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South Africa
African Union
Caribbean
Diaspora Conference
Kingston, Jamaica
16 – 18 March 2005

Towards Unity And United Action Of Africans And The African Diaspora in The Caribbean For A Better World: The Case Of South Africa

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The South African, African Union and Caribbean Diaspora Conference was held in Kingston, Jamaica from 16 – 18 March 2005. The theme of the Conference was “Towards Unity and United Action by Africans and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean for a Better World: The Case of South Africa”. Over 250 delegates from Africa and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean participated in the Conference. The participants included Ministers and Parliamentarians, Diplomats, Business People, Academics, Civil Society, Non-Governmental Organisations, the Media, Cultural Organisations, Rastafari and the Youth.

The conference, which formed part of South Africa’s 10 years of democracy celebrations, was the result of the initiative of the Government of South Africa to acknowledge the contribution of the African Diaspora in the Caribbean in the anti-Apartheid struggle. The Conference, which was co-hosted by South Africa, the African Union (AU) and the Government of Jamaica, contributed to the efforts of the AU to reach out to the Diaspora.

The objectives of the Conference were to: re-affirm the historical and cultural bonds between Africa and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean; create linkages between Africa and the Diaspora and to initiate dialogue on common challenges; strengthen partnerships and co-operation between the peoples of the two regions; establish mechanisms for building stronger political and economic relations between Africa and the Caribbean; identify new opportunities for future collaboration that can be of mutual benefit in political, economic, social and cultural spheres; develop a common agenda for confronting common problems between Africa and the Caribbean and to support the implementation of AU decisions on the African Diaspora.

The Programme of Action adopted by the Conference will undoubtedly enhance the quest for Afro-Caribbean Diaspora Solidarity and promote linkages between the two regions.

It is important that both the African Union and CARICOM should continue to develop collaboration and concrete mechanisms for the institutionalisation of relations between the two Bodies.

I believe the Conference contributed to reinforcing the reconciliation of hope and the spirit of renaissance between the people of the Caribbean and their brothers and sisters on the African continent. This will, undoubtedly, lead to a political reaffirmation by the two regions of the intellectual contribution we can make together, underlined by the potential capacity of the skills banks we have brought about in our individual countries since independence.
Introduction

Towards Unity and United Action of Africans and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean for a Better World: The Case of South Africa

The celebrations to commemorate South Africa’s 10th anniversary of the defeat of apartheid, and the establishment of true democracy and social justice for its citizens, have continued unabatedly since 1994. The victory over apartheid was primarily defined by the outcome of the struggle of those who were oppressed. At the same time, however, the contribution of the global anti-apartheid movement was also of great significance in this regard.

In remembrance of this decade-long feat, the Government of South Africa planned a series of activities in various parts of the world, with a view to thanking those who supported the anti-apartheid struggle and to engage them on the challenges of the post-apartheid transition to democratic rule. These celebrations were organised under the theme “A People United for a Better South Africa and a Better World”.

One such activity was a conference involving the African continent and its Diaspora, which was duly held in the Caribbean between 16 and 18 March 2005, under the theme: “Towards Unity and United Action of Africans and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean for a Better World: The Case of South Africa”. This publication is the Report of the latter Conference – the initiative of the Government of South Africa, jointly organised with the Government of Jamaica and the Commission of the African Union (AU).

The contribution of the Caribbean region to the struggle against apartheid in particular, and colonialism in general, has for decades been an inspiration to the masses on the African continent and its Diaspora, particularly in the aftermath of the Maputo Summit of July 2001. The African Union, since its inception and especially in the 21st century, is the problem of poverty, underdevelopment and marginalisation – and together with the African Renaissance, we speak of a rebirth that must encompass all Africans, both in Africa and the African Diaspora.

The recent formation of the African Union and the formulation, adoption and implementation of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) agenda attest to the realisation of this quest for a rebirth of the African continent and its peoples. Within this 21st century, deemed the ‘African century’, NEPAD has, amongst other developments, committed itself to “determine what is wrong in our societies and what we want done to correct these wrongs and design any programme of action arising out of this determination...”.

In his address at the University of the West Indies, President Mbeki told participants that the aim of the envisaged reforms was to change the conditions that have, for many years, imposed the “status of underlings” on Africans everywhere. He then reminded them of the first Pan-African Congress in London, where W.E.B. Du Bois made the prophetic statement that the problem of the 20th century would be the problem of the colour line. President Mbeki added that in response to this encumbrance, “the African intelligentsia united in the search for ways and means by which to confront this problem.”

President Mbeki then made his own clarion call: “Perhaps the time has come for the African intelligentsia in the Americas, the Caribbean, Europe and Africa to come together again, this time to make the statement – the problem of the Africans in the 21st century is the problem of poverty, underdevelopment and marginalisation – and togeth-er search for ways and means by which to confront this problem.”

The African Union, since its inception and especially in the aftermath of the Maputo Summit of July 2003, has taken a number of decisions and measures aimed at strengthening links between the African continent and its Diaspora. The Jamaica Diaspora Conference, therefore, was also a contribution to the efforts by the African Union to reach out to the African Diaspora.

HISTORICAL JUSTIFICATION
Africa’s quest for unity and social and economic recovery is a centuries-old endeavour. The common historical experience of, first slavery, and later colonialism, ensured that Africans developed a common shared consciousness as one people with a common destiny. This consciousness converged into a Pan-African Movement that developed institutionally from the turn of the 19th century under the leadership of the Diaspora. Pan-Africanism rests on four fundamental pillars:

1. A sense of common historical experience;
2. A sense of common descent, identity and destiny;
3. A sense of common memory and destiny;
The relationship between Africa and the African Diaspora bears its roots in the slave trade of the 1500s through to the 1800s, which shipped millions of Africans across the Atlantic to the New World of Europe and the Americas. The so-called slaves struggled for survival and freedom to preserve their dignity and to assert their worth as human beings. They succeeded in adapting themselves to their new environment but were never completely assimilated because they also retained various facets of their intrinsic African cultures. This bond of spiritual kinship that connected them to the mother continent was reflected in the lyrics and cultural resonance that permeated the plantations and households in which they lived and worked amidst suffering, humiliation and deprecation.

The Caribbean region has made a crucial contribution to the relationship between Africa and the African Diaspora. This is one such pioneer, for his involvement in British anti-slavery campaigns and, later, in anti-slavery campaigns in the Americas. Olaudah Equiano, once enslaved in the Caribbean, is one such pioneer, for his involvement in British anti-slavery. Essentially, African Diasporan anti-slavery efforts were frequently guided by African cultural, as well as military practices, and by a deeper and abiding commitment of a return to the African continent.

THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Numerous 19th and early 20th century Caribbean personalities contributed decisively to the development of the Pan-African movement and its ideas. These personalities include Edward Wilmot Blyden (Virgin Islands); T.E.S. Scholes (Jamaica); Marcus Garvey (Jamaica); George Padmore (Trinidad); Norman Cameron (British Guiana); and C.L.R. James (Trinidad). The fight against white supremacy and racism, the liberation of Africa from colonialism and the unification of Africans throughout the globe, constituted the principal focus of their actions.

Indeed, the activities and challenges of both continental Africans, and Africans in the Diaspora, continued to impact upon each other, with history continuing to impact upon each other, with history continuing to impact upon each other. Those transported across the Atlantic began as second-class citizens in their new abode, just as the establishment of the Haitian Republic in 1804 and the British abolition of the slave trade in 1807 impacted upon the lives of African slaves in the Americas and those sent to the Caribbean islands. The relationship between Africa and the African Diaspora continued to impact upon each other, with history continuing to impact upon each other.

The first Pan-African Conference in 1900; Marcus Garvey (Jamaica); George Padmore (Trinidad); Norman Cameron (British Guiana); and C.L.R. James (Trinidad). The fight against white supremacy and racism, the liberation of Africa from colonialism and the unification of Africans throughout the globe, constituted the principal focus of their actions.

Thus, for example, the Civil Rights Movement in the Diaspora and the Independence Movement in Africa coincided with each other and became mutually reinforcing. Continental Africans supported the African Diaspora quest for equality and civil rights, while the latter campaigned strenuously for African independence. The Pan-Africanist philosophy of the founders of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) drew inspiration from their predecessors in the Pan-Africanist Diaspora movement. The combined vision of continental Africans, on both sides of the Atlantic, created a vision for development and self-actualisation, which gave impetus to the struggle for independence in the 1960s and the formation of the OAU in 1963.

A NEW BREED OF AFRICAN LEADERS

During the period towards decolonisation in Africa, there emerged a new breed of African leaders in the form of, notably, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyere, Sékou Touré, Kenneth Kaunda, Aimé Cézaire, and Léopold Sédar Senghor. These prominent figures not only led their respective countries to independence, but also pioneered new ideas for African unity, which resulted in the establishment of the OAU.

Clearly, the Pan-Africanism of the 19th and early 20th century was not confined to pamphlets, meetings, conferences, congresses, conventions and schemes for the return to mother Africa. The role and contribution of ordinary masses of Africans, in their daily struggles against chattel slavery and colonialism, was equally critical.

The vital factor in the post-World War II phase of the Pan-African movement, with its primary focus on colonialism, was the bringing together of the ongoing and distinct struggles of the African masses, from peasants, workers, and the unemployed, to the lumpen elements and the intelligentsia.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CARIBBEAN PEOPLE

In this phase of the movement, the contribution of the Caribbean people to Pan-Africanism was considerable and took many forms. Frantz Fanon – from the French Caribbean – is one such example of direct Caribbean militant engagement in the African anti-colonial struggle. Fanon’s Black Skin, White Mask and Walter Rodney’s How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, remain the must-read books for any person interested in the political economy of the African predicament.

Rastafarianism, the Jamaican-originated philosophy, was to have a pervasive influence on the more broadly cultural and psychological levels of support for the liberation of continental Africa, and the freeing of the consciousness of Africans more generally. The names Bob Marley, Mutabaruka (formerly Allan Hope), Tappa Zukie, Peter Tosh, and Tony Rebel represent a small element of a lengthy list of popular artists in the reggae music genre, who amplified the message of freedom for Africans in rhythm and song.

Some Caribbean governments also became...
directly involved in the African anti-colonial struggles. The best example is that of Cuba: this country’s role was not limited to providing educational and health training, and other civil support to African liberation movements, but also included direct military engagement in Angola against the apartheid army. This latter role contributed directly to the ultimate victory of the liberation movement in Namibia.

At the start of the 21st century, Pan-Africanism retained its relevance, because the historical dynamics, which produced it, remain a factor to this day. The conditions of poverty, underdevelopment and marginalisation of Africans are but one example of this legacy. The challenges facing Pan-Africanism today include generating an understanding of the political economy of the African predicament, and uniting Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora.

It is against this background that the historic Diaspora Conference was organised in March of 2005. The main objective of the Conference was to provide an opportunity for, and initiate a dialogue process, to pursue unity among Africans in Africa, with those in the Diaspora, and to search for solutions to the problems that confront its people.

The key objectives of the Conference were to:
- Reaffirm the historical and cultural bonds between Africa and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean;
- Create linkages between Africa and the Diaspora and initiate dialogue on common challenges;
- Strengthen partnerships and co-operation between the peoples of the two regions;
- Establish mechanisms for building stronger political and economic relations between Africa and the Caribbean;
- Identify new opportunities for future collaboration that can be of mutual benefit in the political, economic and socio-cultural spheres;
- Develop a common agenda for confronting common problems between Africa and the Caribbean; and
- Support the implementation of the African Union decisions on the African Diaspora.

This Tenth Anniversary celebration conference is an historic and critical project. It has successfully elevated the debates and projects of both South Africa and the African Union to higher levels. It is important that this memorable occasion be understood as a preliminary investigation, whose outcomes should lead to, and/or connect with other long-term projects on the Diaspora. Its success is thus critical, not only for South Africa, but also for the agenda of Pan-Africanism.
The South Africa-African Union-Caribbean Diaspora Conference was held in Kingston, Jamaica from 16 to 18 March 2005. The theme of the Conference evoked a sense of unity and united action amongst Africans on the continent, and in the Caribbean Diaspora, as witnessed in the united front, which led to the victory over apartheid in South Africa. Over 250 delegates from Africa and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean participated in the event. Among the participants were Ministers and Parliamentarians, diplomats, the business community, academics, civil society, non-governmental organisations, the media, cultural organisations, members of the Rastafari religion, and the youth.

The Conference, which formed part of South Africa’s Ten Years of Democracy celebrations, was the result of the initiative of the Government of South Africa, to acknowledge the contribution of the African Diaspora in the Caribbean throughout the anti-apartheid struggle. The Conference, which was co-hosted by South Africa, the African Union (AU) and the Government of Jamaica, contributed to the efforts of the AU to reach out to the Diaspora. The theme of this prestigious event was summarised thus: “Towards Unity and United Action by Africans and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean for a Better World: The Case of South Africa”.

The Conference was structured into a number of opening statements, two keynote addresses, eight working groups, a conference statement and plan of action, as well as closing statements.

Summary of the proceedings

The working groups focused on the following sub-themes of the Conference:

1. International affairs, peace and security;
2. The Report of the UN High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges & Change;
3. Democracy and good governance;
4. Regional development and integration;
5. Economic co-operation and trade links;
6. Historical, socio-cultural and religious commonalities;
7. South-South co-operation and solidarity; and
8. Knowledge sharing.

Opening Statements and Keynote Addresses

The Conference was introduced with three opening statements by the Honourable Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa; the Honourable Mr K.D. Knight, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade of Jamaica; and the Deputy Chairperson of the African Union Commission, His Excellency Patrick Mazimhaka. The Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Most Honourable P.J. Patterson, then opened the Conference. Two keynote addresses were subsequently delivered. The Honourable Dr Pallo Jordan, the South African Minister of Arts and Culture addressed the topic: “Pan-Africanism in the 21st century: Its relevance and responses to globalisation”. The Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Most Honourable P.J. Patterson, then opened the Conference. Two keynote addresses were subsequently delivered. The Honourable Dr Pallo Jordan, the South African Minister of Arts and Culture addressed the topic: “Towards an African Century: Closer collaboration between Africa and the Caribbean in the conduct of international relations”. The opening statements and keynote addresses shared a number of common themes and focus areas. They constitute a common framework and the foundation for a vision, which can be summarised in the following ideas:

- Common Origin and Heritage

The Conference was a demonstration of the common origins and common heritage of the mother continent and its Diaspora. It
James, Aimé Césaire, Franz Fanon and Walter Rodney. The Caribbean is well represented in this move and those of African descent throughout the world. The carry right of peoples of Africa and communities on both sides of the Atlantic, stalling of creativity and production on the continent, and the resulting negative perception of persons of African ancestry, were highlighted in the presentations. The significance of the slave trade, according to Dr. Jordan, “...and the triangular trade cycle of which it was an indispensable link, were the material undergird of the White racism that legitimised and sustained it. The colonial conquest of Africa during the latter part of the 19th century cemented this relationship while widening the circle of stakeholders in racism and exponentially increasing its victims.”

The shared struggle against colonialism and apartheid found its focus in the Pan-African movement. The consensus amongst the presenters was that this movement sought to unite African communities on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Primarily, its aim was to restore the human rights of peoples of Africa and those of African descent throughout the world. The Caribbean is well represented in this movement, in particular Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, C.L.R. James, Aimé Césaire, Franz Fanon and Walter Rodney.

Pan-Africanism was characterised by internal tension between two schools of thought: on the one hand, those who wished to return from the New World to Africa, and on the other, those who sought to reassert relations between Whites and Africans in the New World, win equality for Africans, and gain independence in the territories where they constituted a majority. With the independence of African states in the second half of the 20th century, it rendered the one less relevant than before. Garveyism received special attention in the discussions of the Pan-African movement. According to Dr. Jordan, it was probably the first trans-Atlantic mass movement among Africans in the Anglophone world. It served as a complement for similar movements like the Négritude, Afro-Cubanismo, Modernismo Afro-Brasileiro and the New African Movement. Jamaica’s Prime Minister, Mr. P.J. Patterson, referred to the contribution made by Marcus Garvey, including the promotion of the spirit of racial pride, fostering worldwide unity among people of African descent, and establishing the greatness of African heritage. A beacon in the history of the Pan-African movement was the Atlantic Charter and the response it solicited in the Caribbean, Africa and Asia. In 1943, the ANC drafted the Africans’ Claims. Two years later, the 5th Pan-African Conference met in Manchester, Britain. This Conference linked the struggle for African independence and freedom to that of other colonised peoples, which later laid the foundation for the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

Since the independence of Ghana, Pan-African conferences were regularly held on the African continent. In 1963, the OAU articulated in the most concrete form, the ideals of Pan-Africanism. At the same time, the unfolding independence of African states coincided with and also helped to stimulate the struggle for human (or civil) rights in North America. Since the late 1960s, the emphasis in Africa changed to that of the liberation of the southern African region.

