

Chaper 6

The Implications of the Research Findings on the Implementation Process of Nepad

6 Introduction

The conceptualization of the study is with recourse to the Nepad's goal specifications - sustainable development, partnership, creating conditions for development, capacity limitations, political governance, poverty eradication, and competitive economies *vis-a-vis* African development imperatives. The focus is a critical analysis of the implementation process in relation to the expected outcomes with the approximation of the policy goals. The attempt has been discussed in chapter five, of the strategic character of the impact factors underlying the implementation process. In other words, their magnitudes have been highlighted *vis-à-vis* the implementation process. Having located the attributes of the emerging conditions, this chapter will strive to demonstrate and present their implications that may determine the viability of the implementation process and conclude with recommendations that would strengthen the implementation process.

6.1 Emerging Conditions and the Implementation Process of Nepad: A Conceptual Perspective

Policy implementation is a dynamic activity. It has the potential to develop from policy perspectives and forecasting of implementation complexities to proposals that help to shape implementation process against incidents. It holds promises in pushing the boundaries of policy programmes' domains. The ostentation of the policy goals of Nepad has conferred a compelling rationale to focus special attention on the implementation process. It has unveiled a quest for a more rational and enterprising analytic inventiveness for its implementation.

Nepad by its very evolution has a motion of its own. And because it does have this motion, it brings it closer to certain complex constraints that could mitigate its implementation. These constraints could at the same time be regarded as prospective elements whose conversion may strengthen the process. The emerging conditions, besides being interlinked, are basically trans-generational as more highly tap into and overlaps each other. Nonetheless the critical question must be asked as to the negative impact they pose and bear on the implementation process. A useful point of departure in answering this question is provided first by, an holistic examination of the implementation process within the context of the contemporary trends of development imperatives at the political, socio-economic, and the leadership paradigms, in the continent and beyond, which present at least one possible scenario. Second, the critical examination of the conditions already carried out in chapter five and the imperative of implicating them on the implementation process beyond technical virtuosity.

The failures of past development programmes have compelled some discernible examination of the implementation process of Nepad for potential causes and effects of implementation problems that may abound. Indeed, this has led to an appropriate framework or unit of analysis to predicate the implications of the impact factors on the implementation process. The emphasis on the 'emerging conditions' is based on the characterization and the implicit (but misplaced) belief in the benignity of the Nepad's policy goals.

Regional development policy programme implementation could be substantially understood by structural and procedural problems that underlie the process. This is due to the character, which implementation problems imbue on the process. In this context the implementation process of Nepad has assumed the character that it is conditioned on some emerging conditions that may determine its brittleness. In other words, they either render the process a dead duck and a liability or viably successful. These are the main contexts in which the emerging conditions are elaborated herein.

6. 2 Implications of the Emerging Conditions on the Implementation of Nepad: Strategic Perspectives

The process to promote and cause multiplier effects of the Nepad's policy goals is dependent on how effective and efficient the implementation process could be conducted. An effective implementation process is based on targeting impact factors, having recognized that implementation process ordinarily entails import content of contingencies. Long-term development policy plans hinge on learning from problems, which experience yields.

From the implementation analysis paradigm, the study has identified 'emerging conditions', in chapter five as some of the impact factors, which characteristically hold out potentials that may impact negatively on the implementation process of Nepad. This in relative terms is indicative of the Nepad's implementation process. In order to deal meaningfully with the implications or risk associated with the emerging conditions, a range of implications and proposals as new approaches and paradigm shift have been offered and it is useful at this stage to explicate what these might mean to the implementation process.

6. 2. 1 Protocol of Engagement

Past experiences are indicative that once rules and codification of procedure have been made and adopted, they are there to stay with a tinge possibility of amendments, review, and modification over time. These rules are remarkably resistant to manipulations and maneuverings. The fortuitous advent of Nepad in Africa in the twenty first century ought to earn esteem, legitimacy, integrity, innovation, prudence, popularity and influence. Interested members and actors could achieve all these for Nepad through a protocol of engagement that has been ratified and acceded to by interested actors. Protocol of engagement takes the process of a treaty that requires accreditation and full powers from interested state parties, negotiations, authentication and signatures of the text, ratification, acceptance, accession or adherence, exchange or deposition of instruments of ratifications, registration and

announcement of the development partnership programme. These are the main anchors in international relations and engagements. It remains binding on signatory members. It is intended to spell out and enforce principles, objectives, operationalization, membership, and sources of funding, authority, ethics, behaviors, obligations, and implementation.

Protocol is viewed here as the instrument(s) for ratification by interested parties that should declare the purposes of Nepad, guide operations, and set codes of conduct that are binding on actors to avoid any misgivings, generalisation, and oversimplifications. It is necessary to understand fully the provisions of the Nepad's document in relation to the international partnership context on the one hand and the functions, activities, memberships, actions and inactions, budgets, resources, structures, management, engagement with the sub-regional groupings, international actors, social contract with the clienteles and the political leaderships on the other, in order to guide not only the appropriation of its social equity values but the implementation process.

It is equally critical to seek statutory interpretation of and lawfully base the content of the policy goals of Nepad. Protocol seeks to establish an organic relationship of the actors and institutional mechanisms within the contemporary international development partnership programme. It is an instrument that has been commonly agreed upon and freely entered into by members, partners, interested blocs, and international actors. It is seemingly a contractual agreement between, and among the participating parties.

It has been premised that the Nepad programme emerged from voluntaristic acquiescence, lateral ascension from the AU, declarations, and public statements by the founding member states. In the views expressed so far and in the Nepad's October 2001 official document, that has listed out the policy framework of Nepad, the Constitutive Acts of the AU, and the Abuja Treaty of 1991 for African Economic Community, no protocol has been formulated, ratified, and adopted in support of and legitimization of Nepad as truly a regional policy programme with international agenda character as reference articles of engagement and mandatory commission of Nepad as the legitimate

development policy programme to act beyond the traditional territorial nation-states' frontiers. This has been fundamentally downplayed.

Even in a minimalist version, an international policy programme requires organizing principles, procedures, and binding agreements to clearly provide the basic characterization, securing rights, *modus operandi*, and the purpose of a programme, because it relies on internationalization -transnationalization - multilateralization linkages. Similarly, Nepad is an expression of international relations, negotiations, economic diplomacy, it takes the form of regional development initiative(s), it is participatory, it is transnational.

The rationale for protocol of engagement rests on the character and the nature of the Nepad's evolution. Human interactions particularly at the international and multilateral contexts cannot endure, prosper, and develop without an orderly set of broadly agreed and appropriate codes and conventions set to govern, influence, and direct conduct and behaviour at the political, socio-economic, and leadership dimensions; and about how human and other resources are drawn, used, and allocated. The concept of protocol of engagement and the recognition of its inevitable role at the international interactions and relations are universal in context and character. The gravity and scale of the development imperatives in the continent and the partnership context of Nepad underscore the paramount importance that the organisation and implementation of Nepad be carefully programmed and ordered in such a way as to set forth some safeguards for the implementation process.

Protocols are the usual themes with seemingly irreversible roles and amendable provisions for increasing levels of operations and in integration of functions among partners and actors. The inter-relationships between nation states in the continent, international actors, sub-regional blocs, donor nations, and INGOs are not static and permanent but immutably dynamic. Protocol on the one hand reflects the regional aspirations while on the other incorporates people's contract by bringing a new wind of change for new lease of life. Protocol of engagement is viewed as assuming an all important context in initiating a process of complete international engagement where no parties

lays death caveats for others but having commonality of objectives and commitments. Nepad has defined what it considers a desirable pattern of development indicators to meet the development imperatives in Africa, without locating its contexts, concepts, and formation within internationally agreeable procedures to derive a mandate governing obligations, behaviour of parties, setting agenda and benchmarks which must be strictly adhered to with sanctions as option.

6. 2. 1. 1 Implications.

There are certain oddities *vis-à-vis* the ruled based evolution of Nepad. The founding criteria of Nepad have been loosely articulated. The declarations may remain non-binding in effect because Nepad's evolution is not grounded on protocol that has been wilfully ratified and freely entered into by the participating parties. The non-provision of protocol of engagement may enable member states escape accountability, encourage mismanagement and incompetence. Checks and balances may be eroded on the part of the operators. Assurance of responsibility and transparency would be difficult in a broadened membership of Nepad.

The lack of organizing and an orderly codes and principles predispose Nepad to fragmentation because there are no clear criteria to determine admission and exit, suspension and sanctions, coordination, membership, actions and inactions, and ensure transparency in the decision-making, operations, in terms of resources and programme distributions and allocation, individual or group behaviour, coherence, privileges and entitlements. The absence of protocol of engagement renders Nepad as a confederation with no legitimate reference and influence to act. The institutional functions, programmes and Committees, staffing, have not been orderly codified and streamlined, and therefore the operation and implementation of Nepad would appear haphazard and disarticulated.

The nature of participation and membership has been left at the discretionary basis and this has overridden effect for support for Nepad's operations before

the international programme operators. This is attested to, it could be argued, by the lack of interest in funding by the G8 and lack of financial contributions by the International financial institutions and the African member states for the implementation and the matrix management of the Nepad's Secretariat respectively.

It gives room for rule breaking behaviour from the members and actors. The commitment, loyalty, and obligation of the members cannot be tested and guaranteed because it has taken the nature of the pro forma African approach and this has predisposed the implementation as a fragile process. Absence of protocol, could in future, elicit arguments that the provisions of the Nepad Document of October 2001, and the implementation process are not located within juridical jurisdictions. Yet, it is precisely those matters that, in the light of the past experiences, are highly likely to agree to legitimization principles. But so far, this is yet to come to the fore and as a consequence Nepad has become subject of controversies and the implementation process a suspect.

