

AGENDA
Summit on Constitutionalism & Democratic Consolidation in Africa
Hotel Avani Conference Center
Gaborone, Botswana
July 6 - 8, 2022

Wednesday, July 6

8:00 am **Registration and Seating of Participants**

9:00 am **Opening Ceremony** (*this & all panels to be live streamed and open to the public.*)

Master of Ceremony (MC): Mr. Phologo J. Gaumakwe, *Director, Botswana Government Communications and Information Systems (BGCIS) at the Ministry of State President*

Welcoming Remarks: *Vice Chancellor of the University of Botswana, Professor David Norris (10 minutes)*

Welcoming remarks by NDI & highlights on Summit themes: Amb. Derek Mitchell, *President of NDI* (recorded remarks), introduced by Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh, *NDI Senior Associate for Africa (10 minutes)*

Remarks on Summit for Democracy Year of Action: Hon. Uzra Zeya, *United States Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights* (recorded remarks), introduced by *US Embassy Chargé d’Affaires Amanda Jacobsen (15 minutes)*

Remarks on political transitions and democratic consolidation in Africa: H.E. Former president Mahamadou Issoufou (Niger), *2020 Mo Ibrahim Laureate* (recorded remarks), introduced by Mr. Weifane Ibrahim, *Deputy Executive Secretary, Fondation Issoufou Mahamadou (20 minutes)*

Presidential Speech & formal launching of the summit: (25 minutes)
His Excellency Dr. Mokgweetsi E.K. Masisi, *President of the Republic of Botswana*

10:30 am **Group Photo** (*Botswana State Protocol*) **and Coffee Break**

11:00 am **Panel I: Challenges to Constitutionalism, and efforts to Counter Democratic Decline in Africa**

In recent years, democracy’s trajectory across Africa has shifted from one of enthusiastic growth and consolidation to one of decline and backsliding. Hard-earned advances in strengthening democratic institutions and practices as seen in the early 1990s, are being lost as authoritarian regimes shrink political space, entrench their

personal grip on power, and undermine democratic constitutional norms. During this panel, distinguished former heads of state and other thought leaders would share their thoughts on why the tide towards democratic consolidation has turned, what can be done to combat the backsliding, and what role national and international stakeholders could play in the current context.

Questions for Panelists:

- What went wrong after the many successful transitions of the 1990s - challenges?
- Where are today's opportunities for democratic consolidation?
- What expectations should African democrats have of national and international stakeholders?

Moderator: **Mr. Oshinka Tsiang**, *Deputy Permanent Secretary, Information and Broadcasting, Ministry for State President*

Panelists: **H.E. Joyce Banda**, *Former President of Malawi* [remarks shared by her assistant Mr. Arnold Mnelemba]

Mr. Siphosami Malunga, *OSISA Executive Director and OSF-Africa Programs Director*

12:30 pm **Lunch**

2:00 pm **Panel II: Research on Constitutional Term Limits**

During this session, Dr Elvis Fokala of the African Network of Constitutional Lawyers (ANCL) will be discussing current research on constitutionalism and presidential term limits and share thoughts on challenges to constitutional term limits, citizens' perceptions, and efforts to sustain democratic rule. Panelists will highlight differences and commonalities from across the continent.

Moderator: **Ms. Melene Rossouw**, *Executive Director, Women Lead Movement*

Introduction: **Dr. Elvis Fokala**, *President ANCL*

Panelists: **Prof. Charles Fombad**, *Director of the Institute for*

International and Comparative Law in Africa (ICLA): Overview of Central and West Africa

Dr. Adem Abebe, *Legal expert, Adviser to the International Journal of Constitutional Law: Overview of the Horn of Africa*

Dr. Yvonne Oyieke, *Deputy Secretary-general of ANCL and Lecturer at the Law Faculty of Pretoria University: Overview of East Africa*

3:30 pm **Coffee Break**

4:00 pm **Panel III: Prospects for Consolidating Constitutionalism in Africa - views from the Executive Office**

This panel provides an opportunity for sitting African Heads of State and government to share their vision for democracy, good governance, and constitutionalism now and in the years ahead. They will examine how constitutional term limits safeguard democratic processes, and the role of international and regional frameworks in reinforcing democratic norms. They may also highlight initiatives that they have spearheaded or supported at the national or regional levels to consolidate constitutionalism as a core democratic pillar, and outline future actions to further strengthen the same.

Questions for Panelists:

- Personal perspectives on Africa's democratic future?
- What more can regional and continental bodies do to deepen democratic principles and practices?
- How can existing frameworks such as the African charter on D.E.G be fully and better implemented?