The Conference recalled a decision of the first Extra-Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government of the African Union in March 2003, which decided to integrate the Diaspora into the policy framework of the AU. This was done by amending the Constitutive Act, to provide a new Article that invites and provides full participation of the African Diaspora as an important part of the African continent. The decisions of the Executive Council in Sun City in 2003, and the decisions of the AU’s First Conference of Intellectuals from Africa in Dakar, Senegal, in October 2004, were noted. (Some of the AU’s efforts to reach out, and expand/deepen contacts with the African Diaspora, in various regions of the world, involve encouraging and supporting the creation of AU Diaspora Chapters; including the Diaspora in the policy organs of the AU; making the African Diaspora the sixth region of the Continent). This Conference was conceived within the context of the AU decisions.

The Diaspora Conference has been perceived as part of the continuous dialogue between the Caribbean, Africa and America. The wish has been expressed that it be extended to the rest of the African Diaspora in other parts of the world, and that it also becomes integrated in the broader South-South dialogue. In this context, the Conference was seen as providing a framework in which ideas could be transformed into tangible outcomes. It is also an opportunity for the creation of new areas for partnership and cooperation. Prime Minister Gonsalves condensed these points in his keynote address, which can be summarised in the following questions:

1. What is the current condition of the political economy and society of Africa and its Diaspora, which prompts the necessity and desirability of an African renaissance?
2. What, essentially, does an African renaissance mean or entail?
3. What role, if any, is there for collaborative efforts between Africa and its Diaspora, especially in the Caribbean, in the rebirth of Africa and the fashioning of an “African century”?
4. What are the forms and content of such collaborative efforts in the conduct of international relations, in the interest of Africans’ humanisation?

Speakers emphasised the fact that this Conference was required to reap tangible results, and therefore argued for a Programme of Action, giving prominence to the formation of a partnership, or a more structured approach to mutual interaction between the two regions, and addressing the most pressing socio-economic matters, by increased opportunities for socio-economic progress in this regard.

Minister Diamini Zuma highlighted the fact that the “skewed accumulation of wealth, power, resources, and the unequal distribution of the benefits of globalisation have entrenched gross inequalities”. For Minis ter Knight (Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade of Jamaica), the Conference was aimed at debating means of escaping the paradigms of dependence. Prime Minister Gonsalves (St Vincent and the Grenadines) called for an alternative political economy for Africa “which releases the people’s creative enterprise and spirit, which utilises Africa’s abundant natural resources for the African
issues of particular concern were the fact that Africa has grown poorer in the last 25 years, persistence of the colonial patterns of trade, poor and expensive transport across the continent, HIV/AIDS, and the uneven and skewed distribution of economic income and growth across Africa. Prime Minister Gonsalves ascribed this characterisation to the nature and character of Africa’s political economy, the international economic system and its unfair trading regime, and the inefficacy of African states’ political apparatuses. “It is surely generally accepted that the failure in Africa to establish effective, democratic nation-states has been not only a political question, but also an economic one of the first order”. Concrete proposals raised in this respect were a permanent, inter-governmental African-Brazilian-Caribbean Commission to spearhead the collaborative efforts; to build close links with the emerging economic power-houses (Brazil, Russia, India and China); and to strengthen relations with the USA, Canada, Europe, Latin America and the Middle East.

Socio-economic matters are directly affected by climate change and natural disasters. In 2004, the Caribbean was struck by a devastating hurricane. The recent tsunamis have also taken their toll on the region. Minister Dlamini Zuma was of the view that the ability of people to recover from such disasters, was determined by their socio-economic strength. “At a time when the harmony between us and nature is critical, we need to look at those who are most vulnerable and discuss what can be done”.

A Programme of Action also needs to look at the question of women’s empowerment and their relation to social, economic and cultural development. Both regions should enumerate the socio-economic point of view, the AU encourages Africans all over the world to work together and improve their common prospects through bilateral and multilateral trade. Africans should also unite and develop common, mutually reinforcing positions in multilateral trade negotiations.

The AU Commission is actively engaged in integrating the Diaspora into the continental activities. It has implemented an outreach programme of AU Diaspora fora and regional chapters on a global scale. Its main purpose is to sensitise and enlist the support of the African Diaspora. The first AU Diaspora Forum was held in Washington, D.C. in December 2002. The regional chapters are intended to promote co-operation with the AU. They are also designed to further encourage consolidation with civil society groups, governments and regional organisations. The first regional chapter is the Caribbean Diaspora chapter, established in September 2004.

The AU has been associated with the Pan-African Commission and numerous consultations with CARICOM, to strengthen and consolidate relations. The AU Commission’s Strategic Plan for 2003 to 2007 is designed to strengthen these ties, particularly through its Bridge Atlantic Initiative. The Commission also promotes a policy for the inclusion of the Diaspora in AU policy organs, such as the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC).

In the remaining part of this résumé, the deliberations of the eight Working Groups are summarised.

- The AU and the Diaspora

In March 2003, the first Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government decided to formally integrate the Diaspora into the policy framework of the AU by amending its Constitutive Act. The amendment invites and encourages the full participation of the African Diaspora as an important part of the continent. The reason for the mobilisation of the Diaspora is foremost historical, and in particular motivated by the Pan-African movement. This movement not only sought human rights and independence, but also a world in which Africans would be in control of their own destiny, and would become significant actors in the global family.

Incorporation of the Diaspora in the AU has socio-political, political and economic implications. From a socio-economic point of view, the AU encourages Africans all over the world to work together and improve their common prospects through bilateral and multilateral trade. Africans should also unite and develop common, mutually reinforcing positions in multilateral trade negotiations.

Working Group Deliberations

- Working Group 1: International Affairs, Peace and Security

PRESENTERS:
1. The Honourable Fred Mitchell (Minister of Foreign Affairs and Public Service, Bahamas)
2. The Honourable Emilio Caballero Rodriguez (Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cuba)
3. Prof. Borg (Director of the Bureau of the Chairperson of African Union Commission)

A common theme in the discussions was the prevalence of unilateralism in international relations and its justification for pre-emptive actions. Most of the speakers articulated a commitment towards multilateralism in the Caribbean region. They also expressed a search for consensus on common values in the international domain. The rule of law in the international context is therefore emphasised. The Cuban perspective was that instead of a peaceful and prosperous world after the Cold War, it has become characterised by unilateralism, increasing globalisation and dismantling of the international legal order as it emerged after World War II.

A recurrent subject, during the presentations, was the desire for the international community to conform to a system of rules and practices agreed upon by all. Those should include peace and security for the state, and respect for its sovereignty and territoriality. Each nation should have the right to exist, to live their way of life and be treated with human dignity. At present the international community is too asymmetrical, and there-
fore the powerful and weak states should together work for the security of the world. It raises the question: when can the international community intervene in a sovereign state to correct its moral or legal order? Legitimate examples of intervention were apartheid South Africa or during the genocides and official murders in Kosovo, Bosnia and Rwanda. Intervention should, however, not be in the form of pre-emptive strikes, but only in response to actual threats. The Cuban view was that 11 September justified a new approach by the USA, an amendment of terror used as a justification for unilateral action (against Iraq and others) and for threatening to use military force. In this regard, new concepts are now used, namely pre-emptive war, humanitarian intervention and the responsibility to protect.

Multilateralism is discussed mainly in the context of the UN Security Council actions, and collective measures are targeted mainly at underdeveloped states. On the other hand, the North is silent about human rights violations (like xenophobia and racial discrimination) in their own countries. Hence it is necessary to change the correlation of forces in the Security Council and address its lack of democratic transparency.

The Cuban presentation also emphasised the unsustainable character of the prevailing economic order and the increase in the gap between the incomes of the richest and poorest countries. The alternative is arguably the Bolivarian (Simón Bolívar) approach for the Americas, implemented by Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, which represents the aspirations for a fraternal and united American continent based on social justice.

The AU perspective acknowledges serious stumbling blocks that prevent democratisation and economic development but at the same time is optimistic about a future for the continent of self-assertion in the international community. Nevertheless, the continent continues to experience the highest number of civil wars in the world. On the other hand, conflicts are coming to an end – notably in Angola, the Sudan, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Burundi and already in apartheid South Africa. The main crises are in respecting the rule of law and democracy, as well as the nett regression in the continent’s trade and economic growth in the past 25 years, as well as pandemics and infectious diseases. Since the late 1990s, leaders decided to define the future of Africa in the form of the AU, NEPAD, the Peace and Security Council, the Pan-African Parliament and ECOSOCC.

**Working Group 2: The Report of the UN High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change**

**PRESENTERS:**

1. Ambassador Raymond Wolf (Secretary Multilateral Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Jamaica)
2. Ambassador Sibi Diyana (Ambassador to the UN, Somalia)
3. Ambassador D.S. Kumalo (Permanent Representative to the UN, South Africa)

The panel that introduced this theme, comprised three ambassadors, with an intimate knowledge of the UN Report. They discussed the Report of the High-Level Panel appointed by the UN Secretary-General in 2003 with the task “to assess current threats to international peace and security; to evaluate how our existing policies and institutions have done in addressing those threats; and to make recommendations for strengthening the United Nations so that it can provide collective security for all in the twenty-first century” (United Nations General Assembly, A/59/565, 2 December 2004). The Report has been discussed at a UN Summit of Heads of State and Government in September 2005. In the meantime, the AU has already responded to the Report in the form of a position paper. According to Ambassador Kumalo, Africa is the only region in the UN system, which took this approach of responding collectively to the Report.

The speakers agreed that the difference between 1945 and 2005 is that in the past, the UN’s mandate was interpreted mainly in the context of peace and security, personified by the actions of the Security Council. In 2005, the other side of the coin is that of the needs for development. Presently, the North is still mainly concerned with terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, while for the South, the main priorities are threats of poverty and disease. The challenge for the panel was to strike a balance between the two concerns. Moreover, the speakers acknowledged the pivotal role of the Security Council in all multilateral, global affairs, and therefore the question was how this Council should be reconfigured to suit both concerns. For the developing world, the Security Council is considered to be of paramount importance, and therefore the intense debate about it.

The Jamaican assessment of the Panel Report is that it can be perceived as:

- Laying the basis for effective meaningful reform of the UN;
- Promoting the interests and concerns of smaller and vulnerable states in the context of global economies and global security; and
- Providing concrete support for improvement in the efficiency of the UN on the basis of equity, accountability, transparency and inclusiveness in decision-making.

Most of the Report’s chapters, according to this assessment, are leaning towards the North’s security agenda (terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, internal and inter-state conflicts). This agenda’s importance is not denied, but the South’s concerns must not be overlooked in addressing the security concerns. The observation was made that the Report neither recommends strengthening the General Assembly’s, nor ECOSOCC’s institutional capacity. It also does not address a suitable measure to enhance international economic co-operation and global development. The Somali ambassador’s input concentrated on the need for Africa and the Caribbean region to conduct mutual consultations in order to highlight the relevance of ‘soft threats’ (poverty, disease and deterioration of the environment) for the UN agenda. Such co-operation is necessary for the promotion of humanitarian issues and to ensure the protection of vulnerable peoples. At the same time, it would also enhance South-South co-operation.

The main question for Ambassador Kumalo was how the Panel Report could be implemented from an African and Carribbean perspective. His response was that in addition to the direct, tangible advantages of such an approach, a major effort in the UN on this matter would strengthen their diplomatic bargaining power. In support of South Africa’s strong advocacy of multilateralism, his point of departure was that it would be very difficult to achieve a better world without the UN. At the same time, the agendas of the North and the South are substantially different in emphasis: the challenge is therefore how to address security and development issues simultaneously in a balanced manner. Given the mandatory powers of the Security Council, security issues enjoy an advantage, because they are almost always treated as mandatory matters. Therefore, the Security Council agenda has been mostly a security agenda, but this Report has created the opportunity to also introduce a development agenda. The Report, according to Ambassador Kumalo, created an important linkage between security and development, but failed to address development in a comprehensive manner.

Both the Jamaican and South African perspectives introduced another element into this debate, namely that the Report should be linked to the Jeffrey Sachs Report on Global Development Issues, which is directed at the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In line with his point of departure, Ambassador Kumalo identified a number of common areas of possible co-operation that exist between Africa and the Caribbean, namely:

- Environmental degradation, including national disasters such as the hurricanes in the Caribbean,
The presenter from Jamaica (Dr Sims) concentrated on the relationship between gender, race and democracy in Africa. After identifying the achievements made in respect of gender equity, she also identified the systemic barriers for women of the Diaspora. The main barrier is the pressure exerted on them to be what they are not – to change their figure or the colour of their skin – the symptom of unacceptable social pressure. Instead, women should ask themselves what they could extract from their African roots and how they should reassert themselves in society. A few suggestions were raised in this respect, such as: the educational system should be changed to promote a sense of pride for those in the Diaspora about their African connection; the concept of beauty should be redefined to include Africans; the stereotypes of HIV/AIDS should be addressed to dispel the notion that it is associated with young women in their most productive years, who increasingly become victims of the pandemic, due to being unable to govern themselves.

The presenter from Egypt (Dr Aswur) focused on the impact of patriarchy on good governance and democratisation. According to her, it is a father-centred hierarchical order with fathers always being superior to their sons, and therefore, the competition amongst sons for their fathers' favour. Women are purely defined from a male point of view, and the roles of males and females are rigidly designated and restricted. Militarism is inseparably associated with a patriarchal society and culture. Democracy, on the other hand, is defined by the presenter as the "power of choice and voice"; in other words, the freedom to express and the freedom to speak. Democracy is therefore determined by power, and the empowerment of women means discovering one’s own strength and teaching women how to exert their influence.

Gender equity is closely associated with democracy. It can be materialised in the form of:

- Democracy at home – removing any distinctions between the gender roles in the domestic environment;
- Education to create awareness of this need;
- Capacity-building;
- Training; and
- Promotion of entrepreneurship: economic initiatives by women can create jobs for themselves and for other women; they can alleviate women’s unemployment and poverty, and can eliminate gender-determined values, which limit women’s capacity to conduct successful business.

Gender equity depends on development, and the partners of this development include:

- Government: it is responsible for legislation to enhance people’s awareness of gender equity and development;
- Civil society: its responsibility in the partnership is to educate people about their rights;
- Private sector: it can promote development by exercising its social corporate responsibility.

The South African input was made under the banner of ‘developmental democracy’. Persons with influence on the presenter Nomboniso Gasa’s direction of thinking include Guy Mahone, Adebayo Oliukoshi, Margaret Randall and Kwarie Nkumah. Their ideas raised questions about democracy’s sustainability, the relationship between democracy and development, and Nkumah’s notion that political independence be the primary objective before any other liberation goals. All of these are considered relevant for the gender struggle.

At the turn of the 20th century, the gender struggles in Western and Southern Africa (especially in Nigeria and South Africa) had already taken significant strides towards their ultimate objectives. Frens Girma’s (former Speaker of the South African Parliament) research on the role of women in the ANC before 1943 deserved special attention as an illustration of the contribution women had made to the liberation movement. The 1980s were characterised by a notable withdrawal or limited participation by women in formal politics in Africa. The most likely explanation for this was the prevalence of patriarchic, military dominance of politics during this period, which alienated women even more. With the democratisation wave in the 2000s, women’s participation in formal politics also increased.

Feminism, as a global movement and political idea, and its relationship with democracy, is a complex phenomenon. Western feminists focus mainly on their personal battles, especially equality with men. Feminists in Africa, on the other hand, focus on change and fundamental transformation of their own lives, as well as society at large.

In respect of democracy in Africa in general, the discussion highlighted the fact that the public sector, in many states, does not have the budget and organisational capacity to perform most of the basic functions expected of it. The notion of good governance presumes the presence of a professional and independent bureaucracy and presupposes a sound tax base to finance their functions. Hence, the importance of development cannot be over-emphasised.

- Working Group 4: Regional Development and Integration

PRESENTERS:
1. Mr Mathale (NEPAD)
2. Mr Edwin Carrington (Secretary-General, CARICOM)
3. Prof. Dennis Michael Ben (University of the West Indies)
4. Prof. Sale (no affiliation)

The discussion in this working group focused on NEPAD and CARICOM, comparisons, and possible regional co-operation between the two.

