

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY

4.1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

During an interview with Charles Zorgbibe, Thabo Mbeki declared:

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

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

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

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

4.2. ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

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

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

4.2.1. Objectives of ECOWAS

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

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

4.2.2. Problems in ECOWAS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.2.1. Factors facilitating integration in ECOWAS

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

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

4.2.3. Achievements in the region

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

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

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

4.2.3.1. Free movement of persons in the region

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

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

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

4.2.3.2.Common sub regional market

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.3.3. Single currency and convergence of monetary zones

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

4.2.3.4. Distribution of some natural and other resources

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

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

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

4.2.3.5. Creating an enabling infrastructure

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

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

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

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

4.2.4. Some challenges for the region

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3. SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC)

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

4.3.1. Objectives of SADC

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.2. Problems experienced in Southern Africa

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

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

4.3.3. Challenges facing the region

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.4. Prospects of successful integration in Southern Africa

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.4.1. Development in main areas of cooperation and integration

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

4.3.4.1.1. SADC Trade Protocol

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

4.3.4.1.2. Investment and financial areas

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

4.3.4.1.3. Cooperation in energy generating factors

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

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

4.3.4.1.4. The Protocol on Tourism

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

4.3.4.1.5. Transport and telecommunications infrastructure

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

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

4.3.4.1.6. Peace and security in Southern Africa

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

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

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

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

4.3.4.1.7. Restructuring of National Committees

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

4.3.4.2. Areas of regional cooperation cutting across

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.1. The purpose of COMESA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.1.1. Factors that accelerate sub regional economic arrangements

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

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

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

4.4.1.2.Principles of integration and cooperation

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.2. Priorities of COMESA

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.3. Institutional framework of COMESA

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.4. Notable achievements of COMESA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.5. Challenges facing COMESA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.5. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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