The arrangement labels Nepad as a passing fad and transitory programme. Voluntary acquiescence of states and stakeholders to affirm an international proclamation, unanimous agreement, and consensus for the evolution and operationalization of Nepad create structural, organizational, and operational gaps, tension, and render the programme procedurally tenuous, subsumed and non-consummation. The implementation process may enter into uncharted waters without some 'holy grails' as reference base, because of the continuity character of Nepad. This would naturally inform that the implementation process has been located in a wider scale of complex nihilism and vacuity. In its present form, parties in Nepad may decidedly indulge in abnegation whenever convenient and wherever possible without fear of being sanctioned in any form. Nation states are governed under constitutional arrangements and even the Holy See has Concordat with Nation States as *modus operandi* in their relations. The essence is to secure procedure of relations, rule of law, functionality, orderliness, and engagement. Nepad has yet to take a turn to protocol of engagement and this has fallen far short of the conventional standards of international and intergovernmental engagements.

In all of these cases, the implementation process has been put at risk. They could negatively impact and create a deep disorder in the implementation process.

6. 2. 1. 2 Recommendations.

For Nepad to remain viable and an enduring African development and economic integration policy programme, it requires a set of grounded codifications as a guide to derive greater international significance, reference, authority, and legitimacy. Protocol will serve as the mandate within which strategic decisions for implementation of programmes are based, so that it becomes fiducial, influence behaviour, attitude of actors and corporatism, It would anchor deeply the commitments of parties so that they honour their obligations than abnegation. The encapsulation of the UN MDGs, Sustainable development, and the globalization process and the international and multilateral characters of Nepad increasingly put pressure of saliency for new prescription criteria for engagement. Therefore, it would be necessary for the implementation process that:

- The emergence and organization of Nepad should have, in the first instance, should have been based upon the inception and initiation of protocol of engagement and ratification of same by interested parties and actors.
- With strong political will and commitment, protocol of engagement should be enacted as the standard regulatory frameworks that are necessary for the management of common resources, guide against exploitation, and the distribution of social equity. Other areas of co-operation, negotiation, collaboration, coordination and standardization could also draw positively from the imperatives of the protocol as leverage for the implementation process.
- On the basis of protocol instruments, the relations, activities, implementation of the programme could be streamlined through encompassiveness formulations (incorporating structures, activities, functions, decision-making, interpretation, and membership) and

legitimacy restored for implementation. It will offer a lingo in which the policy goals and the modus operandi can be interpreted and through which the programmes could be evaluated and adjudged.

- Within the protocol of engagement instrument, Nepad would be better positioned to enforce and influence member governments and their policy fields that are contrary to those encapsulated in the Nepad's ideals and the global aspiration of sustainable development. It will equally be able to sanction egregious members if they veered from the implementation process.

6. 2. 2 Accession of Membership

The next condition is the number of African states that have directly assumed full membership of the Nepad programme. The accession of membership appears as if it should go ahead at whatever the cost to Nepad's ideals and implementation. Economically most of the member states of Nepad are faced with resource, human capital and natural endowments constraints, with small markets and population of less than one million. The membership profile and methodology do not typify the international context and experience in membership systematization of an international engagement.

For instance, countries whose policy practices contravene or are in breach of the policy objectives of Nepad even at political realms remain members. The ascension of membership has not been based on any pre-determined and pre-qualification measures and criteria, which should have determined participation. Membership in a regional development programme has to be drawn up within universally agreed criteria. It should be optional and open to those who are genuinely interested and qualified parties and not mandatory to all.

6. 2. 2. 1 Implications

Nepad albeit, not completely without political connotations, its membership should not have, in the first instance, been politicized and regarded as a full

right of any African member country of the AU. The confederation sets the stage for deep old political rivalries and divisions as old and new political tensions on the continent and abroad may re-start and could obscure the focus of implementation of Nepad. For instance the political jigsaw in Zimbabwe and other failed or failing states on the continent have earned the APRM a subdued initiative before the international partners. This is not what is required at the nascent phase of Nepad's implementation. It may encourage shifting of emphases for implementation, which may suffer negative consequences such as delay and inversion. The amalgam is a process that engenders political differentiations and is likely to fan the flames of hyper-nationalism, which Nepad is attempting to remodel. The logic denies the possibility of progress in the implementation process.

There would be differing attitudes of the member states reflecting different political ideologies and economic integration modelling, not the least will give way sooner than later to differing agitations against the Nepad's implementation process. As the profile of Nepad grows, rivalries will become deepen with rising demands and stakes. Cooperation, collective action, and consensual agreements for creative strategies to make for much more convenient planning and decision-making may become not only difficult but also intensified at economic costs. In a sense, this indicates that a collective identity has lost emphasis to a strong individual interest and identity, which may constitute a systemic threat to the implementation process. The arrangement may lead to the mobilization by individual or group members to seek to maintain the momentum and stay the course against the implementation. Promotion of political partisanship, which is not required at this stage, cannot be completely ruled out. A case in point is the influence seeking Libya for political relevance in the continent. With the free-fall membership of Nepad, it would be difficult to ascertain and shape anti-democratic stance of some its members and monitor obligations at the implementation stages.

Politically, each African client state would seek to wield and articulate its own development perceived paradigms, taking into account their past and contemporary history of individual political, socio-economic and cultural milieus. Political differences may prevent a member or group of member states to either seek to justify or contest and undermine issues of implementation of the programme which run contrary to their domestic policy domains based on the political expediency prevailing in a given circumstance. For example the issue of Zimbabwe and Libya with South Africa has caused some political imbroglios, which are diversionary and attract needless contradictions in policy coherence of Nepad, and largely the implementation.

Taken from the contentions put forward, it could be argued that, direct “membership accession” from a regional political organization into a regional development policy programme is anachronistic in any counts. This is because as more nations have become members, Nepad has become unwieldy and complex to the extent that the agenda would require a rhythm of critical analysis and numerous rigorous, costly follow up for implementation. As a result Nepad would not attract an acceptable standard of implementation principles and therefore opens itself to fragility. It could also be argued that all-inclusive and unbounded membership without deterministic criteria for membership qualification does not ensure stability in the implementation process and may render regional economic integration implementation impracticable.

The multiple actor participation, which has characterised Nepad, reflects an expression of a very loose form of coalition and alliance, which could impact against the organisational functions *vis-à-vis* implementation. Direct accession from the African Union (AU) to Nepad appears ill-timed, ill opportuned, and ill propitious. The accession is a formation between revisionists / reformers bloc and a counter-revision / non-revision bloc, some with apathy to democratic principle and foreign anti-apathy, hegemonic hankerings and economic and political patronage to dictatorships, factors which are not in tune with Nepad’s ideals. It would ultimately allow for fragmentation, disintegration, and failure to maintain an effective implementation process. This is the context in which the

accession of membership has been premised as an emerging condition that could negatively impact the implementation process of Nepad. This consortium of membership is less feasible for the attainment of the set goals.

6. 2. 2. 2 Recommendations

In order for Nepad to be able to manage its programmes effectively and create useful policy outcomes, it should review its African Nation States membership. Nepad's African project is a process with no fixed time frame. In pursuant to its membership a pre-qualification measure is required in accordance with pre-defined and evaluative criteria, which prospective country candidates will be required to fulfill before accession. To this end:

- Membership of Nepad is not irreversible and with a strong development will, this all-embracing membership could be reversed and revised to fit an incremental enlargement process. The maturation for membership enlargement process insofar as Nepad is concerned should be staggered and restrictive. Only states, which accept in principles the Nepad's version of *Acquis Communaitre*, including observance of the rule of law, respect for democratic principles, good political, economic and corporate governance, respect for inalienable human rights and fundamental freedom, reciprocal obligations and commitment to Nepad's ideals by all persons within their jurisdiction should become members. This could be developed in a discernible comparative context of the practical experiences of other regional development policy programmes particularly the EU. Nepad should at least have, for the time being, remained a regional caucus group arrangement of the founding member states within a framework open to participation enlargement proviso for negotiated membership in the future for other African and non-African nation states, economic blocs, and international development actors.
- This technique and methodology of incremental membership enlargement with further reduction will lessen the burden on resources, capital and human for the implementation exercise; will direct focus,

assist in the organization, planning, labour, budgeting, and the implementation specificities. It will embolden organizational effectiveness and efficiency because membership is based on scheduled and phased criteria. This would assist significantly the implementation process.

6. 2. 3 The Pooling of Political Sovereignties

The idea of national sovereignty is generally understood or perceived as self-autonomy or independence within a defined border and a legitimate authority over a given territory, which include the right to self-defence and self-determination of its destiny. The principles of sovereignty imply, among other things, a degree of non-interference in the internal affairs of a state, freedom to act, equality of states before the international law, recognition by the UN and the AU as the case may be.

Popular sovereignty and liberal democracy have come to be the norms of the contemporary global order. But in Africa elimination of political opponents, intolerance through autocracy, monocracy, and dictatorships dictate the political pace and space rather than strive to meet the modern rationalization of multi-party politics, a new concept definition towards development. The Assembly that can make decisions with no limits other than those of their sovereign will or judgment raises a typical question.

The provisions that are encapsulated in the Nepad document of October 2001, seems to limit sovereignty in controversial cases that will generate tension –human rights abuses, abuse of rule of law, political improprieties, which are reminders of systemic political impediments to economic growth and development in the continent. These problems continually beset Africa, which are not new but may haunt the implementation process of Nepad. They are still the reminder questions from African contemporary political histories that are yet surrounding Nepad with regard to controversies over how and when to intervene in the internal affairs of members states, where cases of abuse of political nature abound. The nature of membership and participation

in Nepad in its present state is mandatory which is likely to be overridden by the domination of incompatible and unwilling members and partners.

Despite the exhortatory of Nepad, these problems continue to take place unabated. Then the pertinent questions arise. What does sovereignty mean in the context of Nepad? Does sovereignty constitutes the overriding importance over Nepad? How is Nepad justified to act for the interest of its policy goals against the national sovereignty principles of its members? How would the action be coordinated and monitored in view of its implementation agenda? To what degree will these problems deserve attention and necessitate Nepad's intervention and under what condition? Through what protocol and mechanisms would Nepad intervene in the members' internal affairs? Does the plurilateral approach and membership, involving a regional policy programme necessarily render Nepad's intervention the required legitimacy in international context?

