

**THE AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM (APRM) AND THE AFRICAN  
UNION (AU): THE CASE FOR LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE  
PERSPECTIVES IN AFRICAN PUBLIC SERVICES**

by

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**DECLARATION**

I *Wilson Mokete Makgalancheche* hereby declare that the thesis for the *PhD in Public Affairs* degree at the University of Pretoria, hereby submitted by me has not previously been submitted for a qualification at this University or any other University. I further declare that this research is original and that I have designed and executed this work. All reference material contained herein has been duly acknowledged.

.....  
WM MAKGALANCHECHE

DATE: .....

## **DEDICATION**

To my mother (boMma), uncles, brothers, sisters, family, late father and late grandmother who taught me perseverance and humbleness in life.

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First of all, I want to thank the Almighty God for giving me good health and wisdom to start and complete the PhD programme. It was through the trinity of the Almighty God that I had to pursue this research, through His grace, His mercy and His love.

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## **ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

ADB – African Development Bank  
ADF – African Development Forum  
AEC – African Economic Community  
ANC – African National Congress  
APRM – African Peer Review Mechanism  
CET – Common External Tariff  
COMESA – Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa  
CSOs – Civil Society Organisation  
DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo  
ECNA – Economic Community of North Africa  
ECOMOG – ECOWAS Monitoring Group  
ECOSOC – Economic and Social Council  
ECOSOCC – Economic, Social and Cultural Council  
ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States  
EU - European Union  
FAO – Food and Agricultural Organisation  
G-8 – Group of Eight  
HSGIC – Heads of State and Governments Implementation Committee  
IMF – International Monetary Fund  
LDCs – Least Developed Countries  
LPA – Lagos Plan of Action  
MDGs – Millenium Development Goals  
NAM – Non-Aligned Movement  
NEPAD – New Partnership for Africa’s Development  
NGOs – Non-Governmental Organisations  
OAU – Organisation of African Unity  
ODA – Overseas Development Aid

PAP – Pan-African Parliament  
PMAD – Protocol on Mutual Assistance and Defense  
PPP – Public-Private Partnership  
PSV – Public Sector Value  
PTA – Preferential Trade Area  
RECs – Regional Economic Communities  
RISDP – Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan  
SACU – Southern African Customs Union  
SADC – Southern African Development Community  
SADCC – Southern African Development Coordination Conference  
SAP – Structural Adjustment Programmes  
SIPO – Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ  
SSA – Sub-Saharan Africa  
UN – United Nations  
UNECA – United Nations Economic Commission of Africa  
UNPAAERD – United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development  
US – United States  
WACB – West African Central Bank  
WAMI – West African Monetary Institute  
WAMZ – West African Monetary Zone  
WTO – World Trade Organisation

## ABSTRACT

The research investigate the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) from a leadership and governance perspective in the African public services. The research was initiated with a historiography to map out efforts that were made to unify the continent against slavery and colonialism, which were primary factors responsible for Africa's underdevelopment and poverty. National, regional and sub regional organisations have been formed to forge collective action against colonisation and the marginalisation of the continent. Each of the organisations, indicating their achievements and challenges has been discussed in this research. The research has revealed that there was a common denominator in most organisations, which revolved around creating a better continent for the African people and to restore their dignity as a people.

The need for unity in Africa has received more attention, especially when Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was transformed into the African Union (AU), which focuses on development, democratic rule and good governance to tackle poverty, marginalisation and underdevelopment in the continent. What is evident in this research is the fact that African leaders are now seeking African solutions to the problems that have plagued the continent for decades. African leaders recognise that transplanted policies and initiatives are responsible for Africa's dependency syndrome and marginalisation in the development process. The research has pointed out that Africans should lead the process of African development because they are the custodians of the needs of their citizens.

In order to satisfy and provide essential services and goods to their citizens African leaders should exercise effective and responsible leadership, and good governance principles in order to implement policies that would create a better life for all on the continent. In order to ensure that African public services implement appropriate policies, a monitoring mechanism has been instituted, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) through which countries are evaluated and assessed on compliance with good

governance and development objectives to provide essential goods and services to the African people. The New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as the vehicle of the AU has set out development objectives and priorities, which should be implemented by national, regional, and sub-regional organisations, therefore countries would be monitored to ensure that they comply with the aims and mandate of the AU. Effective leadership and good governance would ensure cost effective delivery of services and the provision of goods by public services.

African leaders want to create genuine partnership with their citizens and international communities to ensure that poverty is eradicated and the needs of Africans are satisfied. Africa requires strong and effective leaders who identify and work for their people at all costs through proper utilisation and management of public resources for the benefit of all. Recommendations have been made for consideration by African leaders in their endeavour to create a better life for the African people based on effective leadership, the rule of law and good governance. Africans know what is best for them and therefore they should engage in collective action to achieve the African Development Goals.

## CHAPTER 1: HISTORIOGRAPHY

### 1.1. INTRODUCTION

The historiography chapter is an attempt to provide a solid foundation for all arguments that would be entered into in this research with regard to Africa's endeavour to find solutions and workable alternatives to deal with poverty and underdevelopment in the continent. This chapter would attempt to analyse all efforts that were made by Africans and the African Diaspora, through national, regional and sub regional organisations and structures, to improve service delivery in the public service. Numerous efforts were initiated, mostly from external agencies and countries to improve the lives of Africans but with little success. Colonialism was identified as the root cause of Africa's marginalisation and underdevelopment, which were basically responsible for creating misery and poverty amongst the African peoples. Therefore, numerous organisations were formed in an attempt to unite African countries and their peoples, so that there could be collective analysis of their problems and collective action towards tackling the challenges faced by the African continent. Individualistic efforts by countries have not been successful, hence the formation of multiple organisations in an attempt to consolidate unity amongst African countries in an attempt to push back the frontiers of poverty as a collective. The first organisations were formed to fight against colonial rule, which was ultimately defeated when African countries gained political independence from colonial rule and domination. The struggle against colonialism resulted in Africans taking over the administration of their countries and having to provide goods and services to their citizens to satisfy their aspirations and expectations.

This research will attempt to answer the question on the extent to which African leaders can provide alternative solutions, through the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to ensure effective implementation of policies within African Public Services. This challenge requires effective leadership and good governance principles to achieve. The research looks into contemporary challenges that are faced by the continent and the developed nations of the world in a globalising economy, which attempt to bridge the gap between the developed and the underdeveloped regions of the world. This research



should be understood in the context of the evolution and development of initiatives by African countries to create a better life for all Africans, especially after winning the struggle against political domination by the colonial powers. Leadership plays a key role in all endeavours to fight poverty and more important is the transformation of public administration to improve service delivery in the public service (Olowu, 2002: 63). This chapter would set the pace for conceptualising African challenges and making a contextual analysis thereof in order to understand the role of leadership and good governance in improving the lives of citizens. Historical discussions provide a foundation of future strategies to deal with challenges that are faced by African countries in order to come up with appropriate alternatives to deal with this challenge.

It is important to note that at independence, African governments and their leaders were genuinely desirous of improving the standard of living of their people, through an increase in their incomes and providing them with essential services and improved infrastructural facilities (Helleiner, 1972: 332). To achieve these priorities governments were called upon to undertake rigorous socio-economic planning instead of reliance on plans that were often prepared by foreigners with relatively little experience of the countries and the indigenous peoples concerned. Such plans lacked real control, political support or potential for implementation by Africans (Adedeji, 2003:393). It was actually difficult at the beginning of the post independence period to find a strategy that was developed by the locals for an articulated and coherent strategy for economic decolonisation. Economic development was not pursued in an equal effort like political decolonisation to which all African countries subscribed. Effective strategies for the economic decolonisation of Africa are essential conditions for achieving high rates of growth and diversification and an increasing measure of self-reliance and self-sustainment (Moharir, 2002: 107). It is realistic to point out that the rapid economic transformation failed to materialise partly because colonial powers did not develop the human capital for sustainable development, especially after independence. The independence of African countries created further frustrations to African peoples because of the unmet expectations of the local inhabitant who felt that independence brought them more misery and hardships than foreign colonial rule. This led to a revolution of rising

expectations which gave rise to a revolution of high frustrations with subsequent waves of military revolts and political upheavals in different parts of the continent (Helleiner, 1972:333). Translated, it suggests that at independence African public services were unable to render services and provide goods to their people. This state of affairs created a feeling that African leadership was failing their own people.

The struggle against decolonisation was not smooth, hence after independence most African countries had to struggle to get their foot on the ground. National governments and their leaders were perceived as incapable of delivering goods and services to their citizens to an extent that this eroded their confidence in the eyes of the governed. Africa was then characterised by conditions that were unbearable, poverty stricken and underdeveloped, with the result that people's needs and demands could not be satisfied by public services. Strategies that were devised to assist socio-economic development in African countries did not bear positive results due to the damage that was already created by colonialism, which persisted for some decades in the continent. African underdevelopment, marginalisation and poverty have been positively linked to colonial rule and domination of the continent, with the result that the whole world knows or at least should know that the African nations and their approximately 700 million people have suffered a persistent socio-economic crisis in its history, especially during the 1960s to the 1980s (Adedeji, 2003: 392). These challenges are still on the agenda of African organisations and other progressive foreign organisations.

The African continent has the largest number of the poorest countries in the world. This statement can be qualified by the fact that out of the 42 nations of the world that are classified as the least developed countries (LDCs), which form the poorest of the poor nations, 29 of these countries are within the African continent (Mazrui and Patel, 1992: 236). This research will aim at answering the question whether African leaders will be able to improve the lives of African people who are plagued by poverty, underdevelopment and other socio-economic ills. The problems of Africa cannot be left to individuals or individual countries; they need collective and concerted efforts by all the African countries, assisted by progressive governments and institutions that are

concerned about the plight of the African peoples. This research is divided into a number of chapters in an endeavour to provide responses to the research question, which has prompted the researcher to undertake this study. The struggle for a better life in Africa should be understood in the context of historical developments, which also focused on the creation of unity in the continent to tackle Africa's challenges collectively.

This chapter will attempt to give a clear background into the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the African Union (AU), and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). Asante (1996:1) states that it is necessary to look at the past organisations in order to improve an understanding of the present. It is equally important to examine the present with the view to gain insights for the future and to anticipate the future with the intention of better preparation for its challenges.

This chapter will form the foundation upon which strategies and policies can be formulated to deal with Africa's challenges. In order to give a clear picture of the idea behind the formation of these organisations and institutions there is a need to understand what African Renaissance means because this philosophy has a great influence on the formation of the continental organisations. In an attempt to find answers for the research question, it is essential to analyse the rationale of NEPAD, its aims and objectives, as well as its institutional mechanisms. The various continental organisations have been established to rescue Africa in the face of its own citizens and the international communities and to forge unity among Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora. The different organisations had different priorities depending on the era during which they were established but they were mainly concerned with the independence of African countries from colonialism, poverty eradication and sustainable development on the continent (Olowu, 2002: 62). Each organisation had its own priorities amongst the main objectives of the African continent. These organisations were formed when African leaders realised that in order for the continent to forge ahead with its own future there was a need for unity. African leaders attempted to develop a common vision and a firm and shared conviction that they are facing a common challenge, which included a

pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place African countries, both individually and collectively on a path of unity, sustainable development and growth. At this juncture African leaders had realised that their countries and the continent were marginalised and did not participate in the world economy and its the body politic. African public services were unable to provide goods and services to their citizens in order to satisfy their needs and aspirations.

A number of factors are responsible for the historical impoverishment of the African continent. This was accentuated mainly by the legacy of slavery, colonialism, the Cold War, the workings of the international economic system and the inadequacies of and the shortcomings in the policies, which were pursued by many post independent Africa countries. The APRM was adopted to ensure that member states' policies and practices conform to agreed upon political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and standards for Africa's development and recovery (Goldsmith, 2001: 76). Colonialism has also contributed to the underdevelopment of the continent because it subverted traditional structures, institutions and value systems by making them subservient to the economic and political needs of the imperial colonial powers. Colonialism was equally responsible for retarding the development of entrepreneurial skills to ensure that Africans lacked development of managerial capacity to tackle managerial challenges. These challenges would indicate lack of essential skills and expertise in African public services.

Colonialism contributed to the economic underdevelopment of the African continent because for centuries the continent has been integrated into the world economy primarily as a supplier of raw materials and cheap labour. This is despite the fact that the African continent is rich in natural resources, including human resources (Coleman, 1994: 991). The colonial masters were draining Africa's resources for conversion into manufactured goods in the industrialised countries and for the benefit of their economies instead of using the raw materials for the development of the continent and its people. Goldsmith (2001: 77) states that the rich industrialised countries were interested in developing a nation instead of the development of the people. Human resources were not fully developed so that they can take charge of the conversion of raw materials into finished

products to enhance the economic standing of the continent. Africa remained a poor and a highly dependent continent despite being one of the richest regions or continent of the world. In other continents there was an infusion of wealth in the form of investments with larger yields on returns because exports concentrated on value-added products. African leaders realised that it was time to harness the resources in order to create wealth for the well being of their people. This is one of the reasons why African leaders decided to establish continental organisations, in order to face the challenges of poverty and economic underdevelopment on the continent (Loxton, 2004: 71). The struggle for independence was waged with a belief that once political liberation was granted, African leaders would be able to improve the lives of their citizens. This belief was not a given, it meant effective leadership and efficient management of processes that were aimed at achieving desired goals, including cost-effective and efficient use of public resources (Coleman, 1994: 159). Political independence from colonial rule brought light in a dark tunnel for African peoples who hoped that their aspirations and expectations would be met.

The first Sub-Saharan African country to become independent was Ghana in 1957, while majority of countries started to gain independence in the 1960s. At independence, almost all the new states displayed an acute shortage of skilled professionals in the main fields of human activity. These were essential to ensure that the people of Africa reap the benefits of independence from colonialism. Development after independence was retarded by the fact that post-colonial Africa inherited weak states and dysfunctional economies. In addition to the inherited problems, most of the African countries experienced poor leadership, corruption and bad governance, which were prevailing at that stage. Coupled with the impact of the Cold War, African countries were facing a situation that hampered the development of accountable governments on the continent. According to Goldsmith (2001:77) some of the greedy leaders were only interested in their personal wealth at the expense of their people and they bled their economies at the expense of economic growth and development. This must have been a worrying factor for those Africans who were progressive and serious about improving the quality of life of their citizens. There was a lack of meaningful people development during the colonial period and this created an

inability to utilise and develop the human resources in the continent, especially after gaining independence. The colonial powers disregarded people empowerment and this remained a major constraint to sustainable development in numerous African countries. It is believed that efforts taken by African leaders are mainly aimed at strengthening the capacity to govern and the development of long-term policies that will lead to people development and sustainable development (Mutharika, 1995: 39). Even if structural adjustments were made in the 1980s they only promoted reforms that removed serious price distortions with little attention to the provision of social services. As a result of these programmes only a few countries managed to achieve sustainable growth. The rate of accumulation in the post-colonial period has not been sufficient to rebuild the socio-economic conditions of African societies. African economies have been characterised by patronage and corruption, which were generated by the legacy of colonialism (Mutharika, 1995: 28).

The conditions that have been discussed above indicate that African societies were entrenched in a vicious cycle of economic decline, reduced capacity and poor governance that reinforce one another. These conditions have contributed to Africa's peripheral and diminishing status in the world economy. The ultimate result of this situation was the marginalisation of the African continent from the world economy and world activity. It is important at this stage to look at the conditions that prevailed at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## 1.2. AFRICAN CONDITIONS AT THE DAWN OF THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

It is imperative to indicate at the beginning of this study that during the late fifties and early sixties the African continent was still described as a dark and horrendous continent (Cox, 1964: 5-7). It was in the 1960s that the drum for black renaissance was sounded, whereby a new era was started against colonialism and the denunciation of economic exploitation, psychological damage and cultural ravage to which the continent was exposed (Mutharika, 1995: 74). A light of optimism, which sparked off in Africa in the post-World War II period, marked the period. The independence of Ghana gave Africans more hope to Pan-Africanists and other nationalist leaders for a liberated Africa

(Abraham, 2003:15). This hope is still keeping contemporary African leadership committed to creating a better life for African peoples. The next discussion will indicate how the situation was at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The African continent as a region found itself in a worse situation at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century when compared with other regions of the world. Many parts of the continent had degenerated into a number of socio-economic evils, including conflicts within and between states with serious socio-economic and humanitarian consequences for the African continent. This state of affairs resulted in Africa losing its value globally. During this period Africa was facing a challenge of asserting itself globally because certain African raw materials continued to be important to the West, whereby substitutes and alternatives have been found. This situation affected most African countries especially those countries whose economies are dependent on the export of such raw materials. In order to tackle these challenges, Africa needs to be politically and economically strong and to be reckoned with in the world economy. Olson (1993:572) stresses the fact that capital often flees from countries, which are unstable to the stable democracies. An economy will be able to prosper and reap all potential gains from investment and from long-term transactions only if it has a government that is believed to be both strong enough to last and which is inhibited from violating individual rights to property and rights to contract. The character of the African crisis at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century was classified into socio-economic and political factors. African leaders should strive to create an atmosphere of stability with strong institutions to push back the frontiers of poverty. The following discussion would attempt to provide factors, which need to be taken into consideration in Africa's quest to deliver quality services to its citizens (Olson, 1993:573).

#### 1.2.1. Social factors

According to Amoako (1997:xii-xiii), the continent of Africa at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was still plagued by poverty, disease and ignorance on social issues. These factors remained high on the list of key challenges facing African countries. United Nations Economic Commission on Africa (UNECA) reported that four out of 10 Africans

live in absolute poverty and if the social challenges facing the African continent are not resolved the figure is expected to increase in the millennium. African leaders saw the need to move swiftly and aggressively against poverty and all other social ills. Social issues that needed urgent attention included issues of health and educational needs of the people (Amoako, 1997:xii-xiii). The social factors were also linked to the economic factors as will be discussed in the next section.

### 1.2.2 Economic factors

African economies, structures and orientation remained fairly unchanged after independence, whereby most of the continent's economies were not internally integrated. African economies were externally oriented towards exporting unprocessed raw materials to the West. It must also be indicated that African economies lacked an entrepreneurial class, the economic activity and development remained largely in the hands of the state. The African continent was economically disintegrated since there was limited economic interaction amongst the African countries. African countries did not invest in each other's economy, there was no intra-African trade, no convertibility of currencies and there was no complementarity of economies (Umrabulo, 2002:97). Lack of trade amongst African countries meant that African goods were not available in the markets within the continent and this was an inhibiting factor on African economic growth and development. European markets on the other hand restricted trade with African countries and these developments led to weak economic performance and increased poverty in African economies (Ben-Ari, 2002:9). Related to the economic factors were the political factors, which will be discussed hereunder.

### 1.2.3. Political factors

Post-colonial states remained largely untransformed in some parts of the continent. Some post-colonial African states were used as an instrument for self-enrichment by sections of the political elite who instead of creating a better life for their citizens became greedy and accumulated wealth for themselves and their cohorts (Umrabulo, 2002:96). The political elite wanted to see themselves close to the state at all times, so that they could try at all costs to manipulate election results in order to remain in power, which benefited them as



a group instead of the entire citizenry. This may be one of the reasons why elections in some African states were followed by strife and conflicts. In order to reduce conflicts which impact negatively on the socio-economic fabric of society, there was a need to have a developmentalist state in Africa because their agendas will be determined by the needs of the people instead of the desires of political elites. These political factors robbed the people of Africa to enjoy their wealth on an equitable basis (Gyimah-Boadi, 1999: 34-38).

African countries were facing a number of challenges; such as the liberation and the transformation of post-colonial Africa from the greed of the political elite so that they begin to serve the needs of the people. In addition, there was a need to address the capacity of the state as an institution that is created to serve the interests of citizens and to develop a code of conduct for the political elite at the helm of power and those in the opposition. Such transformation needs effective leadership that involves civil society in determining developmental policies that will benefit the entire citizenry. The conditions that prevailed in Africa were actually responsible for Africa's poverty and underdevelopment (Balogun, 2001: 43). Therefore, the need for an integrated and collective approach to tackle continental challenges.

In order to provide a clear historiography of African continental organisations, it is important to indicate that Africans were propounded by the dream of an African union whereby all the peoples of Africa wanted to collectively create the African continent in their own image. African countries were striving for unity (Harsch, 2002:1), hence the formation of the Organisation of African Unity to fight continued colonialism and to strive towards unity in Africa. An "African" defined continent instead of an African continent viewed with the lens of people from outside the continent. The next subsection will discuss efforts that were made to unify African organisations.

#### 1.2.3.1. In search of unity

Umrabulo (2002:97) states that Africa's search for unity and its renaissance were aimed at Africa's socio-economic recovery, which was a centuries-old characteristic. Africa had

a common historical experience, especially with regard to slavery and colonialism, which compelled African leaders to develop a common consciousness as one people with a common destiny. The desire for a common destiny as a people in Africa gave rise to two responses. Firstly, in the Diaspora, slaves and ex-slaves of African descent waged a struggle against their status, which was relegated to a second-class position in relation to their captors. Slaves and ex-slaves had an identity crisis during the period of slavery because as captives they were regarded as objects. Secondly, Africans on the continent opposed slavery and colonialism by fighting for their land and freedom from the colonial powers. These efforts were aimed at the total liquidation of colonialism to allow African peoples to decide on what was good for them and to pursue their goals.

The two responses developed and converged into a Pan-African Movement, which developed institutionally from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Mutharika, 1995: 151-154). The developed Pan-African Movement or Pan-Africanism was responsible for a move towards decolonisation and freedom of the African continent from slavery and colonisation. Pan-Africanism was significant for the unity of African countries because it was based on four primary elements. First, a sense of common historical experiences, secondly a sense of common descent and destiny. The third element was the opposition of racial discrimination and colonialism and lastly a determination to create a “new” Africa (Marzui and Wondji, 2003:194-198 and Umrabulo, 2002:98). It is important to confirm that these principles were central to the process of decolonisation in Africa, which started in Ghana in 1957. It is essential to look at how the movement to Pan-Africanism has contributed and driven the process towards African liberation and ultimate decolonisation through the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which will be discussed in the next section.

### 1.3. THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

This was formed as a continental organisation and it served as a vehicle for a common dream amongst African leaders. African leaders became determined to create one united African continent. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, emphasised the need for a “United States of Africa” (Harsch, 2002:20). The independence celebrations of Ghana contributed to a

move by African leaders to become closer to each other because the celebrations brought together nationalist leaders from all over Africa and Pan-Africanists from the black world, North America and the Caribbean. These celebrations were attended by Western nations, with Nixon representing America (Abraham, 2003:15). Independence celebrations in Ghana signaled pessimistic feelings amongst African leaders who then felt that they were facing a challenge of seeing to it that their nations and people become independent from colonialism. Ghanaian independence demonstrated that Africa had both the will and the capacity to take responsibility for its own renaissance (Mbeki, 2003:27). When one of the African countries became independent, the celebrations amongst Africans marked the beginning of good things to come for the African continent. This was viewed as a first step to dismantle colonialism and to allow Africans to govern themselves and to determine their future. Independence raised hopes amongst African people that their aspirations and wishes for good life would be achieved (Gaisie, 1974: 143-148).

The 21<sup>st</sup> Century was characterised by factors that led to a growing consensus on a new concept of security that placed more emphasis on people as opposed to the state in order to address their needs and aspirations, which grew immediately after independence. People issues topped the agenda of many world meetings, especially socio-economic issues such as poverty; disease, ignorance and environmental degradation were prioritized high on world meetings. These issues were regarded as volatile and as serious as a nuclear war (Gaisie, 1974: 147-148). This then suggests that it had dawned on the minds of industrialised nations that the plight of Africa could not be left to the Africans alone. African underdevelopment would no longer be relegated to the continent alone because it poses a threat to world stability and sustainable development (Umrabulo, 2002). The role of the African Diaspora could not be over-emphasised in this regard, especially the impact they had on their new homelands.

The historical development of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) will not be comprehensive without a brief discussion of the Casablanca and the Monrovia groups. They were important groups because they are the first states that attempted to bring

African countries together in an endeavour to solve African problems. The formation of the OAU was not an easy process; it involved a lot of hard work, sacrifice and great efforts on the founders of the organisation. The formation of the organisation and the decision on the country to host the continental organisation involved a lot of diplomatic negotiations and discussions. Two groups were identified to map out the initial stages towards the formation of the OAU (Marzui and Wondji, 2003:367 and [www.oau-creation.com](http://www.oau-creation.com)).

#### 1.3.1. The Casablanca Group

President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana had a strong belief that the African continent had to unite against external influence, which was compromised by the impact of colonialism and the Cold War. In the late 1957s, Nkrumah started a movement, which emphasised the immediate unity of the African continent. Nkrumah was the first African leader to introduce the concept of African unity to the continent. Ghana, Guinea and Mali were amongst the first African countries, which came together to operationalise Nkrumah's dream because they also believed in the immediate unity of the continent. Egypt, the Transitional Government of Algeria and Morocco later joined the first countries and together they formed the Casablanca Group (Nkrumah, 1963:133 and [www.oau-creation.com](http://www.oau-creation.com)).

#### 1.3.2. The Monrovia Group

Some African countries came together to form the Monrovia Group, which was regarded as conservative because it was not as radical as the Casablanca Group, which called for the immediate unity of the African countries. Countries such as Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Togo and other countries that believed in a gradual approach to African unity led the Monrovia Group. Already one can point at the distinction between the two groups based on their approach to the question of African unity. The Casablanca Group wanted immediate unity whilst the Monrovia group believed in a step-by-step movement towards African unity. The Casablanca Group consisted of less member states as compared to the Monrovia Group, which had more member states. More member states means a more consultative base, more proposals and few adoptions; less member

states means a less consultative base, few proposals and many adoptions. If member states are few, quick decisions may be taken whereas in situations where there are many participants decisions are taken after all members have been consulted to be legitimate and supported by the member states (Nkrumah, 1963:32-35 and [www.oau-creation.com](http://www.oau-creation.com)).

### 1.3.3. Efforts to unite the two groups

According to Nkrumah (1963: 32-35), the two groups adopted different approaches to African unity, which led to many people believing that the two groups would not come together. If the two groups did not come together as those people who were pessimistic believed, the OAU would have been a pipe dream. The two groups came together through the efforts of Ketema Yifru of Ethiopia, during his tenure as Ethiopian Foreign Minister (1961 – 1971). Ketema Yifru was an avowed Pan-Africanist who was aggrieved by the League of Nations when it abandoned Ethiopia during the 1935 invasions. Yifru believed that African countries had to come together if they wanted to serve the interests of their fellow Africans. This was the beginning of a movement to unite the two groups and the beginning of the continent's upcoming political affairs. Yifru prepared the ground for the two groups' merge into a single continental organisation by using his negotiating skills to get buy-ins from the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie and the Ethiopian Prime Minister Aklilu Habtewold, the two leaders believed in Yifru and they allowed him to ensure that the two groups came together.

The highlight of the process to unite the two groups took place when Yifru offered to host the Monrovia Group Summit in Ethiopia and he invited the Casablanca Group to attend. It was during this Summit that the Emperor was afforded an opportunity to address the participants where he stressed that the gulf between the two groups was not as wide as it seemed. Yifru attended the Casablanca Summit to ensure that he addressed the member states and to diplomatically sell the idea of a "United-Africa", with one continental organisation (Nkrumah, 1963:135). Yifru was on the other hand negotiating with individual African leaders who were influential to ensure that they support his efforts towards a single organisation in the interest of the people of Africa. It is important to note that Yifru's international experience and exposure had taught him that African countries

can achieve unity through cooperation and interaction in one organisation which will adopt policies that will further the interest of the continent and its peoples.

Yifru traveled throughout Africa to ensure that African leaders understood the call for a united Africa, he traveled to Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and then to West, Central and Eastern Africa, inviting countries to an African Summit Conference to be held in Ethiopia in May 1963. All the thirty-two independent African states accepted the invitation, which gave birth to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (Adedeji, 2003:167 and <http://www.oau-creation.com/Part%20Two.htm>).

#### 1.3.3.1. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of African States

It was at the Summit Conference of Foreign Ministers of the African states on May 15, 1963 that Ketema Yifru was elected chairman and Dr. Tesfaye Gebre-Ezgy, the Ethiopian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, was elected as Provisional Secretary-General. It was at this Summit Conference that a mandate was given to the foreign ministers to create a charter that would form the basis or the cornerstone of a continental organisation in Africa. It is worth noting that Ethiopia, Ghana and Nigeria drew up charters with the intention of presenting them to the Summit Conference so that they become the basis for discussion. The Ghana charter represented the Casablanca position whilst the Nigeria charter represented the Monrovia bloc and the Ethiopian draft captured the views of both groups. In the end the Ethiopian charter was adopted for discussion because it contained views from both groups. According to Adedeji (2003:138), the Ethiopian draft called for discussion on matters that affected the two blocs, such as:

- The establishment of an Organisation of African States with a charter and a permanent secretariat;
- Cooperation in areas of socio-economic welfare, such as education and culture and collective defense;
- The final eradication of colonialism;
- Means of combating racial discrimination and apartheid;
- Possible establishment of regional economic groupings; and

- Disarmament.

This was the first sign towards a unified African continent (Marzui and Wondji, 2003:187-189). All efforts were geared towards collective action in order to satisfy human needs and interests.

#### 1.3.3.2. The Charter presented to the Heads of States

Ketema Yifru presented the charter that was adopted by the Foreign Ministers Conference to the Heads of States, which convened on May 22, 1963 (Umrabullo, 2002: 96). Yifru delivered on the mandate that was given to the Foreign Ministers by the African leaders. During the presentation of the charter, Yifru once again demonstrated his negotiation and leadership skills when he appealed to the African leaders to adopt the carefully reasoned charter, which was aimed at unity between the African countries and their people. It was after deliberations and thorough discussions that the thirty-two African Heads of State signed the OAU charter in Addis Ababa, on May 25, 1963. The countries, which signed the charter, were Algeria, Benin, Burundi, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Leopoldville, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia and Uganda. In recognition of his efforts and personal commitment in this process of bringing together the African States, the African leaders presented Yifru with a signed document indicating their intention and agreement to come together to push the African agenda ([www.oau-creation.org](http://www.oau-creation.org)).

Questions that need answers include the following; what actually forced Ketema Yifru to invest such a lot of time and energy on bringing African leaders together like he did? Was Africa barren today to give birth to such leadership? The answers to these questions should provide Africans with light of hope in a dark tunnel. There is a need to scratch deeper and look across the continent of Africa, surely there are leaders who have the capacity to bring Africa together for the benefit of all the African people. The difficult and painful experiences learnt during the process of forming the OAU presents vital opportunities for recommendations that will be provided in the last chapter of this

research. It appears there is need for personal commitment and sacrifice and great determination to achieve set goals despite the difficulties. It was the inspiring words of great African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Sekou Toure and Emperor Haile Selassie that cemented the idea of a united Africa to show African leaders' responsibility to Africa and to the people they lead. The charter was signed, and the next step was a search for a country to host the continental organisation (Abraham, 2003:15 and [www.oau-creation.com](http://www.oau-creation.com)). This process was also problematic and was resolved through dialogue, as will be discussed in the following subsection.

#### 1.3.4. A search for OAU Headquarters

Another challenge facing African leaders was to decide on the country that will host the continental organisation. It was a well-contested decision because fifteen Francophone States met in Benin and voiced their wish to see Dakar, Senegal as the seat of the OAU. Nigeria and the then Zaire were also interested in hosting the organisation. It was again Ketema Yifru who worked tirelessly to lobby and rally for support to see Addis Ababa as the Headquarters of the OAU. He exploited his political skills to the advantage of Africans and to realise the objectives of Pan-Africanism. His negotiation skills and network skills saw the Summit Conference taking a decision that Addis Ababa, Ethiopia will be the site of the OAU ([www.oau-creation.com/Part%20Four.htm](http://www.oau-creation.com/Part%20Four.htm)). What is worth noting in all these endeavours, was the political willingness to debate and discuss issues of common interest and the final results were characterised by consensus and compromise. Apart from these principles the role players in this game displayed effective leadership because after reaching a consensus they will go back to role players' whose proposals were not accepted to ensure that they start identifying themselves with the decision taken. Collectivism and ubuntu in this instance were at play and these virtues are key to African democracy and public administration (Tshikwatamba, 2003:299-311). What is important and a crown of all these difficulties is the conviction that Africans were interested in a united Africa because the continent's salvation and survival rests in the hand of the African peoples themselves. The organisations that were formed on the continent were inspired by the need by Africans to work for their betterment.



Basically the continent achieved its goal of forming a continental organisation to decolonise the African continent through the power of dialogue, they showed a lot of tolerance to dissent from the beginning of the process. Differences of opinion, which were seen during the era of the Casablanca and the Monrovia Groups, were well handled and facilitated to generate progressive thoughts, which resulted in the formation of the OAU in 1963. The question around the seat of the OAU was also resolved through dialogue. One need not emphasise the benefits of dialogue instead of displaying an attitude of “My Way or the Highway” ([www.oau-creation.com/Dialogue.htm](http://www.oau-creation.com/Dialogue.htm)). What was important was the fact that despite all the differences, in the final end dialogue led to the formation of the OAU, which was primarily formed to combat colonialism and to bring about a forum where all African countries could gather under one roof and be able to discuss issues that affect the continent and its peoples. The following discussion will attempt to categorise the chronological events through which the OAU evolved, which was aimed at creating a better life for all African people by the Africans.

#### 1.3.5. The development phases of the Organisation of African Unity

According to Gordenker (1974: 109), it is proper and fitting to go through the developmental phases of the OAU in order to understand how events unfolded and how each phase built on to the other. The demarcation of the four phases of the OAU into a chronological arrangement is done to give a clear sequence of events that led to the formation of this organisation. The four phases of development will also provide how events followed one another in the struggle for Africa to move towards unity through a continental organisation. This discussion is essential, especially after indicating the Casablanca and Monrovia blocs, which were “merged” to form one continental organisation.

##### 1.3.5.1. Phase I: From the 1960s to the early 1970s

This is regarded as the first phase in the development of the OAU and it is a period that was characterised by high optimism and great expectations amongst African leaders. One of the biggest highlights of this period in the history of the OAU was the founding of the organisation on May 25, 1963. This organisation provided a valuable platform for Pan-

Africanism, Pan-African unity and a vehicle for action at the global level. This was the period, which stressed the sovereignty of states and non-interference in the affairs of member states. During this period there were no visible efforts on the part of African states to engage in meaningful activities around socio-economic development and democracy in Africa. This period saw most of the African dictators remaining unchallenged by their peers, simply going away with murder because of the clause on non-interference whereby such dictators were tolerated and left untouched. This was the period that witnessed the emergence of one-party states, which were justified by nation building sentiments and the desire to fight tribalistic tendencies in politics. The period could also be characterised by the use of one-party politics as an instrument for mass repression and the canonization of the “Father of the Nation” as stated in the Umrabulo (2002:97). It was also during this period that Africa witnessed the “silent death” of the masses that were in the forefront of the struggle against colonial rule because people thought that they had achieved what they wanted, especially by the belief that Africa had established a continental organisation. It was during this phase that the OAU managed to defeat colonialism and apartheid on the continent. The following subsection will discuss events in the second developmental phase.

#### 1.3.5.2. Phase II: From the 1970s to the 1980s

This period falls a decade after the formation of the OAU and it was only during this phase that African leaders realised it was imperative to take concrete steps to address the developmental plight of the continent. It was during this period that the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) was adopted by the OAU in 1980. The LPA attempted to set a 20-year development agenda for the continent and seven priority areas were identified to reach this goal. The LPA was based on the principles of self-reliance and self-sustaining development and economic growth. It was during this period that a start was made towards regional integration, which will be discussed in details in chapter three of this study. An attempt was also made to establish an African Economic Community (AEC) based on the operations of the European Community (EC). According to Mutharika (1995: 114), the LPA was a grand project but it remained ceremonial due to the following factors:

- The occurrence of natural misfortunes such as famine, floods, desertification and drought.
- The economic crisis of the 1980s, such as the impact of the deteriorating terms of trade, the 1981 – 82 recessions and the burden of external debt. To date the African Union is still appealing to the rich industrialised nations of the world to scrap debt owed by African states because it retards economic development on the continent (City Press, 2004). Money which was generated by states was used to service debt obligations, instead of being utilised to provide goods and render services to communities. African development crises worsened in the 1980s mainly due to the failure of structural adjustments that were inappropriate to the aspirations of the African people. Policy reforms, which were designed and supervised, by the IMF and the World Bank were meant to offer support to those countries that would implement structural adjustments without question. They were just to conform in order to receive assistance from these institutions. According to Asante (1995:7) African countries had limited choice because they were presented on the basis of “take-it-or leave-it” principle. This then confirms that in the 1980s any efforts towards Africa’s development were based on external support from external partners. They exerted pressure on African countries to adopt policies that were beneficial to the external partners without due regard to their impact on the personal development of the African people. This approach meant that Africans were denied or they denied themselves self-reliance and self-sustainability authority. This was a compromise to the African vision of a “home-grown” development strategy. Lack of self-reliance and implementation of externally relevant policies meant that Africa peoples’ aspirations were not considered in order to drive the continent out of the economic and social quagmire it was in.
- The impact of the Cold War on Africa was devastating because it was a divisive force that set African people and countries against each other, much against the intention of the OAU, which strived towards a united Africa.
- The legacy of colonialism contributed to the failure of LPA because post-colonial states inherited systems that were not fully transformed and fully shaped to

address the needs and demands of the post-independence period. This suggests that a lot of energy was spent on issues of democracy and governance before addressing the issues of development.

- Capacity building and institutional strength are required to address challenges facing the continent, especially the quest for improved service delivery. There was a move to transform public administration and governance structures to ensure that there is a shift from control-centred public service to delivery-centred public services (Dia, 1996:1-5).

A combination of these factors contributed to the failure of the LPA, despite the noble intentions it had for growth and development in Africa. This is an indication and a reality that any attempt to develop socio-economic programme without addressing the nature of the African postcolonial state was bound to fail. This suggests that in order to address the issue of policy implementation in the African public services, African leaders should pay particular attention to the post independent state, which include reinventing the role of government in promoting quality service delivery in African public services. The difficulties experienced during this period led to the OAU losing hope for an African Renaissance when it enters into the third phase in the 1990s.

#### 1.3.5.3. Phase III: From the 1990s to 2000

This period saw the creation of a conducive environment for the acceleration of African renaissance endeavours. The end of the Cold War created better conditions for the resolution of intra- and inter-state conflicts on the continent and also lessened political divisions on the African continent. It was during this phase, especially from 1989 when the wave for democratisation hit the continent. These conditions then provided a fertile ground for the transformation of the post-colonial African state. Popular participation also gained significance in African politics, which is valuable practice to give effect to the continent's renaissance. The movement towards democratisation reactivated and re-mobilised the African masses for the good cause of the continent because it died a silent death earlier on. It was during this period that the public-private partnership notion came to the surface in Africa with the intention of joining forces to improve the socio-economic conditions of the African continent and its people. It is important to note that it

was during this period that the OAU achieved one of its objectives, the liberation of Namibia and South Africa, which marked an era where a chapter for the continent's colonial history was closed. It was particularly during this phase that better conditions were created for the reassessment of Pan-Africanism (Abraham, 2003:14-16). African peoples gained hope that through unity and collective action African challenges could be addressed.

Reference can also be made to the adoption of the Abuja Treaty in the phase under review. The Abuja Treaty was aimed at taking the LPA vision forward as a developmental project for Africa's socio-economic recovery. The OAU had targeted 2005 for the creation of regional integration mechanism through the African Economic Community. One of the reasons why the African Economic Community may not succeed is the fact that it is designed along the European Community model without first creating relevant structures and institutions that will support policy implementation within the continent. The model of the EU may not be appropriate for the African continent because it (African continent) still lacks strong and viable economies (Umrabulo, 2002:98). In order to strengthen its political capacity, the OAU revised the Abuja Treaty's time frames in order to meet the demands of the changed period. The OAU was reviewed as a structure and a mandate for African leaders, through which the expectations and aspirations of people would be addressed. This review leads to the last phase of the OAU.

#### 1.3.5.4. Phase IV: From 2000 to the current position

A decision was taken Togo in 2000, to transform the OAU into a new structure to ensure that it is re-aligned to current demands and challenges. The call to review the structure of the OAU was necessitated by difficulties, which the continent experienced in the implementation of the adopted plans such as the LPA. In 2001, in a Summit in Lusaka, Zambia, the OAU took a decision to launch the African Union (AU) in Durban. It was at the Lusaka Summit that the OAU adopted the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as a strategy for the continent's development (Umrabulo, 2002:100). The new initiative was believed to be a "made-in-Africa" strategy aimed at achieving the human-centred and sustainable development to ensure that Africa becomes an active player in

the world economy. It was during this phase that African leaders felt that better and effective leadership and governance was key to achieve Africa's objectives (Harsch, 2001:21).

This period signaled a refusal by African peoples to accept poor economic and ineffective political leadership. The OAU was regarded as a primarily political vehicle for African leaders in their endeavour to set the continent free from colonialism and to create unity amongst African states, to ensure that the African continent face its challenges as a collective. It is important to indicate that the OAU was formed at a time when there were repeated failures in the past by African governments and regional organisations to achieve the early aspirations of unity, social progress and people's participation (Harsch, 2003:20). The OAU managed to free the continent from colonialism because African countries gained independence during the OAU era. The transformation of the OAU was accelerated by new challenges whereby African countries had to devise new ways of interacting with each other and with the rest of the world. African leaders took a decision at the political level to transform the OAU into a more effective, efficient and relevant continent-wide institution. The OAU achieved its mandate even if new challenges have presented themselves and they need a completely new continental organisation. The new organisation, the AU, will be discussed in the following subsection.

#### 1.3.6. The achievements of the OAU

According to Mbeki (2003:28) the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) lived up to its mandate to eradicate all forms of colonialism from the African continent. The eradication of colonialism is one of the highlights of the OAU; despite all the critics that the OAU will never succeed to achieve its set goals. The liquidation of colonialism on the continent could be regarded as one of the historic achievements of the organisation and it's an honour in the history of the formation of modern Africa. Colonisation and slavery crippled the people of Africa in the sense that it took away their dignity and destroyed their indigenous ways of life. The OAU kept the vision of unity and solidarity alive amongst African states and this organisation provided a valuable base to sharpen the skills of most of Africa's visionary leaders to ensure that they form one united Africa.

The OAU did achieve its mandate and it managed to end colonialism on the continent. Pan-Africanism was a driving force in the 1960s on the continent that proved to be a powerful tool to overcome hurdles that faced the continent. The main reason for the success of Pan-Africanism was the recognition by African leaders that African problems can be resolved through the unity of the African people. The OAU was able to conduct its successful brand of conflict resolution in the Ethiopia-Somalia conflicts, the Kenya-Somalia conflict and the Algeria-Morocco conflict. This was a milestone in the history of the OAU, which was a demonstration that African problems will be resolved through African solutions (Ake, 1996:78). The Pan-Africanist atmosphere that prevailed during the 1960s inspired African leaders to understand that any conflict in Africa was an African problem. Today most African countries are riddled with strife and conflicts. Do we need to go back to Pan-Africanism of the 1960s for solutions or what then is required to resolve the problems that plagued the African continent? The African Union (AU) is attempting to find African solutions to African problems through the implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), to ensure that Public Services respond to the needs of the community. Therefore, the search for solutions should not end.

The African Economist (2003:8 – 14) provides a list of OAU achievements, which date from its inception until the year 2000. Most notable events are recorded from 1989 and they range from the call for sanctions, which were aimed at disciplining countries that violated human rights principles against their people. Sanctions in South Africa were applied to force the minority white regime to abandon apartheid and all its policies that discriminated against the Black majority (De Villiers, 175: 24-27). Simply put, one may declare that the OAU was instrumental in dismantling apartheid because this system of government produced poverty amongst the Black African majority. It was again during this era that African leaders formed the African Economic Community (AEC), to strengthen regional integration in the continent to promote economic growth and development. Unfortunately this dream was shattered due to lack of resources for sustainability. The idea is still alive amongst Africans who still want to see the AEC established by the year 2025. The OAU has been instrumental in general elections within

the continent, monitoring them to ensure that they are free and fair. The achievements pointed out in this subsection are enough evidence to conclude that African leaders were committed to a united Africa. This ideal was singled out as an important factor to assist African countries to improve the lives of their citizens. These efforts would indicate the causal relationship between bad governance, underdevelopment and poverty. Bad governance leads to conflicts, strife and instability, which compromise investor confidence for any meaningful investment in such conditions, for both internal and external or foreign investment.

#### 1.3.6.1. Step by step account of the achievements

Notable achievements of the OAU will be chronologically analysed to indicate that the organisation matured with time in handling matters within its operational sphere. In 1989 the OAU formed the African Anti-Apartheid Committee, to fight any kind of apartheid that still existed in African states. The fight against apartheid through the OAU was a confirmation that whatever happens in one African country affects the whole African continent. This was the realisation by African leaders that they need to operate as a collective instead of single states, as was the case during colonialism and slavery. In the same year the OAU mediated between the governments of Mauritania and Senegal after an ethnic conflict erupted in the two countries. The UN was urged to facilitate the independence of Namibia (The African Economist, 2003:8). President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and the Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Annan have recently declared that without peace, Africa cannot develop (Pretoria News, 2004:15). The AU still is involved in conflicting resolution missions in African countries in order to ensure that there is peace and stability on the continent. Peace and stability revitalises the credibility of the African countries and the continent in the eyes of the international communities.

In 1990, the Assembly of Heads of State signed a treaty on the creation of an African Economic Community (AEC). The target date for the creation of the AEC was the year 2025. The envisaged continental organisation would be founded on the basis of the five economic community organisations, namely Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Common



Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). The regional economic communities were formed in order to unite African countries in order to collectively fight economic underdevelopment and for effective participation in the world economy. According to Dia (1996:2-8) African countries should embrace public accountability and service delivery in a transparent way to ensure that citizens' confidence is enhanced in public administration. In order to support the regional economic communities, the Committee of Heads of state and government was formed to assist national reconciliation of political stability in Somalia (The African Economist, 2003:9).

Efforts were made in 1992 by the OAU and other international bodies to resolve the conflicts in Somalia and it was during the same year that an OAU mission was dispatched to South Africa to monitor continued violence. Attempts were also made during this period to establish mechanisms, which would be responsible for the management, the prevention and the resolution of conflicts. An *Ad Hoc* Committee on Southern Africa was formed by the OAU to discuss a report on practical steps required to facilitate the democratisation of South Africa (The African Economist, 2003:9). In order to execute and deliver on its mandate, the OAU required the availability of financial resources, which were difficult to collect from member states (Adedeji, 2002: 5-6).

It was during 1993 that the OAU had serious financial challenges that it had to rely on allocations to create conflict prevention structures and further allocations were made for monitoring elections that took place during this period. It was in this year that the Pan-African Conference on Reparations was held to urge the beneficiaries of colonialism and slavery, especially European countries and America, to make reparations to Africans and their descendents (Adedeji, 2002: 5). The reparations were to be in the form of capital transfers or debt cancellations. In July the same year a seminar on the African Economic Community was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The AEC was not operational because there was lack of resources to implement the strategies envisaged. In September the same year, the OAU announced the immediate removal of sanctions against South Africa. This was informed by South African Parliament's decision to establish a Transitional Executive Council in preparation for democratic elections in 1994. This was a positive

move, which was supported by the OAU, with the result that apartheid would be outlawed. The OAU attempted to resolve conflicts, which erupted in Burundi. It was essential at this stage for the OAU to establish peacekeeping and conflict resolution structures and the management thereof (The African Economist, 2003:9). The OAU was determined to promote peace and stability on the continent to ensure political and socio-economic development on the continent, to provide a better life for all.

In July 1994 the OAU sent observers to South Africa to oversee the first democratic elections. It was during this year that an OAU delegation was sent to Nigeria and Cameroon to investigate border disputes between the two countries. In May the same year South Africa was accepted as the 53<sup>rd</sup> member of the OAU (The African Economist, 2003:10). This was actually a breakthrough for the OAU because the period marked the end of apartheid rule on the continent and this was also the beginning of new developments because the AU receives assistance and support from the South Africa government to manage most of the continent's projects, especially around peace settlements and the resolution of conflicts. The OAU was determined to see democracy prevailing on the continent. This challenge is still relevant for the AU. One may ask the question why South African independence from apartheid has been on the agenda of the OAU and other international multilateral organisations? South Africa possesses adequate resources, which are key to Africa's development and economic growth. The move to integrate countries in the continent is aimed at sharing best practices among African countries and the sharing of resources to uplift one another and the continent as a whole.

In 1995 the OAU was experiencing financial difficulties and had to suspend the budget, despite the fact that Rwanda was experiencing problems during this period. Financial resources play an important role for an organisation to achieve its objectives in terms of its vision. Lack of resources for the OAU meant that it had to suspend most of its operations, especially those projects that were aimed at resolving conflicts, which prevailed in most parts of the continent (The African Economist, 2003:11). The OAU was determined to resolve conflicts in order to create an environment that would encourage investment in and within the African continent. Both internal and external

investments will lead to economic growth and create employment opportunities, which will in turn ensure that a better life for citizens becomes a reality.

It was during this year that the OAU Council of Ministers held a session in Cairo, Egypt where they adopted an agenda for action intended to stimulate African economic and social development. The document emphasised peace, democratic government and stability as prerequisites for the achievement of development targets. The OAU principles were further agreed upon under the GATT Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. It was during 1995 that the OAU joined forces with the UN and the Commonwealth Secretariat to assess and facilitate the peace process in Sierra Leone. The OAU sent some delegates to monitor elections in Zanzibar and Algeria in the year under review. The OAU's agenda was supported by the international multilateral organisations because it would lead to peace and stability, which are essential for economic growth and development on the continent. Political stability and peace improve investors' confidence and stimulate entrepreneurship. A number of collective action scenarios exist.

In 1996 the OAU leaders expressed their support for Boutros Boutros-Ghali's candidacy as the UN Secretary-General, in exception of Pasteur Bizimingu of Rwanda who accused the UN of not providing his country and its people with protection during the civil unrests of 1994. The United States (US) opposed the election of Boutros-Ghali and the OAU had to request the African nations to recommend an alternative candidate for the position. Kofi Annan of Ghana was recommended and thereafter elected, the position he still holds to date. It is interesting to note that when the military regime took government in Burundi, the OAU supported a decision by seven east and central African countries to impose sanctions against the new military junta (Harsch, 2002:13). It was during this year that the AEC inaugural meeting was held. The plight of the African people was a concern to multilateral organisations, including the UN as demonstrated by a donation, which was made by the UNDP to the OAU for a conflict management mechanism within the continent. Collective action has more power than individualistic action in global affairs, especially in areas, which need consensus and agreement over a wide spectrum of issues (De Villiers, 1974: 124-129).

In 1998 the OAU concluded an agreement with La Franchophonie to cooperate in economic and cultural areas. It was again during this period that the OAU declared its support for ECOWAS efforts to restore President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone to power. The OAU established an International Panel of Eminent Personalities to examine all aspects that were related to the Rwandan genocide of 1994 (Harsch, 2002: 16). A special trust fund was set up to finance the activities of the investigating team into matters concerning the genocide (The African Economist, 2003:12). It is important to indicate that the OAU was showing effective collective leadership in response to challenges facing the African continent and its citizens. Implementation of agreements and contracts becomes effective if there are structures and institutions that are entrusted with this responsibility. Unity in action is important to international affairs and activities.

It is clear from the efforts made by the OAU that it was serious about the integration of the African countries into a continental force, which will provide a platform and a vehicle to assist Africans in the resolution of conflicts. Regional economic communities were formed to facilitate the creation of a “United States of Africa”, to ensure that African countries overcome their identity crisis. This was tantamount to a pledge of solidarity with other African countries whose citizens were suffering from all types of socio-economic and cultural ills. All efforts were made to create a peaceful and a stable Africa in order to bolster investor confidence in the African economy. African people identify themselves positively with the continent; therefore, they should work together to deal with with the challenges that are facing African public services.

#### 1.3.7. Shortcomings or the challenges confronting the OAU

Africa had seen many starts in the past, which did not live up to the expectations of the people of Africa and did not achieve their objectives of uniting African countries. This weakness was partly attributed to the way in which both governments and existing regional organisations “tiptoed around reality.” Amara Essey, OAU General-Secretary noted that African needed participatory governance in order to involve the citizens and civil society organisations in their affairs in order to get credibility and legitimacy.

Participatory governance promotes public accountability while building credibility and confidence in government machinery and structures (Dia, 1996:34). Essey came to the realisation that organisations were an affair of governments and the exclusion of other living forces. African citizens had little input into national and regional affairs and yet they purported to be representing and serving their interests. The OAU and other existing regional organisations were criticised because only a handful of officials had to make commitments that bore very little relationship to the actual priorities of the people of Africa and governments in most cases ignored these aspirations because they were not involved in these structures (Harsch, 2003:20). The involvement of civil society would ensure that government business is informed by peoples' needs and government machinery would be held accountable for goals and objectives that were not achieved. The accusations leveled against African leaders could be resolved by referring to the views expressed by Olson (1993:568) when he indicates that a small group of people can usually engage in spontaneous collective action whilst large groups may not be able to achieve collective goals through voluntary collective action. This might be one of the reasons why it has been difficult for regional organisations to form one coherent continental organisation without consensus from all relevant stakeholders.

The conduct of the OAU did not escape the criticism of the ordinary Africans who perceived the organisation as a union of dictators or a civil society group. These views were echoed by the chairman of Kampala-based Pan-African Movement, which was a civil society group, Mr Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem. Another example of criticism leveled against the OAU came from the Nigerian playwright, Wole Soyika who accused the OAU of being a collaborative club of friends. President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa openly declared that the OAU and the people of the Comoros have collectively returned the country to democracy, peace, stability and unity which was a confirmation of the continent's capacity to resolve its problems (The African Economist, 2003:12). Even if the OAU did not win all battles the continent waged against underdevelopment and political disunity, its success rate was remarkable and encouraging. Some of the achievements of the OAU will be discussed in the subsection dealing with the highlights of the organisation.

Some African leaders felt that the OAU was not developmental in approach and that its policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states contributed to its weaknesses. The environment and the needs of Africans at that stage pointed at colonialism as public enemy number one to the African continent. African leaders decided to fight colonialism in an effort to build a united Africa. The policy of non-interference was relevant at that time in view of the fact that some countries were alleged to have been involved in covert acts, which destabilised other nation states. The non-interference policy was an appeasement provision because some governments believed that the government of Ghana was involved in both the death of Togo's President, Mr Sylvanus Olympio and the change of government that soon followed. The non-interference policy served its purpose in 1963, to ensure that many countries signed the OAU charter, which protected their sovereignty and guaranteed their right to exist independent of other states ([www.oau-creation.com/Part%20Five.htm](http://www.oau-creation.com/Part%20Five.htm)). This was a diplomatic move, which was relevant during the 1960s in order to strike a balance amongst the African leaders so that they can achieve the objective of uniting Africa and the decolonisation of the continent, which would ensure that government concentrates on the provision of quality services to improve the lives of their citizens. Colonialism created divisions amongst African people, which meant that a common goal had to be identified to foster unity against perspectives created by the colonisers who exploited available public resources for the exclusive benefit of the colonisers (ANC Today, 2002:1).

#### 1.3.8. The dimensions of African Renaissance

This research will not be comprehensive without a discussion on African Renaissance because it was an instrumental force towards regional integration and the creation of a common vision (Mbeki, 2002: 4). African renaissance as a vision has five fundamental dimensions. The first dimension involves development, which calls for the fight against underdevelopment to create a better life for all and the eradication of poverty. The second dimension involves a move towards the affirmation and protection of African culture, which was reduced to second-class status by colonial powers that imposed their cultures

on the African people. The third dimension was the improvement of Africa's global standing through the struggle for reform and the transformation of the United Nations and the International trade and financial institutions (Peace and Security Council, World Trade Organisation (WTO), World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). These structures needed to be transformed so that they can be representative of the continents of the world in order to represent the interests of all regions in the world (Fabricius, 2004:9). The fourth dimension addresses peace and security matters, which are aimed at bringing an end to wars and violent conflicts in the African continent. The fifth dimension involves democracy and good governance, which calls for the promotion of democracy through popular participation, respect for human rights, the improvement of state capacity to deliver quality services to the citizens and the strengthening of people-driven governance (Umrabulo, 2002:96). African renaissance dimensions are aiming at the transformation of African states so that they can respect the rule of law and practice good governance in order to advance the interests of the African people in the continent and the African Diaspora. The dimensions are actually aimed at a better life for all, with their attempt to create and increase the capacity of the state to deliver on its mandate to its citizens. The five dimensions of African renaissance must form the basis of African movement towards development and economic growth. Development approaches should respect cultural settings of communities in order to enjoy support and ownership.

