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Africa's New Journey

Will the youth claim NEPAD's promise?

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Foreword

Africa's New Journey: Will the youth claim NEPAD's promise? is the result of a reflection into Africa's troubled past and an affirmation of the faith we young people have in the continent's future. To do so is not easy – we must cross the threshold of hope and believe that a new journey is possible. For far too long have we turned away from Africa's abundant beauty, rich diversity and immense wealth. Instead, our ears have been filled with the cries of unending struggle, and our eyes see only missed opportunities.

When we cast our eyes beyond the continent, we see another world. Out there, dreams are being fulfilled, the gifts of nature are being harnessed, and life holds abundant promise. As we cast our eyes back into Africa, we see the contrast. But we realize that another Africa is possible. We yearn for it. We look beyond the present toil of our motherland and we see that Africans can live a life of peace, where serenity, justice and tolerance prevail within and among communities and nations. We want to confront our difficult history and mould a secure future without war or fear.

We know that peace is within reach.

We envision an Africa that is inclusive, fair and advances equal opportunities to all its peoples regardless of age, gender, belief, race, ethnicity, HIV status, or cast. This is an Africa built on the premise of good governance and strong human values. We are willing to take up our leadership roles and ensure that our communities and nations are liberated, our cultures and identities are maintained, and new standards of interaction are observed in the legitimate pursuance of happiness. A better Africa is possible. We look forward to an Africa that balances economic systems, social structures, and the natural resources we depend on. We know that our collective needs should have regard for the well being of our immediate and distant environments. We want greater responsibility over our continent to develop it while allowing future generations an equal opportunity to enjoy its beauty and utilize its richness.

We know that the future is within our hands.

As we look around, we see that we will have to walk a new and difficult journey to get to the Africa we dream of. We however take comfort, because we see that our dream of a peaceful, equitable and sustainable Africa is shared. A number of the continent's leaders are willing to confront the problems that have beset our continent. They talk of a new partnership, one where Africa engages the world on equal terms. They talk of a new framework for development, one where we grow our private sector and create wealth for our people. They talk of people-centered development, where we are justly governed, public services delivered and infrastructure developed.

They talk of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

Is this the new journey that Africa must walk? Will NEPAD rectify the curse of poor leadership, poor management of resources, ineffective participation, and corruption? We join them in this new partnership knowing that we need to harness their goodwill, contribute to the emerging framework of reform, and remain faithful gatekeepers to ensure that the promise of NEPAD remains a promise that its people shall benefit from.

NEPAD presents an African owned and African driven framework of interaction with a long term vision of eradicating poverty in Africa. Given that the programme seeks to set a development agenda for Africa, young people must find their placing in charting the future of the continent, as they comprise the majority stakeholders of the continent's future. NEPAD provides an avenue for young people to engage and interrogate Africa's development process with the aim of reversing the continent's decades of underdevelopment.

One of the key principles of NEPAD is "African ownership and leadership, as well as broad and deep participation by all sectors of the society". As such the participation of young people in NEPAD's agenda is indispensable. We want young people to know and engage NEPAD.

That is why we are writing this book. We hope that this book will provide the relevant information required in order for African youth to effectively participate in the unfolding NEPAD agenda.

10th July 2006
Nairobi, Kenya

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Acronyms

ACP	African Caribbean Pacific countries
AGOA	African Growth Opportunity Act
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	African Union
AYP	African Youth Parliament
CFA	Commission for Africa
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CSSDCA	Conference on Security Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOSOCC	Economic Social and Cultural Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
HSGIC	Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee
IDEP	African Institute of Development and Economic Planning
IGAD	Inter Governmental Authority on Development
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
MAP	Millennium Partnership for Africa's Recovery Programme
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NAI	New Initiative for Africa
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
O.A.U	Organization of African Union
ODA	Oversees Direct Assistance
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SADC	South African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
TB	Tuberculosis
UMA	Arab Maghreb Union
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
WSSD	World Summit for Sustainable Development

Background - Another Africa is possible

That Africa is a place of magnificent beauty and diversity is not in doubt. Her people are phenomenally energetic and resilient. In her valleys, mountains and plains live a people whose lives though dictated by toil, are filled with astonishing patience, zest for life and simple laughter.

However, this is not the Africa known to all. There is a different Africa, the one better known to the outside world. In this Africa, the burden of debt, conflict, corruption, poor governance and disease are the hallmarks of the continent. These problems are so deep seated and widespread that instead of improving, the continent is actually getting poorer. Half the population of Sub-Saharan Africa lives in absolute poverty and the average income per person is lower now than it was thirty years ago.

The extent of Africa's problems is not new to lay people, academics and the media. Repressive regimes, often sustained in power by external interests and ethnic cleavages; military regimes more interested in acquiring the latest weaponry than in economic and social development; repressive states concerned with promoting and preserving their own power; and governments with little or no legitimacy – all remain in charge of the destinies of their people.