The response to these questions remains the obvious criteria to dramatically alter the common pooling of sovereignty in which a supra-national policy programmes are dealt with, should seek to perceive its roles, positions, and determine operationilizations both in implementation of policies and administrative matters. Nepad is certainly not a regional economic bloc, nor a free trade area or a customs union, and a common market neither by its very conceptualization nor a defensive response to globalization but a combination of all of these. It is a framework for Africa's development and a regional economic integration programme with no definite period of duration that encapsulates multiple issues and purposes. The multiple issues and purposes of Nepad capture the pooling of sovereignties in matters of political significance in the continent, including APRM as a complementary agenda. This has then brought to the fore some unintended consequences arising from the political saliency of sovereignty in the alliance of Nepad in the effort to move the continent beyond the grandstanding of countries with old but continuing political inclination to the concept of sovereignty, for example, Zimbabwe.

In another context, there existed a generation of real and imagined perceptions and fear of domination arising from the political configurations that seem to hold the view that the founding members of Nepad are out to peddle political influence and acquire hegemony over the small poor member countries, and therefore their interference in the domestic affairs of the poor member countries which are held sacrosanct are held in suspicion. Suspicion of externally induced interference in the internal affairs of member state may be extended to mean support for internal political oppositions (dissensions and insurgencies). Agitation against the subordination of national policy making preserve to Nepad has become critically imminent and virulent. This leads to the view that Nepad's implementation is a matter of convenience for the non-core members and necessity for the core members.

Nepad seeks to become an influencing factor, and a hands-on approach to strengthen democratic principles, and a watch-dog through the APRM initiative among other goals of Nepad. So far many member states are disinterested to sign up for possible review, implicitly using dogmatically the concept of sovereignty as an excuse. Nepad is, therefore constrained to enforce the objectives of the APRM. This would have been easier with consenting members who may have sought membership and ratified protocol as the basic requisite for accession.

6. 2. 3. 1 Implications

Nepad has generally made little or no headway against the cold realities of competitive national identities and sovereignties. Although the African states are for the first time seemingly speaking with similar voices about supranational collaboration for integration and development, deep suspicions and tensions abound.

On the continent, the characteristic negotiating attitude, dialogue, policy priorities are often more at variance as demonstrated during the Monrovia and the Casablanca continental political integration campaigns of the early 1960s. The situation is not any different now. The member states of Nepad would

compete for their national sovereignty, socio-economic, cultural, and political space within the Nepad's policy exchanges and implementation process. This defines an agenda to promote repressive power relations' structure and hegemonic practices in attaining political leverage from altering or reinforcing systems of structured inequality between, and among member states, a character of mutation in an implementation process. As a result juggling for the key political and economic opportunities becomes the key strategies of the political actors. An uneasy equilibrium between the supra-national and national authorities would then ensue.

The process of harmonization of various instruments to facilitate an intra- and extra-Nepad programme would become difficult in trans-border networking, cooperation, coordination, and harmonization, which would remain uncertain in promoting the implementation process if the sovereignty question is not tampered down at the national levels. If any, or group of, national governments refuses to place within their policy networks the objectives of Nepad or subordinate their policy preserves and render the necessary political will in support of the implementation of the Nepad's then the process will be put at a risk in those areas.

The macro-policy convergence criteria will be difficult to achieve due to a process character of such convergence. This is clearly indicative in Nepad's context, which, if not cautiously managed could render the implementation process dysfunctional. The issue of subordinating an individual member state's national sovereignty in the operationalization of the supra-national authority is sensitive and could attract repulsion and defiance on the part of the subordinated states. Libya, Sudan and Zimbabwe, which are ascendant member states of Nepad, serve as ready examples. The role of nation states in Africa to make Nepad what is imagined is hard to endorse, given that many of them have a visibly over-stated the concept of sovereignty with dysfunctional institutional frameworks for capturing the ideals, which Nepad is set to embark upon.

The pooling of sovereignties will remain a matter of frustration and will implicitly allow members to engage in the Machiavellian diplomacy, that is, quest for national objectives by conspiratorial and deceitful maneuvers motivated solely by self-interest and influence peddling, for example, the dynamics of the current diplomatic imbroglio involving the three key founders of Nepad - South Africa, Nigeria, and Egypt, in the quest for the two UN Security Council seats allotted for Africa; the respect for democratic principles and the rule of law which are the critical objectives of Nepad, but viewed as optional by nation states in Africa. The implementation would be impeded by the continued vitality of sovereignty, political identity, and nationalism factors, which Nepad is not at this stage competent to deal with. Equality of state and freedom of action in a loose form membership confederation of Nepad could prove rather complex and beyond the present realm of Nepad's mandate. States would readily employ the sovereignty concept in order to subvert the implementation process, a matter already obvious in many respects.

Issues over matters such as interpretations, context of rules, provisions, actions and inactions in almost every agenda item, and of course the programme distributions and resource allocations, which are not ingrained in Nepad, may be hotly contested in reverence for sovereignty. Political values and change that could be expressed collectively may resonate with partiality in the course of the implementation process.

The highly political nature of the programme may create room for deliberate causation (generation) of conflicts in an attempt to exact concessions such as an immediate pay-off of action programmes, or greater control over the implementation process and resources. Mutual compromise and consensus building have been left to chance, which could lead to an enduring intricate process of political bargaining to take place. The hybridity of stakes and contentions, making of critical assumptions for inappropriate exceptions and additions are likely, in order to satisfy the interest of the powerful groups to offset potential political dissatisfaction, and members' claims. This will create highly volatile conditions, thereby rendering the implementation process complicated. For example Libya and South Africa over the location of the Pan-

African Parliament is a quick reminder. This soon became a potential source of friction and tension between all-inclusive member states and is capable of destroying the spirit of collegiality in the process.

The political and socio-economic systems in operation on the continent derived and inherited from the respective colonial powers remains a sore point and has persistently generated continental tension between the Francophone and the Anglophone African nations with high allegiance levels and bent unquestionably subscribe to the dictates of their colonial masters. The border problem between Nigeria and Cameroun on the oil-rich Bakassi peninsula, for example, has generated a revocation, at the international level, of this contention as concerns about the possibility of political crises in the sub-region had then heightened.

Common standards of action and norms have yet to be put in place for Nepad, this has granted member countries the latitude to conduct themselves in a manner that defies the policy objectives of Nepad, since they are convinced that condemnation and sanctions are unlikely to arise from Nepad. The arrangement, therefore, allows state members the ultimate choice of which and what programmes to support and those of interest and importance to them. Autocracies and semi- democracies, monarchical political dispensations in the continent with varying political orientations are involved on Nepad and these have manifestly demonstrated themselves in pervasive suspicion, division, tensions, and the paradoxes that accompany the inception of Nepad.

All this renders horizontal and vertical coordination very difficult for the implementation process. The assemblage of these countries renders the programme unwieldy and makes management difficult, as they constitute frameworks for systemic risk, strategic dilemma, and threat to the implementation process.

6. 2. 3. 2 Recommendations

African development and economic integration cannot be left to the common pooling of sovereignties correspondingly with the AU. For example the EU's memberships from the EEC to EC has witnessed a periodic enlargement over the years. If Nepad is to remain the viable template for Africa's development and economic integration, the concept of sovereignty has to be de-emphasized, and membership be opened only to those nations who are genuinely motivated and practically committed to the policy objectives of Nepad. The difficulties that are likely to arise need to be dealt with through the unification of substantive and basic rules of engagement that involve all the stakeholders, development actors and the operators of Nepad. Given these contentions:

- Nepad should initiate the appropriate criteria for engagement to secure and strengthen the rights of actors through strong statutory prescriptions, defining their character and behaviour appropriately and create an appellate body for redress, adjudication, appeal, right, dispute, reconciliation, claims, conflict, and overlap. This will create a basis for a functional, efficacious, and sustainable implementation process in relation to development planning, infrastructure, and service delivery
- Nepad should bring influence to bear on national parliaments, the media, organized labour unions, and NGOs on intransigent African governments for good political and economic governance and against political impropriety with a possibility of economic sanctions.

6. 2. 4 African Political Leadership Question

Africa is now at the threshold of intertwined, but dual transition processes – a political transition to democracy as well as an economic transition towards a liberalized economy as a result of pressure from the universal compacts, whose prospects for real change has received universal appeal. The strategic role of the African client states in guaranteeing collective well-being through

enabling policy environment and good governance are based on the strong principles of leadership as an indicator for development.

Nepad alone will not be able at its nascent stage to fully address the imperatives of African development. National governments are expected to embark on broad and effective policy networks, including awareness programmes, liaison with the clienteles and coordination in favour of the implementation of the ideals of Nepad. Nepad requires policy-level planning and execution in such a way that all member states exercise at domestic policy levels the congruence of the Nepad's ideals. The objective lies in consensus building for implementation.

National governments reserve the political and fiduciary responsibilities with more scope and latitude. The implementation of Nepad requires broad ranging political programmes at the national levels. The dynamics of the programme present some critical junctures that should involve specific tasks at national and sub-regional levels. A broad consensus has to be developed across the respective member states as well as in the policy imports of the sub-regional groupings such as ECOWAS, SADC, EAC, AMU, IGAD, and CEEAC.

African political leadership has made spectacular advancement towards development through the inauguration of Nepad. Political and economic governance issues that are critically important, given the context for which Nepad had emerged. Governments owe the responsibility of the creation of institutional structures of economic exchanges where the role of the wielders of political powers is most prominent.

