

## 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 Agubuza, 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 outweigh 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 in 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.