The African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) are actually attempts to operationalise the African renaissance vision; the two are an attempt to create value system for the continent. Simply translated, the African Union provides the organisational vehicle for the realisation of the African renaissance whilst NEPAD is the programme of action of the African Renaissance. The locus of the AU and NEPAD is within the framework of the history of Africa's quest for unity and its renaissance (Mbeki, 2002: 5). The formation of African organisations were based on the African renaissance dimension with the aim of making the African continent a force to be reckoned in the global village.

#### 1.4. THE FORMATION OF THE AFRICAN UNION

The challenges of the new millennium and globalisation necessitated the transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) as a continental vehicle towards the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment on the continent. African leaders realised that the time has come to ensure that they become more committed and guided by a common vision of a united and strong African continent. This commitment was the drive behind the continent's leaders to transform the OAU into a new more ambitious African Union. This drive meant that the July Summit in Lusaka, Zambia was the last for the OAU. The leaders were primarily motivated by the need to build a strong partnership and collaboration between the ruling and the ruled, between the governments and all segments of civil society. Governments that consult civil society would promote transparency and accountability and the implementation of policies would attempt to address citizens' needs. This interaction with government's clients would ensure that the policies of government are relevant to address people's needs and demands (Africa Recovery, 2001:22). In addition, to give effect to the interactive processes, the African leaders were motivated by the need to combat the scourge of conflicts, the promotion and protection of human rights, the consolidation of democratic institutions and culture and the need to ensure that good governance and the rule of law prevail.

The move to transform the OAU was taken after it was discovered that its structures, which were created in 1963, had not improved living conditions of the people of Africa. People on the African continent lived in squalor and a poverty quagmire despite being politically free from colonization (World Bank, 1992: 15). The first call to transform the OAU was issued in September 1999 in Sirte, Libya. To consolidate this move, during the next OAU Summit which was held in Lomé, Togo the Constitutive Act was adopted and submitted for signatures and ratification by the OAU's 53 member states. It was out of this process that the AU was officially proclaimed in March 2001. When African leaders gathered in Lusaka, they mainly discussed the transitional and preparatory steps, which were essential before the AU Summit in Durban, South Africa the following year. To ensure that the transition occurs without creating an institutional vacuum between the periods when the AU replaces the OAU, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim was also replaced by



the former Foreign Minister of Côte d' Ivore, Amara Essy, to lead the transitory period (Africa Recovery, 2001:22).

It is important to note the kind of support, which will be given to the AU by the international community, and how the AU will overcome the problem of lack of confidence in African leaders' political commitment to their plans. Some Africans felt that the AU was the correct thing to do at the right time. An element of uncertainty was expressed with regard to confidence and willingness of foreign investors to do business in a continent that was characterised by conflicts, unrests and lawlessness. The AU was painted with the same brush that was used to paint the ineffectiveness of the OAU. African initiatives were considered with suspicion, applying the principle of "one size fits all". If the OAU did not improve the socio-economic conditions of the African continent and its people, therefore, the AU would also not create a better life for all (Africa Recovery, 2002: 25).

It is important to note that it was 39 years after the OAU was launched, that the African leaders inaugurated its successor, the AU in Durban, South Africa, in July 2002. The AU inherited the mantle of Pan-Africanism, even though its mandate has been broadened to cope with the demands and challenges of globalisation (Africa Recovery, 2002:25). African leaders had realised, at this stage that Africans could no longer fold their arms and allow their marginalisation to go unchallenged. The African continent wanted to take active and meaningful part in the global affairs as equal participants in the world economy. The sentiments echoed by African leaders were realistic because it is through such moves that the continent may improve the lives of its peoples (Fabricius, 2004: 8).

The OAU did succeed in decolonising the continent; both the African people and the international community expected more from the AU. This expectation arose from the fact that Africans have learnt from the challenges of the OAU what works and what does not work. The OAU assistant secretary, Lawrence Agubuzza, echoed this sentiment when he stated that if one does not know where he comes from, he/she would not know where he/she was going. The AU expects to create 17 constituent bodies, four of which were

set up in Durban, South Africa, such as the Assembly, Commission, Executive Council and the Permanent Representatives Committee

In an effort to meet the challenges of the new millennium, African leaders realised the need to transform the OAU in terms of its structure and mandate (Africa Recovery 2002: 36). As indicated earlier on, the OAU was primarily political because its emphasis was on “sovereignty” and “non-interference” of member states. What were clearly lacking in the mandate were issues of democracy, good governance and human rights. The AU was established at the Durban Summit, South Africa as a transformed organisation with a number of areas that were a concern to both the African people and the international community. The AU was given a political mandate with which it was to create an African community as was envisaged by the OAU. The AU aimed at creating an integrated political, social and economic whole in Africa. In order to achieve its goals successfully, the AU would form a number of organs, such as the Pan-African Parliament (PAP), financial institutions (Central Bank of Africa, Investment Bank and Monetary Fund), the Court of Justice and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (for representation of civil society). Of importance is that the AU mandate emphasised democracy, good governance and the respect for human rights which principles are key to political and socio-economic development. The AU’s vision and mission are contained in the Constitutive Act of the AU.

#### 1.4.1. Constitutive Act of the AU

African governments and their citizens have become aware that enhanced public service delivery is the hallmark of responsive governance. In addition, they are aware that the level and quality of public services are important to eradicate poverty. African leaders have equally realised that it is necessary to uphold the values of ethics and accountability of public institutions that are tasked with the responsibility of delivering quality services to citizens (Committee on Human Development and Civil Society, 2003:1). Even if better service delivery is now a higher priority, success is still limited, hence this study to find out if African leaders may come up with policies that are realistic and implementable in order to eradicate poverty in African countries.

The Constitutive Act of the AU has a number of objectives, but the primary objective is to promote and protect human and people's rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant international instruments. The AU's principles include the respect for democratic principles, human rights, and the rule of law and good governance. These principles have been identified as prerequisites for economic growth and sustainable development (Economic Commission for Africa, 2004:22). The African Heads of States and Government of the Member States of the OAU adopted the Constitutive Act to further the aims of the founding fathers of the continental organisation and other Pan-Africanists who fought for the liberation of the continent. The Constitutive Act was adopted to push forward Africa's desire for a united African states to confront poverty issues on the continent and to be in a better position to deal with the challenges of a globalising world economy ([www.african-union.org](http://www.african-union.org)). This vision was based on the need to forge a sustainable relationship and partnership amongst governments and also partnership with their civil society organisations. The Constitutive Act embodies the vision of African leaders' commitment to take decisive steps to ensure that the continent faces its challenges as a united front and that is determined to push back the frontiers of poverty and underdevelopment. The Constitutive Act was a document to resuscitate the commitment of African leaders to own and lead the process of uplifting the African continent. The Assembly of the OAU has powers to determine common policies of the Union, to establish any organ of the Union and to monitor the implementation of policies and decisions of the Union as well as to ensure compliance by all Member States. The Assembly is also authorised by the Constitutive Act of the AU to delegate any of its powers and functions to any organ of the Union. The Constitutive Act set the platform for African leaders to pursue development strategies to eradicate poverty on the continent. 53 African Heads of State and Government at Lomé, Togo on 11 July 2000 adopted the Constitutive Act. AU member states were afforded an opportunity to consult the AU organs for support and assistance in the implementation of relevant and appropriate policies to ensure effective service delivery to the public ([www.african-union.org](http://www.african-union.org)).

Key areas that need attention for Africa's development as enshrined in the Constitutive Act of the AU revolve around capacity building and accountability of state institutions. African governments and policy-makers are called upon to strengthen their Parliaments and the deepening of their legal and judicial reforms to promote property rights and to ensure the independence of the courts of law (Economic Commission for Africa, 2004: 25). The other areas that need attention from African governments and policy-makers include the improvement of public sector management, the removal of bottlenecks to private enterprises, tapping the potential of information and communication technologies (ICT) to support and speed up government services. Policy-makers need to formulate policies that will attack HIV/Aids to end its pernicious effects on governance and development in general. African governments and policy-makers are also urged to use traditional modes of governance in order to promote development and enforce contracts (Economic Commission for Africa, 2004:26). It is clear that African countries and their leaders show determination to eradicate poverty and to promote socio-economic development on the continent. Effective leadership and good governance principles have been identified as requirements for effective implementation of policies that are aimed at sustainable development.

#### 1.4.2. Achievements of the African Union

The African Union was formed to provide African countries with an organization that can interact with other regional blocs such as the European Union. The AU will serve as an intergovernmental organisation to achieve African unity, peace and security and regional integration to increase the prosperity of the continent as was expressed by Moammar Al Qaddafi of Ethiopia. The aim of the AU was to harmonise the political and economic policies of all African nations to improve Pan-African welfare whilst providing Africans with a solid voice in international affairs (The African Economist, 2003:9). The AU has attempted to integrate the African nations through the NEPAD programme and the promotion of regional economic communities within Africa so that the continent can confront its socio-economic and social problems as a united force that will be able to support one another in their endeavours to improve the lives of their peoples (Mbeki, 2005: 4). The AU created an atmosphere where African leaders would share their best

practices, especially as modeled from other international institutions with experience and remarkable track record. African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is one such strategy, which will be used by African leaders and governments to review and assess their commitment to good governance principles and democracy, in line with the sharing of best practices and trying to find solutions for the African continent. It is believed that good governance and democratic principles are prerequisites for socio-economic and cultural growth and development of the continent. The process is undertaken to ensure that its mandates are accomplished by African countries, especially that countries' policies and practices conform to agreed governance values and standards (ANC Today, 2005:1-4).

According to the African Economist (2003:10), the AU's charter is stronger than the OAU's and will have "teeth" to deal with matters that confront its members. AU member states requested to comply with good governance values and sub regional communities would also intervene where there is a need. African leaders have noted that the AU will be better funded which is an added advantage, supplementing the strong charter of the organisation. In order to give effect to the charter, African leaders have indicated the need to form structures and institutions that will report to the AU Summit (Mbeki, 2002:3). The envisaged institutions include the Pan-African Parliament (PAP), which has already been instituted and with the permanent seat in Midrand, South Africa. Some of the institutions included the Central Bank and a common African currency, which is already a reality with in the ECOWAS member states, as will be discussed in chapter three of this research. It is worth noting that the continental court of justice is underway and will be functioning in the not distant future. These structures and institutions are established to ensure that the AU could implement its mandate and objectives. The formation of the AU in July 2002 was seen as another effort by Africans to create and strengthen the continent in its endeavours to end conflict, poverty and underdevelopment in the continent (ANC Today, 2002:1-3).

The AU will have institutions and structures that are necessary to give authority and ability to achieve economic and political integration amongst member states, as well as

working towards a common defense, foreign and communication policy. This means that national boundaries will be blurred to allow free movement within and in African countries. The intention is also to merge armies and to introduce a single passport for African peoples (The African Economist, 2003:8). African leaders and their people realised the need to be more united than before despite the fact that the continent was still facing challenges that were created by colonialism which will take some time to consolidate the creation of a “United States of Africa”. According to Thabo Mbeki, President of South Africa, African Renaissance is a movement of social and economic recovery, which is believed to be sweeping the continent, to improve the lives of all the African peoples (Pretoria News, 2004:15). The AU is hopeful that African renaissance is a reality in Africa, hence their appeal to the international communities to provide resources that are essential to ensure that Africa drives the vehicle and strategies towards socio-economic and social development. African leaders have to realise that each African country’s economic development should be linked to whatever happens in Africa as a whole. The benefits of collective action overweigh those of individualistic actions. This should be regarded as an important milestone in the history of Africans.

#### 1.4.3. Strengths for the African Union

One of the advantages of the AU was the support that it enjoyed from the African leaders themselves who out of the experience with the shortcomings of the OAU decided to form an organisation that they felt would rescue the African continent from underdevelopment and poverty. African leaders were determined to eradicate poverty that prevailed amongst the African peoples. In their minds African leaders wanted to form an organisation that would provide the panacea for Africa’s problems. One would remember that European powers created a plan about 118 years ago to ensure that African countries would remain dependent on European countries. This plan was hatched during the Berlin Conference when European powers decided to share African countries amongst themselves (Africa Recovery, 2002: 10). During the Lusaka Summit, African leaders asked themselves a question on how different their new organisation would be from the OAU. They were particularly concerned with the continent’s governments many of which have politically and economically failed to improve the lives of their citizens (Harsch, 2002: 13).

Uppermost in their minds was the question of how best the AU will represent the interests of the ordinary African citizens, how best will the AU mobilise the masses around their policies? It is worth noting that the OAU did very little to unite the African states as was intended and that the regional organisations that were established during the OAU period did not bring about regional economic integration. Regional integration is essential to formulate economic policies that would improve the economic conditions of the African continent and its people (Africa Recovery, 2002:10). It was on the basis of the need to form coherent regional economic communities that would strengthen the unity on the continent, which would serve as an incentive to collectively deal with African problems from an African perspective.

At this juncture, the African continent, leaders were concerned about the level of progress made to ensure that there was economic development through accessibility into world markets, such as the European Union. This serves as a strength for the AU because it was common cause at this stage that development would not be achieved when countries operate as individuals but they have realised the need to act collectively as an African consortium of African states. The African collectivism, in line with the cultural perspectives of the African people would be an added advantage on the part of African leaders who wanted to cement the dreams of leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah who had long fought for a united African continent. To this end, one will have to admit that a visionary leadership is key to carry the wishes of Africans forward so that Africa ultimately respond positively and spontaneously to meet the demands of its citizens. Africa's recovery and development depend on effective economic leadership and good governance leadership to drive the process forward and towards peace and stability. A unified position was desirable because many African countries were small and had been disadvantaged by colonialism. It would be difficult to expect such small countries with poverty stricken peoples to come up with structures and programmes that will improve their conditions without the help from other African countries. According to the Africa Recovery (2002:20) the former OAU secretary-general, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim stressed the fact that Africans could no longer wait to join the international community in the scramble for the world pie (Harsch, 2002: 20). Salim emphasised that world communities

were anxiously waiting for the African continent to show efforts to improve the socio-economic conditions of its citizens. In order to assist one another it was essential to establish a continental organisation like the AU. It remains to be seen if the AU will live up to this expectation.

The question that comes to one's mind whenever discussing the plight of the African continent and its people is, if African leaders and the international community are concerned about the conditions prevailing on this continent. One may enquire into the reasons why Africa's problems are not resolved. One is tempted to say that there is a need to look seriously into the structures and institutions that are formed and established in an attempt to solve Africa's problems. There is a need to look at the principles of public administration to ensure that there is effective leadership and the necessary managerial skills to ensure that appropriate policies are formulated to improve the lives of ordinary Africans. It is important to indicate that there is more hope in the AU amongst the Africans because of the past experiences learnt from decades of attempting to make the OAU functional. One advantage for the AU is that it is better off compared to the OAU because it operated in an environment that is not characterised by big powers of the world that backed undemocratic and repressive governments. This state of affairs was particularly rife during the OAU era, especially during the Cold War. This fact was also supported by the executive director of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) when he noted that African governments were obliged by external international financial institutions to carry out structural adjustments (Africa Recovery, 2002:20). The AU will operate in a different environment where externalities no longer dictate terms in African countries. The AU has an added advantage in that the continent boasts more democratically elected governments and there is greater determination amongst African leaders to adopt progressive economic policies, creating an environment that is conducive to regional integration and unity against poverty. The Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi reiterated the observations made about the advantages before the AU when he indicated that the AU's agenda will be dominated by the creation of one political and economic wish, to fast-track regional integration (Africa Recovery, 2002:20). Integration will ensure that African problems are tackled at a



continental level where there will be high exchange of resources to achieve African objectives.

Based on the above discussion, it is important to integrate the continent to ensure that policy guidelines and best practices could be shared amongst leaders. Regional and sub regional integration would promote and improve interaction amongst African countries. This study will discuss the question of regional integration in an attempt to eradicate poverty on the continent through the adoption of relevant and realistic policies. The reason to move towards an integrated Africa was introduced in African politics when the idea of forming an African Economic Community (AEC) was ushered in during the OAU era. The adoption of the African Union's Constitutive Act was a move towards an accelerated achievement of a "United States of Africa" (Africa Recovery, 2002:20). Despite all the promising goals and direction of the AU, there were other formations that felt there were still other challenges that the AU has to face before receiving all the accolades.

#### 1.4.4. Views of youth and women organisations

The Africa Recovery (2002:20) reports that African leadership had lost some credibility amongst youth organisations. It is also indicated that some civil society formations had limited confidence in the willingness of African governments to live up to their commitments. Credibility deficit on African leaders has generated cynicism whereby Mr Thomas Tchemi, president of the Association for Communication Development amongst the youth in Cameroon openly proclaimed skepticism in the African Union. Professor Maria Nzomo of the University of Nairobi raised her pessimisms about the AU because long after the World Conference on Women in Beijing women have not yet formed the 30 percent representativity that was declared at the Conference. Nzomo was concerned about women representation in Pan-African Parliament institutions that were envisaged to tackle African continent problems. Another misgiving was around the issue of traveling restrictions which were still prevalent in Africa but which were a thing of the past amongst members of the European Union. The AU has to work closely with youths and

women organizations so that they could provide inputs into the policies that are envisaged.

#### 1.4.5. Challenges facing the African Union

The Africa Recovery (2002:21) has cited a number of challenges that still lie ahead of the African Union in its endeavour to turnaround the continent. The AU is challenged by the need to see Africans been able to travel freely within the continent and into other world regions without hassles. This challenge is exacerbated by the fact that members of the European Union communities travel freely into some African countries. As indicated in the previous subsection unrestricted movement between and within African countries will enable the countries to share resources, which are crucial to socio-economic development and growth (Harsch, 2002: 21). Once there is economic growth and development in Africa, poverty and other social ills will be dealt with and ultimately be eliminated on the continent. Another challenge facing the African Union revolves around accountability, whether African leaders would be held accountable to their people. This challenge means that African leaders should be held answerable for their actions or inactions in their endeavour to render services and provide goods to their citizens. The principle of accountability is linked to public participation or civil society involvement in the setting of performance standards for public institutions to ensure that their performance could be evaluated on agreed performance standards. These challenges were not resolved by the OAU, yet great expectations are declared on the AU to look into these challenges in order to seek a solution for African problems. Citizen participation at country level will help to create a strong African Union on the continent. The expectations from the AU should not lead to Africans believing that the AU would solve all the problems of African states but rather a vehicle that should support individual states to make efforts to solve their problems. It is believed that the basic solution to a problem is country-based. Member states are challenged to exert pressure on their institutions and government structures to work towards achieving sustainable growth and development. African countries and their peoples regard economic and political integration as key to Africa's development (Harsch, 2002: 10).

#### 1.4.6. NEPAD as an African Union programme

The section after this subsection will discuss the historical background of NEPAD. A question that is often asked relates to whether NEPAD was an OAU programme or whether it is an AU programme? NEPAD was endorsed by the OAU Lusaka, Zambia Summit that initiated the transition of the AU (Africa Recovery, 2002:19). This was a continent-wide initiative, which was intended to offer economic, social and political strategy to the African continent under the AU, which was formed to succeed the OAU. Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu, the South African president's special advisor on economic matters and NEPAD once declared that NEPAD was in fact an OAU programme. There is however a technical and operational context that would see NEPAD as the AU programme because since its endorsement, the OAU had been preoccupied with the preparation to transit into the AU. Matters related to NEPAD after its endorsement was then handled by the Implementation Committee under the direction of 15 African heads of state (Africa Recovery, 2002:19). It is believed that all these initiatives by the OAU and the AU were aimed at the transformation of the African society to eradicate poverty and build a united African continent that can be equal to the challenges of the continent. The next section will discuss the history of NEPAD.

### 1.5. THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD)

#### 1.5.1. The origin of NEPAD

It is important at this stage to indicate how the mandate to form NEPAD got its genesis. It was at the OAU extraordinary Summit in Sirte, Libya during September 1999 that President Mbeki of South Africa and President Bouteflika of Algeria were requested to engage Africa's creditors with a plea to cancel the huge debt that African countries found themselves in. On the other hand, it was at the South Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the G-77, held in Havana, Cuba during April 2000 that President Mbeki and President Obasanjo of Nigeria were mandated to convey the concerns of the South to the G-8 and the Bretton Woods Institutions ([www.au.nepad\\_overview.htm](http://www.au.nepad_overview.htm)). What is interesting is the fact that Mbeki with both Bouteflika and Obasanjo had to convey two different concerns, which are related because they are aimed at Africa's

economic independence and growth. This was a good beginning because these concerns were identified as obstacles towards Africa's integration as a continent.

As a follow-up on the two mandates issued in the preceding paragraph, the OAU Summit held in Togo in July 2000 mandated the three Presidents to engage the developed nations of the North to develop a constructive partnership for the regeneration of the African continent. It was out of this mandate that the three leaders raised the issue of a partnership with the G-8 at their Summit which was held in Japan in July 2000. African leaders wanted to form a partnership with African peoples themselves and with the rich industrialized nations of the world, in an effort to push back the frontiers of poverty in Africa (ANC Today, 2002:2). At this stage the initiative was referred to as the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP). Bilateral and multilateral discussions were held with role players in Africa's development to conscientise them around the need for a strategy and mechanism to deal with Africa's problems, which will differ from the previous strategies that were developed since Africa's independence. It was common knowledge that long after gaining independence Africa was still underdeveloped and poor, especially in comparison to other regions of the world. Colonisers wanted African peoples to be permanently colonised beings, creating a partnership of masters and servants (Mutharika, 1995: 28).

Africa's long-term development goals are anchored on the determination of the African peoples to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in the global village and the world economy. When the African leaders declared the new initiative as a developmental strategy for the continent it was not particularly clear how it was going to function without depending on the industrialised nations for aid. It was also not clear how African development could be achieved without relying on foreign aid. African leaders were on the other hand determined that the new initiative would deliver the continent from squalor and poverty without external leadership. African leaders declared that they are ready to determine their own destiny through leadership at their disposal within Africa (ANC Today, 2002: 3). They based their conviction on leadership's ability to harness all available capital, technology and

human resource skills, to ensure that Africa develops a new form of relationship with the international communities who will only come in as partners to complement Africa's own efforts (Harsch, 2002:13). The new initiative document combined two earlier plans, the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme launched by the Presidents of South Africa, Nigeria and Algeria, and the Omega Plan launched by Senegal's President, Abdoulaye Wade. The initiative recognises that colonialism has caused the weak states and the poor position of the private sector, which is important to employment opportunities and improved standard of living. On the other hand, globalisation was recognised as a factor that contributes to Africa's marginalisation in global trends and participation in the world economy. The initiative was aiming at effectively managing the integration of Africa into the global economy for future economic prosperity and poverty reduction (Africa Recovery: 2001:24).

The initiative argued that for Africa's development there is a need to emphasise three conditions that should be met. The first one relates to peace, security, democracy and good political governance. The second one is improved economic and corporate governance. The third factor relates to regional cooperation and integration (Africa Recovery, 2001:24). These conditions are still significant to date and they form the basis of African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) yardsticks and frame of reference. According to Sebelebele (2004:1) APRM is a bold and encouraging initiative, which serves as a boost for foreign investment and economic growth, coupled with the respect for the rule of law. The image of the African continent was painted as being hostile and unstable to invest in. This section will discuss the rationale of NEPAD, the aims and objectives of NEPAD, the institutional mechanism of NEPAD and the views of international communities and international formations.

#### 1.5.2. Clarifying the idea of a New Partnership for Africa's Development

Addressing a NEPAD Symposium in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia Meles Zenawi indicated that with NEPAD a new Africa was formed with the objective of pursuing the ideals of a true partnership for the development of the continent built on a symbiotic relationship between partners. The focus in this initiative is on a partnership between Africa and the

rest of the world with the intention of seeing to it that the African continent focuses its attention on development. The term has also been narrowly described as Africa's relationship with the donor countries. The Africa-donor relationship is characterised by a donor-recipient relationship whereby the donor will benefit with little benefits to the recipient in terms of self-reliance and self-sustainable development and growth (Asante, 1996: 19). This type of a relationship fails to build institutional capacity, due to lack of education and training to transfer skills and knowledge relevant for development. In this type of a relationship there is no clearly defined common interest and common objective. In such relationships there is lack of mutual accountability and mutual obligation. One has to point out that this relationship is likened to the relationship that existed between the African countries and the IMF and the World Bank. This type of a relationship has been in place for decades and yet Africa and the Africans are plagued by poverty and underdevelopment, hence the need for a new type of a partnership, NEPAD, based on the pursuit of common interest and mutual obligation. NEPAD requires ownership by Africans because the beneficiaries of this initiative are the African countries and their peoples (The African Economist, 2003:22 and Asante, 1996:20). Even though a new partnership is forged with other foreign communities, Africans should not forget that "God help those who help themselves". Asante (1996:20) points out that no other continent or country, no global institution and very few non-African individuals would mainly be concerned with and working with and for Africa and Africans. These views sum it all and serves as a challenge to African leaders so that they could educate their people to realise that Africa's development depends on their commitment as beneficiaries. In order to understand NEPAD clearer the next subsection will discuss the rationale behind the new partnership for socio-economic growth and development.

### 1.5.3. The rationale of NEPAD

The development of a new agenda for African recovery dates back to 1999. Presidents Mbeki, Obasanjo and Bouteflika, representing the interests of Africa and the South, initiated it. These leaders were mandated to present the case of African challenges to the global communities. Since independence, Africa has been clapping hands for support and assistance from developed countries and international institutions without ensuring that

Africa is saved from a poverty quagmire. The era of the formation of NEPAD presented fresh opportunities to the African continent to supplement the support that was received from external sources (ANC Today, 2002: 3).

In the past institutions were put in place to promote the development of Africa but they still did not succeed because economic growth and development shows a decline. The programmes that were put in place include the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community. These initiatives did not succeed, due to a number of reasons, such as timing, a lack of capacity, lack of adequate resources and lack of political will which was characterised by interference of outside during the Cold War era. Most importantly the plans to rediscover Africa failed due to lack of capacity to implement policies that were adopted. Progressive policies were adopted but problems were encountered during the implementation phase (Saxena, 2004: 2 and Cheema, 2003: 109).

It is important to note that if the environment is permitting, it is ideal to transform the past initiatives for economic integration with the continent and with their international economic blocs. In order to forge links with continental organisations and the international communities, the three African presidents requested the OAU to grant them a mandate to prepare a comprehensive development programme which was to be presented to the international communities representing the views and interests of African peoples. The envisaged development was to be taken as the foundation for the regeneration of the continent as well as being a vehicle to forge a new form of partnership within the global village, particularly the industrialised countries of the world and the multilateral organisations, IMF and the World Bank (Shende, 2003: 121).

The programme has to be comprehensive to look at all angles and levels, which are important to socio-economic development in the continent, as well as the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment. The programme has to be driven by Africans themselves even though the international communities will be approached or are needed to assist in the provision of other resources that Africa still lacks in. The type of partnership

envisaged will be based on mutual respect and openness so that the outcomes could be appropriate to the vision of the initiative. The programme was aiming at going beyond debt reduction, which characterised Africa during the dependency relationship that existed between African countries and the industrialised communities, as well as multilateral organisations. This culminated in the creation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in order to ensure that African countries develop good economic and political leadership, which are preconditions for development in the continent.

When the three presidents were initially mandated, the idea was to focus on debt reduction but the vision of NEPAD indicates broad objectives and debt reduction is just one of its missions. The ideas contained in the MAP were complemented by the Omega Plan of Action, which called for the building of infrastructure, including new technologies, information and communications (ICT), education and human resource development, health and agriculture. African leaders agreed that the timing was appropriate and the focus of the strategic plan was relevant to African recovery and development (ANC Today, 2004: 9). The initiative contained details on actions, duties and responsibilities for African leaders on the one hand and those of the industrialised nations and multilateral organisations on the other hand. This was undertaken to ensure that obligations are met and beneficiaries get what is due to them. This was the base of the partnership detailing what is expected from the partners. However, African leaders still had to lead from the front to ensure that they shoulder the salvation of the African peoples. The hopes of African peoples for a better life could no longer rest on the magnanimity of others. African leaders realised that their conditions have been created by the European powers who deliberately created a partnership of master-servant to ensure that the master benefited out of the relationship.

NEPAD came into being after a number of discussions and dialogue on the Omega Plan of Action and the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery programme. The Heads of state and Governments Implementation Committee (HSGIC) comprising Nigeria, Algeria, South Africa, Senegal, Egypt, Mozambique, Botswana, Tunisia, Mali,



Ethiopia, Mauritius, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Gabon and Cameroon finalised the initiative. This was a programme, which was conceived and elaborated by Africans themselves whereby Africa would be born again as in a new partnership of equals between Africa and the developed and industrialised world. The relationship in the partnership would be mutualistic and basically meant to assist Africans and to provide them with goods and services to satisfy their needs (ANC Today, 2002:1). A number of structures and institutions have been created to ensure that the management and implementation of programmes is informed by NEPAD's vision.

The management structures of NEPAD consist of the Implementation Committee, which has to meet at least thrice a year and it reports to the AU Summit. The second structure is the Steering Committee comprising personal representatives of the five initiating Presidents and a Secretariat, which is based in Midrand, South Africa. The Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee identified five priorities to be pursued in the short-term. This was the implementation phase of this initiative. Africans have realised that the continent is rich in natural resources and other enabling factors but what they need most was a bold and imaginative leadership that is committed to sustained human development and the eradication of poverty through a global partnership based on shared responsibility and mutual interest to ensure that Africans' dreams are translated into reality (Mbeki, 2004: 9).

It is through NEPAD that Africans across the continent have declared that they would no longer allow themselves to be conditioned by circumstances. These views were a clear expression by African leaders and their people that they are ready to determine their own destiny and they were making a call to the world communities to complement their efforts. As indicated earlier on, NEPAD presented signs of hope and progress. What is interesting is the fact that African people were declaring their aspirations and intentions, especially the challenge of refusing to accept poor economic and political leadership. If effectively implemented, NEPAD was determined to overcome the development chasm that has increased over the centuries as characterised by unequal relations that existed during the past decades, especially the period after independence from colonialism. It is

essential at this stage to mention that Africa's place in the global community was defined by the fact that the continent was indispensable for so many countries. According to Thabo Mbeki, African leaders and their peoples were pledging a commitment to good governance and human rights, which are prerequisites for Africa's recovery to ensure that appropriate policies are implemented within African public services (Mbeki, 2003: 5).

Since independence most African countries found themselves in a vicious cycle characterised by economic decline, reduced capacity and poor governance, which reinforced one another and these factors, were responsible for Africa's peripheral and diminishing role in the world economy. It is common knowledge that for well over centuries, Africa was a marginalised continent. Therefore, NEPAD intends to build on the achievement that was started by the OAU. The intention was to map out the painful experiences learnt in Africa and to establish a partnership that is both credible and capable of implementation. It is through NEPAD that Africans have come to the realisation and understanding that development is a process which involves empowerment and self-reliance. Africans' ownership and commitment to NEPAD means that the African peoples should be the architects of their own sustained upliftment.

NEPAD was reinforced and strengthened by the UN Millennium Declaration, which was adopted in September 2000, which was the confirmation for the Global Community that Africa was ready to address the continent's underdevelopment and marginalisation. In order to achieve the MDGs Africa should promote and improve governance and leadership principles to enhance the management of resources for the benefit of all its citizens, especially the poorest of the poor (ANC Today, 2002: 3).

#### 1.5.4. Aims and objectives of NEPAD

African leaders welcomed NEPAD during its adoption because it was regarded as a vision for Africa's development and growth because the initiative identified Africa's problems, provided a programme of action to resolve the identified problems in order to realise the vision that drives it. NEPAD was adopted as a principal agenda for development, which detailed a strategic framework for the socio-economic development

of the African countries and their peoples. NEPAD was considered as a platform and a vehicle of the African people to engage the international community, especially the industrialized nations to create a better life for all the African people through government machinery led by effective leadership.

Asante (1996: 8) and Africa Recovery (2002: 16) identify the following primary objectives of NEPAD include the following: -

- The eradication of poverty in Africa, including the eradication of poverty of opportunities whereby, if there are ample opportunities, people would be assured of employment to earn an income with which they would be able to provide for their daily needs (Asante, 1996:8).
- To place African countries and their peoples, both individually and collectively on a path of sustainable growth and development. This means that African countries and their peoples should acquire skills and knowledge to gain a competitive urge in the globalising economy to ensure that there is self-reliance and self-sustenance to liberate the African countries from the dependency syndrome. It is important to indicate that the dependency has been responsible for Africa's marginalisation in decision-making processes, especially in policy formulation, which was the domain of international institutions such as IMF and the World Bank, including donor countries, who prescribed conditionalities through structural adjustment programmes. It is important to emphasise that earlier programmes to assist Africans were not based on the needs of the African peoples.
- To halt the marginalisation of Africa in the globalisation process to ensure that Africans are taken on board whenever their interests are at stake. This objective was meant to ensure that the aspirations of the African peoples are seriously considered so that policies that are formulated are relevant to the needs of Africans and to ensure effective implementation of the formulated policies.
- To ensure that African leaders and their peoples should own the process, they should promote the initiative and retain its vision in order to meet the challenges facing the continent and aspirations of the African peoples. The Africa Recovery (2002:16) indicates that African leaders are enthusiastic and hopeful that NEPAD is an achievement to promote and improve the socio-economic position of the

continent and its people, hence the call by African leaders to all African governments to subscribe to the ideals of the initiative. The African Peer Review Mechanism is one step in the right direction whereby African leaders could ensure that countries adhere to the principles of good governance, democratic values and the respect for human rights and the rule of law. These principles are believed to be essential prerequisites for socio-economic growth and development.

Significant to NEPAD is the development of a successful partnership based on mutual respect, dignity, shared responsibility and mutual accountability. According to Mbeki NEPAD is intended to yield the following outcomes: -

- Reduction in poverty and inequality;
- Diversification of production activities;
- Increased Africa integration;
- Economic growth and development and increased employment; and
- Enhanced international competitiveness and increased exports.

It is clear from the outcomes that NEPAD is an integrated sustainable development initiative for the socio-economic revival of Africa, through a partnership between Africa and the developed World. The wish of African leaders is to see the African continent participating actively in the world economy and body politic. The envisaged partnership would be based on the realisation of common interest, obligations, commitments, benefit and equality. What is interesting is premised by the commitment made by African states to good governance, democracy and human rights and efforts to prevent and resolve situations of conflict and instability on the continent. Unstable conditions are a deterrent to investors. Once African countries and governments observe these conditions they will instill investor confidence. African leaders and their people should ensure that they create a conducive environment through the adoption of realistic political, social and economic policies, to strengthen the development partnership. The success of NEPAD depends on the African countries and the Africans themselves because they hold the key to its development, promotion and sustenance ([www.au.nepad/nepad\\_overview.htm](http://www.au.nepad/nepad_overview.htm)). The adoption of NEPAD strategy and its detailed programme of action marked the beginning of a new phase in the partnership and cooperation between Africa and the multilateral

organisations of the world. APRM is instituted to give effect to the objectives of NEPAD, whereby a peer review and assessment mechanism to investigate compliance with good governance principles and effective economic and political leadership.

The next subsection will answer the question on what was the rationale behind the formation of NEPAD. Each and every structure that was formed to address the challenges facing the African continent was designed in such a way that Africans should lead the process instead of earlier processes, which placed Africans in the back seat of events. NEPAD needs the involvement and commitment of all Africa countries and their people because they are the beneficiaries of good outcomes and victims of bad results. The problems faced by African states could not be left to individual efforts since they affect the whole continent and they therefore need a collective response. NEPAD centres on African ownership and management whereby African leaders set the agenda for the renewal of the continent. The agenda is based on national and regional priorities and development plans which would be prepared on a participatory process involving the affected people.

#### 1.5.5. NEPAD's Institutional Mechanism

Across the continent democracy is spreading and is backed by the AU, which is indicated by the new role it has assumed dealing with conflicts and censuring of deviation from the norm (Loxton, 2004: 68). Voices of civil society, women and youth organisations have advocated democracy to improve state legitimacy and to redefine accountable governments, culture of human rights and popular participation. Reinforcement of mutual interdependence and the road to strengthen regional and continental goals of economic cooperation and integration will be realised through NEPAD. When colonialism was liquidated in Africa in the 1960s, the IMF and the World Bank devoted much attention on the African continent, in order to ensure that billions are poured into this continent for development purposes. It should be remembered that during colonialism development in the colonised regions was for the benefit of the white settlers, leaving millions of the indigenous people to live in dire poverty (Loxton, 2004:69). The question that remains unanswered is why does the African continent and the African peoples live in poverty,

are poorly housed and fed and have local, regional and national economies that are underdeveloped despite the billions that have been poured in by the IMF and the World Bank towards development? The answer to this question is related to the research question of this study. The OAU had established structures to fight colonialism and apartheid on the continent since its inception. When the AU was formed it also continued with the struggle towards a united African continent well equipped to tackle development problems facing the continent. The challenge still prevails.

The ultimate liquidation of colonialism was achieved but the consequences and impact of colonialism pose a great challenge to the continent (Langdon and Mytelka, 1979: 143-149). Some countries are still characterised by strife and conflicts which originated during colonialism, moreover that some of the newly liberated African countries found themselves left with borders that had been drawn without much regard for cultural and traditional bondages of the tribes which lived there (Hadjor, 1987:7). These conflicts were generated by colonialism, but long after decolonisation, African is unable to concentrate on development issues because it is still absorbed in resolving conflicts that originated from colonialism. The result of border skirmishes and outright wars in some instances, has been cited as one of the reasons why some countries that are rich in natural resources and agricultural potential have seen little of their wealth filter through to the poor masses. The countries were still plagued by illiteracy and lack of basic skills to create a better life for themselves. This state of affairs confirms the crippling effects of colonialism in the continent, confirming the reasons for the persistence of problems despite assistance and support, which are poured into African countries.

The billions that were poured in by the World Bank and the IMF as development aid did not help to reduce political and socio-economic conditions amongst the Africans because they were made available on certain conditions. One of the main reasons why this aid did not eradicate poverty and underdevelopment is that the donor agencies worked alone in determining the development needs of the African people (Langdon and Mytelka, 1979: 143). Continued aid from the international institutions on the other hand entrenched Africa's dependency syndrome on the IMF and the World Bank for its own development.

This is again one of the reasons why Africa became heavily indebted because its development programs were basically funded from external sources. Heavy debts in practice meant that there were little financial resources left for development purposes because the bulk of the resources were channelled towards the servicing of foreign debts. This state of affairs created a spiral chain of indebtedness at the expense of development programmes. Where Western countries were involved in development initiatives in Africa very little efforts were made to involve the local African in skills acquisitions or skills transfers. This state of affairs then meant that Africans will be dependent on externalities, even for their basics and therefore no meaningful development will take place from within Africa by the Africans themselves (Langdon and Mytelka, 1979: 143).

The African leaders of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century have declared that it is time for Africans to come up with a “home-grown” initiative, led by Africans in order to address African problems. The African leaders acknowledge aid and funding from the multilateral organisations but they want that aid to be through a partnership model based on obligations and benefits. This is the reason why African leaders have identified a number of priorities for themselves to put before their partners and to ensure that Africans drive the development vehicle as committed role players to provide leadership and management of the process. NEPAD was initiated as a programme of the AU to ensure that Africa eradicates poverty and underdevelopment. African leaders identified important priorities for their countries, which included an improvement of the their track record for democracy and good governance because they have identified them as prerequisites for Africa’s drive for growth and prosperity under NEPAD (Pretoria News, 2004). African leaders have pledged to their partners that they would commit themselves to improved governance by ensuring transparent governments that observe and practice democratic principles for a sustainable development on the continent. In order to ensure that countries adhere to their commitments and pledge, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) will be undertaken to assess compliance. This process would allow for the interests of donor agencies and assistance providers and those of the African countries to converge because it would be used as a diagnostic tool for a country’s performance in the delivery of services to citizens (ECA, 2002:52). This is voluntary process to ensure that countries

subscribe to good governance and democratic principles, which have been identified as prerequisites for Africa's growth and development. APRM will be discussed in this chapter and it forms the basis of this research in an endeavour to find solutions for Africa's underdevelopment and poverty in the international sphere, especially the implementation of appropriate policies in compliance with international standards and norms.

NEPAD will only succeed if owned by the African people who are united in their diversity. One needs to point out that the success of this initiative requires African renaissance principles and beliefs because it (NEPAD) depends on the building of a strong and competitive economy as the world moves closer to liberalisation and competition. Africans need to enter into the global village as a united continent through NEPAD. The OAU fought against slavery and colonialism, which may be regarded as the major contributory factors to Africa's underdevelopment and poverty (Saxena, 2004: 9). In addition, corruption and economic mismanagement are also responsible for the difficult take off of the African continent into the world economy because public resources have been used to benefit the selected few instead of the poor masses. Therefore, NEPAD structures have been established to work with Africa's partners to bring about equitable and sustainable growth in the continent and to redistribute resources to all sectors of the communities. African leaders acknowledge that sustainable growth of the continent need rapid integration into the world economy and in order to participate in the world economy NEPAD would provide the platform for international interaction. NEPAD will ensure that the enormous natural and human resources are properly and adequately harnessed to benefit the African countries and their peoples.

African leaders' belief in NEPAD and regard it as appropriate for Africa's unique problems because it differs from other previous initiatives aiming at providing a strategy for sustainable development. The only issue that is common with the past initiatives for Africa's development is problems that need to be addressed because they remain largely the same, Africa's marginalisation from the world economy, underdevelopment and poverty. The initiative is an African-owned and African-led programme for Africa's



development, supported through a partnership with obligations and benefits to the Africa people. Gambari (2002:5) and) the under-Secretary-General Special Advisor on Africa United Nations, indicated that the partnership envisaged in NEPAD means that there should be a real commitment from both sides and should be a move away from the “begging bowl” and “broken promises” syndromes, where the partners fail to deliver on their mandates. Africa should be in the driver’s seat of NEPAD because African leaders have realised that they have drivers’ licenses and that they own cars. The AU provides the platform for African leaders to discuss their problems. This means that African leaders have outgrown the stage where they were expected to seek permission to start driving, what they need most at this stage is to get into the development vehicle and ensure that they are wise and drive carefully. This is the long-term strategy and approach of NEPAD, which distinguishes it from past initiatives that were formed to solve African problems. In order to achieve its long-term vision NEPAD requires massive and heavy investment to bridge the existing development gaps, hence the call for partnership to turn the dream into reality (Leadership, 2005:23).

Past initiatives concentrated on growth rates at the expense of other factors that needed attention in an attempt to eradicate poverty and promote sustainable development in Africa. There is need to carefully look at factors such as, infrastructure, capital accumulation, human capital, institutions, structural diversification, competitiveness, health and good stewardship of the environment. These factors contribute towards the recovery of the African continent in terms of socio-economic growth and development. NEPAD is aimed at accelerating the process of bridging the gap that exists in priority sectors to ensure that the continent catches up with other developed regions of the world. One way of ensuring sustainable development and growth in Africa is to promote the role of women in all activities that are aimed at Africa’s development, so that Africa could benefit from the labour of all its diversified citizens (Africa Recovery, 2002: 19). If these factors were taken care of public services would be enhanced to execute their mandate, to implement policies for fighting poverty in the continent.

#### 1.5.6. Conditions for Africa's sustainable development

Past experiences have provided lessons to African leaders cautioning them on prerequisites or conditions that need to be satisfied to ensure economic growth and sustainable development. African leaders hope to achieve and sustain a gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of above 7 percent per annum within a period of 15 years. In order to achieve these targets and other set targets, Africa needs accelerated integration to facilitate economic growth and development which would in turn increase employment levels and to reduce poverty and inequality. There is also a need to promote long-term conditions that are needed for development and security if NEPAD is to succeed. Sound economic policies should be adopted to encourage private sector investment, which will create more employment opportunities to eradicate poverty (Economic Commission for Africa, 2002:52). The adopted policies would require an effective public service to implement them in an endeavour to satisfy people's needs and aspirations.

Peace and security initiatives of NEPAD will be used to build capacity of African institutions to respond timely to early warning signs and the enhancement of African institutions to prevent manage and resolve conflicts. African leadership needs to be institutionalised so that it becomes committed and focused to the core values of NEPAD. In order to ensure peace and security, Africa requires policy measures that are appropriate to address both the political and the social vulnerabilities on which conflict is premised. This problem could be tackled through dialogue to iron out perceptions, most of which were created by colonialism.

There is a need to strengthen the existing regional and sub-regional institutions in areas such as the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts; peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace enforcement. Thirdly, there is need for measures and mechanisms to deal with post conflict reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Lastly, it is essential to combat illicit proliferation of small arms, light weapons and landmines. These measures need to be measured and costed accordingly, indicating actions required from the partners. This makes sense because Africans will have to

establish institutions within NEPAD that will be responsible for detailing areas that need assistance and support from the partners (Konare, 2004: 2).

African leaders should ensure that NEPAD has a democratic and political initiative so that Africa should respect the global standards of democracy by allowing role players open, fair, free and democratic elections to enable the populace to choose their leaders freely. To strengthen the political and administrative framework of participating countries, NEPAD calls on African leaders to observe principles of democracy, transparency, accountability, integrity, respect for human rights the promotion of the rule of law. In addition to this condition, NEPAD calls for economic governance initiative, which would contribute to harnessing the energies of the African continent towards development and poverty eradication (Langdon and Mytelka, 1979: 131). African leaders believe that it would be through NEPAD that African countries would be committed to meet basic standards of good governance and democratic behaviour whilst individual countries will be striving to give support to each other. In order to ensure compliance with the shared goals of good governance, including the identification of institutional weaknesses and to seek resources and expertise to address them, the APRM would be used to gauge compliance as a diagnostic and assessment tool and offer recommendations for improvement.

NEPAD has targeted capacity-building initiatives in Africa in order to facilitate institutional reforms to implement its objectives to achieve the African vision. Institutional reforms include, administrative and civil services, which are key to policy implementation as the arm of government (Saxena, 2004: 8). The public service is responsible for policy implementation and the delivery of goods and services to the citizens. Second institutional reforms will be the strengthening of Parliamentary oversight, to ensure accountability and improved service delivery to the citizens. There was also a need to promote participatory decision-making processes. Participatory decision-making may lead to and entrench, honesty and integrity in government. Institutional reforms are essential in order to adopt effective measures of combating corruption and embezzlement of resources meant to benefit citizens. Empirical evidence

suggests that corruption undermines growth and development, which in turn has an enormous effect on poverty (Economic Commission for Africa, 2002:56 and Dia, 1996:1-8). Judicial reforms are necessary to ensure the protection of human rights and the rule of law. African countries have to take the lead through NEPAD in supporting institutions and initiatives that protect commitments made by the leaders. Hadjor (1987:12) and Loxton (2004:71) have indicated the need to transform and reconstruct African institutions and structures so that they become suitable for the implementation of new policies and directives that promote growth and sustainable development. Institutional reforms will promote self-reliance and self-sustainability of African institutions to get development forward.

#### 1.5.7. International Community views on NEPAD

The New African Initiative was welcome and embraced by the international communities and international institutions. It was viewed as an appropriate mechanism or programme for the development of the African continent. The NEPAD initiative called for a commitment by Africans and the African countries. This initiative posed calls for commitment to its mandate to the African people and to the international community, especially the United Nations (UN) and its members. The UN was expected to make available resources required by the new initiative in order to accomplish its founding goals and objectives. It was at the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) session in Geneva, Switzerland that Ambassador Martin Belinga-Eboutou, who was the president of ECOSOC, indicated to participants that the UN had to support Africa' development efforts (Africa Recovery, 2001:25). The ECOSOC session was specifically meant to address Africa's underdevelopment problems. Many speakers expressed optimistic views about the new initiative, moreover that it was Africans' own initiative to take full responsibility and charge of their development efforts. The director-general of the European Community, Koos Richelle indicated that Europe fully appreciated the initiative, which was appropriate and relevant to the eradication of poverty and sustainable growth and development.

Messages of support to the new initiative by Africans were received from World Bank President James Wolfensohn and the managing director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Horst Köhler. Both leaders have pledged that their organisations would support the initiative. The IMF promised to provide expertise and resources to the initiative. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) acknowledged the fact that African goods were denied access in foreign markets, especially markets of the industrialised nations of the world. African countries were sources of raw materials, which were exported to Europe and on the other hand Africans were primary importers of manufactured goods from Europe (ANC Today, 2002:3-5). These countries applied restrictive trade practices on exports from the African continent. The WTO delivered its backing through its director-general, Mike Moore. Trade imbalances that existed in the global markets were echoed by the African Group of ambassadors who expressed their concern about certain trade agreements concluded by the WTO because they paid little attention to African growth and development (Africa Recovery, 2001:25). The African Group of ambassadors requested the international community to give Africa preferential treatment in trade matters, particularly investment, so that the African continent can fully participate in global economic activities, which is essential for economic growth and development.

The UN Conference on Trade and Development expressed its support for the initiative in order to bolster foreign investment in Africa because at that stage direct foreign investments dropped by 13 percent (Harsch, 2001: 26). The Secretary-General of the UN Conference on Trade and Development promised developmental assistance and debt relief mechanisms to the African continent. Foreign investment and debt relief mechanisms were high on the agenda of international gatherings with the aim of eradicating poverty and to boost economic development in the continent. As messages of support for the initiative poured from the international community, African leaders also urged their fellow Africans to own policies that are of an African origin. Inasmuch as the international communities pledged their support for the initiative, their direct contributions in terms of their promises have not been forthcoming. African leaders further pointed out that the international community's support was minimal where it was

provided (Africa Recovery, 2001:25 and ThisDay, 2004). It was also indicated that some international communities attempted to provide assistance of purely economic nature, which were not effective because African problems are not solely economic, they are complex. What makes African problems to be complex is the sense that they are political, economic, social and cultural in nature, but not exclusive. It is important to note that the political system determines policy and politics determine whether government rules for the public good or for narrow interests (Economic Commission for Africa, 2002:54).

African Group of ambassadors used the opportunity to call for the transformation of the international institutions so that they become inclusive and representative of the world regions, so that when they take decisions and adopt policies they should cater for the interests of all world regions. It was pointed out that the UN structures need transformation to include institutions or structures that will deal with African matters as a priority for the international community to ensure that African development and economic growth are given attention (Africa Recovery, 2001: 25) The UN was also urged to establish interaction mechanisms with Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) to ensure that peoples' view are taken seriously in the formulation and implementation of policies on an international level. Policies that affect the African continent and its people will require inputs and interaction with them, so that they can evaluate their impact and support their implementation. In the end the Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Annan vowed that special attention has to be given to Africa's development by ensuring that the UN becomes the advocate of Africa. To give effect to his call towards African development, Kofi Annan urged the international community to join forces in the repatriation of wealth, which was looted from the African continent by the corrupt African leaders. Corruption has robbed the African masses of their wealth and resources, which were selfishly used for the accumulation of personal wealth. Corruption benefits those in power and/or within the corridors of power and their cohorts. The call to repatriate the stolen financial resources was relevant because some of the corrupt officials and leaders, such as Mobutu Sese Seko, of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Zaire then, invested their money in Western banks. This is just one example of leaders

who regarded public and state resources as been available for their personal consumption and use.

It is clear that the African initiative needs ownership by Africans if it is to succeed but should also direct support is required from the international community. There is a need to form a partnership with key partners that are willing to assist Africa and its people to push back the frontiers of poverty, underdevelopment and marginalisation. There was no distinction between state coffers and a personal purse.

#### 1.5.8. Support pledged by major donor countries

The main donor countries have expressed their hope on the NEPAD initiative. This hope was expressed when they declared that NEPAD offers a hope for the continent's development. The main donors had seen NEPAD as a bold and clear-sighted vision and an appropriate programme to help the African continent to better the lives of their citizens. One should bear in mind that colonialism was meant to develop the state instead of personal development. The rich industrialised countries have pledged that they will offer aid and support to the continent in order to accelerate development and growth. The pledged aid was towards debt relief, trade and investment within the continent to ensure that there was employment and an improved standard of living amongst the African peoples. NEPAD was viewed as a better initiative that would bring about development on the continent. When compared with other previous efforts meant to enhance African development, NEPAD was viewed as the best initiative by major donor countries hence the pledged support. However, despite all the messages of support expressed by these countries, little has been provided to support NEPAD. African leaders are still waiting for the fulfillment of the promises made by donor countries (Harsch, 2002:26).

Countries that adopt good economic policies attract more investments and they achieve high rates of per capita growth and this will occur if the state improves certain key aspects of its performance (Economic Commission for Africa, 2002:55). According to Africa Recovery (2002:26) African leaders should see to it that they carry the continent's development and progress on their shoulders. They are expected to mobilise the

necessary resources, which will ensure that there is progress towards the realisation of their dreams.

#### 1.5.9. A new Africa in the making

African people expressed mixed feelings about the new initiative for Africa's recovery. Social movements, comprising farmers' groups, women's associations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), trade union leaders and intellectuals from across the African continent met face-to-face to discuss the issue of globalisation versus growth and development on the continent. There were critics of the IMF and the World Bank's structural adjustment programmes, which were said to be strategies to uplift African countries. Leaders of the social movements criticised policies that were externally initiated, especially those that were initiated by the IMF and the World Bank, which were said to be imposing neo-liberal policies for implementation in Africa (Loxton, 2004: 13). They argued that these policies were responsible for Africa's dependency on foreign or external prescriptions, which were responsible for the underdevelopment, and poverty on the continent. They were ready to criticize what they called neo-liberal policies but at the same time they failed to come up with better alternatives for the continent's economic growth and development (Baxter, 2002:18). What they had in mind was to have a human-centred world where the future of the African peoples lies in the hands of the Africans themselves. What was interesting during this period is that most Africans felt policies that were not "home-grown" were responsible for Africa's underdevelopment and other socio-economic ills.

The African Social Forum that was held in the Malian capital, Bamako was critical of the role played by IMF and the World Bank, in developmental issues in Africa. When African leaders presented the NEPAD initiative to African peoples, it was received with mixed feelings, with some groups appreciating it as an alternative strategy to improve the lives of African peoples on the continent. However, there was another group of social movements who felt that the initiative was another form of African compromise to maintain dependency syndrome on foreign assistance. This feeling led to some African people believing that NEPAD was another strategy to sell the continent to the rich



industrialised countries. According to Hadjor (1987:15 – 19) and Baxter (2002:18) there was a strong believe amongst the Africans who felt that NEPAD was a top-down type of an initiative. They argued that citizens were not taken on board when this initiative was started and they only learnt of the initiative after it was presented to the G-8 countries. Professor Shadrack Gutto of the University of South Africa (UNISA) felt that NEPAD offered hope to the continent but was concerned that it was presented to foreign leaders before African leaders could discuss it with their own people (Africa Recovery, 2002:19). Hadjor (1987:16) indicates that colonialism was the cause of the gap between the governors and the governed, which led to lack of confidence in government, lack of transparency and accountability of the leaders to their people. This feeling then led to some Africans believing that leaders were taking them for granted and that there was no popular participation or no interaction between the leaders and the led. They were to a certain extent justified to think that way, if one considers how the African masses were excluded from decision-making processes that affected them. They also felt that non-participation meant marginalisation and no platform to influence policy decisions, as was the case during colonialism. Asante (1995:5) states that lack of popular participation in developmental planning means that the vast majority of people could not identify themselves with the plans.

Despite the criticism that some African people expressed about the new initiatives, they came up with proposals that were progressive and aimed at socio-economic development of the continent. Asante (1995: 2) tabulate views and campaigns, which were echoed at the Porto Alegre Forum, where most African leaders called for:

- An end to tariffs on exports of poor countries because the tariffs were imposed to discourage exports of African goods to foreign markets.
- Debt forgiveness for poor countries because African countries found themselves in a debt-trap. Countries were using all their financial resources to service foreign debts instead of using the financial resources to facilitate growth and development. According to Asante (1995:2 – 3) external debt of the African region represented over 96 percent of the combined gross domestic product (GDP) of the region. As indicated external debt was an unmanageable problem

and a barrier to any form of sustainable economic recovery and growth. It has been observed that external debt is a major cause of political weakness because creditors use external debt to exercise direct and indirect leverage on the policies and programmes that are adopted by the debtors or borrowing countries.