6. 2. 4. 1 Implications

It would be a costly mistake to think that Nepad alone can undertake the development programmes continent-wide. The integration drive on the continent has always been estered with political conflicts, abject poverty, endemic economic depression and diseases, and an unstable policy

environment. African political leadership and the policy makers have so far not taken NePAD in the right perspective. All the more, African leadership is engrossed in the monopoly of power, cultural influence, divide and rule political dispensation, disregard for the rule of law, nepotism, self-aggrandizement, corruption, electoral impropriety, and political supremacy in reverence for economic growth and development on the continent.

Implementation draws a strategy that is an operation-driven activity to get things done. It is a make-things happen task that tests leaders' ability to direct; test organizational ability and drive for change which involves design, monitoring, motivation and the achievement of performance targets. These standpoints in the contemporary political leadership context remain essentially haphazard and are yet to tie up with the African leadership's governance styles. Member countries of NePAD continue to hold fast to their identity politics and distinctive but contrary views on contemporary fundamentals of development as they relate to their national policy perceptions and directions including economic and political growth, threats to security and sovereignty. Most of these member states are under autocracy, one party system, and dictatorship. They operate dirigiste and control the media – electronic and print, and are intolerant of an independent free press and judiciary. They sit over the ruination of political and socio-economic institutions and infrastructures of their states.

Similarly, the political elite and policy makers acquire, a contagious infection of aversion to set their economies through indigenous paths for development and growth, that is to say they have directly and indirectly permitted non-Africans more leverage and access to manage their economies at the expense of promoting indigenous entrepreneurs. They dogmatically perceive their countries and people as personal estates for personal acquisition and enterprises for exploitation. They practice policy of exclusion that encourages and perpetuates sycophancy, intimidation, and denials. Some are currently steeped in political conflicts, for example, Zimbabwe and Swaziland in the Southern Africa; Liberia, a failed state and Cote D' Ivoire

which has refused a multiparty dispensation and policy of exclusion and Durfur-Sudan with the racial and discriminatory policies resulting in genocide.

More significantly, harassment of political opponents and peer support among the autocratic political leadership has been symptomatic of the overall cautious response of the G8 and the donor nations for Nepad. Rather than forge workable political policies they demonstrate complacency and prevaricate over the true position of their economies. The way economic policies and laws affect the populace and their participation are most often regulated against and deny access to available economic resources, opportunities, and management to ensure socioeconomic and political cohesions in the African society. This very breadth, of course, constitutes a substantial impediment to the implementation process of Nepad. These characteristics do not constitute the basis of leadership for development and ultimately bear against achieving viable implementation of the African project.

Equally important is the existence on the continent of deep-seated systemic, structural, historical, and ideological differences since independence, to the credulity of African society, which has generated political mistrust, rivalries, and tensions, and which the nascent Nepad, alone may not be able to effectively address. There are yet competing demands and interests, both local and foreign alike on the continent. In African states, there is a large presence of reciprocal intolerance continent-wide. Between them lie decades dense with experiences charged with highly emotive memories with a relatively common narrative thread that has run through them with different personations in public authority at national levels.

For instance, some of the political leaders resist their parliament and change cabinets as frequently as they wish. They continue to view their countries as their private estates, pursue settlement with oppositions with all of the sectors to their best and maximum advantage. Scarce resources are coveted, diverted, and deployed at will for the prosecution of needless political conflicts and internecine wars. They become intolerant of political plurality, victimize and deny order of freedom for the minority tribes, as well as members of the

opposition, these factors are incongruent with the objectives of Nepad. All these have served as grounds for the socio-economic and political conflicts, which have perpetuated instability and development imperative on the continent.

The interplay between these images reveals an arena for a profound crisis for Nepad. Therefore, the assembly of these political leaders in Nepad may have significant implications for the implementation, given the nature of African political leaders and the rhythms of their politicking, and the proper weight of their styles of governance. Implementation of Nepad under these conditions is likely to remain controversial, and in turn fragmentary.

6. 2. 4. 2 Recommendations

The role of the African political leadership cannot be dismissed in the implementation process of Nepad. In the process to attain the policy objectives of Nepad, national governments and their public institutions are the vehicles, which lie within the scope and capacity of political leadership. The roles, nature, and significance of the national governments and their institutions are essentially critical for the varied stages of implementation. What this means is that the role of Nepad is inextricably linked with the role of the national political leadership in policymaking, policy coordination, policy harmonization, monitoring, fundraising activities at domestic levels, and awareness programming through national institutions for the implementation regulatory frameworks. To this end:

- African leadership should be made to enforce through the Nepad implementation process policy incentives for the free movement of people and capital across the continent, to move towards common passport and visa regimes as already in practice in the ECOWAS sub-region to encourage transnational investments; right of residence and property ownerships in member states to reduce economic disincentives should be part of the economic integration. This will play a comparable role and reflect the encapsulation of the globalization principles and the Nepad's objectives on the one hand and ensure

formation of cross-cultural community linkages, promote visible and invisible trade and investments, and guarantee freedom of people as well as promote secularity that will reduce ethnic versus the settler tensions in the continent.

- Nepad should work towards influencing the orthodox styles of the African political leadership to void monopoly of power, that is, frequent changing of constitutions and not more than a-two term in office, to give way to new kind of leadership manifestly short term of office, based on the new realities. In other words, the new kind of political leadership means that policy makers are expected to be transactional and adaptive within the domestic policy agenda to reflect their commitment and responsiveness to political and socio-economic transformations. This also includes enlightened leadership styles, active economic diplomacy among themselves and beyond. Therefore responsibilities should be assigned to energetic, determined, and persuasive political leadership with charisma, political savvy and motivational capacity to influence policy decisions and actions, for example, to make some of them board members for Nepad. This will be an effort to conform states' actions more precisely to the evolving global political, socio-economic and cultural trends. No single leadership characteristic is sufficient but combinatory characteristics with transformational traits would assist in the implementation process of Nepad.
- Nepad should work towards harmonization of proportionate allocation of public expenditure to gender promotion and productive health to practically guarantee the resources for women's restitution, participation, and eliminate poverty and gender prejudices in Africa. This could be prosecuted by institutionalization of effective and steep regulations to protect women against rape, access to valuable assets after divorce, and option for abortion and productive health and child welfare. This means the repeal of obnoxious and discriminatory customary and statutory laws against women's rights to own and inherit properties, enjoy universal suffrage, limit their political and

economic potentials, and forced marriages. This is with a view to ensure that women satisfy their motivational needs to active participation in development efforts.

- Nepad should stress against political persecution, prosecution, extra-judicial trial and execution, political assassination, practices that enthrone warlordism, genocide, ethnic cleansing, and political thuggery; the systematic pattern of repression should be halted while a universal and civilized conduct of good governance, dialogue between perceived opposition, the governed and the rulers are encouraged. Electoral impropriety should attract heavy condemnation as well as economic and political sanctions to encourage wider participation and political pluralism as solution to socio-political tensions and crisis.
- African political leadership whose regimes create a failed or failing state must be denied political asylum in any African countries through Nepad. This is to serve as a deterrent for deliberate political conflicts, policy of exclusion, deprivation, and policies that promote them.
- Nepad's ideals could be translated into indigenous languages and dialects through the political leaders and institutions to keep the communities informed and ensure participation in Nepad. National television networks, radio stations, conferences, sporting activities and billboards advertisements be drafted into the awareness programmes. The implementation process of Nepad requires doing things right rather than doing the right things.

6. 2. 5 The Structural Economic Dependency

Structural economic dependency has both external and internal dimensions with greater emphasis on economic development policy particularly in integrating economic capacity in decision-making. Prior to the advent of the lofty global economic development evocative slogans expressed in the globalization process and sustainable development, and the UN MDGs, African economies have been ingrained in the globally diffused imperial

economies, which has subsisted even to this day. It was therefore certain that the structural economic dependency paradigm became the norm. Economic policies came to be designed basically without technological development and achievement in mind, at least at the scale beneficial to the national economies but for the emergent elite who wield internal political and policy-making powers and the external capitalist powers.

The colonial administration bequeathed to most African states economic linkages to the metropolitan economic institutions. The post-colonial experience is a more recent phase in the longer colonial history. This history is nothing, but a continuous history of capitalism. There have been spatial and long-term power-relations, which is a fortiori to the context of Nepad.

But it is not enough to continually apportion blame and hold colonialism and the international capitalist institutions solely responsible for the African development malaise. The extent of the African economic dependency has to be viewed with circumspection, given the politics and history of national economic mismanagement on the continent, which has led to poor economic planning and deprivation on the one hand, and the dynamics of the international economic system on the other. Economically, it could be argued that the structural dependency is mutual. The difference here is that one side uses more of its technology and expertise to draw leverages from the mutuality of the structural dependency.

For one thing Africa enjoys a near monopoly and semi monopoly (comparative advantages) in natural resources with high economic value. Africa is blessed with natural resources and raw materials of high economic value such as, gold, diamond, copper, bauxite, tin ore, coal, petroleum, and cash crops such as coffee, cocoa, tobacco, sugar, and tea. This list stands extension. But this does not normally translated into economic power in terms of capital out lay for development. The continent continue to remain fundamentally lacking in capital resource base, human capital, technology, and development-driven policy environment.

The developed countries have acquired monopoly in technology, production, and trade, which readily serve the market needs of Africa. This is due mostly to over-regulated macro-economic policies, which tend to discourage both FDI and local investment climate. As a result the economies remain extractive and dependent. For one thing, most developed continents lack abundant natural resources yet they have come to achieve formidable economic wealth and are donor nations, for example, Germany and Japan. They are dependent on importation of raw materials that service their industries. Their achievements are attributable to a commitment to and development of advance technology for industrialization, human capital and national discipline that lack in Africa.

The importers of African economic goods depend on the African raw materials while African economies depend on export to earn forex, and payment for importations at huge cost on the finished products of their raw materials. In good economic times African governments resort to the expensive habit of food imports, machineries, white elephant projects, and military hardwares at the expense of technological investment, by tapping from the expertise of the African Universities and the research institutes in technological development for processing and production of the raw materials. In bad times, they appeal to the global community for food and donor aid. This scenario presupposes that Nepad lacks the much-required capital resources for its implementation, as the central themes are not mutually exclusive. Abundance of natural resources of high economic value in Africa indeed has perversely led to economic decline, crises and detached from international entrepreneurs.