It gets worse. Our beloved continent is dying a slow death. Twenty million Africans have died from HIV/AIDS disease and more continue to fall each day. In some African countries, four out of ten people are infected with the disease. Life expectancy is falling, and is rapidly descending to 30 years. The HIV/AIDS epidemic has not only destroyed countless lives but it has wiped out half a century of development gains.

The conditions anchoring development in post independence Africa have remained relatively challenging and illusive to Africa's development targets. Most past efforts to reverse Africa's underdevelopment have performed dismally given the fact they hardly took into consideration the inputs of local people. The people most affected have hardly been invited to the table that sought to find solutions.

However, in spite of such dire challenges, Africa has been collecting itself and pulling together. In the final years of the last century, a clarion call was made. The horn blew louder and finally became a clear and unambiguous signal that called for resurgence of the continent. Africa's people were tired of the numerous crises and problems that had plagued the continent. The time for a renaissance had come.

From the idea of an African Renaissance came the core subject of this book, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). NEPAD was a response by African leaders to the call for an alternative vision and direction for Africa, one which eschewed polemics and opted for practical and feasible solutions. Simply put, NEPAD is a commitment by Africans for Africans to good governance, democracy, human rights, and economic and social development. It is hoped that this book will stimulate discourse among young people on NEPAD and Africa and hence spearhead a new interest and consciousness on the African development process by young people.

Why are we writing about NEPAD?

Who we are

We are African youth with roots firmly sunk deep into the soil of Mother Africa. We belong to an organization called the African Youth Parliament (AYP). AYP is a continental network of young leaders, peace builders and social activists from 50 African countries working in promoting and advocating for youthful solutions to Africa's developmental challenges. We believe in a peaceful, equitable and sustainable Africa.

Why NEPAD?

As youth we are assets, not problems to be solved. We are an important human resource to this continent and we represent the hopes and future of Africa. NEPAD is an investment in our Africa's future since more than half of Africa is under the age of 15. We feel that it is high time young people take ownership of the continent's development processes and programmes that will and already do have a bearing on their lives. The best way to start is by educating ourselves about the initiatives that are being currently undertaken. NEPAD is a vision for Africa's future and young people must understand it in order to share in the vision and use it to shape the future of Africa.

What do we hope to achieve?

We hope to translate the NEPAD ideas into a language that youth can relate to and understand. We hope that young people will be able to take the simplified ideas in the book and apply them to their own personal and group development projects. We want youth to have a better understanding of NEPAD, and what it really means for their lives. We want youth to question NEPAD and to engage in constructive dialogue on the best way forward for the continent.

We realize that popular participation in Africa is void and unrealistic without the centrality of young people in any development model. Their participation in future and on-going decision making processes is important in securing local support and ownership of development processes. It is through conscious and deliberate action to engage their participation can we secure sustainability of the changes being sought.

From the OAU to AU and NEPAD: Where are Africa's youth?

The Youth played a key role in Africa's independence struggle, not because they were simply young, but because they had good ideas and were ready to lead the African people in the struggle for political independence and economic emancipation. Some of Africa's first leaders were very young when they became ministers or heads of state. Tom Mboya was only 33 at independence. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was 41 when he became Tanganyika's first president. Their ideas inspired people-their sacrifices spoke for themselves. They championed Pan-Africanism, and the philosophy of collective self-reliance that was at the foundation of the OAU and still informs both NEPAD and the African Union.

It is the responsibility of the African youth today to understand this history in order to find their right placing in devising solutions to Africa's development challenges. The revolutionary potential of the African youth will not be realized if they remain disengaged, but will depend on how well grounded they are in African history, their ability to comprehend Africa's challenges as well as credibly interrogate the current dynamics of development in order to reverse the continent's underdevelopment process.

A response to the call of renaissance

NEPAD is no doubt an African leaders' response and a proposal for Africa's economic renaissance for a continent faced with globalization and the hegemony of neo-liberalism. It seeks to engage and make all aware that apathy is no longer a viable option. Rather, it is the conscious collective bargaining that shall pay dividends both the medium and long term. Whether this will be a successful strategy is something that can only be proven in the process of struggle. The youth therefore need to be engaged widely in this process.

NEPAD's proposals for urgent political reforms in Africa as necessary conditions for economic renaissance are practical and achievable. The Youth need to reflect and identify their role in these proposals in order to participate effectively in NEPAD.

Youthful leadership not a new phenomenon

When the Organization of African Unity was founded in 1963, many of Africa's leaders then were young people. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was only 41 and the president of Tanganyika. Thomas Joseph Mboya, then Secretary General of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and a leading trade unionist in Africa, was 33-he was also a Minister in the Kenyan government at the time. Apollo Milton Obote, then Uganda's Prime Minister, was also in his thirties. What is even more interesting is that even the older leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Modibo Keita of Mali and Ghamal Abdel Nassar of Egypt were all young in spirit: they had big dreams for Africa as if they would live this dream for ever.