- Increased developmental aid in order to stimulate infrastructure development to boost investor confidence in an economy.
- Enforcement of international labour standards to ensure that labour policies and laws are in line with international trends to protect workers from exploitation and other related labour practices that are unfair.
- Imposition of taxes on global financial transactions, so that all goods can be subjected to fair taxation systems instead of taxes that are been imposed on African exports or on African imports, whichever would have negative effects on the economic growth and negative impacts on the lives of ordinary African people.
- There was a call for access to essential medicines, especially for HIV/Aids related diseases and malaria at affordable prices. Exorbitant prices on medicines lead to unaffordability of health services and goods, especially amongst the poorest of the poor that constitute the majority of the African population. Diseases have a causal effect on the socio-economic conditions of people and cause a financial strain on those that are infected as well as those that are affected.

According to Baxter (2002:18) these proposals were genuine in order to improve the lives of African people in particular and the African continent in general. It is particularly interesting that whenever African people found a platform to come together they would express their concern about their underdevelopment and poverty. They would share with one another what they thought were the causes of their misery and problems, whilst expressing the need to improve the status of the continent in the eyes of other regions of the world. Africans realised the need for a united Africa in order to tackle Africa's problems collectively. They felt that they have a common vision and a common enemy to deal with in order to improve the lives of the peoples of the continent. If Africans felt they have a common purpose and vision to create a better life for all Africans, it then

means that they would not have a problem of reviewing and assessing one another to see if they are on the right track to development and growth as planned. This point forms the basis of this study, on how African countries can collectively search for solutions to their problems. A credible assessment of peers will encourage countries to adopt economic and governance policies that encourage accountability and a broader development perspective. The next discussion would focus on the APRM and how it would be used to improve and promote service delivery in African public services.

#### 1.6. THE AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM

According to Stremlau, 2002: 1) African leaders have decided to embark on a strategy of assessing compliance with NEPAD prescriptions for the drive to African economic growth and development to ensure that African people are saved from the scourge of poverty and other socio-economic ills. NEPAD is a strategic policy framework and socio-economic development programmed of the AU, with a vision of eradicating poverty and placing countries, singly or collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development. To ensure that this vision becomes a reality, African leaders are making a call for improved governance of all entities in all sectors of the human sphere to plan objectively and realistically to attain development targets. The APRM is relevant to reinforce successful best practices, to identify deficiencies and to assess the needs for capacity building in all African countries. In order to give effect to NEPAD, African leaders have adopted a declaration on peer review assessments to ensure that they adhere to the principles of sound governance, which is an incentive for foreign investment in Africa and to attract investment from within the continent amongst the African people.

African leaders who subscribe to the APRM agree to allow their peers to check if their house-rules conform to the goals of good governance and prosperity free. APRM will also ensure that African states are free from anti-democratic governments and conflict (Sebelebele, 2004.1) Most of the conflicts that prevail in the continent have been caused by anti-democratic tendencies and practices because there is no respect for the rule of law in such situations. Will the APRM provide answers to the problems that prevail in and within the African continent? What will be the impact of APRM on policy

implementation by African leaders in their attempt to resolve underdevelopment and poverty that plagues the continent? One needs to watch the effectiveness of APRM because not all countries have subscribed to it. Only a dozen countries have since signed the declaration. Thabo Mbeki, President of South Africa, expressed his disfavour for compulsion on AU member states to APRM by indicating that the nature of Africa's struggle is different from the struggle for liberation. In order to achieve economic development on the region there is need for national, regional, sub regional and international integration. Such integration may not be forced because there is no war of integration. The point that needs to be stressed is that APRM should be viewed as a legitimate effort, which is necessary to create credibility on the continent. Thabo Mbeki stated that in order to have a legitimate and viable integration all efforts should be voluntary (Stremlau, 2002:1). Voluntary submission to the APRM is evidence that there exists political commitment and the will to engage in self-monitoring and to take corrective actions where they have been recommended (Economic Commission for Africa, 2002:52). It is also important to note that peer assessment would involve various stakeholders in order to get their views on factors they would be assessed on.

The discussion in this section gives background information on APRM, the memorandum of understanding, the organisation and processes and the objectives, standards, criteria and the indicators for the APRM. African leaders, especially those that have signed the APRM agreement, have declared their optimism and hope in the APRM, which they had declared to be new and a unique innovation for Africa's recovery, which had not been experienced by the European Union (Stremlau, 2002: 2). Joachim Chissano of Mozambique expressed his support for the APRM because he declared that it tests the willingness and commitment of African leaders to democratise their institutions, fight poverty, fight corruption and fight under-development. If these socio-economic issues are tackled, scarce resources would be equitably distributed to all communities.

#### 1.6.1. Background information on the African Peer Review Mechanism

The mandate of the APRM is to ensure that policies and practices of participating states conform to the agreed political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and

standards, as contained in the Declaration document. The primary purpose of the APRM is to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices, which will lead to political stability, economic growth, sustainable development, accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration. The intention of these provisions is to ensure that participating member states share their experiences and to reinforce successful and best practices. This means that the APRM is useful in identifying deficiencies and gaps, especially when it is used to identify needs for capacity building. A team of competent Panelists who are independent from political manipulation will facilitate this exercise. In order to facilitate the APRM process, reviews would be guided by agreed upon parameters of good political governance and good economic and corporate governance to create suitable environment ([www.kituoachakatiba.co.ug/Aprm.htm](http://www.kituoachakatiba.co.ug/Aprm.htm)).

In an effort to improve the quality of governance in Africa, the Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) of NEPAD adopted the MOU on the APRM. The primary purpose of APRM is to foster the adoption of appropriate laws, policies, standards and practices which are prerequisites for political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration which would be discussed in chapter three of this study (Mokgola, 2004:2). This would be regarded as a learning experience for participating countries, especially when reports are tabled before the HSGIC. Participating member states would also get an opportunity to share best practices amongst themselves in order to enhance their strengths and to improve on areas that need development. Key to APRM is to ensure that participating member states identify deficiencies in their governance and economic management of the state. In addition to the MOU and the Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance, the HSGIC adopted documents, which outlined the core principles, processes and objectives of the APRM. The APRM is open to all member states of the AU.

#### 1.6.2. Structures of the APRM

The overall responsibility of the APRM rests with the Committee of Participating Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the APRM (APR Forum). An

inaugural meeting of the APR Forum was held in Kigali, Rwanda on the 13<sup>th</sup> February 2004 and President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria was elected as Chairperson. APRM would be directed and managed by a Panel of between five and seven Eminent Persons. Panel members must be Africans with distinguished careers that are relevant to the work of the APRM. In addition, the Panel members must be people of high moral stature with demonstrated commitment to the ideals of Pan-Africanism. They must have expert knowledge in areas of political governance, macroeconomic management, public financial management and corporate governance. The Heads of State and Government appoints a Panel of Eminent Persons (APR Panel) to oversee the conduct of the APRM process and to ensure its integrity in terms of its founding principles (Saxena, 2004: 5-7). The APR Panel is composed of the following persons: Prof. Adebayo Adedeji of Nigeria for West Africa; Dr Graca Machel of Mozambique for Southern Africa; Dr Dorothy Njeuma of Cameroon for Central Africa; Dr Chris Stals of the Republic of South Africa for Southern African region, Ambassador Bethuel Kliplagat of Kenya for North Africa; Mourad Medelci of Algeria for North Africa and Mrs Marie Angeline Savane of Senegal. The APR Panel members are nominated by participating member states and a Committee of Ministers does the short listing. The final appointment is the responsibility of Heads of State and Government of participating states taking into consideration a reflection of regional balance, gender equity and cultural diversity ([www.africa-union.org](http://www.africa-union.org)). In order to facilitate the implementation of the APRM, the APR Panel was mandated to develop tools, instruments, codes of conduct and guidelines, which would be used to direct the country review process. The Economic Commission for Africa (2002:54) states that all members of the Team should not be citizens of the country to be reviewed. This will further enhance the credibility and objectivity of the process.

### 1.6.3. Term of Office and Office-bearers for APR Panel

Members will serve for up to four years and they would retire by rotation. Heads of State and Government of participating countries appoint one of the APR Panelists as Chairman who will serve for five years. The requirements for appointment as chairman include a proven leadership record in the areas of government, public administration, development and private sector. The Secretariat of the APR Panel comprises people that are competent

and have the technical capacity to undertake analytical work that underpins the review process ([www.dpsa.gov.za/aprm.asp](http://www.dpsa.gov.za/aprm.asp)).

#### 1.6.4. Duties and responsibilities of the APR Panel

The APR Panel is responsible for the exercise of oversight function over the review process so that the process maintains its integrity. The provisions in the AU Charter with regard to APRM would ensure integrity because Panelists need to observe a code of ethics in order to be focused and independent from any external influence in the discharge of their activities. The Secretariat is responsible for maintaining an extensive database on political and economic developments in all participating states and the preparation of background documentation for the Peer Review teams. The Secretariat is further responsible for proposing performance indicators and the tracking down of performance of individual countries.

#### 1.6.5. Logistical arrangements regarding types of review

Each state has to define a time-bound programme of action for the implementation of the Declaration on Democracy, Political and Economic and Corporate Governance. This task should be done at the time when the country accedes to the review process and it should also state periodic reviews (Mbeki, 2005: 3). There are four types of reviews to be conducted in participating countries. The first review is basic and would take place within 18 months of becoming a member of the APRM process. Every two to four years, there is need to conduct a periodic review. Apart from the first two types, a member country may request for a review, for its own reasons. Lastly, if there are signs that there is impending political or economic crisis in a member state it would lead to intervention to remedy the situation. Heads of State and Government have the authority to “blow-the-whistle” if they have reasons to believe that a crisis is looming in member countries. The signal for peer review would be in the spirit of helpfulness to ensure that the affected country benefits. If the signal is given as envisaged the African continent will benefit because the intention would be to avoid a delay, which might result in catastrophic consequences for the whole continent. Artificial boundaries, which were created during colonialism, were to be

destroyed so that Africans reap the benefits of interdependence and regionalism as will be discussed in chapter three of this research ([www.dpsa.gov.za/aprm.asp](http://www.dpsa.gov.za/aprm.asp)).

#### 1.6.6. The APRM Process and its benefits

Reviews would be conducted periodically in participating member states to ascertain if their policies and practices show progress in the achievement of agreed upon goals and to ascertain if they comply with agreed upon political, economic and corporate governance values. The process would also aim at ascertaining if the codes and standards as outlined in the Declaration are adhered to. What will be the benefits of the APRM process to member states? The process encourages countries to seriously consider the impact of bad governance and undemocratic governments and instability on growth and development. Criticisms were leveled against the APR Panel and the APRM Secretariat with regard to their independence or impartiality from their countries of origin. There was skepticism with regard to their allegiance and loyalty to their countries. The criticisms were based on perceptions that panelists may become biased against the situation in their own countries and instead exaggerate problems in other countries. However, what is key is that the APRM process is aimed at and is open to all member states of the AU. The benefits of this process are intended to assist the African continent to successfully deal with the challenges it faces rather than individualistic benefits. According to Africa Recovery (2003:10) the APRM is mainly aiming to:

- Improve the standards of human rights.
- Improve and enhance the economic management.
- Use peer review scrutiny and pressure to induce the adoption of good practices. and to adhere to agreed codes and standards.
- Monitor and track progress towards agreed NEPAD goals and codes of standards.
- Assess how good practices can be effectively transferred to other African states.
- Ensure that policies are based on the best current knowledge and /or the practical experience of peer countries.
- Improve conflict resolution.
- Identify, evaluate and disseminate good practices.
- Enhance African ownership of the development agenda.



- Identify capacity gaps and recommend approaches to address identified gaps.
- Improve democratic decision-making on the continent (Economic Commission for Africa, 2002:55).

In order to achieve these objectives UNECA has been mandated to work out objective indicators to be used in measuring governments' adherence to agreed standards. African leaders have adopted the APRM declaration because they have realised that governance problems have been key determinants of Africa's development challenges and to rebuild the continent in order to change the image of the continent in the face of the international communities. APRM is essential to ensure that Africa faces the 21<sup>st</sup> Century with confidence and to accelerate performance through democratic rule and democratic governance (Akinrinade, 2002:3).

The APRM has a Secretariat, which is responsible for the provision of the secretarial, technical, and administrative services of the APRM. The APRM Secretariat has assisted the APR Panel to develop documents to be used in the review process. The required documents include, the rules and procedure of the APR Panel and the Secretariat. These rules are essential to guide the operations of the two structures in order to avoid hit-and-run kind of a process. They had to develop guidelines for countries on how to prepare for and their participation in the APRM. They had to draw up a code of conduct of the APR country teams and to present a draft MOU with participating countries and a draft MOU to be signed with partner institutions.

In order to carry out a proper mandate by the APR Panel and the APRM Secretariat, wide consultations were undertaken with a wide variety of stakeholders and institutions to develop a questionnaire with details on the criteria and indicators for assessment. Consultation is essential in order to come up with a legitimate instrument that represent the views of the diversified structures and institutions in member states. Notable institutions that participated in the consultative process include organs of the AU, the UNECA, Africa Bureau of the United Nations Development, the World Bank, OECD, key regional resource institutions, individual experts and civil society organisations of

women, labour movements, academia, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the media ([www.dpsa.gov.za/aprm.asp](http://www.dpsa.gov.za/aprm.asp)). These organizations would assist to gather information that would be used to arrive at logical conclusions regarding a country's position.

When consultations are done, it is expected of the APR Panel to present the designed questionnaire to member states so that they could be assisted in their self-assessment in order to draft their provisional programme of action. In addition, the questionnaire is intended to promote national dialogue on development issues and to assess countries on the basis of the views expressed by national stakeholders. It is expected of the APR Panel to visit countries that have signed for the APRM with a view of explaining the logistics on the questionnaire to solicit common understanding regarding the process. The APR Panel has to explain and clarify any questions regarding APRM philosophy, rules and the process of the APRM, including the explanation of the APRM objectives and how the questionnaire will be used to gather information that is intended by the process. Self-assessment questionnaires are helpful to participating member states because they assist in identifying loopholes within a country's governance matters and other areas that need assessment. More important is that the questionnaire will assist the countries to identify deficiencies in their policies, so that plans and strategies could be devised to improve on such identified weaknesses. According to Sebelebele (2004:1) participating member states should take cognisance of the fact that African public services are expected to implement policies with the ideals of NEPAD and the socio-economic blueprint of the AU. The questionnaire is flexible to accommodate the unique circumstances which prevail in various countries because their capacity to deal with issues differ from country to country. The development levels of participating countries are not the same, hence the contextualisation of the questionnaire to avoid a one-size fits all situation where all countries would be painted with the same brush irrespective of their varying degrees of development (Sebelebele, 2004:1 and [www.dpsa.gov.za/aprm.asp](http://www.dpsa.gov.za/aprm.asp)). The implementation of the APRM gives effect to the need for targeted-capacity building in priority areas, to ensure that each country's unique situation is taken into account (Economic Commission for Africa, 2002:52 and Kuye, 2003:5).

#### 1.6.7. Challenges facing APRM

Panel members should possess skills and knowledge around challenges facing the African continent in its endeavour to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all Africans. APRM processes should be in the hands of professional and honest persons, to ensure that governments do not fabricate statistics, which would be questionable and lacking validity. If a responsibility is given to highly professional persons with credibility, then the situation would be different from past experiences where donor agencies used to push their own agendas instead of concentrating on Africa's development and the well being of Africans.

African leaders should acknowledge that for NEPAD, particularly APRM to succeed a partnership has to be forged between governments and civil society. Ideally the APRM process allows for the interests of donors and African countries to converge for the benefit of both. It forms the basis of the deliberations with donor agencies rather than relying entirely on assessments by the latter (Economic Commission for Africa, 2002:52). People should be involved directly in order to provide the interpretation and analysis of information. The partnership that is envisaged should not degenerate into a dependency syndrome, which shares the blame for Africa's socio-economic underdevelopment and poverty. It is interesting to note that Africa's economic crisis has generated a growing body of analysis and to some extent even an offer of prescriptions on what has gone wrong and what should be done. Westerners in particular, drew sweeping conclusions about what Africa and the Africans ought to do (Whitaker, 1986:1-2). Since independence a number of strategies and approaches have been externally formulated and designed to assist African governments to promote development. The current position of the African continent can be attributed to a number of factors, which were at play in and outside the continent (Saxena, 2004: 3). Political conflicts and a poverty of opportunities have contributed to Africa's underdevelopment. It is clear that Africans can no longer depend on prescriptions from external agencies and institutions to lead them into a path to development. African leaders should take it upon themselves to identify their governments' deficiencies, so that they could come up with appropriate policies to address such problems. Realising that the continent might need resources and

facilities from multilateral organisations, a partnership has been designed to achieve this goal.

APRM has to deal with criticisms from people who believe that the programme will not work because it is a semblance of Western mechanism which were used by donors to monitor progress in developing countries (Mbeki, 2003:3). The critics feel that the APRM may not address the problems facing the African continent, especially poverty reduction and a better life for all. How will the APRM assist African leaders to implement policies that will promote a better life for all? What remains are the aspirations of the African people who expressed readiness to African development (Carter, 1985:106). It is worth devising new alternatives, maybe that's where Africa's hope and future lies. When one takes into consideration the objectives of the APRM as outlined in 6.6. above it is clear that realistic policies should be targeted towards economic growth and development, which would in turn promote and improve efforts to eradicate poverty.

It is important to indicate that some of the criticisms against the APRM hold water in that they pose threat to the success of the initiative. The APRM is a voluntary mechanism and the findings might not lead to any punitive measures taken against the country under review. The mechanism is not punitive and relies on the trust and understanding between the reviewed country and the APR Panel. (ANC Today, 2003: 3) The mechanism depends on shared confidence between the reviewed and the reviewers. In the absence of punitive sanctions the APRM could become a cozy club where African leaders pat each other on the back (Konare, 2004 2). This view was expressed with the Zimbabwean issue in mind where the critics feel that President Robert Mugabe does not respect democratic principles and human rights because he is aware that other African leaders may not force him to change his governance. It is believed that the principle of non-interference in the affairs of fellow states contributed to Africa's failure to stem out poverty and chaos. The time at which people were expecting other countries to intervene was not appropriate because the blame for Africa's problems was cast on colonialism. The APRM could also not apply to Zimbabwe because the country has not acceded to the declaration. The

mechanism is also voluntary or a signal may be raised for the APRM Secretariat to act, but in this instance only participating member states are involved.

Africa is seen by many as a risk area but for Africans, Africa should be a major opportunity for investment, hence the NEPAD APRM to level the playing fields for investor confidence. It is not time for Africans to be blaming each other but it is time that Africans should hold each other's hand, by acting as of today instead of tomorrow for tomorrow would be late (Mbeki, 2004: 2). The actions should be within the framework of broad consensus to exercise the political leadership and to prepare the agenda for Africa's development. Unfortunately, the African agenda would succeed with the support from Africa's partners who should have trust in the people of Africa and in the Diaspora, that they are capable of formulating policies that are relevant to solve Africa's problems (Gutto, 2004:7).

#### 1.6.8. Stages in the APRM process

This stage involves a study of the political, economic and corporate governance and development environment of the country to be reviewed.

##### 1.6.8.1. Stage I: Initial preparations

The APRM Secretariat should provide up-to-date background information to assist the APR Panel in their preparation for a fully-fledged assessment of the reviewed country. Some of the material required would be gathered from national, sub-regional, regional and international institutions. Key issues that would be looked into include the role of the judiciary, parliamentary oversight to promote accountability, corruption, political representation problems, fiscal management, monetary and financial transparency, as well as accounting and auditing systems (Economic Commission for Africa, 2002:53).

##### 1.6.8.2. Stage II: The Review Team visits the country

This stage is characterised by stakeholder consultations, especially consultation with government, officials, political parties (both the ruling and the opposition parties), parliamentarians, representatives of civil society organisations (CSOs) and banking and

financial sector representatives. CSOs include the following, media, academia, trade unions, business and professional bodies. Consultation are done in order to gather more information regarding their views on the country's governance principles and popular participation in public affairs. The team would interact with stakeholders to gather more data in preparation for the actual review or the actual assessment of the country in question.

#### 1.6.8.3. Stage III: Team prepares a report

It is during this stage that the team will prepare a report from the briefing session with the country's stakeholders and information obtained from the APRM Secretariat. The report would be measured or weighed against applicable political, economic and corporate commitments made by the Programme of Action. The information gathered from the APRM Secretariat and the stakeholders would be consolidated into a preliminary report which should be discussed with the government concerned to ensure that the information gathered is accurate and to ensure that the assessed government is provided with an opportunity to react to or rebut the Team's findings. The draft report would also help to put forward views or how the identified shortcomings might be addressed. Government's responses during this session will be appended to the Team's report. The preliminary report may also be used for clearing certain issues, especially where problems have been identified. Government on the other hand should show eagerness and willingness to correct the identified problems. Appropriate resources should also be indicated in order to correct the situation or to take appropriate corrective action. It is equally important to assess government's capacity to provide required resources. This is one of the reasons why countries are treated as individuals during review because their level of development differs. The report should assist the country to indicate the type of resources that are needed from external sources. Once the question of resources and capacity have been dealt with, it is important for the country to indicate to the Team the time frames within which to rectify the deviation or to solve the identified problem.

1.6.8.4. Stage IV: Submission of report to Heads of State and Government

The report of the Team would be submitted to the participating Heads of State and Government through the APRM Secretariat, who would consider and adopt the report. The Heads of State and Government of participating countries would take a decision regarding the report. If the country under review has capacity, the Heads of State and Government would provide the necessary assistance, urging donor governments and agencies to come to the rescue of the reviewed country. This assistance would enhance resources availability and capacity building in the reviewed country. At times there are resources and capacity but then there is lack of political willingness by political leaders in the country reviewed. In this instance the Heads of State and Government would be expected to engage such a country's political leadership in a constructive dialogue, in addition they might also offer technical and other appropriate assistance to the reviewed country. At times a constructive dialogue may fail and the Heads of State and Government would then be left with no option but to issue an ultimatum to such a country to comply with the recommendations of the Team. However, when an ultimatum is the remaining option, the concerned country would be given time frames within which to consider its stance.

1.6.8.5. Stage V: Final report in relevant structures

Six months after the report was considered by the Heads of State and Government, the report can be formally disseminated by being publicly tabled in key regional and sub regional structures such as the Pan-African Parliament (PAP), the African Commission on Human and People's Rights, the envisaged Peace and Security Council and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) of the AU.

The duration of the peer review process, stages one up to four, would be undertaken within a six months period. The APRM process would definitely require financial resources to be successfully carried out. The process would be funded from the assessed contributions from participating member states. In order to enhance dynamism, review will be undertaken once every five years.

Africa's problems are vast and it is not trade liberation alone that will boost growth and poverty reduction in Africa even if they are essential to unlock Africa's trade potential. Trade policies in many African countries have been applied haphazardly with too little relevance to the overall development objectives. Countries that had liberated their economies did so through dynamic trade policies and gradual targeted liberalization (ANC Today, 2003:5). Trade policies that are realistic and appropriate are more effective than liberalisation *per se*. Development in Africa has to prioritise poverty alleviation, integration of Africa into the world economy, which is dependent on a better-educated and healthier workforce, improved economic governance, improved political governance and better quality infrastructure. Improved governance is key to the transformation of Africa's economies (Economic Commission for Africa, 2004). Hence the need for APRM in African states to ensure that African countries comply with requirements for improved economic development to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all African people.

#### 1.7. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The OAU had a long history of a struggle against slavery, colonialism and apartheid. It was not an easy matter to establish an African organisation in the past because colonialism had fragmented the African peoples into "separate entities" that were independent from one another. Colonialism had created numerous problems, especially a division of nations along ethnic lines and tribalistic groupings. There were various teething problems towards the formation of a continental organisation. During the 1960s most of the African states were still colonised and therefore mobilisation was difficult.

In order to change strategies and approaches in relation to the needs and demands of African societies, African leaders had to ensure that they fight colonialism. The OAU did achieve its main goal of decolonisation and the fight against apartheid. In order to meet new challenges, the OAU was transformed into the AU. The aim of the AU was to carry forward the struggle for a united African continent, in addition the AU was concerned with socio-economic growth and development in order to actively participate in the globalising world economy. In order to push development agenda forward the OAU adopted the NEPAD initiative as a programme of the AU. NEPAD is the vehicle of the



AU and has been hailed by both the national and international leaders as an appropriate strategy and approach that is African driven to solve African problems. One has to remember that Africa inherited lots of backlogs from the colonial settlers, which then appear as if Africa is too slow to regain its socio-economic balance.

In order to give effect to the objectives of NEPAD, the APRM was adopted to ensure that African states subscribe to codes and standards that are acceptable for economic growth and development. Efforts made by Africans since independence have focused on the eradication of poverty and this research would attempt to come up with alternative ways, through the implementation of the APRM to ensure that countries implement public policies that will ensure that poverty is eradicated using the home-grown approaches and programmes that are under discussion, especially with regard to leadership and governance perspectives. The APRM would be used to assess compliance with international codes and standards of practice within the African context.

This study is undertaken to investigate if African leaders would be able to implement policies that are appropriate to eradicate poverty in Africa, especially policies that are formulated at the continental level. The implementation of appropriate policies will be reviewed by African peers to ensure compliance with good governance principles, democracy and the rule of law. Realistic and target-based policies should be formulated and implemented to ensure that the socio-economic conditions of Africans are improved. These institutions were launched to lead the development process by Africans, assisted by friends who are eager to see Africa becoming prosperous. African initiatives will need donor support from multilateral organisations and the international community. The next chapter would focus on the research methodology that would be used to conduct research on this subject.

## CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 2.1. INTRODUCTION

The strategy of enquiry comprises the skills, assumptions and practices that are used by the researcher, especially when a research moves from a paradigm and a research design to the collection of empirical materials. Research strategies are imperative because they connect the researcher to particular approaches and tools of data collection and the analysis thereof. This chapter will discuss the different research methodologies that are available to a researcher; the quantitative and qualitative research methods. The various research strategies of the qualitative methodology will be analysed. It is in this chapter again, where the preferred research strategy will be indicated and discussed, which is the qualitative research strategy and a case study in particular, although this would not be an exclusive research strategy. Research strategies locate the paradigm in specific empirical sites and in particular methodological practices, such as making a case an object of study. For example, the case study relies on interviewing, observing and document analysis (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:xv).

Each research strategy is connected to a complex array of literature with each one of which has its own history, own identity and own characteristics with regard to its history, its exemplary works and its set of preferred ways of putting the strategy in motion. Denzin and Lincoln (1998:xv) state that each research strategy has its own set of problems, which involve the positivist, post-positivist and post modern legacies. This chapter would also indicate the statement of the problem, which is the basis of this study. The significance or the importance of this study would also be indicated in this chapter. A research project needs to be undertaken within a given period and specific time frames and within properly delimited areas, in order to be focused. The limitations of this study will be provided in this chapter. This chapter would not be complete without an analysis of the organisation of the study. The next section would look into the various types of research approach.

## 2.2. TYPES OF RESEARCH APPROACHES

There is a whole range of research methods that are available to researchers and they range from empirical research to a pure literature studies. Research strategies link the researcher to specific approaches and methods of gathering and analysing empirical materials. It is during the research process that the researcher will create a research strategy best suited to his/her research. The researcher may even design his/her research project around the research strategy that he/she has selected (Creswell: 1998:15). One has to choose an appropriate research method/strategy and technique that would be suited for data collection and the analysis in social science research. A distinction could be made between quantitative and qualitative research in social sciences. Quantitative research strategy deals with numerical data whilst qualitative research strategy deals with non-numerical data (Babbie, 1999:36). Qualitative research strategy is also referred to as phenomenological research strategy whilst quantitative research strategy is also referred to as positivistic research strategy (Hussey, 1997:55). The two research methods/strategies may be used in one research project because quantitative research methods might be used to yield qualitative results and quantitative data might be produced from a study that is based on a qualitative research method (Neuman, 1997:14).

A major difference between the qualitative and the quantitative research processes is based on the use of the literature to frame the problem, before, during and after data collection activities of the research process (Neuman, 1974: 14). However, what remains in both situations is that the collected data should be analysed to solve a research problem. Many qualitative researchers rely on literature to help them frame the phenomenon or the object of the study, such as the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the African Union (AU), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), leadership and governance in order to ensure that there is socio-economic development and the eradication of poverty within the African continent. The research on this study will rely on available literature to analyse the prevailing conditions in African public services in an attempt to answer questions that are related to the research question of this study. The next sub-sections would briefly explain the quantitative and the qualitative research methods.

### 2.2.1. Quantitative Research Strategy

Quantitative research relies on positivistic approach to science, which is used in natural science fields of study, such as botany, zoology, physics and chemistry. This assumption suggests that the study of human behaviour should be conducted in a similar way as in natural sciences. The positivists believe in the laws, which they contend provides the basis for an explanation, permitting the explanation of phenomena, predicting the occurrence of phenomena and allowing them to be controlled. During the process of explaining a phenomenon, a way will be found to establish a causal relationship, which exists between variables in a study. Causal laws would be linked to deductive or integrative theory (Hussey, 1997:52).

A quantitative researcher will most likely use quantitative data such as charts, tables and graphs. Such diagrammatic presentations would enable others to see evidence gathered by the researcher. Readers will be able to make deductions out of the presented diagrammatic works. Quantitative research depends mostly on assumptions from qualitative research methods to science. Quantitative research applies logical reasoning to ensure that there is precision, objectivity and rigour, which are necessary to replace intuition and experience as the means of investigating research problems in real life settings (Hussey, 1997:52).

This study will adopt a qualitative research approach but quantitative aspects will be used in order to arrive at a scientific and a logical conclusion of the research project. Surveys will be developed and they would be used to achieve quantitative results. Quantitative analyses would be handled and discussed in a qualitative manner, to prove that even if qualitative research method is used in a research study, quantitative analyses may not be totally ignored (Fouché, 2002:271). Most of the material for the purpose of this study will be collected from government and official publications and reports contained in official publications and/or articles. Monographs, which contain policy implementation matters, would be amongst sources to be used for information in this study. A survey will furthermore, be conducted to interact with relevant officials in the NEPAD Secretariat and the APRM Committee in Midrand, South Africa and officials within the Department

of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa. The following sub-section will discuss the qualitative research strategy.

### 2.2.2. Qualitative Research Strategy

Researchers use the qualitative research strategy to build a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, report on detailed views of informants or people interacted with, and it conducts the study in a natural setting in order to arrive at scientific conclusions (Creswell, 1998:15). Qualitative research is an enquiry process of understanding, which is based on distinct methodological traditions that explore a social or human problem. This research strategy of enquiry will be appropriate for an investigation of the causes of underdevelopment and poverty within and in the African countries and also to assist in an endeavour to devise strategies and means to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all the African peoples.

The methodology for qualitative research differs from quantitative research because many qualitative research designs, the overall research process is predictable since it follows a particular pattern, which is in a way the same as that of the quantitative research. The main distinction between the qualitative and quantitative research processes revolves around the use of literature to help frame the problem at all levels of data collection. However, qualitative research relies on literature to assist in framing the phenomenon to be studied, such as governance and leadership perspectives in policy implementation within African public services with an attempt on the eradication of poverty and the creation of a better life for all African peoples.

#### 2.2.2.1. The Qualitative Research Process

Creswell (1998:15-18) has identified a number of steps that are key to the qualitative research process. The process starts with the search and the identification of a research topic. The selection of a research topic would be based on the established framework, which will be facilitated by literature review. This means that the review of relevant literature will enable the researcher to establish an appropriate framework, which would guide the researcher towards a focused area of research. Literature reviews involve the

collection and the analysis of data. Once a framework has been established, the purpose of research would be indicated, including the problem statement. The following step would be to plan the research by selecting the research site, population identification and sampling. It is during the planning phase that one has to determine how entrance into the field of research would be gained, how data will be collected, analysed and reported. It will be during the literature review phase that data will be collected and analysed accordingly. It is important to understand the qualitative research process because it provides a clear sequence of events, which need to be followed to successfully complete a qualitative research project. The following sub-section will focus on the traditional qualitative research designs, biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and historical and case study.

#### 2.2.2.2. Qualitative Research Designs

Qualitative research requires the use of a wide range of interrelated methods to arrive at the appropriate conclusions and findings. The use of a variety of methods or triangulation in qualitative research is indicative of the researcher's quest to get an in-depth understanding of the research problem. The choice of the strategies of enquiry used by the qualitative researcher depends on other components or parts of the research project, such as the nature of the research question, the purpose of the study and the skills and resources at the disposal of the researcher (Fouché, 2002:272).

##### 2.2.2.2.1. The historical design

A research on African issues will basically indicate the importance of the historical paradigms. Denzin and Lincoln (1998:xiv) argue that social phenomena should be studied in their historical context. This process involves the use of research tools such as documents and written documents of the past. Such historical documents would include but not exhaustive, the following documents, diaries, letters, newspapers, agreements and treaties and cultural articles. Historical documents are important because history is always the story of the lived experience. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1998:xiv) written history on the one hand reflects and on the other hand creates relations of power, which means that today's struggles are about how the past shall be known. The call by

African leaders to free Africa from the shackles of colonialism was based on the mandate of European powers during the Berlin Conference when they agreed to share African countries amongst themselves whereby reducing them to dependent entities. This means that this will determine how the past will be constituted in the present. This research project means that the historical design is imperative because in the first chapter of this study a historiography was made of the continental organisations that were formed to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment on the African continent and within African countries and their peoples. The historical design is appropriate in order to understand the historical context of the causes of the quagmire that plague the African continent, despite decolonisation and political independence from colonial rule. It is worth noting that a qualitative researcher who chooses this type of research design must know that every historical method by implication means a different way of telling stories.

#### 2.2.2.2.2. The biographical design

According to Fouché (2002:272) biography indicates the broad genre of biographical writing. It is used to report on and to document an individual's life and experiences as told to the researcher or as it might be found in documents or archival materials. The strategy is aimed at constructing the history of a life. The methods of data collection in this strategy are primarily interviews and documents and the product of research is a picture of an individual's life (Creswell, 1998:51). This strategy involves the collection of extensive data from and about the subject of the biography, to have a clear understanding of historical contextual material. The researcher must have a keen eye to determine the particular stories or angles that work in writing a biography. The researcher must bring himself/herself into the narrative report and acknowledge his/her standpoint (Smith, 1998:186-188 and Fouché, 1998:273).

The biographical design centres on a person or persons' life, especially the reasons behind one becoming a leader or why the person or persons made certain choices in life. This design gathers information through oral history or life history of particular individuals or persons. Participants sampled for this design will be selected on the basis of the position and status they have in the communities within which they live. Data may

be gathered through interviews and/or archival means. It must be stressed that people that would be selected to provide such information must be carefully considered so that they can provide valid and useful information. It is recommended that where interviews are used to gather information, they should be open ended. Gathered information would be analysed and presented in a chronological manner in order to follow a sequential pattern that would make sense to readers of such research projects.

#### 2.2.2.2.3. The grounded theory design

According to Locke (2001:123) the theory is created based on observation than on deduction, even though this is not exclusive. In this design, the researcher generates an abstract analytical scheme of a phenomenon whereby he/she explains action, interaction or the process. Grounded theory design is discovered, developed and verified through data collection. The analysis of such data will be done in relation to the identified phenomenon, which relates to a particular situation. The theory focuses on plausible relationships amongst concepts and a set of concepts. This type of research design is a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed. This type of design is often referred to as the constant comparative method and it involves generating theory and doing social research which form the two sides of the same coin or the same process (Strauss and Corbin, 1988:160).

According to Creswell (1998:56) the researcher develops the theory, which is articulated through narrative statements. At times a visual picture is presented together with proposition statements or hypotheses. The participants in this process are selected from a population that had experienced the phenomenon under study, comprising people that have in-depth knowledge and valid description of the theory. The researcher that selects this research design looks for causal conditions, intervening conditions and the consequences. The information gathered might be further validated through reviews, which are done by participants to provide a clear understanding of the circumstances under which the theory is true or untrue.



#### 2.2.2.2.4. The ethnographic design

An ethnographic design takes an anthropological approach to research because it centres on cultural or the social aspects that are related to the phenomenon, whereby the researcher examines learnt behaviours, customs or ways of life. The process of data gathering or collection involves a prolonged observation of the focus group. The design is characterised by the researcher's involvement in the day-to-day lives of the people under review. The researcher is expected to study the meanings of behaviour, language and the interactions of the culture-sharing group. At times data is gathered through fieldwork by taking notes whilst interacting with participants in the field. The researcher is expected to produce an extensive description of what he/she has experienced during data collection. Atkinson and Hammersely (1998:110) state that ethnographical research design has a substantial number of features such as an emphasis on exploring the nature of a particular social phenomenon rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them. An ethnographic design has a tendency of working with unstructured data, investigation of a small number of cases, the analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions.

Ethnography and participant observation have been claimed to present a unique humanistic and interpretative approach as opposed to the supposedly "scientific" and "positivistic" positions. All social research is a form of participant observation because one cannot study the social world without being part thereof (Atkinson and Hammersely, 1998:111). The researcher choosing this type of a research design must possess the following attributes to undertake the ethnographical research successfully, sacrifice, personal involvement and commitment, ability to withstand hardships and discomfort, as well as responsive conflict resolution skills and the courage to handle dangerous and hazardous situations (Fouché, 2002:275 and Holstein and Gubrium, 1998:142).

#### 2.2.2.2.5. The phenomenological design

This research design is commonly used to understand and interpret the meaning that subjects give to their everyday lives. The phenomenological study describes the meaning of a phenomenon, a topic or a concept has for various individuals. The product of the

research is a description of the essence of the experience being studied. Fouché (2002:273) has identified two prerequisites for a study based on this design to succeed. First, the researcher will enter the subject “life world” or life setting. Second, the researcher places himself/herself in the shoes of the subject through naturalistic methods of study, analysis of the conversations and the interaction researchers have with their subjects.

Tools that are available to a researcher using this type of a research design include participant observation and long interviews with up to 10 people or interviewees (Fouché, 2002: 273). The design needs a selection of people that have experienced the particular phenomenon under review. Gathered data will be systematically arranged according to themes and general descriptions of experiences and would be analysed within a specific context. This method is concerned with the experimental underpinnings of knowledge whereby consciousness actively constitutes the object of experience. The world of social reality would not be replaced by a fictional non-existing world constructed by the scientific observer. Schutz and Luckman’s (1974:3) social phenomenology aim for a social science that would interact, interpret and explain human action and thought through descriptions of the fundamental structures of the reality which seems self-evident to men who remain within the natural attitude. The interpretive enterprise focuses on daily subjective meaning and experience is aimed at explicating how objects and experience are meaningfully constituted and communicated in a day-to-day world of life (Holstein and Gubrium, 1998:140).

Phenomenology is the study of essences or a systematic attempt to uncover and describe the structures and the internal meanings of lived experiences. In studying the phenomenon of leadership and governance, this form of study does not ask how leaders lead or how governance is exercised but it is concerned with the nature or essence of the experience of leading or the experience of governance principles and values.

#### 2.2.2.2.6. The case study design

A case study is an explanation of a bounded system characterised by time and place or a case, including multiple cases, over time through detailed, in-depth data collection, which involves multiple sources of information rich in context of the setting. The sources of information include interviews and reviews of reports, documents or social artifacts. In case study design, depending on the nature of the “case” both quantitative and qualitative data may be used to provide a rich description of the setting. The individual cases are described to address the purpose of the study. Data is reported by providing an in-depth description, which gives the reader a rich narrative of the case.

Case study research design provides information on topics such as the nature of the case, its historical background and its relation to the contexts and other cases (Flick, 1992: 198). A case study is not a methodological choice but it is a choice of the object to be studied (Stake, 1998:86). This means that the researcher chooses to study the case. The themes of the research are often issues that are matters for study regarding the specific case. Researchers teach what they learnt and it is from case reports that researchers learn both the propositional and the experiential knowledge (Stake, 1998:94 and Fouché, 2002:275). Case study researchers pass along to readers some of their personal meanings of events and relationships. The case researcher must provide reasons for validating both the observation and generalisation. Triangulation has been considered as a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning and the verification of the repeatability of an observation or interpretation. Triangulation serves to clarify meaning by identifying different ways phenomena are seen (Stake, 1998:97 and Flick, 1992:198).

When researchers report cases they do so as cases that will be compared with others. Most naturalistic, ethnographic and phenomenological research concentrate on describing the present case in details and the reader makes a good comparison. Comparison is a powerful conceptual mechanism, which fixes attention upon the few attributes being compared and obscuring other knowledge about the case. Case study often deals with matters of public interest and they are valuable in refining theory and complexities for further investigation. Case study also helps to establish the limits of generalisability. A

case may be simple or complex. For example, a case may be a condition in a specific African country or a number of African countries within the African continent. The degree of poverty and underdevelopment differ from country to country but the general conditions in Africa are summed up as chaotic with little development for the continent.

It is clear from the discussion of the various research designs that the researcher has to select an appropriate design or a combination of research designs that are suited to the topic to be investigated. The following section would look at the more expedient research approach for this research topic, “The APRM and the AU: The case for leadership and governance perspectives in African public services.”

### 2.3. THE SELECTED RESEARCH APPROACH

A qualitative research strategy or approach is the most expedient approach in this study, especially the case study method of research because the study deals with new policy matters aimed at finding alternative solutions to African problems through leadership and governance perspectives in African Public Services. The study will look at three case studies with successful cooperation and integration to ensure that peers learn out of the peer reviews that will be conducted. The qualitative research approach is chosen because it will enable the researcher to think historically and structurally. Chapter 1 (*supra*) dealt with the historiography of African organisations that have been established since in the early 1960s, especially after independence, to unite the African countries and their peoples to tackle poverty and underdevelopment in the continent. It is important to indicate that whenever a specific investigation is planned and carried out, there are two issues that must be confronted with immediate effect. The two issues are research design and the choice of a strategy of enquiry. These two issues revolve around various related questions that need to be addressed in a research project. The research design places the researcher or the investigator in the empirical world. The issue of design attempts to answer four basic questions in research, namely how will the design connect to the paradigm being used? Who or what will be studied? This involves cases or instances of social processes, the formation of regional and sub-regional organisations in an attempt to unite African countries and to tackle socio-economic underdevelopment and poverty as a

united continent. The third question is on how will empirical materials be informed by and how it would interact with the paradigm question? What strategies of enquiry would be used and what methods of research tools would be used for data collection and the analysis of empirical materials (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:xii-xii).

A case study research approach would be employed to test the research question in this study because of the nature of the data, in addition to the ability of this approach to explore a wider range of variables that affect leadership and governance principles in African public services. The case study would include the various regional economic communities of Africa, which will be discussed in chapter 3 (*infra*). The case study method will be used in conjunction with other qualitative strategies such as the historical and the phenomenological designs. Some case studies are qualitative whilst some are quantitative studies. In this study/ research the dominant strategy would be case study, whereby the qualitative enquiry dominates, displaying a strong naturalistic, holistic, cultural and phenomenological interest, which are significant. A qualitative research has been selected because the qualitative researcher remains open to the unexpected and he/she is willing to change direction or focus of a research project. This does not necessarily mean that the intended research project in this study will be changed but this is an indication that the research strategy is flexible. It is not uncommon to find qualitative researchers abandoning the research question in the middle of the research process. Qualitative researchers build theory by making comparisons. This research strategy emphasises the importance of the social context in order to understand the situation within which African countries and their peoples find themselves (Fouché, 2002:271). The research strategy is appropriate because the study started well in chapter one by mapping out the historical background of the continental efforts to establish a united states of Africa to achieve economic integration and cooperation modeled on the European Union. Even if the qualitative research strategy has been selected as the expedient strategy, quantitative aspects will be used to arrive at appropriate conclusion for the study.

The qualitative research strategy will best answer the question that has been formulated for this study. This is plan or a blueprint of how the researcher intends conducting research. The following section would look into the statement of the problem of this study.

#### 2.4. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Underdevelopment and poverty in the African continent has received both local and international attention since the past decades, especially in the post independence period. The attention was heightened by the international communities who realised that world development would be incomplete without African development. This view was accelerated by globalisation and the call for African renaissance, coupled with the call for regional integration and cooperation to enhance socio-economic development in the African continent, to ensure that the African continent becomes an active player in world affairs (Sefara, 2005: 8). It is important to note that a seasoned researcher should be able to postulate a research problem. According to Landman (1980:42), a researcher who does not formulate a research problem clearly would be said to be suffer from blindness or myopia. The research problem in this study has been formulated according to Africa's need for the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment to create a better life for all, through the implementation of appropriate public policies (De Jager, Coetzee and Bischoff, 1983:24).

Problem setting and formulation require the exact formulation of questions that need answers, which would be arrived at through investigation. Research questions guide and encourage the researcher to find solutions and to uncover the truth or reality of the phenomenon or a case under discussion. Research is basically conducted to resolve identified problems which point out that African countries need to sharpen their leadership and governance capabilities in order to deal with poverty eradication and underdevelopment, which have been caused by the inability of African public services to implement of appropriate policies. The crux of the problem in this research is to investigate: “ **the extent to which African leaders can provide African alternative solutions to African problems to address the issue of effective policy implementation**

**in the African Public Services, using the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and sharing best practices learnt from the three African Regional Economic Communities.”** The study will attempt to analyse the role that would be played by national, regional and sub regional organisations and the African peoples with the assistance of their partners to implement policies that would push back the frontiers of poverty in the continent, through effective leadership and good governance principles.

Problems that are in need of solutions or that elicits curiosity are relevant and interesting to both the reader and the researcher, this is true to those problems that are researchable and suited to a particular setting such as the African problems which have attracted tremendous attention from the international communities and agencies. The main challenge facing African leaders is to create a united continent in order to tackle underdevelopment and poverty collectively. African leaders are appealing to the African nations to integrate in the fight against poverty and to unite in order to provide a means to access foreign markets and enhanced development. Integration is an indispensable strategy of survival and development. African leaders have come to realise that African countries and their peoples need to pay more attention on strengthening regional integration and meaningful participation in the global economy (African Business, 2004:8). The problem that faces African leaders is the integration of the African continent to create a better life for all its citizens to dismantle artificial boundaries that were created for the convenient perpetration of colonialism.

How will African leaders impress upon their fellow Africans about their determination to seize the continent and chart their own destinies without dependency, either on colonial powers or on a host of developed countries and the multilateral agencies? (Versi, 2004:11). How can African leaders realise that their governments and leadership would be judged on their ability to deliver better standards of living for their peoples? The main research problem of this study is to look into the current problems and strategies that were initiated to provide solutions towards poverty eradication and socio-economic development. Solutions need to be found to deal with the aftermath of colonialism and imperialism, which left Africa desperately poor, illiterate and disorganised. Most of the

strategies that were initiated after independence did not work neither did they matter about African development because it was always maintained that the rest of the world knew better what was needed by Africa.

The question that needs to be answered in this thesis is to scientifically indicate to what extent can African leadership address the issue of effective policy implementation within the African public services (Versi, 2004: 11). How can effective leadership and good governance implement regional economic imperatives to ensure economic integration and cooperation within the African continent? The mere implementation of changes in policies will not necessarily remove underdevelopment and poverty in Africa, hence the need to form a coherent African Economic Community to ensure that developmental matters become a continental issue instead of being tackled by individual countries. Most of African countries lack capacity and resources, such as lack of education, lack of access to information, missing markets, disproportionate patterns of asset ownership and infrastructure development, which are preconditions for integration and cooperation (Delgado, 1999:165-189).

The setting of the African problem is rooted in a long history of colonialism and imperialism, which marginalised the Africans and compromised human development within the continent. To date the world is still divided into the developed and the developing countries. Despite Africa's wealth in natural resources, it is the poorest region of all world regions. The question remains as to how leadership and governance can manage the process of underdevelopment and poverty in order to create a better life for all African peoples or how can leadership contribute to the poverty alleviation and development? There is a realisation that effective leadership and good governance are prerequisites for economic growth and sustainable development and they have prompted African leaders to move closer to one another in order to tackle continental problems as a unified force. How then would African leaders ensure that there is economic integration and cooperation amongst African countries? The formation of the continental initiatives is aimed at total integration of African countries and their peoples to assist one another to meet the needs of their citizens. The plight of the African continent and its people has



persisted for far too long, hence the call to give more attention to Africa's socio-economic conditions by Africans themselves and other agencies that are concerned about Africa's problems.

How would the AU, NEPAD and the APRM assist African leaders and their governments to embrace good governance and effective leadership, which are essential for successful policy implementation? Is there any causal relationship between policy implementation and effective service delivery in the public service? Despite the emergence of democratic rule in most African states, Africa has not yet succeeded in pushing back the frontiers of poverty and creates a better life for all (Langdon and Mytelka, 1979: 140). This research would look into the contribution made by continental organisations, specifically formed to complement one another with a view of jointly tackling Africa's problems, to the benefit of all African countries and their peoples.

## 2.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research is significant because it should make a difference and should be aimed at contributing or expanding the body of knowledge in the study field of effective policy implementation in African public services. According to Huysamen (1994:188) a doctoral research is required to represent the product of a thorough investigation into a researchable problem within recognised approaches within a given field of study. This research is undertaken to represent a meaningful contribution to the discipline of Public Administration, specifically to the study field of leadership and governance. The results of this study would contribute to an enhanced understanding of issues of development and to provide guidelines on African democratic issues and policy implementation in the context of the African environment. Research should basically be undertaken to provide answers and solutions to questions and concerns in the field of study. In an endeavour to provide answers to questions, this research would be making a meaningful contribution to the body of knowledge in this subject of study (Mutharika, 1995: 38). It is through this research project that attention would be attracted to viewpoints that are related to the research topic.

The significance of this study is not only limited to the fact that it investigates current issues and current topics, its importance also stems from the realisation that Africa's problems affect the rest of world countries and world economic blocks. In the global village the international communities could no longer ignore Africa's underdevelopment and the socio-economic crises. World stability and sustainable development could not become a reality when Africa is still marginalised and plagued by problems. The study is significant because it would analyse economic integration and cooperation in order to ensure that business transactions are effective and profitable when they are handled from a regional or sub-regional perspectives.

Partnership with other countries and the multilateral organisations would facilitate integration and cooperation to ensure that resources are pooled to tackle problems that prevail in the continent. The study is significant because it would also analyse the achievements made by the regional communities to the benefit of their communities. An analysis of existing economic communities provides a framework for the establishment of the African Economic Community on a continental level, for all the five African regions.

The study would attempt to provide African solutions to African problems, which have plagued African countries for decades, especially during this globalising era. The research study would attempt to provide "home-grown" alternatives to Africa's problems, to ensure that Africa can be in charge of its destiny. The study would highlight effective leadership and good governance principles, which are regarded as prerequisites for economic growth and development. The study would analyse how policy implementation could be undertaken to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment in Africa.

## 2.6. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It is important to point out that African countries in the North of the continent have not been selected as part of the case study because they do identify themselves with the rest of the continent but they interact actively with other continents' economic blocs. This research is limited to the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the African

Union, with specific reference to the case of leadership and governance perspectives in African Public Services which are responsible for the implementation of public policies that are aimed at the eradication of poverty and the creation of a better life for the African peoples, in Africa and the Diaspora. The study will not do a comparison between the African Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and the European Union (EU) because it seeks to find alternative solutions to Africa's unique problems, which differ fundamentally from European problems. This study began with the historiography of the continental organisations, in order to give a historical context of the African struggle against poverty and all other elements associated with Africa's underdevelopment. The study will further look into the five regional economic communities that were formed to facilitate regional economic integration and cooperation, which are the bases of building the African Economic Community (AEC), resembling the European Economic Community (EEC). However, reference would be made to other continental organisations outside the African continent, including cooperation with other international institutions and multilateral organisations that are involved in development initiatives and projects in African countries. The period covered by this study starts in the 1960s to the current state of affairs whereby efforts are being made to give attention to poverty and underdevelopment that plague the African continent and its peoples. It is important to note that developments in Africa are influenced by what happens in the international milieu and vice-versa, hence reference to global and international organisations and institutions in this study.

## 2.7. ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter 1, the previous chapter, gives a historical background of the Organisation of the African Unity (OAU), the African Union, and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The chapter gives a clear historical account of the formation of these continental organisations, indicating the primary purpose of their establishment and their mandates. The chapter also indicates the role played by African renaissance principles in facilitating the establishment of continental organisations with which African leaders believed and still believe that they would carry the struggle forward for a "united states of Africa." The

OAU was aimed at the liquidation of colonialism in Africa and the fight for independence from imperialism. The AU aims at socio-economic development by fostering economic integration and cooperation amongst the African countries and multilateral organisations and international institutions that offer assistance towards accelerated development in African countries. The AU uses the NEPAD programme as its vehicle for the implementation of democratic principles, respect for the rule of law and human rights as well as the adoption and implementation of good governance principles and the institutionalisation of ways to manage conflicts and the restoration of peace on the continent. The chapter also highlights the formation and the operations of the APRM, to ensure that African countries and their development partners adhere to agreements on development issues. Chapter: 1 provides the contextual basis for the establishment of organisations that have a clear vision on how to tackle the challenges that have been faced by African leaders and their countries at independence.

Chapter: 2 (this chapter) gives an overview of the various research methods or strategies that are available to a researcher, ultimately indicating the preferred research strategy that is preferred for this study. This chapter also contains the statement of the problem and details on the significance of the study. It is in this chapter that the limitations of the study would be given, as well as the organisation or the outline of the study.

Chapter: 3 will cover the theoretical framework and review of the related literature, further giving a theoretical framework of the study. The chapter will provide an analysis of the five economic regions of Africa, SADC, ECOWAS, COMESA, Central Africa and North Africa Economic Communities. The old paradigm of the OAU will be given as well as the new paradigm in the context of the AU. The chapter will also provide an analysis of the traditional theories of integration of the African continent. This chapter will describe public administration and policy analysis models of governance. The governance and leadership imperatives of NEPAD and/or APRM on Africa would be provided in this chapter. The chapter will furthermore discuss the determinants of and indicators of leadership, governance, public policy and the APRM.

Chapter: 4 will provide an analysis of the case study derived from the discussion of the regional communities that facilitate economic integration and cooperation to fight back the frontiers of poverty as a united force. This chapter will provide a follow-up on the case study analysed in chapter 3.

Chapter: 5 will give an analysis of the case discussed in chapter: 4. This chapter would highlight achievements of the economic regions with a view to provide recommendations in an attempt to resolve conflicts within and amongst countries on the African continent and to ensure that there is cooperation and unity which are essential for socio-economic development, peace and stability.

Chapter: 6 will provide the summary of the research report and recommendations for African democratic principles and values, which are contextualised to suit the African conditions and ways of doing things. This chapter provides recommendations on good governance and other prerequisites for development and economic growth in African countries through policy implementation undertaken by African public services. The chapter provides suggestions on areas for future research.

## 2.8. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The discussion in this chapter was basically meant to provide a clear picture of the procedural aspects of this study. This chapter provides the reader with all the procedural aspects of the study that would be successfully undertaken and completed. It is important to note that this study is directed towards providing recommendations and proposals on relevant solutions to African problems. It is worth noting that the problem delimitation would assist the researcher to focus on the problem that requires investigation in terms of this study. This study will be conducted within the parameters of the African public service and its objectives to render quality services to citizens.

The study has been organised in such a way that its significance has been provided, including its problem statement which is the basis of this study. The research question has been clearly set out. The chapter has identified and discussed the two types of

research approaches. Research designs or approaches that are employed in qualitative research have been discussed in this chapter, culminating in the selection of the case study method of the qualitative strategy to be the appropriate method to direct the investigation in this study. This chapter has indicated a clear outline of the study to assist in the organisation and sequence of the study. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical framework and review related literature in an attempt to determine how regional integration and cooperation could promote the eradication of poverty in the continent.

## CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

The study will discuss the five African regional blocs in this chapter in order to ensure that African leaders implement policies by promoting regional cooperation and integration that will improve the lives of the African peoples on the continent and in the Diaspora. The five African regional blocs that will be discussed in this chapter are, the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the North African Economic Region and the Central African Economic Region. The five regional blocs will be used as a catalyst towards the formation of a continental bloc, which would provide the collective muscle for the African continent in its endeavour to tackle the challenges of underdevelopment, poverty and marginalisation from international affairs. The old and the new OAU paradigms will also be discussed in this chapter. It would be appropriate to look at the traditional theories of integration, to map out the background of African unity and cooperation.

Public administration and policy models of governance will be discussed in this chapter, indicating the governance and leadership imperatives of NEPAD and the APRM on Africa. It is in this chapter where an analysis would be made of the determinants and the indicators of leadership, governance, public policy and the APRM. The chapter will consider how governance and leadership perspectives might be key to the implementation of appropriate policies that would promote a better life for all the African peoples and would end with a conclusion to summarise its discussions.

### 3.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

It is befitting to indicate in this chapter that decolonisation and independence, which was achieved by African leaders through the OAU and other progressive mechanisms on the international arena, represented a crossroads for Africa and its peoples. Africans were presented with an opportunity to choose the “right” path to enhance governance and create wealth to deal with poverty and deprivation (Saxena, 2004:3). Post independence

African society was committed and still is committed towards enhancing popular participation in decision-making processes of their countries, the encouragement of indigenous entrepreneurship – the South African Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) drive, the maximisation of the creation of wealth and to allow for a socially equitable allocation of resources (Mbaku and Saxena, 2004:1). The study recognises the importance of African affairs after independence, especially with regard to efforts made to implement progressive policies that will eradicate socio-economic, political and cultural crises that plague the continent. The post independent state has realised the role of the state in designing politics and the implementation of policies, which are paramount to improve the welfare of the African people. One has to consider the fact that the welfare of the indigenous people had been neglected during the colonial era and that the indigenous peoples had to form part of public policy processes.

### 3.3. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Literature review is defined as the documentation of a comprehensive review of published and unpublished work from secondary sources of data in areas of particular importance to the research. The significance of literature review in research is that viewpoints that could have an impact on the research problem are considered. Literature review ensures that a clearer picture emerges as it is done to indicate variables that are most important to consider and also why they are considered important to solve a research problem (Huysamen, 1994: 188). One could relate this research to the problems of leadership and governance with regard to policy implementation to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all. Literature review assists the researcher to ensure that the inclusion of important viewpoints, which could be regarded as variables likely to influence the study. The review will also ensure that the investigated topic is perceived by the scientific community as relevant and imperative (Serakan, 1984:37-38). Literature review undertaken in this field of study indicates that theorising around the causes of Africa's underdevelopment and the search for possibilities for development alternatives strategies started in the 1960s and the early 1970s. It was evident in the 1970s that Africa's underdevelopment was grounded in Western political and development traditions, with some theories more distorted than they explained the phenomenon.



Policies and programmes, which were designed, based on Western research theories proved a failure in their endeavour to find solutions for Africa's problems.

Asante (1991:xiii) states that Africans realised the need to abandon the approaches and methods that were based on poor strategies and/or on lifestyles of societies with different historical, cultural, economic and political background. This then means that the AU, NEPAD and the APRM are of an African origin designed to solve African problems, driven by the Africans, who would be assisted by their friends who are committed to development and growth in Africa. Reviewed literature indicates that Africans should continue to intensify regional integration efforts to develop and sustain a solid foundation for the eventual integration of the continent into the global system (Langdon and Mytelka, 1979: 140). Africans should control their entry into the global economy to ensure that participation ensures maximum values for the continent. Africans should adopt a stance that would reduce the costs but with high returns. African leaders have come to the realisation that participation in the global economy should benefit the continent instead of its traditional benefactors, including institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the industrial market economy, especially the European Union (EU) (Mbaku and Saxena, 2004:5). This setup imposed neoliberal therapies on the African countries, hence their efforts to form a continental organisation with programmes that are relevant and suited to the African context, to yield benefits for the African countries and their peoples. These formations were initiated to give effect to the political freedom achieved through political independence from colonial powers.

According to Mouton (2001:87) every research project commences with a review of the existing literature. The purpose of literature review includes the determination of how other scholars have investigated the research problem that one is interested in African affairs. It is important to point out that the interest indicated in this paragraph is not only restricted to literature but mainly in the accumulated scholarship. Literature review provides the researcher with a platform to see how other researchers have theorised and conceptualised issues and how they have arrived at certain conclusions for their

studies/researches. Literature review is significant to the researcher because it offers practical ways, which have been followed in the past to arrive at scientific conclusions. Literature reviews indicates that Africans have tried since the 1900s to unite against the colonial powers but were always unable to get full support and cooperation from all countries and their leaders. The African Diaspora with the support of their friends always intensified the struggle for unification and integration from the international sphere where applicable.

The reasons for the review of existing scholarship is to ensure that the researcher dose not duplicate previous study or what was researched earlier on in the field of new interest. Secondly, review provides the researcher with the most recent and authoritative theories in the field of interest. Literature review also assists the researcher to find out on the most widely accepted empirical findings in the field of study. It was basically assumed that African underdevelopment and the eradication of poverty could be resolved by the introduction of democracy and good governance as was defined by donor agencies. The other reasons revolve around the availability of research instrumentation that has proved to be reliable and have high validity. It is important to indicate that literature review is essential because it makes available a whole range of research that has been undertaken in the past by other scholars. Such past research results would be used to solve current problems, using instrumentation that has been used with validity and reliability in the past. Literature review will assist the researcher to answer the research question.

It worth noting that when the first African country became independent there was recognition for a united and integrated Africa in order to tackle continental problems collectively. This was evidenced by the declaration made by amongst others, Kwame Nkrumah when he said; “*The freedom of independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa*” (Legum, 1982:122). These sentiments could be traced in the Charter of the OAU whereby Article II declared that the OAU was aiming at the total eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa. African solidarity and the push towards integration was demonstrated in 1963 when President Ben Bella of Algeria pledged 10 000 Algerian volunteers to help free African nations that were still

under white minority rule. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania also echoed the same sentiments when he declared that days are gone when African brothers and sisters could be left unaided in their struggle against domination and imperialism (Sklar, 1994: 196). These efforts were key to the support that South Africa, the then Rhodesia and other former Portuguese colonies received and the ultimate role and their influence on the policies that were adopted by extra-continental powers. These solidarity activities provide enough proof that African leaders were concerned with the plight of the African peoples and the restoration of order to create a conducive environment for a better life in all parts of the continent.

Various forms of influence were exerted on the colonial powers and extra-continental powers to change their policies against the target countries in an endeavour to ensure that the African countries are set free. In 1962, South Africa was excluded from the African Commonwealth and the Commonwealth of Nations and there was support for the liberation movements for an armed struggle against domination and colonial rule by the UN. Support given to liberation movements and collaboration between guerilla leaders and the regimes in Lisbon was also due to the need by Africans to support one another in the struggle against liberation. It is time for Africans to mobilise for unity amongst African countries and their peoples to ensure that collective efforts to achieve African Millennium goals and the eradication of poverty through the implementation of appropriate policies within an environment characterised by good governance and effective leadership is not a pipe dream. African leaders have been instrumental in pursuing their own independent policies and interests (Carter and O'Meara, 1982:127). It is interesting to note that the initiatives that are made in the AU, NEPAD and the APRM are a follow-up on the initiatives that past African leaders had. This research attempts to answer the principal question; "To what extent can African leaders find alternatives to ensure that African public services deliver quality services and goods to their citizens through the implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)?" This has been a challenge that was faced by the African continent for decades after independence. It is perhaps befitting at this stage to undertake this research and come up with recommendations that would assist the African continent to achieve its ambitions and the

aspirations of its citizens. African countries will appreciate a continental organisation modeled on other world formations like the European Union, which benefits the citizens of member states and beyond (Mbaku and Saxena, 2004: 1-4). African leaders realised that individually it was difficult to face world players who transacted as continental bodies or trading blocs in the world stage. The stage for Africa's integration, cooperation and unity was set as early the 1900s, through the Pan African movement for Africa's liberation and freedom, the formation of the OAU, the AU, NEPAD and the APRM is a continuation of the efforts by African leaders to achieve unity and integration in the continent to ensure that better life is created for all the African people in the continent and the Diaspora. In order to achieve integration and cooperation, regions and sub regional organisations emerged for collective action in an attempt to confront the challenges that face the African continent.

#### 3.4. VARIETIES OF REGIONALISM

According to Asante (1997:1) regionalism and integration are not new, they have been a continuing part of the post World War II trade landscape. African countries and their leadership have realised the need to revise the old arrangements in order to come up with new regional groupings to ensure that collectivism is used for the benefit of the continent rather than tackling development challenges as individual countries. It was essential for integration and cooperation in order to face the challenges of the 1900s and beyond as a unified continental bloc. It is important to indicate that efforts to integrate African countries into a continental bloc emerged during the 1950s, advocated by leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah (Nkrumah, 1963:133-136). Mazzeo (1984:3) noted that such efforts were slow because national leaders feared a possible loss of national sovereignty by their states. This confirmed Mbaku and Saxena's (2004:124) views that state-driven integration was strong on rhetoric and weak on implementation. National leadership demonstrated failure to translate regional agreements and protocols into substantive changes in national policy. Regional policies need to be implemented in conjunction with national policies, in order to yield desired results for the region so that development can be enjoyed by the majority in the regions instead of a chosen few, which was the main shortfall of the earlier forms of development strategies, especially during colonial rule.

Is it necessary for the African continent to form a continental and regional bloc? The answer to this question will be in the affirmative because in order to meet the new challenges facing the continent individual countries may not succeed in dealing with them. The main reason is that Africa was under colonial domination for many years whereby African countries' resources were exploited and used to develop the colonial powers instead of the local citizens. The continent was the most fragmented in the world due to colonialism, which prospered through Africa's disintegration (Bischoff, 2004:121). This fragmentation led to the collapse of such states as Sierra Leone, Liberia and Somalia. It was during this period of African fragmentation that saw the eruption of a regional war in the Great Lakes region. Some of the reasons why African countries need to form a continental bloc were their size and the level and/or degree of development in individual countries. Regional integration and cooperation were emphasised by African leaders in the past and are still being emphasised to make sure that African states voluntarily and in various degrees access each other's resources and markets to establish mechanisms and techniques through which conflicts can be minimised, whilst maximising internal and external socio-economic, cultural and political benefits for their actions (Harlow, 1997:15).

Regionalism would benefit the African countries because at a regional level, it would encourage greater cooperation in areas of humanitarian relief, security and policing, consultation on social, health and welfare policy and the provision of a regionally regulated and standardised infrastructural environment (Mbaku and Saxena, 2004:125). Instead of tackling these problems as individual countries, regionalism would ensure that they are tackled collectively, to ensure that all the citizens in the region enjoy development benefits as a collective. Regionalism and regional integration is not new to the continent, it has been on the agenda for quite a long time but without success. One of the reasons why regional integration has been difficult to achieve was lack of political will to integrate the African countries and their peoples (Mutharika, 1995: 138). A renewed vision has been demonstrated by the will and commitment of presidents Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, to fast track issues of

integration in their respective regional communities, ECOWS and SADC. The two leaders have demonstrated their commitment to regional integration because they perceive it as a visionary strategy that would be used to bring about continental integration. ECOWAS has achieved a lot in terms of its mandate of creating a unified economic community to ensure free movement of the African people within the region and the implementation of the principles of the Charter for the Public Service in Africa, which was adopted in 1998 by the African Public Service Ministers (Mbeki, 2002: 1-3).

Concerted efforts were made through the provisions of the Charter for the Public Service in Africa to enhance professionalism and to promote ethics in the public service in Africa, with the intention of modernising administrative structures to master new communication technologies, to transform the historically and politically motivated functions into sound business-like operations and adapting policies in order to improve the economy and to create an enabling environment for private sector growth. All these efforts have been undertaken to ensure that African leaders are enabled to implement effective policies in the public service (United Nations, 2001:7). What is paramount is that Charter implementation was entrusted in the hands of national governments and regional organisations. Regional Economic Communities (RECs) would be consulted by NEPAD whenever priorities and policies need to be looked into by NEPAD (Dogonyaro, 2002:289-290). The RECs are viewed as the building blocs of NEPAD to ensure that if there is success in regions then that would serve as a motivation for implementation in the entire continent and they would be strengthened and adapted to fast track the African development agenda. The two leaders have played a pivotal role in the creation of the NEPAD as a programme of the AU. They followed in the example of Frantz Fanon when he once declared:

*“We have pointed out many times ... that in the underdeveloped regions the political leader is forever calling on his people to fight: to fight against colonialism, to fight against poverty and underdevelopment and to fight against sterile traditions. The vocabulary that he uses in his appeals is that of chief of staff: ‘mass mobilisation’, ‘agricultural front’, ‘fight against illiteracy’, ‘defeats we have undergone’, ‘victories we have won’. The young independent nation evolves during years in an atmosphere of the battlefield, for the political leader of an underdeveloped country looks fearfully at the huge distance his country will have to cover ...”* (Fanon, 1963:95).

Presidents Obasanjo and Mbeki were willing and determined to mobilise the African nations towards development, conflict resolution and the integration of the continent for participation and meaningful contribution into the globalising world. It is important to note that the intentions of African leaders have been to see a unified continent and to work towards cooperation and full integration. However, Vil-Nkomo (2002:294) indicates that the process of development has in-built contradictions. At times development initiatives would attempt to undermine cultural and historical values to ensure that it succeeds with agreed upon priorities. African people need to understand that integration would disregard cultural differences in order to be a reality to ensure that there is unity in diversity.

Apart from the reasons advanced for the establishment of various regional bodies, African leaders were motivated by the fact that the world economy was divided into three trading blocs based on North America, Europe and East Africa. Regional integration was recognised as a powerful tool and a bridging stone towards the integration of Africa into the world market. To provide an opportunity to retain and enlarge one's ability to control change which results from global interactions (Africa Recovery, 2002: 26). Regional integration gives effect to the Africanisation of crisis management in Africa through the AU, NEPAD and the APRM, which are of an African origin for the Africans and by Africans. Africa has come of age because it has reached a new era whereby Pan Africanism has become an instrument and a powerful tool of regional integration and economic decolonisation in order to give effect to collective self-reliance and the incorporation of Africa into the world system (Jalloh, 1976:44-58). Regional integration will assist Africans to tackle their challenges as a collective force. The following sub section will discuss the five African regional economic communities, which are the building bloc of a mega continental structure like the AU and NEPAD.

#### 3.4.1. Southern African Development Community (SADC)

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) was established in Lusaka on 1 April 1980. It was formed by nine majority-ruled states of Southern Africa, which was then called the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). The



founding member states were Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The primary mandate of SADCC was to coordinate development projects in Southern African states with a view of lessening economic dependence of these states on South Africa which was then ruled by the minority at the expense of the black majority. The initial intention of SADCC leadership was to coordinate the development of the region towards economic liberation. In the formative stages, leaders were loud and clear when they declared that development was primary to ensure that collectivism is used to better the lives of African people through regional development. It is not surprising that the world is divided into regional and/or continental blocs in order to best serve the interests of the population. African leaders had a vision towards regionalism and integration.

As time went by it became necessary to transform SADCC into a development community of Southern Africa, instead of being a coordinating bloc only. The transformation of SADCC led to the formation of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) on 17 August 1980, in Windhoek, Namibia. The new organisation's membership comprised Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Botswana was chosen as the headquarters of SADC (SADC Annual Report, 2003: 13)

SADC has called on its member states to ensure that citizen participation in decision-making processes is enhanced in order to deepen democracy in the region. In order to promote democratic principles in the region, member states' national constitutions were required to enshrine basic human rights and the rule of law in order to promote good governance and to facilitate equal opportunities and full citizen participation to ensure that leadership establishes structures and systems to involve citizens in policy making processes and decision-making. Citizen participation and involvement promotes good governance practices to ensure that appropriate policies are formulated and successfully implemented with citizen support and their input. SADC calls its membership to promote the development of democratic institutions to strengthen credibility and to promote



transparency and accountability in public affairs (SADC Annual Report, 2003: 14). Government structures and leadership rely on citizen support to implement policies successfully. SADC was actually trying to help small and poor member states towards effective leadership, which will promote good governance with the capacity to eradicate poverty in SADC countries.

It is worth stating that SADC members were expected, in terms of legal and policy frameworks, to observe the universal human rights of peoples in line with the provisions of the Charter and the Conventions of the OAU and the United Nations. SADC member states were expected to adhere to democratic principles whereby citizen participation and freedom of association were encouraged and promoted. Political tolerance was promoted to ensure political maturity and to allow the principles of public administration to be freely practiced. The adherence of member states to democratic principles was a clear indication that African leadership was committed to good governance practices, which were important to socio-political stability and peace. The environment that is characterised by peace and stability is conducive to socio-economic development and growth (SADC Annual Report, 2003: 18).

One of the major provisions of the SADC protocol concerns free and fair elections. It was realised that most conflicts and civil tensions surface during election periods. SADC assists member states with monitoring and observance of national elections to ensure that they are free and fair. Regular election periods at given intervals provide citizens with an opportunity to choose a party or government that represents their interests. Elections provide parties with an opportunity to declare their manifestos with an endeavour to get a mandate from citizens to take authority and power to lead government activities. A party that obtains a mandate from citizens is expected to formulate and implement policies that are in line with the election mandate. If parties do not deliver on their mandate, citizens are provided with mechanisms within democratic principles to choose another party, which will best represent their interests. Citizens can choose a government to provide goods and services through an effective public service. Strong governments deliver on

their mandates if they create effective structures and institutions that are transparent, involve citizens and accountable to the public (Dia, 1996:14).

#### 3.4.1.1. Developments within the SADC Region

It is worth noting that in the last two years in this region, Botswana, South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe have successfully held democratic elections in line with the Africa declaration for free and fair elections at predetermined intervals to offer citizens an opportunity to exercise their democratic right to choose a government that represent their interests. This is a positive step towards the entrenchment of democratic rule and good governance whereby citizens have a say in the affairs of the state. Citizens are afforded an opportunity to offer a mandate to the political party or leadership of their choice, especially the one that represents their aspirations and hope for a better life for all. Moves are underway still to strengthen SADC through the formation of the SADC Peacekeeping Brigade, which would form part of the AU Standby Force (ANC Today, 2002: 2).

#### 3.4.1.2. South African involvement in Africa

The South African Defense Force has contributed much to progress towards peace, stability and prosperity in the DRC, Burundi and the Sudan. South Africa is honoured by chairing the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security and is the permanent venue for the Pan African Parliament. South Africa forms part of the AU Peace and Security Council. Protocols have been signed on trade, mining, communication and education and training. There is a need to engage in greater regional police cooperation. There are challenges within the SADC region with regard to the development of a strategy to involve the people in the integration process and to negotiate with the EU over Economic Partnership Agreements between the ACP and the EU (ANC Today, 2002: 3-4). It is encouraging to realise that SADC is achieving positive results in terms of its plans albeit operating under difficult conditions coupled with inadequate resources and poverty amongst the majority of its citizens. However, the progress made is pleasing given the period of colonialism the region was subjected to. The positive achievements gained in SADC should be combined with achievements in the other four regions of Africa to forge

a continental success story. South Africa and Botswana have stable economies in SADC and they are striving to practise good governance and democratic principles whereby the leadership respect the rule of law and the countries' constitutions protect the rights of citizens to ensure that government is responsive to community needs and demands. Thabo Mbeki wrote in the ANC Today (2002:1-2) that all efforts are made to create a stable environment in SADC, which is a precondition to boost investor confidence and the creation of employment opportunities within the continent.

#### 3.4.2. Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

West African states established the Treaty of a regional economic community in Lagos, Nigeria in May 1975. The Treaty was signed by 15 members states, with a population of 120 million. The regional economic community straddles the Anglophone, Francophone and Lusophone divides. The purpose of ECOWAS was to promote trade amongst member states and to coordinate and facilitate cooperation and self-reliance. In 1993 ECOWAS revised its objectives to bring about a common market and a monetary union. On a political plane member states wanted to establish the West African parliament, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council and a regional Court of Justice. ECOWAS came up with a number of security measures such as the Protocol that relate to the Non-Aggression Pact signed in 1978 (Bischoff, 2004:125). The leadership in this region succeeded in mobilising a coherent community across a number of cultural backgrounds. It is against this background that African leaders throughout the continent are called upon to mobilise the African peoples to give support to the leadership in their endeavour to form a continental organisation and to mobilise resources behind the success of the organisations. The integration success stories in the five regional economic communities provide motivation for African leaders in the formation of a single continental organisation in Africa to offer support to the AU in accomplishing the objectives of NEPAD and the APRM.

#### 3.4.3. Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)

In an attempt to form a regional organisation in this part of Africa, the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) for the Eastern and Southern Africa was formed in 1981. Time arrived to transform the PTA into a common market, in order to meet the requirements of the PTA Treaty. COMESA was established to replace PTA in 1994 and had a population of 380 million people. Its aims include the achievement of economic integration and to promote peace and security in the region (Mutharika, 1995: 162-164). The regional body was also motivated by the need to establish common tariffs by the year 2004. Furthermore, the region wanted to establish a single central bank and a monetary union by 2025. The region aimed at a trade Court with powers to overturn national laws. The Union has a large and divergent membership. Often conflicts amongst member states such as in Ethiopia and Eritrea made total integration of the region more problematic and challenging. The region was further plagued by the collapse of certain economies in Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi and the then Zaire, the current the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (Mistry, 2000:562). African leaders' determination to improve the conditions of their citizens has been going on for some time but the current leadership is more than determined to improve the socio-economic conditions in the continent, but this time they want to approach this challenge through the AU, NEPAD and the APRM with its pillars resting on good governance practice and democratic principles and the rule of law. The AU, NEPAD and the APRM would be used as vital mechanisms and institutions to manage conflict and development crises in African countries and the African continent as a whole. Economic development and growth will facilitate the implementation of policies that are vital to eradicate poverty in the continent to ensure that the continent is not marginalised in the globalising economy. Good governance and democratic principles are emphasised by African leaders to ensure that Africa takes its rightful position in the world economy to improve the living conditions of its citizens.

#### 3.4.4. North Africa Economic Region

African states in this Northern region have strong historical, cultural and linguistic ties than other regional blocs, which could be exploited to realise the unity of all African states on the continent (Mutharika, 1995: 3) These countries had permanent Consultative

Council, which was aimed at coordinating negotiations with Europe on trade. The regional body was responsible for coordinating and harmonising regional plans. Numerous conventions and multilateral agreements were entered into to ensure that African countries participated in world affairs and to end the continent's marginalisation. The signed agreements were meant to promote socio-economic development and growth through the practice of good governance and democratic principles. Countries in this region wanted to promote regional stability and policy coordination, especially in agriculture, food security, industry, commerce and other joint ventures. The region realised the need for a common defense policy without intervention in the internal affairs of member states (Bischoff, 2004:134). The research is quite appropriate at this time when the African continent is receiving attention from national governments. It is time that Africans came up with solutions to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all and that the continent becomes a world player in world affairs. Time has past where Africa was on the agenda of world meetings about its underdevelopment and not worth investing in, due to lack of numerous capacities to handle its own affairs. Continental initiatives that are currently promoted on the continent emphasise good governance and effective leadership as powerful weapons that could turn the continent into a world force. The research will come up with recommendations in chapter: 6 *infra* for consideration by African countries and their leaders in their endeavour to find solutions to the region's challenges.

#### 3.4.5. Central Africa Economic Region

In pursuance of development through integration and cooperation it is essential to look at the old paradigm of the OAU and how it contributes to find solutions for Africa's problems, especially in an attempt to push forward with African recovery. African leaders formed regional integration communities to ensure that they form a development state whose political and bureaucratic elites have a genuine developmental determination and autonomous capacity to define, pursue and implement developmental goals. Development embraces such characteristics as conflict resolution, negotiation with stakeholders and cooperation over the use of resources, the production of resources and

their distribution, which should be done equitably, for the benefit of the poor and marginalised members of communities (Leftwich, 1993:620).

Achieving the mandates of a regional organisation depends on the quality of leadership and its willingness to implement policies that have been formulated and agreed on at regional level. Leadership is key to policy implementation because it serves as a missing link to poverty reduction and on how to deal with socio-economic underdevelopment. RECs were formed as building blocs towards a continental organisation. African leaders have come to the realisation that Africa's crises could be tackled from sub regional and regional levels because it is Africa's own people who could save it. It is the duty of all Africans to stay in Africa and struggle towards turning it around. The Central Africa Economic Community has been formed to link up regional members and to remove trade barriers within the region in particular and the continent in general. RECs were formed to keep pace with brain drain and capital flight, to ensure that these values are shared amongst member states instead of migrating into European and American countries from the African continent (Mwangi, 2004:1-2).

Capital flight and brain drain were more common during the colonial period and they need attention from African leadership since they have been identified as the two obstacles to continental progress and sustainable development (Mwangi, 2004: 2). A lot of people educated in Africa using African resources have a tendency of going out of the continent to help build the economies of other countries (Marzui and Wondji, 2003:705). NEPAD and the APRM were initiated and would be implemented to ensure that African countries create confidence in their countries and systems of government to attract investments and development from within Africa and other regions of the world. RECs are first attempts by Africans to ensure that Africans are capable to cooperate and build self-reliance and self-sustenance. Chapter: 4 of this research would attempt to discuss achievements made in the various African RECs and the question of resources exchange would receive attention to achieve African Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and NEPAD objectives.

### 3.5. THE OAU - THE OLD PARADIGM

In chapter: 1 *supra* of this research it was indicated that the mandate of the OAU was basically related to three main issues in Africa, decolonisation of African countries, the independence of African countries from colonial rule and the political unity of African countries and their peoples. Article III of the OAU Charter provided for the sovereign equality of all member states and the alienable right to independent existence. Article II of the same Charter wanted to see the total eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa. The Charter went on to request for representation in the UN structures and Committees (Hargreaves, 1988:203). The fact that African leaders demanded representation in the UN structures indicates that they valued participatory democracy and involvement in decision-making processes so that they could have a say in policy formulation and implementation structures and institutions. Therefore, it is not surprising that African leaders are calling on all leaders in Africa to practice good governance and to respect the rule of law. Prospective partners and donor institutions have placed a condition on African governments before any financial commitment could be made. They are requested to demonstrate their ability to practice good governance and to respect the rule of law and democratic principles to qualify for developmental funding. The donors want to make sure that governments are accountable to their citizens and become responsive to the needs of the citizens, to ensure that funds are utilised to benefit the majority of citizens if not all citizens (Mbaku and Saxena, 2004: 9). Governments that are transparent and accountable would strive to use public resources to meet the needs and demands of the citizens. Their programmes and projects would be informed by citizens' aspirations and needs.

It is clear from this mandate that the OAU had to level the playing field towards African unity after gaining independence from colonial rule. In some instances in some countries aspects that formed the mandate of the OAU were promoted at the cost of human rights violations because support was given to tyrant dictators. According to Hardjor (1987:13-15) during the struggle for freedom and liberation from colonial rule, most African leaders mobilised the support of the citizens in order to gain independence from colonial rule. Once independence was achieved some of these leaders clamped down any form of

demand by the citizens to organise themselves and to form organisations that would represent their interest. Most dictators in the history of African politics originated from leaders who were trusted and credible in the eyes of the population but became peoples' enemies after entry into the corridors of power. It is thus important to have continental organisations, which will keep an eye on leaders, to ensure that they practise good governance and respect human rights to strengthen their authority and ability to govern. Chapter: 1 *supra* of this research has outlined some of the achievements of the OAU with the main achievement been the liquidation of colonialism on the continent. To ensure that the gains of the OAU are maintained and sustained, a transformed continental organisation was ushered into African public affairs, to push forward African recovery and development (Sklar, 1994: 86).

On 26 May 2001 history was made on the African continent when African leaders backed by their peoples formed a new integrated organisation, the AU. The organisation was primarily formed to enhance continental unity and to improve Africa's ability to participate in the new globalising arena of world affairs. African leaders continued with the formation of continental organisations to ensure that Africa creates a coherent force to enable it to meet the challenges of globalisation, to strive towards unity and cooperation (Boateng, 2003:3). Except Morocco, which has a background history of hesitating to join African integration formations, 53 countries formed the AU. It came as no surprise when Morocco did not form part of the OAU's membership when it was formed in 1963. Morocco joined the OAU later but withdrew its membership in 1982 when Sahawari Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) in Western Sahara was admitted to the OAU because Morocco claimed this area as part of its territory (Saxena, 1995: 25-50). Morocco did not sign the treaty that created the AU for reasons that were cited during the OAU era. Despite Morocco's stance on the continental integration organisations towards unity, the AU had to continue where the OAU left, to ensure that the continent addresses the plight of its people as a united force led by Africans for the good of the African peoples. Africans moved closer to the determination to eliminate the scourge of conflicts, which serve as obstacles towards the implementation of development and integration agenda set by African leaders. Mu' ammar Al-Quadhafi, just like Kwame Nkrumah persuaded his



fellow African leaders towards the establishment of a United States of Africa, to pave the way for the total economic and political integration of the continent in the future. It was difficult to get full support of all African leaders towards unity because some leaders preferred mild integration in order to retain their sovereignty as national states, instead of being subject to a larger political jurisdiction (Mbaku and Saxena, 2004: 163-165).

It is necessary at this stage to indicate the history of Pan Africanism as an integrative force and as a liberation movement, which falls into three phases: the colonial phase from 1935 to 1957; the independence and liberation phase ranging between 1957 and the 1960s and the third phase which started from the 1970s whereby the Pan Africanist ideology and spirit drove the current African leadership to bring about socio-economic transformation in the African societies (Asante and Chanaiwa, 2003:724). This process was not an easy one to go through due to reasons already cited in the previous paragraph. According to Adedeji (1977:10) African integrative mechanisms and strategies were not smooth sailing due to a number of challenges. It was an initiative that required strong and effective leadership to ensure that various African leaders identified with the objective of having a unified African continent to address its socio-economic challenges. The AU as the new paradigm will be discussed hereunder because it was aimed at improving the ability of African peoples to fight against European oppression and to fight the continued enslavement of Africans through integration and cooperation. The aim of a continental organisation was to promote the well being and unity of African peoples and the African Diaspora. The AU was a paradigm shift from the OAU, with more accelerated and focused attention on good governance and democratic principles to promote economic development and growth to benefit all the African peoples. The causal relationship between economic development and growth, and good governance, as well as effective leadership as another area, calls for further research and debate.

### 3.6. THE AU - THE NEW PARADIGM IN CONTEXT

As indicated in chapter: 1 *supra* of this research, the AU was a transformed OAU, still charged with the responsibility of pursuing collectivism amongst the African countries and their peoples. It is important to note that origins of NEPAD and how it relates to the

AU has caused considerable confusion to some African peoples. This confusion was fuelled by the perceived notion that NEPAD was an “elitist” vision that was actually driven by a “top-down” approach. In order to demystify these misconceptions the AU had to establish institutions and structures that would carry out the vision of NEPAD. The origin of continental organisations in Africa as we know them today could be traced far back to Pan African movements that were initiated by DuBois, Marcus Garvey and others in the Diaspora. Kwame Nkrumah’s conviction that African union, like African freedom, would come and provide a united, integrated base upon which fullest development of modern industrialisation has been discovered (Nkrumah, 1963:163). It also contributed significantly to the current sub regional and regional organisations. It is equally important to note that effective economic links within African states are impossible to establish without sound political direction, which is necessary to give force and purpose to the need for an African unity. The unity of African states and their peoples is an indispensable prerequisite for the speediest and fullest development, not exclusively of the totality of the continent, but of the individual African countries linked together in the union. African leadership should be credible and effective to ensure that they deliver unto the needs of the populace within the African context. A thorough needs analysis where necessary could reinforce policy formulation and policy implementation to tackle Africa’s underdevelopment and marginalisation from world affairs. There are a number of differences in strategy and mandate between the OAU and the AU, which are further influenced by international and global developments and needs.

The AU is mandated in terms of Article 5 of the its (AU) Constitutive Act to intervene and deal with countries and leaders who assume political power through unconstitutional means, which was not the case with the OAU, which instead emphasised national sovereignty and independence. This is a big challenge for the continental body, which has to demonstrate to the African populace that it has authority over its member states and to see to it that member states comply with its dictates, to ensure peace and stability in an attempt to promote democratic principles and the rule of law. The AU has to ensure that African countries become democratised, to deal with and eradicate all forms of human abuses, especially in countries where leaders have centralised power to an extent that

state power is personalised, resulting in leaders becoming *de facto* autocrats (Nkosi, 2002:58). Some leaders have gone to an extent of amending the constitution if they do not ignore the provisions of the constitutions, with regard to regular elections or at best they postpone elections to ensure that they remain in power unconstitutionally and thus undemocratically. The AU has realised all such tendencies, hence its efforts to ensure that African states observe and practise good governance to allow citizens to give mandates to parties that represent their interests in their manifesto. The Heads of State and Government have adopted guidelines related to the conduct of free and fair elections in African countries in order to promote peace and stability. They adopted a document entitled “*Declaration Governing Democratic elections in Africa*” in the Durban, South Africa Summit of July 2002 (African Union, 2002). The AU is further expected to act against any leaders who assume power democratically but ceases to operate democratically once in power. It has happened in some African countries that democratically elected leaders turn to marshal law and despotic rule once in power by perceiving the same people who put him in power to be a threat to his government. Such leaders resort to the incarceration of people that are considered troublesome or being power hungry and thus a political threat. It is under such conditions those peoples’ aspirations and wishes would be undermined (Saxena, 2004: 3).

These tendencies are disturbing because in most cases the same leaders mobilised the masses for active participation in their affairs and they want to change the tide by dictating to the same people that they should not participate in public affairs. Such leaders forget that power without mass support is tantamount to power through usurpation, which is power without authoritative legitimacy (Hardjor, 1987:15).

Article 5(g) of the Constitutive Act provides for the condemnation and rejection of unconstitutional changes of government. This is an important characteristic of the AU in comparison to the OAU paradigm, which did not make provision for intervention in states’ affairs. It will be interesting to note how the AU will effectively implement the provisions of the Constitutive Act in this regard. Africans are eagerly waiting to see what action will be taken against any member state that violates or disrupts the provisions and

policies adopted by the AU, NEPAD, the APRM and any initiatives towards African recovery. The AU emphasised public participation to ensure that the continental organisation does not become another “old boys club” as the OAU was perceived to be (Nkosi, 2002: 8). To give effect to the policy of public participation in public affairs by citizens the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOC) was formed as an organ to ensure broad public participation and information dissemination on the AU’s proceedings and affairs. This stipulation would ensure that citizens know that their affairs are in the hands of acceptable leaders. The establishment of sub regional and regional integrative organisations could be regarded as a distinguishing characteristic of economic cooperation and integration for collective action amongst African countries and their peoples (Langdon and Mytelka, 1979: 138).

### 3.6.1. Establishment of regional and sub regional organisations

In addition to the organisations that are needed by the AU to enhance popular participation, regional and sub regional organisations were established to keep the citizen informed and to inform the AU about the needs of the peoples of Africa, which it has to meet (Nkosi, 2002: 59). African peoples have grown to realise that the only way they could free themselves from further exploitation and domination was through unity and cooperation. This was regarded as a powerful weapon and critical to form structures, which will promote effective negotiation with the outside world, and to enhance the ability to participate more fully and gainfully in the emerging postwar economy (Mbaku and Saxena, 2004:165).

#### 3.6.1.1.Pan African Parliament

This is a milestone in the history of African organisations. South Africa, a member state of SADC has been identified as the permanent seat of the Pan African Parliament partly due to the availability of resources to provide infrastructure, the credibility and respect it has from other African leaders, and the political stability that characterised its transition from apartheid rule into democracy. South Africa boasts one of the progressive constitutions in the world, which is an added edge over other African states. The creation of this organ poses a challenge to the AU, African countries and African peoples

expected that policies adopted by the organ be implemented by member states. The organ has to be supported within and by African peoples so that it can perform and deliver on its mandate on a continued and sustained manner. Pan African Parliament is a step towards the enhancement of broad participation by African populace in their affairs. The aim is to ensure that African peoples are kept informed about the AU's activities through their representatives in the continental Parliament.

The Pan African Parliament was created along the spirit of Kwame Nkrumah, Marcus Garvey and Du Bois, whereby peoples need to recognise and acknowledge that they are African first and last, and that as Africans their best interests could only be served by uniting Africans within an African Community. The researcher believes that despite the contributions by Du Bois and Marcus Garvey on African Unity, the idea of an African Parliament was "home-grown" to ensure that the interests of African peoples are considered whenever world affairs are at play (Mbaku and Saxena, 2004:167). It is important to note at this stage that Henry Sylvester-Williams of Trinidad and William Edward Burghardt Du Bois of the USA, both of African descent, used the term "Pan Africanism" at the beginning of the 20th century. Notable contribution to African nationalism and Pan Africanism was the "Back to Africa" movement of Marcus Garvey (Nkrumah, 1963:133). The Pan African Parliament was meant to consolidate the unity of all peoples of African ancestry. Some of the current formations and institutions for African recovery are influenced by past writers and thinkers like Alioune Diop of Senegal, who once declared:

***"In the twentieth century and especially after World War I, it was the American Negro who spoke forcefully for African Negro rights during the making of the Treaty of Versailles and the formation of the League of Nations at a time when we were not in a position to speak for ourselves,"*** (Harris and Seghidour, 2003:705).

This quotation was relived with the formation of continental integration and cooperation organisations like the OAU, the AU, NEPAD and the APRM to ensure that Africans participate in world affairs as a unified force. This drive was essential to ensure that Africans' ideas are considered in shaping world affairs, especially on issues that concern the African continent and its peoples.

The African continent needed to devise a constitutional structure, which would be appropriate to the African special conditions. This requirement was essential to move away from structures that were not necessarily formed to provide solutions to the aspirations of African peoples; instead such structures were created in terms of the existing conditions of Europe, America or elsewhere. The aim was to establish Africa's dignity, progress and prosperity. All efforts should be made to undertake these initiatives by Africans themselves for Africans. African leaders were impressed with the Americas' real expansion, which began with her union whereby a vast network of infrastructure was built. The built network facilitated the DW Brogan to be united under one government, speaking one language, regarding themselves as one nation. Unity in this part of the world was reinforced by the most elaborate transportation system in the world, which made political unity more practical and viable (Nkrumah, 1963:155). Improved infrastructure promotes communication and the exchange of resources between countries whereby peoples' needs would be responded to.

Africa's backwardness originates from lack of or ineffective use of collective action, because the low development of institutions to promote and enhance collective action (Asante, 2005: 24). The Constitutive Act of the AU makes provision for the establishment of the Pan African Parliament in order to facilitate collective action amongst the African countries and their people. In instances where institutions have been developed or created it is essential that they are sustained instead of been driven to die or to decay due to bad governance. People should act collectively, especially if they have shared values, beliefs, goals, cultures and promises for the future. Nations have gone to war due to these beliefs and empires were built and others broken where there was lack of shared interest to keep them together or intact (Anyang' Nyong'o, 2001:28). African's values, beliefs, cultures and goals were discarded by African peoples in favour of the colonial masters' wishes, to an extent that Africans started to live as individuals instead of identifying themselves as Africans with their own goals, determination and self-reliance (Asante, 2005:24).

Some of the challenges facing the continental parliament include, the promotion of principles of human rights and democracy, the encouragement of good governance, the promotion of peace and security and the strengthening of continental solidarity. It is important though to mention that there are still autocratic governments in Africa with single parties (Mashele, 2004:12). Single parties are not truly representative of the interests of all the citizens in a country and this practice is actually contrary to African values on collectivism and collective participation in community affairs by members of the village, community or any form of African human setting (Tshikwatamba, 2004:261-261). Collectivism is not new to African life because it is part of Africa's tradition and culture to work together to provide goods and services to citizens.

#### 3.6.1.2. Pan African Court of Justice

The aim of the Pan African Court of Justice is to ensure compliance with international law as well as dealing and penalising those who do wrong. The Court will be responsible for the prosecution and conviction of war criminals and all persons that are involved in wrongful death of people, especially through their actions or by becoming involved in conflicts. The examples that fit this category include situations that occurred in Sierra Leone and Rwanda, where people were involved in mutilations, genocide and other human rights abuses and atrocities (Saxena, 2004: 8). The Court will become effective in the fight against human rights abuses, especially if civil organisations and individual African peoples are provided with a platform to approach it for actions in areas where abuses occur. Governments that promote basic human rights and the rule of law recognise the right bestowed on citizens to take their governments or government institutions to court for any violation of basic human rights. The Pan African Court of justice would ensure that the legislature will lay down rules and regulations, their implementation will be done by the executive arm of government and adjudicated by the judiciary in cases of disputes. Basic human rights will be protected and citizens would maximise their rights to contribute to the development of the continent as expected from true citizenship (African Development Bank, 2001:20). However, good governance is not only restricted to free and fair elections, respect for human rights and the other features of democracy but it also includes efficiency and effectiveness in fulfilling the functions of the state. According to

Nathan (1998:76) most African states lack these qualities because their state machinery lacks expertise, skills base, resources and the infrastructure to meet the security and welfare of the citizens. Lack of these qualities means that the state would be unable to operationalise the democratic requirements and good governance in a given area. If state operations were not institutionalised, adherence to the rule of law would fail due to lack of competent and independent judiciary, effective police services and the criminal justice system.

### 3.6.1.3. Peace and Security Council

In terms of the provisions of Articles 3 and 4 of the AU's Constitutive Act, all member states are committed to the promotion of peace, security and stability on the continent. Member states are committed to the promotion of democratic principles and democratic institutions, which would be used to enhance and promote democracy in Africa. The Articles call for the promotion of popular participation and to promote good governance in Africa, in accordance with the African Charter on human and peoples' rights. The AU will be in a better position as compared to the OAU with regard to the implementation of the African Charter and the AU's Constitutive Act because the AU has the right to intervene in member states pursuant to a decision of the Assembly, especially in respect of grave circumstances such as war crimes and genocides (ANC Today, 2002: 2-4). There are moves to establish a common defence policy in order to give effect to the African Charter with the purpose of dealing effectively with conflict management and conflict resolution by the AU. To achieve all these aims the AU depends on member states for financial resources and other resources for success. The OAU was owed a great deal of money by member states that failed to pay their dues, which was estimated at US\$54.5 million. The estimated working budget of the AU is US\$30 million per annum. This figure is almost four times higher than that of the OAU, which was US\$9 million per year. African countries and their leaders have to realise that funding will have to come from member states if the continental organisation has to deliver on its mandate. If the organisation depends on external funding, it might be subject to certain conditionalities, which do not promote independence and integration of the African continent.



The Peace and Security Council will be responsible for the promotion and maintenance of peace and security on the continent whereby the Council would participate in conflict resolution, peacemaking and peace keeping at sub regional and continent levels. Member states are expected to make financial contributions to the Peace and/or Special Fund in order to finance the activities of the Council. Member states are responsible for the provision of human resources and equipment for the Council. According to African leaders denial of poor countries in Africa and Asia representation and membership in the UN Security Council, is denial for human development and it is tantamount to an attempt to achieve development at the expense of human security (City Press, 2005:8). Inclusive membership in the UN Security Council enhances representativity and promotes the principle of regional participation to ensure that world peace and conflict resolution strategies take into consideration the diversity of member states. The transformation of international institutions is advocated to ensure that such institutions enjoy the support of the rest of the world and gets support to implement policies that will benefit world regions, especially with regard to world peace and security (Sefara, 2005:8). The Council will further be expected to coordinate and harmonise efforts, which will prevent international terrorism and development of a common defence policy for the African continent. The AU would be in a better position to intervene in member states' affairs to ensure stability and to prevent the outbreak of conflicts. Intervention should be appropriately made available, preferably before the actual outbreak of wars because if intervention is delayed more resources will be required to handle the situation or to resolve the conflicting situation. The AU is further challenged to build capacity and systems that will provide early warning signs to detect and prevent the outbreak of conflicts.

The Constitutive Act of the African Union and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights provide a legal framework within which African countries are expected to operate in order to promote democratic principles and good governance. The two principles are regarded as pillars of development and growth in a country. In order to give positive answers to the research question of this study, peace and stability are important

to leadership and governance perspectives in the effective implementation of policies in the African public services with a view to a people's contract to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all the African peoples. According to Saxena (2004:163) the OAU was transformed into the AU for purposes of revitalising it into a continental organisation that is able to play a more active role and being relevant to the needs of African peoples. The organisation has to be responsive to the needs and demands of the prevailing circumstances in Africa. The organisation should ensure that the aspirations of African peoples for stronger unity, solidarity and cohesion are achieved despite ideological, ethnic, national and cultural differences. African peoples should turn such differences into opportunities rather than obstacles towards greater unity.

According to Nkrumah (1963:132) the perception that Africa may not unite because of lack of a common race, culture and language was demystified by African leaders who realised that Africans had much more in common, not only colonial past, or common aims, but a sense of oneness in that they are Africans. This deep-rooted unity has resulted in the development of Pan Africanism and the African personality in world affairs. This unity manifests itself in the AU, NEPAD and the APRM whereby African leaders aim at leading the development process the African way in order to arrive at African alternatives for growth and development. Africans have been looking outward for development and this was an era to look inward for all aspects of Africa's development. Richness in diversity will ensure that various groups are integrated in striving towards the achievement of a common African goal. Africans should be united in their diversity to be able to participate in global affairs. African integration and cooperation started long before the formation of the AU and NEPAD. The following sub section will discuss the theories of integration, starting with the traditional theories of integration.

### 3.7. TRADITIONAL THEORIES OF INTEGRATION

Kwame Nkrumah reminded delegates at an All African Congress in Accra that Africa and its peoples need to move closer to unity and integration. He (Nkrumah) declared: *"We must never forget that they (Diaspora blacks) are part of us. These sons and daughters of Africa were taken away from our shores, and ... they have not forgotten their ancestral links ... Long before many of us were even conscious of our own degradation, these men fought for African national and racial equality ... Now that we*

*Africans are marching towards the complete emancipation of this continent, our independent status will help in no small measure their efforts to attain full human rights and dignity as citizens of their country,”* (Nkrumah, 1958).

The quote indicates that the need for unity and integration has been on the agenda of African endeavours; the only difference between the current and the old theories of integration was the climate within which they were initiated. It is equally important to note that the Pan African movement was a purposive and dynamic formation, which intended to achieve greater political, cultural and economic integration of Africans. The integration was targeted at regional, continental and extra-regional levels modeled on the principles of the European Economic Community (EEC) (Nkrumah, 1962:33). Already during the early years of Pan Africanism, Africans wanted to achieve an African Economic Community (AEC) in order to advance the interests of Africans and the entire continent. Traditional theories were directed more on fighting against colonialism and colonial domination whereas the current integration theories need to appeal to African peoples across their national boundaries and sub-regional borders to make sense. Integration and unity that existed in the Americas served as a motivating factor to African leaders to achieve a similar objective for their African peoples so that they could regain their dignity and take part in global public affairs. There was a move by Africans and the African Diaspora to pursue the idea of the “redemption” of Africa to promote blacks and to demonstrate that they have the ability to govern and contribute to world civilisation, which emerged as the most powerful force in the Diaspora. It was during this period that a number of international black movements for freedom started to be more determined.

In addition, African students who were studying in France and England also contributed towards the call for Africa’s freedom from colonialism and domination. What actually worried Africans and the African Diaspora was the fact that Europeans, Americans and Asians derogated blackness and they actually discouraged any efforts by Africans to establish any form of an international black network (Harris and Zeghidour, 2003:706). It shows that African disintegration and disunity stems from the evil intentions of the colonial powers to ensure that Africans and the African Diaspora never connected to share their experiences and their wish to unite as African peoples and the African

continent. Colonialism has been identified as one of the highest contributory factors towards the current state of affairs in Africa where African leaders and African sub regional and regional organisations still find it difficult to unite and integrate African peoples across national boundaries. It is on this basis that the research seeks to find out how African integration and cooperation could be achieved so that colonialisation of the mind could become completely liquidated and that colonialists no longer wield political power within the mostly democratised African continent. The OAU and its successor the AU have stressed the need for a united African continent in order to ensure that the continent takes part in global affairs as a competitor rather than the supplier of raw materials to the colonial powers at the expense of their citizens (ANC Today, 2002:2-5).

In the 1900s Africa was characterised by African migration into Europe, Asia and the New World, which continued even after the 1935 period. At first, African migration was mainly caused by slave traders across the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian and the Atlantic Oceans. Migration that took place in the 1935s was motivated by the colonial system, whereby most Africans migrated into European capitals and France in search for freedom from economic and political domination. Another factor that was identified as a cause for African migration was the need for higher education in the colonial countries because almost all the colonial powers neglected higher education among the colonised citizens (Harris and Zeghidour, 2003:207). This period has witnessed the exodus of African brain power because the majority of students that migrated to Europe and other colonial countries never returned to the continent to come and assist their countries and continent to free themselves from colonial bondage. Human resource development was neglected and there was no investment in human resources for future development and sustainable growth of the continent. All colonial powers neglected the development of human resources to ensure that the legacy of colonialism could haunt the continent for centuries. It is not surprising that efforts towards African integration and cooperation are viewed with suspicion, especially if driven by Africans for themselves for the redemption of the continent. It is important that African leadership becomes united to deal with matters that are geared towards unity, integration and cooperation (Gwin, 1979: 1-15).

### 3.7.1. Brain drain and Africa's underdevelopment

The consequences of these migrations, irrespective of their motivating factors or their reasons, are African disunity, brain drain and the underdevelopment of the continent. The fact that most Africans, especially those with technical expertise and professionals such as engineers, doctors, entrepreneurs, artists, musicians, university lecturers and professors left the continent, has contributed to the underdevelopment of the continent (Mazrui and Wondji, 2003:706). There are those professional fields, which do not represent the demographics of the African populations, a clear indication that the migrations of the 1930s still have rippling effects on the socio-economic development and growth of the continent. The migrations were not only into Europe and America but also into the Middle East, the socialist countries of Canada, Australia and the South Pacific. These countries are amongst the world leaders in socio-economic development and growth. Their citizens' needs and demands are well catered for by the state due to the contributions made by the African intellectuals. It has been indicated by Harris and Zeghidour (2003:707) that the migrations were common in the 1960s and 1970s, to an extent that Africa was robbed of its rich human resources expertise, which was then enjoyed by other continents. The presence of Africans was dominant in the intellectual, cultural and political fields of human activities, the virtues and values that were desperately lacking for Africa's advancement in the world economy.

The current migration that African countries still experience is that of African women, leaving the continent, especially from the west coast to Europe – France, Germany and the United Kingdom and to the Americas in search of jobs. These migrations include African women who are semi-educated, unskilled and untrained who leave the continent to engage in all sorts of activities, fair or foul, which in most cases range from dish-washing and other types of manual labour, including smuggling and drug trafficking (Mazrui and Wondji, 2003:707). Some African women are used for activities that undermine their dignity and cannot contribute meaningfully to the growth and development of the continent. This state of affairs is indicative that Africa would continue to lose valuable human resource expertise to other continents unless African

leaders come up with mechanisms and strategies to ensure that Africa implements policies that are appropriate and suitable for its recovery to eradicate poverty and take part in a globalising world economy. This is just an indication that the journey towards integration needs to be understood from its historical context if it is to be successfully dealt with. One has to understand some of the early motivating factors that have contributed to the disintegration and disunity of the African continent and its peoples. The traditional theories of integration were intended to promote the political liberation of Africans and to make sure that Africans' socio-economic conditions are taken care of. Further research needs to be undertaken to determine to what extent are socio-economic conditions of Africans connected to the continent's development and growth.

#### 3.7.2. Pooling of resources together

Africans need to look inward in order to exploit African resources for the benefit of all African peoples. The political unity within African countries achieved after independence from colonial rule was a stepping stone towards forging economic unity to achieve a united government of African states, the maintenance of a common currency, the common monetary zone and a central bank of issue. African leaders wanted to establish a unified military and defense strategy, to protect African sovereignty against an imperialist aggressor. Due to lack of unified foreign policies adopted for the development of the African continent, some small African states were drawn into making policy arrangements that militate against African unity. The need to adopt common foreign policies on the continent will lead to progressive political and socio-economic direction for the protection and economic development of the continent (Nkrumah, 1963:155).

#### 3.7.3. Access in the decision-making processes

Political leaders and activists were more concerned with social improvements than political ones after independence. African leaders in the 1923 period were asking for a voice of Africans in their own colonial governments. This was coupled with a demand for the right of access to land and its resources, which at that stage benefited the colonial powers and their citizens. It is important to note that progress was very slow to achieve these aspirations because colonialism was still rife and African countries were still under

colonial rule and domination. The Pan African Congress was held in London in 1923 in order to amplify Africans' demands for independence and self-determination. This movement did not achieve much at this stage due to lack of financial resources and limited membership. It was also realised that leaders at this point in time were more idealistic than being focused on action (Nkrumah, 1963:134). Their talk was more than their walk in implementing their wishes. During the 4<sup>th</sup> Pan Africanist Congress which was held in New York in 1927, it was then clear that time has come to promote the well-being and unity of African peoples and peoples of African descent throughout the world. This was actually the period when Africans were striving to cooperate with one another and other peoples who shared their aspirations.

The 5<sup>th</sup> Pan African Congress was held in Manchester, England in 1945, under the chairmanship of Du Bois, and it was through this congress that mass mobilisation for action was started towards national independence, which was viewed as a precondition for African unity. According to Harris and Zeghidour (2003:714) the Congress represented a synthesis of Du Bois' intellectualism and on the other hand it represented Garvey's pragmatism. The Congress provided a signal to the world that the primary struggle for liberation had transferred to Africa and its leaders. A number of initiatives emanated from this approach that Africa had to stand firm and lead the way towards its liberation in order to eradicate poverty on the continent and within African countries. Already there was recognition that if Africans are united they would be in a better position to put pressure on national governments to support policies and projects that would benefit the African peoples whilst addressing their socio-economic needs and interests.

Colonialism produced vast inequalities amongst the African peoples and it is therefore, expected of African leaders to ensure that they create a system of governance that promotes, supports and sustains human development, with special emphasis on the poorest and the most marginalised members of society (African Development Bank, 2001:15). Governance reforms at national level were aimed at adopting pro-poor policies, sector policies, agricultural policies and the redistributive policies in order to ensure

equitable distribution of resources to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all (Pasha, 2003:95). Institutions of civil society need to be consulted with a view of making powerful contributions to life support systems or what Rondinelli (2003:46) refers to as social capital, in an attempt to supplement on government's capacity to provide services and goods to citizens. These are the challenges facing the AU and NEPAD. The recommendations in the last chapter of this research would endeavour to come up with prescriptive directives to the African leadership in order to resolve this crisis.

#### 3.7.4. Experiences from other world regions

In order to achieve social order in Africa, African countries and peoples need to unify their efforts, resources, skills and intention (Harris and Zeghidour, 2003: 714). Nkrumah (1963:217) declared that the best interests of Africans could be best served by uniting within an African Community. It was pointed out that neither the Commonwealth nor a Franco-African Community could be a substitute for African unity and African Community for the African countries. The study has already mentioned that one of the factors that retarded progress towards African unity was diversity. At this stage the fact that some Africans spoke English, Portuguese, Italian or French did not make them English, Portuguese, Italian or French, they still remained African by origin. Therefore, they have more in common than their differences, which are man-made for purposes of convenience.

A call was made for both political and economic unification of the African continent to address three challenges. The first was the need to have an overall economic planning on a continental basis in order to increase the industrial and the economic power of Africa. This was an attempt to get rid of the balkanisation of Africa, which marginalised the continent regionally or territorially. Balkanisation was isolated as an important factor that contributed to Africa's underdevelopment and if it was not properly dealt with the African continent and its peoples would continue to be at the mercy of colonialism and imperialism. Nkrumah (1963:218) cites the example of South America vis-à-vis the strength and solidarity of the USA, which has motivated the Africans as a lived



experience of determination and commitment to unity and prosperity for the benefit of all their citizens.

