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DRAFT REPORT OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING ON THE GLOBAL AFRICAN DIASPORA SUMMIT NEW YORK 14-18 FEBRUARY 2012

1. Introduction

This report covers the deliberations of the Preparatory Meeting for the Global African Parliamentary Diaspora Summit (GADPS) held in New York from February 14 to 18, 2012. The Pan-African Parliament delegation was led by the President of the PAP, Hon. Dr. Idriss Ndele Moussa. The First Vice President, - Hon. Bethel Nnaemeka Amadi and the Third Vice President, Hon. Hammi Laroussi also attended the meeting. A total of 45 people attended the main meeting. The participants included MPs in the Diaspora from Brazil, Poland, Nigeria and representatives of US Congressmen working on issues of the Diaspora. Other participants included the World Bank, OSAA, the AU, PAP, and experts. The list of participants is attached.

Several preparatory and media events were held prior to the main meeting between the PAP and the African Union Permanent Observer Mission to the UN Office in New York, the PAP and the Office of the United Nations Special Adviser on Africa (OSAA). The PAP also had the opportunity to address the United States (US) Press Corps and African Ambassadors in New York on the role and activities of the PAP.

2. Opening Session

In the opening session Ambassador Bailey welcomed the participants and expressed her gratitude for the way the PAP had organized the meeting. She underlined the need to embrace the dream of Pan Africanism and its ideals. The President of the PAP, Dr. Idriss Ndele Moussa outlined the objectives of the meetings in New York and later in Midrand. The objective of the preparatory meeting in New York was to discuss the scope and agenda for the GADP Summit to take place on 22 and 23 May 2012 at the Pan African Parliament during the 6th session. He reported that the PAP has dedicated two days to the issue of the Diaspora during its session to enable the MPs of the PAP to be concretized on this matter. The GADP Summit to be held in Midrand will take place on the edges of the Diaspora Summit of the Heads of State and Governments will produce a Parliamentary Statement that will be presented to the Diaspora Summit of the Heads of State and Governments on May 25, 2012.

The President of the PAP pointed out that it was important that Africa seize itself with the issue of the Diaspora. Many political leaders from the Diaspora played an important role in the African war against racism, imperialism and colonialism. Some of these leaders participated in organizations and conferences that were a precursor to the formation of the Organization of the African Unity (OAU) and its subsequent formation. Issues of colonialism and the movement of African peoples are relevant today as they were before more so when one considers the North African situation which has been dubbed the Arab Spring.

3. The Basis for th<mark>e PAP</mark>'s Involvem<mark>ent on the A</mark>frican Diaspora

The basis for the Diaspora Summit is a Decision by the African Heads of State and Governments. At the inaugural African Union Summit, Heads of States had agreed to formally include Africans living in the Diaspora as the Sixth Region of the AU's organizational structure. This decision to open the door to the Diaspora is in part recognition that today perhaps as many Africans now reside outside the continent as those who lives on the continent. The decision also dramatically expands the reach of Africa into the power corridors of Washington, New York, London, Paris, Rome, Tokyo and elsewhere. The Pan-African Parliament being the representative organ of the African Union has the mandate to ensure that it represents all people of African origin.

In 2009 the African Union adopted an Executive Council Decision **EX.CL/164(V11)** that states that "The African Diaspora consists of peoples of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and

nationality and who are willing to contribute to the developments of the Continent and the building of the African Union. In the furtherance of this decision, the Executive Council requested the African Union Commission to make necessary steps to facilitate the participation of the Diaspora in the building of the African Union.

During the AU Summit in January 2011 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia the African Union requested the Parliament of South Africa to facilitate the Diaspora Summit to be held on 25 May 2012.

In Malabo, the Heads of State and Governments then endorsed the holding of the Parliamentary Diaspora Summit. The Pan-African Parliament was requested to organize a Parliamentary Diaspora Summit on the edges of the Diaspora Summit of the Heads of State in Durban, South Africa. All Members of Parliament in the Diaspora, in Europe, South and North America, Asia, Australia, New Zealand, the Caribbean and Pacific Regions, are expected to attend this Parliamentary Diaspora Summit.

Furthermore, the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action are clear. It calls upon governments and others to ensure the full integration of people of African descent into social, economic and political life, and to facilitate their full participation at all levels of decision-making.

The GADP Summit will result in forging closer institutional links and ties between the PAP and the Diaspora Parliamentary Caucuses. The PAP also hopes that ideas generated at the Summit in Midrand, South Africa will result in the formulation of the modalities of involving ordinary African citizens in the Diaspora on how to participate in Africa's development processes.