They dreamt of a united Africa: an Africa with one economy, one government, and one army. They dreamt of a united Africa in which the people would move freely, trade freely and work freely. But above all they dreamt of a continent, which was completely liberated from colonial oppression and imperialist exploitation. The OAU was therefore founded as an anti-imperialist front by the first generation of African leaders with its headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia-a country that had stood tall in resisting European colonial domination.

Whereas all countries that were independent then became members of the OAU, the organization had its chief architects in the persons of some of Africa's most pan-African leaders. These were Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, Modibo Keita of Mali, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Milton Obote of Uganda, Abdel Nassar of Egypt, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria and Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.

At that point in time, Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) was still not yet independent-it did so in 1964 when Kenneth Kaunda joined the ranks of militant pan-Africanists within the OAU. Zimbabwe then Southern Rhodesia was to remain under white settler rule until the early eighties. Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Tsao Thome and Principe were all under Portuguese colonial rule. These were the territories that the OAU was determined to liberate to make African political independence meaningful. As Kwame Nkrumah put it in his book, *Africa Must Unite*, "No African country is free until all of Africa is free from colonial rule".

One of the important committees that the OAU established and put a lot of primacy upon was the OAU Liberation Committee based in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. The main aim of the Committee was to support, co-ordinate and provide guidance to the struggles for national liberation in African territories still under the colonial yoke. These were apart from the Portuguese territories and Southern Rhodesia South Africa, South West Africa (now Namibia) and Spanish Sahara (or Sahrawi).

The Front Line states-Zambia, Tanzania and to a little extent Malawi gave substantial support to the OAU Liberation Committee. Kenya and Uganda also chipped in, although Uganda under Obote was much more vocal and much more engaged in the affairs of the Liberation Committee. Both Nyerere and Kaunda were very committed to the liberation struggle, and their countries sacrificed a lot in giving sanctuary to the liberation movements, quite often being bombed by the racist army from South Africa.

The Liberation Committee achieved its first major results when the Portuguese colonies fell in the mid eighties: it was indeed as a result of the valiant struggle of the African people that Portugal itself was freed from fascist dictatorship. By the late seventies, the Ian Smith regime was also collapsing, and the Committee scored another victory when Zimbabwe was born in 1981. The struggle to free South Africa from apartheid took much longer thus draining substantial resources from the Committee consequently costing both Tanzania and Zambia dearly. When apartheid finally collapsed in 1994, the freedom from colonialism from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo that Nkrumah had once dreamt of was finally achieved.

As Africa was being freed from colonial bondage, countries that were already independent were entering yet another face of colonialism: neo-colonialism. It was Nkrumah who had warned of the dangers of neo-colonialism in Africa in his book, *Neo-Colonialism: The Highest Stage of Imperialism*.

Economic emancipation still illusory

Nkrumah contended that after formal political independence, imperialism would come back to Africa through the back door. Rather than translate formal political independence into social and economic prosperity in the interest of the African people, the new political elite would manage their economies mainly in the interest of imperialism. The structure of the African economies would remain the same: producers of raw materials

for exports and importers of manufactured goods from abroad. Multinational Corporations would continue to dominate the economies in mining, manufacture, telecommunications, and even agriculture in certain countries. Income distribution would remain skewed, with a tiny privileged elite earning over 80% of the incomes while the masses wallowed in abject poverty.

Neo-colonialism, argued Nkrumah, was both a subjective and an objective problem. Subjectively, the new rulers of Africa quite often were not aware of or committed to the wider necessity of going beyond formal political independence to wage the anti-imperialist struggle for the economic emancipation of the African people. Objectively, the structure of the world economy and the manner in which the colonial economies were inserted into this world economy made the struggle for economic emancipation that much more difficult.

The OAU therefore concentrated on the struggle for the political emancipation of the then colonial countries and paid less attention to the struggle for economic emancipation for the reasons that Nkrumah so clearly elucidated. But the economic problems did not necessarily go away. They became the bane of contention in African politics, providing the basis for coups and counter-coups as discontented elite challenged those in power and won the support of the discontented masses from time to time. But even army takeovers did not solve the neo-colonial riddle; they simply deepened underdevelopment as the cases of Nigeria, Sudan, Angola and Zaire (now DRC) so clearly demonstrate. These are some of Africa's richest countries, yet they are the poorest when all human development indicators are taken into account.

Clamor for economic independence grows

Although the OAU did not do much in terms of spearheading the economic emancipation of Africa, the organization was not necessarily oblivious to these problems. They were articulated forcefully by sections of the African academia. They were debated within the circles of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). While Raul Prebisch of the Economic Commission for Latin America brought the "development of underdevelopment" thesis to the fore in discussing economic development policies in Latin America, Adebayo Adedeji-the Executive Secretary of the ECA-also tried to sensitize the OAU about the neo-colonial aspects of the African development problem. In this regard, the African Institute for Development and Economic Planning (IDEP) in Dakar played a key role under Samir Amin in the 1970s. IDEP's enormous contribution to debates on "unequal exchange" and Africa's place in capitalist accumulation on a world scale sensitized thinking on the economics and politics of pan-Africanism.