The critical factor to the modern day economic development is the acquisition of technology, its sustainability and advancement. The African economies and policies are mono-dimensional export of raw materials. The agricultural produces and raw materials are exported in a hurry to acquire and conserve foreign exchange much of which has to be expended on the payment of imported goods and services in neglect of development and economic growth.

On the one hand, the IMF and the World Bank caveats also remain critical in the Africa's development imperatives, as the conditions had given the

international financial institutions a stranglehold on the African states, and their economies. This has led to the debt overhang and the consequent servicing thereof which has witnessed a huge capital export from the continent. The outcome has created poverty, unemployment and destabilized the economic planning in most recipient countries on the continent. The imbalance of the structural dependency therefore has some critical implications for the implementation of Nepad.

6. 2. 5. 1 Implications

The economic dependency of the African economies, which has resulted in economic misfortunes for the continent, will evidently interfere in the implementation process of Nepad if African economies continue to remain primarily extractive. The concentration in the export of primary commodities over the years has aggravated the capital base of the African economies. Economic incentives and priorities are not directed at technology development for the processing of the primary commodities and mineral resources, but on the consumption of imports. The primary commodities from Africa are processed and refined abroad and resold to Africa at a high cost. This is not only a drain on the capital base but serves the structural dependency, which perpetuates economic under-development and capital flights.

Due to the extractive nature of the African economies the competitive pricing of African agricultural produce and mineral resources on the global trading systems, denies African economies capital earnings, investment opportunities. Dependency has equally led to economic deprivation, economic cycle, and poor economic planning. Poor and mis-placed economic policies by the African elite that allow formal and private economic ownerships to foreigners, economic mismanagement, graft, and mis-appropriation of public funds stashed away in European Banks, all drain the capital resources on the continent. The linkages of economic growth and development policies of the African economies to the mainstream international economic system, has provided the room for the Nepad operators to fall back on the G8 for funding. This however has come to be expected.

The adoption of different structural and institutional administrative arrangements during and after colonial rule has thus shaped the existing economic policy environment and evoke old allegiances. These patterns have led to uneven-typed and differentiated economic development policies in Africa. It has created socio-economic relations of systemic and unparallel beliefs and orientations about development policy programme in Africa. The policy makers, given the over-regulated macro-economic policies, have not prepared African economies for full participation in the global economic system. Concerted efforts have not been made to diversify into productive economies.

This situation persists even in the post-millennium Africa as Nepad has been driven into a trajectory of extroversion for implementing its policy goals. The diminutive and extractive economies would render African states incapacitated to contribute financially to an annual membership registration and unable to pay subscription fees, nor make the required financial deposits to participate effectively in Nepad's activities. In a larger context, these scenarios equally subject them to vulnerability and a possible reversion to the international financial dependency. Dependency only succeeds to create and articulate competing claims and stakes for participation in shaping a particular model for the implementation of Nepad.

The over-reliance on external funding for development programmes on the continent smirks structural dependency. The trend fosters a culture of allegiance and dependency linkages to the imperialist masters as opposed to that of entrepreneurship in the development efforts for Africa by Africans. Be this as it may, the undercurrent effects would remain a telling impact and would constitute a threat to the true ownership of the programme as well as a fail-safe implementation process.

6. 2. 5. 2 Recommendations

African development and economic growth cannot take place based solely on the structural economic dependency without inward looking measures to reverse the imbalance and begin incremental development with structural remodeling of the economies. There is therefore the need to introduce, under the Nepad programme a near absolute measure of economic value of African composite restructuring to scale back the over-dependency, vulnerability, and extractive economic system and stimulate economic growth to generate African indigenous capacity funding for Nepad. It would be highly unlikely for Nepad to embark on its African project without the diversification exercise as the economic base for the African economies in terms of technological development or possibly transfer of technology, formation of mineral and agricultural cartels to source inward capital generation to address the imbalance and create capital base. Bearing these in mind:

- Nepad should work towards the restructuring of the economic dependency condition by introducing reforms in liaison with sub-regional economic groupings. More focus need to be directed at country producers to make local productive investments in technology revolution to process raw materials, be it mining, agricultural, or refining on the continent. This is, with a view to develop relevant technology or encourage technology transfer so as to process the raw materials through to end products for international markets. This will facilitate creating and saving capital, exploit fully the comparative and competitive advantages and render African economies competitive within international trading systems. It will add value by higher prices for African raw materials. The value through local processing will be the source of profits derivable from the processed end products. African economies will then become the producers, processors, consumers, and earn and conserve capital and decide on what to export to earn forex. Nepad should negotiate with its members to establish National Provident Funds for implementing domestic policies of Nepad.
- The strategy for African economic emancipation and sustainable development in terms of creating new economic institutions and cartels

to streamline policy-making for production and processing, that will explore and exploit the comparative advantages of the African economies should be launched without further delay by Nepad. Through Nepad, in order to maximise the comparative advantage of the African economy African Marketing and Grains Board for production and marketing of African agricultural produce; such as cotton, cocoa, maize, tea, and coffee to determine their price index with flat scales of levy to generate funding for Nepad shall be initiated. An independent Solid Minerals and Petroleum Resources Management Board should be established for the African producers of petroleum, gold, diamond, copper, bauxite and tin to streamline production quotas to protect rights, extract royalties and flat tax rates of purchase by foreign and local clients, contractors, drilling companies and their subsidiaries, and to protect manufacturing against external forces and competitive pricing to tap funds for Nepad. These bodies have to maintain tariff classifications for international trade and conformance services. In promoting intra-African trade common Customs regimes should be established.

- An African Central Bank should be established through Nepad, whose responsibility would be to scale back economic cycles and false economic planning on the continent and to coordinate trade and monetary reserve, and harmonize monetary and fiscal policies as a move to introduce a common regional currency and exchange rates control, towards the creation of an African Monetary Zone for regional economic integration.
- ADB should be transformed into an African Bank for Reconstruction and Development (ABRD) directly under Nepad for matrix management of Nepad Fund (to be established) with the richer member states extending credit to the Fund with arrangements to lend to the poor country members on mutually agreed pre-qualifications and country proposals.
- Harmonization of African Common Customs Union and tariffs for intra- African trade along with free-trade zones should be expanded

through COMESA to encourage expanded intra-African trade as well as foreign trade. African Social Charter for workers should be integrated in Nepad's protocol of engagement. This is to enable and ensure a fair wage for African workers, equal treatment of men and women in the labour force, freedom of association and collective bargaining power, training, assisting disabled workers, and a guaranteed standard of living for workers, including retirees. A machinery for enforcement should be simultaneously instituted.

6. 2. 6 Financial Capital Resource Capacity

The one pervasive difficulty that recurringly scuttles implementation is a weak capital resource base. One of the rationales for the partnership character of Nepad is the capital resource constraint facing the continent. The necessary capital inputs required for budgetary provisions for the agenda items and the scope for which they would be implemented are lean and meagre. The resources are yet to be secured, from both internal and external sources to accommodate cost and price fluctuations with regard to the implementation process. This situation had been aggravated by economic crises resulting from the pervasively perennial political conflicts, cupidity, embezzlement, economic over-dependency, poor local investment and savings climates, and the lack of vision on behalf of the political leaderships on the one hand, and the after effects of the SAPs and the continued dwindling of FDI and donor aid on the other. Most members of Nepad are dependent on the donor aid even for their annual budgetary provisions.

Funding of development programmes in the developing world has been orchestrated and encouraged by the UN since the inception of the UN MDGs in 2000. Nepad, as a new programme, has no fixed assets, terms of capital investment to draw from, it lacks operating costs as a result of African countries debt overhang to international creditors.

The funding resource constraint typically reflects the dearth of capital resources for Nepad to tackle the myriad development imperatives on the

continent. This condition is equally worsened by the acute lack of enabling protocols, regulatory and organizing principles. The African debt servicing and corruption generate massive foreign accounts holdings, not only for the creditors but African political and policy maker elite, which have led to a huge capital flight from the continent. These developments have incapacitated the continent economically to bankroll the Nepad programme. The capital resources that are being exported from the continent, both by the African political elite and MNCs, could have been injected into economic generative programmes for the development of the continent.

The common economic crises that have afflicted the continent could be viewed at two-dimensional strands – economic and social fundamentals that are interconnected with the ‘structural economic dependency’ condition already discussed in paragraph 6. 2. 4. For instance, foreign investors (MNCs) and international financial institutions (IMF and the World Bank) exercise an effective sphere of influence on the African economic policy arena both at the private, and formal sectors, leaving the primary sector to the African indigenes. As a result, African economies have become extractive and have witnessed significant erosion against the backdrop of the structural adjustment programmes and the dynamics of international capitalism operatives.

At the same time, the neo-liberal economic ideological pressures on African countries by their bilateral donor aid nations and organizations tended to serve the metropolitan interest against the continent. The ceasing of the ideological aid patronage during the cold war era from the West and the East, equally reduced capital and material flows into the continent. In turn, the African economic systems and policies have resulted in skewed growth and under-development, open exploitation, vulnerability, and exclusion with a resultant marginalization. This has translated into shortages of economic opportunities, economic space, and underdevelopment on the continent.

The second strand is Africa’s internal macro economic policies, structures, elite, and institutions that have essentially remained exploitative. A great deal

of the African economic conundrums are caused by the poor policy environments that have deliberately failed to promote and strengthen the local economic policies and entrepreneurship aimed at diversifications of the internal economic structures in reverential awe for graft, sleight, and ineptitude. The majority of what they consume are imports from abroad with a huge capital underlay. Africa's development to them, remains essentially a theory to be assumed. In other words Africa exist, exclusively for their individual exploitation and remains unfit for meaningful development and growth.