One has to bear in mind that colonisers did not suddenly realised in England, Italy, Portugal, Germany or France that they are going to develop the Africans and the African continent. Their intention was, to get the best out of Africa, which will benefit their countries and their citizens at the expense of the indigenous African people. This mandate was adopted about 118 years ago at the Berlin Conference (ANC Today, 2002:1-2). The colonial powers entered Africa and utilised its resources for their own benefit, thus, rich and happy from African hardships (Nkrumah, 1963:x-xi). Colonialism was never intended to share the benefits with the indigenous people, hence the conditions that prevailed amongst Africans during colonialism and after independence when the colonialists were forced to leave the continent. After five decades of gaining independence from colonial rule Africans still live in squalor and poverty. The struggle for a better life for all has been going on since then. There is a positive future in that Africa through its own leadership, assisted by its genuine partners, will achieve the goals it has set for itself. African leaders are reconstructing the continent through the AU, NEPAD and the APRM, to ensure that democracy and good governance are realities in Africa. These serve as preconditions for socio-economic development because such conditions produce peace and stability, coupled with respect for human rights, transparency and accountability of government and all government institutions.

#### 3.7.5. Effects of colonialism on the continent

Africans were more concerned with political liberation order to pave way for the development of their individual states. Colonisation fragmented the continent into isolated pockets of human activity, which became difficult to unite. One major obstacle towards speedy unification of the African countries was lack of resources and structures that could mobilise the masses into action or unity. Advocacy was needed and there were no resources to achieve this objective. Efforts to unite the African peoples were met with resistance from the Africans themselves who were made to accept the prevailing conditions by the colonial powers who benefited from the *status quo*. At independence

Africa was characterised by slums and squalor in towns, superstitions and ancient rites especially in villages. There were great tracts of open land that lay unutilised and uninhabited (Legum, *et al*, 1979: 148). Nutritional diseases were also rife amongst Africans, infrastructure was inadequate whereby roads were meager and railways were short. The continent experienced high levels of ignorance and acute shortages of skills. More than 80 percent of African peoples were illiterate because the colonial powers were not interested in human development for sustainable development. To slow down future human development, existing schools were fed with curricular that benefited the imperialist because the curriculum was irrelevant to the African needs, let alone the African background. Trade and industry were controlled by Europeans to ensure that they served the colonial powers.

***“ Freedom is not a commodity which is given to the enslaved upon demand. It is a precious reward, the shining trophy of struggle and sacrifice. Struggle and sacrifice do not cease at the attainment of freedom because the period of servitude leaves behind tolls beyond what it has already taken,”*** said Kwame Nkrumah, (1963:xv).

African leaders have realised that Africans need a unified policy and action to register progress and development because the strength of the imperialists lied in Africans' disunity. African leaders have realised that the only weapon at their disposal to fight imperialism is when they act as a unified front and a continental purpose, hence the AU, NEPAD and the APRM, which attempt at all costs towards growth and development which will benefit all the African peoples on the continent and the Diaspora.

The current continental organisations are manifestations of what the Pan African leaders wanted to achieve in the early years during the struggle against colonialism. The intention was to have African countries standing together politically in order to have a united foreign policy, common defense plan and a fully integrated economic programme for the development of the whole continent. Once this objective was achieved, African leaders would then enter into a relationship with Europe as competitors. Africa's interests were key to all Africans that African leaders wanted them to be every African's concern. That is why Kwame Nkrumah felt that Ghana's foreign policy should lead to African

independence from colonial rule, the unity of the African countries and the maintenance of world peace through a policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment.

It can be declared at this stage that world peace needs Africa's total independence, African unity and the prosperity of its peoples. The world will not enjoy peace and prosperity when African peoples are still poor and plagued by conflicts and epidemics. It was declared that world peace is not possible without the liquidation of colonialism and the total liberation of peoples everywhere. The Atlantic Charter and the UN Charter were proclaimed in support of the call to set Africans free from colonial rule so that they could determine what is good for them and their countries (Joseph, 1999: 3-15). The two world wars fought in the 20<sup>th</sup> century accelerated the call for the right of people to determine the form of government under which they would like to live. It is common knowledge by now that man wants to live free from the shadow of fears, which cramp his dignity whenever he lives in servitude, in poverty, in degradation and in contempt. Africans, including those in slavery started questioning their use or why they were dragged into wars for the freedom of those whose intention was to keep them in bondage. The use of Africans in these wars boomeranged on the colonial powers and promoted an urge for independence and freedom from colonial rule by the Africans (Carter and O'Meara, 1986: 268). It actually aroused curiosity from Africans that they should also fight for their human rights and their freedom for self-determination.

The African voice for independence was further accelerated by an expanded world of free nations in which the voices was echoed, together with the reborn of states in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean who demanded more and more careful attention. Most of the first independent African countries realised that they might not enjoy the fruits of their independence when the majority of fellow African countries and their citizens were still in bondage. This feeling led to the development of the conscious and determined struggle of Africans to throw off the yoke of imperialism and the call for the transformation of the entire continent. Kwame Nkrumah was convinced that the liberation of the entire African continent was needed in the broader context of the African revolution and the explanation

of a philosophy, which was based on the conviction of the need for the freedom and unification of Africa and its people (Bratton, 1999:18-20).

African peoples and their leaders remain challenged, especially the new generation of leaders in Africa and the Diaspora to forge ahead with the appreciation of the heritage and the historical social conditions Africans share. The new leadership is further challenged to renewed efforts to forge lasting structural links between Africa and its Diaspora which was the foundation and the pillar on which black liberation was established. This challenge is heightened by Pan Africanism whereby Africa, the Africans and the African descendants abroad as a unit form one political and cultural phenomenon which require strong African leadership to regenerate and unify into an African continent, equal in status to other world continents (Mazrui and Wondji, 2003:723). It is particularly interesting to note that a network and continued linkages of Africans with the Diaspora will contribute to the continent's human resources development because the Diaspora possesses a pool of knowledge and expertise that has benefited Europeans and other continents where Africans have settled. African leaders need to acknowledge that the network will assist the entire continent towards socio-economic development and growth. African leaders would rely on African expertise to implement policies that are aimed at poverty eradication and creating a better life for all, through appropriate human resources development which was neglected during the colonial period. In order to ensure Africa's recovery and state machinery that serves the citizens, African leaders need to revitalise their public administration and governance in order to meet the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The following sub section will attempt to show how the executive arm of government would implement policies that are appropriate to create a better life for all the African peoples through governance and public administration.

### 3.8. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY MODELS OF GOVERNANCE

It is important to note that the principles of public administration are important to obtain effective leadership and good governance in a government setting. Equally imperative is the understanding of how important governance is as compared to other outcomes of

development. Is it because the international multilateral organisations and donor agencies have identified governance as a precondition of development or is it because out of good governance flows ingredients that are appropriate for development and growth? Hyden and Court (2002:14) have cited poor governance as the reason for South Asia's colossal human deprivation. Multinational organisations and agencies have attempted in the past to aid Africa's development. The motives behind donors' interests in governance differed from the genuine interest in giving attention to the neglected political dimension in development cooperation. Failure to bring about development in Africa was blamed on Africa's political environment, which was characterised, by authoritarian regimes, lack of accountability, lack of transparency, corruption, civil wars, ethnic conflict and the violation of human rights (World Bank, 1992 and Moharir, 2002:107). To sum up all these problems, which prevailed in Africa, one is tempted to conclude that there was lack of effective leadership and bad governance.

Governments that are based on the principles of effective and efficient public administration become responsive to citizens' needs whereby public officials implement the priorities of government to satisfy community needs. Olowu (2002:63) supports this view when he states that role players in policy-making processes are enabled to formulate and implement policies that are both responsive and fact-based. This is particularly true in situations where institutions such as political parties, elections, civil society organisations (CSOs), legislatures, media and cabinet have not played great role in policy processes, like in most African countries. Instead policy making processes were dominated by international financial institutions, bilateral and multilateral donor organisations and northern non-governmental organisations (NGOs), higher civil service played prominent role such as was the case in Jamaica, Sri Lanka and regulatory agencies such as the Central Bank in Botswana. Good governance would ensure that government implement policies that are appropriate and use public resources efficiently, cutting on expenditure that does not add value to human life. Government spending would be limited to programmes and projects that benefit the citizens (Abrahmson, 2000:65 and Rhodes, 2000:55). Good governance would assist public officials to cut on unnecessary and wasteful expenditure because they realise that they will be held accountable for such

fruitless expenditures. To achieve these ideals government institutions need capacity to process information and to exercise expertise to formulate appropriate policy alternatives (Healey and Tordoff, 1995:237).

There is a close link between the concept of governance and the process of public policy making. The only unfortunate thing is that there is lack of explicit process for policy analysis or policy makers to follow or specific governance related criteria, which could be used to compare policy options and to assess what the impact of past policies was (Abrahmson, 2000: 65). Policymaking that is incremental could maintain the base and come up with some modifications or additions onto that which was formulated and implemented in previous years. In this policy making model, the approach dictates that the criteria for assessing policy implementation performance could be limited to what was done in the previous years. The criteria approach to policy analysis refers to the contents of the policy, its objectives, alternatives chosen, consequences considered and the mechanisms that are provided for compliance. The quality of decision is assessed by the degree to which it conforms to or uses theory or meets specific goals (Etzioni, 1988:67). The criteria for a good or successful policy could be derived from empirical studies of public policy making and from normative treaties and models of public policy making

Economics and management literature have come up with the three Es, namely effectiveness, efficiency and economy (Balogun, 2001: 37-43). Political scientists and public administrators have come up with their own three Ps, namely participation, predictability and procedure and they added their own E, which refers to electability (Nagel, 1998:101). These management principles and techniques are useful to public officials in their endeavour to deliver quality services to their citizens. The use of governance as a framework for comparing policy performance of different types of government ensures sustainability in development and growth within a country. Efficiency and responsiveness could be used to ensure environmental sustainability, equal access to services and resources by both men and women, and the observance of

human rights. It is within these environments that effective leadership is required to practice good governance and to ensure that the rule of law prevails.

### 3.8.1. Challenges of Governance and Public Administration

A number of African countries face the following challenges, the enhancement of citizen-government relations, the enhancement of sustainable development and consolidation of democracy and the enhancement of public sector reform. These challenges will be discussed hereunder.

#### 3.8.1.1. Enhancement of citizen-government relations

Good governance in most instances is demonstrated by the reciprocal and accountable relationship that exists between the ruling elites and the citizens. This relationship exists in situations where there are institutionalised structures within which citizens and government interact (Cheema, 2003: 27). Institutionalisation of processes is promoted through a mechanism of consultation and active participation in public affairs and activities. At times mechanisms for interaction are available but they are not functional. This then indicates that it is important to know the difference between the inability of the state institutions to deliver quality services to citizens and the inefficiency of the administrative arm of government to deliver quality services to citizens. If institutions for interaction were coherent and capacitated, government would be compelled to transact business in a transparent way to ensure that transparent articulation of the network of internal relations is promoted in order to reinforce citizen – government relations. The network relationship should be known and functional in order to be effective (Rondinelli and Cheema, 2003:249).

#### 3.8.1.2. Enhancement of sustainable development and consolidation of democracy

The celebrations for Africa's independence were short lived because new challenges emerged which confronted African leaders. At independence African states were still dominated by Western models of public administration and state structures. When they were granted independence, government policies in many African countries eroded the incentives for economic growth, particularly for agricultural production. Africa's loss in

the trade share and the dramatic fall in rates of return on investments pointed into a single direction with regard to their cause, poor economic management approaches adopted by the new African governments. Poor economic management resulted from inexperienced and sometimes venal leadership that lacked the ability to analyse and adapt policies accordingly to meet Africans' aspirations and needs. The major reason for such state of affairs in Africa after independence were as a result of the fact that African governments inherited weak institutions staffed by a thin layer of trained personnel. As indicated already, staff lacked the capacity because they were not developed to implement policies for Africa's recovery and development (Whitaker, 1986:2-4). Africa has been plagued by conflict and other forms of political instability, which had a negative impact on the weaknesses of economic institutions.

Natural disasters also contributed to Africa's underdevelopment, drought that destroyed the Sahel regions of Western and Central Africa, which were hit first and thereafter the arc of the countries from West Africa to the Horn of Africa and into Southern Africa. These models did not respond appropriately to the needs of the African peoples because in their design and application they were meant to respond to western social needs of the minority colonial citizens at the expense of the majority African peoples. These models and structures were irrelevant to the needs and demands of the African peoples because they lived according to patterns of life and governance inherited from tradition and history. This served as an advantage to the colonisers in an effort to marginalise the Africans on the basis that they do not understand modern models of public administration and governance. There is a need to transform institutions, adapting their organisational and procedural mechanisms to ensure that public administration is capable of responding to the development needs of African countries (NEPAD, 2005:7). The adaptation of Western models of public administration and governance would assist African governments and public services to implement policies for development whereby there is a close interaction between the public sector, civil society organisations and the private sector. This collaboration is essential to create an atmosphere, which is suitable for the implementation of economic programmes, regulation of the market, ensuring that delivery is efficient and the delivery of public social services. If these efforts materialise



the African states would be able to improve the living conditions of their citizens and to uplift the living conditions of the poor in the villages. African states should strive towards the consolidation of democracy and the promotion of sustainable development, which will enhance the functionality of the executive arm of government, the judiciary and the legislative branches (NEPAD, 2005:8). NEPAD as a programme seeks to ensure that African governments consolidate their institutions in order to promote democracy and good governance, which are preconditions for sustainable development and growth. The APRM was introduced to evaluate the compliance of member states with the principles of democracy and good governance.

Africa's problems did not originate from the above-mentioned reasons only. Lack of effective African leadership to design long-term strategic goals for the continent and mechanisms to manage resources for the benefit of the citizens would be identified as the root cause of Africa's problems. The identified problems might have played the role of catalysts, but this research assumes that lack of effective leadership and bad governance might top the list of reasons for Africa's conditions and position in the global economy. The last chapter of this research would attempt to come up with suggestions and recommendations, in the form of prescriptions to African peoples to improve leadership and governance for Africa's development and sustainability.

#### 3.8.1.3. Enhancement of public sector reforms

It is worth noting that NEPAD is the first programme to evaluate the challenges of achieving sustainable development and democracy, hence the need to transform state institutions and public administration that were inherited from the colonial powers after gaining independence. The ability and success to transform state institutions and public administration depends on the willingness and effectiveness of African leadership. Effective leadership is essential to launch, support, control and monitor reform processes and projects to ensure that development take place in an integrated manner. The success of these efforts hinge on effective leadership that employs a focused performance management approach to service delivery and the provision of goods to citizens.

African public services need to be revitalised in order to improve governance and public administration to serve the citizens (Rondinelli and Cheema, 2003:251-252). What is important in the transformation of governance and public administration is the ownership of governance and public administration in order to strengthen African leadership in this area. The transformation of state institutions and structures is essential to ensure that the objectives and commitments of NEPAD are achieved. The reason why there is an emphasis on achieving the objectives of NEPAD as indicated above, is that public administration and governance are the foundations on which efficient public service delivery is built. African public services and state institutions should be adapted to set new African priorities and policies in line with Africa's socio-economic, cultural and political specifics. These requirements will ensure that there is collective action amongst African countries to promote national experiences to build regional and continental integration models. Regional integration for economic growth and development is essential to promote collectivism to revitalise economically oriented programmes like the one found in the ECOWAS region (NEPAD, 2005:10).

African countries need to cooperate and integrate so that they might exchange resources, knowledge and expertise to revitalise public administration and governance through information sharing and networks. The question that is difficult to answer concerns capacities, skills, technical and managerial acumen to lead the process to ensure efficient and effective service delivery and the provision of goods. Effective leadership is required to monitor and implement programmes that would facilitate the synergy of programmes and projects towards improved public administration.

### 3.9. GOVERNANCE AND LEADERSHIP IMPERATIVES OF NEPAD/APRM IN AFRICA

Africa has suffered the rape of its people through slave trade and the exploitation of its natural resources by colonial powers during colonial rule. What is striking is that vast amounts of money in aid have been poured into Africa between 1962 and 1978 but the economic situation in the African continent still became worse, especially when the 1980s began (Carter and O'Meara, 1986:xii). It was not only more funds that were

needed for African recovery. Hence the new initiative by the AU for NEPAD's APRM is aimed at creating conditions that are suitable for the utilisation of financial resources to benefit the majority of African citizens instead of a chosen few. The majority of Africans lived in poverty whilst few individuals benefited from colonial rule and domination. African leaders have come to the realisation that public accountability and democratic principles would promote popular participation in public affairs within national, regional and sub regional activities. What is more interesting is the fact that long after decolonisation it would be imprudent to underestimate the imprint of colonial "habits of minds" on post-colonial rulers, structures and action.

African leaders have a reason to use NEPAD to ensure that a strong partnership is formed to ensure that Africa's peoples are saved from the squalor of poverty and diseases. NEPAD has been recognised as a visionary framework, a strategic framework, an institutional framework and enabling framework. It is a visionary framework driven by Africans to resolve Africa's problems through the principles of democracy, peace and stability, sustainability and a better life for all African peoples (ANC Today, 2004: 3). It is a strategic framework, which strives towards the establishment of a partnership that is based on trust and mutual benefit for both partners and/or parties. As an institutional framework, NEPAD will seek the establishment of representative structures and institutions in order to coordinate and implement policies and programmes of the AU. As an enabling framework, NEPAD seeks to strengthen all initiatives that consolidate pooling of public resources for the benefit of the continent. This framework would ensure that governments share resources in order to improve the conditions of their citizens. This could be improved through education and training initiatives and improved infrastructure such as telecommunications and information technology (Department of Education, 2004:6). The APRM is aiming at checks and balances to make sure that African leaders do not cling to the colonial way of policy formulation and implementation, which disregarded the African conditions and interests.

Colonialism has left scars and imprints in the Africans' minds; this is one of the reasons why structures and institutions have been formed to monitor the implementation of

policies that lead to socio-economic growth and development. One advantage the African leaders need to exploit when uniting African countries is the fact that apart from colonialism they have more in common with each other than they have with other parts of the world. It is therefore not surprising when the AU membership welcomed NEPAD as a new hope for African recovery. The APRM has been instituted to allow states to check one another to ensure that good principles that are preconditions for development and growth are in place. African leaders recognise the need for collectivism in an endeavour to eradicate poverty through the implementation of appropriate policies and development strategies. Carter and O'Meara (1986:269) acknowledge that the premise of African states is the desire to determine their own economic policies based on their national aspirations, national resources and political ideologies outside the influence of external forces.

*“Development is actually “endogenous.” It springs from the heart of each society, which relies first on its own strength and resources and defines its sovereignty and its future- cooperating with societies that share its problems and aspirations,”* as stated by Carter and O'Meara (1986:271).

This quotation forms the basis of continental organisations that have been formed to provide a better life for all African peoples. The current initiatives by African leaders are aimed at effective policy implementation to ensure that better life is a reality to all Africans.

It is interesting to note that a report, which was presented to the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan on the findings of the UN Millennium Project pointed at governance crises as the main contributory factor to Africa's underdevelopment and poverty. The main problem was identified in the following areas which are key to economic development and growth, high transport costs, generally small markets, low-productivity agriculture, a high disease burden and the slow spread of overseas technology. It is expected that a big effort by leaders be required to improve public investments in health, education and infrastructure in order to overcome the stated problems. There is a need for infrastructure improvements in order to promote and attract investments. It is therefore the responsibility of leadership to create a conducive atmosphere, which is a prerequisite for

foreign and local investments. It is worth noting that Africa's infrastructure was damaged and became worse during the colonial period because very little was spent to improve facilities in the colonised countries. Africa was heavily indebted to the IMF and World Bank and other foreign governments and institutions, to an extent that this debt accumulated since the 1960s and prevented African countries from spending their financial resources on infrastructure, education and health. This was the period when African countries had to spend more funds from their income to service the debt. (Loxton, 2005:13).

The AU through the NEPAD programme is calling on all genuine partners to African recovery to join hands with African leaders and their peoples in ensuring that the necessary assistance is offered to Africa (Pretoria News, 18 January 2005). However, African leaders should be in the driver seat directing the development process. The APRM is a tool through which countries allow fellow countries to check on the observance and practice of good governance principles and effective leadership to ensure that government is transparent and accountable to its citizens. Countries should be responsive to the needs of citizens in order to deliver quality services. NEPAD represents a new vision for Africa premised on democracy, the rule of law and human rights and the APRM attempts to evaluate countries' compliance with the norms and standards for Africa's recovery and growth, to ensure that poverty is eradicated and the implementation of policy leads to sustainable development (Links and de Gama, 2002:306).

If millennium goals are achieved over 500 million people would be lifted out of extreme poverty and over 350 million would be provided with clean and safe drinking water. The main target goals which are high on the priority list include the following; the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, combating HIV/Aids and other diseases, ensuring environmental stability, youth and women employment and the halving of extreme poverty by the year 2015. In order to achieve these goals, the APRM as part of NEPAD and the AU would ensure that public funds in Africa are continuously monitored and evaluated to ensure best results. African leaders have approached the G-8 countries to consider ways through which they could assist African countries as partners towards

African recovery (Loxton, 2005:13). The initiative remains “homegrown” and should be directed by Africans to ensure that the aspirations of the peoples are considered whenever goals are set. It has been discovered that Africa needs a more creative partnership with its people and with external powers and donors. Ultimately, political stability depends on economic progress (Carter and O’Meara, 1986:xiii).

### 3.9.1. The determinants of and indicators of leadership, governance, public policy and APRM

According to the African Development Bank (2001:19-20) African countries should ensure that building the capacity of good public administration supports political governance. In order to ensure effective political governance on which good public administration would be based, the following characteristics should be satisfied, basic political order, political legitimacy to reduce conflicts and build the economy, the rule of law whereby individuals would seek to maximise their interests and rules of the game would ensure that the organs of the government play their respective roles, popular participation to enhance decision making, policy formulation and resource allocation at all levels of government. Certain governance indicators and leadership indicators are important for development and growth in a country setting. This assumption is based on the fact that the consequences of poor governance affect the lives of ordinary citizens in a country whereby they become powerless and voiceless. These conditions are crucial elements of poverty. Therefore, governance concerns the rules of conducting public affairs in public institutions, whilst others see governance as a mechanism of steering or controlling public affairs. This involves the choosing of policy alternatives with a view of coming up with the most appropriate policy choice that would address the needs and demands of the citizens. The process of managing public affairs and controlling outcomes in a given situation is influenced by a number of factors and some processes that transcend traditional boundaries of reasoning. There are some substantive issues that cut across boundaries. This is the case because the formulation and implementation of policies often require cooperation amongst representatives of different organisations. Therefore, governance consists of purposeful action aimed at guiding, steering and controlling society. It is not composed of a single measure but a process that takes time

and involves both governmental and non-governmental organisations to accomplish and sustain. Governance is a phenomenon that involves multiple actors in the national and international spheres that are geared towards producing new ways and rules for working as a team to solve global problems, including conflicts (Hyden and Court, 2002:17). African leadership has a clear understanding that African unity is the foundation that would require external partners in order to solve African problems, which have plagued the continent for decades (African Development Bank, 2001: 20. Governance consists of mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, and meet their obligations and whereby they mediate their conflict.

According to Hyden and Court (2002:18) governance has three legs, namely administrative, economic and political. The three aspects of governance are the form of political regime in place, the process by which authority is exercised in the management of the country's socio-economic resources for development and the capacity of governments to design, formulate and implement policies and how functions of the state are discharged. Democratic principles play a significant role in practicing good governance because the absence of effective and legitimate institutions is the main reason that policies designed externally or by external actors only, disregarding the indigenous peoples, even with the best intentions flounder (Healey and Tordoff, 1995:252).

During the colonial period African countries have been disarticulated from their societies and from their indigenous institutions of problem solving. Most countries were experiencing a severe governance crisis that was marked by six symptoms, namely a dominant authoritarian or patrimonial rule paradigm; the breakdown of the public realm; Africa's international boundaries that reflect colonial interests; persistent tendencies for state policy to be guided by urban consumerism rather than rural productive interests; Africa's inability to respond systematically to international demands and trends and lastly, Africans lost their capacity to manage their environment which degenerated to such an extent that there was blind reliance on specialists who relied on information that was not relevant to the African context. In such instances blind reliance means relying on

information that disregards the indigenous peoples' knowledge of their environment (Davidson, 1993:216).

### 3.9.2. Good governance

The World Bank initiated the principle of good governance for development in the early 1990s to combat corruption in Africa. It was for the first time that Africa committed itself to good governance and democracy as a foundation for economic and social development. NEPAD seeks to create a new positive developmental paradigm for Africa. In 2002 in Abuja, Africa adopted the introduction of the peer review mechanism (APRM) regarding the performance of leaders and governments on governance and leadership (Enoki, 2002:64-65). Good performers of governance would be rewarded favourably by external assistance and bad performers would not be rewarded. At times it is bad performers that should be assisted so that they could in turn practice good governance. African leaders would want to establish a partnership that would see sustainable development taking place in Africa (Balogun, 2001: 49).

It is proper to indicate that NEPAD focuses on debt reduction and other development oriented initiatives to produce better lives for all African peoples. NEPAD is concerned about elements that would contribute to sustainable development which include the followings; the development of implementable plans, ensuring that theoretical plans, programmes and policies succeed in practice, the use of African technical experts from within Africa and the Diaspora to convert theory into practice and to ensure that Africans own the programmes (Melber, 2002). Africans must not be wards or benevolent guardians but rather they should be architects of their own sustained upliftment. This is the new framework within which African leaders should seek interaction with the rest of the world based on the agenda set by African people through their own initiatives and their own volition, in order to shape their own destiny. It is important for African peoples to demonstrate their refusal to accept poor economic policies and poor leadership if they are to achieve on their goals.



Good governance requires a capable democratic state, which promotes public participation in public affairs, a vigorous civil society with strong civil society structures to represent the interests and views of the public and an innovative private sector, which will supplement efforts of the state in the provision of goods and services (Balogun, 2001: 50). Good governance is the product of deliberate policy choices to ensure that countries are able to manage themselves and to create a vision for the future. NEPAD seeks to provide future strategic guidelines to African countries in their attempt to create a better life for all (Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), 2004:26). Key elements of good governance are accountability and transparency of public officials, both the elected and the appointed in order to create legitimacy and credibility for the state and its organs.

#### 3.9.2.1.Accountability and Transparency

When governments started to expand personal and political freedoms they were actually inviting members of their societies to take interest in their affairs. According to Olowu (1999:139) democratisation meant a deliberate movement away from a monocentric political arrangement whereby all state powers emanate and gravitate towards the centre. This is a movement towards a polycentric political order whereby the system of governance underscores the plural nature of politics. This setup is characterised by a formal or constitutional recognition of the diversity of social forces in the political community. In democratic societies, politics is characterised by contestation of political leaders, popular participation and the enjoyment of civil liberties (Adamolekun, 1999: 140). These are the ideals that African leaders envisage for the African peoples on the continent. If governments offer their citizens these values, then democratic principles would be respected. There is a need for socio-economic and institutional reconstruction in African governments in order to ensure that there is public accountability and transparency.

Accountability means answerability for one's actions or behaviour. It involves the development of objective standards of evaluation to assist the owners of an organisation so that they could be in a position to evaluate organisational performance. Accountability involves a clear definition of roles and responsibilities, the reporting mechanism on

performance and putting in place a system through which reviews, rewards and sanctions would be undertaken (Adamolekun, 1999:140). Accountability is a principle that would ensure that public officials should at all times be conscious that they are surrounded by human beings and not things (Oosthuizen, 1985:92). The accountability principle of good governance calls on both the appointed and the elected leaders of society to take responsibility for their actions. Undoubtedly, governance is one of the pillars of economic development because it entails the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. Governance is comprehensive and includes mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and civil organisations articulate their interests, through whom they exercise their legal rights, they meet their interests and mediate their differences. Required for good governance are elements of participation, transparency and accountability to the governed by public officials, both the elected and the appointed (African Development Bank, 2001:15). Good governance is effective and equitable in the distribution of public resources to ensure that citizens' needs are considered on fair and reasonable grounds.

African countries are urged through NEPAD and monitored through the APRM to ensure that they practise good governance in order to ensure that socio-economic and political policies and priorities are based on broad consensus in society, taking into consideration that the voices of all sectors of the population, including the poor masses and the vulnerable, are heard. Decision-making would be based on the consideration of the needs of all sectors of the population, especially the rural populations that are marginalised and poor (ANC Today, 2004: 4). It is upon these facts that the AU has initiated the NEPAD programme to push forward and fast-track development strategies and priorities for the continent on a collective basis. In order to ensure that countries evaluate their progress in the implementation of African strategies towards development, the APRM has been instituted to assess volunteering member states' compliance with the principles of good governance and the democratic principles which have been identified as prerequisites for Africa's recovery and development in order to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all African peoples. The involvement of beneficiaries in the design of development projects leads to a more accurate perception of the needs of citizens, which would be

based on direct exchange of information. Where beneficiaries are not consulted, policy makers would be tempted to work on assumptions. Where there is consultation, policy decisions would be based on the inputs gathered during the consultative process. In short participation is a “good” that deepens democracy (Malik and Waglé, 2003:148-151). Good governance would foster transparency and accountability within state machinery and public institutions, holding people accountable for their actions and/or inaction.

Public officials would undertake their activities within the guidelines of public administration, which are reasonableness, effectiveness and efficiency. Public officials should operate within a community’s value system because values legitimise action and transform theories into practice. Hanekom and Thornhill (1982:128) concur that guidelines of public administration are values in themselves. If value systems are respected the needs of communities would be responded to and respected by public officials in their endeavour to render services. Africa needs structural adjustments that would be appropriate and suitable to promote good governance, especially accountability and transparency in order to strengthen systemic, socio-economic and political institutions to comply with transformation requirements (Anyang’ Nyong’o, 2001: 28-30). All the adjustments would be different from the ones, which were initiated by the donor agencies because they disregarded the African conditions. The structural adjustments would be done to promote interdependence and interconnectedness of African countries and their citizens because no region of the world could exist independently in the fast globalising world (Asante, 1991:137). African leaders were engaged in ways to promote good governance and democratic principles because it has been too long that they have been questioning their reliance and dependence on the international community for the continent’s recovery and development.

Accountability and transparency go hand in hand with integrity and are essential elements of democratic institutions and processes. These elements apply even to private sector institutions and civil society organisations (CSOs). The accountability of public officials ensures that there is transparency of public decision-making, access to information and the implementation of enforceable ethical standards and codes of ethics. These elements

have an impact on the democratisation of institutions and poverty reduction strategies. Accountability and transparency are the pillars of democracy and good governance, they imply that the state, the private sector and CSOs focus on results, they seek clear objectives, they develop effective strategies, they monitor performance and compliance and report on performance to ensure that strategic plans are executed towards satisfying societal needs and priorities. There is a need for financial accountability to ensure that resources are used for the purposes they were intended for. Political accountability ensures that those in public office recognise that they are answerable to the electorate for their actions and inactions through a system of checks and balances amongst the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government. Administrative accountability implies that the system management and control which are internal to the government, including professional prescriptions, administrative reviews and codes of ethics, to ensure that leaders can implement effective policies to eradicate poverty and create better living conditions for the majority of African peoples. (Cheema, 2003:99). It is interesting to note that most countries, including the poorest, still lack institutions that are capable to implement the necessary actions, let alone the building of national capacities to deal with the challenges of transformation. In order to achieve the UN *Millennium Declaration and Goals*, policies that are formulated should be implemented to bolster the image of political leadership and government institutions. This will enhance equitable distribution of resources to ensure that mechanisms and strategies are put in place to fight the scourge of corruption which loots public resources for the benefit of those in power and their cohorts Shende, 2003:121 and Cheema, 2003:109).

Accountability and transparency require the transformation of government and state institutions in an attempt to facilitate public sector reforms to make government departments more effective and efficient. This process, according to Heymans and Lipietz (1999:30) involves the sharpening of strategic focus, elimination of redundant ministries and government agencies and to ensure that civil servants are better equipped to execute their tasks. Transformation of the public sector would assist to answer the research question and to create better lives for communities.

### 3.9.3. Characteristics of countries with poor governance

Countries that are characterised by poor governance display the following features, unaccountable governments, weak civil societies; low levels of freedom and civil liberties; weak enforcement of property rights; limited role for the rule of law; low levels of cooperation between public and the private sectors and sets of economic policies that are not based on systematic application of economic analysis (Hansohm, 2002:200). These were said to be the characteristics that prevail in the African countries, especially when most developed nations of the world used to paint all African countries with the same brush, applying the principle that one size fits all. Undeniably, most of these characteristics prevailed in some of the African countries due to a number of factors, such as the consequences and results of colonisation and the deliberate move by the colonial powers to marginalise African countries and their peoples from the world economy. On the other hand these characteristics serve as guidelines for ensuring that African countries avoid them or deal with them in order to practice good governance (Langdon and Mytelka, 1979: 193-198).

Respect for the rule of law means that human rights and people's freedoms would be protected and valued. Any government that respect the rule of law would strive to satisfy the needs of its citizens because in such situations governments that violate the rule of law could be challenged in a court of law. It is worth noting that courts of law have a role to play in policy processes within a governmental system. In countries that were under military rule it was discovered that the government undermined the rule of law (Mohamed Salih, 2002:142-160). Governments that protect and respect human rights and dignity would recognise the need to consult with their citizens and to consider their views and inputs whenever public policies are determined. In environments where there is a positive relationship or network between the state and the population, transparency and accountability would be the order of the day. What remains important in countries that have poor governance characteristics is that policies become characterised by non-participation and a neglect of the interest of the surrounding communities vis-à-vis the interests of the expanding world economy. Initiatives towards African recovery should be

based on a collaborative network with the indigenous peoples of the area in order to tap their support and commitment towards goal achievement.

The freedom that is enjoyed by the citizens, civil society organisations and the state means that these actors could make some inputs in the policy processes in ways that could not be done during the colonial period or after independence in undemocratic African states. In democratic and transformed societies new state organs emerged whilst the old ones had to be reformed, especially government institutions and organs such as the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, parastatals and local government, to become effective role players in policy processes. There are also external key players in policy processes such as religious bodies, civil society organisations (CSOs), media, academia, research groups and institutions, trade unions or labour organisations and political parties (Leadership, 2005: 23).

Better leadership is not a panacea or the cure-all for Africa's lack of development but it is extremely essential. In order to prescribe appropriate recommendations for African leaders and the African peoples, it is important to indicate at this stage that Sub-Saharan Africa was poorly led. It was characterised by far too many tyrants and "tropical gangsters"; far too few statesmen, let alone merely competent office-holders. Leadership in this area reject sound policy advice, refuse to take broad view of their core responsibilities, they persecute their rivals or perceived rivals and bleed their economies for personal benefit at the expense of the poor masses. Most of such leaders loot public resources for their own personal benefit. Countries in this region are set back by a personalist, neopatrimonial style of national leadership, which does not carry the mandate of citizens (Goldsmith, 2001:77-80). Developments in the continent are geared towards the transformation of states to ensure that they put the interests of citizens before personal benefits of the ruling elite and their cohorts. Leaders would be effective to ensure that public resources are appropriately utilised to the benefit of the poor masses. Leadership is not the only solution for Africa's development and growth but it is critical to lead and support good governance and the rule of law to promote basic human rights of citizens.

Recommendations would be provided in chapter six of this research on how this problem could be overcome to enhance and promote African recovery and development.

#### 3.9.4. African leadership and the need for development

African public service Ministers agreed at the 3<sup>rd</sup> Pan African Conference held in Namibia that they need to implement the African Civil Service Charter to ensure that public services are revitalised for new roles in a democratic African atmosphere (Anyang' Nyong'o, 2001: 32). ECOWAS has proved to have an effective leadership which is capable to monitor the implementation of the principles of the African Civil Service Charter, which was agreed upon and resolved at the first ECOWAS Conference held in Abuja on 12 to 15 October 2002. The question that remains unanswered is when are the other four regions going to implement the principles adopted in the African Civil Service Charter. Effective leadership and commitment are required to ensure that other regional bodies implement the mandate of the Africa Civil Service Charter. Effective African leadership and governance are essential to increase and re-affirm the commitment towards the achievement of sustainable development and the eradication of poverty. African leadership should use NEPAD as a visionary strategy to confront the challenges across the continent and to coin a developmental agenda and perspective that is African in context and content to answer the needs of African peoples (Gurirab, 2005:13).

The Charter brings forth the vision and desire of African leaders and their countries for closer cooperation, integration and unity, in an effort to harmonise the administrative processes of a state. These efforts rely on effective and strong leadership, which has long-term planning schedule. Such leaders should be prepared to execute difficult tasks of policy implementation and to crown it all, such leaders should possess a carefully concerned management style of public resource utilisation to sustain development and the rendering of quality services. The Charter has actually set standards that are realistic, challenging and achievable, but only needs commitment and willingness on the part of leadership to drive it forward. The main aim of effective leadership in public administration is to establish highly performing public service institutions, which have

the capacity to deliver services. Public officials that are accountable would always strive to do the best for their citizens (Anyang' Nyong'o, 2001: 33).

Thabo Mbeki, President of South Africa once indicated that lack of institutional capacity was the reason why bold and ambitious programmes failed to yield desired and intended objectives. The observation made by Thabo Mbeki was informed by the fact that African states inherited weak states from the colonial powers, hence the need to create a continent wide programme to face and deal with these challenges. Wiseman Nkuhlu, the leader of the NEPAD Secretariat, also affirmed this observation. Africa should strengthen its capacity to govern and to develop long-term strategies for the continent's recovery to participate in world affairs (ANC Today, 2002: 3). Effective African states are encouraged to discharge their duties and responsibilities so that they deliver on the peoples' mandate. Strong national governments are essential as building blocks for effective reconstruction and renewal of the continent. Equal to this requirement, is the need for a well-equipped and competent public administration, which is the foundation of capable states. Capable states would promote good working relationships between government and its stakeholders, including the private sector.

Experts have agreed that without effective public administration a country cannot develop, chapter 10 of the Republic of South Africa Act, 108 of 1996, serves as an example. This was also emphasised by the UN General Assembly resolution 50/225 which adopted the principle that called for cooperation amongst the UN departments and agencies to support capacity building in governance and public administration. Kofi Annan, UN General Secretary once declared that good governance is the single most important factor, which facilitates the eradication of poverty whilst promoting development (Bertucci, 2005:21). African leaders need to jointly determine priorities, mobilise resources and monitor the impact of their policies to ensure that strategies are translated into actions for positive results. What Africa needs are effective leadership and effective public administration, education and training and institutional development to enhance the capacity of the state and its institutions.



It is important to indicate that the future is not completely bleak for the African continent since some countries within the region have demonstrated a strong and continuous leadership, which has managed to incorporate peaceful transfer of power. Countries such as Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Botswana, Malawi and Kenya have performed comparatively well at building bases that were relatively solid and institutionalised for growth and development (Berg and Whitaker, 1986:5). Self-reliance and self-sufficiency were stressed to make sure that African countries use their natural resources for the benefit of their citizens through an exchange of expertise and technology for effective management of resources.

One area that needs further exploration is the Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) in order to supplement efforts that are taken by government to render services and provide goods to citizens. This is an emerging feature that has created a conducive atmosphere between the business and government. PPPs increase choices, promote efficiency and improve access to services and goods by citizens in order to satisfy their needs. In terms of sharing best practices and lessons from successful stories, Botswana, Mauritius, Namibia and South Africa rank high in the provision of education, sanitation, fresh and clean water supply and health services (Pasha, 2003: 95). The same story may not be said about Ethiopia, Gambia and Chad. However what is encouraging is the fact that most African countries have subscribed to the major international instruments, such as treaties and conventions on human rights. The AU through NEPAD seeks to ensure that these principles are implemented in the continent. The APRM would be used by the AU to ensure that the objectives of NEPAD are achieved (Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), 2004:22). NEPAD aims at Africa's self-reliance, self-sustainment, socio-economic transformation, holistic human development and democratisation of the development process.

NEPAD should aim at letting Africa lose from the noose of both multilateral and bilateral institutions instead of tightening it. The AU has initiated NEPAD in order to face and deal with the results of foreign strategies to the African continent such as a breed of violence and conflict; exacerbated poverty and inequality; environmental destruction and

degradation; unprecedented concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a few whereby the majority of Africans found themselves marginalised, impoverished and excluded (Adedeji, 2002:4-7). African people should support the AU, NEPAD and the APRM in order to ensure that leadership implements effective policies in the public service in an endeavour to render quality services and provide quality goods to the African peoples.

### 3.10. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The theoretical framework of this research and the review of literature confirm that good governance and effective leadership are preconditions for effective policy implementation. These principles have been identified by numerous writers and scholars as areas that are key to Africa's recovery for development. Both bilateral and multilateral organisations and donor agencies have pointed at the need for good governance and effective leadership in Africa. Africa's development has been on the agenda for some decades without success until the African leaders realised that a homegrown strategy of development and growth was essential, driven by Africans for the continent. Most of the literature reviewed link development processes to democratic principles, the rule of law and good governance. At independence African leaders had to transform government and state institutions in order to adapt them to execute new tasks in a transformed society. Strategies adopted had to take into consideration the conditions that prevailed within the continent to design appropriate policies that would address African problems.

Research that has been conducted in development studies has pointed at the availability of resources and an appropriate environment in order to implement policies successfully. However, it has been realised by the researchers that reviewed literature has not indicated the need for African policies or the Africanisation of the African public service in order to facilitate policy implementation and to provide participatory policy formulation processes. The research has discussed the five regional economic communities, SADC, COMESA, ECOWAS, Central African Economic Region and the North African Economic Region. These communities have been established to promote integration and cooperation blocs on a sub regional level with the intention of turning them into building

blocs for a regional or continental integrated organisation. The formation and success of these RECs has not been that rosy because Africa's disintegration had been a well planned system by the colonial powers. African leadership had to deal with resistance and lack of support for efforts towards integration and cooperation at sub regional and regional level. Some RECs, ECOWAS and SADC for instance have achieved quite a lot in terms of signing protocols and agreements towards sub regional integration. African leaders were assisted by the African Diaspora to build continental organisations such as the OAU, the AU, NEPAD and the APRM. Sub regional organisations have been perceived as necessary building blocs for African unity. Regional organisations have been modeled along world organisations such as the EU. The OAU succeeded in decolonising African countries and fighting for African independence, the objectives that were carried forward by its successor, the AU. An Africa strategic vision was adopted to advocate the African continent to world communities and to usher in a new continent, ready to contribute to world civilisation and to fight Africa's underdevelopment and marginalisation. African leadership has identified effective leadership and good governance as preconditions for development.

Instead of forcing countries to subscribe to international standards and codes of ethics for democracy and the rule of law, as well as good governance practices, countries subscribe to peer review on a voluntary basis. Countries and their leaders are challenged to voluntarily submit to peer review to assess its compliance with good governance and democratic principles. Integration would also help regions to comply with regional prescriptions, especially policy implementation according to agreements and signed conventions. Regional integration has been undertaken to push forward good governance in African countries to enable them to achieve high quality development partnerships for poverty reduction, and to facilitate private sector investment and economic growth. RECs have been formed to assist African countries in an effort to overcome the handicaps imposed by small and fragmented national markets, to obtain economies of scale in key infrastructural developments and to ensure the maximisation and the efficient use of capital and labour in the context of Africa's development initiatives, such as NEPAD, to optimise Africa's use of its resources and to attract valuable inward investment. This is

further proof that African leaders are determined to chart a new political, cultural, social and economic course for the continent. The research has noted that the transformation of government calls for a reinvention of state activities and roles. The state and government institutions need to be transformed in order to render essential and appropriate services to citizens.

The political setting of a country has an influence on the functioning of public administration. Governance would ensure transparency, accountability and participation. The OAU, the AU and NEPAD have been formed as continental organisations to ensure that Africa takes the driver's seat, to lead development of the continent assisted by external partners instead of earlier structural adjustments policies which were driven by external agencies and donors. The APRM is a continental formation aimed at assessing and evaluating compliance with good governance and democratic principles amongst the African countries and their leaders. Compliance with good governance and democratic principles has been identified as prerequisites for African development and growth. Some people feel that if compliance is voluntary, how then will countries see the need for compliance. African treaties, protocols and conventions agreed upon in continental organisations require compliance in terms of their Charters and establishing documents. However, one needs to indicate that lack of resources, especially financial resources have been cited as serious challenges for African countries whose economies are on a different growth level. This challenge should serve as a motivating factor for African countries to support these African initiatives whose benefits would be enjoyed by the African peoples and their countries on an equitable basis. The next chapter will be a case study of three RECs, SADC and ECOWAS and COMESA.

## CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY

### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

The discussion in this chapter will focus on a case study of three African Regional Economic Communities (RECs) that are considered the pillars or building blocs in the reconstruction of African societies and countries, especially the construction of the African Economic Community (AEC). The three Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC) and Common Market of Eastern and Southern African States (COMESA); each one of them should be endowed with similar powers to ensure their effectiveness and viability. Their success stories will provide lessons to the African Union in its endeavour to find alternative solutions to Africa's problems through the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The AEC has supranational powers and member states to the three RECs have accepted the same principle in the context of their sub regional economic communities (Asante, 1997:96). In order to ensure that the African continent reaps the benefits of integration and cooperation, Mbeki of South Africa, Obasanjo of Nigeria, Wade of Senegal and Bouteflika of Algeria were the masterminds behind the AU's programme, NEPAD which was viewed and intended to operate as the African "Marshall Plan" because it was a "homegrown" initiative aimed at dealing with conflicts and poverty that plagued the continent for so many decades, especially after independence from colonial domination. This was initiated as an African Plan to tackle the plight of the continent head-on, with the intention of breaking Africa's dependence on aid with a view of allowing the Africans to take responsibility and charge of their destiny and to determine their own development plan.

The African Plan would in turn afford Africans and the African continent an opportunity to participate in the global market, competing with other world continents in the global economy. It is highly important to indicate that one of the reasons why African leaders undertook to implement this initiative was to redeem Africa's image in global affairs because international views about Africa were based on reports that portrayed a pessimistic view of the continent. Reports and news on and about the continent focused

on civil wars, poverty, disease and dictatorship. Therefore this was the main motivator the African leaders to change this negative view about Africans and the continent, to demystify such negative views that were portrayed about the African continent. African leaders wanted to develop a Millennium Africa Recovery Plan, to tackle Africa's development challenges and to redeem its international image and move forward to development and growth through effective leadership and good governance, principles that should be learnt and understood by Africans.

African countries and their leaders were expected to take charge of all programmes that are developmental and growth-oriented. The discussions that follow in the case study will attempt to answer the question on how realistic the plan (Millennium Africa Recovery Plan) was? It would be through determination and commitment by African leaders to embrace one another and educate one another on the importance of good governance and effective leadership to take the lead in mapping out the development plan for the continent. It would be the collective efforts and actions of African countries and their peoples to ensure that policies that are formulated are aimed at eradicating poverty and creating prosperity for the continent. This initiative is unique because Africans lead the process whilst Western governments would be consulted for ideas and guidance where necessary to ensure that the plan would be entirely African and would not depend on foreign aid. In terms of NEPAD's objectives and purposes as outlined in chapter one of this research. One would remember that past initiatives were wholly driven by external role players and donor agencies, in most cases prescribing what was required in Africa without due regard to the needs and wishes of African peoples, let alone the conditions that prevailed in the continent.

During an interview with Charles Zorgbibe, Thabo Mbeki declared:

***“It is wrong to believe that leaders sit at the top and the masses below. The policy of progress means empowering the masses with knowledge in order to participate in decision making processes, accountability to enable the masses a role in governance; a restructuring of the relationship between Africa and the rest of the world ... and the need for Africans to define what they want for their continent and they want the relationship with the world to be. It is not an easy thing to do if you are poor.”*** (Mbeki, 2004: 9).

These sentiments form the basis of the understanding and the main purpose why the AU created the NEPAD programme, for the development of the continent through the formation of partnership with the rich countries of the world, civil society and the business sector. That NEPAD was actually decided on by leaders without the involvement of the masses is actually an exaggerated assumption. The leaders had to start somewhere, they initiated the programme, which was to be logically followed by advocacy and a rigorous campaign to the peoples of the continent so that they understand and support its objectives as the alternative programme to assist African countries to create a better life for its peoples (ANC Today, 2002: 5). All said and done, NEPAD would become meaningful when the masses on the continent have an input in its operations to provide inputs which would be essential for the satisfaction of their needs and wishes as citizens. During colonial domination the African masses were not involved in the decision-making processes of government structures and institutions. It would still not make sense of African leadership to maintain the status quo. This would be worse than during colonial rule because colonisers were carrying out the mandate of their colonial masters. African leaders have not stated the intention to exclude their peoples in this programme; instead they called for good governance and democratic principles, which includes the involvement of civil society, transparency and accountability in public affairs. The aim was to integrate the African continent into a unified force as it was disintegrated by colonialism when artificial and arbitrary boundaries were created without due consideration to the needs and wishes of the African peoples. The perception that African leadership was excluding the masses in NEPAD is without substance and base, especially if one considers the objectives of NEPAD and the socio-economic status of the African peoples and their marginalisation during colonial rule. Self-monitoring and peer assessment would definitely pick up the non-involvement of citizens in the activities of government, which would suggest that participation and consultation with the masses has to be promoted and practiced (Ninalowo, 2003:1-23).

African leaders would form a compact whereby they commit themselves to the principles of NEPAD and subscribing to democratic rule, the rule of law and good governance to

ensure that they enlist external assistance and support through genuine partnership, which would benefit the African countries and their peoples. A genuine partnership is based on mutual interest, shared commitment and binding agreements (NEPAD, 2002:143-145). African leadership should show commitment towards effective policy implementation and the implementation of projects that are drawn up with the aid and investment from within and outside the continent. NEPAD has been seen as the last-ditch attempt by Africa and its leaders to wrest the continent from the hunger, disease and poverty, which are aggregated as underdevelopment and a poor quagmire. In an effort to unite the continent for sustainable development African leaders agreed to form sub regional and regional communities so that they might start on a reasonable and realistic scale towards an all-continental unity (Sklar, 1994: 67-69). Regional integration and cooperation have been identified as key to African recovery and redemption, especially with the emergence of trading blocs in Europe, the Americas and Asia, and an increasing awareness amongst African countries and their peoples of the significance of integration for growth and development (Amoako, 1997:xiii). How then would integration and cooperation assist African leadership and governance to implement policies that would improve the living standards and conditions of the African peoples? The creation of regional economic communities should be seen as building units towards a continental community, which is ready to push the idea of an integrated African continent forward. The following discussion would focus on ECOWAS.

#### 4.2. ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

ECOWAS has recorded a number of achievements in terms of its Africa Recovery Plans in West Africa, especially concerning the process of creating unity amongst the West African countries and ensuring that they collectively pursue a development agenda. Apart from the achievements registered by ECOWAS, a number of challenges were posed, which required conscious efforts to deal with and to ensure that the region attain its set goals to ultimately join hands with the other RECs and unite the African continent. ECOWAS has been noted for its contribution towards development and growth in the continent. An example that is worth noting relates to a decision that was taken at a Summit in Yamoussoukro, Cote d' Ivore, whereby ECOWAS leadership was mandated



by their member states to coordinate, monitor and implement the programmes of NEPAD. ECOWAS leadership took this decision based on the fact that ECOWAS was considered quite successful in economic integration and its (ECOWAS) approach to development and growth issues in Africa were considered more appropriate and suitable in the implementation of NEPAD. It is important to note further that ECOWAS was the only African region that attempted, with a satisfactory level of success in the implementation of numerous initiatives, to promote and enhance intra-regional cooperation. This then suggests that ECOWAS was more progressive in the formulation and design of policies that were relevant and appropriate to improve the conditions that prevailed in the continent. Since its inception, ECOWAS has been determined to promote intra-regional cooperation in order to strengthen and fast track efforts towards African unity. ECOWAS realised at an early stage that unity could be achieved if African countries and their peoples used integration as a vehicle for an economic union (Wondji, 2003:937).

#### 4.2.1. Objectives of ECOWAS

ECOWAS' objectives were clear, and they included the promotion of cooperation and integration, the creation of an economic and monetary union and to encourage economic growth and development in West Africa. In order to achieve these objectives ECOWAS had to undertake certain actions, such as the suppression of customs duties and equivalent taxes, the establishment of a common external tariff, the harmonisation of economic and financial policies, which were appropriate to African conditions for success, and the creation of a monetary zone. The region created supranational institutions of control and arbitration for the application of decisions such as a court of justice, a parliament and an economic and social council. According to Mazrui (2003:953) leaders in Western Africa decided to establish ECOWAS in line with the call by other African leaders to create a variety of economic communities and the necessary intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) based on their geographic position and locus with the aim of harmonising the national economies, by ensuring that they abolish restrictions on the free circulation of goods to promote intra-regional trade. These integration efforts were aimed at instituting preferential tariffs for inter-regional trade and the implementation of common sector-

based policies in agriculture, industrial and energy sectors. In order to ensure coordination of activities and collectivism regarding policy implementation, integration was propagated to ensure that countries in the same region promulgate common business laws. The implementation of common policies would strengthen other African states with less capacity to implement policies to ensure that all countries aim at the eradication of poverty. Small countries that are under-resourced would be assisted through collectivism and collaboration to satisfy the needs of their citizens. Countries would benefit through this collectivism and solidarity. However, despite all the outlined objectives, ECOWAS experienced a number of obstacles and problems, which hindered their efforts. These measures were implemented to ensure that there is an improvement on policy implementation in the region to achieve collective objectives.

#### 4.2.2. Problems in ECOWAS

Many countries in the region were plagued by political instability and bad governance, which led to weaknesses of the national economies and their insufficient diversification. Further than that the region experienced the absence of reliable road, telecommunications and energy infrastructure, and insufficient political will by the ruling elite to deal with the challenges that were faced by some countries within the region. Economic development and growth were also retarded by bad economic policies in some instances. It is also a point to note that there were a multiplicity of organisations that pursued the cause of regional integration with divergent interests and viewpoints, which also impacted negatively on the progress made towards total unity in the region. Adedeji (2003:393) indicated that there were more integration organisations, which created duplication, overlap and struggle for power.

One of the reasons advanced for lack of financial resources to sub regional and regional organisations is the fact that such organisations are dependent on contributions from member states. In such instances if member states do not meet their financial obligations, then the organisation is negatively impacted on (Young, 1999: 64-68). The same reason could be advanced for the financial problems experienced by African organisations, especially those that were voluntarily formed. This is even worse where no sanctions are

imposed on member states that are unable to meet their financial obligations towards the organisation. Irregularity in the payment of financial contributions to the budgets of regional institutions crippled the institutional capacity of sub regional and regional organisations, especially where such organisations are dependent on such contributions to execute and discharge their functions and duties.

One serious problem that the region experienced was the failure to involve civil society, the private sector and mass movements or civil society organisations in the process of integration. According to Ayee (2002:191) civil society participation in the policy making processes improves the chances of success of public policies and programmes that are meant to better the lives of citizens. Consultation with stakeholders is not only meant to refine policy proposals but also to forestall resistance from interest groups. The involvement of civil society organisations in public affairs also improves the level of public transparency and accountability. Public participation ensures that the “policy space” is not the preserve of the political elite but is the domain that accommodates the views and interests of members of the society. In such a situation, policy-making processes become rich with expert inputs from civil society organisations. Members of the public are given an opportunity to exercise their right in a democracy and the political leadership gains expert contribution from outside the ruling party in public policy making processes. Despite all the advantages of civil society involvement, there are situations, which are dominated by crises, especially where political leadership values are aimed at personal power enhancement. This then says that despite the good intentions of civil society involvement in policy making processes there was a need to deal with problems of integration to ensure that economic growth and development. These ideals would lead to the unity of the continent, preparing it to take part in global public affairs (Balogun, 2002: 43).

African countries were plagued by conflicts and wars, which scare investors away from investing in the African continent. African countries were faced with the problem to attract investors by setting up preventative structures and to manage and deal with conflicts in such a way that they are able to stop wars. In an atmosphere that is stable and

without wars, societies and states would enjoy stability (Wondji, 2003:953). In such atmospheres, investor confidence would be boosted because their investments would be protected by progressive policies that create a fertile ground for investments and trade. Such environments would be promoted if the business sector was taken as a primary stakeholder, with influential capacity to hold government accountable in a transparent and democratic atmosphere.