**WTO trade negotiations;**

**Post-conflict reconstruction: what should be done when the peacekeepers have left and there are not sufficient institutional and developmental resources to sustain the peace?**

**Disarmament and non-proliferation of arms; and**

**Terrorism.**

**Working Group 3: Democracy and Good Governance**

**PRESENTERS:**
1. Dr Glenda Sims (Executive Director, Office of Women’s Affairs, Office of the Prime Minister, Jamaica)
2. Dr Anami Aswur (President, Egyptian Businesswomen’s Association)
3. Ms Nomboniso Gasa (Independent Consultant, South Africa)

This working group received three inputs from presenters, emphasising the relevance of gender and race for democracy in Africa. The group’s chairperson introduced the discussion by emphasising the symbiotic relationship between democratic ideals and national liberation. It was stated that the concepts of democracy and good governance should not be seen as imported ideals from outside the continent, but the concepts of democracy and good governance should not be seen as imported ideals from outside the continent, but seen as an integral part of it. However, the disappointments in the decades after independence, because of the autocratic abuse of power, should be acknowledged. In the last two decades, according to the chairperson, major achievements on the way towards democracy and good governance were recorded. The African Union’s commitment to a process of promoting democratic electoral guidelines; the assertive response to undemocratic practices in the Central African Republic and Togo; as well as the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) partnership were identified the systemic barriers for women of the Diaspora. The main barrier is the pressure exerted on them to be what they are not – to change their figure or the colour of their skin – the symptom of unacceptable social pressure. Instead, women should ask themselves what they could extract from their African roots and how they should reassert themselves in society. A few suggestions were raised in this respect, such as: the educational system should be changed to promote a sense of pride for those in the Diaspora about their African connection; the concept of beauty should be redefined to include Africans; the stereotypes of HIV/AIDS should be addressed to dispel the notion that it is associated with young women in their most productive years, who increasingly become victims of the pandemic, due to being unable to govern themselves.

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In respect of democracy in Africa in general, the discussion highlighted the fact that the public sector, in many states, does not have the budget and organisational capacity to perform most of the basic functions expected of it. The notion of good governance presumes the presence of a professional and independent bureaucracy and presupposes a sound tax base to finance their functions. Hence, the importance of development cannot be over-emphasised.

- Working Group 4: Regional Development and Integration

PRESENTERS:
1. Mr Mathale (NEPAD)
2. Mr Edwin Carrington (Secretary-General, CARICOM)
3. Prof. Dennis Michael Ben (University of the West Indies)
4. Prof. Sale (no affiliation)
Returned Diasporians are normally better informed about lo-
Approximately 75% went to North Africa and about US$4 bil-
to the continent by nationals working abroad. In 2003, about
co-ordination of policies.
achieved a great deal more in the area of harmonisation and
made significant progress. CARICOM, on the other hand, has
significant structural change in African economies; and integra-
tion experienced constraints during this period and expecta-
tions needed to advance development. The vision, and way
forward, basically consist of creating a policy environment
and institutions necessary to translate political commitment
into economic benefits”.

Improvement in economic growth since the 1990s has pro-
vided an optimistic prognosis for the future. This is partly the
result of a decline in conflict on the continent, and an increase
in macro-economic stability. Nevertheless, regional integra-
tion experienced constraints during this period and expecta-
tions were also not met. The volume of intra-regional trade has
declined or stagnated; integration has not led to a sig-
nificant structural change in African economies; and integra-
tion in the form of harmonisation of domestic policies has not
made significant progress. CARICOM, on the other hand, has
achieved a great deal more in the area of harmonisation and
coordination of policies.

A significant source of development in Africa is fund transfers
to the continent by nationals working abroad. In 2003, about
US$12 billion of these transfers were directed towards Africa.
Approximately 75% went to North Africa and about US$4 bil-
lion to sub-Saharan countries. Another source of develop-
ment is that of migration by the African Diaspora back to the
continent. This has the possibility of addressing the structural
shortage of qualified expertise in entire economic sectors.
Returned Diasporians are normally better informed about lo-
cal conditions and more motivated than those with foreign
technical knowledge.

Regional integration within the sub-regions of Africa, and
co-operation between the regions of Africa and the Caribbean, differ in nature from the integration
processes in Europe and Asia. The main difference is that in the case of the former, this involves South-
South integration of developing states with econom-
ies based mainly on agriculture. Intra-regional trade in Africa is still at a negligible level. The pros-
pect of South-South integration can only improve if the best performing African states and those in the
African Diaspora come together as the driving force behind regional integration processes. The view
of the presenter, Mr Mathale, was that these initiatives would only be meaningful if there were a common
culture within the regions to serve as a binding force to sustain them.

CARICOM:

Today the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) consists of 15 members. It is a relatively small commu-
nity in terms of population size. The total population numbers about 15 million, to which Haiti contributes
7 million.
CARICOM's history of development can be summar-
ised by the following key events:
1968: establishment of the Caribbean Free Trade Area;
1973: agreement on common external tariffs – the
Caribbean Community and Common Market;
2005: formation of a single market; and
2008: prospective emergence of a single economy.

Integration in the Caribbean should be understood in the
correspondence of South African, African and Carib-
bean communities. The composition of trade amongst
African countries has not changed very

African countries has not changed very

African countries has not changed very
This raises the question of why integration has made little progress, and why relations between Africa and the Caribbean have not developed according to expectations. The answer consists of four elements: firstly, the conflicts on the continent have created insecurity, exploiting and depleting African countries’ resources. Secondly, conditions conducive for integration have not received sufficient attention, and actors who could play a significant role in integration have thus far been neglected. Thirdly, patronage has undermined the effective management of resources and has encouraged the search for available clientele; in other words, structural mismanagement and corruption have undermined integration. Finally, government decisions have only favoured short-term interests, undermining capacity-building for the purpose of development.

The presenter, Mr Carrington, Secretary-General of CARICOM and Commissioner of the UN, responded to the same general question by looking at means of addressing this deficit. He proposed three steps, namely that:

- Parties should develop a shared vision and look for alternatives to the existing paradigm. Governments should identify the means at their disposal and develop strategies to optimise their use.
- This requires integration of a common reality, determining what type of integration is preferred, and what the relationship between integration and development should be.
- Integration depends on a political will to implement the relevant strategies. Such a will should include a commitment to transfer state sovereignty to the regional entity.

A prominent feature of the open discussion was the role of the Rastafari movement – also as a mechanism of integration. Speakers emphasised the fact that the focus should not only be on the Caribbean Rastafari Organisation, but on the spiritual movements in the Caribbean in general, as well as the cultural values they embody in respect of the arts, dance, drama and music. Concerns about their ultimate goal to be repatriated to Africa, and to receive reparations, were raised in respect of the absence of mechanisms to accommodate the Rastafari and respect their right to return to Africa, not as migrants, but as returning Africans.

• Working Group 5: Economic Co-operation and Trade Links

PRESENTERS:
1. Ambassador Richard Benelli (Director General of the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery)
2. Prof. Shadrack Gutto (University of South Africa)
3. Mr Aisha Salimi-Belhaji (University of Algiers)

Multilateral trade between African countries and the Caribbean received most attention during this working group. Trade, as a concept, has developed into a wide-ranging phenomenon, including trade in goods, services, investments, intellectual property rights, government procurement and competition policy. It is also related to issues such as external debt, the environment and labour. At the heart of international trade is the World Trade Organization (WTO), which is responsible for resolving trade disputes and for monitoring, revising and formulating new rules for the multilateral trade system.

In respect of trade, there is a need for the two regions to enhance their level of collaboration and co-operation. Both are involved in economic partnership agreements, and are in the alliance of the African-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) group with the European Union (EU). The ACP could play an influential role in WTO negotiations, because without its support, there would be no consensus and therefore no decision on a reformed global trade regime.

A number of similarities in the economies of the two regions were identified in the discussion. These were as follows:

- The economies are vulnerable, and exports are dominated by only one or two commodities, mainly primary products, such as raw materials and agricultural products. Because these products (especially agricultural) are plentiful and are produced throughout the world, they are subject to intense competition in international markets.
- The structure of the economies of the least developed countries in Africa is very similar to that of small economies, and therefore the regions’ problems of development are also very similar. Markets are limited; this places restrictions on the type of production and prevents the utilisation of economies of scale.
- They are both constrained in their ability to participate in the decision-making process of the multilateral trade system, especially in the WTO. They have a limited capacity in human resources and technical research to sustain such negotiations on their own.
- They have limited institutional capacity for utilising the WTO’s dispute resolution mechanisms, and cannot afford the required resources and legal expertise.

In respect of the last point, the following suggestions were considered:

1. The African and Caribbean members of the WTO constitute more than a third of its total members. They should improve on the co-ordination of their efforts and exert their influence on the discussions and negotiations.
2. The two regions should find a way to rationalise their representation, which will enable them to share representation in the various structures of the WTO. It should also become possible for them to share in technical knowledge and preparation for improved participation in the WTO.
3. The institutional capacity of individual states is currently limited. Therefore, it is necessary to pool resources. An example of such an effort is the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery, which executes the technical preparations and then makes recommendations to individual Caribbean states.
4. A concerted effort is necessary to democratised decision-making in the WTO, in order to ensure increased sensitivity for the needs of the South.
The working group also looked at a comparison of the economic structures of the two regions. The most prevalent phenomenon is that both are very similar in terms of the commodity composition of their trade. This lack of diversification has resulted in what is known as vertical integration.

Vertical integration means incorporation with the previous colonial power, and therefore trade continues to follow historically established patterns. Horizontal integration between two neighbouring countries is in many instances almost absent. Africa’s vertical integration into global trade is one of its most prominent features and the single most important factor militating against developing domestic and regional trade capacities.

A second important mitigating factor is the kind of macro-economic policies followed by African states over the past two decades. In general terms, they were characterised by economic structural adjustment. Their objective was to be deflationary and therefore incapable of promoting growth and trade. Only an innovative macro-economic approach will unleash new economic energy, and therefore the focus should be on new fiscal policies.

Inter- and intra-regional trade is suppressed by the proliferation of bureaucratic barriers confronting investors from within the region. The perception exists that foreign investments are better received than investments from within the region. An area in need of improvement is inter-regional travelling. Flights between states in the same region, or between Africa and the Caribbean, are cumbersome and time-consuming. The introduction of direct flights will create new opportunities for economic interaction. They will have a direct impact on the flow of goods, capital, investments and human resources.

A major structural impediment to regional economic development is that trade policies are dictated by external demands. An illustration of this point is that the current negotiations around the Economic Partnership Agreement are essentially a refinement of externally determined requirements. The EU conducts separate negotiations with the different economic communities within the ACP group: with ECOWAS and SADC, South Africa; and CARICOM. According to the presenter, Aisha Salimi-Belhaji, this amounts to a ‘global economic commodification of the world’.

Another significant characteristic of the global trade environment is that trade policy is divorced from development. The Doha round of WTO negotiations has been described as a ‘development round’. It is seen as an attempt by states from the South to restore the relationship between trade and development.

Apart from the need to embrace the common wisdom shared by the African continent and the Caribbean region, to build their capacity to negotiate more effectively in the WTO, a number of suggestions absent. Africa’s vertical integration into global trade is one of its most prominent features and the single most important factor militating against developing domestic and regional trade capacities.

This theme was further discussed with the influence of the African continent on Caribbean religion, food, clothes, methods of savings and folklore. The speakers on the panel used different approaches to explain the similarities of cultural expressions within the two regions, one arguing that cultural assimilation was a direct result of the slave trade, while the other argued that African influences could be detected in the period before Columbus (1492). The latter argument was supported by etymological research—for example, that ‘jazz’ was originally a Senegalese term for ‘dance’, and that ‘reggae’ was a word meaning the dance of God.

Religion is considered a significant area of cross-pollination. The notion that ancestors have the ability to control lives, is reminiscent of the Caribbean notion of dream- ing as the highest spiritual being, is common in a monotheist manner, with a supreme being. The Yoruba practice. The construction of religion involves family members. Other religious expressions in the Caribbean have honoured ancestors by leaving food for them, dancing, playing drums and singing with them. They are illustrated by a Caribbean chant based on a Yoruba practice. The construction of religion in a monolithic manner, with a supreme being, is the highest spiritual being, is common in both regions. Indeed, according to one of the contributions from the floor, this could be traced to the pre-Columbus period in the Caribbean region.

Similarities in foods, and especially in the names and preparation of foods, were discussed in the working group.

Methods of saving money in one region are

• Working Group 6: Historical, Socio-Cultural and Religious Commonalities

PRESENTERS:
1. Prof. Vinish Hukun Singh (University of Mauritius)
2. Ms Christine Qunta (Attorney, South Africa)
3. Prof. Wande Lewis (no affiliation)

The topic was introduced under the rubric of ‘Global Africa’, referring to three types of African contexts. The first stereotypical typology is ‘Black Africa’ or the ‘Black Continent’. This refers to sub-Saharan Africa or, from a Diasporan perspective, Ancient Africa or Mother Africa. Black Africa essentially served as the primary source of slave labour for the Americas, and is still a source of natural resources to this day. Within this typology, this is the real or imagined homeland of the people outside of Mother Africa. From an African perspective, the concept looks at the continent as fragmented into artificial states, dominated by the neo-colonial heritage of political, administrative, judicial and educational institutions.

The second stereotype is ‘Black and White Africa’. Southern Africa, in particular, represents strong elements of this phenomenon. South Africa has been described as “a living laboratory of inter-cultural experimentation, in which Whites, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians are slowly trying to invent new inter-cultural modes of identity formation”.

The third type is ‘Creole or New World Africa’, which can be subdivided into the ‘Afro-American World’, the ‘Caribbean New World’ and the ‘Afro-Cuban World’. The New World Diaspora has witnessed the creation of a new culture—the Creole culture. Creolisation is understood to be the mixing of different cultures, in such a way that the outcome is of neither entirely European, nor African culture. One cannot separate these into the discreet entities that constitute the Creole process. Examples of the Creole culture are found in language, music and religion (like the voodoo in Haiti, which has African roots but is typically Haitian, or Rastafarianism).
also influenced by the other. The concept of a group of people accumulating its saved monies, which is then paid to the members of the group on a rotational basis, is also practised in the Caribbean. The stock is a well-known practice of the same principle in South Africa.

The impact of the slave trade on cultural, historical and religious notions is of such importance for the Caribbean, that it necessitated a special focus. Unlike the Jewish Holocaust, the African slave trade is not assessed in terms of its social impact, but has become a bone of contention regarding its magnitude. By now however, most researchers agree that at least 10 million Africans were displaced in the four hundred years spanning the trade since 1445.

The slave trade's demographic impact on Africa is often forgotten. The magnitude of its slavery can be explained by the fact that able-bodied persons were removed from their communities, effectively wiping out younger generations, leaving behind older generations. Today, many African states are still under-populated as a result of this occurrence.

Furthermore, technological under-development and cultural dysfunctionality are two obvious effects of the slave trade. One of the presenters used Amilcar Cabral's definition of culture to explain how the slave trade destroyed African culture in the Diaspora. Culture includes attitudes about life, the nature of the universe, religious beliefs and forms of art. Culture is therefore immensely powerful because, according to Cabral, when conquered people realise that they should stand up to protect their culture, this constitutes the beginning of resistance.

In view of the above observations, the working group considered three suggestions to respond to the need for increased cultural interaction between the two regions. Firstly, formal and informal cultural, social and political links between the Diaspora and the continent should be promoted. Music, like reggae, is a powerful tool in this regard. Secondly, the skills shortage in Africa can be addressed by making use of skills from within the Diaspora. Cuban medical doctors, for example, already make an important contribution in South Africa. Thirdly, educational institutions should be reformed to make them authentically African. Related to this, is that indigenous languages and filmmaking in Africa should be promoted.

Working Group 7: South-South Co-operation and Solidarity

PRESENTERS:
1. Ms Allison Anderson (CEO of Child Development Agency, Jamaica)
2. Prof. Bernard Magubane (Director, Democracy Education Trust, South Africa)
3. Mr James St. Catharine (Carrycot)

The discussion concentrated on a number of aspects, including the central role of the family in African issues: the family unit and HIV/AIDS; the lack of historical knowledge in understanding the present situation; and South-South co-operation in the context of crime and security, the environment, education, and health.