It is also hoped that the Parliamentary summit will agree on the programmes aimed at economic and cultural development to help people on the continent. Thirdly a database of all Parliamentarians in the Diaspora will be generated so that all peoples of African Descent can speak with one Voice.

The President of PAP reported that efforts were being made by Africa towards more democratic governance, more transparent economic systems as evidenced by the adoption of the African Charter on Democracy and Governance by the African Union. This is in addition to the African Peer Review mechanism which enables African countries to monitor governance practices is working very well. 4. **On the Topic – The History of the Diaspora**, Professor Pape Diouf Ndiaye pointed out the issue of the Diaspora has several components, the social, cultural, economic and political. The political component is the most complicated as it evokes emotions. Furthermore, the political component is the component that is ignored mostly by African governments. This is because it requires legal frameworks to deal with the issue of the Diaspora. The Pan-African Parliament is the right institution to deal with the issue of the Diaspora.

Professor Diouf reported that currently the Diaspora is defined as "all people of African Descent who live outside Africa but continue to have an interest in matters on Africa". Many participants contested this definition and argued that any persons of African descent should be considered as being part of the African Diaspora.

Professor Diouf lamented that the issue of the Diaspora does not get adequate attention. *"We don't talk enough about the issue of the Diaspora"* he said. He reported that the amount of money generated by peoples living in the Diaspora would wipe away all the African debts. Huge amounts of money are remitted every year to Africa but this is not done through agreed framework; if channeled properly the remittances could assist African development and investments. He gave an example of India. The growth of the Indian economy is partly due to remittances from its citizens living in the Americas and other parts of the World. India has devised frameworks and has a database of all its peoples living in the West. Currently, the amount of remittances into Africa is more than the aid given to Africa which has contributed to the debt issue.

The problem with many African governments is that there are no clear frameworks to ensure their participation in the growth of their economies. In many instances the peoples living in the Diaspora are perceived as opposition, so they do not have voting rights, their foreign exchange accounts are not protected. The professor asked the question: *Who can return if they have a good life in a European country, have access to information, and have freedom of movement, speech and rights to education?* Professor Diouf called upon African governments to put in place enough pull factors to attract citizens to go back to Africa. There is a need for a legal vision to deal with the issue of the Diaspora based on the vision of the Africans.

5. On the topic: African Freedom, the African Diaspora and the Challenges of Today: Impact on Colonialism and imperialism, Dr. Zweledinga Pallo Jordan pointed out that the role of the African people in the making of the modern world has too often been discussed as marginal, incidental and of little historical significance. This is despite the fact that the Africans captured from their mother continent and enslaved, contributed tremendously to the building of the new world. The story of African slavery as documented by Paul Sweezy is well known. Millions of African slaves were killed in the Spanish and Portuguese mines; the same is true of the Caribbean. In Central and South America, the Indians survived by retreating into the mountains. Our African citizens went through harrowing experiences and humiliation.

Dr. Jordan, pointed out that despite the terrifying brutality with which our people were subjected to, the slaves of San Domingo rose to overthrow the system of slavery in France. This was on 22 August 1791 after the storming of the Bastille in 1789. In addition to this, slaves halted the armies of Napoleon. The birth of Haiti is due to slaves who revolted against slavery. These experiences were repeated in many parts of Africa during colonial era. So when President Nelson Mandela was inaugurated, this was hailed as marking the end of institutionalised racism.

Dr. Jordan reported that the Diaspora played a very critical role in the liberation of African states. Pan Africanism was born as part of the struggle to free Africans both in the Diaspora and on the continent. One of the prominent persons in the Diaspora, Paul Cuffe went to Sierra Leone with 40 other Black Americans and started a settlement in Serra Leone in 1815.

Pan Africanise gained momentum in the 19th century when the first meeting took place in Chicago in 1893 and made resolutions in opposition to France's unwelcome attentions to Ethiopia in 1895, the Ethiopian armies repulsed an Italian expeditionary force.

The Caribbean Region was very active in the Pan African freedom movement. People like Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, Franz Fanon and Walter Rodney wrote many books and gave focus to the movement. African Americans had the resources to give pan Africanism a face and to keep it visible. Dr. Jordan pointed out that there is need to keep Pan Africanism alive. This is because there are still many challenges. Africa remains a troubled continent plagued with conflicts, poverty, and instability. Haiti remains the poorest country in the Western hemisphere and has experienced 37 coups. The African peoples in Europe and America are not prosperous. Africa remains a net exporter of wealth to Europe and other developed countries. Having won political freedom through collective action during the 20th Century, the challenge facing all people of African descent is how to break the chains of poverty and under development.

