

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

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

### 3.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

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

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

### 3.3. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 3.4. VARIETIES OF REGIONALISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 3.4.1.1. Developments within the SADC Region

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

#### 3.4.1.2. South African involvement in Africa

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 3.4.4. North Africa Economic Region

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

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

#### 3.4.5. Central Africa Economic Region

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

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

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

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

### 3.5. THE OAU - THE OLD PARADIGM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 3.6.1.1.Pan African Parliament

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 3.6.1.2. Pan African Court of Justice

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

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

### 3.6.1.3. Peace and Security Council

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.7. TRADITIONAL THEORIES OF INTEGRATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The consequences of these migrations, irrespective of their motivating factors or their reasons, are African disunity, brain drain and the underdevelopment of the continent. The fact that most Africans, especially those with technical expertise and professionals such as engineers, doctors, entrepreneurs, artists, musicians, university lecturers and professors left the continent, has contributed to the underdevelopment of the continent (Mazrui and Wondji, 2003:706). There are those professional fields, which do not represent the demographics of the African populations, a clear indication that the migrations of the 1935s still have rippling effects on the socio-economic development and growth of the continent. The migrations were not only into Europe and America but also into the Middle East, the socialist countries of Canada, Australia and the South Pacific. These countries are amongst the world leaders in socio-economic development and growth. Their citizens' needs and demands are well catered for by the state due to the contributions made by the African intellectuals. It has been indicated by Harris and Zeghidour (2003:707) that the migrations were common in the 1960s and 1970s, to an extent that Africa was robbed of its rich human resources expertise, which was then enjoyed by other continents. The presence of Africans was dominant in the intellectual, cultural and political fields of human activities, the virtues and values that were desperately lacking for Africa's advancement in the world economy.

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

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

#### 3.7.2. Pooling of resources together

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 3.7.4. Experiences from other world regions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.8.1. Challenges of Governance and Public Administration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 3.8.1.3. Enhancement of public sector reforms

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.9.2. Good governance

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

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

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

#### 3.9.2.1.Accountability and Transparency

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.9.3. Characteristics of countries with poor governance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.10. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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