Ms Anderson made the following propositions as the basis of her presentation:
• The family unit is Africa's greatest asset.
• The human dimension has to be the core of the response to crises like HIV/AIDS.
• The development of human capability rests mainly on the ability of families to ensure that children are free from deprivation.
• The relationship between kinship, politics and civil order in Africa and the Diaspora is critical for understanding major social problems in Africa. This includes male-female relationships, child-bearing and child-rearing practices, and the absence of parental roles because of AIDS fatalities.
• HIV/AIDS, conflict, crime and poverty have undermined the cohesion of the family unit in Africa.
• The development agenda for the continent includes the Millennium Development Goals, and these should include a plan of action for families.
• Integration of reproductive health and HIV/AIDS programmes is required.
• The best way for the Diaspora to establish itself in Africa's development is through active engagement in the preservation of the African family.
• For those concerned with strengthening the African family, the primary objective should be the fostering of political commitment and support for South-South co-operation in areas of training, advocacy and networking.
• In respect of training, advocacy and networking, special attention should be given to the needs of the youth and adolescents.

In the general discussion, the specific relevance of the family for South-South co-operation was questioned. The point was not pursued in view of the increased focus on HIV/AIDS and education in general.

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Prof. Magubane paid special attention to the Ugandan experience and identified the following as critical factors in the HIV/AIDS campaign:
• President Museveni’s leadership role. He ensured government departments and NGOs co-operation in the campaign.
• HIV/AIDS was treated as a holistic problem

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Working Group 8: Knowledge Sharing

PRESENTERS:
1. Dr Abiod
2. Dr Hopon Done (CEO, Creative Production and Training Centre, and President, Jamaican – SA Association)
3. Ms Baleka Mbete (Speaker of Parliament, South Africa)

The frame of reference for this working group was the following:

1. The nature of the challenges caused by the production, distribution and the utilisation of information pertaining to:
   - Indigenous knowledge;
   - Academic and scientific knowledge;
   - Technical knowledge;
   - Innovations with the aim of enhancing productivity, competitiveness, equitable growth and development, in light of the global order and the opportunity and constraints it poses.
2. The challenges caused by the monopolisation of processes of global and cultural exchanges, on the intellectual property of the African and Caribbean peoples.

The working group’s deliberations did not address all these points. The discussions concentrated on means of knowledge sharing, the importance of communication, and other information technology manifestations as a means of knowledge sharing. The role of parliament, as a facilitator of knowledge sharing and technology manifestations as a means of knowledge sharing, the importance of communication, and other information technology manifestations as a means of knowledge sharing, was also discussed.

A working definition of knowledge sharing used in the discussion was as follows:

1. There has to be an official commitment in each country to generate knowledge and to effectively use this knowledge in the development process.
2. Countries must formulate rational policies that can translate the generated knowledge into practical, realistic and affordable long-term national programmes.
3. Countries should cultivate a culture of knowledge sharing.

Areas in which knowledge sharing is plausible, were mentioned as follows:

- Technology used in outer space, including co-operation on the joint usage of satellites;
- Communication technology;
- Nuclear non-proliferation, including participation in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty;
- Environmental matters, including the Kyoto and Montreal Protocols;
- Scientific research and technology development;
- Agriculture and food processing;
- Health concerns, such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, etc.;
- Development of the private sector, which is perceived by many as the driving force in most societies, and therefore governments should share knowledge on its promotion;
- A special emphasis on mathematics as an area of education, and as a key element in a culture of science and technology;
- Major trade exhibitions; and
- Networks of people-to-people contact in social, professional, cultural, academic, business and spiritual areas.

The South African Speaker of Parliament, Baleka Mbete, referred to the period of constitution-making in South Africa, in the mid-1990s, as a successful public participation project, and as an example of knowledge sharing between citizens and negotiators. According to her, it emphasised the importance of ordinary persons, as opposed to political elites. The new political culture that emerged was one involving public participation project, and as an example of knowledge sharing between citizens and negotiators. According to her, it emphasised the importance of ordinary persons, as opposed to political elites. The new political culture that emerged was one involving democracy, and therefore governments should explore and develop concrete means for promoting linkages between the two regions in the following priority areas: trade and investment; science and technology; education; culture; travel; transportation and youth exchanges.

CONCLUSION

The Conference concluded with the adoption of the Conference Declaration (see its text later) and closing remarks by the host countries’ Ministers of Foreign Affairs, South Africa and Jamaica, and the AU representative. The Declaration’s Plan of Action recommends the following as a way forward:

- The AU and CARICOM should continue to develop a concrete mechanism for the institutionalization of the relations between the two bodies.
- The African and Caribbean governments should explore and develop concrete measures for promoting linkages between the two regions in the following priority areas: trade and investment; science and technology; education; culture; travel; transportation and youth exchanges.
- African and Caribbean organs of civil society should explore and develop concrete measures for promoting linkages and collaboration between the two regions.
- Africa and the Caribbean, through their regional organizations, should explore ways of harmonizing international diplomacy in particular by utilizing the forthcoming United Nations Millennium Review Summit and the World Trade Organization Doha Development Round, to advance the agenda set out by this Conference.
Opening Statement

Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, Minister of Foreign Affairs, South Africa, for the South Africa-Africa Union-Caribbean Diaspora Conference

Kingston, Jamaica, 16 March 2005

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MOST HONOURABLE P.J. PATTERSON, PRIME MINISTER OF JAMAICA;

YOUR EXCELLENCY, HONOURABLE K.D. KNIGHT, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF JAMAICA;

HONOURABLE SENATOR DELANO FRANKLYN, MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN TRADE OF JAMAICA;

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, MINISTERS, AND DEPUTY MINISTER FROM AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN;

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR CARRINGTON, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF CARICOM AND COMMISSIONER OF THE UN;

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR PATRICK MAZIMHAKA, DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE AU;

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, AMBASSADORS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS;

CARIBBEAN AND AFRICAN SCHOLARS AND INTELLIGENTSIA;

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS;

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN;

COMRADES AND FRIENDS:

We are pleased to be among comrades and friends here in Kingston at this historic conference, which marks yet another important milestone in the history of the African and Caribbean peoples. Accordingly, may I extend our gratitude to the people and government of Jamaica for the hospitality extended to us, and the excellent arrangements made for this conference.

We are gathered here today as friends who have taken some moments away from their busy day-to-day lives to reflect on our common origins and heritage, our shared struggles against slavery, colonialism and apartheid and also our common victories.

We are gathered here today also as a continuous quest for unity in action, a process started by our forbearers many decades ago.

We have come together to affirm our identity as one people, because of our common origins. With Africa not only as our place of common origin, but also widely regarded as the 'Cradle of Humankind', today we can all say with conviction that African blood flows through our veins.

Some of us have come from the long African coastline from where our people were captured forcefully, shipped off in chains to the Caribbean islands. We are gathered here to pay homage to the multitudes who fought for freedom – the heroes and heroines, who with determination, tenacity and unwavering courage cast this inhumane system of slavery into the dustbins of history.

We are also gathered here as combatants in the titanic struggle for peace, security and democracy and against underdevelopment and poverty.

We are also gathered here as friends who have shared challenges and a common destiny.

It was in 1994 that we gathered in Pretoria/Tshwane as friends and witnessed the inauguration of the first democratically elected President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela. Some of us shed a tear or two on this occasion, because humanity had won against apartheid – a crime against humanity – and the Caribbean and the African continent had played an important role in this regard. We gathered there to share a common victory.

Accordingly, we have also gathered here in Kingston for the South African people to give thanks to you, for the victory in South Africa was as much a victory for the South African people as it was for the Caribbean people.

Vast oceans and great distances did not stop you from showing solidarity with us. The divisions that geography imposes upon people did not separate you from our cause for freedom. Instead, the interconnectedness grew.

You stood shoulder to shoulder with us and formed a mammoth movement because you saw an affront to our dignity and humanity as an affront to your own dignity and humanity. The solidarity with the people of South Africa became a great global movement against black oppression and racism in the world.

Our presence in the Caribbean also gives us an opportunity to make our acquaintance with and salute such great heroes as Nanny of the Maroons, Tacky, Sam Sharpe, Paul Bogle and of course Norman Manley. Accordingly, we remember all those gallant fighters from the Caribbean, who stood up against slavery, racism and oppression, among...
them the great Toussaint L'Ouverture, Marcus Garvey, Alex-
ander Bustamante, as well as José Martí, Simon Bolívar and
Harriet Tubman. Yet they knew full well that theirs was only a
humble contribution in making the world a better place for
Africans to live. They laid the foundations for all of us. Now
it is our task to follow their lead.

The valiant history of these Africans stolen from their homes
continued to be a guiding light to those Africans still on the
continent dispossessed of their land. Thus, on both sides
of the Atlantic, we wrestled hard to break the backbone of
colonialism.

As the late President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo observed
during his visit to Jamaica for the People’s National Party
Founders Day Banquet in July 1987:

We make this tribute to your heroes, not to satisfy any
personal grievances or to whitewash the past. But rather
to inspire all who are oppressed, to give hope and
encouragement to those who are struggling.

And what is it that specifically ties them to us? It is that
vision that instructed their lives, that the voiceless
can and must have a voice; that the downtrodden
and the despised should have an unfettered right
to shape their lives; that none has a prerogative to set
himself up as God presiding over the destinies of
others. These National Heroes of Jamaica and the
Caribbean are tied to us because from these shores
thousands of miles from our own, they stood up and
even perished, to give hope and encouragement
to those who are struggling.

Of critical importance is, as President Thabo Mbeki ob-
served, “our common African history is replete with
great feats of courage, demonstrated by the heroes and heroines
and heroic peoples, without whose loyal attachment to hope
and the vision of a bright future for Africa, her people would long have
perished”.

Indeed among these great feats of courage are:

• That first victory of our brothers and sisters in
   the sea – by 1804, the victory of the San
   Domingo Revolution was complete, with the
defeat of the Spanish, British and the French,
   and the establishment of the state of Haiti.

• The Battle of Isandlwana of 1879, which saw
   the military brilliance in the great defeat of
   the strongest army in the world at the time
   – British army – at the hands of the Zulu
   people.

• The Battle of Adowa is another milestone
   because the Ethiopians, under Emperor Menelik
   II were victorious over the Italians in 1896. The
   world saw it as a victory of Africa over Europe,
   which a historian describes as “a victory of
   freedom for Africans and other freedom-loving
   people in the rest of the world”. The victory in
   Adowa inspired anti-colonialist movements,
   the formation of early African nationalism,
   especially in Sierra Leone, Liberia and the
   Cape, in America, as well as in the Caribbean,
   through Garveyism and through the Pan-African
   movement inspired by W.E.B. Du Bois.

• The movement towards African unity, with the
   independence firstly of Ghana and the
   formation of the Organization of African
   Unity (OAU), was another such defining
   moment where Africans on the continent
   and the Diaspora sought to free themselves
   as a continent, knowing full well, as Kwame
   Nkrumah had pointed out, that each one’s
   freedom depended on those of the others.

• For us, the final defining moment that has
   brought us together is the victory of the
   African people, the Caribbean peoples and the
   progressive forces of the world over apartheid.
   It was the culmination of this struggle for
   national liberation that inspired all of Africa
   and the world and it helped to open the road
   for the second wave of the struggle for peace,
   democracy and sustained development to
   sweep the African continent. We all believe

that a new Africa could
arise, and that a new world
could emerge free of racial
discrimination, oppression,
conflict and poverty.

Chairperson and distinguished
delegates:

This Conference owes its being
firstly a joint African-Carib-
bean Diaspora one, with a view
to celebrating the historic feat of
the defeat of that crime against
humanity, and to consolidate the
already excellent and warm re-
lations between our peoples.

The objective, however, grew in
stature with the adoption of the
idea by the African Union Heads
of State and Government, to
strengthen links with the Dias-
pora, as part of the renewal of
the mother continent, Africa.
We are grateful to our continental
organisation, the AU, and glad
that our African brothers and
sisters are here.

Our humble view of this Conference is that this is
part of the continuous dialogue that is impera-
tive between our two regions, and should extend to
the rest of the African Diaspora, and as part of the
broader South-South dialogue.

We are gathered here as friends to share our
thoughts on a whole range of issues, in a world
where the power balance has reached explosive
disequilibrium. The skewed accumulation of
wealth, power, resources, and the unequal distribu-
tion of the benefits of globalisation, have entrenched
gross inequalities.

The recent tsunamis
have also caused the im-
mensely large losses of life
and livelihoods. We need to
acknowledge that the
ability of people to re-
cover is determined by
their wealth. The rich can
mitigate the effects of a
disaster, but this is not the
case with the poor. At
a time when the harmony
between nature and us is
critical, we need to look
at those who are most
vulnerable and discuss
what can be done.

Let us also use this opportunity to discuss
matters arising out of the World Conference
Against Racism and how, as people of the
Caribbean and Africa, we should continue to
fight racism in the world.

We are gathered here as friends, also to de-
termine how we can ensure that the youth
of Africa and the Caribbean can constantly
share ideas, their dreams and vision for their
future. Most of them do not know each oth-
er’s countries – at the moment, what con-
nects them is the music on both sides of the
Atlantic. The sounds of the African drum
have remained unchanged across the Carib-
bean, Brazil and the African continent. Since

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the youth possess the future, we must strengthen these ties and create opportunities for genuine social interaction.

Chairperson:
As the Guianese British poet, Grace Nichols has written in her poem “Epilogue” (from her poetry collection, I is a Long-Memoried Woman):

I have crossed an ocean.
I have lost my tongue.
From the roots of the old one,
a new one has sprung.

In this poem, Nichols refers to the struggles of an African woman who has been enslaved and forced to cross the Middle Passage. In her newfound alienation, this black woman has to re-invent herself. Her voice is one of defiance. Yet, it is also her strength that comes across – the capacity to survive, to speak and to dream and rebuild a future.

Gathered here at a time when the entire world is reflecting on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action and the Millennium Development Goals, we cannot help but play our part in this regard and pay tribute to the strength and resilience of women in Africa and the Caribbean.

In our history, women slaves had to try by all means to survive and to ensure that their children also survived. Women in Africa have, for centuries, been the main tillers of the land, producing all the necessary food for entire communities and have thus been responsible for food security. It is the women, who often, against all odds, have been the bearers of culture and the nurturers of nature. It is the women who have been the mainstay of the informal economy and have turned market places into vibrant sites for community, culture and people.

We know that 70% of the world’s poor are women and therefore the fight against poverty must take into account the feminisation of this poverty. There cannot be sustained development without the emancipation and participation of women and the empowerment of the girl child in particular.

We also need to ensure that the agenda for co-operation between the Caribbean and Africa has also at its centre the question of women’s empowerment and their relation to social, economic and cultural development. We need to play our part as the Caribbean and Africa to ensure that the women of our regions are represented in government, in academia, in the judiciary and in the mainstream economy.

Among the issues that this conference will address is also how to assist to eradicate poverty, how to use our collective strengths to make social and economic progress in the world economy and to confront the international financial, investment and trade regimes that favour developed economies, and as well as the UN reform and issues of integration etc.

All of these subjects will be discussed at length at this conference. The real challenge is what we do in terms of concrete actions and follow-ups and how to give practical content to our thoughts so that we advance our agenda of prosperity and development in practical ways.

Our unity is essential because alone we are weak, but together we are a united force; we can speak and act with the strength of one powerful voice.

The great leaders of Africa and the Caribbean tried to build a new world and it is precisely this task that we are grappling with in the present, which brings us here – to forge a new road ahead, because only when we recognise the journey that we travelled in the past and the milestones in the present, shall we arrive at a new consciousness and know with certainty what needs to be done.

Let us proceed on this journey with the hope that we shall succeed in our endeavours. I would like to conclude with the words of a Senegalese poet, Paulin Joachim, in the lines he wrote to a fellow poet, David Diop:

And it is true we are wounded at the lowest point of hope
But hope in us has never beaten its wing
It rises on our human horizons
Like a fresh unfolding bud
Snapping at the wheels of freedom
In due course it hunts down with huge supplies of stones
Against the wall that will crack in the end
For we will not leave the smallest scrap to the demons of despair.

On that note, I thank you for making time to be here and wish you well in your deliberations.

I thank you.
Statement

By Mr KD Knight, Minister Of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, Jamaica
At the Opening Ceremony of The South Africa-African Union-Caribbean Diaspora Conference
16 March 2005

The Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, Mr K.D. Knight

The theme of the Conference "Towards Unity and United Action of South Africans and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean for a Better World: the Case of South Africa" is an appropriate one, as it speaks to the need for a concerted effort – a joining of purposes – to achieve sustainable economic and social development, in order to enhance the quality of life of our peoples.