The region experienced the defective nature of integrational machinery in some instances, especially where there was a multiplicity of such organisations. Despite these problems the region managed to build a coherent regional organisation, which registered a number of achievements as will be discussed in this chapter. It is considered important to point out those factors that facilitated integration in the region, to the one ECOWAS that is known today for its successes in dealing with a number of challenges towards the redemption of Africa's image in the globalising world. Events that took place in the political and economic scenery of West Africa have gradually assisted the region to remove the principal obstacles towards integration.

#### 4.2.2.1. Factors facilitating integration in ECOWAS

Factors that could be counted to boost ECOWAS' attempt to promote integration are the advent of democracy in most ECOWAS countries, especially in Nigeria, which is considered the dominant economy in West Africa. In addition, the gradual withdrawal of the state from the sectors of productive activity, the private sector which is regarded as the mainspring of growth and economic integration. Member states and the ECOWAS leaders adopted a strategy for accelerating the ECOWAS process of integration, to create a single regional market based on trade liberalisation. This venture will be enhanced by the establishment of a common external tariff to harmonise economies and functional policies, to ensure that there is a sectoral monetary zone in West Africa to merge with UEMOA zone. This factor would lead to the creation of a single ECOWAS monetary zone in the year 2004. The harmonisation of ECOWAS and UEMOA programmes would ensure the acceleration of the processes of integration in West Africa.

In actual fact harmonisation policy helps to create a common policy framework, which in a way creates equal conditions for the functioning of the integrated parts of the economy. The harmonisation of economic policies is an essential ingredient of an integration scheme. Asante (1997:50) explains that the higher the degree of integration, the closer the degree of policy harmonisation and the smaller the scope of independent and divergent policies. In transforming societies' divergent policies would impact negatively on collectivism since this would prevent effective integration. In developing countries that require integration and cooperation like the various African RECs, harmonisation means that various member states should pursue policies that are compatible with each other and aim at consolidating and strengthening integration initiatives (Mutharika, 1995: 115). Regional integration would enable African countries to overcome the constraints of small markets on the one hand and increase intra-African trade on the other hand, which would ensure the achievement of high economic scale production. These factors contributed to the achievements that were registered in West Africa as will be discussed in the following sub section.

#### 4.2.3. Achievements in the region

ECOWAS has shown a great deal of determination and commitment to integration and cooperation in an endeavour to participate actively in world public affairs. Achievements have been registered in a number of areas in terms of its (ECOWAS) objectives, even though there are challenges, which still need attention and further commitment to deal with. The challenges require determined and effective leadership in order to lead and manage the process towards African integration. Achievements were gained amidst numerous challenges, which will be discussed in the next sub section. ECOWAS registered remarkable progress and results in peoples movement, creation of a common market, single currency, merged monetary zones, creation of a Monetary Institute, energy generating programmes and other projects, building of private-public partnerships (PPPs), improved infrastructure and enhanced telecommunication in the region. According to (Mihyo, 2002:128) African countries had to ensure that they increase their competitiveness by undertaking deep and serious institutional and policy transformation. Notable reforms were undertaken in such areas as import policies in an attempt to create

a market for domestic products and goods, exchange rates were also stabilised to promote trade and investment in an attempt to stimulate economic growth and tax reforms to encourage savings which would in turn be used for the creation of business opportunities.

These reforms were introduced in an attempt to prepare Africa for participation in the world trade system. These reforms might not be enough to address Africa's challenges but one appreciates efforts that have been made in this regard. These reforms provide a valuable base for NEPAD programmes and projects, which emphasise institutional capacity building and policy reforms. It is equally important that other researchers expressed the views that these reforms were inadequate; especially when one considers the levels of development in Africa and the poverty that plagues the African peoples (Ramamuri, 1999:137). However, these reforms are appreciated because they provide a useful guide to further future transformation of African leadership to embrace good governance and democratic governance and the rule of law.

#### 4.2.3.1. Free movement of persons in the region

ECOWAS is the only region where people could move freely without visa from one country to another, within the member states. The free movement of persons within the ECOWAS member states was in terms of a protocol, which authorised this movement. The free movement protocol includes the right of peoples within ECOWAS to residence and the right to establishment of business enterprises. Furthermore, the protocol reinforced the creation of an ECOWAS passport, which is issued to peoples within the region to promote and legalise their movement. This is an important achievement, especially when one considers the fact that EU member states enjoyed free movement for their persons since its inception to ensure that trade amongst countries is promoted especially amongst people within the EU. As indicated in chapter: 3 of this research, the founding fathers of African integration and regionalism emphasised free movement of peoples within the continent in order to ensure that African countries share human resources and skills, which they possess. In chapter: 3 an indication was also made that Africans are migrating to European, American and other countries in different continents of the world in search of employment opportunities. At times such migrations are

motivated by illegal motives into other continents. What remains is that human resources leave the continent from other continents and add value to the economies in the countries they migrate into (Asante, 1997:132 – 136).

In terms of NEPAD objectives and the African Marshal Plan, the carrying of visas by African peoples whenever they enter into African countries curtail the exchange of vital resources amongst countries, especially skills that are essential for Africa's economic development and sustainable growth (Kodjo, 2004:17). If ECOWAS has succeeded in allowing its citizens to move freely within member states, this would serve as a motivating factor for African leaders to forge ahead with free movement for their peoples within the African continent. The ECOWAS case study should serve as a learning experience for other regional communities to allow free movement within their borders and this would ultimately spread throughout the continent, especially if one considers the advantages and benefits derived from such a dispensation.

#### 4.2.3.2.Common sub regional market

ECOWAS' commitment to economic integration and cooperation led to the leaders' determination to pursue programmes that were aimed at creating a sub regional common market. This move was demonstrated through efforts that led to a merger between ECOWAS and West African Monetary Union (UEMOA). The merger between the two trade liberation schemes created further suitability for integration and cooperation between organisations that were concerned about Africa's development and participation in the world economy. One of the factors that contributed to Africa's underdevelopment and marginalisation in the world economy was the fact that it was dependent on extractive industries and activities without a local base for secondary and tertiary industries, which are required for economic development and growth. As indicated in the preceding subsection of this research, African leaders in general and ECOWAS leaders in particular were impressed with achievements that were made by the European Union (EU), which was a world leader on importer incentives aimed at the stimulation of competitiveness and institutionalisation of environmental values and standards globally. EU relied on three major instruments to succeed in this regard, which are financial

incentives, economic information systems and the eco-labeling procedures and standards (Mihyo, 2002:134).

The unity between the trade liberalisation schemes, ECOWAS and UEMOA, was strengthened by the adoption of a common external tariff structure, which facilitated free trade amongst ECOWAS citizens. The unity was furthermore, reinforced through such activities as trade fairs, which promoted unity and a bond of belongingness amongst countries and nations. In 2003 ECOWAS organised and held a trade fair in Lome, Togo in an effort to promote the bond of unity amongst its member states and to serve as an example of best practices to other sub regional formations in Africa, to show that unity and bond have to be initiated and managed to succeed. In order to implement ECOWAS programmes successfully, a West African Monetary Institute (WAMI) was created, which was an institution of the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) formed by Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Sierra Leone (Asante, 1997: 142). WAMI was actually established to ensure that ECOWAS monetary cooperation programmes and projects were geared towards the establishment of a common Central Bank, which would be known as the West African Central Bank (WACB). These efforts and initiatives were undertaken to promote unity and cooperation amongst countries in the West African region (Asante, 1997:141-143). This then suggests that for the successful implementation of programmes for development there is a need for political commitment and a political will to create structures and institutions, which would be responsible for the achievement of set objectives.

According to Mohamed Salih (2002: 157), African countries wanted to model their achievements on the successes of the EU by learning from its (EU) best practices in order to make the African RECs and the whole continent to be globally competitive, with institutionalised operations. It is important to note that EU's environmental values and economic standards would not be transplanted into the African continent without adjustment to suit African cultural dynamics, otherwise direct transplantation might create disruptive effects in the African continent. It is important to note again that these efforts were made by Africa, as learnt from the EU that sustainable economic



development in the continent and most developing countries was dependent on the maintenance of their natural environment for development. Mohamed Salih (2002:156) contends that if governance is about self-governance, local environmental governance accountability should be given an equal status and rating to that of official accountability. This makes sense because accountability in governance is not restricted to financial and political areas of human endeavour, but it stretches to all areas that affect the lives of the governed in their interaction with the ruling elite both the elected and the appointed public officials.

#### 4.2.3.3. Single currency and convergence of monetary zones

West African Monetary Institute (WAMI) was established to facilitate the creation of a single currency in the zone and to ensure that the idea of a single currency is advocated well to sensitise all stakeholders and the peoples of the sub region on it. This advocacy would then ensure that the initiative gets popular support for successful implementation and to offer credibility to leaders who initiated the programme. Africa has declared its commitment to “homegrown” programmes that are aimed at redeeming its image in world affairs and global activities; therefore these initiatives need the unconditional support of the African peoples to succeed. African leadership needed to sensitise their citizens to ensure that sufficient support is enlisted at national level. The sensitisation would ensure that member states deliver on the mandates of WAMI and WAMZ. In its efforts to create a single currency, ECOWAS created a second monetary zone, which was billed to take off in the year 2003. This initiative was accelerated by the convergence of two monetary zones, which targeted the eventual introduction of a single currency in the whole 15-nation region by the year 2004. A single currency would promote trade because currency would be common amongst member states and the value of goods would be determined on an equal footing as practiced within the EU member states (Asante, 1997:148-151).

#### 4.2.3.4. Distribution of some natural and other resources

ECOWAS member states were determined and committed towards an even distribution of energy to ensure that all countries within the region are covered. It is a fact that some

countries in the region experience acute shortages of energy with which to generate power to improve the life of citizens. The region established the West African Power Pool Project responsible to generate, produce and supply energy amongst member states at a reasonable price. It was the responsibility of ECOWAS Secretariat to coordinate the construction of the West African Gas Pipeline project. This project would pipe Nigerian gas to Ghana, Benin and Togo, whose citizens need such resources to improve their lives and to facilitate economic development. It is through such projects that intra-trade and inter-trade amongst African countries could be promoted to enhance integration and cooperation in the continent (Mutharika, 1995: 192). Sharing of resources and projects would assist in the consolidation of cooperation amongst African countries and their peoples. Such projects would be created to deal with challenges that were identified by Africans towards Africa's development and growth. In addition, care would be taken to ensure that the identified projects are appropriate to address Africa's priorities as determined by the Africans themselves, so that when they enlist partners for development they would understand their ultimate goals and objectives.

In order to achieve planned activities in terms of prioritised areas, though financial resources are *sine qua non* for accelerating the process of integration, training or human resources development becomes important because it constitute the fourth crucial step towards the enhancement of the capacity of community institutions. Human resources development would lead to improved human resources utilisation and facilitate the sharing of skills and to further give effect to the promotion of regional integration, especially the sharing of expertise within the region. Asante (1997:159) concurs when he states that human resources development and administrative, technical and research capacities would become available within member states to enhance regional cooperation. Skilled human resources are essential to ensure the effective implementation of policies in both national and sub regional communities to facilitate integration and cooperation. Professional advice and research would be available to the political elite in policy formulation.

#### 4.2.3.5. Creating an enabling infrastructure

ECOWAS has been admired by leaders in the other African regions due to its commitment to the promotion of private-public partnerships (PPP), especially in projects that were aimed at establishing air and marine transport facilities for both people and goods within member states. Examples in these instances are projects like the ECOAIR and ECOMARINE, which were created to solve problems concerning air and marine transport sectors. Private-public partnerships did not end with air and marine projects; instead other projects were initiated in road transportation, especially with the execution of a 20 000km road project that ran from Dakar to N'djamena and Nouakchott to Lagos in Nigeria (Balogun, 2002:541-545). African leaders through NEPAD have called on fellow heads of state to practice good governance and democratic rule to attract investments in an effort to promote economic development and growth which would facilitate the implementation of agreements around PPPs. Functional and helpful PPPs require clear policy directives regarding priority areas that need to be addressed through the partnership. When the African countries sent their leaders to the G-8 countries, they were mandated to enlist support from the world's rich countries, to provide support and assistance for building African infrastructure that was neglected during colonial rule or was destroyed during internal wars and conflicts. In war torn areas, financial resources in most cases are channeled towards resources that would be used in war instead of creating an enabling environment and infrastructure for development (Bowao, 2003:41 and Chrétien, 2002: 9).

Infrastructure development also involved telecommunications whereby ECOWAS pursued Intelcom I projects which facilitated telephony and facsimile links amongst capitals within member states to promote communications and to shorten the distance amongst member states. In addition to Intelcom I, Intelcom II project was initiated to modernise networks and to boost the size, speed and the cost of transactions amongst member states (Bowao, 2003: 42). These projects would without doubt promote integration and cooperation amongst member states and they would be more beneficial to the continent if they were initiated on a continent wide level (Chrétien, 2002:12-13). Effective leadership and political will are essential to drive development processes in

Africa, which depends on the environment within which these projects operate in order to be successful. In chapter: 3 of this research it was indicated that the colonial powers did not promote any efforts towards African networks but promoted isolation and the “divide-and-rule” approach, to ensure that African countries tackled their challenges on an individualistic basis. Integration and cooperation promoted networks, collectivism and a move towards greater self-reliance and self-sustainability.

Lack of information and wide information gaps in the continent reduced the capacity of many African governments from adequately formulating common positions and understandings on important issues affecting their development and growth. This handicap impacted negatively on Africa’s influence in Geneva whenever decisions were considered for the continent. Participation in world decision-making processes was dependent on effective negotiation skills, which are reinforced and enhanced by organised information management systems and techniques. In order to cope with the challenges posed by proper information management technologies, Africa required information and communication technology and resources, which were not readily available in African states (Mihyo, 2002:125). Despite all these challenges ECOWAS has undertaken serious reforms and efforts to overcome these obstacles by establishing the necessary institutions to ensure that the region participate in the emerging and globalising world trade. One would remember that Africa’s participation in the Uruguay Round negotiations was curtailed by economic, institutional, information and capacity problems. Hence the need to focus attention on the transformation and rebuilding of institutions in an endeavour to meet the challenges of the globalising economy in the world arena. Despite all the achievements made within this region, it is important to also highlight some of the challenges that the region faced.

#### 4.2.4. Some challenges for the region

The road to success has to be well constructed to ensure a coordinated way of achieving the set objectives and developmental goals and economic growth. ECOWAS leadership, as evidenced by its achievements, set development goals and prioritised them accordingly and appropriately, with due regard to the availability of resources and its institutional

capacity and strength. Despite the number of areas where it registered success, the West African region still faced numerous challenges, which required attention from its leaders. It was indicated in the preceding subsection that governance involves accountability for the governance of environmental matters. African countries are dependent on subsistence farming and agricultural activities that were meant for domestic production and consumption. One of the challenges that were faced by ECOWAS involved food security for its growing population. Population growth was not commensurate with food production to feed the increasing number of citizens. In order to deal with this challenge ECOWAS turned to Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) for assistance. FAO then recommended that ECOWAS should implement a special programme that it financed in order to deal with the challenge of food production and security (Klein, 2002:17-19). The availability of food and proper security of food production meant that Africans could improve their lives.

Most parts of Africa were plagued by unrests and instability, which were caused by conflicts that started after independence from colonial rule. The example of such unstable conditions was common in Darfur, Sudan (The Star, 13 October 2004). It is therefore highly essential that an environment generate peace and stability because they are preconditions for economic development. The ECOWAS leaders have shown commitment to the restoration of peace and stability within the region in order to promote economic development and growth. Stability and peace enhances investor confidence in the country's capacity to manage its affairs and to deal with matters that affect their citizens. ECOWAS has demonstrated its ability and capacity to deal with the challenges that face it in the area of peace and stability. Conflicts in Sudan have forced the ECOWAS leadership to take a stance that would ensure that peace and stability are restored in the region. The situation is receiving attention from ECOWAS. In order to deal with this challenge, the region has established ECOMOG, which is a peace and security intervention force. ECOMOG has already been tested when it was called upon to restore peace in Sierra Leone and Liberia, which have experienced two decades of civil war. A new outbreak of war in Liberia was harshly dealt with by ECOMOG. The region had established institutionalised mechanisms to deal with challenges that prevailed in

order to ensure that a suitable environment was created for socio-economic recovery of the region.

Anthony Mitchell (The Star, 13 October 2004) made a valid point when he pointed out that African governments needed to be more democratic and build stronger institutions, which would promote public interest. These were also the words, which were echoed by Kingsley Amoako, the Executive Director of the Economic Commission for Africa. In order to build stronger institutions and to promote public accountability and transparency in public administration, there is a need for African parliaments to be strong, with a view of implementing and exercising its oversight responsibility. One should consider the fact that in Kenya, Chad, Zimbabwe and Malawi, some doubts exist with regard to government's commitment to government agencies and public administration observing respect and the implementation of the rule of law to ensure that good governance becomes a reality. African governments were called upon to respect democratic principles and good governance because democracy requires commitment from the country's leadership to ensure that the executive implements government policies and priorities (Dele, 2002:374-349).

ECOWAS' achievements are essential to other RECs and the continent because they serve as launch pads for political and economic integration in Africa. Achievements in this region serve as a morale boost to the African Union and to the much-valued NEPAD initiatives. ECOWAS leadership had to devise strategies to deal with these challenges in order to achieve its vision of collective self-sufficiency through integration of the West African countries into a single market organised on an economic and monetary union. The leadership recognised that individualistic efforts were not appropriate to deal with Africa's challenges but instead opted for collective action. Some countries had weak domestic markets, small and far from being competitive in world markets, which were characterised by the existence of large trade blocs. Like a two-sided coin, ECOWAS has two sides in the sense that apart from the achievements that have been registered in this sub region, there were also challenges and problems that the sub region has to deal with to ensure that public administration serves the interests and aspirations of citizens. Efforts

displayed in ECOWAS point into the direction of creating a better life for Africans in the region and beyond. The following section would discuss progress made in SADC.

#### 4.3. SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC)

As indicated chapter: 3 of this research, SADC's member states include Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. These member states realised the need to form a regional organisation with which they would commence the gradual movement and the ultimate total integration of the rest of African countries into a continental organisation that would represent the interests of African peoples in the global village. It is interesting to note that African countries, especially their leaders were aware of the fact that international communities had formed trading blocs with which to promote cooperation and collective action to deal with the challenges that they faced. African leaders were also attempting a gradual move to the integration of the continent, starting with integration of countries at sub regional level, to ensure that resistance and misunderstandings could be tackled within a sub regional level (SADC Annual Report, 2003: 18). One would remember that colonialism created artificial boundaries within African states, some of them even cutting across one geographic area inhabited by the same ethnic groups. Primarily, colonialism led to the political balkanisation of the continent into arbitrary nation-state elicits from Africa, the understandable impulse to restructure the fragmented African region into a more coherent and stronger economic and political entity (ECA, 1989). The leaders in the region had to undertake the transformation of the initial organisation, SADCC into the current SADC, to meet new challenges and developmental goals. Regional formations were initiated by African leaders during the OAU era but gained momentum during the AU era, through which AU leadership has adopted it as a strategic plan to clarify their common vision and destiny, to accelerate the integration of the continent (Kodjo, 2004:17).

#### 4.3.1. Objectives of SADC

The Southern African member states came together and formed the sub regional organisation because they realised that they have a common future and they wanted to turn the common future into a regional community to ensure the economic well being of the peoples in the region. SADC was also formed to ensure the improvement of standards of living and the quality of life of peoples within the region, whilst ensuring that there was freedom and social justice for all (ANC Today, 2002: 3). Justice for all means that peoples human rights would be protected and respected, to ensure that there is equality of opportunities and equitable distribution of resources for the benefit of all. SADC was furthermore determined to maintain peace and security within the region and for all the peoples of Southern African Development Community (SADC) wanted to reaffirm its commitment to good political, economic and corporate governance within member states and even beyond the sub region into other sub regions of the continent. This was not an easy venture for the African leadership, especially given the fact that the colonial powers believed in a disintegrated African continent. They believed in the rule-and-divide principle to ensure that they did not face any opposition in the implementation of their policies which were formulated without due regard for the interests and aspirations of the indigenous people. Colonialism actually flourished in areas that were disintegrated because civil society was not organised into coherent forces, neither did they have coherent and institutionalised structures with which to challenge colonialism and its policies. The formation of SADC and other sub regional formations were efforts to mobilise the African people towards total integration into a unified continental force. The African continent, through its region wanted to ensure that they participate in the globalising world so that they could see to it that any violation of international law could be objected to by African peoples, who were subjected to injustices during the colonial period (Soussan, 2004:8). In order to meet its challenges, SADC had to adopt a number of strategies to ensure that it follows a clear direction towards development and growth in the region.

SADC created the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) through which it wanted to give effect to its commitment to further entrench the culture of



democracy, full participation of the citizenry in public affairs, especially the participation of civil society organisations (CSOs). The RISDP is an indicative and a strategic policy document, which provides a strategic direction with respect to SADC programmes and activities. Furthermore, it outlines the conditions necessary to realise set goals and objectives. RISDP was meant to deepen and entrench regional integration in SADC since it provides member states with a consistent and a comprehensive programme of long-term socio-economic policies. It would be through such policies that national governments would be able to devise strategies and appropriate measures to create a better life for all (Soussan, 2004: 8). The full participation of civil society organisations in public affairs would actually mean that peoples are afforded an opportunity to express their wishes and to provide input into decision-making processes. The participation of civil society in public affairs promotes public accountability by the governing elites to the governed whilst entrenching transparency in government activities. It is essential to indicate that SADC adopted the RISDP, which serves as a regional expression and a vehicle for achieving the ideals contained in its programmes and activities. RISDP in actual fact emphasises that good political, economic and corporate governance are preconditions for sustainable socio-economic developments. Amongst the main objectives of SADC were its quest for the eradication of poverty and the move towards deeper levels of integration, which would not be realised without ensuring that the environment is characterised by political, economic and corporate governance (SADC Annual Report, 2003).

It is important to indicate that peoples in Southern Africa had a common vision, which was anchored on the common values and principles, including both historical and cultural affinities that existed between the peoples of Southern Africa. Southern Africa was in a better position as compared to the other four regions on the continent because they experienced a decline in their growth rates in 2002 in exception of this region. This crisis was caused by the negative effects of the events that took place in the USA, which shook world economy on 11 September 2001 (Najman, 2002:23-27). Most economies in SADC experienced high inflation rates and macroeconomic instability due to an increase in oil

prices and the effects of natural disaster such as droughts and floods. These crises were better handled in this sub region than in all the four sub regions in Africa.

#### 4.3.2. Problems experienced in Southern Africa

The region was experienced problems of primary commodity prices and most economies were influenced by macro-economic instability by high inflation rates, tighter foreign exchange constraints due to higher oil prices and natural disasters such as droughts and floods. One could remember that the majority of the population in Southern Africa resides in the rural villages and they depend on subsistence farming for a living. To make matters worse, the rural communities lacked agricultural technical skills to engage in scientific farming and crop production that would ensure sustainable farming activities and programmes. The farmers in the rural villages were dependent on rainfall to cultivate their fields, which means that if there were droughts, agricultural farming would be adversely affected. If rainfalls cause floods or turn into floods, the agricultural sector would be affected because crops would be washed off and cultivation would be affected (SADC Annual Report, 2003).

Political instability in the region also affected economic growth rate and development. The affected countries would respond by showing negative growth rates, high inflation rates and higher rates of peoples' impoverishment. Political instability, civil strife and ethnic wars are conditions, which affect development in the region. People would be tempted to migrate into neighbouring countries in an uncontrolled fashion to such extent that movement would be detrimental to the socio-economic development in the region. Uncontrolled movement would create a strain on the allocation of resources in countries that experience high floods of peoples into their borders (Lebedev, 2003:17-27).

#### 4.3.3. Challenges facing the region

Southern African peoples, like other peoples in the other four sub regions of Africa, were not developed for innovation and skills building by the colonial powers during the colonial period (SADC Annual Report, 2003: 23). Human resource development remained a key challenge to Southern African member states and this was compounded

by the scourge HIV/ Aids pandemic, malaria and other communicable diseases, which were further exacerbated by cycles of drought and floods, especially after heavy rains. It is important to state that SADC needs to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), whereby the region has to ensure that resources and capacity constraints are well addressed to eradicate poverty in the sub region (Kauzya and Balogun, 2005:3-8).

SADC is facing both challenges and opportunities in development, it has to see to it that its objectives are operationalised and implemented by member states to ensure that the sub regional development strategy makes sense to national governments which serve as the building blocs of SADC (Kauzya and Balogun, 2005:3-8). SADC is equally facing a challenge concerning a process of developing medium and short-term business plans for the region. This also calls for a process of developing the medium-term expenditure framework at SADC Secretariat and in member states. Political instability also leads to other conditions, which are detrimental to socio-economic growth and development. These conditions might lead to low investment in infrastructure and low investments in new plants and equipment, with concomitant low sectoral performance in SADC economies. It is worth noting that SADC had been having problems around a single and non-diversified production system through the deepening and consolidation of the economic reforms for sustainable development. In order to achieve and overcome these challenges and problems SADC needs the diversification and a dynamic production system whereby integration and cooperation could be attained. It is worth noting that conflicts and civil strife have forced millions of peoples into drifting life as refugees, depriving them of their means of livelihood, human dignity and hope. One other characteristic of a conflict-ridden environment is that scarce resources are used up. These situations undermine the ability of countries to address the many compelling needs of their peoples, let alone prioritising them according to the impact they have on citizens (Udombana, 2003:59).

Problems in this sub region could be aggravated further by uncertainties in geo-politics, difficulties in global financial markets, insecurity and threats that are still posed by the HIV/Aids pandemic, including malaria and other communicable diseases. Member states

have been requested to individually and collectively intensify efforts to implement socio-economic reforms, to further ensure that reforms are implemented within the NEPAD development framework. NEPAD brings hope to African leaders who believe that most ordinary Africans suffer because of avarice and the excesses of their leaders, who disregard good governance, which promotes transparency and accountability in governments and public administration (Block, 2002:14). SADC would strive to implement its development priorities in the areas of trade liberalisation and economic development, food security and infrastructure development strategies. The successful address of these problems would promote the provision of goods and services that are essential to eradicate poverty, to establish an atmosphere of social and human development in the region (SADC Annual Report, 2003). However, despite these challenges facing the sub region, there are prospects that signal hope for socio-economic development in the continent.

#### 4.3.4. Prospects of successful integration in Southern Africa

The African economy is expected to grow by 4%, especially if the economy meets the following conditions, an improvement on weather conditions and the improvement of non-oil commodities, growth strengthened by higher flows of foreign direct investment (FDI), especially in Southern African sub region (Block, 2002: 15). Economic growth would be boosted by member states' need and determination to deepen and consolidate political and economic transformation. Political and economic transformation is important to improve the lives of citizens and create a better life for all. The region was further committed to the implementation of Regional Indicators Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) and the Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ (SIPO). Member states were expected to align their national programmes and activities with the priorities of RISDP in an attempt to achieve SADC's long-term goals and objectives. SIPO on the other hand was meant to guide SADC activities in the areas of politics, democracy, peace and stability and security. SIPO had its focus in four major areas, which are required for development and growth. The first area involves politics whereby an emphasis is placed on the need to strengthen good governance, respect for the rule of law and respect for human and peoples' rights. This principle is significant and forms the basis of this

research because they have been identified by African leaders as important principles that are key to the eradication of poverty and the creation of a better life for all in the continent through the implementation of appropriate policies (SADC Annual Report, 2003).

Thabo Mokgola (2004:1-2) indicates that countries should move faster to implement the voluntary self-assessment instrument, which is an important element of NEPAD, to promote constructive peer dialogue and persuasion, so that countries are motivated to improve their countries' governance practices and policies in compliance with agreed continental and international best standards and norms. Once countries adhere to the generally accepted international and continental governance standards and principles, compliance would be the order of the day. It has to be noted that the primary purpose of the APRM is to foster the adoption and implementation of policies, standards of practices that might lead to internal political stability, which is a precondition for sustainable economic growth and development.

The second factor that was considered an important area to focus on was defence, which was enshrined in the SADC Mutual Defence Pact, which served as a shield and dissuasive factor. Business Intelligence Africa (2004:1) indicates that peace and security are imperative in Africa because well over 100 million people in the continent are affected by conflicts across the continent, in addition to high levels of poverty, the lowest life expectancy in the world. Therefore, the continent requires a programme that is visionary in nature and outlook, like NEPAD. Perhaps, this is the reason why Stanley Subramoney (Business-in-Africa, 2004:2) believes that NEPAD is the hope for African leaders because it puts the continent on a path towards sustainable development. The third factor involved state and public security, which are concerned with the safety of people and property. This factor is important to ensure that member states respect the rights to private property, which is essential to economic growth through private investment. The fourth focus of SADC involves the fact that SIPO covers cross cutting issues such as the HIV/ Aids pandemic and other communicable diseases and drug abuse. SIPO is regarded as the operationalisation of the Protocol on Politics, Defense and

Security Cooperation of SADC. The country's population should be characterised by high levels of literacy, communication and education, to ensure that citizens could make a meaningful contribution in the country's development (Leftwich, 1993:612). The implications of this requirement is that the country needs to create an environment whereby members of the population could satisfy their needs and interests in accordance with international standards and practices.

#### 4.3.4.1. Development in main areas of cooperation and integration

There were seven main areas that were targeted for development in Southern Africa as will be discussed in this sub section. As indicated in the preceding sub sections of this chapter, the current voluntarism in regional membership demonstrates member states' commitment to the realisation of the Lagos Action Plan (LAP), which was adopted more than 25 years ago. This Plan was adopted as the blueprint for African recovery and a model to ensure that Africans take leadership in designing a path that would redeem its image in the international arena. It is not surprising to find African leaders today calling all African countries to accept that the continent could not make real progress with economic development without close coordination and harmonisation of their sectoral plans and national development policies. African national governments are urged to continue adopting resolutions and declarations that would promote sectoral integration and the integration of the whole continent into a unified Africa (Asante, 1997:31). The voluntarism that African countries have shown in the formation of the AU, to give effect to the LAP has been emphasised by the Alpha Oumar Konar of Mali (Kodjo, 2004:17). Voluntarism means that leaders should undertake needs analysis to be able to identify areas that require prompt attention in terms of priorities. Voluntarism would ensure that personal commitment is solicited instead of being coerced to implement policies just for the sake of compliance with decision. Policy evaluation in situations where there is lack of personal commitment to the implementation of policies points to the fact that this had very little impact on the lives of peoples.

#### 4.3.4.1.1. SADC Trade Protocol

The first area involved the SADC Trade Protocol implementation programme whereby member states were expected in terms of the protocol to phase down tariffs. This was an agreement by member states to forge cooperation and integration amongst member states to promote intra-trade and investment on a regional basis. This agreement led to intra-regional trade in sugar and clothes, which actually increased following the implementation of this protocol. The agreement further facilitated the implementation of a quota system into Southern African Customs Union (SACU) market, especially on the two products that were sensitive in the region (SADC Annual Report, 2003). Thabo Mbeki once called on African leaders to free their trade and do much more to welcome investors into their countries, regions and sub regions. To achieve these ideals governments had to implement trade policies that promote and encourage investment (The Economist, 2002:15).

#### 4.3.4.1.2. Investment and financial areas

SADC has moved towards the development of the regional protocol, which would facilitate the harmonisation, and the integration of investment and financial activities with an attempt to promote economic integration and cooperation in the Southern African region (Asante, 1997: 141). This sector means that government and its agencies need to be transparent in their endeavour to render services to their population. In a transparent manner, government and its agencies need to ensure that resources are effectively managed to ensure that budgetary processes promote the effective use of resources to provide citizens with their needs. The continent has made progress in the area of governance in general. In general terms the transformation processes are used to enhance the policy analysis, budget review and general oversight capacities of legislatures. Accountability in such environments would become a fact of life within the African continent (Kauzya and Balogun, 2005:2).

#### 4.3.4.1.3. Cooperation in energy generating factors

In the area of energy generating initiatives, SADC made considerable efforts to harmonise the frameworks that were created in the energy sector for investors, financiers

and operators. These efforts were geared towards the promotion and facilitation of the energy sector's development. It is imperative that close cooperation is forged among sub regional countries around energy services (Kauzya and Balogun, 2005:2). Cooperation and integration in this sector would ensure the full exploitation of the hydroelectric energy potential of the sub regions and would be used as a comprehensive programme for the interconnections of power lines within the sub region. The interconnections would lead to meeting the needs of the basic and capital goods industries. Sharing of energy resources would strengthen integration and regional cooperation among member states in an effort to push back the frontiers of poverty and underdevelopment in the continent. National governments would be urged to put in place regionally oriented policies, which are aimed at accelerating efforts towards private sector investment in the local and regional economies (Asante, 1997:141). In order to achieve this objective, governments and regional bodies would rely on accountable and transparent public administration to enhance the implementation of progressive policies for Africa's development.

#### 4.3.4.1.4. The Protocol on Tourism

SADC member states entered into an agreement that culminated in the tourism protocol, which came into force in November 2002. The protocol was meant to facilitate and accelerate the establishment of a common SADC visa, to be known as UNIVISA, which is currently under consideration by member states in the region (SADC Annual Report, 2003). This initiative would ensure that people visit the SADC countries in order to promote trade and investment in the region. Tourist attractions tend to win the hearts and souls of visitors who then develop the love for the area, which boosts tourists' confidence in the administration of the area. Tourism will promote interactions and integration among member states, which will in turn increase production and trade in goods and services (SADC Annual Report, 2003: 50). This will then generate security of investment, the predictability of policies, with concomitant investors' confidence in the region. Tourism policies will be implemented in such a way that they are used to create a better life for all the African peoples, with an attempt to redeem the continent from isolation and marginalisation which have contributed to the continent's underdevelopment and poverty.



#### 4.3.4.1.5. Transport and telecommunications infrastructure

Progress was made during the 2002/3 year in this area of development, including the area of meteorology. Progress was specifically registered in the areas of regulations and standards harmonisation. In order to accelerate development in this area a successful communication Forum was held in March 2003 in Maputo, Mozambique (SADC Annual Report, 2003: 8). This Forum was aimed at exposing the attractive SADC investment climate in the field of telecommunications to investors. Stanley Subramoney once called on African leaders and their countries, including business leaders to stop the tendency and practice whereby they export African dollars to the developed world whilst importing poverty in the place of African dollars. All this was said after an observation was made that Africa spent US\$300 million for the global interconnection fees for telecommunications. Every time African peoples called their neighbours within the continent, their interconnection goes through another country and this also contributes to the export of dollars to other countries (Business Intelligence Africa, 2004:2). This state of affairs means that African countries would become dependent on others for interconnectivity and telecommunications, especially in situations where the human capital development was ignored. These are income-generating projects, which would boost the economy of the region whilst generating more revenue in the pockets of the local residents. These projects should be considered key to development because they generate income.

It is equally important to note that this area of development was affected by natural disasters that occurred in the region whereby drought resulted in severe food shortages in the sub region, with severe consequences in five member states with a population of over 15 million people. These conditions were managed after improved rainfall and numerous measures, which were taken to improve the food security situation in the region. Food security was improved through improved food production processes and mechanisms to ensure that peoples in this area get proper and nutritious food. Infrastructure development is key to enhanced food production and general food security, to ensure that citizens are provided with essential needs (ANC Today, 2002: 3-5).

#### 4.3.4.1.6. Peace and security in Southern Africa

A number of activities and achievements could be identified in the area of peace and security in SADC. This achievement was actually an affirmation of African leaders' consciousness regarding the negative effects of the scourge of conflicts in Africa whereby it constitutes a major impediment to the socio-economic development of the continent and of the need to promote peace, security and stability which are prerequisites for the successful implementation of development policies and the integration agenda in the continent (Udombana, 2003:55-100). These measures are undertaken to facilitate and promote peaceful co-existence, which create a stable environment promoting cooperation and integration for the benefit of the sub region and the continent in general.

The approval of SIPO, which looked into areas that cut across a wide spectrum of human life, was significant in promoting a better life for all in the sub region. The implementation of SIPO strategies was boosted when the majority of SADC member states ratified the Protocol on Politics, Defense and Security. In 1996 SADC set up a political security and defense body with the aim of carrying out preventative diplomacy operations and aimed at deploying intervention forces within the sub region and beyond whenever the need arises. This type of an initiative became critical and helpful during the Angolan crisis and civil conflicts. This strategic peacekeeping force was modeled around the ECOWAS inter regional peace force that was created under the acronym ECOMOG, standing for ECOWAS Monitoring Group which was deployed in Liberia in 1990 on the basis of the Protocol on Mutual Assistance and Defense (PMAD) of 1981 (Lebedev, 2003:25).

A peacekeeping force would be used to restore peace and stability in areas that are plagued by conflicts and strife because they become counter productive development efforts. Conflicts and civil strife have displaced millions of people from their countries to areas where they mostly lead unproductive lives and become a problem for the host country's administration and governance. African leadership has shown greater interests in forming structures that would manage conflicts and also attempt to come up with preventative measures. However, more is expected from African leaders in this area

because gone are the days when efforts have shown that a dead horse has been flogged. More and more budgets are been put to undertake expensive defence policies and defence equipment which could have been channeled to the eradication of poverty and measures that would prevent conflicts or manage them in such a way that they are less costly to the tax payers (Udombana, 2003:105).

#### 4.3.4.1.7. Restructuring of National Committees

National governments were called upon to restructure their institutions and committees, which were responsible for the implementation of RISDP and RIPO. The restructuring of these institutions was aimed at capacity building to facilitate and spearhead member states' participation in regional cooperation and integration activities. In 2002/3 financial years a regional workshop was held by member states with a view of exchanging and sharing best practices and experiences. It was during this workshop that important recommendations were made by member states on the functioning of SADC National Committees in order to deliver on their establishment mandate as given by member states (SADC Annual Report, 2003). The restructuring of institutions would lead to the institutionalisation of structures so that they could have capacity to deal with integration challenges. Most structures that were in existence during the colonial period were weakened or were undermined, let alone been not developed to cope with the demands of the developing environment.

#### 4.3.4.2. Areas of regional cooperation cutting across

Apart from the areas that were specific with regard to efforts to achieve integration and cooperation in Southern Africa, there were those areas that cut across a wide spectrum of issues. Gender and development programmes were also key priority areas in SADC activities. In 2002/3 a number of targets were identified which included the mainstreaming of gender and development issues at institutional level to ensure that institutions are development oriented and that gender representation is considered in these institutions (Mohammed, 2001: 33-36). Capacity building and networking were also areas that needed attention. Capacity building is a key consideration to ensure that people possess the necessary skills and knowledge to push development forward. This

then suggests that gone are the days when development was male dominated. There is a need to involve women in order to ensure that they are also considered valuable human resources, which are essential to deliver Africa from marginalisation and underdevelopment (Asante, 1997:150-152). Women and youth have a role to play and a contribution to make towards the development of the continent, to ensure that they receive equal treatment with their fellow male counterparts. By so doing government would be giving effect to constitutional and legislative frameworks that govern equity and equality. The implementation of these policies would need public administration that shows accountability and transparency.

It was indicated in this chapter that the HIV/ Aids pandemic and other communicable diseases have devastated the continent and SADC is not an exception. Member states have made concerted efforts by exerting more pressure to combat the scourge. Regional strategies and mechanisms to combat the scourge formed part of the discussions at the SADC Heads of State and Government in Maseru, Lesotho on 4 July 2003, which culminated in the Maseru Declaration on the Fight against Aids and HIV which was signed by Heads of State and Government. Human resources are key to service delivery and the provision of goods to members of the community. Therefore, regional integration would enable the free movement of human resources in search for career incentives, which would in turn assist in the attraction and retention of public servants to serve in institutions that are created under regional cooperation and agreements. Member states are also considering cooperation and coordination in the areas of Science and Technology, environment and sustainable development, Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) and private sector development (Adedeji, 2002:16). Regional and sub regional cooperation in these areas and sectors of human development would promote skills development and to supplement on skills shortages caused mostly by displacement of peoples and the migration of peoples into other continents in search for peace and stability. The drive for integration and cooperation is still going on even though there are challenges that the region has to deal with. The following is the case study of COMESA.

#### 4.4. COMMON MARKET OF EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA (COMESA)

It is imperative to indicate the origin of COMESA, which could be traced back to a meeting that was held in Lusaka, Zambia in March 1978 by independent states, which recommended the creation of a sub regional economic community, beginning with a sub regional trade area. The intention of the independent states at the beginning was to establish a sub regional organisation that would eventually grow to become implemented over a ten-year period until a community is put in place Mutharika, 1995: 163). This meeting gave rise to the “Lusaka Declaration of Intent and Commitment to the Establishment of a Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) for the Eastern and Southern Africa and in addition, created an Inter-governmental Negotiating Team on the Treaty for the establishment of the PTA. The PTA was created and it operated for a period of well over a decade until it was transformed into COMESA. The treaty to establish COMESA was signed by member states on 5 November 1993 in Kampala, Uganda and was ratified a year later in Lilongwe, Malawi. It was during this period that the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), which was formed in 1981, was officially replaced by COMESA. The main purpose of COMESA would be discussed in the next sub section. This transformation was so systematic that the intention was to eventually culminate into an African Economic Community (AEC), which covers the rest of the African continent.

The establishment of sub regional organisations was in line with the intention of promoting regional cooperation and integration. The need for integration and cooperation was long on African agenda, as was demonstrated in 1965 when the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) convened an African ministerial meeting whereby a mechanism was to be devised to ensure the promotion of sub regional economic integration. COMESA originated from the discussions at this meeting whereby member states agreed to form the Economic Community of Eastern and Southern African states. One could point out that at this stage, African countries and their leaders had come to the realisation that countries that were unable and/or unwilling to integrate into the global economy and would not benefit from the impetus of growth and development. African countries further realised that unwillingness and/or inability to integrate and cooperate

would lead to further marginalisation in the world of goods and capital markets, a factor that has been cited as responsible for Africa's backwardness and underdevelopment (ECA, 1989). It is time to indicate the mandate that was give to COMESA at its inception with regard to the implementation of policies to indicate the extent to which African leadership and governance would ensure that the public service delivers quality services to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all in the continent.

#### 4.4.1. The purpose of COMESA

The organisation was formed by independent African sovereign states whereby they entered into an agreement to cooperate, especially in developing their natural and human resources for the good of all countries and their peoples. One of the establishing purposes of COMESA was the formation of a large economic and trading unit with all capabilities to overcome the barriers that were faced by countries, especially when they acted as individual states. Collectivity was then seen as an advantage to overcome trading barriers. The sub regional organisation was also aimed at the removal of trade tariffs and barriers, which prohibited free trade amongst member states to promote integration and cooperation. In addition, member states would be introduced to a common external tariff structure with which member states would be able to deal with third party traders. In this way member states would operate within an environment that has simplified procedures to promote trade (Adedeji, 2002:3-9).

One of the purposes of COMESA was the promotion of peace, security and stability in the region. Peace, security and stability are the bases for integration and cooperation, which would in turn promote economic growth and development through trade and investment. African countries had already realised that as individual countries they faced serious challenges, which were mainly caused by the smallness and fragmentation of postcolonial African markets (Block, 2002:14 and Owusu, 2003:1655-1669). These kinds of markets hindered the diversification of economic activities. On the other hand African markets concentrated on the production of a narrow range of primary exports. African countries in this region were motivated by the need to create modern and internationally

competitive enterprises which would satisfy domestic needs whilst attempting to meet export requirements to satisfy needs of peoples beyond their national boundaries.

In an effort to promote integration and cooperation in the sub region, COMESA member states agreed to form a bloc that would in the ultimate end translate into a regional bloc to serve the interests of the entire African continent. They had to choose between two options, which were available as alternatives to the endeavours for the implementation of the integration strategy. They had to choose between the Pan African strategies, which called for the all-embracing regional approach, which would lead to the creation of a regional continental economic arrangement. This would be on a large and a wider scale to include as many countries on the continent as possible beyond the limits of the sub regional sphere. The second option was the geographically narrower approach, which had its roots at the sub regional level. This approach was based on the building of sub regional cooperation arrangements with a view of achieving wider forms of cooperation arrangements. This was a gradual approach which would be used to ensure that success registered in the sub region is spread to other sub regions until it engulfs all sub regions and the entire continent. Realising the conditions within which they operated the majority of countries favoured or preferred the narrower sub regional approach instead of the all-embracing approach. This approach was actually preferred by UNECA when it proposed to African countries and their leaders to form or establish sub regional organisations that are currently found in the continent. There was a need amongst African countries to establish new zones through which the whole continent would be covered and to ensure the promotion of coordination and the harmonisation of the different forms of groupings, with a view of establishing an all-African Economic Community (Asante, 1997:29-67). The first groupings were political in their orientation, but their membership was extended beyond sub regional boundaries, which included programmes, and projects that were economic in outlook and pursuit, which focused on economic integration and cooperation as well. This was done with the realisation that political objectives would be achieved through economic developments.

COMESA was on the path of removing structural and institutional weaknesses in the member states, to capacitate them to meet developmental challenges. Member states in the region were encouraged to pool resources together to ensure sustainable development amongst member states individually and collectively (Adedeji, 2002: 10-13). Member states might find it difficult to achieve their objectives and goals, especially if they do not cooperate to create an enabling environment, which is conducive for development. Cooperation amongst member states would ensure that countries encourage cross border and domestic investment. Cooperation would also be done in the fields of education and training, research, in particular around technological skills and new technology in dealing with problems that plague the region in particular and the continent in general. Member states valued cooperation in order to restore peace and stability in the region to promote peaceful neighbourliness and to promote investor confidence in the sub region.

It was on the agenda of COMESA member states to cooperate and strengthen their relations between the common market and the international role players in the world market. In order to strengthen relations with the world market economy, member states were urged to adopt common positions in international fora so that they could speak in one voice for the development of the region. What is interesting is that if COMESA would achieve in terms of their objectives and goals, this would serve as a motivating factor for the other African regional formations to push forward with the establishment and the creation of the African Economic Community for the benefit of all African countries and their peoples. It would be through the AEC that the continent would be in a position to participate in world economies to end the marginalisation that the continent has experienced for decades even after independence from colonial domination.

The sub region was geared towards the adoption of more comprehensive trade liberalisation measures to ensure integration and cooperation in the region. To promote trade in the region and intra regional cooperation there was also a need to remove and eliminate all forms of trade barriers which were created during the colonial era, such as the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers and the elimination of customs duties to facilitate integration and cooperation. Integration and cooperation would strengthen the



move towards the free movement of factors of production, such as labour, capital goods and the right of establishment from one point to another within the region. The elimination of these trade barriers would ensure that controls on movement in the region would be eliminated. This move goes hand in hand with the adoption of a single currency and the establishment of a Monetary Union and the adoption of a Common External Tariff (CET) (Adedeji, 2002: 13). It is the aim of COMESA member states to include the integration and cooperation of the countries within the sub region and beyond the borders of the sub region into a single coherent African Economic Community (AEC). In order to achieve on the objectives of COMESA, member states had to recognise factors that would facilitate and accelerate regional economic integration and cooperation.

#### 4.4.1.1. Factors that accelerate sub regional economic arrangements

Conditions that prevailed in the 1970s accelerated the need for sub regional economic arrangements, known currently today. It became more urgent to create sub regional arrangements within African countries, especially after the collapse of the federations in Eastern and Central Africa. The collapse of the federations led to the reduction of political cooperation amongst states in the region. It was at this stage that states realised the need for closer economic cooperation and integration to ensure economic growth and development. The second factor was identified as the destabilisation of the economies of the Southern African states by apartheid South Africa. The sub regional integration and cooperation was created to serve as a united force to deal with apartheid South Africa in its destabilising effects on neighbouring African states in the south. The sub regional organisation was formed or created as an economic counterweight to South Africa. Thirdly, countries in this region realised that there was no alternative to the reduction of the countries' traditional economic dependence on the industrialised countries of the north. The reason advanced was the need to create a sub regional organisation, which would facilitate and enhance self-sustained development measures in all sectors to ensure that the region is not further marginalised in the global economy.

The main purpose of COMESA was to ensure that independent African states in the region cooperate with regard to the exploitation of natural and human resources for the

development of the countries within the sub region to improve the lives of peoples within this sub region (Asante, 1996: 20). However, countries in this sub region realised the fact that the successful sharing of these resources could be implemented in an environment that respects human and peoples rights. The emphasis was also placed on the need for peace, security and stability, which are essential to promote investment development, trade and regional economic integration. The region was no exception to acts of civil strife, political instabilities and cross border disputes, which have a negative effect on a country's ability to develop its economies. Countries where these characteristics prevail find their capabilities affected to such an extent that they are unable to participate fully in world activities, hampering their ability to take full advantage of regional integration arrangements. It has been realised that in situations where there is no peace, essential resources, which are necessary for development to the benefit of all citizens, are used for the acquisition of equipment to be used in the restoration of peace and stability. If there is no peace, security and stability in the country, its economic development efforts and initiatives would be affected because such instances deter investments, not only foreign investments but also the local entrepreneurs feel scared to investment in their local economies. This situation might occur due to perceived and/or real instability and conflict-ridden conditions. In an endeavour to promote an atmosphere that is conducive to economic development, member states have agreed to respect and implement COMESA Treaty principles, which are geared towards entrenched regional integration and cooperation. Member states have realised the need to adhere to the principles that they have agreed to, with a view of ensuring that member states abide by the agreements, which have been adopted to improve integration and cooperation.

#### 4.4.1.2.Principles of integration and cooperation

COMESA member states adopted a number of principles and they agreed to implement them in an attempt to improve integration and cooperation in the sub region. Member states have agreed to adhere to the principle of equality and inter dependence of the member states. This principle is in line with the provisions of the OAU Charter and the Constitutive Act of the AU, which ensures that countries enter into these agreements as equals so that they could retain their independence and regard other member states as

independent and sovereign states. In this way member states will respect one another and assist one another to observe this principle to facilitate integration and cooperation. Member states have agreed to pledge solidarity with each other to form a collective and self-reliance amongst member states. This principle will promote cooperation amongst member states to ensure that they assist each other to enhance the citizens' standard of living. Inter-state cooperation, harmonisation of policies and the integration of programmes amongst member states was one of the principles, which member states agreed to observe and put into practice in order to ensure good neighbourliness and cooperation (Adedeji, 2002: 12).

Policies that have been collectively adopted need the commitment of member states in an attempt to implement them to improve the lives of their citizens. It has been indicated in the preceding sub section that civil strife, conflicts and disputes have created numerous challenges that had an impact on integration and economic development and growth in the sub region. Therefore, member states recognised the value of peaceful co-existence amongst member states and agreed upon the principle of non-aggression pact amongst member states. This principle would promote peace, security and stability in the sub region in order to facilitate integration and cooperation. If member states are to achieve cooperation and integration, they should recognise, promote and protect human and peoples rights within their national boundaries. If these values are respected by national governments this would form the basis for regional integration and cooperation. National governments should adhere to this principle in an attempt to ensure that human rights are protected and respected in accordance with the provisions of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (Kauzya and Balogun, 2005:5-10).

Member states have agreed on the principle of accountability, economic justice and popular participation in development. Accountability will ensure that leaders observe the principle of transparency in dealing with public interests. Governments that are transparent and accountable will recognise and respect the rule of law and other democratic principles to ensure that peoples needs are satisfied (Balogun, 2001: 44-49). Governments would respect these principles because they will understand that

government is not above the law and that it may be requested to account where human and peoples rights have not be respected. Member states agreed to promote and sustain the democratic system of governance within their national boundaries. African leaders are playing a different tune from the one, which was characterised by autocratic and authoritarian governance to the one, which resembles a change in attitude amongst the leaders. According to Versi (2004:11) African leaders show an element of political maturity, especially in the conduct of their affairs, with a more determination to chart the continents own destiny. There is now newfound confidence in African leaders that they will voluntarily mobilise its peoples towards democracy and the rule of law.

If national governments practise good governance they will promote regional peace and stability by facilitating and strengthening good relations with their neighbours. Good neighbours will agree on better ways to resolve and settle disputes wherever they occur (Olowu, 2002: 64). Good neighbourliness will promote active cooperation between neighbouring countries, which would in turn promote a peaceful environment. Peaceful environment will serve as a precondition and a prerequisite for economic development in the region. If these principles are implemented in the COMESA sub region, other regional formation would also like to share the good practices which will then be spread throughout the continent to promote peace, security and stability which are prerequisites for integration and cooperation and the vehicles for economic growth and development (Grellet, 2002:117-121).

#### 4.4.2. Priorities of COMESA

The implementation of policies at times has been constrained by inadequate resources, which are essential for achievement of goals and objectives in an endeavour to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This study investigates the use of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) by the African Union (AU) to eradicate poverty through effective implementation of policies by African Public Services, through leadership and governance perspectives. The scarcity of resources means that countries have to ensure that they meet their goals with efficiency and effectiveness, especially if goals and objectives are accordingly prioritised to ensure that resources are used on

priorities that benefit the majority of citizens. The implementation of priorities will be based on those activities and programmes that are found in areas with the greatest impact on the lives of citizens. COMESA had decided to focus on five main priorities that have more impact on the lives of citizens within the sub region. First, the sub region focused on a significant and sustained increase in industry, manufacturing, processing and agricultural business to ensure that the region improves on its competitive edge, to provide competitive goods which are essential for cross border trade amongst countries in the sub region. If member states take this priority seriously, they will be in a position to create better life for their peoples because the provision of goods for cross border trade will increase jobs for citizens in member states, facilitating an exchange of resources and skills. If more employment opportunities were created in the region, more people will become wealthy because they would increase the incomes of peoples, which will in turn increase the living standards of their citizens (Adedeji, 2002:13).

The agricultural sector formed part of the priorities for COMESA member states, especially a focus on increased agricultural production, which stressed the joint development of sources of irrigation water schemes. The focus of this priority was the preservation of water resources from river basins and lakes in the region. Greater care was taken by member states to ensure that countries collectively work towards reduced dependence if not eliminating dependence on agricultural goods and services from other countries especially from foreign countries. Member states wanted to improve food security and to reduce the region's dependence on rain dependent agricultural practices. The dependence on rain fed agricultural sector would lead to food scarcity and food insecurity, which will hamper sustainable development of natural resources (Asante, 1997:128-143).

In order to improve integration and cooperation, member states prioritised the development of transport and communication infrastructure and services, emphasising the linkage of the rural masses in the villages with their town and city fellow citizens to complement one another in an endeavour to utilise available human resources, human capital and skills for the betterment of the sub region (Balogun and Mutahaba, 1989: 62).

In order to facilitate and fast track this programme member states were supposed to be linked for improved network and movement of goods and services within the sub region. One of the five priorities included new programmes for trade promotion, trade expansion and trade facilitation to encourage the business communities to take maximum advantage of the Common Market. Business sector would be encouraged to invest and do business in an environment that is peaceful and stable in order to ensure favourable returns on their investment. Related to this priority, COMESA focused on a comprehensive and reliable information database that would be available for use in decision-making processes. The availability of information and correct database would assist in ensuring that all sectors of human endeavour are geared towards development in the region. Reliable and up to date data will be used to improve such sectors as environment, industry, energy, agriculture, and communication. health, human resources, investment and trade, which form the basis for sound economic growth and development. These sectors will be useful in the making sound investment decisions and macro-economic policy formulation and programmes. In order to give effect to its establishing objectives and goals COMESA had to create a number of institutions to develop capacities and capabilities to push forward regional strategies and measures which would benefit the needs of citizens in the continent (Adedeji, 2002:7-11).

#### 4.4.3. Institutional framework of COMESA

One of the requirements and preconditions for accelerated development is the institutionalisation of structures that have capacities to handle challenges that confront the region and the continent as a whole. Numerous organs have been identified and put in place by COMESA leadership in an endeavour to create a better life for all Africans. The Heads of State and Government formed an Authority, which was a policy organ of COMESA, responsible for general policy direction and control of the performance of the executive functions of the Common Market. This organ was instituted to ensure that COMESA exercises an oversight over the executive functions charged with the responsibility of seeing to it that the regional authority achieve its objectives and aims. Decisions in this organ are taken on a consensual basis and decisions are binding on all institutions that fall within the jurisdiction of the Heads of State and Government of the

sub region (Mutharika, 1995: 16). This organ is key for the adoption of policies that would be binding to member states, especially those policies that require collective efforts and actions to realise.