Furthermore, although other nations see globalisation as an opportunity, many peoples of African descent perceive it as a threat. Pressure is being placed on African governments to open up their economies and markets to the economies of the developed countries. This has not been reciprocated by access to the markets of the developed countries. Governments in Europe and America subsidize their farmers, yet these governments insist that African governments should limit state intervention. So despite global wealth, many millions of African people live on less than one dollar a day.

Dr Jordan pointed out that when Africa works as a collective, a lot is achieved. Examples include South Sudan. When Africa works in a fractured manner, then other forces take over. Examples include the helicopter – gun boat diplomacy applied to Libya, Cote d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Somalia.

6. The African Union Perspective on the Diaspora: Ambassador Jinmi Addisa from ECOSOCC made a presentation on the African Perspective of the Diaspora. He chronicled the evolution of the concept of the African Diaspora and indicated that in terms of the AU definition, there is emphasis on people who are interested in Africa to emphasize the freedom of choice to come back.

The issue of the African Diaspora is linked to the evolution of the African Union itself. The OAU had focused solely on decolonization whilst the AU is people based and development oriented. Part of the AU strategy is that all Peoples of African descent should participate and benefit from Africa's development. He indicated that many other nations had embraced their peoples in the Diaspora and had facilitated their return to the mother countries. Examples include China, Israel, and India. The return of these citizens had been achieved through the adoption of structured frameworks in a methodical way.

The ECOSOCC is currently seized with high level consultations with Ministers, Heads of States, regional bodies to agree on a framework and principles to assist the African peoples in the Diaspora. One of the key results of these meetings is the role of the Pan-African Parliament in advising on the frameworks. This is because the PAP is the only institution that has a direct link with the national parliaments and citizens on the ground. Ambassador Addisa outlined the role of the PAP on the matter of the Diaspora as follows:

The Pan-African Parliament needs to:

- a) Raise awareness within member states Parliaments and where possible suggest the tracking of progress on the matter by committees of Parliament;
- b) Organize consultative meetings with the different stakeholders and make suggestions to the AU as part of its consultative and Cross fertilize the initiative and make recommendations
- c) Identify and mobilize the key Diaspora constituencies within and outside the African continent;
- d) The PAP MPs should discuss the Diaspora Initiative with national governments;
- e) The PAP together with the AU–ECOSOCC should identify developmental opportunities and report these to the AU;
- f) Undertake oversight of the Diaspora initiative
- g) The PAP should assist in the mobilization resources for the initiative in order to raise its visibility;
- h) The PAP should organize an annual forum on the Diaspora issue.

7. The World Bank and the African Diaspora

The World Bank representative, Ms. Dormeyan Sally made a presentation on the programmes developed by the World Bank for the people in the Diaspora. The World Bank defines the Diaspora as People of African origin living outside continent irrespective citizenship/nationality. Willing to contribute to developing continent & building African Union, the World Bank reported that it has developed many programmes for peoples in the Diaspora. However, through its work it identified the following characteristics of peoples in the Diaspora:

- a) Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled & undocumented migrants
- b) Historical/contemporary, voluntary /involuntary: Investors, Professionals, Experts, Activists

However the peoples in the Diaspora have potential to contribute to the development of the continent as they provide a potential foreign source of wealth through finance, human capital, knowledge/skills, and technology.

The World Bank is working with many governments in Africa to mobilize the Diaspora for national development. The World Bank has commenced Diaspora engagement with sub Saharan African countries. The results of this engagement have been positive. The World Bank has found that there are many benefits that are brought to Africa by the people living in the Diaspora namely:

- Most of the people from the Diaspora have exposure in terms of professional/vocational experience, political voice, and have the advantage of contacts with host governments in the countries where they reside;
- Where managed migration has occurred for the people living in the Diaspora, there have been positive yields on both sides in terms of.....
- In many cases, the Peoples in the Diaspora sustain economies by being the nerve centre for family support. Through the remittances sent back home, lives are sustained thereby creating social safety nets for Vulnerability / Resilience

The World Bank also reported on the challenges that confront national governments that are interested in the return of the peoples in the Diaspora. The challenges include:

- Most Diaspora communities are diverse, unstructured, fluid & sporadic globally;
- There are conflicting interests (pull factors) & divergent pressure issues (push factors);
- The collectivism level & commitment vary by tribe, profession, social status, home Government etc;
- In some cases the African Diaspora is not fully engaged