To escape the paradigm of dependence, which we have inherited, it is mandatory that we now channel our energies to develop a programme of action tailored to our needs and circumstance, as well as create and build on partnerships both amongst ourselves and with the rest of the world.

This Conference will not only provide a platform for reflection on the historic solidarity between the peoples of Africa and the Caribbean, but will also strengthen the resolve and determination of Africans everywhere to confront their problems, and decisively so, the plight and predicament of the continent and the circumstance of the Diaspora.

As part of the Diaspora, Jamaica and the wider Caribbean was always conscious of the role it had to play in the struggle against apartheid. We continue in our commitment to fight against racism and oppression, as well as to empower and advance the black race. We not only considered it an honour to join in the fight against apartheid but saw it as our duty to rid the world of this scourge. So, today, we celebrate with South Africa and Africans everywhere the liberation of our ancestral home – a liberty that was paid for in the blood, sweat and tears of our brothers and sisters.

The countries of the Caribbean and Africa have had close and friendly relations within international fora such as the UN, the Commonwealth, ACP, NAM and the G77. Our commitment to strengthening our relations with countries in Africa is rooted in the common historical connections, which we share. Over time, we have sought to not only formalise diplomatic relations with both English and non-English speaking countries of the African continent but have actively sought to explore areas for co-operation and collaboration.

This Conference, the first of its kind, will further improve on these relationships. We applaud the objectives of the Conference, which should result in a more structured approach to our interaction and lead to increased opportunities for socio-economic progress for our peoples.

Since the end of apartheid, South Africa has asserted itself as an increasingly influential player in international relations and has experienced impressive growth in its economy over the recent years. Recovering from a repressive system of apartheid, the renaissance of this nation attests to the indomitable spirit of its people, and we share its commitment to the improvement of the social condition of our brothers and sisters throughout Africa and the Diaspora: "at home and abroad", as the great Marcus Garvey would have put it.

We have long suffered the ill effects of poverty, underdevelopment and marginalisation and it is indeed now time for us to band together and search for ways to confront these challenges.

I am confident that this Conference will provide a framework in which we can transform our ideas into tangible outcomes and create the basis for the enhancement of economic and trade links between both regions. This is also an opportunity for the creation of new areas for partnership and co-operation.

Again, let me extend a warm welcome to all our visitors and assure you that the government and people of Jamaica are committed to this consultative process and will continue to play a role in ensuring, not only the success of this event, but also the continuance of dialogue and co-operation to achieve our objectives.
Statement
By Mr Patrick Mazimhaka, Deputy Chairperson, African Union
16 March 2005

The Most Honourable P.J. Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica; Honourable Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, Min-
ister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa; Honourable K.D. Knight, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Jamaica; His Excellency Edwin Carrington, Secre-
tary-General of CARICOM; Honourable Ministers; their colleague commissioners; Honourable Members of Parliament; distinguished participants; ladies and gen-
tlemen.

Let me start by expressing my gratitude for the hospitality of the Government and people of Jamaica and the warm welcome to our land as ably put by the Honourable K.D. Knight.

EXCELLENCIES,

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AND PARTICIPANTS,

It is an honour and privilege for me and my delegation to be here in this beautiful city and country, and amongst such a distinguished leadership of Jamaica and Caribbean as a whole. The presence of such a strong delegation from the Republic of South Africa, led by its illustrious Foreign Minis-
ter, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, lends further credence to the commitment of Africa to develop meaningful relations for the sake of our pledges on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Commission of the African Union is happy to be a partner in this enterprise. The African Union is constructed on a plat-
form of unity and solidarity among Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora. This vision implies a commonwealth of democratic states that must rely on total and active mo-
bilisation of all segments of society in order to flourish. The outreach to the Diaspora comes in recognition of the fact that significant aspect of this community resides outside the African shores and that the contribution of this community to the building of the Union is as legitimate and as valuable as the contributions made by Africans on the continent.

The Africa Diaspora in Europe and the Americas can become vital players, provided they are pur-
posefully mobilised. The reasons for such mobil-
sation are not hard to find. First, there are histori-
cal reasons: it is hardly necessary in this regard to recall the history of the Pan-Africanism Movement and its founding fathers: William Du Bois (USA), Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and Kwame Nk-
numah (Ghana in UK).

They did not simply seek human rights and inde-
pendent states; they sought a world in which Afri-
cans would be masters of their own destinies and significant actors in the larger global family. The establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 was but one step on the right path.

It reflected many of the Pan-Africanist beliefs and was critical to the political liberation of our conti-
nent. The Diaspora agenda renews and reaffirms this historical responsibility. The African Union has embraced the duty to live the Pan-African dreams of our forebearers and expand on its themes and processes.

However, the project of change and renewal is not confined to the political and spiritual dimension. It has critical socio-economic aspects. If Africa is to assume its rightful place in the world and become an arbiter of its own destiny, it must become an essential actor in economic development and overcome its chronic disabilities, such as the debt trap or peonage, ever deterioration economies, the ravages of the HIV-AIDS pandemic etc. In order to do this effectively, Africans all over the world must come together and improve their common pros-
pects through bilateral and multilateral trade and by forging common, mutually reinforcing, and benefi-
cial positions in multilateral negotiations, and in the wider global arena. Building strong partnerships, and meaningful dialogue, in the spirit of NEPAD, the New Economic Partnership for Africa’s development, creates relative advantages. Intra-African and South-South partnerships are vital aspects of this approach.

As part of this strategy, the African Un-
ion Commission has worked assiduously to realise these goals. Its first priority is to expand and deepen contacts with the Afri-
can Diaspora in the various regions of the world. It began with an outreach process de-
signed to sensitise and enlist the support of the African Diaspora for this process. This consultation process that began with the first AU-Diaspora Forum in Washington D.C. in December 2002, must, of necessity, remain a continuous enterprise, but is nonetheless an essential foundation for expanding on the bonds of mutuality and a prerequisite for the successful mobilisation of Africans on the continent and across the Atlantic.

The experience has been very rewarding. For a large part, elements of the African Di-
aspora have been eager partners in this en-
terprise. They have organised roundtables, seminars and workshops alone and in con-
cert with the African Union to promote and further disseminate the objectives in vari-
ous regions of the world – Europe, Asia and the Americas. There are also lessons to be learnt from this journey so far. Some Africans on this side of the Atlantic are discouraged by the current conditions of the continent. The outreach process underlined the need to emphasise commitment in the definition of the African Diaspora and to work hard to build a modern, progressive and united Afri-
ca that would win the loyalties of Africans all over the world. Building on this framework, the Commission has also encouraged and supported the creation of regional structures that would promote the objectives of co-op-
eration. The AU-Diaspora chapters and for-
mation have been developed and are being developed in various countries and regions of the world, to work actively with the Union
There are other elements of the African Union Diaspora programme that could be highlighted but our gathering here today emphasises the role that various segments of the African society must play in this enterprise. The challenge is not just for the African Union Commission and other organs of the Union. It is one that must spread and be equally embraced by all segments of African society, including governments, regional economic communities and civil society alike. The South African initiative, that we are celebrating here today, is an indication of what should and could be done to facilitate the success of the Diaspora agenda. We are proud to be associated with this enterprise and would wish that other member states were challenged by it, especially in the sphere of intergovernmental relations.

In the course of the coming three days, we shall be exchanging experiences on many issues ranging from challenges of building peace and security, governance based on the rule of law, challenges of globalisation and the preservation of core values; challenges of building economic and cultural bridges across the south-south and building a common vision. The quality of the participants and the overwhelming turnout makes for a very successful Conference.

This Conference, spearheaded by the South African and Jamaican governments, is, therefore, a good opportunity to go one step further than we have done so far to build deeper south-south cooperation, unity and solidarity, to generate a dialogue on our rich and diverse, yet common history, and to mobilise support within our institutions and beyond for stronger economic, social, cultural and political linkages. Its importance cannot be overstressed.

Thank you for your kind attention.
This Conference is timely for us in Jamaica and indeed of our kith and kin. In the Diaspora must promote. In this way, we will find place, their vision as to the global response that both Africa and we meet, they have shared with leaders of the North and South taking their continent forward. In the several fora where we work of the United Nations in such areas as development co-operation, humanitarian affairs and disarmament. There remains an urgent need to alter the design and function of the Security Council to fulfil its mandate in the realities of Africa and the Diaspora. This Conference provides us with an opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to strengthening bilateral relationships between African countries and those of the Diaspora. This event also highlights the need for continued pursuit of a unified position for the social and economic empowerment of Africa and the Diaspora, a position that converged into the Pan-African movement, which held its first Congress in 1900.

The roots of this relationship have evolved from the shared historical experience of slavery and colonial exploitation, the consequences of which we encounter today in both African societies and those of the Diaspora. Our common history and experience form the basis for the spiritual affinity those of the Diaspora. Our common history and those of the Diaspora. This event also highlights the need for continued pursuit of a unified position for the social and economic empowerment of Africa and the Diaspora, a position that converged into the Pan-African movement, which held its first Congress in 1900.

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The resulting negative perception of persons of African ancestry is one we are still struggling to overcome. Undeniably, the slave trade was the first step towards modern Africa’s current status as a region, where development has lagged far behind that of the more industrialised nations. We in the African continent to have a permanent voice in the deliberations of the Security Council to remove the remaining obstacles, for the elimination of poverty and disease, by providing the necessary material support. I am convinced that Africa has the indigenous resources, the human potential, and the leadership to prevail over adversity.

To further this agenda, I remain firmly of the view that there is a compelling need to reform, rebuild and improve the work of the United Nations in such areas as development co-operation, humanitarian affairs and disarmament. There remains an urgent need to alter the design and function of the Security Council to fulfil its mandate in the realities of the world today. The case for the African continent to have a permanent voice in the deliberations of the Security Council is compelling and irrefutable.

I am well enough acquainted with all the leaders responsible for the African initiative to know that they are serious about the remaining obstacles, for the elimination of poverty and disease, by providing the necessary material support. I am convinced that Africa has the indigenous resources, the human potential, and the leadership to prevail over adversity.

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The SouTh AfricAn, AfricAn union And cAribbeAn diASporA conference reporT

West Africans were shipped in large numbers to the Americas. The resulting negative perception of persons of African ancestry is one we are still struggling to overcome. Undeniably, the slave trade was the first step towards modern Africa’s current status as a region, where development has lagged far behind that of the more industrialised nations. We in the African continent to have a permanent voice in the deliberations of the Security Council to remove the remaining obstacles, for the elimination of poverty and disease, by providing the necessary material support. I am convinced that Africa has the indigenous resources, the human potential, and the leadership to prevail over adversity.

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We cannot speak about African liberation without reference to one of the greatest sons of South Africa and a towering spirit of our times. I refer to Nelson Mandela, who for decades was engaged in resistance to the evil system of apartheid. Like Mahatma Gandhi, his unwavering resolve made it possible for a nation to throw off the shackles of oppression. He is a living legend for human compassion and the capacity to forgive. He reminds us of another truly great African who lived many centuries ago – St Augustine.

I, for one, am proud of the contribution of Jamaica and the Caribbean region to the struggle against colonialism and apartheid in Africa, through the works of our writers, musicians, orators, politicians and artists. The music of Bob Marley, of Peter Tosh and Jimmy Cliff, has inspired Africans and non-Africans alike to not only recognise the continuation of the struggle for liberation and social justice, but to champion the international movement against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Songs such as “War” and “Zimbabwe” inspired freedom fighters and became anthems for change.

Caribbean also suffer from this legacy. When slavery was eventually abolished, authoritarian regimes were structured to keep us in bondage and subservience, so as to maintain and increase wealth for the colonial and imperial masters. The shift in Europe towards industry during the late 18th century heralded new and increasing challenges for continent and Diaspora alike.

Movements such as Pan-Africanism grew out of our need to overcome these obstacles. We cannot overlook the seminal contribution of Marcus Garvey, whose concern for the problem of blacks led him to found the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914. Its main objectives were to promote the spirit of racial pride, to foster worldwide unity among people of African descent and to establish the greatness of the African heritage. The inspirational teachings of this influential black leader in the 1920s were a springboard for the success in securing civil liberties for blacks worldwide.

We cannot speak about African liberation without reference to one of the greatest sons of South Africa and a towering spirit of our times. I refer to Nelson Mandela, who for decades was engaged in resistance to the evil system of apartheid. Like Mahatma Gandhi, his unwavering resolve made it possible for a nation to throw off the shackles of oppression. He is a living legend for human compassion and the capacity to forgive. He reminds us of another truly great African who lived many centuries ago – St Augustine.

I, for one, am proud of the contribution of Jamaica and the Caribbean region to the struggle against colonialism and apartheid in Africa, through the works of our writers, musicians, orators, politicians and artists. The music of Bob Marley, of Peter Tosh and Jimmy Cliff, has inspired Africans and non-Africans alike to not only recognise the continuation of the struggle for liberation and social justice, but to champion the international movement against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Songs such as “War” and “Zimbabwe” inspired freedom fighters and became anthems for change.
Nor should we overlook the refusal of our outstanding cricketers, Lloyd, Richards, Holding and their colleagues, who refused the lure of money to play in racist South Africa.

The year 1994 represented the culmination of the movement towards the liberation in Africa. The victory over apartheid was the outcome of the active struggle of those who were oppressed. The contribution of the global anti-apartheid movement was critical to this outcome. Jamaica is proud of having sustained its commitment to the struggle against apartheid. Under Norman Manley, we were second only to India in declaring sanctions against South African products. Jamaicans of my generation could not bring themselves to consume any product from a package marked ‘Made in South Africa’. Successive Jamaican administrations, from both sides of the political fence, have continued the struggle.

The hegemony of Western nations has, however, over the years, sparked conflicts in Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Within the Caribbean context, Haiti, the first independent black nation, has experienced 200 years of under-development. Small wonder that the message of peace, solidarity and redemption is of as much significance today, in this, the 21st century, as in any other period in recent history.

In addition to the adverse effects of globalisation, with its trade constraints and rapidly changing information and communication technology, the survival of our countries is further threatened by the scourge of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Notably, sub-Saharan Africa is the region most affected with the disease, followed by the Caribbean. Our womenfolk are at great risk and our orphanages threaten to multiply. This epidemic acts as a significant brake on economic growth.

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The view is now gaining wider acceptance that in our world, no matter our military might, we best protect ourselves through collective security. This means the fight against terrorism, internal conflicts, HIV/AIDS, poverty, literacy, environmental degradation, must be waged simultaneously across national frontiers. It is indeed one and indivisible.

The SouTh AfricAn, AfricAn union And cAribbeAn diASporA conference reporT 49

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Keynote Address

By Dr Pallo Jordan, Minister of Arts and Culture, South Africa, at the South Africa-AU-Caribbean Diaspora Conference
16 March 2005

PAN-AFRICANISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY: ITS RELEVANCE AND RESPONSES TO GLOBALISATION

I have been asked to speak on the “Contemporary Relevance of Pan-Africanism”, a topic that is so wide-ranging that I approached it with a degree of trepidation. Pan-Africanism has had many different meanings over the ages, but the sense in which I shall be employing the term refers to the political movement that took that name was Henry Sylvester Williams from Trinidad. Today’s Conference, aimed at bringing together the peoples of Africa, on the continent and those of the Diaspora, was originally planned to coincide with the bicentennial of the Haitian revolution and the first decade of democracy in South Africa.

For most people, black and white, the name of Haiti evokes images of Voodoo, the syncretic Afro-Caribbean religion practised on that island, or worse yet, memories of ‘Papa Doc’ Duvalier, the malevolent US-backed dictator who misruled Haiti until his death in 1971. Yet there was a time when the name of Haiti had a very different meaning.

The arrival of the Europeans in the Americas let the genie of upheaval and rapid change out of the bottle. It stimulated massive population movements of willing and unwilling immigrants. Their differences notwithstanding, the Europeans shared a common goal: the conquest and exploitation of the Americas. Within the first century of contact with the Europeans, the peoples of the islands of the Caribbean had virtually been exterminated by the new arrivals. Along with foreign domination, forced labour, the gun and the whip, the Europeans had brought strange diseases against which the local populations had no immunity. Entire villages perished in the ensuing epidemics.

The holocaust of the indigenous peoples of the Americas and the Caribbean is spoken of only in whispers, but it is the inescapable truth that this was the price exacted for ‘taming the wilderness’. Merciless policies of defoulement, which in modern times has been dubbed ‘ethnic cleansing’, underpinned Chief Tecumseh of the Shawnee’s bitter reflection on the fate of the first nations of North America:

Where today are the Pequot? Where are the Narraganset? The Mohican, the Pokanoket, and many other once powerful tribes of our people? They have vanished before the avarice of the oppression of the White Man, as snow before a summer sun.