It was no wonder, therefore, that at the OAU economic summit in Liberia in 1979, the African leaders gave the ECA and OAU secretariats the go ahead to work on a new continental vision and program for Africa's economic development. This vision was to be based on collective self-reliance as opposed to neo-colonial incorporation into the world capitalist economy. The Lagos Plan of Action and The Final Act of Lagos-the most elaborate documents setting out the broad policy framework for Africa's economic recovery in a long-term perspective, were the final output of this discourse.

In this perspective collective self-reliance does not mean de-linking completely from the world economy. This is neither possible nor desirable. It means, however, engaging with the world economy by first and foremost

relying on domestic resources-human, natural, capital-for development and selecting-on the basis of national self interest-what type of investments and foreign inputs are needed in the domestic economy.

While aid, for example, may have been pushed in the past as a necessary component of capital formation in Africa, history has proved that this is not the case. Aid can only be useful as a supplement to an economic growth model based on strong domestic savings as a primary source of domestic capital formation. In the same manner, little reliance can be put on foreign direct investments until indigenous entrepreneurship flourishes, thereby showing domestic business confidence in the economy and a state strong enough to provide the regulatory mechanism for taming the excesses of foreign investors-particularly in the area of wanton repatriation of profits.

Hence the Lagos Plan of Action challenged African governments, at the national and regional levels, to formulate policies that would break the neo-colonial blockage to development in Africa through collective self-reliance and regional integration. The LPA, however, presupposed that substantial external resources-in terms of aid and investments-would be available particularly in the area of building Africa's infrastructure and establishing industries for value addition. It was vital to reduce Africa's reliance on earning foreign exchange through the export of primary commodities; an export-led industrialization process would have to increasingly rely on value addition so as to break the dependency syndrome on cheap raw material exports.

Multi-lateral interventions increase-with negative results

While the LPA was being debated, the debt burden was increasing in Africa, and both multi-lateral and bilateral "partners" would not advance African governments any further credit until debt repayment and debt servicing was sorted out. The World Bank reacted to the LPA by proposing its own short and medium term reform agenda that was predicated upon making the African state more efficient, more competent in managing public affairs, less corrupt and friendlier to market forces. The World Bank dismissed state-led industrialization processes in Africa as part of Africa's underdevelopment, and called upon the rolling back of the state from economic engagement in society: hence the liberalization of the economy and the privatization of public enterprises.

These policies, put together in terms of what came to be known as Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), were now to be used as conditions for aid disbursement from the multi-laterals and bi-laterals to African governments. The immediate impact of SAPs was the increasing cost of social services-such as education and health-to the ordinary citizen. A good number of domestic industries that had grown during the import-substitution phase closed down and unemployment increased. Little foreign direct investment flowed in as a result of liberalization. If anything, more and more consumer goods were imported following the collapse of industries that previously produced these consumer goods locally. More capital was repatriated with the abolition of foreign exchange controls.

By the mid nineteen nineties, and after almost two decades of experimentation with SAPs, even the apparently "successful" cases of Ghana and Uganda found poverty increasing, debt servicing still a drain on foreign exchange earnings and the overall structure of the economy still fundamentally the same. Some growth might have been achieved, but very little development had taken place. With the onset of Aids/HIV requiring even

more drastic public intervention, dwindling resources available to the state became even more visible as a yawning gap in stimulating the development process.

The need for African centered solutions emerge

As early as the mid eighties, African scholars had warned against the blind faith in structural adjustment programs, and the crisis that the implementation of the LPA would face if its success was largely predicated upon external resource flows. Instead, African researchers had called for policies based on popular national programs as vital components on collective self-reliance. In other words, African peoples could only make sacrifices for development if:

- They had a stake in this development
- They were actively involved as participants in the development process: policy thinking, formulation, evaluation and execution
- They were beneficiaries of the development output and not simply recipients of handouts by apparently paternalistic governments (so-called “giving development to the people”)
- The state was of their making and was accountable to them

Given the authoritarian nature of most African governments, these basically democratic demands did not go down very well with the authorities. Indeed, when the African charter for popular participation and development was passed after the Pan-African conference in Arusha in 1991, it was more of a critic of existing regimes rather than something they would embrace as a necessary input into their policy-making frame of mind.

But the World Bank and other external actors now found a more legitimate weapon to use in calling for political and economic reforms in Africa. A new condition for receiving aid was put forth—good governance. The demand for democracy was to come later, and was more explicit in the UNDP Human Development Report (2002) whose theme was *“Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World.”* In this report, the UNDP notes that substantial evidence exists to show that democratic governments are much better in stimulating and sustaining development than other forms of government. Other forms of government may indeed preside over certain periods of high economic growth. But to transform such growth into sustainable development requires democracy.