- Diaspora mobilization is in many cases challenged by immigration status in host country; and
- There is little or no awareness of institutions & systems for Diaspora support for engaging home governments.
- There is marginal communication exchange of information among self & home country (weak / no structure / framework in place)
- There is also mistrust among diverse Diaspora groups & Government of day
- Weak outreach capacity by inadequately funded or partisan foreign missions (home countries)
- Low or zero political good will: Weak institutional, human resource and technological capacity of home governments to engage
- Non-existent / weak policy framework for engagement
- Non availability of resources /finance
- No knowledge / expertise, skills & lessons for deepening learning culture & strategies for engagement
- No databases for profiling Diaspora
- No incentives encouraging Diaspora investment, participation
- Legal impediments & increased risk threatening Diaspora participation, etc.
- Improved governance in country of origin
- Alternative & innovative means of development financing (remittances)
- Support to service delivery at grass-root household level
- Improved home country image / branding abroad

Issues which African Governments should address (The pull factors)

Many people living in the Diaspora prefer to stay in the Diaspora for the following reasons.

- Diaspora offers several human capital and financial resources, among other advantages;
- Opportunities to fill public sector capacity gaps, training, in African countries are small;
- Diaspora has: Technology & Provides access to modern ICTs;
- Global mobility & settlements creating working diversity & enhances regional integration, cross-border trade, unites Africa & unites Africa-rest of world;

8. Country Experiences of the Diaspora and Issues from the Dialogue

Delegates made reports on the issues they consider being important in order to advance the cause of people in the Diaspora. All delegates acknowledged that the creation of the Sixth Region by the African Union augurs well for unity and development of the continent since this is based on a pan Africanist vision.

The Member of Parliament from Brazil – Hon Dos Santos, Luiz Alberto reported that pan Africanism holds a special place to people of African descent in Brazil. He reported that in Brazil out of the 350 000 university students, 70 % are of African descent. Despite the fact that the population of peoples of African descent, out of the 530 MPs only 30 are MPs of African descent. Honorable Luiz Alberto indicated that there is need for support from Africa to ensure that the ideals of pan Africanism do not disappear. He recommended that the PAP should organize a parliamentary forum for all MPs of African descent to meet regularly and take positions on global matters. This forum could also hold its meetings on the edges of the IPU. The Government in Brazil is supporting the development of linkage programmes with Africa. Hon Luiz requested the PAP to organize exchange programmes for university students so that they can experience Africa. This would assist to establish the emotional links that the youth in Brazil lacks.

His Worship the Mayor of East Orange reported that the US is ready to engage Africa on the issue of Africa, but Africa has not been forthcoming on how this can be achieved. He reported that many university students studying African politics are keen to experience Africa, but there is no programme to facilitate this engagement.

The Legislative Counsel in the Office of Congressman Bobby Rush reported that a group of Congressmen of African descent was working on legislative tools that would ensure the recognition of Africa in the USA. Some of these tools include an investment Bill for African communities. This Bill would ensure that African countries are not prejudiced in their trade relations with the US.

Congressman Payne is focusing on developing programmes on education and culture to ensure that the black perspective is taught in school in the USA. Most children do not understand that their heritage.

Honorable Godson John Abraham Member of Parliament in Poland (from Nigeria) reported that there were a sizeable number of people of African descent in Europe. He advocated for a paradigm shift in terms of looking at the issue of the Diaspora. This paradigm shift is necessary for both the people living in the Diaspora and African Governments. There is a need to revisit the ideals of Nkwame Nkrumah on African unity.

Originally from Nigeria. 19 years. 40 million and 4000 African and 2500 from.....

The meeting agreed that there is a need to identify an issue that would galvanize unity of thought and process e.g. African poverty. It is important to use the common history of the Diaspora to build common destiny. If Parliaments meet together on African issues, then a lot more attention will be given to Africa. PAP provides a platform to make the forum to speak with one voice.