The second organ created to achieve COMESA objectives was the Council of Ministers, which is the second highest policy organ after the authority. It is responsible for ensuring that there is proper functioning of the sub regional authority. This is the organ that is responsible for taking policy decisions that concern programmes and activities that are assigned to the sub regional body. What is important about this organ is that it monitors and reviews the financial and the administrative management of COMESA. This organ takes decisions that are binding to member states. Decisions in this organ are made by consensus and require a two-thirds majority of members of the Council. This organ would ensure that policy matters of the body are appropriately implemented to ensure that resources are appropriately used for the benefit of all member states and their citizens (Asante, 1997:170-172).

The COMESA Court of Justice serves as the judicial organ of the region and has legal jurisdiction over all matters that are referred to it by the mother body. The Court of Justice has authority to adjudicate any disputes regarding the interpretation and application of the provisions of the Treaty. Decisions that are taken by the judicial organ are binding and final. Furthermore, its decisions have precedence over decisions taken by national courts, especially where such decisions are taken independent of the Authority and the Council, moreover when the judicial organ takes such decisions acting within its jurisdiction as determined by COMESA. The Financial Mail (2005:14) has emphasised the independence of the judiciary in an attempt to reinforce good governance in African governments and public services to give effect to the separation of powers or organs of the state, to promote transparency and accountability in public administration.

These organs have been created to promote sub regional cooperation and development, accelerating cross border investment to come up with a common policy for industrial development and the introduction of monetary harmonisation mechanisms. These

initiatives depend on institutionalised structures to ensure that COMESA achieves on its objectives and goals. Other institutions to reinforce the achievement of COMESA through integration include the Trade and Development Bank of COMESA in Nairobi, Kenya, the Clearing House in Harare, Zimbabwe, the Association of Commercial Banks in also in Zimbabwe, the Leather Institute in Ethiopia and the Re-Insurance Company (ZEP-RE) also in Kenya. These organs have been formed to promote integration and cooperation in the region. It is important to include the achievements of COMESA in this case study (Asante, 1997:129-132).

#### 4.4.4. Notable achievements of COMESA

COMESA registered a number of achievements though there are still areas for improvement, which require added efforts to deal with. Achievements recorded by the region include those that were made in the area of trade, transport, customs, development, finance and technical cooperation amongst member states in the sub region. In the production sector the region had made remarkable strides in industry and agricultural sectors. Trade facilitation and trade liberalisation were also successful to further integrate the nations in the sub region. Examples of this achievement were in intra-COMESA trade, which grew from US\$834 million in 1984 to US\$1,7 billion in 1994, which means an annual growth rate of 14 percent. At this rate the growth rate is estimated at about US\$4 billion annually. This achievement in the growth rate should serve as a motivator for COMESA to exploit the situation further to increase trade linkages and network for more integration and cooperation in the sub region (Adedeji, 2003:397-399).

COMESA registered an achievement in the area of traffic facilities to ensure that measures are put in place in order to reduce transport costs by a factor of about 25 percent. The intention and the ideal situation will be to reduce traffic costs even further for the benefit of citizens within the region to promote movements of goods and services within the region. Related to this sector is the sector of telecommunications with an emphasis on network development to facilitate direct telecommunications links. Telecommunications rely on proper infrastructure to be able to deal with the challenges found in telecommunications sector (Adedeji, 2003:398-429). Recently Ministers of



traffic in Africa met at Sun City, South Africa, with the aim of discussing ways to deal with challenges that are confronting the continent in this sector to promote trade and facilitate inter-regional movement of goods at low levels of rates. The aim was to create an environment that is safe for traffic matters within the continent (City Press, 22 May 2005). Reliable infrastructure needs to be created to promote telecommunications, air traffic and marine traffic amongst African countries with a view of avoiding third country transit systems, which have proved to be costly for the African countries, and they have retarded integration and trade links.

COMESA managed to establish institutions and organs, which reinforced measures towards integration and cooperation, as, discussed in the preceding sub section. The Preferential Trade Area (PTA) Bank has been active in providing trade financing facilities in the sub region for member states. The Bank has succeeded in project approvals worth US\$148 million in 1995 – 1996 and the cumulative trade financing activities in 1992 – 1996 was valued at US\$345 million. This achievement was remarkable for the region because such growth rates will be used for development programmes and projects to benefit citizens in the entire region. The COMESA Clearing House has been beefed up by decisions that were taken to make it more responsive to the current needs and demands of member states (Asante, 1997: 127). COMESA has also made strides in the introduction of COMESA Dollar, which will be the new Unit of Account of the Clearing House. The Re-Insurance (ZEP-RE) has been able to carve out a reasonable share of the regional insurance business, which is currently transacting business in any of the member states. It is highly interesting to indicate that the share capital in this regard has risen to US\$6.07 million. Re-Insurance has indicated a growing strength with great potentials for more growth and prospects (Asante, 1997:141-149).

Once again the achievements so far indicate that regional integration has been the motivating factor to COMESA leaders because it has been determined to increase the levels of intra-regional trade and to address the regulatory and policy aspects that promote telecommunications and transport. The sub region wanted to promote the free movement of goods and services and peoples between countries so that this activity could

be made cheaper and easier (Asante, 1997: 128). This was the creation of a legal framework within which an enabling environment could be created to encourage investment and prosperity of the private sector. National governments have been encouraged to harmonise and adopt economic and monetary policies that would promote investment and economic growth amongst regional countries. COMESA further realised the fact that investment could be promoted through the facilitation of bilateral agreements, which promote export drives by individuals. COMESA was in a better position to identify those projects that have potential to act as growth poles between two or more member states. If these initiatives are successful then they could be used as success stories for other regional formations. Trade successes in two or more countries in the region would be used for sharing best practices by other countries in the region (Adedeji, 2003: 393-394).

Despite all the mentioned achievements in this region, Africa on the whole still need to tackle most of its challenges in the sectors of economic, social and political arenas. In addition to these challenges, Africa still faces a hostile external trade environment, a large debt burden and a reduction in the levels of Overseas Development Aid (ODA) (Sachikonye, 2001: 68). Africa's plight has attracted the attention of the G-8 countries whereby they have collectively and individually pledged their support for increased support to African countries. ODA remains a high priority for Canada which has committed a budget of \$1 billion for international assistance, including \$500 million set aside to finance NEPAD priorities through the G-8 "Africa Action Plan." Once again African countries have been called to show serious commitment to accountability and transparency in government and public administration in order to get more assistance from the G-8 rich countries (Chrétien, 2002:11). Countries, which receive this assistance, have to demonstrate their commitment to the development of their peoples by pursuing sound policies, respecting human rights and they should be committed and determined to reflect the needs, interests and aspirations of their peoples. African leaders should actually ensure that fellow Africans adopt policies that are aimed at eradicating poverty to create a better life for all Africans. Assistance from the G-8 countries require a commitment on the part of African leadership to good governance in order to safeguard

such investments and to ensure that such investments are utilised to address human needs or the population's aspirations instead of being used in a wasteful manner or used to benefit a chosen few or those that are within the corridors of power. Such corrupt conditions have also exacerbated the socio-economic conditions of the African peoples. Good governance will ensure that government activities are performed within the legislative imperatives and frameworks that respect the rule of law.

#### 4.4.5. Challenges facing COMESA

COMESA faces the challenge of the small size of some of its member states, which affect their contribution to development projects and programmes. According to Asante (1997:31) the numerous obstacles to genuine development that individual African countries confronted as a result of their limited and fragmented economic space have provided an objective rationale and galvanised the African peoples to resolve the pursuance and the achievement of the goals of collective self-reliance (ECA, 1989). In most countries the majority of their people live in the rural villages, which have high levels of unemployment, especially amongst the youth. It was recorded that more than 30 percent of the active labour force was either under-employed or unemployed. The majority of peoples who still lived in the rural villages meant that production was mainly for domestic consumption rather than feeding the peoples in the cities and towns who depend on agricultural food production. Of particular interest is the fact that the smallness of the economies in Africa leads to a perspective that when combined into a larger market behind a common external barrier, the more the market remains small by world standards.

A constraint faced by regional markets is the high costs of transport and communication. At the end of the day the combined market is still not large enough to compete favourably with the high levels of industrial development through import substitution (McCarthy, 1996:215). According to Amoako (1997:xiii) regionalism and Africa's development is needed to support regional integration, which is a process that will enable African countries to overcome the constraints of the small markets, increasing intra-African trade

and to achieve economies of large scale in production. Large-scale production would in turn create a better life for all by reducing if not eliminating poverty within the region.

A challenge facing this sub region concerns civil strife, ethnic wars and political instability, which had a negative impact on economic growth and development, because there was a decline in economic growth, especially in those which were that are plagued by this situation (Chrétien, 2002:11). At times people are killed and infrastructure is destroyed during ethnic wars and civil strife to the detriment of food production to feed the nation. Related to this challenge were unprecedented droughts, which lead to widespread food shortages and famine. These challenges lead to widespread poverty in the COMESA region, especially around the rural villagers. In areas that are plagued by widespread poverty are aggravated by the decline in socio-economic expenditures in areas such as health, education and public utilities. In areas where there is less development and widespread poverty nutrition worsens and there is high mortality rate. Whilst the region faces these challenges, population growth in the region is also rising at a rate of 3,2 percent, representing a situation where the population outstrips agricultural and food production. It was recently reported that African regions are experiencing the challenge of food security and food production to feed the population in the sub region (Asante, 1986:200-2002).

COMESA faces these challenges, which are preconditions for integration because it is through integration, and cooperation that countries could promote higher growth through channels such as improved resource allocations and greater competition, technology transfers and learning to ensure that Africa participates in world affairs through improved access to foreign capital. Intra-regional trade is an essential vehicle for the promotion of diversification and the establishment of linkages between production units. Improved production would on the other hand enhance greater competitiveness for African products by providing a stronger basis for the effective partnership of the African region in the global economy. The Financial Mail has recently reported that trade links are being strengthened amongst the African countries as evidenced by steps taken by South African business investing in Nigeria and other parts of the continent, including the Democratic

Republic of Congo. These moves are encouraging to promote intra continental trade to generate the much-needed revenue to enable government and business to provide essential goods and services to the communities. Nigerian Energy Group, Oando has also shown interest in doing business in South Africa by listing on the Johannesburg Securities Exchange (JSE) (Jacks, 2005:49). This investment would create employment opportunities in the continent, thus generating income for the state in the form of company tax with which government would provide essential goods and services to its peoples. Free trade and investments help governments to render essential services to their citizens whilst on the other hand they directly offer employment opportunities to citizens.

Governance and respect for the rule of law promote a stable environment, which is required to create investor confidence. Governments should demonstrate their ability to manage and deal with corruption by ensuring that the judiciary has the capacity to discharge its functions and to ensure that no one is above the law. In terms of the call for good governance, African leaders, through NEPAD and the APRM are calling on their peers to show commitment and implementation of accountability and transparency in government and public administration (Nyang' Nyong'o, 2001: 28-30). The Shabir Shaik case demonstrates South Africa's commitment to the implementation of its Constitution, especially the independence of the courts of law, to deal effectively with cases that are brought before them, to protect the interests of the public and not those of leaders, both the elected and the appointed (Financial Mail, 2005:14). This case is cited to indicate what it means to belong to sub regional and a regional institution that promotes accountability and transparency in government and public administration to ensure that public policies address the needs and interests of the peoples.

#### 4.5. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Strong African leaders, who are visionary and guided by the Constitutive Act of the AU and the NEPAD initiative, are essential to lead African integration and cooperation process. The need for integration and cooperation is not a new one, as it was started in the 1990s, led by the African Diaspora in Europe and other parts of the international sphere. Pan Africanists were in the forefront of integration and cooperation in order to form an

African bloc, which would compete with other international blocs participating in global affairs. The current leadership has been called to ensure that they practice good political, economic and corporate governance in order to receive assistance from the rich developed nations of the world. Even though assistance will be given to countries that comply with democratic principles and the rule of law, the conditionalities are affordable in the sense that Africans have adopted NEPAD with which they hope to recover and redeem the image of the continent in the face of international communities. African leaders want to create a viable environment for economic growth and development. African leaders are determined and committed to good governance and democratic principles to pave the way for the formulation of policies that would eradicate poverty and create a better life for all the peoples of the continent.

Integration and cooperation on a regional and sub regional level were recognised as important vehicles for the development of the African continent. It is worth indicating that if regionalism and the efforts towards cooperation are to be beneficial to the African continent, the African peoples and the sub regions are primary role players in the determination of the content, form and priorities of the integration process. These role players should be the active agents to ensure that peoples are mobilised behind these efforts to provide the much-needed support, especially when the formulation of policies depends on their involvement for successful and effective implementation. National governments should be responsible for the involvement of their peoples in all efforts to determine, formulate, implement and evaluate the impact of integration policies on the lives and interests of the peoples. Integration and cooperation should benefit the African continent by ensuring that they participate in the globalising economy instead of being marginalised and balkanised as it was the case during colonisation and long after independence.

It is equally important to mention at this stage that African leaders wanted to promote dialogue amongst countries across the continent, which is an African value. African leaders were determined to ensure that dialogue and cooperation are enhanced to ensure that African countries identify those areas and priorities that need collective

responsibility and action by Africans in order to ensure that the marginalisation and balkanisation of the continent is not re-created, especially in the current globalising affairs. If Africans want to participate fully in the global village they need to ensure that they integrate and cooperate to form an African bloc, to ensure that the African bloc competes favourably with other international trading blocs.

The achievements that have been registered in the various RECs should serve as motivators for the African peoples and their leadership to embrace regionalism and cooperation in order to reap the benefits of integration. RECs would serve as mediating mechanisms between countries to ensure that problem solving is collectively addressed. If countries cooperate on a regional or sub regional level, this would become a base for the formation of a continental cooperation and integration strategy whereby problems will be tackled at that level, hence the NEPAD initiative and the APRM to ensure that collective decisions are implemented throughout the continent to benefit all sector of the African continent. This approach will improve the socio-economic conditions of the African peoples. African peoples value collectivism; as such there is need for them to cooperate in order to deal with the barriers that have been created by colonialism. Integration and cooperation would be a pipe dream if the continent was still plagued by conflicts and civil strife. These conditions are not conducive to socio-economic development; instead they aggravate the poverty levels of communities. African countries need to understand that countries should devise mechanisms and strategies to manage and deal with conflicts. Such strategies include mechanisms to prevent conflicts or the effective management of these situations. In conflict ridden areas human resources utilisation will not be beneficial to the country because most of the people would migrate to other stable areas. In such conditions governments and public administration would not be able to meet the needs and interests of the people.

Integration and cooperation through RECs would facilitate the fight against the scourge of poverty and to deal with the HIV/Aids pandemic and other communicable diseases. A strong leadership would be required to ensure that Africa meets the Millennium Developmental Goals, ensure that NEPAD becomes a reality and beneficial to the

African continent. To ensure that NEPAD succeeds, African leaders should subscribe to the APRM which should be taken as a genuine mechanism through which peer review would be exercised to ensure that there is compliance with international standards of good governance and democratic principles whereby peoples' rights are protected and respected to ensure that citizens contribute fully to the development of their countries, the region and the sub region. Challenges that face the sub regions and the continent would best be managed by furthering integration of the continent to ensure that best practices are shared to come up with workable solutions for Africa's problems, by Africans with the help of their genuine friends through a true partnership, for the benefit of the African continent and its peoples.

These challenges require commitment and determination of the African leadership to manage them systematically, involve the African peoples to identify areas for development and the prioritisation of areas that will promote socio-economic growth and development. African peoples should support their leaders and participate in the processes that are essential for the continent's development. The AU would use NEPAD to achieve African goals, which depend on Africans to adopt good governance practices and democratic principles. To ensure compliance with this prerequisite the APRM has been put in place to ensure that a conducive environment is created for the implementation of effective policies. Government and public administration should be transparent and accountable to the people that they purport to serve.

Unstable environments affect the lives of citizens negatively, especially the socio-economic conditions of the most vulnerable, children and women. African countries or sub regions should practice good governance, which includes democracy, human rights, legal and judicial frameworks. These principles would in turn deal with corruption whereby resources are mismanaged and misappropriated. Good governance would promote transparency and accountability whereby public officials are answerable to the citizenry. NEPAD and the sub regions would go a long way to address effective delivery in the health and education sectors to ensure that sustainable human resources development is undertaken through appropriate education and training. Health services



would ensure that sub regions and the continent find ways to manage the scourge of HIV/Aids and other communicable diseases, which affect human resource utilisation. Colonialism is the primary cause of Africa's underdevelopment and poverty, which still prevail in the continent despite its independence from colonial domination. In order to deal with these challenges African countries should formulate appropriate policies and still ensure that they have institutional capacity to implement. The next chapter of this research would make an analysis of the case studies presented in this chapter. Is integration the answer to Africa's underdevelopment and the identified challenges? To what extent would African leadership and governance use sub regional economic groupings to implement development goals in the public services? These are some of the questions, which need answers in Africa's quest for ways to deal with its challenges for development and create better life for all.

## CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF THE CASE

### 5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will attempt to do an analysis of the case studies that were presented in chapter: 4 of this research. The chapter indicates how the three sub regional communities have addressed the issue of cooperation through mechanisms that were intended to push forth integration of African countries on a sub regional, regional and national levels to promote unity amongst African countries and their peoples. An analysis will be done on a matrix system; issues will be identified and dealt with accordingly. The three sub regions that would be analysed are SADC, ECOWAS and COMESA. These sub regional economic communities are considered the regional building blocs with the rest of the African Regional Economic Communities (RECs) they would pursue the objectives of the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment, within the context of the globalisation process. The globalisation process and the need for integration and cooperation in world affairs have seen the formation of regional groupings such as the EU, NAFTA, ASEAN, MERCOSUR and APEC. These regional groupings are a clear indication that integration and cooperation are not unique to developing African countries, but a way of world affairs to ensure that there is regional unity. The various regional groupings improve the sharing of resources and networks between regions for the benefit of all parties that are involved in the interaction. According to the President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki, all the regional formations work towards integration and cooperation with the ultimate aim of uniting neighbouring countries (ANC Today, 2005:1).

Integration and cooperation will promote peaceful neighbourliness and greater communication network between neighbouring countries to ensure that there is a close network between countries in the region. Even countries as big as China with a population of more than a billion decided to join the World Trade Organisation (WTO), after realising that she will not exist as an island, that is sufficient unto itself. If developed nations seek integration with world regions and organisations for sustainable development and growth, it is even more crucial for developing nations to strive towards the formation and belongingness to regional and sub regional organisations in order to form partnership with other progressive organisations (ANC Today, 2005:1). Peaceful

neighbourliness would promote an exchange and sharing of best practices, especially with regard to good governance principles and enhanced transparent public administration that is developmental. Regional groupings would further ensure the unity of world regions, to make sure that no country or sub region exists as an island. The AU was formed to ensure that African sub regions unite to form one regional organisation which has in turn adopted NEPAD as its programme and a vehicle to drive its objectives forward and the APRM to ensure that member states evaluate, assess and monitor progress in the implementation of public policies to ensure that African countries comply with international standards and practices which are key to development and participation in the world economy.

The focus of this chapter would include discussions on free movement of people and other resources within sub regional communities and in the continent in order to promote integration and cooperation. The free movement of people and other resources within the continent would promote communication and network between sub regional communities to ensure that there is integration and cooperation in the process of globalisation (ANC Today, 2005:1). Certain conditions and prerequisites should be satisfied in order to level the playing field for the successful implementation of policies that are aimed at eradicating poverty and creating a better life for all. The creation of a stable environment is a challenge facing the continent in its attempt to promote peace and democratic rule on the continent and good governance whereby national governments promote public participation and transparency to ensure accountability of government and government institutions. African leadership is called upon to show willingness and commitment to the principles of good governance and to ensure that the support and assistance is solicited from other regions of the world, through NEPAD and the AU for the implementation of policies that would eradicate poverty in African countries. Continental integration and cooperation are promoted to ensure that national governments and regional communities exchange ideas and share good practices amongst themselves in order to ensure that poverty is eradicated on the continent to create a better life for all African people. African countries have been called upon to ensure good governance in an attempt to attract Overseas Development Aid (ODAs) and further investment. Korea has already pledged

her commitment to support African initiatives towards development and poverty reduction. However she cites good governance and democratic rule as cornerstones for socio-economic development (Young-Kyo, 2005:2-3). In the same breadth the new setting in Africa will ensure that national governments engage in fundamental transformation of the public sector to improve public sector performance in such areas as policy-making procedures, administrative management systems and governance processes. Where these elements are lacking, state machinery is characterised by inefficiency and ineffectiveness especially with regard to service delivery to citizens.

The Korean experience provides African countries with an example of a political environment that was for more than 50 years plagued by war and had to undertake an agonising task of ensuring that the democratic political system and the market economy are reconstructed to create a better life for all and to eradicate poverty. The reconstruction of the Korean national state provides African governments with a positive lesson towards the reinvention of government machinery with the aim of cultivating effective governance structures geared towards better life for all citizens. Juma (2005:2) cites African examples where government involvement and commitment have yielded best results in the field of education policies whilst creating a conducive environment for growth and development. African countries have been called upon to transform their tertiary institutions so that they could provide relevant study and research programmes with a positive impact that would focus on solving problems that plague the continent. African countries should realise that the power to eradicate poverty in the continent resides in their proper mobilisation of resources at their disposal to stimulate economic growth and development. The three RECs strived for improved educational networks in order to exchange intellectual ideas and information management and skills exchange.

The Kigali Institute of Science, Technology and Management in Rwanda, was established in an effort to cultivate a new crop of graduates with skills that would transform the Rwandan socio-economic sectors. The Institute assisted young Rwandan citizens to become entrepreneurs who are innovative and skillful to carry sustainable development forward. In Uganda, the Makerere University developed new models of

teaching to ensure that their graduates meet the needs of the local economy. In actual fact African universities are challenged to produce graduates that are both innovative and creative to solve the continent's problems. In the recent G-8 Summit in Gleneagles the rich nations of the world have pledged their support for tertiary education in Africa through twinning and networking of tertiary institutions in their countries and those in African countries to exchange research and study programmes that would benefit the continent (Mail & Guardian, 19 August 2005). Networks within the continent would promote the sharing of expertise in the education sector for the benefit of the continent. What is worth noting from the pledge by the G-8 countries to African universities is the fact that certain conditions have been laid down in order to make the partnership beneficial to both parties, not forgetting that Africans have to lead the process of transformation to ensure that the aid provided yields maximum benefits for African people, by creating conditions that would fight poverty in the continent. It makes sense for African sub regional communities to exchange resources in order to strengthen networks within Africa so that networks with other regions of the world would be based on the existing cordial relations between African states and their institutions. Networks are beneficial, especially if there is a mutual relationship between the parties to the partnership. However, it is imperative that African governments should align their national policies and governmental structures to ensure that they put science and technology at the center of their endeavours for sustainable development and growth. African scholars are needed to do research in Africa in order to come up with research results and recommendations that would benefit the continent in its attempt to redeem its status and image in world affairs. Such benefits would be enjoyed by the public, especially if they are accrued on a regional and sub regional level, hence the need to consolidate regional integration and cooperation. The following sub section would analyse the three sub regional economic communities that form the base of this analysis.

## 5.2. ANALYSIS OF COMESA, ECOWAS AND SADC

The three sub regional economic communities have been isolated as case studies in this research owing to their progress and the manner in which they have accelerated regional integration and cooperation. These sub regional communities have registered remarkable

progress in an attempt to put the continent on a development path. They are striving towards good governance in most instances; they display acceptable levels of ability to work together for common purposes in groups and organisations (Larmour, 1997:385). Despite the achievements registered in the three RECs complete compliance by all member states have not been registered, because they still face challenges of complete or total compliance and commitment to the spirit of integration by all member states. On the whole these sub regions have progressed well towards regional integration and cooperation in the spirit of NEPAD to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), as evidenced by their achievements.

The APRM process results would then reinforce good practices, especially where member states become committed to implement good governance principles and democratic rule. The G-8 countries have expressed their support for the APRM, though they always appeal to African leaders and their countries, especially SADC leaders, to pressurise Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe to comply with good governance and democratic principles (Leadership, 2005:26-27). Little do leaders like Tony Blair of Britain, realise that African governments and their leaders have no political and even legal mandate to force the Zimbabwean leader to rule his country according to foreign wishes. African leaders might not act as big brothers to Zimbabwe, which is a sovereign state but they have authority through the regional structures to engage Robert Mugabe. Therefore, the quiet diplomacy adopted by African leaders is proper to solicit positive action from the Zimbabwean leadership. The Zimbabwean saga is a challenge for both African leaders and leaders in other world regions. That is why African leaders are called upon to apply punitive measures against Zimbabwe in an effort to implement the APRM, which would compel Robert Mugabe to comply with good governance principles, the rule of law and democratic values.

However, monitoring in terms of the APRM would be successful if it assists member states to supervise the use of public resources for the benefit of all sectors of their population. Non-compliance with set standards should warrant graduated sanctions whereby penalties are applied to those member states that break the rules. In order to be

corrective and acceptable, punishment or sanctions should be applied in proportion to the seriousness of the offence. Juma (2005:2) cited the fact that the G-8 countries would assist African universities with communication networks and student exchange programmes in order to build capacity through human resources development in the region. However, what is important to the envisaged relationship or partnership is the fact that national governments have been called upon to transform their education policies to ensure that their curricula and research programmes are geared towards growth and development of the continent. This move would be reinforced and promoted through the free movement of people and other resources within the region.

One has to bear in mind that the strategies the continent can employ to transform and deal or reverse African marginalisation in a globalised economy is what preoccupies the thinking of contemporary African leadership. What remains critical for African leaders; involve the identification of critical problems, institutional capacity and mobilisation of people towards a shared vision and the creation of an enabling environment, which would facilitate the resolution of identified problems. According to Cloete and Wissink (2000:v) national governments should provide an environment, which is conducive to sustainable growth and the development of their human capital. This goal would be achieved if national governments and their leaders realise the importance of the relevance and quality of the design and the implementation of public policies. A conducive environment is essential for African recovery and redemption since improved service delivery requires a well-developed understanding of the administrative and political dynamics of policy-making, which is key to the eradication of poverty and the creation of a better life for all.

It is through public policy that national governments should take deliberate policy interventions, which are aimed at achieving the objectives of good democratic governance. It is evident at this stage that NEPAD has provided a paradigm shift from the fight for political freedom and liberation to more developmental planning and practical ways of doing things to ensure that the continent's leadership responds promptly to the pervasive problems of socio-political conflicts, economic mismanagement and authoritarian misrule. There is an urgent call to change the negative perceptions about the

continent through the reconstruction of a new vision aimed at the upliftment of the continent (Dogonyaro, 2002:284-285). In order to achieve socio-economic development goals in terms of the MDGs, strategies need to be designed to facilitate integration and cooperation.

#### 5.2.1. Development strategies advocated by NEPAD

Wheeler (2005:7) in his article entitled, "Shocking examples of non-transparency" in which he indicated that the availability of financial resources is not always a panacea for all poverty related challenges, especially in developing countries like in Africa. Effective leadership and good governance are prerequisites to ensure that the available resources are used efficiently and cost-effectively to satisfy the aspirations of citizens. Steyn (2005:50) supports this view when it was contended that foreign aid, especially from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is not a cure to Africa's underdevelopment and poverty. Earlier on in this research an expression to support this view points out that the relationship between aid and development has not been confirmed. This view is further supported by the fact that aid may not necessarily benefit the poor masses of a developing country as intended by the donors or the funding agencies, especially in areas where there is lack of transparency and accountability, weak leadership and bad governance in the allocation of resources to create a better life for all citizens. This situation is particularly true in governments that lack good governance, especially with regard to the formulation and implementation of relevant policies, which target poverty reduction and socio-economic development. Good governance would ensure that leadership becomes accountable to the people they lead, to provide public sector value. The creation of structures and institutions within the three RECs was done to manage and implement agreed upon protocols and projects.

There is also a need for the creation of effective institutions to deliver and provide essential services to the citizens, to ensure that they got value for their tax. In an attempt to serve citizens effectively, one of the main aims of African leaders was the integration of Africa into the world economy and the overhauling of national strategies and goals, which lead to the continent's sustainable development (Dogonyaro, 2002:285). It is



important to note that human resources development would be successful for utilisation in the continent, especially if people were allowed free movement within the continent.

President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania once stated that during the days of the struggle against apartheid in Southern Africa it never occurred to him that apartheid could be history in his lifetime. Furthermore he acknowledged that apartheid was defeated through the efforts of the OAU, the Frontline states and the G-7 who formed a united front with the struggling people of South Africa. He was actually calling on the G-8 countries and the AU to use the opportunity to fight against Africa's underdevelopment, which would in a way ensure that poverty and underdevelopment become a history in our lifetime. The spirit, which prevailed during the struggle against apartheid, should invigorate African people and their partners in development into action (ANC Today, 2005:2).

SADC member states share a deep history of struggle against colonial domination and apartheid, which serve as catalyst for greater unity, solidarity and enthusiasm towards survival and prosperity in the region through the complexity of a globalising world economy. The need for integration and cooperation characterises globalisation and communication among regions for the mutual benefit of all parties in the relationship. SADC member states have pledged their solidarity with Zimbabwe and are committed to find ways of assisting Zimbabwe and ways of building solidarity around it (Mazrui, et al, 2001: 18-21). The member states have a living example of ways to unite against an enemy, like they did with the struggle against apartheid when they coordinated efforts and resources of national liberation movements in their fight against colonialism (SAPA, 2005:4). This fighting spirit needs to be resuscitated to combat poverty in the continent by the various RECs. In order to promote regional and sub regional integration and cooperation the various RECs have embarked on numerous strategies and programmes that would see the unity of the African continent into a world force or unit to end Africa's marginalisation in world affairs. This ideal can be achieved if African leaders provide alternative solutions to deal with underdevelopment and poverty. African countries should realise the benefits of opening up their borders to people from neighbouring states to ensure the free exchange of resources, which are highly needed to improve the lives of

African peoples. This encourages self-reliance and self-sustenance from the use of local resources to meet local needs and demands.

A restriction on travel within Africa was another factor that contributed to lack of interaction among African countries. African citizens did not have free movement into neighbouring African countries to exchange skills and expertise. This was a factor that concerned civil society in African countries because citizens of some European countries were traveling to African countries or to Africa without visas. At times the system was so disadvantageous to African peoples that they had to wait relatively long before they could obtain visas to visit neighbouring countries in the continent (Baxter, 2002:21). If African people were still considered foreigners within the continent this would compromise regional integration and cooperation within the continent.

Olusegun Obasanjo at one stage declared that African countries should work more energetically together in order to re-shape trade relations amongst themselves (Harsch, 2001: 23). Free movement of African people within the continent would ensure that human-centred development takes place in line with the notion that the future of the African people lies in the hands of African peoples themselves. There was recognition that African countries had to change the way they interact with each other and with the rest of the world. This would promote homegrown and homemade ideas of interaction and cooperation to ensure that national governments implement policies that would assist African countries to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all. This strategy would further promote an innovative “made-in-Africa” development strategy, which is known as the New African Initiative to accelerate the human-centred and sustainable development in the continent.

Regional integration and cooperation among African countries will ensure that Africa becomes more than a marginal player in the world economy and this requires better leadership and governance. Ake (1991:38) states that African people should refuse to accept poor economic and political leadership and bad governance. Free movement of people within the continent should be promoted in situations, which are characterised by

peace, security, democracy and political governance, as well as improved economic and corporate governance. It is interesting to note that even development banks will give more and greater support to developing and deepening regional integration within Africa rather than focusing exclusively on national projects. To achieve this objective public administration should be development oriented in its quest to render quality services to citizens.

If people move freely within the continent they would be discouraged from migrating to European and other foreign countries in search for employment and other opportunities because they would find their skills and expertise relevant for the development of the African economy. It was pointed out in the previous chapters of this research that if African people will move freely within their sub regions and then throughout the continent it could benefit regional countries within the African continent. Human resources skills have benefited other continents in the past during colonialism and slavery periods whereby the African Diaspora has been reported to benefit countries in Europe, France and other parts of the world (Mazrui and Wondji, 2003 706). Dogonyaro (2002:288-289) emphasises the need for effective African leadership in the development of the continent, especially the utilisation of African brainpower and other human resources, which are in abundance in this continent, and the use African consultants instead of foreign consultants. This move would also encourage national governments to expand employment opportunities for African people and to build a coherent and skillful human resources pool for sustainable development instead of dependence on foreign labour and expertise. Such dependence has resulted in African marginalisation in the world economy resulting in meaningless participation in international affairs. Contemporary African leaders are forging Africa's integration and cooperation in order to deal with the challenges of marginalisation. This research process would not be complete without engaging the discussion to include factors that Dogonyaro (2002:289) has identified as focal points for successful and meaningful integration, which will be discussed in the following sub section.

### 5.2.2. Causes and effects of Africa's socio-economic crisis

In most of the African countries, resources have been channeled into development programmes and projects but without any significant progress been registered. Socio-economic problems on the other hand had posed challenges for both policy-makers and administrators. It was from these challenges that policy makers and administrators had to rethink their development strategy and to restructure policy planning and the restructuring of implementation institutions (Efange and Balogun, 1989:51-52). These measures were necessary to bring about complete change in the management of resources to satisfy public sector challenges because in most cases funds, which were meant for development dried up without reserve funds for the maintenance of infrastructure and the administration of projects. Health institutions in African countries were without essential drugs and medication to provide the necessary services to patients and for preventative measures. The management of projects was a problem because most of the development projects, which were undertaken to improve people's lives, were not well managed; contractors found themselves unpaid for months. This then was symptomatic of ineffective and inefficient financial management. There is a need for project management training to ensure proper utilisation of resources to benefit citizens. The situation was further crippled by high retrenchments in both the public and the private sectors. Loss of jobs meant that people will be unable to provide essential needs to their families and this will have a spiral effect on the living conditions of communities and ultimately to the general public. African countries did not have access to foreign credit, which was in a way blocked because African countries failed to settle or service their debts or the rescheduling of repayments. These conditions served as serious challenges, which required commitment on the part of government and public administration to ensure that poverty is eradicated in an attempt to create a better life for all the African people.

#### 5.2.2.1. Request for Financial Aid

During the first period of independence financial aid was pouring in to assist African countries in their endeavour to provide essential services and goods to their citizens Jama, 2005: 2). The export market also did well since the rest of the world appeared willing to do business with African countries, especially the payment of fair prices for goods bought

at African markets. Developed countries offered loans and grants to African countries and there was an expansion in the public service. It was during this period that the Middle East, North Africa and Asia reported impressive growth rates, furthermore Sub Saharan Africa recorded negative growth rate of -0,1 percent (Efang and Balogun, 1989:52-53). Sub Saharan Africa experienced problems during this period due a number of factors, including a hostile international environment, inadequate or misdirected policy responses and more important is structural rigidity, which exacerbated Africa's development crisis.

African leaders acknowledged that the continent's underdevelopment could be attributed to lack of structural transformation and the pervasive low level of productivity, which was aggravated by exogenous and endogenous factors. Structural rigidity led to Africa's marginalisation from world markets because Africa depended on a narrow range of export commodities and there was also a lack of economic diversification and no export of new products. One has to bear in mind that Africa was the primary producer of raw materials or natural resources whereas Japan, Taiwan, North America and Europe were manufacturers of finished goods and products. Therefore African countries did not trade as equal partners or equal competitors in the world economy. This is the reason why NEPAD wants a genuine partnership with the rich nations of the world for Africa's development. Various reasons have been advanced to explain this crisis situation in Africa, including the view that government excessively intervenes in the economy, which required the rapid dismantling of government controls on the economic activities (Leadership, 2005: 26). The Regional Economic Communities (RECs) under discussion have been striving to achieve this objective in all their endeavours. Each African country has been called to restructure institutions that are responsible for allocative and investment decisions. This call in actual fact meant the privatisation of public enterprises, the reduction of the public service which was characterised by supernumerary, a reduction in the budget deficit and the setting of limits on money borrowed from banks, the removal of price subsidies. Calls were also made for less control of the economy, its deregulation and the devaluation of the currency.

There was also a call to honour agreements that were made with the IMF and the World Bank with a view to boost the economy of African countries. Debt limits were considered because most countries borrowed more than they could service, whereby their annual incomes were used to repay debts instead of being used to create a better life for citizens. African countries and their leaders have embarked on a path that would see Africa using its financial resources to provide goods and services to citizens instead of repaying loans. When African leaders went to the G-8 in Gleneagles, they wanted to request a total scrapping of debts that African countries owed to international finance agencies and foreign countries (Leadership, 2005:26-27). African countries and their leaders are in agreement with Thabo Mbeki, Olusegun Obasanjo and other progressive African leaders who have approached the G-8 countries to back for assistance and aid, it be debt relief or active investment in the continent. These leaders carry the mandate of African countries and their peoples in an attempt to secure assistance and aid to create a better life for all Africans and to eradicate poverty. This then translates into Africa's commitment to good governance and democratic rule in the continent in return. This commitment translates to Africa's acknowledgement that Africans would have to lead the process towards sustainable development through the implementation of policies that would assist to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all African peoples.

It is stated in Leadership (2005:26-27) that the G-8 countries challenged African leaders, especially SADC leaders, on the implementation of the peer review mechanism process, with special reference to the Zimbabwean issue to ensure that African leaders take firm action against Robert Mugabe's human rights violations. The G-8 leaders wanted to ensure that conflict resolution in the continent is properly managed and dealt with to facilitate and promote investor confidence in the continent. This was actually meant to give effect to NEPAD's Investment Climate Facility (ICF), which aims at encouraging investment among African countries. The free flow of investment between African countries would be promoted if the barriers of free economic interaction were removed. The more national government and business i.e. the private sector interact, the more locals will invest in economic activities of their countries, which encourage foreign investors to consider investing in the continent. Sub regional and regional integration and

cooperation are essential to promote economic network and to encourage African leaders to adopt policies that promote growth and sustainable development.

#### 5.2.2.2. Policy formulation for development

Contemporary African leaders have acknowledged that there is a need to prioritise policy and to ensure that the adopted policy is appropriate to the prevailing conditions and that the formulated policy would be successfully implemented. If policy is not appropriate then implementation will be problematic. Efang and Balogun (1989:56) wrote, “The prescription being more deadly than the illness. Which kills first – the medicine or the illness?” When Nigeria was confronted with such a situation, she used public opinion against approaching the IMF for credit facilities. The Nigerian government introduced her own structural adjustment programmes in 1986 in order to ensure that it takes charge of its situation, to reduce dependency on the IMF and the World Bank. It is not surprising that Nigeria is a power to be reckoned with in the West African community region because it has been attempting to use homegrown structural adjustment programmes instead of foreign and hostile adjustments, which disregard the local conditions in national governments. Contemporary African leaders have acknowledged the need for good governance and democratic rule to ensure that policies, which are formulated, address the needs of citizens. Developments in the various RECs provide lessons for African people in their efforts to pursue goals that would enhance their lives.

#### 5.2.3. Factors that promote integration

It was indicated in chapter 4 of this research that the small size of some African countries contributed significantly to the state of marginalisation that the African continent experiences. Such small markets could not individually compete with developed world markets, which participated in the world economy as big trading blocs. Dogonyaro (2002:289) points out that many African economies were too small as markets and they lacked the ability to attract meaningful investor interests. In the same breadth, there has been little intra-African trade amongst African countries, let alone the existence of any bilateral trade agreements to promote trade between African countries. It is equally surprising to note that whilst no intra-trade agreements were concluded, almost every

African country had a bilateral trade agreement with countries of the developed north or even with other foreign trade blocs. An example cited in this regard is the trade agreement that exists between South Africa and the European Union (EU). This agreement represents just one of those agreements where African governments had bilateral agreements with countries in other continents or foreign trade blocs. The situation maps out an imbalanced relationship that characterised African countries, which did not engage with one another as they did with foreign countries. This then suggests that as Africa strives to redeem its image in world affairs it needs to do business within the continent so that there could be improvement in policy implementation and to forge ahead with the ideals of unity amongst the African states.

The call for regional integration is not new in Africa, since it was started in the past and culminated in the formation of the OAU. Even if the OAU did not succeed in achieving the total integration of African countries, much was achieved to bring African leaders together to discuss the challenges that face the continent. There is currently a demonstrated political will by African leaders to push forward with the integration of the continent, which is demonstrated by the renewed call of the AU, through NEPAD to come up with progressive measures and strategies to promote intra-African trade and exchange of best practices to eradicate poverty and create a better life for all on the continent. The President of Tanzania and a Commissioner for the Commission for Africa, Benjamin William Mkapa has recommended that trade flows and aid into the continent has to be doubled if not trebled in order to facilitate and encourage the creation of better life for African peoples (Leadership, 2005:26).

African leaders responded with a resounding commitment to create the necessary institutions with capacity to handle financial management programmes for sustainable development and growth to improve the lives of local citizens (Leadership, 2005:27). The OAU lacked the political will in the past to address the challenge of integration and cooperation; today NEPAD adds the necessary value to address the need for a political will, determination and commitment. The Cotonon Agreement of 2000 serves as a new trade framework whereby non-reciprocal preferences are gradually transformed and



replaced with a new call, which encourages regional integration. In order to give effect to regional integration and cooperation African countries are expected to move closer to the liberalisation of their trade to promote intra-African trade. It is important to point out that African countries attempt to enter into the world economy as individual markets, some small as indicated in this sub section, when the World Trade Organisation (WTO) Doha rounds of trade negotiations which promotes improved trade through trade blocs took place, Africa was interested in its objectives and outcomes. The WTO calls for the conclusion of agreements on a wider scale covering a bigger region instead of individual states (ANC Today, 2002: 3-5). African countries should thus move closer to integration and cooperation to take part in world trade negotiations, which would consider Africa's aspirations and interests when world policies are formulated. Contemporary leadership is forging ahead with integration of African countries with the aim of total integration of the continent into a single trade bloc, as evidenced by ECOWAS and SADC under the able and visionary leadership of Obasanjo and Mbeki respectively. ECOWAS has been working tirelessly for monetary convergence by this year. Member states of ECOWAS have integrated to fast track such projects as the West African Gas pipeline, the West African power pool, coupled with a full movement of peoples within this sub region whereby the passports and travelers' cheques are in use to promote intra-trade in the sub region. The Protocol on a Free Trade Area (FTA) in SADC came into effect in October 2000 (Dogonyaro, 2002:290).

In its endeavour to foster intra-regional trade, Nigeria established the 2<sup>nd</sup> -tier Foreign Exchange Market and the simplification of the administrative rules and regulations to ensure equitable distribution of resources. There was a deregulation of the economy through the abolition of import licensing, phased or staggered withdrawal of petroleum subsidies, the gradual privatisation of ailing enterprises and the promulgation of enactments on the local sourcing of new material. Government invested more in local rural development projects and commissioned scientists to work on projects in rural areas. Government formulated national employment policies to ensure that human resources and development are undertaken to create a capacity filled human resources corps. Leadership (2005:27) has also identified the fact that African countries should

form partnership with the business sector or the private sector in the area of health services and facilities, especially in the fight against HIV/ Aids epidemic, which places further strain on skills development within the continent. Lack of human resources skills would be exacerbated by the scourge of HIV/ Aids if not properly managed by the business sector to ensure that the available skills are preserved and maintained, for increased productivity to improve the lives of citizens.

Government encouraged agricultural development on which the rural people depended for a living. The skills acquisition and apprenticeship were developed to ensure that there are relevant skills for sustainable development and growth. Public works programmes were enhanced to eradicate poverty through job creation, especially the initiation of labour intensive programmes such as the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) that was adopted by the South African government to give effect to its social contract with the people to create employment opportunities and a better life for all. To avoid hit-and-run type of approaches to skills development and employment creation in terms of the EPWP, there is a need to consider strategies that would ensure sustainability of projects. Carol Paton points out that the current practices in labour intensive projects of the EPWP are disadvantageous because it is not sustainable. Once the project is over the demand for unskilled labour in the area also diminishes. The result in this regard would mean that most workers return to the *status quo* when the job is over (Financial Mail, 2005:22). There is a need for sustainability to ensure that the labour intensive projects create a better life for the communities on a long-term basis.

Equally important is the fact that Nigeria and other progressive governments like South Africa created an atmosphere that guaranteed the customer value for money. This goes hand in hand with government's responsiveness to the needs of citizens and becoming answerable to the public, which they purport to serve. In such conditions the environment would enjoy accountability and transparency from government and public administration (Rubombora, 2005:10). These elements and principles form the core of good governance and democratic rule, which would ensure that citizens' aspirations and needs are taken seriously by government and all government institutions.

#### 5.2.4. Administrative measures to promote integration

In order to meet the challenges of the new millennium, there was a need to restructure policy-making institutions, the reinvigoration of policy implementation agencies, the development of entrepreneurial initiatives, the improvement of economic and financial management practices, the improvement of aid coordination and debt management, human resources development, management, the appropriate utilisation of human resources and the dissemination information on goals, strategies and tactics of collective self-reliance. These principles are ideal for African recovery and integration into a formidable force that will push back the frontiers of poverty and deal with underdevelopment. In order to ensure that African countries overcome the administrative and financial challenges, RECs worked out and facilitated the circulation of an African currency or an Exchange Unit to promote inter-African trade through bilateral agreements; the generation of employment in the short-term and to put Africa in a position of strength with other continents. The RECs had realised that alternatives to regional cooperation and integration are actually the perpetual economic backwardness and continued dependency on external institutions for resolving Africa's financial and economic problems. Africa's currencies had been badly devaluated and held captive by major currencies in other regions of the world. Regional cooperation and integration has been motivated by the need for a currency that would be able to stimulate production and to facilitate the exchange of goods and services (Balogun and Mutahaba, 1989:62-63).

##### 5.2.4.1. Political and legislative frameworks

Contemporary African leaders formed regional economic communities with a view to provide a platform whereby national governments would be assisted to reform their statutes, to comply with international norms and standards for democratic rule and the rule of law. One would remember that there was limited movement of people across the continent or even within particular regions. There was a call to reform national statutes, especially with regard to those provisions which constituted barriers to the movement of goods, labour and services (Efange and Balogun, 1989:63). One would imagine how the free movement of resources could enhance intra-regional trade and promote the availability of skills and expertise within the continent. This measure will also reduce

emigration of Africans into other parts of the world in search of greener pastures, because opportunities will be available throughout the African continent at competitive prices and incentives. Free movement of people will encourage an exchange of best practices amongst the countries. Muthusamy (2004:39) supports the move towards a more progressive human resources strategy, which would promote public service delivery to achieve both their operational and their development goals, which depend to a large extent on the quality of public servants or public service employees responsible for the discharge of public activities within the public service. Public services transformation will promote African ethics and professionalism to ensure that appropriate and relevant services are rendered to the public.

Reforms in the bureaucracy can reduce, if not to eliminate, any form of red tape that makes government machinery to be non-responsive to the needs and demands of their citizens. Loof (2004:14) concurs by stating that there is a need in Africa to foster macro-economic management and good governance in order to boost agricultural production and other sectors of production and the creation of institutional and social capabilities with the assistance of the private sector. Intra-regional trade and free movement of goods and people within the continent would assist African countries to meet the UN *Millennium Development Goals*, whereby half of the people living in extreme poverty will be out of this poverty category by the year 2015. Poverty levels should be reduced by five percent yearly, which has already proved to be difficult to reach a target. At the current development rate, especially if Africa countries do not embrace NEPAD and the APRM, it would take Africa up to between 2057 and 2066 to achieve the goals, which are targeted for 2015. Africa still has to embrace democratic principles and good governance, to ensure that governments get the consent of the governed, the accountability of power to the governed and popular participation from the general public. The political elite is called upon to embrace these principles in order to ensure that democratic rule prevails in African countries (Ake, 1996:129-130). One would remember that internal strife and conflicts have displaced many people in the continent, creating a socio-economic and political instability in neighbouring states. RECs would promote good neighbourliness

and national governments would be assisted to resolve conflicts and disputes that cause instability on the continent.

The cited examples actually demonstrate the political willingness of African leaders to integrate the African continent for the benefit of all African peoples and their countries. As indicated in chapter: 4 *supra*, strong sub regional communities have been identified as strong building blocs for integration. It is therefore necessary to strengthen their capacity to deal with sub regional challenges in an effort to empower them to deal with the development agenda and priorities of the African continent. Success breeds success, therefore if the various sub regional communities succeed in their respective areas, they would strive towards total integration of the continent to create a better life for all African peoples. Strong and institutionalised Regional Economic Communities (RECs) would promote participatory management in public affairs since communities would be consulted whenever project and programme planning and selection are undertaken. Dogonyaro (2002:290) indicates the power behind Obasanjo and Mbeki or Nigeria and South Africa in leading the process towards African integration, because these two countries have a population of 152 million people, which constitutes about 25 percent of the African population. Therefore it makes sense when one considers them Africa's superpowers and influential powers because if the 25 percent works together and speak in a single voice, this would be able to pull together the remaining 75 percent found in other African countries. The two African superpowers should be used to mobilise resources for the African continent, leading by example in the area of good governance and democratic rule.

#### 5.2.4.2. ECOWAS and SADC leading integration process

The leadership provided by Obasanjo and Mbeki in the two sub regions have seen the conclusion of bilateral relations, which pursue the partnership that gear towards Africa integration of SADC and ECOWAS. The two sub regions have also set up a Fund in the technical field, which would be coordinated under the auspices of NEPAD for the benefit of the continent. The move towards transforming the OAU into the AU was viewed as a way of accelerating African regional economic integration, especially the leading

initiatives for economic development as propagated by NEPAD objectives and strategies. Government leaders realised that the transformation of the OAU and the formation of the AU programme, NEPAD was exclusive to leadership. They realised the need to involve the citizenry in order to broaden ownership of the process of African integration and cooperation (ADF III, 2001:1-2, [www.uneca.org/adfiii/programme-narrative.htm](http://www.uneca.org/adfiii/programme-narrative.htm)). Removal of visa restrictions and the transformation of national immigration policies would make skilled human resources available to the continent at better rewards and incentives commensurate with their expertise and skills. Africa would for the first time be able to protect its patents and intellectual property rights in the global arena. Young Africans would become creative and sell their knowledge to other world regions.

Aid requested by African leaders from foreign partners would be supplemented with local leadership and good stewardship from civil organisations, coupled with good political trends in the direction of democracy, stability and development-oriented leadership so that recipient countries could take the lead in the implementation of relevant policies, to ensure that aid reaches the target it was intended for. The success of such endeavours depends on the level of financial accountability, especially in situations where unplanned and non-prioritised projects are limited. In order to ensure that the limited public resources are used cost-effectively and to advance the interests of citizens, important conditionalities should be satisfied, such as good governance and human rights (Lundahl, 2001:138).

Good governance is incomplete without institutional capacity and results of the past performance of the public service. In order to get the best out of financial aid given to countries, the easiest way is to pick the best performing nations or countries and provides them with support. This approach would motivate non-complying countries to adjust their governance principles to satisfy aid requirements and conditions. Other countries should then be forced to adopt and adhere to the same policies, a precondition which should be set, for any country that aspires to share the pie. Countries would in turn be required to level the playing field by creating an environment that is conducive for sound policy implementation and practice good governance. African record on governance and

democratic rule has not been encouraging to promote development and growth. In order to test or assess compliance with good governance and democratic rule, African leaders are requested to subscribe to a peer review mechanism, an instrument for self monitoring by participating member states to ensure that the policies and practices conform or comply with the agreed upon political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and standards. This could be an achievement of African politics and a milestone whereby African leaders shift from an externally driven aid conditionalities, to conditions that are homegrown. There is a commitment to self-monitoring process instead of the external monitoring, which was earlier constituted by donor agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF. This would be termed a self-monitoring mechanism with African ownership, because countries bind themselves to a system of review by their peers to promote compliance to a common set of standards and benchmarks (Balogun, 2001: 38-40). The question that needs an answer is whether all countries could be subjected to the same measuring or reviewing instrument, despite differing conditions and different levels of development. However, it is essential to ensure that policies, processes and institutional arrangements are put in place to drive the process forward. Political will and leadership is key to successful implementation of commonly agreed development and growth principles and projects.

#### 5.2.4.3. Service Delivery through public accountability

What is noteworthy in contemporary leadership is the call for awareness and accountability for the execution of the sectoral plans. Public accountability has been advocated by African leaders to safeguard the use of public resources towards satisfying citizens' needs. According to Bovaird and Löffler (2003:3-4) it cannot be taken for granted that the activities of public management and governance are worthy because at times they are conducted by "sharks" rather than "suits." Even in instances where public services are managed by "suits," people that wear those suits might seek or even partially achieve the lifestyle of "fat cats" rather than "public servants." It is imperative for public servants to earn the respect and gratitude of the citizens that they serve instead of just assuming it. Joseph Ayee has also identified unethical behaviour of public officials as a major cause of political instability that prevailed in Ghana, which had been political and

administrative systems in this country since independence in 1957. This type of behaviour led to the deterioration of morality and the widespread belief in wrongdoing. In order to deal with this challenge the country adopted a Constitution in 1992 in which it enshrined the code of conduct for public officials (Ayee, 1997:347). This type of behaviour was regulated by the call for professionalism whereby public officials were urged to observe the art of managing their behaviour in the light of their duties and obligations, especially when they have to exercise their professional activities. Professionalism would instill in the public officials the devotion to the interests and requirements of clients experienced in the exercise of their duties for excellence and exemplary personal qualities. Connected to the need for professionalism, there was a call for shared values in the public service to ensure that the organisation produces solutions to its problems of adaptation to its environment and internal integration (Ndi-Zambo, 1997:347).

Role players in the public policy arena; should earn the trust of those they purport to serve rather than just claiming legitimacy because of their positions. When deciding which of the public needs to satisfy they should bear in mind that there are different and multiple “publics” who would in turn expect to be treated differently by public officials (Bovaird and Löffler, 2003:5). Accountability and transparency are key principles for good governance to ensure that public resources are utilised responsibly for the benefit of all citizens. African leaders have seen some of their colleagues who misused public resources for self-enrichment instead of using the resources to benefit all citizens, especially the rural population of the African society. Good governance implies that there is openness in government affairs, which further suggests that policies are generally subject to prior consultation and public discussion whereby there would be legally enforceable right of public access to government records, the publicising of government functions and the right of the public to attend meetings of various government (Healey and Robinson, 1992:164). In such instances government activities would be performed in a transparent manner, which promotes public accountability. Public officials would execute their functions knowing that citizens should be provided with accurate, timely and reliable information whenever requested, especially the manner in which public



resources are been utilised. Public consultation gives direction and guidance with regard to the needs of citizens and such consultation would ensure that appropriate policies are implemented

According to Cloete and Wissink (2000: 86), at times public policies are not implementable due to poor design, lack of various resources, problems with the target group, political oppositions and a weak or corrupt public service. At times implementers of policies lack enthusiasm due to a number of reasons, including lack of reliable baseline, lack of ongoing monitoring of progress and lack of the evaluation of the impact of policies on target groups and the target areas. Related to skills development amongst its officials at times implementation becomes problematic due to lack of technological skills and expertise (Cloete and Wissink, 2000:85). In an endeavour to implement policies successfully policy management skills are essential to ensure that public officials have public administration knowledge. NEPAD aims at ensuring that African governments practice good governance principles in their dealings with public affairs with acceptable community participation in matters that affect them, directly and/or indirectly. Governments that promote public participation increase transparency in all sectors of government would build cooperation by sharing the relevant knowledge and experiences with civil society organisations.

Vil-Nkomo (2002:282) states that NEPAD hopes to deal with poverty and underdevelopment in the continent by strengthening the mechanism of conflict resolution, which the sub regional communities have tackled to restore peace and stability in their areas to create an environment that is suitable for development and growth. Instability and conflicts have displaced millions of people in the continent with numerous unpleasant consequences. National governments should be encouraged to promote and protect democracy and human rights to restore and maintain macro-economic stability, whilst rebuilding the capacity of the state. In order to address underdevelopment and poverty national governments should also try to advance the development of infrastructure, agricultural development and improved manufacturing sector to supplement agricultural markets. The AU has initiated the NEPAD programme to provide

African countries with development and growth direction in key areas for socio-economic sustainable development.

