed by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs after consulting the parties. There is also a representative from the smaller political parties and non-party figures drawn from business, trade unions, the academic world, and the non-governmental sector.

GOVERNMENT SPONSORS

The Government of Mali, the Government of Germany and the United States Agency for International Development also provided direct or in-kind contributions to ASI.

The views expressed during the African Statesmen Initiative (ASI) symposium or in any of the documents pertaining to it are not necessarily those of the organizations or states sponsoring or supporting the event.



National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
2030 M Street, NW, Fifth Floor
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 728-5500
Fax: (202) 728-5520
Email: contactndi@ndi.org
www.ndi.org

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices, and institutions. NDI works with democrats in every region of the world to build political and civic organizations, safeguard elections, and promote citizen participation, openness, and accountability in government.

Democracy depends on legislatures that represent citizens and oversee the executive, independent judiciaries that safeguard the rule of law, political parties that are open and accountable, and elections in which voters freely choose their representatives in government. Acting as a catalyst for democratic development, NDI bolsters the institutions and processes that allow democracy to flourish.

Build Political and Civic Organizations: NDI helps build the stable, broad-based, and well-organized institutions that form the foundation of a strong civic culture. Democracy depends on these mediating institutions—the voice of an informed citizenry, which link citizens to their government and to one another by providing avenues for participation in public policy.

Safeguard Elections: NDI promotes open and democratic elections. Political parties and governments have asked NDI to study electoral codes and to recommend improvements. The Institute also provides technical assistance for political parties and civic groups to conduct voter education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. NDI is a world leader in election monitoring, having organized international delegations to monitor elections in dozens of countries, helping to ensure that polling results reflect the will of the people.

Promote Openness and Accountability: NDI responds to requests from leaders of government, parliament, political parties, and civic groups seeking advice on matters from legislative procedures to constituent service to the balance of civil-military relations in a democracy. NDI works to build legislatures and local governments that are professional, accountable, open, and responsive to their citizens.

International cooperation is critical to promoting democracy effectively and efficiently. It also conveys a deeper message to new and emerging democracies that while autocracies are inherently isolated and fearful of the outside world, democracies can count on international allies and an active support system. Headquartered in Washington D.C., with field offices in every region of the world, NDI complements the skills of its staff by enlisting volunteer experts from around the world, many of whom are veterans of democratic struggles in their own countries and share valuable perspectives on democratic development.