In pursuant to consolidate and monopolize power, African political leaders view public offices as a recourse to wealth accumulation and tend to a policy of extraversion. They buy their way through the patronage of the multinational corporations (MNCs) in franchises, indulge in economic impropriety and are repressive to the detriment of development. Some of them have continued in the path of profligacy and cynical indifference to development. The economies, as a result, lack the absorptive capacity and goodness of fit, in the international competitive arena.

While these are on going, more and more peasants are created, poverty becomes entrenched, the economies stagnate, and underdevelopment becomes the trademark. Accordingly, the requirements for a formal and secondary sector economy remain largely the central challenge of economic restructuring and at the same time highlight the critical dimensions of economic deprivation that pervades the continent. Funding is a substantial component of policy implementation.

6. 2. 6. 1 Implications

These scenarios, both external and internal, have rendered most African states under-resourced, economically limp-wristed, and incapacitated in meaningful capital contributions to the implementation of Nepad. The goals of Nepad are laudable and well intended, but the inadequate capital base, human and social capitals would impede the implementation to get off the ground.

For so long, development policy programmes have been designed to stem poverty and the underdevelopment question in Africa, but funding barriers have all rooted firmly against their implementation. As a result, it has come to serve as a constraint to the implementation process as already evident in the annual subscription contributions to the regional body, the AU.

From interviews held with some Nepad staff at their Secretariat in Midrand in late 2004, it can be understood that South Africa is the only member state that is continually funding the Secretariat. Meaningful financial contributions are yet to come through from other member states for the matrix management of the Secretariat, let alone the implementation contributions. It stands to reason; for how long will South Africa continue with its magnanimous capitalization of the continental programme. This is where the crux of the implementation lies limited resources will generate tension and complicate the implementation of Nepad. It will cast the implementation at a risk of captivity beyond the reach.

These scenarios replicate and reinforce the implementation dilemma and will undermine and scuttle the African development project. There is a prodigiously unrealistic expectation to prosecute the agenda of Nepad from external funding. Funding an African homegrown programme in the twenty-first century mostly with external sources, is limiting the opportunities for inward looking measures for the implementation process. It has, therefore, trapped the African project in reverence for thoroughly mis-constructed policy choices, lack of targeting possible impact factors, and ultimately the implementation process. This would lead to marginality, alienation, and obscure the 'African ownership' contention. This is another way in which limited capital resources negatively influence implementation process.

6. 2. 6. 2 Recommendations

All policy programmes are formulated with the aim of achieving multiple objectives. Nepad has been created to address development imperatives and economic integration in Africa. But all the objectives cannot be simultaneously implemented. Nepad would therefore have to scale back its programmatic frameworks, to areas where it can immediately create a meaningful impact in congruence with the available resources. In short, the implementation of its policy goals should be staggered and prosecuted in an incremental manner, given its financial resource incapacities. Therefore Nepad should encourage and work towards:

- The capitalization of the implementation through internally generated resources. This could be done through the establishment of a Nepad Funds under ABRD to infuse grants, treasury bills, for capitalization. It will help free Nepad from death caveats of contractual obligations.
- The ABRD should also serve as the African Financial Facility for implementation and provide sources of financial services such as cooperatives, credit unions, and governments' savings. It should be responsible for auditing African external and internal investments to ensure adequate legislation and regulations in profit-driven financial instruments of member countries, to generate favourable terms of trade and commerce to mitigate risk and fraud. Any states aspiring to Nepad's membership should ratify the accession protocol instrument with non-refundable deposits of a specified amount subject to review, registration fees, annual membership and subscription fees as may be determined by the HSGIC in stipulated evolving periods.
- Nepad should target infrastructure investment, (transport – railways and aviation; ICT; marine), institutions, and capital investments to attract taxes and levies to form capital base for implementation. All donor aid and international donations should be channeled into the Nepad Fund, including flat levies and taxes from financial institution of member states.
- Nepad should organize African Trade Fares and embark on Fundraising programmes within and outside the continent to draw funds for implementation. Tourism taxes could also be levied on travels

particularly from travelers to and from the continent on regular basis over a period of time.

- All member states should be asked to draw flat levies from the rich private elite and corporate incomes, business registration tax both domestic and foreign, as well as licensing rates in the member states and accrue a certain percentage to Nepad.
- Nepad should work towards a moratorium on Military hardware purchases with the member states, for two years in the first instance and the accrued percentage turned over to Nepad to consolidate its capital base for implementation.
- In liaison with the affected countries, Nepad should work assiduously for the freezing and repatriation of the misappropriated public funds stashed away in foreign banks, in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. These funds should be used for implementing identified Nepad's programmes in affected countries.
- Among other things, the macro-economic stabilization that reduces budget deficits and credit economic growth with regard to both economies of scale must create the necessary conditions that could reduce dependency on external aid.
- Nepad should adopt economic empowerment frameworks such as South Africa's GEAR and the Nigeria's NEEDS, and harness and communicate them effectively as specific strategic programmes for poverty reduction and employment creation.

6. 2. 7 The Institutional Implementation Mechanisms

The need for efficient institutional implementation mechanisms arises from the recognition of the structural, institutional weaknesses and imperfections in policy implementation experiences on the continent. There are several aspects to this condition that could be viewed on the functional authority of Nepad, streamlining decision-making, and specialization, which are central to the themes of the study. The human and material capacity deficiencies, organisational culture, the exigencies of co-operative cross-sectional and

cross-cultural relations are causal issues that heighten intrigues in organisations. All this has characterised the implementation mechanisms of Nepad as indicated in Chapter Five.

The implementation mechanisms on the continent, let alone those of Nepad, are yet to evolve to the point where the ethical public policy processes and norms means the lowering of undue political pressure from the participants and actors during policymaking and policy implementation environments. It has always been common practice at the national and sub-regional levels that actors claim not only self-serving credit for policies but also seek programme locations at their immediate localities. The arrangement of implementation mechanisms for Nepad seemingly appears set to not escape from the mantra as an exception in degree and context.

While it is critical to have in place effective institutional mechanisms to deal with the implementation of the ostentatious policy agenda of Nepad, effective implementation can seldom rely on multiple-level implementation mechanism arrangements. This could hardly be of significant value to implementation, due to over subscription.

6. 2. 7. 1 Implications

In another context, the implementation mechanisms as they are presently constituted appear to evolve and focus around inoperative declarations that seek to gratify self-esteem and sense of political propriety of the African political leadership. This confederated implementation approach is overly paternalistic in context. It has precluded the African clientele and other critical actors of significant participation.

The economic cost of assembling the Heads of State and Governments for the purposes of authorizing issue specifics for implementation far outweighs the cost of implementing the issue agenda in a given section of the continent. The opportunity cost of travels on a trip by the members of the HSGIC if

subjected to cost-benefit analysis, the cost will be inordinate, substantial and would outweigh their significance.

The objectives and the role of the implementation mechanisms are ill-defined in terms of authorization, job ascriptions, and appropriation in pursuance of the implementation. Time and political pressures are increasing, often not on the side of the members of the HSGIC, the main implementation organ for Nepad and therefore opportunities for error, risk, and bureaucratic delay remain visibly high. For example, the AU Summit and the HSGIC may be engrossed with routine matters rather than ensuring that the implementation process is effectively coordinated. Loss of time may be the bane of this condition as the entire process may come to a halt waiting for one party's input for furthering actionable programmes.

It may create a sense of superiority and paternalistic behaviour on the part of the HSGIC over and above other organs and this may play down the effectiveness and the efficient execution of programmes on a large scale. The layers of the implementation mechanisms are overlaid on top of one another – a situation of fundamental conflict between the layers. The institutional economics, that is, the transaction/operating cost of the over-layered implementation mechanisms do not reflect the true indigent funding condition of Nepad.

This arrangement could stall creative and professional initiatives for the implementation and therefore constitute an impediment to the process. Nepad, as a programme that has been institutionalized is limited in terms of initiating valid decisions and actions. This seemingly may complicate the implementation process.

The set up denies the clientele access to articulate their views and present their priorities for implementation. The arrangement seemingly rests upon the theoretical assumptions of a top-down approach evocation and validates its paradigmatic interpolations. It does not promote subsidiarity, which is what the Bottom-Upper and the Advocacy Coalition contentions de-emphasize as they

deny the top-down approach, the centrality position in the implementation process. It is therefore antithetical to the implementation process of Nepad.

This arrangement gives the notion of some organs moving towards general implementation prospects, while some others move towards sectoral activities and yet none is a specialized organ. It appears more a transitory arrangement whereas Nepad is not, at least given its symbolic concept as a processual programme, that is, Nepad is presumably a high return regional development policy programme with multiyear programmatic frameworks. Under this arrangement, the implementation process could be threatened by a certain network, which is keen to control the set up, but minimally remain open to the lesser implementers; and monitoring unpredictable effects of interactions between the members and their agents with no focus on those of the emerging conditions. The structuring of the implementation mechanisms essentially emphasizes a differentiation character in hierarchy, an indication of a conscious vision to maintain the status quo, which is unnecessary at this early stage of implementation.

The multiple-tier institutional mechanisms are not an automatic guarantee of successful implementation. The convergence of functions may reflect fundamentally different political and philosophical interpretations that are difficult to reconcile within a complex framework for implementation. The fact of the matter is that, the arrangement has a tendency that may in time become an oversized patrimonial and predatory organ, with more political bent than development.

Implementation will suffer diseconomies of scale – the disadvantages resulting from large, as opposed to small-scale operations in an organization. These include difficulties of coordination, communication, information flow, and adaptation to changing circumstances. A massive bureaucracy encourages entropy – lack of degree of openness in a system.

The weakness of this arrangement may further manifest itself in the quality and rational decision-making because it has circumscribed and subordinated

the decision-making for the implementation. It may also be lined with bureaucratic politics; though the bane of every organisation, it could be more aggravated due to the nature of their composition. Within this implementation framework, the implementation process of Nepad appears eroded and faulty, rendering the process rather inclusive -faulty, than exclusive - professional. This jigsaw can play out and evoke an unpredictable pattern of outcome. The arrangement is indicative of a *laissez-faire* structure as it promotes policy divergence for any effective implementation process. It fails to enhance the interactive performance feed back loop, a strong contention of the 'system model analysis' in public policy process.