It is in this historical context that we need to examine NEPAD as an economic response to Africa’s challenges for the African Union which was established in July 2002 as a successor to the OAU.

NEPAD makes the following assumptions about Africa:

- Africa is rich in natural resources but poor precisely because of these resources
- Africa has lost opportunities for development for two major reasons: political domination and economic exploitation by outsiders and insiders—both governments and their peoples—who have remained weak, disorganized and lacking focus
- African governments take the major blame for Africa’s underdevelopment and marginality: they have oppressed the people, exploited them in alliance with external interests and adopted very

retrogressive policies

- Africa can overcome this situation of backwardness if governments were democratic, the people participated fully in making their future and hence resources used first and foremost to satisfy Africa's needs, particularly the basic needs of the people. This must be the foundation of the fight against poverty
- Africa needs the outside world and the outside world needs Africa. But Africa has been economically and politically weak, hence the outside world has taken advantage of this in areas of trade, investments and debt
- Africa must strengthen her case by stopping political wars and internal conflicts that weaken her further. Instead, peace, stability and good governance must be enhanced
- The outside world must also realize that Africa has historically contributed to progress particularly in the west, and the demands by Africa for increased aid is not a privilege but a right. Aid can be seen as part and parcel of rectifying historical injustices in the spirit of reparations and global social democracy
- While globalization and the hegemony of economic neo-liberalism must be accepted as a given in the world today, this is not necessarily a permanent phase of world history, nor should it be used to perpetuate structural injustices at a global level. NEPAD therefore assumes that the western partners will appreciate this philosophical point and engage with Africa with new values of partnership rather than master-servant relationships of the past

NEPAD has proposed a development agenda whose centerpiece is once more based on collective self-reliance and regional integration. It has been pointed out, however, that the faith that NEPAD seems to put on increased resource flows from outside to finance economic development under the NEPAD framework may be ill placed. Be that as it may, if African governments can at least begin to put their own houses in order by democratizing, this would be a positive outcome of the NEPAD proposal. If the state can be a more capable and developmental agent in society and achieve rapid growth through a more active engagement of the people, this too would be welcome news.

In other words, the people of Africa-particularly the youth-should challenge Africa's political leadership to put their money where their mouth is and implement NEPAD in earnest. What is regional integration if African people cannot move freely across the borders of their countries? What is regional integration if, in the same region, one government is financing reactionary forces in a neighboring country to stop ordinary people from demanding their human and people's rights?

The African Peer Review Mechanism that NEPAD has proposed as a practical step in monitoring and enforcing good democratic governance standards in Africa is welcome news. The test, however, lies in seeing how it will be implemented and the extent to which it will lead to changes in political behavior and political culture in Africa.

The Youth have the responsibility of understanding NEPAD and criticizing its shortcomings with the view to proposing measures to advance the African Revolution and not simply to enjoy sitting on different thrones of cynicism.

O.A.U and the Youth

The OAU as a Secretariat did very little to ensure the participation of Africa's youth in its activities even though the *African Charter on Popular Participation in Development and Transformation conference* affirmed that a nation cannot be built without the popular support and full participation of its citizens. It observes that the economic crisis in Africa can not be resolved and the human economic conditions improved without the full and effective contribution, creativity and popular enthusiasm of the vast majority of the people. At the close of the conference Professor Adebayo Adedeji noted that "Africa needs fundamental change and transformation... where it is the will of the people rather than the wishes of one person or a group of persons, however powerful."

The OAU adopted the charter in July 1999 but little was done to implement it, leaving the majority of young people without an effective framework for engagement.

AU and the Youth

The African Union Assembly recognized the important contribution of the youth, women, business community, parliamentary representatives and civil society and called them to continue participating fully as partners in the regeneration of the African continent through the programmes of the African Union. They affirmed, in particular, the pivotal role of women in all levels of society and recognized that the objectives of the African Union cannot be achieved without the full involvement and participation of women at all levels and structures of the Union.

The African Union Constitutive act Article 3 (g) advocates for the promotion of democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance. In Article 4 (c) participation of the African peoples in the activities of the Union is stated as one of its principals. This provides a general entry point for youth to participate in the activities of AU. Despite this youth participation needs to be clearly spelt out in the various articles in the constitutive act such as on Pan African Parliament, Peace and Security Council and in all the specialized committees. Art. 22. ECOSOC as an advisory organ of social and professional groups needs to ensure youth participation.

The AU Assembly also recognized the enormous capacity needs in the public and private sectors, as well as in the civil society of our respective countries, which constitutes a major impediment to participatory development. They proclaimed 2002-2011 the "decade for capacity building in Africa"-youth should follow up on this. The youth have to use the willingness noted above to push their agenda in the African union and its programmes.

This must however be premised on a clear understanding of the continent's challenges and he proposed solutions, such as NEPAD.

NEPAD – Africa's roadmap for success?