9. Recommendations Arising from the Meeting

The meeting made several recommendations on how to sustain dialogue:

- The meeting agreed that there is need for unity between peoples living in the Diaspora and those living on the continent to fight forces of globalisation;
- Africa cannot afford interventions from colonial powers as these pursue their agendas at the cost of Africa;
- The meeting agreed that the Diaspora must include all people of African descent who were removed from Africa and taken to other parts of the world. The meeting agreed that all dimensions of the Diaspora should be looked at including issues of security, rights of the people in the Diaspora, frameworks to enable them to participate in the development of the African countries;
- The meeting also agreed that the legislative role of the PAP in this matter is very important. The PAP should consider drafting a model law to enable the full participation of the People in the Diaspora on the issue of remittances, access to land and other resources, citizenship etc.
- There is also need to ensure that the issue of the Diaspora remains visible. Both African governments and the people in the Diaspora do not have adequate information on this matter. The African governments are not aware of their role in this matter, where to get accurate data bases of genuine cases, whilst the people in the Diaspora

are starved of information on events and developments in Africa. This was borne out by the fact that representatives of US Congressmen working on the issue of the Diaspora wanted to know how they could assist. These congressmen have established funds and investments for the people in the Diaspora. They do not however have any links with African Governments so the funds are channeled through multilateral institutions such as the World Bank.

- The legislative role is important. Sometimes the people in the Diaspora are in a vacuum. They do not know what is happening in the continent. Diaspora should be visible. The Diaspora issue should be mainstreamed into all AU processes.
- Today there is need to strengthen legislative linkages. We need to prepare our people to have better lives and strengthen links. How to recruit migrants this depends on needs. The young people are desperate to improve their lives and hence the voluntary migrations into Europe. There is a huge deficit in terms of legislation on the Diaspora. The second issue is the brain drain or brain gain.
- The meeting agreed that the secretariat of the PAP should draw a draft programme and budget for the meeting in Midrand.

10. Agreed Framework for Cooperation

The meeting agreed on the following framework of cooperation:

NAME OF FORUM	The name of the Forum is Global African
	Diaspora Parliamentary Forum.
STRUCTURE	Regional structure comprising of regional
	representatives from the Americas, Africa,
	Europe, Pacific, Caribbean.
PARTICIPANTS	a) Congressmen and women
	b) Assembly Members
	c) Senate Members
	d) Mayors

	a) Local Councilors
	e) Local Councilors
	f) Provincial Mps
GEOGRAPHICAL	To be guided by the areas where the African
SPREAD	Union has a framework for cooperation. The
	mandate of the PAP is oversight and
	monitoring.
ADVISORY GROUP	An Advisory group will be established to
	include regional representatives, the PAP,
	experts from the regions – Joint Experts and
12	Media Group. The group will work with the
	Pan African Parliament.
12	× / × 2
FREQUENCY OF	The PAP will organize annual consultative
MEETINGS	meetings to monitor and oversee progress.
MANDATE	✓ To define the parliamentary dimension
- F	of the Di <mark>aspora Iss</mark> ue
	✓ To define programmes and processes
	✓ To organize consultative and advisory
	meetings
	\checkmark To work with PAP to formulate legal
	frameworks on Diaspora
	\checkmark To work on modalities to sensitize
	Governments and citizens on the African
	Diaspora
	F
THEMES FOR THE	To be clustered around political, economic,
	cultural and education. Suggested themes
PARLIAMENTARY	include:

SUMMIT	• Unity of the Diaspora- 6 th Region of the
	AU
	• Economic Development, Globalization
	and Global Poverty
	• Global balance of power and Continental
	Sovereignty
	Trade and Commodity Beneficiation
	• People to people contact through the
1	PAP
14	Education and Culture
	 Governance and Legal Frameworks for
12	participation
151	• Resource Mobilization for Diaspora
Ŧ	activities
- Ŧ	
PARTICIPATION IN	The organizing Committee will identify the
-34	
THE	stakeholders/ groups.
PARLIAMENTARY	
MEETING	(000000)
ORGANISING	Will be based at the PAP. This will comprise of
COMMITTEE AND	PAP, Identified focal points from the different
SECRETARIAT	regions and experts/ scholars
RESOURCE	The PAP will to an extent possible mobilize
MOBILISATION	resources for the meeting. Parliamentarians
	are encouraged to fund travel costs. We call upon the World Bank and other partners to
	assist in this area.

DATE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SUMMIT	22 and 23 May 2012.
VENUE OF PARLIAMENTARY SUMMIT for 2012	PAN AFRICAN PARLIAMENT – MIDRAND – JOHANNESBURG – REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
INVITATION LETTERS	To be send by PAP
FOCAL POINT FOR PARLIAMENTARY DIASPORA	PAP

The Third Vice President, Hon. Hammi Laroussi gave the vote of thanks and urged all peoples of African descent to unite against forces of imperialism, racism, colonialism, disunity and terrorism.

End.