Flexibility and obligatory exercise of the permanent membership of Nepad is not a guarantee that is to say that the progenitors of the programme may remain permanently in Office. Their successors may choose to dishonour their predecessor's international obligations. This would create fragmentation in the process. It is therefore critical to argue that the arrangement would not address competently, professionally the underlying impact factors with causal relationships with the implementation process. This may consequently lead to an unproductive intervention.

6. 2. 7. 2 Recommendations

The regional development and economic integration programme is not only a matter of constituting a multi-tier implementation mechanism but it also needs to be understood in the professional context of implementation. Whereas the purpose of an institutional arrangement for implementation would be that of continuity, a specialised organ, a coherent whole should be statutorily provided and charged with the implementation functions. The establishment of a specialized implementation organ would be cost effective in terms of operation and implementation activities. The implementation mechanisms of Nepad ought be a specialized organ charged with all stages of the process. Be this as it may:

- With a strong political will, an independent organ of Nepad should be carefully plotted as a specialized organ that draws special privileges

and prerogatives under the AU, in a cluster concept, where a combinatory talents, skills, and expertise of personnel will be grouped and harnessed into a holistic and multi-sectoral implementation organ. That is to say Nepad could be corporatized to streamline the decision-making, operations, and implementation process. With the growth of specialization in development matters and organizational structuring, this specialized organ should be under executive management, a board, and appointed figures from the clientele. The specialized organ will be better positioned to organize, monitor, plan, budget, staff, direct, coordinate, evaluate, and report on the implementation.

- Nepad Specialized organ should be integrated with Issue Resolution Teams (IRTs) allotted to SRECs, that is, decentralised sub-units assigned to the sub-regional economic communities. In other words, the specialised organ could be mandated to initiate and work towards the standardization of sub-regional and national policies for the implementation of Nepad's objectives. A turnkey arrangement could also be planned where it is visibly necessary, this will improve its efficiency level and delivery. Specialized organ will be able to provide creative responses within their areas of expertise. As a result it will be able to provide integrated solutions tailored towards the implementation process. It will avoid proliferation of institutions and encourage the use of the specialised organ. This is because the implementation of Nepad is a process that requires time, huge capital resources, and a continuity of efforts to prevent process crisis.
- Staffing of the proposed specialized organ should not only reflect proportionate representation on the continent - regional balance but also international actors at technical assistance levels. Crossbreed of staff will inspire and modulate initiatives, encourage teamwork, free flow of communication, and integrated decision-making. It will reduce ambiguity; ensure financial stability as well as mainstream and streamline implementation functions, encourage accountability and should be held accountable. It will ensure a more direct performance and evaluation, control, delegation of functions, decentralization, and facilitate flexibility; it

will improve quality of policies and strengthen steering functions, and stress quality outputs.

- Given the nature and the character of Nepad, it should aspire to the attainment of special privileges, such as, diplomatic status to draw leverage as accreditation, that is, liaison representations at international institutions such as the UN, WTO, UNCTAD, OECD, and selected regional development bodies such as ASEAN and the EU. This will enable Nepad to tap into, and glean from different programming and implementation experiences, in greater depth from these bodies, and to project and defend positions of interest in relation to its African project. Diplomatic privileges, and immunities can be extended to the specialized organ and personnel in terms of status, liaison and *laisser passer* respectively to facilitate the discharge of their responsibilities (safe passage, representation, diplomatic protocol, negotiations, trade, communication, reporting, monitoring and implementation functions in host states).
- The HSGIC should serve as the custodian of the protocol of engagement, set and preserve standards for entry and exit by the recommendation of Nepad, sanctions, certification and approval of memberships, standard conformance, conduct economic diplomacy, budgetary approval and ensure inter-functionality between the Nepad specialized organ and the AU Commission.
- HSGIC should be charged with the responsibility to receive and consider annual performance reports, review progress, adopt annual work plans in ensuing years as well as approve annual financial and budgetary outlays. Appoint the Chief Executive and the Board members through the recommendation of the Nepad's specialized organ.
- Nepad organ will reduce the high tendency of paternalistic and rule-violating behaviours of the implementers and instead draw mutual respect, promote trust, promote streams of policy convergence, which are critical intangible inputs in policy implementation. Coherence of policy programming would suffice in reverence for complexity in the policy foci and the implementation process. All this will go a long way to facilitate the implementation process.

6. 2. 8 The Authority Question between Nepad, HSGIC and the AU

There are obvious differences between the AU, HSGIC and Nepad, with regard to role and role relationships in promoting the African project. While the AU is essentially a continental political arrangement with a political agenda, a political style, and a political temperament, Nepad is for regional development and economic integration of the continent, which is purposefully goal-directed. The role differentiations and duplications have offered the criteria on how the span of authority is defined between the institutional implementation mechanisms that have been arranged on the one hand, the AU and Nepad, on the other. How does Nepad been located in this power – authority equation? The response to this question lies in the compartmentalisation and programming of functions which determine what goes where, who does what, how and to refrain, in an organisation, for the purposes of prosecuting charters or areas of functions. The rationale is centred on efficiency, effectiveness, and policy coherence of a single-line authority for implementation. The issue of ambiguity and complexity with regard to authority are evidently the exclusive responsibilities of good governance and peace and security provisions for implementation between Nepad and the AU.

In both the AU and the Nepad programmes, there are long lists of stated objectives slated as the actionable policy goals. At the same time they lack clearly delineated lines of authority between the AU and Nepad; where it does, they are either in duplication or imperceptible. Authority remains vague and concertinaed due to the lack of distinct clarity on the respective roles of the AU and Nepad. Two possible reasons could be deduced from these contradictions, one is that Nepad has assumed various descriptive names – initiative, programme, concept, and implementation mechanism of the AU, the second is drawn from the duplication of functions between some of the policy objectives of the AU and programmatic frameworks of Nepad.

The implementation process is affected by how well authority is defined, specified, and delineated in given tasks to fit a particular context and

environment. Authority configuration that is fluid and diverse demonstrates multiple equilibria effects, which may range from effective to ineffective implementation. Authority would mean exercise of power to allocate and use resource inputs, among others, as a tool to ensure viable implementation. It is about placing responsibility more squarely on an institution. But, between the AU and Nepad, the power - authority equation seems to be a bane for implementation.

6. 2. 8. 1 Implications

In the context of a clearly delineated authority for Nepad, there are areas of possible conflict with the AU. The ambivalence on criteria specifics with regard to independent authoritative decision and powers on what to implement and authoritative allocation of resources, where and how and by whom, raises objectively some ambiguity and complexity in the process of the implementation on both bodies. Rather than improve the prospect of Nepad's implementation, authority has become problematic which could dwindle the institutional capacity to co-ordinate the implementation process. This perhaps would in time, push Nepad into a trajectory of legitimacy. There are obvious areas where duplication of functions could lead not only to fragmentation but also raises power struggle and burden budgetary allocations.

The overlap of functions may seemingly decrease the chances of independent authority for action, which may increase the fragility of the implementation process. Without a defined lined of authority, the programmes of Nepad will go through a spaghetti bowl of different rules and conflicting tunes for the implementation. The mechanisms are not far off a command type implementation arrangement. It is an over-regulated implementation arrangement and is seemingly reliant on anecdotes and precepts.

Coordination and decision-making for implementation will suffer attenuation. The relevance and the urgency for who is to initiate, advise, control, monitor, inform, budget, staff, and report, have not been adequately streamlined. In a sense, authority has been emphasized as an exclusive identity that has

appeared the strongest and may actually constitute a systemic threat to the fundamental implementation objectives. This scenario will lead to a more complicated institutional and interests balancing acts with varied accompanying institutional deficiencies. The arrangements constitute a potential source for non-cooperation, tension, waste, friction, and competition that may undermine coordination and harmonization of policies, taking into account prevalent political contentions and the poor governance styles of African leadership in many African states. Collective bargaining looms as complicated and complex in the multi-tier authority situation.

It will create delay and red tape, bogged down by the implementation process for lack of urgent responsiveness. This will promote bureaucratic inertia that may disrupt the implementation process. It lacks a redistributive potential. It is an insidious logic to any known approach for 'implementation' to move over to "implementable" process. It could lead to reduction in the range of activities required at early stages of programme implementation.

It also constitutes a political approach and hence a potential unit of political discourse. But the implementation process of Nepad needs to be moved away from this entwined loop to a more specialized process. The cumulative impact of this condition would add up and hobble the process. The question of 'authority' and 'power' has, therefore, become a strong condition for the implementation of Nepad.

6. 2. 8. 2 Recommendations

The authority-power relationship between the HSGIC, AU and Nepad needs to be clearly defined to facilitate decision-making, policy coherence, and streamlined functions before it can become more harmonious for the implementation process. It has already been recommended in the implementation mechanisms paragraph 6. 2. 7 that a specialised organ for Nepad should be established for the efficient administration, coordination, decision-making, and the matrix management of the implementation process. To this end:

- Nepad will have to enjoy independent authority and powers to initiate policies, take decisions, delegate functions, budget, organize, coordinate, staff, direct, and evaluate the entire implementation programmes as a specialised organ. This has to do with coherent articulation of the implementation policies, deal directly with the international donors, sub-regional economic groupings, and clienteles without political interference. Nepad should be allowed to operate in a consociation paradigm.

6. 2. 9 The Clientelism Question

Clienteles are organically linked to development in contemporary development thoughts and practice, and more so in Africa. Development, in whatever context, takes place in organized human groups, that is, organizations, institutions, and societies that form the clientele base. Clienteles have interests and demands that are aligned in front of different principles, objectives, and aspirations. These objectives and aspirations are often times potentially contradictory and competitive from political, socio-economic interest groups and lobbies. The competing interest and aspirations in society are attainable through compromise, concessions, and consensus in order to translate the stakes adequately into sustained development parameters. Engagement of the sub-groups of the society in the activities of Nepad is the basis for social covenant, legitimacy, and provides an explicit rationale for true African ownership, which previously had not been adequately thought out and had not received deep consideration.