A departure from the past

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is simply a new way of doing things that seeks to depart from previous relations that have underpinned Africa's underdevelopment. It recognizes that previous relations seeking to reverse Africa's underdevelopment have not been sufficient. It seeks to review them and propose new ways of engagement that are true to Africa's development concerns. It calls for neither further entrenchment of dependency, nor for marginal concessions. It is anchored on the capacity of Africans to chart the destiny of their continent while engaging in external relations that compliment their actions. It is premised on the facts that resources needed to successfully fight poverty and underdevelopment on a global front do exist in abundance and are within Africa's reach. What is required is to mobilize them and employ them resourcefully, thus, calling for a bold and imaginative leadership that is genuinely committed to sustained human development and the eradication of poverty as well as forge a global partnership found on shared responsibilities and mutual interests.

According to the NEPAD document, NEPAD is a commitment by African leaders based, on a shared vision and a firm conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable development and, at the same time, to participate actively on the world economy and body politic. NEPAD is a framework for Africa's development that has been adopted as a programmatic policy document of the African Union. As a concept, it is dynamic and it is constantly being developed to make it more responsive to Africa's concerns. It can be considered as a process of producing and refining programmes to strengthen Africa's development process.

NEPAD could be perceived as a guiding star, to be closely followed and whose movements can help us to navigate towards a brighter and better Africa. Yet this star is not only to be followed, but also influenced and guided by the peoples of Africa. As such, young people need to engage in refining NEPAD, given the fact that they did not have substantial input in the production of NEPAD's main document and that their participation is critical in determining the direction that NEPAD will assume in the long run.

NEPAD is designed to address the current challenges facing the African continent. Issues such as the escalating poverty levels, underdevelopment and the continued marginalization of Africa needed a radical intervention, spearheaded by African leaders, to develop a new Vision that would seek to guarantee Africa's Renewal.

A new framework of engagement

There has been scepticism about previous development initiatives in Africa. However, the reason for NEPAD is quite simple. The initiative is anchored in the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalizing world. Strengthening Africa's profile and role in the global framework requires a programmatic policy document like NEPAD.

NEPAD appreciates the gains made across the continent in the quest for a better Africa. It notes the increase in democratic regimes committed to the protection of human rights, people-centered development and market oriented economies. It acknowledges that Africans are fed up with poor economic and political leadership and

the need to review ways of engagement. More so the leaders underscore the need not to base the aspirations of African people on the magnanimity of others.

Also recognizing the existing interdependencies occasioned by globalization, NEPAD provides a model of enhanced partnership with the international community where actors will agree on common goals that will form the basis of partnership. NEPAD seeks to engage the international community conscious of the fact that collective bargaining is a viable option that can be employed to realize Africa's short-term and long term goals.

NEPAD also places much emphasis on regional integration as an important direction towards Africa's development process. The initiative is further strengthened by the fact that it espouses the principles of self-reliance, self-sustenance and a people-centered development process which are critical in engendering local ownership of development processes.

Who owns NEPAD?

The initial stages of development of NEPAD was characterized by lack of serious and thorough consultation with African citizens as well as other stakeholders such as the civil society, the youth, women groups and the academia. This might have been occasioned by the belief that African leaders derive their mandate from the people and in setting agenda for NEPAD they were articulating Africa's concerns on behalf of the people.

Despite this, in taking the historical responsibility to design and adopt NEPAD, African Heads of State and Government recognized the necessity to promote new leadership within the continent. They therefore integrated in the NEPAD founding document an Appeal to the Peoples of Africa which states that: "The New Partnership for Africa's Development will be successful only if it is owned by the African people united in their diversity" (Paragraph 51) and that "But the struggle they would be waging will be successful only if our peoples are the masters of their own destiny" (paragraph 54).

This Appeal continues by pointing out that: "We are therefore asking the African people to take up the challenge of mobilising in support of the implementation of this [NEPAD] initiative by setting up, at all levels, structures for organisation, mobilisation and action" (paragraph 56). Furthermore "The leaders of the continent are aware of the fact that the true genius of a people is measured by its capacity for bold and imaginative thinking, and determination in support of their development" (paragraph 57).

This implies that the NEPAD will basically operate on the agenda set by Africans and will be informed by their own challenges and realities. We believe that NEPAD will belong to whoever transforms it into action as such; we call upon African youth to embrace it in shaping the future of our beloved continent.

A look into NEPAD'S Internal Structures

NEPAD will be supervised by a "Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee" (HSGIC). The committee is composed of several countries and is accountable to the Assembly of the African Union. These countries represent the five regions of Africa. The HSGIC comprises 3 states per AU region as mandated by the

OAU Summit of July 2001 and ratified by the AU Summit of July 2002. The HSGIC reports to the AU Summit on an annual basis.

Below the implementation Committee is the Steering Committee. This committee develops the terms of reference for identified programmes and projects, as well as overseeing the NEPAD secretariat. The Steering Committee of NEPAD comprises the Personal Representatives of the NEPAD Heads of State and Government. This Committee oversees projects and programmes development.

