

**CONFERENCE PUBLIQUE / PUBLIC CONFERENCE**



**CODESRIA**

**INSTITUT SUR LA GOUVERNANCE DEMOCRATIQUE/  
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE INSTITUTE  
SESSION 2017**

**Thème : « Capital financier et intervention en Libye: opposition à la monnaie africaine/ *Finance capital and the intervention in Libya: opposition to the African Currency* »**

**PROGRAMME**

2:30 - 3:00	Mise en place des invités / <i>Arrival of guests</i>
3:00 - 3:10	Mots de bienvenue et présentation des panélistes / <i>Welcoming note and Introduction of Panelists</i> (CODESRIA Executive Secretary)
3:10 - 3:40	Prof. Horace CAMPBELL, Conférencier/ <i>Keynote Speaker</i> « Capital financier et intervention en Libye: opposition à la monnaie africaine/ <i>Finance capital and the intervention in Libya: opposition to the African Currency</i> »
3:40 - 3:50	Dr. Ndongo Samba SYLLA, Discutant/ <i>Respondent</i>
3 :50 - 4 :00	Prof. Vusi GUMEDE, Discutant/ <i>Respondent</i>
4 :00 - 4 :10	Prof. Abdou Salam FALL, Discutant/ <i>Respondent</i>
4:10 - 4:50	Discussions
4:50 - 5:00	Clôture / <i>Closing</i> (CODESRIA Executive Secretary)
5:00 - 6:00	Coctail

## PANELISTS BIOS OF THE PUBLIC CONFERENCE

### Keynote Speaker:

**Prof Horace G Campbell:** Prof of Comparative Politics and International Relations at Syracuse University, Department of African American Studies and Department of Political Science and; Kwame Nkrumah Chair Institute of African Studies University of Ghana Legon. Prof Campbell is a passionate Pan-African whose intellectual engagements have seen him devote much time teaching and researching in the continent. The span of his intellectual engagements include research, teaching and published works on Pan Africanism, The Political Economy of Underdevelopment, The Politics of the Global Economy, Nationalism, African International Relations, Politics of Contemporary African Societies, African Politics and Society, The Politics of Southern Africa, Militarism and Underdevelopment, Militarism and Transformation in Southern Africa, Caribbean Politics and Society, Comparative Politics, The Politics of Industrial States and Introduction to African American Studies.

### Respondents:

1. **Prof Vusi Gumede** is Head of the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute at the University of South Africa. Formerly, Gumede was Associate Professor in Development Studies at the University of Johannesburg. Some of his published works include:
  - Political Economy of Post-Apartheid South Africa, CODESRIA Press (2015),
  - Post-Apartheid South Africa: Social & Economic Inclusion, CAMBRIA Press (2015);
  - (and forthcoming), Democratic Developmental State in South Africa: Challenges and Prospects, UKZN Press.
2. **Prof Fall Abdou Salam** is currently Director of Research of Universities and the Coordinator of the Center of Research on Economic and Social Transformations (LARTES) at IFAN at Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar. He is also Member of the Scientific Committee of the Journal *Nouvelles Pratiques Sociales* in Canada. He is Member of the Scientific Committee on Social Sciences of the Institute for Development Research (IRD), which headquarters is in Marseille. He is Member of the Scientific Committee of the Methodological Review of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) in Dakar; Member of the Scientific Committee of the Journal "Espaces et Société", Paris-Val de Seine School of Architecture, LAVUE, Paris. From 2012-2014, he was Director of doctoral training on "Social sciences applied to development" at Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar. He was also President of the Scientific Council of the International Forum of Leaders for the Social and Solidarity Economy.
3. **Dr. Ndongo Samba SYLLA** is a Development Economist. He has previously worked as a technical advisor at the Presidency of the Republic of Senegal. He is currently a Research and Programme manager at the West Africa Office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (Dakar). He has been four times world champion of French-speaking Scrabble. His publications cover topics such as Fair trade, labour markets in developing countries, social movements, democratic theory, economic and monetary sovereignty. He has written two books and edited/coauthored some collective books.

- *La Démocratie contre la République. L'autre histoire du gouvernement du peuple* (L'Harmattan, Paris, 2015) ;
- *The Fair Trade Scandal. Marketing Poverty to Benefit the Rich*, Pluto Press & Ohio University Press, 2014. Translated from French.
- *Recent Political Developments in West Africa*, Daraja Press & Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Nairobi & Dakar, 2015. Translated from French.
- *Liberalism and its discontents. Social movements in West Africa*, Daraja Press & Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Nairobi & Dakar, 2014. Translated from French.
- *Rethinking Development*, Daraja Press & Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Nairobi & Dakar, 2014. Translated from French.
- (With Demba Moussa Dembélé and Henriette Faye), *Déconstruire le discours néolibéral. Volume I des « Samedis de l'économie »*, ARCADE and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Dakar, 2014.
- *Redécouvrir Sankara. Martyr de la Liberté*, Exchange & Dialogue, 2012.