The people's contract is concerned with ensuring that development is people-driven and people-centred as the strategic approach in the implementation of development programmes, Nepad inclusive. The devolution and decentralization of policy delivery in a wider context from a single authority to multiple actors' arrangement has motivational and positive implications for the manner through which the clienteles, authorities, and interest-holders objectives and demands could be comprehensively and systematically balanced. This involves policy choices for implementation. This requires the gathering of information on the policy goals and implementation. The rationale

is to learn from them the most effective means of implementing the programmes, exchange ideas, as well as to establish their priority areas rather than begin implementation with preconceived solutions.

The agenda of Nepad needs to be located within the public space to afford the opportunity to scrutinize and debate the context and modalities, suitable and tailored to the needs and aspirations of the African society, in general. What is critical is not the notional concept of the programmatic frameworks, but the measure of depth from which the clientele could claim true ownership, informed, and fully participate in the programmes. This condition bears a strategic alliance between the clientele and Nepad. It requires the aggregate functions of the implementers to relate to the grassroots and communities to extract how best the implementation in different areas could be tailored to meet their needs and aspirations.

The Nepad's objectives are matters for public debate and policy. The African civil society, the local NGOs, communities, and the grassroots organizations are the major economic, political, social, and cultural stakeholders in the Nepad programme. In other words, these sub-groups remain principally the political, socio-economic, cultural clientele of the African project of Nepad. The level of exchanges that flow from relationships between these groups and authorities determine the level of support derivable for public programmes.

6. 2. 9. 1 Implications

There are numerous claims that the clientele were neither consulted nor have participated in the policy processes that led to the evolution of Nepad, leaving the field to the Nepad-sceptics and cynics alike to regularly debate its viability. Ignorance of the African clientele on the programme and the inculcation of their expectations and priorities in the African project mis-match the principles of the UN MDGs, sustainable development, and the globalization process. In its most pervasive and entrenched forms, the non-participation of the clientele disaggregate the contemporary focus of the

critical importance of clienteles in policy-making processes, be it at the national, sub-regional, and regional levels for a widespread effect.

This situation gives primacy and monopoly of people-centred development to Nepad alone, which means development implementation done from preconceived solutions at Nepad's Secretariat. It would provoke determined resistance and apathy, near irrevocable resolve, which Nepad has to wrestle with in the near and distant future. It will increasingly create an opportunity for the clienteles to be easily swung away from, and could lead to estrangement in the Nepad's implementation programmes. The African clienteles could become antagonistic to the implementation process if they do not know anything about, and participate in the activities actively.

It elicits discrepancy and structural weakness to the operationalization of Nepad. To a reasonable extent, it could be argued that this is a reflection of alienation of the African clienteles, on the one hand, and the insulation of the elite, on the other, even before the implementation process begins in earnest. It reflects the view that the needs, values, priorities, participation, opinion, and contributions from the civil society are subsumed and subordinated rather prematurely. This remains problematic as well as prodigious as to how best the programme could secure far-reaching effects in the respective societies who are unaware of the action programmes so that they come out best against their initial state. The exclusion of the clienteles could undermine the very legitimacy of Nepad in terms of true African ownership. If the condition is dismissed, the implementation process could be in jeopardy.

The aspirations and the priorities of the clienteles are not in disjuncture with the objectives of the contemporary development phenomena. The political and socio-economic imperatives of the clientelist pressures from below hold out a radical potential impact to the Nepad implementation.

6. 2. 9. 2 Recommendations

The African clienteles have to be sensitised in order to create a deeper sense of the African ownership of the Nepad programme. The greater goals of Nepad would have to be communicated to the clienteles in a way that is understandable to all. Clienteles are trans-national, trans-institutional, and trans-organisational agents for development and economic integration in the continent. Given these contentions:

- Nepad needs to work toward the establishment of a strong role for the clienteles in participatory policy-making process and in the operational functions of the implementation process. Nepad has the responsibility to popularize its ideals through awareness programmes so as to be able to prosecute through consensual agreement the implementation process. This will have to focus on broad active participation, networking, collaboration, and coordination between Nepad and the sub-groups of the society for a broad based support. It will open up the space for engagement with the credible figures from the clienteles for the proper management of social tensions and misunderstanding whenever they arise during the different phases of the implementation process.
- Clienteles should be thought of as the galvanizing factors in a close conjunction for the implementation process. This is to reduce the monopoly of African development and integration processes and programmes from any group, so as not to serve any particular agenda and genus interest.
- For an effective implementation to be achieved, it is important that the process begins with a strong sense of African ownership and acceptance as an additional impetus to legitimization through the active participation and support of the African clienteles. Nepad should employ and deploy the information and communication technologies (ICT) to create and raise the awareness levels and contacts; communicate the policy goals to reduce group and sub-group biases and to influence behavioural patterns for the implementation process. The local representatives should be elected by the clienteles to make

them accountable while participating in Nepad's activities, to be able to expel them from power for any official acts of impropriety and make them decide policies in consultation and dialogue with the clientele.

- Most African nations are traditionally patriarchic with deep-seated prejudices and customary codes promulgated directly at women, and therefore women are not entitled to own land, properties and have no rights of inheritance. These laws are specifically targeted at women in a systematic and conscious approach to delineate women from active participation in the socio-economic development of their societies. These are policy inadequacies that lead to a massive insecurity and abuse. These scenarios have directly presented harsh policy implications to development in Africa. To be consistent, a social contract with the clientele must include measures to address deeply entrenched gender-based prejudices. Bringing women into a mutual policymaking interaction as proactive agent of change could strengthen developmental efforts. An expanded agenda of social contract that include regulatory instruments to address the systemic anti-social laws and policies prevalent in most African male-centric societies be established through Nepad. Women's individual rights are inalienable with property rights; to recognize that such rights provide structure for women's interpersonal interactions in society for socio-economic emancipation and political growth. Women constitute a large percentage of the African labour force, both in the rural and urban areas.

6. 3 Concluding Reflections

The chapter has argued that the main impulse of implementation of Nepad rest on the implementation analysis based on assumptions drawn from anticipation and identification of the underlying impact factors. The analysis has predicated the implications of the emerging conditions on the implementation process, on the one hand, and the possibility of harnessing them in policy consideration to enhance the implementation process, on the other. The Nepad agenda is inherently value-laden, but political, socio-

economic and leadership factors interact with each other as the driving forces, privileging them to an extent that is set to render the implementation empirically un-viable and cannot guarantee success. Recognising uncertainties imply that they will be encountered and managed through decision-making processes that should by extension implicate research findings.

This chapter has highlighted the implications of the emerging conditions as they may impact the implementation process of Nepad. It succinctly captures the dilemma of the implementation process. Nepad could move towards an unsustainable quality and recapitulate if the operators do not pay the deserved attention to the identified conditions.

The fortuitous evolution and the implementation process of Nepad *vis-à-vis* the programmatic frameworks compels locating Nepad within the context of some pre-existing regional development institutional programmes, typically the EU. This is necessary to allow for possible areas of interventions where applicable, in the wider set of decision criteria for the implementation. Therefore the dynamics of development management tailored towards uncertain local conditions is an essential part of the implementation design.

The implementation process of Nepad should be evolutionary and incremental. A series of stages must be in the planning, and managing the implementation process to ensure that uncertainties and contingencies are gradually reduced and built upon from new knowledge gained from research studies at each successive stages of implementation.

Chapter One of this study has elucidated the antecedents of the evolution of Nepad. Chapter Two has brought the concept into a systematically organized body of a scientific study, while Chapter Three has captured and related the social scientific theories and their relevance to scientific study to predicate the concept of Nepad and its implementation process as a social phenomenon that could be studied as a science. Chapter Four has brought in significant contexts of the development imperatives in the continent as the basis for the

emergence of Nepad in relation to the concept of the study. Chapter Five lays out the research findings contingent upon the emerging scenarios and conceptualises them as the emerging conditions that reserve the potential to scuttle or strengthen the implementation process of Nepad. Chapter Six, the concluding chapter, offers renderings and argumentations of the implications of the emerging conditions to the implementation process.

Although the emerging conditions that have mis-characterised the implementation process cannot by themselves guarantee fail-safe implementation of Nepad, they could however be considered as the basic prerequisites for envisioning the implementation process. By working through designs sequentially to reduce uncertainties and test concepts, implementation becomes instrument and the means of learning from doing. Indeed they could become training channels, which by themselves mean development for implementation of development initiatives. Given these perspectives, while looking into the future, it is therefore argued that, implementation process is never absolute, but variable, not constant, but adaptive. To preclude what is notably empirical is not a substance but the weakening of a process.

The operators of Nepad should ask the right and incisive questions on the pattern which the implementation process should go, given its objectives as the attainable end-points. If the operators of Nepad are sensitised to the underlying implementation problems, it could be possible for them to make early, meaningfully structured and constructive policy adjustments for the implementation process. Overly fast-tracking the implementation of the programmes would risk the possibility of a viable implementation process.

It should however be noted that the assumptions of the study based on the implementation analysis of the Nepad implementation process *vis-à-vis* the 'emerging conditions' may not be appropriate and explicit in all regional policy implementation environments. Weak or strong and successful or failed implementation, or even half implementation, it could be argued, is a function

of the environmental factors (political, socio-economic, cultural, and leadership) ensuing from multiple circumstances and levels.

The recommendations offer wide-ranging opportunities for the operators to adopt and apply a policy schema that will adequately position Nepad to respond to the research question, so as to keep pace alongside the contemporary global development evocations. Nonetheless, it is strongly emphasized that this study does not foreclose nor argue against further study on the implementation process of Nepad.