The NEPAD secretariat is based in the republic of South Africa. It is in charge of liaison and coordination, administration and logistics, and outsourcing of work on technical details. The NEPAD Secretariat coordinates implementation of projects and programmes approved by the HSIC.

The highest authority of the NEPAD implementation process is the Heads of State and Government Summit of the African Union, formerly known as the OAU.

For the Advocacy and Outreach, the African Union made the strategic choice to organize the NEPAD implementation process in the regions through Regional Economic Communities (REC), namely: ECOWAS (West Africa), ECCAS (Central Africa), SADC (Southern Africa), IGAD (Horn of Africa), EAEC (Eastern Africa), UMA (Northern Africa).

At the level of the country, governments have been requested to appoint a national focal point to liaise with the continental Secretariat, the REC and national stakeholders.

A number of African countries have established national NEPAD Steering Committees with representatives from civil society and business (private sector).

NEPAD has 3 major component areas that include:

- i. Creating favorable conditions for sustainable development
- ii. Setting Sectoral Priorities
- iii. Mobilizing resources

What are NEPAD's primary aims?

NEPAD covers a wide range of issues. Various actors might want to selectively choose aims to target according to their own interests and needs. The aims include:

- Replace aid with local entrepreneurship and self-empowerment
- Bring about economic growth, development and increased employment
- Reduce poverty and inequalities
- Increase revenue through exporting more diverse and competitive products
- Improve regional integration to form a fully functional African Union

- Strengthen mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution
- Promote and protect democracy and human rights by developing clear standards of accountability, transparency and participatory governance, through mechanisms such as the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)
- Promote the development of infrastructure, agriculture and its conversion into agro-industries and manufacturing industries to serve both domestic and export markets
- Promote the role of women in social and economic development by re-enforcing their capacity in the domain of education and training
- Revitalize and extend the provision of education, technical training and health services (with priority diseases like HIV/AIDS, malaria and Tuberculosis)
- Restore and maintain macro-economic stability by developing standards and targets for fiscal and monetary policies and appropriate institutional framework
- Institute transparent legal and regulatory framework for financial markets and auditing of private companies and the public sector
- Build the capacity of African states to set and enforce the legal framework and maintain law and order

Financing NEPAD

With the basic operating framework for NEPAD now complete, attention has shifted on the sustainability and financing of its operations. While the NEPAD strategy seems to have a clearly thought out implementation schedule, what remains unclear is where the finances required to roll out its programmes shall come from. As it stands, NEPAD has difficulty in financing its current budgets, with member countries regularly defaulting on their remittances. And because NEPAD uses a system of equal contributions by member states, the standard for contributions is set to the capacity of the smallest contributor, leading to a budget that consistently fails to meet the needs of the programmatic vision of NEPAD. The limited internal funding mechanism has led it to place heavier reliance on external donor funding, which remains insufficient, is laden with several conditionalities, and is not always aligned to the priority needs of NEPAD.

Regional integration experts have proposed that NEPAD may adopt a system of assessed contributions from member states. Using this format, member contributions shall be determined by their capacity to pay. For instance, some proposals suggest that NEPAD countries pay 1% of their customs revenues to fund the NEPAD secretariat and its programmes. Critics of this proposal however argue that it would place a bigger burden on taxpayers of wealthier African states. They have also argued that this system is risky because the funds assessed would first be harvested into national treasuries then paid out to NEPAD by each member states. This would expose NEPAD to delays in remittances and the possibility of member states retaining funds as a means of bargaining on policy direction issues.

What NEPAD requires is a self-financing measure in order to deliver on its mandate. One self-financing measure worth considering is a NEPAD Levy that is imposed on imports from countries outside Africa. The levy would be autonomous from national budgets and shall benefit from a mechanism that harvests the funds directly into NEPAD accounts. This can be effected by opening of NEPAD central bank accounts in all member

countries. NEPAD needs a financing mechanism that guarantees a steady flow of funds to the organization, thereby removing liquidity constraints it faces.

The proposal for a NEPAD levy may be discussed alongside other proposals for the sustainable financing of the NEPAD framework. Whichever way, a system must be found that will solve the problem of budget deficits, delays in remittances by NEPAD members, and arm-twisting by individual governments. Instead, NEPAD should be guaranteed regular, secure and irreversible payments to fund its operations and programmes. With the problems of financing NEPAD solved, the secretariat would focus on delivering on its development agenda and with time, Africa would be transformed into a single market where barriers to trade are minimal, more foreign direct investment is attracted, entrepreneurship thrives and good governance is practiced.



Tracing NEPAD's origins and development

Many documents were merged to create NEPAD. Some of these included the *'Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP)'*, the *'Omega Plan for Africa'*, and a *'Compact for African Recovery.'* The final draft was adopted by the Heads of State at their Summit in Lusaka in 2001 as *'A New African Initiative (NAI),'* later to be renamed NEPAD.