## CONCEPT NOTE OF THE 2017 SESSION OF THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE INSTITUTE

### THEME: Economic governance and Africa's economic transformation

In the past twelve months, the momentous changes in electoral politics in Britain and North America have reopened questions of the role of ideas in democratic participation. Challenging questions now emerge about the basic intellectual starting points for discussing democracy. It is in this context that the theme selected for the 2017 session of the Institute invites us to interrogate wider issues of democratic participation that are at the core of the economic realities facing most African countries. Governance issues in the past have focused at the continental level without sufficiently looking at the interconnections between the global governance of international organizations and their implications for Africa. Sitting at the core of the intersection between global governance of international organisations and Africa are pressing economic dynamics.

The dramatic events of the global system that started with the downturn of 2007/8 followed by the Eurozone crisis led to some commentators writing on systemic fragility in the global economy. One of the major limitations of this body of literature is that it continues to treat Africa as an afterthought. Further, the strengths and weaknesses of the African economic conditions are not usually factored into discussions about governance at the international level. Africa's key strategic advantage however is that the shadow banking institutions that are at the core of the fragility of the international financial system are, comparatively, underdeveloped in Africa. Thus the tension between increasing consolidation of Africa's place in the global economic system and the rising demands for greater democratization on the continent presents an opportunity for innovative reflections. It is plausible that the main challenge of intense capital flight is to enmesh Africa into the global financial architecture so that Africans will have little room for maneuver if they advance democratic participation in their societies.

An area where Africa's play a critical role in the global economy is the resource extraction sector. After the resource boom of the 2000-2010 decade and the confidence attending to the Africa rising narratives, a number of countries are experiencing deeper economic regression.

Creative ways to support the extraction of resources have not kept pace with demands of Africans for an interrogation of the place of Africa in the global value chain. Fast and fleeting forms of extraction are now being implemented because appetite for Africa's resources from external markets remains high and continues to grow. While useful provisions to counter the appetite for African resources exist, many intellectuals have not publicized the African Mining Vision of the African Union to reiterate demands for changing the structures of mining and African economies.

The entry of new players in Africa such as Brazil, Turkey, India, Russia and China has affected the focus on the EU, Japan and North America. In the context of the renewed demand for African minerals and genetic resources, a number of African countries borrowed heavily from China and from the Eurobond market. Most of these borrowings were pegged on continued high commodity prices or discovery of new resources like oil, in other countries. In some cases, the prices tumbled leaving countries with heavy debt financing obligations. Some countries resorted to refinancing loan repayments through more borrowing. Others have opted for domestic borrowing in ways that has made domestic loans expensive for small businesses and constricted growth and job creation. Hence, the financial sector has now come in for greater scrutiny.

Another dimension to Africa's link to the global financial architecture is the role of credit rating agencies that are subordinate to Wall Street and the city of London. Recent information of the complicity of the Bank of England in fixing the LIBOR rates has now ensured that African planners look beyond what is called market forces in dealing with international borrowing agencies. The LIBOR scandal and the printing of money under the banner of Quantitative Easing (QE) in North America and Europe has made it abundantly clear that the political economy of international financial flows depends on the political strength of the contending forces.

The question of Quantitative Easing cannot be divorced from the high levels of capital flight from the emerging markets. After the publication of the Panama Papers it was reported that over US\$21 trillion flow to offshore havens. African societies are integrated into this global illicit economy that has its base in QE and LIBOR fixing. The Report on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa will be a core area of study generally but also in this Institute. The aim is to further the technical skills and political connections to enable African scholars to elaborate on the financial flows. While initiatives have been taken to document these flows by the UNECA and the African Development Bank, intellectual centers in Africa lag behind in the documentation and tracking of these illicit flows and the corroding influence on democratic norms.

African intellectuals have made their contribution to the understanding of governance and, in the process, offered a wider field of inquiry for this concept. Hence, the literature on economic governance or more generally governance with regard to Africa is diverse. Most of the literature looks at governance as the way different state and non-state actors make public decisions and manage economic and social resources for development. Good economic governance presupposes the existence and efficient functioning of market-supporting institutions such as property rights, financial regulatory institutions and institutions for macroeconomic stabilization. Yet, as the Report on the Illicit Financial Flows and the Panama Papers attest, despite the existence of market supporting institutions, a confluence of international and national elites can effect policy capture at the national level in ways that institutions are rendered inefficient. The consequence of this policy capture is the draining of

foreign exchange reserves, reduced tax collection, canceling out of investment inflows and, in consequence, a worsening of the living conditions of many as poverty grows. Such outflows also undermine the rule of law, stifle trade and worsen macroeconomic conditions. In some instances, as pointed out in the Report on Illicit Financial Flows, some loans advanced to African countries are never received in African central banks. Such loans continue to be serviced from tax revenues while projects for which the loans were meant finance do not exist or exist in such debilitated state as to make the loans themselves useless. The distorting economic consequences of this will be explored in the Institute.

The theme of 'Economic Governance and Africa's Economic Transformation' has been selected with the hope that laureates will have time to reflect in some depth on the contemporary economic trends in the continent and the kind of governance architecture required to insulate African economies from dangerous global economic networks.