Moderator: **Dr. Bashi Mothusi**, Coordinator, Botswana Democracy Research Project, University of Botswana

Pre-recorded remarks:

H.E. Hage Geingob, *President of Namibia*

H.E. Ulisses Correia e Silva, *Prime Minister of Cabo Verde*

Panelist: **Professor Lekorwe Mogopodi**, *Associate Professor, University of Botswana/National Coordinator and Investigator for Afrobarometer*

6:00 pm **Cultural Exhibition Organized by the Government of Botswana**

Thursday, July 7

9:00 am Replay of recorded remarks by former **President Mamadou Issoufou of Niger**

9:15 am **Panel IV: Women's Political leadership and democratization efforts in Africa**

Despite efforts at greater gender parity in the political sphere in Africa, women continue to face overwhelming barriers to access the highest offices of the land. Currently, only one woman serves as president out of the 54 sitting heads of state. This panel will focus on hearing from women former presidents and other panelists their personal experiences including the challenges and opportunities encountered because of gender. Panelists will discuss why women leaders tend to exhibit more respect for constitutionalism and rule of law than their male counterparts, and how constitutionalism and term limits enhance women's political participation. They would also make recommendations on concrete steps that should be taken to expand inclusiveness and opportunities for the next generation of women leaders.

Questions for Panelists:

- What inspires women leaders to be more respectful of constitutions and term limits than their male counterparts?
- How would constitutionalism and term limits enhance inclusion and the lead role of women in politics?
- Based on their personal and real life experiences, what advice would these leaders have for youth and women interested in political leadership

Moderator: **Mr. Thebeyame Ramoroka**, *Editor, Botswana DailyNews*

Panelists: [Virtual] **H.E. Joyce Banda**, *former President of Malawi*
Hon. Annah Mokgethi, *Minister of Labour and Home Affairs, Republic of Botswana* TBC
Dr. Oby Ezekwesili, *President/CEO, Human Capital Africa (HCA) and Founder, School of Politics, Policy and Governance (SPPG)/#FixPolitics, Former VP, World Bank*
 [Virtual] **Ms. Corinne Momal-Vanian**, *Kofi Annan Foundation Executive Director*

10:30 am **Coffee Break**

11:00 am **Panel V: The Constitution and the Presidency – the Ethics of Power**

In democratic societies, elected leaders earn their mandate from citizens through regular and credible elections, guided by the social contract that binds the people and those that govern within the framework of the constitution and democratic values embraced by society as a whole. Beyond the letter and the spirit of the constitution and other legal instruments, is the question of ethical leadership that makes the difference between performing and non-performing leaders. This panel will focus on the need for ethical leadership and how to raise the bar on political leaders. The panel will examine the role of constitutional norms in promoting ethical leadership, as well as how constitutional reform can be used effectively to strengthen democratic norms and institutions rather than weaken them.

Questions for Panelists:

- How can ethical leadership be enshrined in constitutions to foster better democratic governance
- Besides legal instruments, what incentives can African societies present to enhance ethical leadership among political leaders and aspirants?
- What models of ethical leadership should the continent look up too?

Moderator: **Siphosami Malunga**, *OSISA Executive Director and OSF- Africa Programs Director*

Panelists: [Virtual] **Hon. Roelf Meyer**, *former Minister of Constitutional Affairs, South Africa*
Dr. Oby Ezekwesili, *President/CEO, Human Capital Africa (HCA) and Founder, School of Politics, Policy and Governance*

12:30 pm **Lunch**

2:00 pm Replay of recorded remarks by **H.E. Ulisses Correia e Silva**, Prime Minister of Cabo Verde

2:05 pm **Panel VI: Regional Institutions countering Democratic Backsliding**

Regional institutions play an important role in promoting democratic norms and resolving disputes between and within member countries. These institutions have frameworks and instruments aimed at safeguarding democratic norms, such as the African Union's charter on elections, democracy and governance, and the ECOWAS additional protocol on democracy and good governance. However, in recent years, these frameworks have proven insufficient to curb democratic backsliding in member countries. During the panel, representatives from key regional institutions will evaluate their strategies to stop democratic backsliding and share ideas on opportunities for innovation and better performance in their approaches. Civil society perspectives on these issues will also be represented.

Questions for Panelists:

- How can regional institutions be more effective in countering democratic backsliding on the continent?
- How can regional organizations inspire greater respect and implementation of legal instruments that strengthen constitutionalism and rule of law?
- What opportunities exist for innovation and greater synergies among regional organizations?