The Shawnee themselves, despite determined resistance, in their turn, lost their land and their lives.

Slaves from Africa replaced the indigenous as the labour force on all the islands of the Caribbean and in many parts of the mainland of North and South America. By the mid-18th century, with the exception of Cuba and one or two other islands, the demographic profile of the Caribbean had been completely transformed. African slavery had made it overwhelmingly African. On the North American mainland, African slavery sustained the plantation economies of the South. South America also acquired huge concentrations of Africans in Brazil and in the other territories along its Atlantic coast.

The creation of African communities on the American side of the Atlantic was a harrowing process involving the horrors of the Middle Passage, the humiliation of the auction block and the brutalities of the plantation. Close to 10 million Africans perished during transportation to feed the insatiable appetite for labour power of the plantation and mining economies, which the Europeans established in the New World. African slaves played a pivotal role in the triangular trade spanning the Atlantic, producing the raw materials that were exported to Europe for manufacture. Finished goods were in turn sold along the Atlantic coast of Africa in return for human cargo bound for the Americas.

“The whole history of the slave trade and slavery is a sequence of revolts,” Professor Oruno D. Lara told a UNESCO meeting of experts in 1978. Every part of the New World where slavery was practised, experienced its share of slave revolts, large and small. All were crushed with terrifying brutality. All, except for the revolution of the African slaves in the French colony of San Domingo. On 22 August 1791, two years and one month
after the Storming of the Bastille, the slaves of San Domingo rose, and in 12 years of war, inscribed one of the most inspiring chapters in the annals of humanity's struggle for liberation. In January 1804, after the French Expeditionary Force of Napoleon, which was dispatched to the island, was defeated, Dessalines briefly halted the Independence Day proceedings, in order to rip out a band of white bunting from the new national flag. “We want nothing white in our flag!” he declared. So embittered towards their former white masters had the ex-slaves become. The liberators renamed their island Haiti and proclaimed it the first Negro Republic in the New World.

Haiti, an African nation in the Caribbean, lit the torch of African freedom two centuries ago. That torch was passed on from Toussaint L’Ouverture to Henry Sylvester Williams—ninety-six years later; it was carried across the finishing line by Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela ninety-four years later. When Nelson R. Mandela was sworn in as South Africa’s first democratically elected head of state in 1994, in every part of the world his inauguration was hailed as marking the official end of the system of institutionalised racism, which had assailed the dignity and human worth of every person of African descent for the previous five hundred years of interaction between Europeans and Africans. The Atlantic slave trade and the triangular trade cycle, of which it was an indispensable link, were the material undergird of the white racism that legitimated, and sustained it. The colonial conquest of Africa, during the latter part of the 19th century, cemented this relationship while widening the circle of stakeholders in racism and exponentially increasing its victims.

A conference of the leading European powers meeting in Berlin in 1884-1885 carved out the African continent and shared the pieces out among themselves as colonies and dependencies. By the end of that exercise, with the exceptions of Ethiopia and Liberia, every other part of the continent was under foreign rule. Apart from these two countries, Haiti was the only other territory occupied by Africans and their descendants in the New World that was self-governing. As a race, virtually all Africans had been reduced to a subject people, ruled and governed by others, usually whites from Europe or their descendants.

During the course of that same year, 1884, the Supreme Court of the United States of America, ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional, ending the promise that the reconstruction of the South once held. Two years later, the same Supreme Court made its notorious Plessy vs Ferguson ruling, sanctifying the doctrine of “separate but equal”, thus setting the stage for constitutionally enforced racial discrimination in the provision of public services.

After successive slave rebellions, all of which had been suppressed with sadistic brutality, in 1885, slavery was abolished in Brazil. Formal freedom did not necessarily come with rights. Brazil’s former slaves occupied the lowest rung on the social ladder and were subjected to every form of legal and non-legal discrimination.

For those at its receiving end, colonialism was not the benign, civilizing mission as dictated from the continent. The US and Japan had only recently staked their claims at the table of imperial powers. Both had their eyes firmly change the condition of Africans on the continent and those in the African Diaspora. Its history dates from 1878 when Prince Hall, an African-American clergyman in Massachusetts, campaigned unsuccessfully to return impoverished African freed persons to the continent. The Quaker shipbuilder Paul Cuffe, anticipated Marcus Garvey’s Black Star Line, by setting sail in one of the ships he had built with 40 other black Americans, subsequently founding a settlement in Sierra Leone in 1815.

Like other movements of the oppressed and colonised of the time, the Pan-African Conference was the brainchild of an educated elite. The founders were drawn from the Caribbean and North America. This Pan-African political leadership, like its counterparts elsewhere in the world, was very conscious of the precarious perch it occupied in a world dominated by the imperial powers of Europe. The US and Japan had only recently staked their claims at the table of imperial powers. Both had their eyes firmly
fixed on the Pacific region, where their rival interests would inevitably collide.

The first stirrings of solidarity across the Atlantic came from the US, where African-American activists attempted to arouse their own community to the threats of African sover- eignty posed by the expansionist policies of the European powers. The first recorded meeting took place in Chicago in 1893, where resolutions were adopted in opposition to France’s unwelcome attentions to Ethiopia. Trans-Atlantic African opposition to European colonial adventures received a welcome boost in 1895 when the Ethiopian armies repulsed an Italian expeditionary force intent on invading their home-land at Adowa. In virtually every part of the African world, on either side of the Atlantic, the name Ethiopia took on a new meaning and acquired a mystique that continues to resonate to the present date, as is evidenced by the convergence of thousands on Ethiopian soil, to mark the Bob Marley anni- versary in recent months.

An African Association was formed in 1897 with Henry Sylvester Williams amongst its leaders. This London-educated barrister from Trinidad convened the first Pan-African Con- ference in London in 1900.

“The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour-line,” declared the delegates at the first Pan-African Conference, the question as to how far differences of race-which show themselves chiefly in the colour of the skin and the texture of the hair-will hereafter be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of

During the 20th century, the most consistent inspiration of the Pan-African movement was Dr W.E.B. Du Bois, the first African-American to earn a PhD from Harvard University. Du Bois chaired the committee that drafted “The Address to the Nations of the World”, adopted at the 1900 Pan-African Con- ference as its declaration. He convened every subsequent Pan-African Conference held outside the African continent. Du Bois remained deeply involved in the movement even after he had passed the baton to younger leaders from the mother continent.

Crafted in the cautious language of petitioners, ap- pealing to the presumed sense of justice of their colonial overlords, the address that Du Bois pro- duced in 1900 may, with hindsight, strike one as extremely naive. Yet, it focused on virtually all the issues that would be at the core of the struggle for African freedom in the 20th century.

Six years later, addressing an audience at Colum- bia University in New York, a South African under- graduate, Frisey Kalsaka Seme, could more opti- mistically pronounce:

The regeneration of Africa means that a new and unique civilization is soon to be added to the world. The African is not a proletarian in the world of science and art. He has precious creations of his own, of ivory, of copper and of gold, fine, plated willow-ware and weapons of superior workmanship. Civilization resembles an organic being in its development – it is born, it perishes, and it can propagate itself. More particularly, it resembles a plant, it takes root in the teeming earth, and when the seeds fall in other soils new varieties sprout up. The most essential departure of this new civilization is that it shall be thoroughly spiritual and humanistic – indeed a regeneration moral and eternal! O Africa!

Like some great century plant that shall bloom in ages hence, we watch thee; In our dream See in thy swamps the Prospero of our stream; Thy doors unlocked, where knowledge in her tomb Hath lain immemorable years in gloom. Then shalt thou, walking with that morning gleam, Shine as thy sister lands with equal beam.

As African voices became more assertive, so too the continental dimension of the African freedom movement assumed a higher profile. What is strik- ing about the international movement for African freedom is the central role specific personalities, bodies and initiatives emanating from the African Diaspora, occupied within it. The Caribbean is par- ticularly well represented in virtually every phase of the movement, as the names Williams, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore (Malcolm Nurse), C.L.R. James, Aimé Césaire, Franz Fanon, and Walter Rodney testify. The Caribbean was notably fecund in breeding the organisers, theorists and tacticians of a movement that helped shape the trans-Atlan- tic African movement at key moments, helping to give it focus, thereby stimulating novel ideas that kept it relevant to this African community for over a century.

From its birth, Pan-Africanism in the New World was characterised by an internal tension between those who sought a solution in abandoning the New World and resettling in Africa, vs those who sought to recast relations between whites and Af- ricans in the New World, and win equality for Af- rican and independence in the territories where they constituted the majority. These two schools co-existed, often extremely uncomfortably, into the second half of the 20th century, when the arrival of African independence rendered the one less rel- evant than in the past.

Though the strategies implicit in these two diver- gent approaches appear mutually exclusive, role players regularly discovered issues that made co- operation possible. The place the communities of the Diaspora occupied within the movement, the resources these communities commanded, as well as the international profiles its leading figures en- joyed, lent the strategists and tacticians from the Diaspora a weight disproportionate to the numbers they commanded. Thus, we find that though the North American African community was a strate- gic minority in political terms, the tactics its political leadership devised, to take account of that reality, were often applied in imitation, even in environ- ments where Africans were an outright majority. This was particularly true before 1960, when the ideas of Booker T. Washington were dominant.

REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

When the second Conference was held in 1919, Williams was no longer in the picture and Dr W.E.B. Du Bois assumed leadership. African lead- ers on both sides of the Atlantic had deliberately chosen to tone down on agitation during the course of the World War, in the hope that a demonstration of loyalty would rebound to the benefit of their cause. Even in South Africa, where an Afrikaner (Boer) national- ist rebellion in 1914 could be unfavourably contrasted with the cooperation which the government received from African national- ists, General Hertzog, founder and leader of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party, who chose to travel to London and Versailles, was accord- ed a hearing, and was able to return to home with solid undertakings of greater autonomy for the white Union of South Africa.

Fifty-seven delegates, representing 15 countries, attended the Conference, which met in Paris, to give it easy access to the ali- oied powers. Though concerned with the po- sition of all Africans, the second Pan-African Conference focused especially on the fate of Germany’s African colonies. It placed two principal demands before the Versailles Peace Conference:

- That the allies administer the former German colonies in Africa as a condominium on behalf of their indigenous peoples.
- That Africans be allowed greater participation in the governing of their countries “as fast as their development permits”, with a view to self-government.

The language was still that of the loyal subject petitioning his rulers, whom it was assumed would respond to a tone of “rea- sonableness”. But the war, the experiences of African soldiers during the war, including racist attacks by white American and British troops, had a radical impact on the politi- cal leadership. The victorious allied powers chose to ignore the petitions and pleas of the Pan-African Conference as they did those of Chinese, Indian and Arab nationalists, who
The Pan-African movement had been making for forty years. Churchill in 1941 seemed to endow the demands that the leaders of African opinion in the Atlantic littoral countries should try. The Atlantic Charter, adopted by Roosevelt and the leaders of African intellectuals in South Africa, commissioned a response to that document in 1943, he penned a preface, which read in part:

As African leaders we are not so foolish as to believe that because we have made these declarations that our government will grant us our claims for the mere asking. We realize that for the African this is only a beginning of a long struggle entailing great sacrifices of time, means and even life itself. To the African people the declaration is a challenge to organize and unite themselves under the mass liberation movement...

Garveyism and its Trans-Atlantic Impact

The Garveyist movement was probably the first trans-Atlantic mass movement among the Africans of the English-speaking world. Its impact was felt in Garvey’s Caribbean home, the US as well as in Anglicophone Africa and Britain. Garvey catalysed yet another movement, Rastafarianism, by linking the deliverance of the African world from bondage to the coronation of an African emperor. When the Ethiopian nobleman, Ras Tafari was crowned Emperor Haile Selassie, the Lion of Judah in 1930, his name was adopted by a pan-African mystical sect with growing numbers of adherents in every part of the African world.

Garveyism, in the British empire, found an echo in negitude, in France’s Atlantic empire, Afro-Cubanism in Cuba, Modernismo Afro-Brasileiro in Brazil, and the New African Movement in among African intellectuals in South Africa. In each of these regions, the movements among intellectuals were accompanied by mass protest movements, such as the United Negro Improvement Association in the US and the Caribbean, and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) in Southern Africa. It was only in the aftermath of the Second World War that this new mood of assertiveness became evident among the leaders of African opinion in the Atlantic littoral countries.

The Atlantic Charter, adopted by Roosevelt and Churchill in 1941 seemed to endow the demands that the Pan-African movement had been making for forty years with legitimacy in the eyes of their rulers. When the US-trained Dr A.B. Xuma, President of the ANC in South Africa, commissioned a response to that document in 1943, he penned a preface, which read in part:

As African leaders we are not so foolish as to believe that because we have made these declarations that our government will grant us our claims for the mere asking. We realize that for the African this is only a beginning of a long struggle entailing great sacrifices of time, means and even life itself. To the African people the declaration is a challenge to organize and unite themselves under the mass liberation movement...

Xuma’s preface was prescient. Churchill virtually re-iterated the Atlantic Charter once it was clear that the axis powers had lost the strategic initiative. The principles of the Atlantic Charter, Churchill said, applied only to the whites in Europe, and not to the colonial peoples of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean.

But the struggle for African rights had taken on a new character, as expressed in the Declaration of the 5th Pan-African Conference, which met in Manchester, Britain, in 1945. Though the participants from the mother continent were still a minority, those who were present became names to conjure in the following two decades – Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana; Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya; Obafemi Awolowo from Nigeria; Hastings Banda from Malawi. The indomitable Du Bois was there, as were George Padmore and Mrs Amy Garvey, the widow of Marcus Garvey.

The accent of the moderate colonial subject was a thing of the past, as declared during the Conference:

We believe in the rights of all peoples to govern themselves. We affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic. The peoples of the colonies must have the right to elect their own government, a government without restrictions from a foreign power. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must strive for these ends by all means at their disposal. The object of imperialist powers is to exploit. By granting the right to the colonial peoples to govern themselves, they are defeating that objective. Therefore, the struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to, complete social, economic and political emancipation.

It ended its declaration with a call to all the colonial peoples of the world:

The Fifth Pan-African Congress, therefore, calls on the workers and farmers of the colonies to organize effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front lines of the battle against imperialism.

This Fifth Pan-African Congress calls on the intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. The long, long night is over. By fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the press, assembly, demonstration and strike; freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses, you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained. Today there is only one road to effective action-the organization of the masses, “COLONIAL AND SUBJECT PEOPLES OF THE WORLD – UNITE!”
in South Africa; Adams College; Roma College in Lesotho; as well as at Makerere in Uganda for later generations, resulted in a remarkable éclat de corps that united those leaders around a common vision.

The unfolding of African independence coincides with and helped stimulate the struggle for human rights in North America. The African community in the US sustainably built its consistent contribution to the liberation struggle on the mother continent in a torrent of ways. Its high profile leaders and public figures invariably were held up as role models amongst Africans, especially in the Anglophone countries. Numerous future leaders of the African liberation movements studied in US tertiary institutions, many in historically black colleges, where they came under the influence of Booker T. Washington, later of Du Bois, and some under the influence of Marcus Garvey. When Italy attempted its second invasion of Ethiopia in 1936, Paul Robeson, the most famous African-American performer of stage and screen at the time, helped found the Council on African Affairs, which mobilised support within the African-American community and the wider US society for African liberation. The Council was eventually “red-baited” out of exist-ence during the McCarthy era. Robeson, Alpheus Hunton, Du Bois, Louis Burnham, Lena Home and others who rallied to the Council on African Affairs, were also leading players in the struggle for freedom within the US itself.

The African Diaspora was destined to play a de-cisive supportive role especially in the Southern African theatre of struggle, where the statesmen of Europe and the US outdid themselves in equivocation, while quietly giving tacit support to the remaining colonial and white supremacist regimes on African soil. This was badly stated in a US policy document:

US direct investment in southern Africa, mainly in South Africa, is about $1 billion and yields a highly profitable return. Trade, again mainly with South Africa, runs a favourable balance for the US.... In addition the US has indirect economic interest in the key role which South Africa plays in the UK balance of payments, UK investment in South Africa is currently estimated at US$3 billion, and the British have made it clear that they will take no action which would jeopardize their economic interests.

