

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF THE CASE

5.1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2. ANALYSIS OF COMESA, ECOWAS AND SADC

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.1. Development strategies advocated by NEPAD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.2.1. Request for Financial Aid

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.2.2. Policy formulation for development

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

5.2.3. Factors that promote integration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.4. Administrative measures to promote integration

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

5.2.4.1. Political and legislative frameworks

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.4.2. ECOWAS and SADC leading integration process

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.4.3. Service Delivery through public accountability

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3. LESSONS FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3.1. Reasons for the prevalent poverty

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

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

5.3.2. Measures to fight poverty

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3.3. Institutional Capacity Building

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

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

5.3.4. Forging links with the developed nations

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

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

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

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

5.3.5. Trade performance between EU and Africa

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

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

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

5.4. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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