Moderator: **Dr. Kebapetse Lotshwao**, *Head of Dept. of Political Science, University of Botswana*

Panelists: **Ms. Abibata Tientega Barry**, *Constitutionalism and Rule of Law, Head of Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security, African Union*
Mr. Sheuneni Kurasha, *Programme Manager for Democracy and Governance for the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum*
Mr. David Michael Onen, *Principal Political Affairs Officer, East African Community*
Mr. David Dosseh, *Program Coordinator at Tournons la Page, Togo*

3:30 pm **Coffee Break**

4:00 pm Recorded remarks by **H.E. Filipe Nyusi**, **President of the Republic of Mozambique**

4:15 pm **Panel VII: Civil Society, the Media and Grassroots Mobilization in Support of Term Limits**

In recent years, many citizen-led movements have emerged to support constitutional term limits, oftentimes in opposition to attempts by leaders to abrogate such term limits. Regional civil society organizations and networks have stepped forward to advocate and raise awareness on the merits respecting the constitution, mobilizing along the way citizen support against efforts to subvert term limits. This panel will explore new and innovative strategies by regional civil society organizations to build support for constitutionalism and term limits. Panelists will evaluate the challenges and opportunities of coordinating awareness-raising and advocacy campaigns across national boundaries.

Questions for panelists:

- How can we engage women, youth, and other traditionally marginalized groups in advocacy to promote respect for constitutional term limits?
- How can we create synergies among civil society organizations and with influential cultural icons (such as artists, athletes, and writers), to aggregate and promote interest in, and adherence to constitutional term limits.
- What opportunities do CSOs have to mobilize citizen support for constitutional term limits across the continent?
- How can we engage the media to mobilize public discourse and pressure for constitutional term limits on the continent?

Moderator: **Dickson Omondi**, Regional Director Southern and East Africa, NDI
Panelists: **Ms. Christine Nkonge**, *Executive Director at Katiba Institute, Kenya*
Mr. Cheikh Fall, *Co-Founder and President at AfricTivistes, Senegal*
Ms. Ruth Omondi, *OSF- Africa Communications Manager and Media Expert*
Mr. Monametsi Sokwe, *Executive Director, Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (BOCONGO)*
Mr. James Nkuubi, *Chair of the Civil and Political Rights Working Group at the School of Law, Makerere University, Uganda*

6 pm - 7 pm **Executive session on draft declaration** (Dr. Sophia Moestrup & Dr. Mavis Matenge)

7:15 pm - 8:15 pm **Session with civil society activists and academics on draft declaration** (Dr. Sophia Moestrup & Dr. Mavis Matenge)

Friday, July 8

8:30 am Replay of recorded remarks by **H.E. President Hage Geingob of Namibia**.

8:45 am **Panel VIII: Africa's Future: Youth, Politics, and Term Limits**

Africa is the youngest continent in the world with 70 percent of the population of sub-saharan Africa at 30 years or younger. As of January 2021, the average age of

citizens on the continent was 19 years, while the average age of African presidents was 62 years. The continent has the two longest serving presidents in the world with President Obiang Nguema of Equatorial Guinea at 43 years and president Paul Biya of Cameroon at 40 years in power. Despite prevalent socio-economic and political hurdles, African youth continue to demonstrate enormous dynamism through the vibrancy of their engagement in civil society and political party-led efforts to gain access to elective office. This roundtable discussion will hear from the African youth, and explore ways in which their voices can be heard and an enabling environment created for youth engagement in political leadership. The panel will also focus on the expectations of young people vis-a-vis their elected leaders and how constitutional term limits can enhance accountability and also create more leadership opportunities for youth and other traditionally marginalized groups.

Questions for Panelists:

- How can youth priorities be leveraged to reinforce constitutionalism and rule of law?
- What strategies and techniques for African youth mobilizing for better governance and respect for term limits?
- What innovative and adaptive approaches would you recommend for African youth in politics?

Moderator: **Mr. Levison Kabwato**, *OSISA Communications and Advocacy Manager*

Panelists: **Ms. Sonia Gaebolae**, Communications, Research and Advocacy Officer, Center for Public Integrity, Botswana
Ms. Aisha Dabo, *Co-founder and Coordinator, AfricTivistes, Senegal*
Ms. Rachel Mims, *Senior Program Manager, NDI*

10:15 - 11:00 pm **Partner session - Review and Validation of Draft Declaration (for civil society partners only).** Co-moderators: **Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh**, NDI and **Dr. Mavis Matenge**, GoB

11:00 am **Closing of Summit: Official presentation of the Summit Declaration by Ms. Beulah Kgakgamatso Mguni**, Director General of Ethics and Integrity, Ministry for State President

Takeaways and vote of thanks.

- Prof. Kebapetse Lotshwao, University of Botswana
- Ms. Melene Roussow, Presidential Precinct
- Mr. Siphosami Malunga, Open Society Foundation
- Mr. David Dosseh, Tournons la Page, for NDI's partners (Katiba Institute / Africtivistes / Tournons la Page / ANCL)
- Dr. Chris Fomunyoh, NDI

Closing remarks: **Hon. Dr. Lemogang Kwape**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Botswana

11:30 - 12:00 **Coffee Break**

12:00 pm **Press Conference:** Ambassador Dr. Gladys Mokhawa, Permanent Secretary, Ministry

of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Botswana; & Dr. Chris Fomunyoh, NDI.

1:00 pm **Musical Performance**
Botswana Artists

1:30 pm **Lunch**