That is how the “National Security Study Memoran-дум 39: Southern Africa”, inspired by Henry Kissinger, stated the matter in 1969. These were the considerations that determined the options the US, Britain and France chose in Southern Africa during the 1970s.

When the apartheid regime, having received as-urances of support from the US, attempted to ex-port a counter-revolution to Angola in 1975, it was the small Caribbean nation of Cuba, with a popula-tion smaller than that of New York city, that commit-ted its armed forces, materials and its international reputation to the defence of the project of African liberation.

Over the following fifteen years, Cuban troops de-stroyed the myth of white South Africa’s invincibil-ity; it called a halt to its strategy of intervention and military destabilisation of independent Africa, and finally inflicted a decisive strategic defeat on the forces of apartheid at Cuito Cuanavale, thus open-ing the way for Namibian independence in 1990. Among the pressures that finally compelled the apartheid regime to the negotiating table, was the defeat suffered at Cuito Cuanavale.

Who was in whose trench during those thirteen years, will always weigh heavily in the scales when Africa considers the situation in the Caribbean. We do not lightly forget our old friends, even when we have found new ones!

An extraordinary degree of co-ordination among the various fronts of a Pan-African effort to deal the final deathblow to apartheid occurred during these years. In the Commonwealth, African, Carib-bean and Asian states were able to muster the isolation of Margaret Thatcher’s govern-ment, which could barely conceal its support for the apartheid regime. In the US, trans-Af-rica, a highly effective lobby group working in close co-operation with the Congressional Black Caucus and the African-American community groups, was able to pilot sanc-tions legislation through Congress in 1987.

The mass struggles that swept through South Africa during that same period converged with these external pressures pre-cipitating an insurmountable crisis in the apartheid regime. By the end of 1988, it was clear that it was just a matter of time before all political prisoners would be released, and negotiations to end apartheid subsequently commenced in earnest.

AFRICAN FREEDOM AND THE CHAL-LENGES OF THE PRESENT

The thrust of my argument in this paper has been that a shared history over the past five hundred years dictated that the fates of the African peoples, who today live on either side of the Atlantic, would be interwoven. Recogni-tion of that reality spurred the most far-sight-ed political leaders of the African Diaspora to assume leadership of a trans-Atlantic move-ment for African freedom. This they achieved, by demonstrating in practice, that the blood that binds these two communities is thinner than the waters of the Atlantic. The Pan-African movement they inspired, after close to a century of struggle, has reconquered the sovereignty of the African continent and put an end to institutionalised racism on both the mother continent and in the New World.

Despite this historic victory, Africa is an ex-tremely troubled continent, plagued by inter-necine wars, political instability and its people afflicted by degrading poverty. The first free African nation of modern times, Haiti, is the
poorest country in the Caribbean, with a troubled history expressed in the 37 coups, which the island has witnessed. The African communities of the Atlantic are not prosperous. In the New World the legacy of slavery, compounded by nearly a century of constitutionalised racial oppression, has kept them at the lowest rungs of the social ladder. Despite the pervasive poverty evident in virtually every part of the continent, Africa remains a net exporter of wealth to Europe and North America. Having won political freedom through their collective action during the 20th century, the challenge facing the peoples of Africa in the 21st century is how to devise a programme of action to break the chains of poverty and underdevelopment, which hold far too many of our people in thrall.

'Globalisation' is the name used to describe the developments in world economy, brought about by the rapid developments in telecommunications, international travel and the movement of capital and goods across international frontiers. Though the African continent and the peoples of Africa have been at the core of evolution of the world system since the 15th century, globalisation threatens to marginalise our continent even further, compounding the social and economic situation of Africans of the Diaspora. Africa has attempted its own indigenously evolved response to globalisation, namely the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), focusing on the development of infrastructure, the redefinition of trade between Africa and its principal trading partners, the exploration of intra-African trade, and the development of new partnerships amongst African nations and other developing countries.

When I passed through London en route to Kingston this past weekend, the British media were celebrating the publication of the Blair Commission for Africa's Report. Though this report contains nothing that is significantly new, the pro- file it has been given suggests that its validity resides in its sponsorship, a European head of government, rather than its actual content. While it is highly commendable that a British Prime Minister regards the issues of African poverty and under-development as important, is it not high time that collective African initiatives be dominated by discourse about our continent rather than his?

The trans-Atlantic African communities must interrogate that matter with the gravity that it deserves and provide answers that will take us forward. There are important developments taking place in Africa, many of them based on our own efforts. The reversal of the attempted coup in Togo in recent weeks is a case in point. It is equally significant that it was the action taken by ECOWAS that achieved this feat.

We remain engaged with the issues of the Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Sierra Leone and Liberia. The struggle to achieve peace and political stability on the mother continent is going to require the same measure or commitment, as well as the solidarity that brought us freedom during the 20th century. Yet, it is equally true that African capacity is gravely constrained by the limited finances of the continent, and the huge developmental challenges facing every African country.

Here in the Caribbean, we have witnessed yet another coup in Haiti, coinciding with the bi-centennial of Haitian independence. The Caribbean community was unable to thwart the aims of big powers that took a direct hand in effecting 'regime change' in Haiti, and the interventions of the Black Congressional Caucus in the USA were greeted with utter contempt.

A century after he spoke these words, Poliey Kalsaka Seme’s clarion call for the ‘Regeneration of Africa’ should summon us all to the new battlefronts to defeat the scourge of poverty among the peoples of Africa. As in the struggle for political emancipation, self-determination and freedom, it is by coordinating our efforts that we shall maximise our striking force.

Pan-Africanism remains eminently relevant in our day because there is still so much unfinished business amongst all of us. The future beckons. The best and most lasting monument we can erect to the memory of the Pan-African movement during the 20th century. Yet, it is equally true that African capacity is gravely constrained by the limited finances of the continent, and the huge developmental challenges facing every African country.

TOWARDS AN AFRICAN CENTURY: CLOSER COLLABORATION BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN IN THE CONDUCT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In a speech at the University of the West Indies, in Jamaica, in July 2003, His Excellency Thabo Mbeki, President of South Africa, addressed the issue before us as follows:

Over the past few years, we have made bold to speak about an African Renaissance. We have also spoken of the need for us as Africans to ensure that the 21st century becomes an African in reality. I stand here today to talk about what we might do together to accomplish these goals,
Renaissance mean or entail?

- Is an African Renaissance an essential pre-requisite to the collective self-master of Africa and its Diaspora so as embody the guest to restore Africa’s greatness in the 21st century?
- What really do we mean when we speak of an African century’ in the 21st century?
- What role, if any, is there for collaborative efforts between Africa and its Diaspora, especially its Diaspora in the Caribbean, in the rebirth of Africa and the fashioning of an African century?
- What are the forms and content of such collaborative efforts in the conduct of international relations in the interest of our people’s humanisation?

These six queries constitute an integrated whole. Although each contains its own thematic peculiarity, I shall seek to address them in an omnibus or rolled-up manner but with the requisite logical progression.

THE AFRICAN CONDITION: HISTORY, REALITY AND DREAM

First, I want to speak of the African condition, its history, reality and dream, in this classic entitled How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, by the Caribbean scholar and activist Walter Rodney. He elaborated on the theory that Africa’s underdevelopment is directly connected to the dominant role played by external monopoly capitalism and colonialism, in wrenching Africa from an autonomous, home-grown, sustainable political economy, and placing it on a path of a dependency relationship to an exploitative overseas capital wrapped in the incubus of colonial, racist-over-rule.

Clearly, an African rebirth demands an alternative political economy, which releases the people’s creative enterprise and spirit, which utilises Africa’s abundant natural resources and talented people, most of Africa’s economies have not taken off. He correctly observed that: “Since colonial times, Africa’s economies have been designed to suit the wants of outsiders, not the needs of the African people”.

Once this is accepted, an appropriate re-design of Africa’s economies comes forcefully on the agenda.

To be sure, aspects of Africa’s physical environment are problematic and challenging. For example, old soils and irregular weather patterns (including droughts) pose challenges. People do die comparatively younger in Africa because of diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS. These issues, and others, are connected to the nature and character of Africa’s political economy, the international economic system and its unfair trading arrangements, and the efficacy of the political apparatuses of the individual nation-states across Africa. It is surely generally accepted that the failure in Africa to establish effective, democratic nation-states has not been only a political question, but also an economic one of the first order.

Of the 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, only five have been put in the category of an “upper middle-income country (UMC)” by the World Bank. A UMC has an Annual Gross National Income (GNI) per head, in 2002, of approximately US$9,075. In sub-Saharan Africa, there are four “lower middle-income countries (LMC)” with a GNI per capita of between US$376.00 and US$2,935.00, but there are 39 sub-Saharan African countries in the “low-income country” (LIC) grouping with a GNI per head of US$4,735.00 or less.

A huge, oil-rich country like Nigeria is in the “low-income country” category. Forty years ago, Nigeria was much richer than South Korea, a country with roughly the same population. Nigeria’s oil wealth was squandered, while South Korea invested in its people and targeted vital export industries in the Western world. Today, South Korea is a leading export nation, which has a per capita income 20 times larger than that of Nigeria.

Meanwhile, by comparison, of the 33 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, three are “high-income countries (HIC)” with a GNI per head of US$9,076.00 or more. Fourteen of the Latin American and Caribbean countries are in the UMC category; 14 are also in the LMC category; and only two – Haiti and Nicaragua – are in the LIC grouping.

Within the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), 3 of its member states are in the HIC category, 5 are in the UMC grouping; 5 are in the LMC group; and only one – Haiti – is a LIC.

Recently, Richard Dowden, the Director of the Royal African Society in the United Kingdom, wrote, “despite huge natural resources and talented people, most of Africa’s economies have not taken off”. He correctly observed that: “Since colonial times, Africa’s economies have been designed to suit the wants of outsiders, not the needs of the African people”.

The Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), which has been fashioned by the African Union under the leadership of President Mbeki, is the critical vehicle in this quest for renaissance. NEPAD summons all of Africa to take its destiny into its own hands, to assume responsibility for its own failing, to enhance its possibilities, and to reduce, as far as is humanly possible, it limitation. But the challenges in this transformative process are immense.

In the last 25 years, Africa is the only continent world-wide, which has grown poorer. Its share of world trade has halved in a generation and it receives less than 1% of direct foreign investment, globally. If fundamental alterations in Africa’s political economy do not occur, that is to say, if business continues as usual, Africa will miss the central targets for reducing poverty by more than 100 years. If the current condition persists, it has been assessed that free primary education for all would not be provided until the year 2120 – some 115 years after the target set by the United Nations in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Across Africa, the trade patterns of the colonial era persist, despite some efforts to alter these through the creation or elaboration of regional trading blocs in the northern, southern, eastern and western areas of Africa. Currently, according to the Economic Commission for Africa, trade among African countries accounts for only 10% of their total exports and imports.

Poor and expensive transport across Africa hinders increased intra-African trade. For example, shipping a car from Japan to Abidjan in Côte d’Ivoire costs US$1,500.00 but the shipping of the same car from Addis Ababa in Ethiopia to Abidjan costs US$1,500.00.

Most of all, Africa, especially sub-Saharan Africa, is ravaged by HIV/AIDS, to an extent which no other continent or region experiences. Even the relatively prosperous Botswana, an upper middle-income country, is saddled with a rate of HIV injection of 1% a year. In Botswana, an upper middle-income country, is saddled with a rate of HIV injection of 1% a year. In Botswana, an upper middle-income country, is saddled with a rate of HIV injection of 1% a year. In Botswana, an upper middle-income country, is saddled with a rate of HIV injection of 1% a year. In Botswana, an upper middle-income country, is saddled with a rate of HIV injection of 1% a year.
The reality of Africa is not one-sided: it consists not only of failures, weaknesses and limitations; it contains also successes, strengths, and possibilities. Often the difficulties, problems and limitations engender, particularly in academicians, against the continent, and in particular to academicians, is dialogue, and in particular to academic, is the foundation of the world, and for the better. This dialogue, this quest, demands a notion of Africanism, which provides a transition from a shared experience to a conscious expression grounded in collective solidarity and supported by practical actions arising from the people themselves. The Rastafarian movement in the Caribbean has provided an excellent example of effective transition from shared experience to conscious expressions within collective solidarity. This notion of Africanism is at the core of the African civilization, which has spawned the concept and programme of Pan-Africanism and which itself first fashioned the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and then, in July 2002, its formidable successor, the African Union.

The African reality necessarily gives rise to a quest, a dream. Some sleep to dream; others dream to change themselves and the world for the better. This dream, this quest, demands a notion of Africanism, which provides a transition from a shared experience to a conscious expression grounded in collective solidarity. This notion of Africanism is at the core of the African civilization, which has spawned the concept and programme of Pan-Africanism and which itself first fashioned the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and then, in July 2002, its formidable successor, the African Union.

The titans from Africa, including Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Sekou Touré, Fidel Castro of Cuba, and the Caribbean in an international political economy.

The preparatory document that I received for this Conference puts the bundle of issues succinctly in the following terms: Africa’s quest for unity and social and economic recovery is a centuries-old endeavour. The common historical experience of Africans of, first, slavery and, later, colonialism, ensured that Africans developed a commonly shared consciousness as one people with a common destiny. This consciousness converged into a Pan-African movement, which developed institutionally from the turn of the 19th century, under the leadership of the Diaspora. Pan-Africanism rests on four pillars:

• A sense of common historical experience;
• A sense of common descent, identity an destiny;
• Opposition to racial discrimination and colonialism;
• A determination to create a ‘new’ Africa, including its Diaspora.

Pan-Africanism, a product of the negative encounter between Africa and European imperialism, is principally manifested in the record of the struggle of Africans against these foreign forces. Such struggles have taken place on the levels of overt, armed and covert resistance to enslavement and imperialism.

Indeed, several 19th and 20th century intellectuals and political activists from the Caribbean have been in the forefront of advancing Pan-Africanism, including: Edward Wilmot Blyden of the Virgin Islands; T.E.S. Scholes; Marcus Garvey; Michael Manley and Robert Nesta Marley of Jamaica; Henry Sylvester Williams; George Padmore; CLR James and Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure) of Trinidad and Tobago; Franz Fanon of Martinique; Norman Cameron; Eusei Keyana; Walter Rodney of Guyana; President Aristide of Haiti, and President Fidel Castro of Cuba.

The delegation from St Vincent and the Grenadines accompanied their Prime Minister, the Honourable Ralph E. Gonsalves to the Diaspora Conference proceedings in Jamaica.
An Agenda for Closer Collaboration

How do the African and Caribbean civilizations collaborate closely in pursuance of their joint and several interests in an era of enhanced concentration of finance capital, advanced scientific knowledge, trade liberalisation, and an increasingly unipolar political hegemony backed by military might and cultural imperialism?

The formulation of an appropriate strategy requires extraordinary care and skill. Its implementation calls for enormous flexibility, discipline and patience. There can be no quick fix. This is one for the long haul and a profound commitment on both sides, Africa and the Caribbean. Moreover, while the immediate locus of action will be at the political level, failure is likely to result if the strategic action plan stays only at that level. The strategy must connect with practical areas in the economy, transportation, education and training, health, the environment, culture and sports. Overall, we must recognise that this conscious expression, in political terms, a pre-existing nexus in the context of the international political economy, is of strategic significance for the political. Further, Africa and the Caribbean must establish strategic partnerships with other nations to advance their joint and several interests.

Accordingly, I advance the following agenda for closer collaboration between the African and Caribbean civilizations.

**Political**
- Granting the African Union observer status at CARICOM and granting CARICOM observers status at the African Union as first steps to a greater bonding between these two entities and leading towards a permanent, inter-governmental African – Brazilian Caribbean Commission to spearhead the collaborative efforts.
- Establishing bilateral, or joint, diplomatic relations between African and the Caribbean States.
- Cooperating, on an agreed programme, at international organisations or inter-governmental bodies such as the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the Bretton Woods Institutions, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the International Criminal Court, the Group of 77, the Non-Aligned Movement, the African Caribbean Pacific (ACP) group, and the Commonwealth of Nations. This is most vital work of a detailed, pain-staking, ongoing kind around clear principles and focused objectives. Existing diplomatic resources in the various capitals can be coordinated for specific purposes.
- Building together very close links with the emerging economic powerhouses, namely, Brazil, Russia, India, China (the so-called BRIC countries). Brazil has the largest African population outside of Africa and is critical to the collaborative enterprise between Africa and the Diaspora.
- Strengthening, on an agreed programme, our relations with the USA, Canada, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East. Sometimes Africa can be the bridge, other times the Caribbean, oft-times both.
- Encouraging travel facilitation, including the signing of agreements requiring no visas, for travel between African and Caribbean countries. For example, St Vincent and the Grenadines has already proposed a ‘no visa’ agreement between itself and Ethiopia.