### 5.3. LESSONS FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

The peoples of Africa are amongst the poorest in the world in terms of both income and the overall living conditions. Hossain and Zejan (2001:271) support this view when they indicate that about 45 percent of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa lives below the national poverty lines and the depth of poverty is more severe than anywhere else in the world. The serious conditions that characterised conditions in the Sub-Saharan Africa were caused by among others, the slow economic performance, high population growth, migration and the depletion of the environmental and natural resources base. These factors contributed significantly to a deteriorating quality of life amongst the Africans. These conditions have formed the basis for African leaders' challenges and the determination to recover and redeem the African continent from poverty, squalor and marginalisation. It is for this reason that African leaders decided to pay special attention to good governance and effective leadership to ensure that Africa meets the challenges of development and growth to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment. These are the areas that were identified as key by African leaders to meet international standards and practices. These ideals form the priority areas of the RECs.

The three sub regional communities under discussion promoted regional integration and cooperation in their areas through improved transport facilities because one would remember that these facilities were greatly undermined during colonial domination and the newly independent African states lacked essential resources to reconstruct these facilities (ADF III, 2001: 3). Road transport was bad and there were no spare parts for the maintenance of transport facilities and infrastructure. Without proper transport facilities, it meant that movement of both goods and people within the sub regions was greatly hampered. Communication was also greatly hampered by lack of proper transport network (Bentil, 1989:132). These conditions led to the deterioration of socio-economic conditions in African countries. Therefore the challenge, which faced COMESA, ECOWAS and SADC, was to reconstruct and develop transport facilities to enhance

integration and cooperation, with improved communication networks. Connected to transport challenges, countries experienced a breakdown of power supply, which affected aircrafts, and other modes of transport, which depend on electricity supply. Some of the infrastructure was destroyed during unstable periods and they required the reconstruction through regional and assistance and support.

The drought of the 1980s exacerbated socio-economic conditions in Africa, to an extent that some Africans had to migrate from farms into the urban areas which were already experiencing high levels of unemployment. These conditions meant that additional strain was placed on government to provide more services and goods to the people. Children found themselves out of school, which meant that their right to education was violated. There was also lack of clean water, health care and facilities were only accessible to the privileged (Bentil, 1989:132). African public services were unable to provide essential goods and services to their citizens, thus creating acceptable socio-economic conditions in their countries.

Regional economic integration was identified as a tool to overcome handicaps that were imposed by small and fragmented national markets, to obtain economies of scale in key infrastructural developments and to maximise the efficient use of capital and labour in the context of globalisation and Africanisation. Economic integration has been identified as important to Africa, especially if Africa wants to optimise the use of its resources and to attract inward investment. In 1980 in Abuja, Nigeria African governments committed themselves to move closer to a common market and the move to implement this ideal has been slow, with progress differing from one region to the other. Remarkable strides had been registered in COMESA, ECOWAS and SADC towards economic integration and cooperation. It is worth noting that in the past the OAU had weak linkages with sub regional organisations (SROs) such as SADC, ECOWAS, COMESA, Arab Maghreb East African Cooperation Union and the North African Economic Community. The AU is facing a number of challenges such as how to rectify these weaknesses, what are the structures, which would be used to integrate the SROs and RECs into the AU, interface of the AU with the UN (ADF III, 2001:3).

African governments and their development partners, the World Bank and the African Development Bank are convinced there is a need to adopt poverty reduction strategic policies to fight widespread poverty, which affects the African peoples. Such policies would be effective if they are state owned and participatory, whereby civil society organisations are involved in formulating and implementing such measures. Such strategies will increase access to socio-economic services whilst building legitimacy in state authority by promoting accountability and ethics in the public service to enhance ethical performance and accountability in African public services. In such working environments public servants will display characteristics and values such as integrity and honesty, responsiveness and loyalty, answerability, acceptable behavioural norms and standards, higher order values of professionalism, which include professional conscience, honesty, loyalty, impartiality, self-denial and a passion for excellence in public services (Kamto, 1997:295).

Regional economic communities have been built around integration and cooperation of policy frameworks to improve the ability to deal with poverty eradication. The APRM assesses compliance with international standards to ensure transparency in public administration to build more confidence in government (Lundahl, 2001:138). Conflicts and insecurity undermined or destroyed many promising endeavours to good progress in African countries. Appropriate conditions, which are conducive for development, need to be created because security is the elementary precondition for a peaceful coexistence and the subsequent sustainable development. The responsibility for creating a peaceful environment in Africa rests on the shoulders of the African people themselves. This is one of the reasons why the AU has embarked on the building of a Pan-African Peace and Security Council, which adds testimony to the willingness of African leaders to exercise their political responsibility for peace and security. Regional and sub regional communities are also called upon to promote peace and security, the prevention, the management and the resolution of conflicts. Why is Africa plagued by instability and conflicts, which cause poverty, marginalisation and underdevelopment?

### 5.3.1. Reasons for the prevalent poverty

The reasons, which were advanced for the poor performance of African governments and public services, included such arguments as the effects of high policy volatility and poor public services' capacity to bring about growth and sustainable development. Ndi-Zambo (1997:346) states that African public services remained deficient on the ethics, professionalism and organisational levels. Such public services were detrimental to service delivery because they were ineffective, inefficient and pertinent to the aspirations of their citizens, leading to the governed raising concerns and dissatisfaction with the provision of goods and services. One has to note that if citizens are not satisfied with services delivered they become disillusioned, as they receive no benefit from the public service. Public sector value (PSV) is normally provided to citizens if the public service is able to provide goods and services at an efficient and cost-effective manner (Rubombora, 2005:10).

The geographical position of countries in the continent, coupled with lack of transport networks and under developed communication network, which were aggravated by high costs, poor soils, diseases, export concentration on commodities and climatic risks. It is interesting to note that contemporary leaders have embarked on a rigorous path to evaluate the impact of past government practices to move for economic reform and openness. The move to redeem African countries was in line with structural adjustment programmes (SAP) which were proposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Structural adjustments proposed by the IMF and the World Bank did not succeed in eradicating poverty in African countries, hence the shift in leadership approaches by governments to push for development cooperation, which is closely linked to governance and the shaping of policy environment. This is the situation, which calls for genuine partnership between the private and the public sectors, to ensure that government plays a regulatory role instead of being directly involved in the production activities of the country. How will African governments engage the AU to fight prevailing poverty in the continent? Regional investigation would promote the spirit of sharing and identification with each other.

### 5.3.2. Measures to fight poverty

The case studies above indicated that the three economic communities registered their achievements due to the emphasis they gave to the participation of civil society in decision-making processes. Regional integration was desired for development because it was geared towards effective service delivery. Democracy and respect for human rights are prerequisites for socio-economic development. As emphasised in this chapter, that financial aid is not a panacea for the total transformation of the African society, African leaders have identified democratic principles and good governance as key determinants for the creation of a better life for all. Wamalwa (1989:117) indicates that African governments need structural transformation and public service reforms. This was based upon the realisation by both Africa and the international community that Africa's socio-economic crisis has persisted for too long and need attention. This realisation was not only rhetoric but efforts were made towards Africa's recovery and development. Wamalwa cites efforts such as the UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development (UNPAAERD), which were adopted as early as 1986 by the OAU. It was during this period that the OAU committed itself to a responsibility for the development of the African continent.

In addition to lack of structural transformation and pervasive low levels of productivity, which were aggravated by both exogenous and endogenous factors, African countries were called upon to pay particular attention to policy and managerial measures, which were designed to promote recovery and development of Africa. There was also the need to strengthen incentive schemes in the public service to ensure that a skilled labour force is maintained for effective and efficient delivery of goods and services. Regional integration and the transformation of state machinery also called for the review of investment incentives whereby the private sector is allowed a stake in the economy by formulating policies that promote investments. In addition and linked to investment incentives is improved management style of the economy in general. Proper macro-economic policies need to be formulated in an attempt to stimulate economic growth and development. Key to the free movement of goods and people within the continent as advocated by ECOWAS, COMESA and SADC, Wamalwa cites the encouragement of

domestic resource mobilisation, formulation of effective human resources development and utilisation policies, with an emphasis on development of entrepreneurial capabilities in both the private and the public sectors and the encouragement of grass roots participation in the development process (Wamalwa, 1989:117-118). One would then realise that it is not only financial aid that Africa needs for its recovery but a host of issues as discussed in this research. Africa's development is not dependent on the dismantling of the public sector and the assigning of those tasks, which were undertaken by the public sector to the private sector. Instead, Africa's underdevelopment requires complementarity of both the private and the public sectors, through private-public partnerships (PPPs) joint development ventures.

Wamalwa (1989:118) writes, "***Government and the private individuals must do what they are best placed by nature to do – the secret of human happiness might be unlocked – and the equilibrium of the earth will be maintained.***"

This quotation points to the need for institutional flexibility and reform in both the private and the public sectors to ensure that there is a revitalization of the administrative and managerial institutions in Africa. Once these main factors are addressed service delivery and the provision of goods to citizens would be improved and enhanced. It is important to obtain public sector support to meet the aspirations of the people served. The biggest challenges facing post independence Africa are the economic performances of the region in comparison with other regions in the world and the leaders' conception of the obligations of the state towards its people, especially the most vulnerable i.e. the poorest and weakest segments of the society, shortfall in the performance of the public service and prevailing management style in both the private and the public sectors. African leaders in both sectors should be committed to the goals of economic recovery and development. The identified shortfalls are required for Africa's recovery, but they need leaders' commitment and the political will to learn from other available best practices models, which were demonstrated in the three regional economic globalisation

NEPAD aims at turning Africa's bleak prospects into reality by ensuring that Africans themselves lead development processes and projects. African leaders would need the

management and leadership skills to formulate appropriate policies that would eradicate poverty and only ask foreign agencies to assist as partners and not as leaders in designing what their people need and demand. African leaders will need to form a strong partnership with their people in order to promote public accountability and transparency, which are good governance principles and the encouragement of grass roots participation to understand the needs and aspirations of the governed within a given region. This condition will afford African leaders to review each other's progress in the implementation of NEPAD and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) Accountability in the public service concerns the sharing of the control and purposes of the political power, which require reciprocity between the rulers and the ruled. In actual fact accountability is embodied in the relation between the state and civil society, with a view of curbing the hegemony of the state (Healey and Robinson, 1992:160).

Successful development in Africa would require cooperation and a broad exchange of views between donors and recipients, with shared responsibilities in a partnership relationship. This was lacking in Africa amongst the African countries as indicated above in this chapter that there were no bilateral relations among African countries and there is lack of intra-regional trade between African countries. Regional communities wanted to improve this situation, which was ideal to forge unity and integration amongst African countries. A genuine partnership involves collaboration to ensure that national governments and public services formulate policies jointly for effective implementation. The successful implementation of policies in the public service on the other hand depends on improved performance in key priorities of the state, especially the fight against poverty (Levin, 2004:37). African public services have not yet reached the stage where they could claim victory over this priority. One then asks a question, why have African public services being struggling to achieve their objectives? The answers to this question point in a number of directions, which include lack of financial resources and capacity of government to provide resources and services. In addition, African countries did not assist each other in the challenges posed by the unavailability of goods and services because there was lack of intra-trade amongst them.



Regardless of the amount of investment that was made in African public services, the future still looks bleak for the majority of African people. Reasons include lack of relevant skills amongst employees, inappropriate human resources management approaches, lack of good governance principles and lack of democratic rule to ensure that citizens contribute to the development of their states. In the same breath Levin (2004:37) notes that the public service has to foster transparency when providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information. In order to achieve this principle the government has to create a transparent governance and public administration atmosphere, which would embrace African diversity. African governments and their citizens have come to the realisation that enhanced public service delivery is the hallmark of responsive governance, which entails the high quality of public services, including the values of ethics and accountability of public institutions which are responsible for the delivery of such services. The maintenance of appropriate ethical standards and accountability of public institutions are a litmus test of the commitment of African governments to the norms of good governance and responsible leadership. Good governance will assist African governments and leaders to earn legitimacy and popular support from their citizens. Public institutions should embrace values of responsiveness, accountability and integrity, especially when responding to the needs and demands of citizens, which signifies the legitimate exercise of state authority (Committee on Human Development and Civil Society, 2003:1). The three RECs display effective leadership, which create credibility and confidence to the public

### 5.3.3. Institutional Capacity Building

The AU and NEPAD face challenges that need to be dealt with to ensure that African governments and their leaders have to ensure that their institutions should reflect African experiences and aspirations. African leaders had to ensure that they engage the people of Africa in an attempt to actively build the AU. The AU had to source resources, especially financial resources that have been lacking for some time. The AU has to interface with other international agencies and institutions such as the UN, to ensure that programmes that are attempted be in line with international standards and practices to meet global requirements (ADF III, 2001:3). Institutional capacity building would ensure that

structures are put in place to deal with matters that need attention to ensure that poverty driven strategies are in place. Regional peace keeping and other structures were to be aligned to the UN structures so that world peace and stability could be promoted. Human rights structures will also be monitored on an international level to ensure that citizens' rights are protected and respected.

#### 5.3.4. Forging links with the developed nations

Kofi Annan once declared that there is a symbiotic relationship between NEPAD and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and he emphasised the fact that NEPAD would not be a success if Africa fails to achieve the MDGs and the world as a whole cannot achieve the goals (MDGs) unless they are achieved in Africa (Africa Recovery, 2003:6). Therefore, RECs were regarded as starting points towards continental integration. It was a piecemeal approach to attain the whole integration. These views, expressed by Kofi Annan, were supported by African leaders who also gave notice before the international community of their commitment to take responsibility for Africa's own future in support of the belief that economic and political integration is imperative for Africa's future. RECs were formed as a beginning towards a bigger picture in an endeavour to unite the continent. Therefore, Africa was called upon to unite, especially at the dawn of 21<sup>st</sup> century in order to end her marginalisation in the world economy. Regional and sub regional groupings are essential because member states are expected to comply with development mandates. This is one of the reasons why the British Prime Minister Tony Blair turned to SADC leaders, requesting them to take stern action against bad governance that prevailed in every sphere of life in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, an appeal was made to regional and sub regional structures to deal decisively with international terrorism, which was a threat to human life, political peace and stability and sustainable socio-economic growth and development (Leadership, 2005:27). There are challenges that will require collective action on a regional or sub regional level.

The overriding message to all African people is that if one African country practices bad governance and abuse human rights, the whole continent finds itself accountable to the world populations. African businesses and governments have a responsibility to carry out

and they should remember that EU and USA constituents do not make a distinction between the geopolitical boundaries in Africa. Thabo Mbeki has urged African business and governments to work tirelessly together to change the image of the “Dark Continent” of the past to the “Bright Continent” of the future (Leadership, 2005:25). This is an appeal to government and the business sector to form partnership in an attempt to improve the socio-economic conditions of citizens. Mail & Guardian (2005:2) reported the fact that in European countries the private sector has taken the lead in creating opportunities for growth and development, which should also be forged in African countries. National governments should forge close working relationships with the private sector in an endeavour to supplement and complement efforts undertaken by the state. RECs are forging links with civil society organizations and primary stakeholders for development.

It is worth noting that to the EU and the USA constituents, Africa, South Africa, Southern Africa, Mbeki, Mugabe – they all sound similar, especially to a wealthy industrialist in Dusseldorf or Pittsburgh (Leadership, 2005:27). They apply the axiom, “one-size-fits-all,” or simply put, Africa and all in Africa is painted with the same brush. In a foreigner’s eyes, they are all the same; they have one identity mark and one Africa. This should be used to create and for the advantage of African countries. Contemporary leadership is concerned about this situation, hence the adoption of NEPAD to redeem the continent’s image and reputation in the eyes of the international communities, especially the rich nations of the world whose development aid and assistance are essential for socio-economic sustainable development and growth in Africa. The African peer review process would encourage African countries to transform government practices and business in Africa to reconstruct a new public relations image of the continent, which is characterised, by an African image that is clear and attractive to revive the continent. One needs to understand that due to the damage that was done to the African continent by colonialism, the social transformation of the continent cannot be effectively managed on a country basis, neither could this be achieved through external dependence, therefore the AU’s NEPAD provides a paradigm shift in development which embraces accountability and good governance in public administration (Dogonyaro, 2002:285).

#### 5.3.5. Trade performance between EU and Africa

Asante (1997:126-128) indicates the sentiments echoed by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa the then Prime Minister of Nigeria in 1962, when he declared that the Common Market which was formed by African leaders was essentially a European affair with political overtones which do not appeal to Africans. Furthermore, Balewa expressed Africans' distrustfulness of any institutions that operate in a way that keeps Africans as perpetual primary producers. African leaders are striving for the independence of African countries from European countries and the EU. Independence from the EU would become a reality when an African bloc has been formed to transact business with other world blocs. To what extent would the relationship between the EU and Africa assist the RECs to accomplish their objectives. This relationship needs to be transformed to ensure that ECOWAS, SADC and COMESA realise their objectives and their goals, especially the integration and cooperation of African countries and the formation of a regional organisation that would represent the aspirations of African peoples.

Trade dependence of the RECs on the EU would lead to a situation of total dependence and marginalisation of African markets because the overall import and export profiles of the RECs reveal their heavy dependence on trade with Europe. This dependency relationship is maintained at the expense of intra-regional trade, which is relatively low as indicated in this chapter. Africa displayed a heavy dependence on trade with Europe to the detriment of its own development and growth. African governments and the African regional and sub regional communities are facing a challenge of ensuring that they reduce, if not eliminate, the colonial heritage of dependence on trade with Europe or any trade outside economic blocs. In an attempt to reduce this dependency syndrome of trade with Europe, COMESA and ECOWAS have adopted trade liberalisation programmes, which are geared towards the promotion of intra-regional trade expansion, which will require to be jacked up by eliminating all barriers that hinder intra-regional trade. It actually means that African countries should promote intra-regional interaction whereby African countries conclude trade agreements with each other through beneficial bilateral agreements. Intra-regional trade would promote the exchange of goods and other resources within the continent to ensure economic growth and development.

Greater economic self-reliance is essential to promote intra-regional integration within the continent; moreover that it reinforces independence from the historic industrial centres and facilities in Europe (Asante, 1997:128). The three sub regional communities are striving towards total integration with each other with the ultimate aim of forming one united African continent with a common currency and free movement for all the peoples in the region. In order to break the shackles of colonialism and to break up with the past African countries should show commitment to integration and cooperation. Colonialism created artificial boundaries between African countries with the result that these boundaries existed for some time even after independence from colonial rule. African leaders are still struggling to integrate the continent due to divisions, which were created by the colonial powers. There is a need to have a mind shift in Africans to recognise that they are one nation that should work together in order to deal with challenges that plague the continent. The OAU and its successor the AU have been formed to facilitate and promote integration and unity amongst African countries. The AU still supports efforts made by the RECs to promote African ideals and objectives. NEPAD has been formed as the vehicle to carry forward the objectives of the AU, with an attempt to redeem the image of the continent and to ensure that the marginalisation of the continent is reversed. The APRM would be implemented to ensure that countries are reviewed to monitor their compliance with good governance principles and democratic rule of law. In actual fact the RECs should be the first to demand compliance with generally accepted standards within the areas of their jurisdiction. RECs should promote good governance principles and democracy.

#### 5.4. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Good governance and the rule of law are preconditions for stability, peace and prosperity and they are required to transform the African continent into a force that could compete with other world regions. The three sub regional organisations that were analysed in this chapter have demonstrated their commitment and desire to unite their member states. They have indeed indicated their willingness to promote good governance by establishing regional structures that would cater for the needs of their individual states. The creation

of institutions that serve the region is a milestone that is modeled around other successful regional organisations such as the EU, which has successfully integrated its member states and has registered freedom of movements for its citizens within and beyond the borders of one region. African leaders have since realised that they could learn from the lessons that exist in other world regions.

The opening up of regional and national borders to African citizens will assist the continent in its endeavour to mobilise resources that are available on the continent for sustainable development and socio-economic growth. The free movement of goods and people within the continent could promote networks and communication between countries, with the result that goods and people would be deployed to areas where they are needed. In order to forge links between countries NEPAD hopes to promote interaction between countries in those areas that are key to development and growth such as information technology and communication, agriculture, macro-economic management policies, transport and trade links to end the marginalisation of African goods in international world markets. Intra-regional trade would facilitate the formation and conclusion of trade agreements and bilateral agreements among countries to promote trade and create a market for African goods. African leaders should embrace the principles of good governance and democratic rule in order to promote and facilitate the integration of various African countries. The artificial boundaries which were created by the colonial powers were actually beneficial to the colonial masters, especially by creating divisions between nations that had more in common than the artificial barriers which they created.

African countries have attempted to establish regional organisations through which they will end Africa's marginalisation and underdevelopment. The struggle to unify the continent started in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the African Diaspora with the assistance of foreign governments that believed in the emancipation of Africa from colonial rule. Contemporary African leaders realised the fact that the OAU was unable to deal with current challenges posed by a globalising world. The OAU was transformed into the AU, which in turn created a programme for Africa's development through partnership with

other world regions, civil society and the private sector. Africa is rich in natural resources; therefore the need to harness such resources would be promoted through integration and cooperation.

In an attempt to effect solidarity with each other, African countries started by organising sub regional communities or organisations in order to ensure communication among countries. African countries were colonised by different countries from various world regions and as such progressive steps were put in place to group countries according to geographical proximity. The sub regions which were formed included SADC, COMESA and ECOWAS, which were established with the aim of providing the basis for the formation of a continental organisation that would cater for the interest of the whole continent. Due to the number of countries that colonised African countries, it was essential to come up with strategies to integrate the continent whilst national states retained their political sovereignty and independence. Good governance and democratic rule have been emphasised to African leaders as conditions that they need to satisfy if they want to eradicate poverty in the continent. Colonialism was presented as a common enemy to Africans who were urged to unite to dismantle it in order to redress the inequalities it created.

Poverty and underdevelopment have been identified with the African continent and have turned into a trademark for the continent. Despite efforts that were taken to free Africa from colonialism, African people still live in a quagmire and misery. The African continent still experiences internal strife and conflicts which retard socio-economic progress, exacerbating the living conditions of African peoples. Democratic governments have been established in most African states but poverty still reigns. In an endeavour to reconstruct their infrastructure and institutions of governance, African countries formed the RECs to facilitate the formation of a single coherent continental organization to cater for the interest of the African continent.

## CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 6.1. RESEARCH CONCLUSION

This chapter contains concluding remarks, ending with recommendations to African leaders and the African peoples in an attempt to put the African continent on a developmental path. African peoples and their leaders are responsible for their destiny and their own development and growth, in an attempt to improve service delivery to citizens. It is important to take cognisance of the fact that this chapter differs from the conclusions given at the end of each chapter in the research because this conclusion is basically concluding the last arguments of the research and also putting into perspective arguments advanced in the research. The primary aim of this chapter is to determine the extent to which leadership and governance could be used to effectively and efficiently implement appropriate policies that are relevant to address the conditions that prevail in the continent, to ensure that African public services respond promptly to citizens' needs and demands. It is equally important to note that public services are the vehicles through which governments attempt to satisfy the needs and demands of their citizens. Therefore, public services are important requirements for the provision of essential goods and services to the public. Africa has been characterised by poverty and underdevelopment for decades with a number of reasons advanced for such state of affairs despite decades that have passed after gaining independence from colonial rule and domination. This research has attempted to look into African governance and leadership to improve the lives of African peoples, starting with an analysis of the history that dates back to the period after colonial rule and domination, through to the formation of the OAU, its transformation into the AU and the NEPAD programme of the AU, as well as the creation of the APRM, which is meant to monitor compliance with the set standards on good economic and political governance in government, including service delivery standards in the public service.

A literature case study analysis has been undertaken to determine the extent to which governance and leadership perspectives could be used to implement policies in the African public services to promote a better life for all the African people. The



conclusions and recommendations in this research are based on literature case study reviews and investigations. Literature reviewed indicate that the struggle waged by African leaders, against colonialism in an attempt to create a unified African continent along the lines of the EU formed the basis of the move towards regional and sub regional integration and cooperation. Regional and sub regional organisations had been formed to pursue integration and cooperation with varying degrees of success. On the whole, the colonisation of the continent contributed to its marginalisation, which in the end led to Africa's underdevelopment and poverty. Africa's colonisation has profoundly contributed to Africa's marginalisation in world affairs, which in the end led to its underdevelopment and poverty. Colonialism undermined any form of African initiative; instead it propagated Euro-centrism and Africa's dependence on foreign aid and donor agencies for development. Africa was reduced to the status of a beggar for handouts in an effort to feed its citizens and to satisfy their needs. Colonialism contributed to the erosion of African value systems and traditions, especially where African had to follow rules and procedures that were developed and imposed on them by foreign powers or foreign donors for far too long. African leaders reached a stage where they forgot that they also have the ability and the necessary resources to establish and pursue their own versions of participatory democratic governance and the rule of law in the African context.

The OAU and its successor, the AU were actually a move towards the rebirth of African leadership which would be accountable and responsible to lead prosperous communities with a view to developing and growing them according to agreed standards and values that are set and predetermined by Africans themselves and not by the Western world. Despite this awareness and the efforts made by African leaders to promote African values and homegrown policies to advance African development, most African countries and their citizens still live in squalor and poverty. Most parts of the African continent are still characterised by internal conflicts and political instability, which cause deterioration in the socio-economic conditions of African people. This is one of the reasons why contemporary African leadership has decided long ago, especially after independence to search for reasons and answers for Africa's underdevelopment and poverty. Post independence Africa and its leadership have decided to search for solutions and

alternatives to good governance principles, the rule of law, democratic values and effective leadership to facilitate African recovery. To create national governments that understand the plight and conditions under which Africa exists and to come up with appropriate solutions that are African in nature and context, led by Africans, assisted and supported by their genuine friends who are partners, to push back the frontiers of poverty.

The world's economically advanced nations are challenged to assist African countries with essential resources in their endeavour to promote sustainable development and to support African initiatives to socio-economic development. African peoples have organised themselves into national, regional and sub regional institutions and structures to sustain their independence from colonial rule and domination. African countries and their leaders are currently working towards freeing themselves from poverty, underdevelopment, ill health, political instability and marginalisation in the world economy through the implementation of NEPAD principles. This move is intended to advance Africa's recovery so that it becomes a continent that is embraced by sustainability and development in the full sense of the word. It is important to note that Africa is in the midst of transformation and socio-economic development process, which lies between marginalisation and full participation in world affairs with an uncertain future created by poverty and underdevelopment. What is certain though, is that Africa will never go back to the colonial past or period which was responsible for its dependency syndrome, marginalisation, underdevelopment and poverty, characteristic of governments that were unresponsive to citizens' needs and demands. African leaders face challenges of taking the continent to a state where it becomes responsive to the needs and demands of its citizens and communities.

It is fruitful at this stage to evaluate the preceding chapters of the research in order to provide the reader with an understanding of the value of the aspects under discussion and analysis. The preceding chapters have discussed and analysed conditions that prevailed in the continent in the eyes of world citizens and world nations. The plight of the African people themselves, especially with the realisation that there could be no world peace or

absolute world development when the African continent and its populations are marginalised and lived in poverty and in an underdeveloped state.

Chapter one dealt with pre-independence African situations and conditions, which were shaped by colonial rule and colonial domination, which caused Africa's underdevelopment and poverty. It is in this chapter that the historical background towards the formation of continental structures and organisations was discussed. The chapter outlined the challenges faced by African leaders in their quest to unite the African continent and to unite African states into a regional force, characterised by the African nature and ethos. The role of the African peoples in the drive towards African unity and consolidation might not be underestimated because they helped to organise and rally the support from outside the continent towards the decolonisation of the continent. The chapter has provided an analysis of the process followed by Africans, before independence from colonial domination; post independence and the current initiatives towards creating a better life for all African peoples, especially through the establishment of governments that would be responsive to citizens' needs and demands, in an effort to push back the frontiers of poverty. The historiography indicated that the origin of African unity gained momentum during the Pan-Africanist era whereby the drive for unity was heightened, especially during the fight against colonial domination. African peoples called for the unity of African states in an effort to work towards sustainable socio-economic and political development in an integrated manner. The chapter laid the foundation for the proper flow of thinking around the arguments advanced in this research, especially effective leadership and good governance to advance Africa's development and recovery from the shackles of poverty.

The chapter indicated the reasons for the formation of regional and sub regional organisations in an effort to forge partnership with foreign aid agencies and other countries in other continents to build a sustainable development programme. The various regional and sub regional organisations have been discussed in line with the provision of goods and services by the public services to the citizens they serve. The various regional and sub regional organisations have tried with differing degrees of success to redeem the

African continent of its dignity and standing, with the final hope pinned on the programme of the AU, NEPAD, which is aiming at the successful drive of Africa into a world force, which is responsible for its destiny. This ideal would be achieved if African countries engage in self-evaluation and peer evaluation or review by the APRM to assess compliance with key preconditions for development, good governance and effective leadership.

This chapter will ensure that the reader understands the current move towards regional integration and cooperation to fight continental poverty. A history of the process towards Africa's drive for sustainable development was made in this chapter. The chapter laid the foundation, which was necessary to understand the arguments presented in this research, to indicate the extent to which governance and leadership perspectives would be used for the successful implementation of policies in African public services. The chapter has further indicated the bitter route followed by African leaders in their attempt to forge unity in the African continent and to break mental stereotypes and artificial boundaries created by colonial powers, which separated African people from each other for decades, whilst creating conditions that accelerated poverty in the continent. The chapter provided some answers to the disunity of the African countries and their marginalisation, which further raised a ray of hope in a dark tunnel of development through initiatives of the AU, including other measures initiated for Africa's recovery. The chapter introduced the reader to the origin of the current initiatives. The call for good governance and effective leadership has been made to create a united states of Africa, which is geared towards sustainable development. The chapter indicated the efforts made by each regional and sub regional organisation in the challenge against African national governments and other regional and sub regional structures and institutions. All efforts to unify the continent have been motivated by the need to meet the challenges of providing goods and services to the African peoples in order to deal with poverty and underdevelopment.

Chapter two dealt with the methodology applied in the research, indicating the two main research strategies, namely qualitative and quantitative research strategies. The chapter dealt with the strategy adopted in this research and provided reasons why the choice of

the strategy was arrived at. The problem statement and its setting were discussed in this chapter, further indicating the sub problems that form the main research question, as indicated in this research. Furthermore, the chapter provided the delimitation of the study and its significance. The chapter indicated how the research was structured to facilitate a free flow of concepts, to arrive at a logical conclusion and to provide recommendations and suggestions for further research in this area of public administration. Chapter two provided the procedural aspects of report writing in a research document, which outlines how the study has been carried out. The chapter was meant to provide a direction taken by the research programme.

Chapter three provided an analysis of the theoretical framework and the review of related literature. In order to pursue the unity of African countries and their citizens, focus was given to regional and sub regional integration to promote cooperation in Africa. Integration and cooperation were essential to promote the successful implementation of the formulated policies as a collective, which would be best implemented through networks and the sharing of best practices. Regional and sub regional organisations were formed as building blocs for the ultimate formation of a continental organisation, which would be charged with the responsibility of eradicating poverty in Africa, to pursue development and growth agendas. The chapter discussed the five regional economic communities or organisations that have been formed to pursue an integration and cooperation agenda in Africa. Regional integration and cooperation were taken as preconditions and a catalyst that would accelerate the formation of a continental bloc, representing the aspirations and wishes of the African people in world affairs.

The chapter emphasised a paradigm shift from the OAU to the AU, which put great value on regional and sub regional organisations as building blocs towards the unity of the African countries and their peoples. The AU has emphasised the implementation of development frameworks for the African region through collective action. Reviewed literature indicated that the African continent has been disintegrated and disjointed by colonialism, hence the call for regional and sub regional integration in a move towards a fully fledged or complete integration of African countries into a continental organisation.

This chapter discussed the essence of regional and sub regional integration in the fight against Africa's marginalisation and dependency on other world agencies for development. Regional and sub regional organisations/ communities were formed in an attempt to form a complete continent wide organisation modeled around the EU. The envisaged continental organisation would be charged with the responsibility of creating a better life for all African peoples, through a transparent and accountable public service.

Africa was divided into five Regional Economic Communities (RECs), which were formed to start integration on a sub regional level before the formation of an all-inclusive African common market, to cater for the interests of the continent, especially Africa's socio-economic recovery and development. A continental bloc would serve as the world player or an active partner in world affairs, instead of the peripheral stage that was occupied by the African continent which was characterised by fragmented and individual countries which formed colonial pockets, serving the interests of the colonial masters and their colonial countries' citizens. Colonial boundaries caused the fragmentation of African citizens along colonial identities, which furthermore led to the degeneration of African values, which could be redeemed through African unity. Regional organisations were regarded as the mouthpiece of African aspirations and they were equipped to forge participation in world affairs.

Globalisation has resulted in other parts of the world forming world trade blocs in order to penetrate world markets. Therefore, regional and sub regional formations or organisations could assist small and individual countries to join with other regional countries to enter into world affairs. The various African RECs registered different degrees of achievements and success in the formulation and implementation of policies that affected member states, even though there are still development challenges to be addressed. On the whole, remarkable political and socio-economic achievements were registered by some RECs, especially Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and Southern African Development Community (SADC), which displayed strong leadership and commitment to the implementation of set development standards. Political willingness

and citizen participation have proved to be catalysts and the necessary conditions to push sustainable development forward, to ensure that the quality of life is improved.

The chapter mapped out the process that the formation of sub regional organisation was not an easy road or path but full of challenges, which required attention. The challenges experienced in RECs would serve as areas that need attention from leadership in their endeavour or attempt to form a continental organisation. RECs were formed to break the back of colonialism and colonial thinking, which created artificial boundaries between African countries, with the result that they regarded each other as foreigners without anything in common. Regional formations assisted the African continent to nurture leadership, which would promote the integration of the continent in its attempt to formulate and implement policies to fight poverty and underdevelopment. The different RECs have also indicated the need to create appropriate institutions with proper capacity to satisfy the needs and demands of the peoples, whilst promoting participation in world affairs. The chapter indicated that regional integration and cooperation could reinforce the aims and objectives of the AU, especially the unification of the African countries to ensure that there is collective action against poverty and the restoration of peace and stability in the African continent. Regional integration and cooperation would fast track and jack-up service delivery and the provision of goods by public services. However, African leaders are called upon to provide the much-needed political willingness and their commitment to good governance principles to ensure that public administration becomes development oriented to satisfy citizens' needs and demands.

Chapter four presented the case study of three Regional Economic Communities (RECs), namely Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and Southern African Development Community (SADC). The case study chapter analysed the formation and origin of the three regional communities, analysed their achievement and challenges they faced. It has been realised that the three RECs attempted to achieve their objectives through the political will displayed by their leadership and the promotion of democratic principles and the rule of law. Regional integration and cooperation have been discussed to indicate

how they would create peace, stability and cooperation between countries for greater communication and sharing of resources. Political conflicts, civil strife and unrests have been cited as a challenge to sustainable peace and development in the regions.

RECs have demonstrated Africa's commitment to break with the past colonial perception that Africa was a dark continent that depended on foreign aid and donor agencies for development. RECs have demonstrated Africa's determination to dismantle the stereotypes and artificial boundaries that were created by colonialism, to facilitate intra-regional trade and inter-regional trade, to exchange resources and skills that are essential for development and growth in the continent. Integration and cooperation were promoted through information sharing and sharing of best practices, especially collective formulation of policies and collective implementation, to ensure that poverty and underdevelopment are addressed. African leadership has been sharpened through RECs, which ensured that the different countries, with different development levels are pulled together as a collective towards the eradication of poverty through policy implementation. This collectivity could benefit the whole region instead of pockets of individual countries. Besides the achievements registered, RECs had a number of challenges to deal with, such as the building of capacity in institutions that were established to fight poverty in the continent. Capacity was a challenge that would ensure that RECs met their objectives and became responsive to the needs and demands of their constituencies.

Chapter five analysed Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and Southern African Development Community (SADC) whereby African countries were encouraged to enter into bilateral agreements with each other to promote regional integration and cooperation through resources sharing for the benefit of all citizens in the region. In order to compete globally with other world regions, African countries have responded by forming their own sub regional organisations with the intention of forming a continental organisation for the entire African continent in the end, to meet the challenges posed by a globalising world. As indicated already in this research, RECs would basically serve as catalysts for



the formation of a regional and continental bloc that would advance African ideals to meet African MDGs. The chapter has indicated a number of areas, which show and need greater integration initiatives to ensure that the African continent is on a path to sustainable development and growth. Africa's poverty would be addressed best if countries combine resources, including the human capital and the resources, which are necessary to deal with poverty and underdevelopment.

Chapter six concludes this research which is done through the evaluation, conclusions and coming up with recommendations for Africa's development and growth through the successful implementation of appropriate policies and indicating areas that require further research to resolve Africa's poverty and underdevelopment, despite its long history of political independence from colonial domination. The chapter would conclude this research, which might raise further questions that require further research in areas that have been explored. The next sub section provides recommendations to African leaders and their peoples in their endeavour to find alternatives and solutions to push back the frontiers of poverty through the implementation of appropriate policies in the continent.

## 6.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

African countries should consider adopting Hood's model of administration which is characterised by unitary organisation, shared norms and values, perfect obedience, full information to ensure that African countries share best practices, especially when peer review results are analysed. This view could assist African public services because in most cases officials rarely share the same values. Political appointees in most cases have different values from career public servants, in South Africa such appointees are considered on policy considerations. If government was served by people who do not share common values, government could fail to live up to the conditions of perfect administration. There is a need to implement the prescripts of the African Public Service Charter, in an endeavour to reinvent and revitalise African public services to improve the delivery of goods and services to the communities. Community coordination is achieved by shared norms of appropriate behaviour whereby order is created by appeals to tradition because people cooperate out of the respect for a tradition and they fear censure

if they ignore the norm. Groups have to share beliefs and they need to deal with each other regularly, face to face instead of intermittently. It is recommended that African governments create a professional corps of public servants to serve in the African public services.

The need to revitalise the public service in order to meet the challenges of service delivery to push back the frontiers of poverty should be embraced by African leaders. This objective could be better realised through the reinvigoration of subsystems in the private and public sectors and the civil service. There is further need for improved economic and financial management to instill budget discipline, promote accountability and the elimination of fraudulent acts, proper human resources development, management and utilisation. Relevant and appropriate qualifications should be designed for entry into the public service. Recruitment and selection processes should target suitable candidates based on merit and not political affiliations and patronage. This will assist public services to maintain personnel with the correct positive attitude towards service delivery. Appropriately qualified personnel should be employed in the public service to ensure that there is an understanding of legislative frameworks and legal implications of policy implementation and prevent non-implementation. Properly qualified personnel would be able to conduct research to come up with the best alternatives through appropriate data analysis.

African governments are urged to adhere to their Constitutions and to give effect to their Constitution and other legislative frameworks to ensure that all organs of the state play their role to carry out the mandate of government. The social contract between government and the electorate is around the provision of goods and the delivery of services. Separation of organs of state promotes transparency and accountability. There is a need to promote compliance with the terms and conditions required for effective and efficient public administration. Regarding policy implementation, Africans should walk the talk. Formulated policies should be implemented because government performance is all about service delivery. Policies are the basis of the contract that exists between government and the governed. This is the covenant between the rulers and the ruled.

**It is important to make a recommendation with regard to equity and gender equality in African countries.** This recommendation is based on the belief system that genuine liberation in the continent cannot be achieved without acknowledging gender equality whereby positive steps and strategies would be put in place to improve and promote the status of women. The conditions of women should be attended to; in order to ensure that progressive policies are adopted and effectively implemented to empower women. National governments, regional and sub regional structures and institutions should intervene to strengthen initiatives to facilitate the empowerment of women so that they are visibly seen in leadership and management positions at all levels of life as equals with all members of the communities.

**It is recommended that African countries should work together to improve transport facilities because it has been realised that lack of transport would even threaten good governance and political stability.** African countries should realise that time does not permit them to operate as individuals or as islands; they need to interact with each other through improved transport facilities and networks. Improved transport facilities and correct infrastructure within the continent would promote and enhance free movement of goods and people in the region. Improved communication requires a revamp and restructuring of the education systems in the continent to ensure that the curriculum offerings are relevant to address the needs of the local economy whilst they are globally competitive.

African leaders are called upon to deal with challenges that face African countries and to show determination to surmount the obstacles that hampered development and growth on the continent, through the African initiated NEPAD and the APRM initiatives. NEPAD sets development goals for African countries whilst the APRM monitors and assesses compliance with good governance principles and the rule of law to ensure that public services are responsible and accountable in order to strengthen regional integration and the formation of networks and links through NEPAD and other global initiatives,

especially initiatives that are geared towards the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

National governments throughout the African continent should focus on the establishment of capable states that can protect the vulnerable, especially women, children and youths and the rural masses in order to enhance the development prospects of these communities. To achieve the MDGs, national governments are expected to show commitment to sustainable focus on the macro and micro dimensions of re-inventing government. Such capable states focus on human capacity development, improved planning and management process, which included the adoption of approaches that would enhance service delivery in the public service.

**Visionary leadership at all levels of government is recommended to ensure that goals and objectives embodied in the MDG framework and NEPAD are accelerated and achieved.** This recommendation is essential to ensure that there is proper implementation of policies that have been formulated to bridge the gap between the articulated visions and strategic objectives and the actual service delivery. National, regional and sub regional organisations and institutions and institutions would rely on visionary leadership to achieve set goals. The challenges facing African countries will require leaders endowed with capacities that are available at all levels of government to reinvent government for the successful achievement of goals set by NEPAD. There is a need for a servant-like leadership, which is impartial and accountable to the public, leaders that plays the game according to established rules to promote consistency within a given legal framework

**It is recommended that there should be clear legal, structural and institutional frameworks to consolidate, deepen and coordinate acceptable practices of participatory governance.** In order to strengthen leadership capacities at continental level it is a requirement to have the required regional institutional leaders that would effectively champion or carry forward the integration of the African continent, which would in turn enhance development programmes found in a globalising environment.

**Participatory governance is recommended to strengthen policy implementation capacity and promote public accountability and transparency.** Participatory governance would deepen the way in which ordinary people could effectively participate in and influence policies that directly affect their lives. Related to this recommendation is a need for the overhaul or the revolutionising of public administration to ensure that scarce human and financial resources are used cost-effectively to improve service delivery and the reduction of poverty within communities. Government should adopt a developmental public administration to eliminate corrupt activities in the public services. Institutions and structures should be put in place to deal with unethical behaviour in the public service, including both the elected and the appointed public officials. Public resources should be appropriated efficiently and cost-effectively for the benefit of the poor masses and not those that are in power and/or those that are within the corridors of power and their cohorts.

**It is recommended that national, regional and sub regional governments should be committed to ensuring that resources which are meant for service delivery and the provision of public goods are not misdirected through fraud and corruption.** Corruption and fraud are major challenges that can lead governments' demise, especially in environments that are characterised by monopoly of power or authority coupled with discretionary authority without control measures and lack of transparency and accountability. African governments should take a firm stance in the fight against corruption, which should be placed within the overarching policy orientation of zero tolerance, embeddedness in overall economic policy and an efficient and competent judiciary. This recommendation is in line with the call from the whole world for national and regional governments to open up to democracy and accountability whereby Africa should take up the challenge and ensure that its governments are seen to be transparent and that they honour the mandate given to them by the electorates. Public answerability and transparency would instill a sense of responsibility in public officials, both the elected and the appointed, whenever they handle public resources, knowing that the public would demand answers and an account on how public resources have been used or appropriated.

African leaders and their people should realise that they need each other's commitment to fight against corruption in the continent as part of its strategy to redeem the image of the continent in the eyes of international communities. African leaders and their people should deal with the Afro-pessimism, which surrounds the socio-economic and political prospects of the African continent, especially with regard to efforts, which are made to encourage investment into the African economies. This recommendation is made in the wake of reports that approximately 40 percent of privately owned wealth is held outside the continent. This means that Africans voted with their investment powers against the African continent, hence their investment in foreign markets instead of the African markets. African leaders should commit themselves to create environments that attract local investment before thinking of attracting foreign investment into the continent. African leaders should create conditions that prevent and eliminate capital flight, to foster accelerated investment by Africans within an integrated African continent. Improved investments will lead to improved living standards of the African peoples. These conditions would be created through effective leadership with the political will and support to push back the frontiers of poverty. Leaders that are concerned about the aspirations and interests of their people would see to it that investments benefit the majority of citizens in their communities instead of channeling investments for self-enrichment. African leaders have to deal with the challenge of sourcing essential resources and using them for the benefit of the poor masses in the continent, to meet the UN MDGs.

MDGs should not be the end in itself, but African countries should be monitored and evaluated in terms of the integration of MDGs into national policy plans and budgets in African public services. There is a need for monitoring and evaluation of the impact of policies and programmes that have been identified at regional and sub regional levels. African countries should engage themselves in debates that concern job creation, health and investment and they should occupy center stage in preference to debates about democracy, transparency and good governance, especially once such principles have been achieved to focus on more socio-economic development issues with the intention of creating a better life for all citizens. There is a need to harmonise policy across borders

within the African continent and to establish reliable and regulatory framework to safeguard investments. African countries and their leaders should commit themselves to regional integration to promote intra-regional trade instead of doing business with European countries and no business with fellow African countries. Gone are the days when intra-regional trade between African countries was considered non-progressive, due to the fact that Africa was perceived as a dark continent instead of being considered an opportunity for future investment. African goods were regarded as inferior to goods from other world continents, creating a false impression that those African countries should engage in foreign trade with other continents. Such foreign trades were transacted to the advantage of the foreign countries and at the expense of development within the African continent. This imbalanced relationship resulted in Africa becoming an object of world market economies and its marginalisation, which produced underdevelopment and poverty.

National, regional and sub regional governments should be structured in such a way that they promote participation of people in the decision-making processes through the adoption and application of the devolution of power and authority to sub national governments. Levels of government should also be provided with an opportunity for integration and the provision of resources for local governance institutions. Participatory governance requires strong leadership and a political will and commitment to bring about changes suggested through participatory governance experience. This recommendation is made from the lessons learnt from the experience of many African countries, which were involved in the struggle against colonialism whereby many leaders considered themselves messiahs or strongmen who have worked against the adoption of democratic processes, leaving questions of succession largely unattended to. This type of a situation has led to many African leaders in this category clinging to power, opposing any form or efforts to remove them from office. In such instances democratic means of choosing leadership are undermined and compromised to safeguard the personal interests of the leader, which in most cases are pursued at the expense of the majority of citizens. There is need to transform leadership to ensure that liberation fighters give over the delivery of services to citizens to the public service which is the executive arm of government and charged with

the implementation of government policies in its endeavour to deliver on peoples' mandate. Managers would then be given the responsibility to execute management matters within given legislative and policy framework, to promote public service delivery.

It is important to recommend consultative and participatory governance in African countries to ensure that African peoples' needs and demands are responded to whereby the public is encouraged to participate in policy-making processes. In addition, leaders should meet with and consult with communities on pressing matters that affect them or the general growth and development of the area. National governments should promote a deep understanding of people's rights and responsibilities as citizens with an ability to produce value and to ensure their competitiveness.

African governments should embrace knowledge management to enhance knowledge sharing, to learn from others and share experiences, which would in turn enhance the levels of integration, cooperative governance and integrated service delivery. The machinery of government should promote the management of knowledge systems to identify the successful service delivery models and to ensure that they are widely implemented at all levels of government. National, regional and sub regional governments should make efforts to move from strategy and process analysis to effective programme implementation. It is recommended that senior public service personnel, especially those that are in top echelons, should understand the interplay between policy development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

National, regional and sub regional governments are called upon to come up with strategies that will address the challenges of poverty eradication and sustainable development through structured ways of managing the situation such as improved access to markets, increased flow of foreign direct investment, the transfer of technology, debt cancellation and enhanced official development assistance. Proper management of these imperatives will enable African countries to utilise their available financial resources to provide goods and services to their citizens instead of servicing foreign loans. Economic



integration is vital especially if Africa wants to optimise the use of resources and attract inward investment. Therefore, it is recommended that African governments and their leaders should commit themselves to move towards a common market, to strengthen their position in the world market. African leaders are further challenged to chart a new political and economic course for the continent in order to comply with international standards and values for development and growth.

African countries and their leaders should come up with national, regional and sub regional mechanisms for conflict resolution, conflict prevention if possible and the management of conflicting situations to build a peaceful atmosphere, especially with regard to the timely release of resources for peace keeping operations and the creation of environments that would create good and appropriate conditions for sustainable peace. African leaders are challenged to commit themselves to regional integration, which would ensure that national legislation conforms to international standards of human rights. It is further recommended that African leaders should exercise their political leadership roles to ensure that African institutions fit into their international counterparts. Key to this recommendation is the need to protect and realise human rights, which is one of the fundamentals of achieving development, democracy and stability. African countries and their leadership should cement regional human rights mechanisms. This recommendation would encourage more African governments to sign and ratify human rights conventions and to establish mechanisms to ensure that there is conformity to international requirements. The AU is appealing to member states to sign up and submit to peer review processes to ensure that they comply with the principles of good governance, democratic values and the rule of law. All African countries are urged to submit to the self-monitoring and the APRM to strengthen governance principles and strong leadership.

**It is recommended that national, regional and sub regional governments should design programmes that are meant to build institutional capacity necessary to tackle or deal with the spread of the HIV/Aids pandemic and other infectious diseases, which have a crippling effect on the human capital within the continent. The**

pandemic would deplete expertise and the skills that have been developed through tight financial budgets. Governments should come up with programmes that are effective to deal with HIV/Aids pandemic, which cripples human resources and depletes the investment made in human capital. The initiation of HIV/ Aids programmes which would seek to ensure that the response to the pandemic remains at the forefront of the development and integration agenda should be collectively implemented in the continent.

There is a need for further research by African scholars in development in such areas as socio-economic, political and technological spheres in order to integrate Africa through networks and links facilitated by infrastructural networks and expertise to enhance service delivery and further innovation in the public service to meet the challenges of the new millennium. African scholars are called upon to adopt the approach of exchanging ideas on critical public policy and management challenges that the world is facing, in particular the African challenges to come up with workable solutions and alternatives. This move is also meant to suggest modalities for the establishment of knowledge networks such as institutional arrangements to enable African think tanks, universities, training and research institutions and government representatives to share knowledge and experiences to improve the lives of African peoples. Some of the ideas exchanged would involve the re-engineering and the transformation of the existing constitutional, socio-economic, administrative and management systems and process and political measures.

In order to complete the re-engineering and the transformation of the public services it is also imperative to forge and promote public private partnerships to accelerate the provision of goods and services to the communities served. There is also a need to actively engage civil society and civil society organisations to promote participatory management to enhance transparency and accountability of government and its institutions. It is through these initiatives that the members of the public would get access to public goods and services rendered by government in the public service. In order to promote access to public services national governments should introduce modern information and communication technologies to add public value and increase governments' effectiveness and impact on the lives of their citizens. There is a need for

advanced e-governance in an effort to strengthen knowledge networks and knowledge sharing for the best of the African continent. Improved networks and communications infrastructure would promote the implementation of NEPAD and the APRM initiatives and programmes.

There is a need to examine critical factors that account for the success or failure of government programmes to reinvent public administration and public services within the African region. It is suggested that further research should be undertaken in future challenges facing the AU, NEPAD and the APRM. The research might include areas such as achievements and obstacles towards total integration of African public services. Research is suggested into the role of public administration in enhancing service delivery within the African public services, especially in countries that are characterised by conflicts and political instability and strife. Research is suggested in the area of resources provision for regional and sub regional organisations and the sourcing of technical assistance for building African institutions. Furthermore, research could be undertaken into the interface between the AU and the UN. Another possible research area in this field could involve how the AU would forge partnership with the private sector, both African and international. This sub section shows that there are various areas, which still require research programmes, though they are not necessarily limited to the ones mentioned.

Research may be undertaken to compare the African Union (AU) and the European Union in relation to their contribution and involvement in globalisation. Such research may further investigate the possibility suggesting some of best practices for the African continent learnt from the European Union and vice versa. However, care should be taken not to prescribe a direct transplantation of strategies without taking into consideration that continents are unique.

African countries, particularly their leadership should come to the realisation that it is through the identification of common concerns, common destiny, common aspirations and needs and common history of colonial domination that they need to work for a united Africa within the framework for regional and national integration and cooperation in the

implementation of NEPAD and the APRM. The NEPAD framework is linked to the Millennium Declaration whereby African countries, with the assistance and the support from their genuine partners could forge ahead in the struggle against poverty and underdevelopment on the continent. African national and regional governments are facing challenges of working tirelessly to implement appropriate policies that would eradicate poverty and create a better life for all. The successful implementation of policies requires strong and effective leaders to provide visionary direction and management through a professional and ethical public service that operates with an accountable and development-oriented public administration. African governments are challenged to transform their public services in order to enhance their capacity to provide goods and essential services to their communities.

African leaders are challenged to implement NEPAD's objectives, which are aimed at the eradication of poverty; the development of infrastructure to promote intra-regional communication, exchange trade and free mobility of resources within the continent to satisfy human needs; to promote sustainable development through skills and knowledge expansion in local human resources to build the required human capital; to promote democratic rule, the rule of law to create peace and stability in the continent, which is a prerequisite for sustainable development, instead of conflict and strife ridden situations where public resources would be diverted to restore order and stability instead of been utilised to provide goods and services to the communities. Furthermore, NEPAD is aimed at fostering good governance in the continent and to build the required capacity in the state to deliver on the mandate people placed on governments.

Strong political leaders and managerial effectiveness have been identified as prerequisites for the design and formulation of appropriate policies to address African challenges, supported on the other hand by a professional corps of public officials committed to serve the public within the dictates of a transformed public administration that is geared towards the eradication of poverty in the continent. African public services should be based on sound foundation of good governance and development-oriented public administration, which is people-centred, to facilitate and accelerate the achievement of

the NEPAD objectives and the MDGs. The APRM is necessary to ensure that national governments submit to voluntary review on the implementation of good governance principles and democratic values and the rule of law. It is argued that through leadership and governance, African public services would be able to deal with the challenges that are faced by Africa in poverty eradication, sustainable development and democratisation, to create a stable and peaceful environment whereby national governments deliver on their mandates through effective and efficient public services. This research could assist African countries and their peoples to work towards a participatory, transparent and accountable governance, to galvanise governance and public administration systems in an endeavour to strengthen their capacity to achieve the strategic and operational objectives of the AU's initiative, NEPAD and to redeem Africa's image and ensure Africa's recovery from poverty.

African peoples understand the African continent's challenges better and would in turn strive to know the type of life they would want to lead. Therefore, it is assumed that if they initiate a programme to satisfy their aspirations they would be committed to achieve such. However, external support and assistance should be enlisted to push forward with the implementation of their objectives and vision. Africans would design and formulate strategies that are appropriate to their challenges and they should be supported to achieve their plans and vision, instead of foreigners or foreign agencies taking the lead because this might result in foreign agencies pushing their own agendas or agendas that would benefit their own countries at the expense of the African majority. African leaders should occupy the driver's seat and occupy the center stage of development and growth, create a genuine partnership with foreign agencies that are genuine partners who are prepared to support African initiatives for the benefit of Africa's sustainable development and growth. Genuine partnership should be forged in order to support African leadership in their endeavour to implement policies that would lead to the achievement of set goals. Africans should decide on what is good for the continent and its peoples and become committed through collective action to achieve the set goals. Africans are in turn free to approach foreign governments and agencies that are prepared to form genuine

partnerships and offer assistance, which would ensure the implementation of their set goals and objectives and create a better life for all the African peoples.

In conclusion, the research investigated the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) of the AU with reference to governance and leadership perspectives on African public services. The research started by providing a historiography to provide a solid base to the comprehension and understanding of the origin of Africa's underdevelopment and poverty. Past and current national, regional and sub regional organisations have been formed to forge unity of purpose amongst African countries in an attempt to consolidate collective action to deal with the continent's challenges. The struggle and victory against slavery and colonialism have motivated contemporary African leaders to form NEPAD, to implement the programmes and projects of the AU. The APRM has been instituted to ensure that African leaders take responsibility for the development of their countries by providing effective leadership and practicing principles of good governance and respect for the rule of law. Regional integration and cooperation will ensure that African countries become self-reliant and assist each other to provide services to their citizens. Decolonisation and the democratisation of the continent are forcing African leaders to listen to the voices of their citizens. African leaders are the custodians of the needs and demands of their citizens, which were disregarded for a long time during colonial rule. African leaders should take it upon themselves to redesign and redeem the image of the continent by providing visionary leadership and governance that are preconditions for collective development and the eradication of poverty in the region. The APRM is intended to ensure that countries' challenges are identified in order to provide a collective support and assistance to provide a better life for all citizens.

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