**Economic**
- Collaborating in the delivery of the many-sided information technology services between, and within Africa and the Caribbean.
- Building links to harness genetic and biological research in both Africa and the Caribbean. Cuba is already a growing biotechnological centre. There are other research poles in Africa and the Caribbean in this area and the connected fields of pharmaceutical development. Both the Caribbean and Africa are rich in materials for research of these kinds.
- Establishing viable air and sea links between both Africa and the Caribbean. In this regard, Brazil and Venezuela are critical allies.
- Facilitating and promoting investment by Africa in the Caribbean and Brazil vice-versa, not only through special incentive-regimes but through the formation of an appropriately designed Africa, Brazil Caribbean Business Council.
- Pooling skills for transference to Africa and vice versa, not only through special incentive-regimes but through the formation of appropriately designed Africa, Brazil Caribbean Business Council.
- Developing a joint approach to energy. Africa, Brazil and the Caribbean possess 5 central energy sources, geothermal energy, hydroelectric power (the Congo holds more than 20 per cent of the world’s potential supply), hydrocarbons, hydrogen fuel cell, and solar energy.

**Education and Health**
- Collaborating in myriad ways in sports, especially in football, athletics, boxing, cricket, and lawn tennis.
- Facilitating and promoting exchanges of students and workers in the field of culture, the arts, and works of the creative imagination, generally.
- Establishing bilateral, or joint, diplomatic relations between African and the Caribbean States.
It took a Caribbean country – Cuba – peopled by former African slaves, to send its internationalists fighters to Angola, who in the process, overwhelmingly defeated the army of the apartheid regime at Cuito Cuanavale. It is this anti-apartheid victory, which opened the door that led to the negotiated surrender of the racist regime. This is not merely my perspective; this is the authoritative judgment of the revered Nelson Mandela.

Official corruption was estimated by the Commission to cost Africa some US$718 million per year. Billions of pounds in stolen African assets – equivalent to more than half of the continent’s external debt – are held in foreign banks. The Commission explicitly rules out the linking of aid to anti-corruption measures but demands that Africa do much on its own to clean up governmental corruption. It is important, too, for foreign banks and governments to assist in the return of the stolen billions to Africa.

Although Africa has just 10% of the world’s population, it accounts for two-thirds of all persons who are living with HIV/AIDS. Some 89 million more Africans are expected to be affected by HIV/AIDS in the next 20 years. The handling out of cheap anti-retroviral drugs is a good idea but there is an urgent need for supportive medical infrastructure, including more nurses, hospitals, sanitation and utilities.

Clearly, these are praiseworthy proposals for which the Commission for Africa ought to be commended. The extent of the implementation of these recommendations may determine, in part, whether or not they represent a false hope or a bright dawn. In any event, it is my view that Africa cannot rely on Europe or America to remedy its difficulties or meet its profound challenges. History has taught us that such reliance is at best problematic. To be sure, partnering with them on terms, which are acceptable to Africa, is an important element in the way forward but historically, the conduct of the ruling elites in Europe and Africa from the Berlin Conference in the 1880s, to the present time, gives rise to a justifiable skepticism. At the same time, we ought to be mature and not permit a healthy caution to degenerate into any unjustifiable cynicism.

Yet, Africa must be aware of its natural allies and strategize accordingly. Neither the Europeans nor the Americans facilitated apartheid’s demise. On the contrary, they were involved in what they called ‘constructive engagement’ with the racist regime in South Africa. To be sure, Europeans and Americans of all walks of life and their non-governmental organizations supported the anti-apartheid struggle but, at best, their governments were in practical terms, equivocating. It took a Caribbean country – Cuba – peopled by former African slaves, to send its internationalists fighters to Angola, who in the process, overwhelmingly defeated the army of the apartheid regime at Cuito Cuanavale. It is this anti-apartheid victory, which opened the door that led to the negotiated surrender of the racist regime. This is not merely my perspective; this is the authoritative judgment of the revered Nelson Mandela.

In consolidating and extending the cooperative bonds between Africa and the Caribbean, I reiterate that we commence first by establishing a permanent, inter-governmental African-Brazil-Caribbean (ABC) Commission to fashion and implement the public policies of collaboration between our respective civilizations, and we take it from there.

To spark a shake-up of the international political system for the benefit of Africa and its Diaspora, including the Caribbean component of that Diaspora. This is an event of huge significance but its lasting, and historic impact would be realised only if we take practical decisive steps to create the political mechanism with the requisite civil society supports to effect an agreed agenda for collaboration. This focused reform between Africa, Brazil and the Caribbean will, in turn, strengthen the various individual countries and their own separate integration efforts. This is an idea of which the time has now come. Let us get on with our work seriously.

Thank you.
Conference Statement and Plan of Action

For the South Africa-African Union-Caribbean-Diaspora Conference, Kingston, Jamaica, 16-18 March 2005

CONFERENCE STATEMENT

1. Africans from the Continent and representatives of the Diaspora from the Caribbean gathered at the Jamaica International Conference Center, Kingston, Jamaica on 16-18 March 2005, for a conference jointly organized by the African Union and the Governments of South Africa and Jamaica, with the theme "Towards Unity and United Action by Africans and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean for a Better World: The Case of South Africa".

2. The objective of the Conference was to celebrate the centuries old historical and cultural bonds and re-affirm the spiritual affinity between Africa and the Diaspora based on a common history and shared experiences; create linkages between Africa and the Diaspora; establish mechanisms for building stronger political and economic relations between Africa and the Caribbean; acknowledge the significant contribution of the Caribbean to the Pan-African tradition; and develop an agenda for confronting common challenges in order to support the implementation of the African Union decisions on the African Diaspora.

3. The gathering recognised and paid tribute to the visionary role played by successive generations of Pan-Africanists from the Diaspora and the Continent in the affirmation of a common identity.

4. The Conference confirmed the continued relevance of the vision that guided the Pan-Africanists in their determination to promote unity, solidarity and co-operation among the people of Africa and the Diaspora as well as the spirit of the 5th Pan-African Congress held in Manchester in 1945, which underscored the right of all peoples to freedom and to govern themselves without any restriction from any foreign power, and to control their own destiny and to be free from imperialist control.

5. The Conference recalled the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union, of February 2003, to invite and encourage the participation of the Diaspora in the activities of the African Union as an important part of the continent, as well as the decision of the Executive Council in Sun City, South Africa, in October 2003, and other relevant decisions and initiatives of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)/African Union (AU), including the decisions of the African Union First Conference of Intellectuals from Africa and the Diaspora held in Dakar, Senegal, in October 2004.

6. The Conference further recalled that the gathering was the result of the initiative by the government of South Africa to acknowledge the contribution of the Diaspora in the Caribbean (including the labour movement) in the struggle against apartheid. The Conference also provided an opportunity to celebrate ten years of democracy in South Africa.

7. The Conference gained a new appreciation of the creative way in which the Rastafarian movement had sustained the vision of the founders of the OAU, and promoted an African-Caribbean identity and Afrocentric values that strengthened the impulse for African liberation on both sides of the Atlantic, while serving as a positive force for Africa globally.

8. The Conference recognized the fundamental role played by artists and other cultural activists in the liberation struggles and called for closer collaboration among these actors in the two regions. The Conference recommended that the African Union support the planned commemoration of the 50th anniversary in 2006 of the Congress of Black Writers that was first held in Paris, France, in 1956.

9. The Conference expressed its solidarity with the independence struggle of the people of Curaçao and all other peoples of the continent and the Caribbean who are still living under colonial rule, as well as those who are occupied or threatened by invasion, especially the Republic of Cuba. In this spirit, the Conference called for the lifting of the US-imposed blockade on the Republic of Cuba.

10. The Conference further expressed its concern over the deeply troubled situation in Haiti given that it is the oldest, independent African state in the ‘New World’, and called on the African Union and the Caribbean Community
and Common Market (CARICOM) to help the people of Haiti find lasting solutions to their country’s crisis. The Conference commended the role of CARICOM and the African Union in rising to the cause of the Haitian people from the outset of the current crisis, including the symbolic provision to President Jean-Bertrand Aristide by the Governments of Jamaica and South Africa.

11. In its consideration of the Report of the United Nations High-Level Panel on “Threats, Challenges and Change”, the Conference commended the continent for establishing a common African position on the proposed reform of the United Nations, ‘The Ezulwini Consensus’; noted that CARICOM is currently considering their position on the report and that the African Union encourages Caribbean states to lend their support to the recommendation of the High Level Panel regarding United Nations Security Council reform, including the allocation to Africa of five non-permanent seats and two permanent Security Council seats, with all the prerogatives and privileges of permanent membership, including the right of veto.

12. Participants at the Conference, in their discussions in plenary sessions and the various working groups, made important observations and recommendations, the highlights of which include the following:

**• Communication, Education, Science and Technology**

a. Knowledge production and sharing through the effective use of the available technology in order to ‘break down’ the barriers of ignorance and foster continuous dialogue between the Continent and the African Diaspora.

b. The need for the African Union and CARICOM to formulate alternative media and communication models to effectively communicate with each other and the world at large, and to create an effective outreach strategy to disseminate their policies, positive images, programmes and ideas.

c. Sharing and promotion of the knowledge of history, especially among the youth, through all learning institutions.

d. Development of a data bank of experts and research institutions in Africa and the Caribbean, and encourage collaboration among these role players.

e. Use of science and technology as a tool of integration and development. Co-operation in the area of science and technology should be explored with the view to establishing centres of excellence for the mutual benefit of the African and Caribbean peoples, and as a basis for developing and creating opportunities for the absorption of human capital for the advantage of both regions.

**• Economy, Trade and Regional Integration**

f. Support for the efforts of CARICOM to accelerate its integration process, especially in the implementation of the Single Market and Economy, the facilitation of the freedom of movement of peoples among its Member States and the co-ordination of the foreign policies of its Member States.

g. Expansion of stakeholder involvement in integration to include all relevant players including civil society, youth structures, faith-based groups, labour unions and the private sector.

h. Eradication of trade barriers and the promotion of investment between Africa and the Caribbean, pursuing robust policies of trade diversification, and building strategies for overcoming the legacy of colonial commercial policy (in order to imbue national, sub-regional and regional policies with a greater autonomy).

i. Recognition of the development potential of strategic co-operation between Africa and the Diaspora, the expansion of resource sharing, acknowledging the contribution of migrant remittances as an economic resource.

**• Society, Women, and History**

j. The need for further dialogue between Africa and the Diaspora to establish and sustain a common position on the issue of reparations as well as a mechanism for its implementation.

k. The Rastafari and other movements have served as cultural forces of integration in both the Caribbean and Africa. Their status as agents of sustaining and promoting an African-Caribbean identity and an Afrocentric value system should be recognised as a positive force of integration.

l. The struggle for and the establishment of free communities by Maroons in the Americas, especially in Jamaica and Suriname; the role that Maroon communities have played in preserving and promoting the African-Caribbean value system and traditional knowledge. The Conference urges putting in place a mechanism to protect the traditional knowledge and intellectual property rights of Maroon communities.

m. The need for a concerted effort to profile women leaders in Africa and the Caribbean (from antiquity to the present) in order to raise awareness about the rich history of women’s leadership in Africa.

n. The importance of creating an enabling and empowering environment for women’s emancipation and gender equality.

o. The need to empower the legislatures in Africa and the Diaspora by equipping them to play effective law-making and oversight roles and to ensure that they create space for meaningful public participation, as well as to encourage sharing of best practice experiences across the two regions.

**• Solidarity**

p. The need to acknowledge the solidarity and support of the Cuban Government in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. The continuing Cuban offer of solidarity with countries of the South should also be acknowledged.

**• Multilateralism**

q. The need for African and Caribbean countries to co-ordinate their work within multilateral institutions, including pooling their resources and sharing technical expertise.

r. The inseparable nature of security and the development agendas, and the need to comprehensively address poverty eradication and debt cancellation, and the centrality of the UN in the maintenance of international peace and security.

s. The need for Africa and the Caribbean to continue working together with a view to ensuring that the final outcomes of the consideration of the Report of the United Nations High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, as well as the Sachs Report are consistent with the attainment of the NEPAD and Millennium Development Goals and the safeguarding and advancement of the collective interests of their peoples.

t. The need for an effective reform of
all the organs of the United Nations, in particular, the strengthening of the UN General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, as equally important organs in driving the international development and security agendas.

- Follow-Up

  u. The institutionalisation of linkages between CARICOM and the African Union, and reinforcing ties and forging a symbiotic relationship between Africa and the Caribbean people in addressing common challenges, while endeavouring to speak with one voice on those issues.

  v. African and Caribbean states to ensure that they institute appropriate policy instruments to facilitate the interconnectedness between peoples of the continent and the Diaspora in all spheres of life.

  w. The need for an African-Caribbean Conference of this nature to be held on a biennial basis in rotation between the two regions, and recommends that the African Union should convene the forthcoming one in Africa.

13. Against this background, the Conference committed itself to the following:

**PLAN OF ACTION**

a. That the African Union and CARICOM should continue to develop a concrete mechanism for the institutionalisation of the relations between the two bodies.

b. That African and Caribbean Governments should explore and develop concrete measures for promoting linkages between the two regions in the following priority areas: trade and investment, science and technology, travel and tourism, education and culture, health, and environmental issues.

c. That African and Caribbean organs of civil society should explore and develop concrete measures for promoting linkages and collaboration between the two regions.

d. That Africa and the Caribbean, through their regional organizations, should explore ways of harmonizing international diplomacy in particular by utilizing the forthcoming UN Millennium Review Summit and the WTO Doha Development Round, to advance the agenda set out in this Statement.

14. The Conference expressed its appreciation to the government and people of Jamaica for the hospitality and warm welcome extended to all the participants.

15. The Conference also expressed an appreciation to the African Union and the governments of South Africa and Jamaica for co-organizing this gathering. It also recognized with appreciation the high-level of representation at the gathering by CARICOM.
Closing Statement

By Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, Minister of Foreign Affairs, South Africa, at the South Africa-Africa-Union-Caribbean Diaspora Conference
Kingston, Jamaica, 18 March 2005

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, HONOURABLE COLLEAGUES, MINISTERS, DISTINGUISHED DIPLOMATS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

We have reached the end of an historic occasion for the people of the Caribbean and of Africa.

As brothers and sisters on different continents, bound by the same umbilical cord that gave us not only a common past but also a shared destiny, we have spent the past three days strengthening our connections through a very stimulating, frank and enriching discussion about ourselves and the world around us.

We have reflected on our common past, our different experiences, the demands of the present, and together we have dreamt about our common destiny.

We have deliberated on a range of issues – from the question of reparations to poverty eradication, from debt cancellation to peace and security. We have discussed health, culture, the environment, gender equality, economic co-operation, trade, knowledge sharing, integration, South South co-operation, to mention but a few.

I think it would be right to conclude that we have to take our destiny into our own hands. We have to be united and undertake united actions in a number of crucial areas. That, in President Fidel Castro’s words, we should globalise solidarity. Our strength is in our unity and through unity in action.

Cuba, due to its internationalist outlook, understands this more than anyone else because the country has been at it for a long time. South African can attest to the value of solidarity because we are the beneficiaries of the solidarity of the people of the Caribbean.

Duty challenges us to support and defend the rights of those who are still struggling for self-determination in the Caribbean and in Africa.

This should be high on our agenda. We should strengthen South South co-operation and work together among ourselves to make our world a better place.

For the African Renaissance to become a reality, we must do what needs to be done ourselves. Nobody will do it for us.

Accordingly, we are determined to send a message of hope to the African continent and the Caribbean that through unity in action, our historic mission must and will succeed.

If we started seriously cooperating among and between ourselves, our partners will interpret us and understand that we are determined to develop our regions, and that we need partners for development.

Otherwise they will treat us as inferior and stick to the donor-beggar paradigm. We cannot afford for this to happen.

The young Rastafarian artists last night reminded us of the past glory of Africa, and they asserted correctly that we must not be slaves from the cradle to the grave.

It remains for me to thank all of you for your participation in this Conference. We accordingly apologise for the mistakes and omissions made in the course of the Conference and commit ourselves to improving on this in the future.

We shall depart the Caribbean and the land of Marcus Garvey and Bob Marley with fond memories, inspired and knowing full well, that we are connected forever.

We would like to invite you to Africa and South Africa in two years time.

I thank you.