The launch of NEPAD in Lusaka in October 2001 was probably one of the most intellectually explosive events in Africa. The NEPAD foundation document was received with dramatic excitement. As a result the Secretariat was swarmed with overwhelming responses mostly targeting the NEPAD foundation document. They included critiques, analysis, recommendations and sometimes condemnation. The Secretariat took time to respond and it was not until early 2003, that mechanism for a substantive dialogue with the Civil Society Organizations, academia, gender experts, the youth, trade unions and so on, was put in place. One could summarise the phases that this engagement has assumed between July 2001 and July 2004. One thing is clear, that the African CSOs engagement with the NEPAD process has undergone a complete metamorphosis. It is only by looking more deeply into dynamics of the process that one appreciates the efforts that both sides have put to bear.

Four phases seem to have emerged from this engagement and we would like to briefly highlight the salient features of each phase as follows;

Misunderstanding phase

Phase one was a CSO-only type of engagement, which occurred immediately after the release of the NEPAD document in Lusaka. It was the immediate reaction to the new document, and was characterized by anger resulting from a sense of exclusion of CSOs in the development of the document and skepticism on the political will to implement the commitment as expressed in big CSO forums such as the CSO forum in Bamako. This phase could often be referred to as a misunderstanding phase.

Ad hoc phase

Phase two was characterized by ad-hoc engagement between African CSOs and the architects of NEPAD and one is persuaded to refer to the engagements during this phase as ad-hoc because of the way it unfolded. African CSOs would often confront the NEPAD initiating Heads of States in global meetings such as the Financing for Development (FfD) and World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) and demand an immediate explanation on the evolution of NEPAD, its vision and issues around stakeholder involvement, and hence the name Ad-hoc phase.

Reach out phase

Phase three was characterized by the NEPAD Secretariat trying to reach out to the CSOs to understand their concerns and led to NEPAD organizing a series of CSO forums such as the Elmina-Ghana CSO/NEPAD, the Accra-NEPAD/private sector forum, the Gabon Gender Summit, the Maputo African Union CSO/NEPAD consultation, the Mali NEPAD Communication and Advocacy workshop and the Dakar NEPAD Media workshop, hence the name reach out phase.

Consultation phase

Phase four saw the NEPAD Secretariat hold wide ranging consultations on the kind of institutional mechanisms it should put in place to spearhead CSO participation and gender mainstreaming of its policies, programmes and structure, hence the name consultation phase. The consultations focused on an appropriate institutional mechanism within NEPAD that could both ensure CSOs issues in general and gender issues in particular are properly mainstreamed in the NEPAD processes, policies and programmes.

Rapprochement with civil society deepens

At the end of the consultation process, the Secretariat committed to put in place an institutional mechanism to deal with CSOs and gender mainstreaming, hence the formation of the Gender and CSO Unit. Within the context of ECOSOCC the Gender and CSO Unit has come up with a framework in the form of the NEPAD CSO Think Tank, which can help bridge any gaps between the NEPAD Secretariat, RECs and the AU on one side and the wider CSOs constituency including those in ECOSOCC on the other side. In the last several months the Secretariat has been involved in a thorough process of identifying the right people to serve in this CSO Think Tank and made official announcements for potential candidates to apply and circulated it very widely between December 2005 and March 2005. Subsequently, a sub-committee was set up at the Secretariat which short listed candidates and has finalized the selection and appointment of members.

According to the definition of CSOs, each CSO interest would be represented in the Think Tank including youth, trade unions, professional/intellectual, faith based, women and disabled. In order to capture CSOs thematic expertise in each of the NEPAD priority sector, CSO thematic experts will also be represented in the Think Tank as well as ex-official members whom the secretariat may wish to include due to their special skills or expertise. For each CSO area of interest there would be a designated Task Force Member and an Alternate Member who can be called upon to act if the designate member is not available. The selection of the designate and alternate members of the Think Tank would be subjected to the gender parity principle. The CSO Think Tank will be an instrumental framework in ensuring effective stakeholder participation in NEPAD processes and its launching could not have been more timely.

The Development timeline for Africa

The NEPAD initiative stands on the shoulders of concerted efforts at liberation and regional integration in Africa that started as far back as the 1960s starting with the first wave of independence where pan-Africanism emerged, to the formation of the Organization of African Unity, the development of regional economic blocs, finally leading to the establishment of the African Union and NEPAD.

An overview of the process is provided below;

1960's

The first wave of independence

- Thirty African countries peacefully achieve independence
- This time characterized by hope for a new African century. Strong belief around the world and domestically, that now Africa free of its shackles of colonialism would play a significant role on the world scene and move forward towards development and prosperity
- Pan African Movement initiated – Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana
 - All African People's Conference (AAPC) (Ghana, 1958)
 - AAPC (Tunisia, 1960)
 - AAPC (Egypt, 1961)
 - Conference of Independent African States (Ghana, 1958)
 - Conference of Independent African States (Ethiopia, 1960)

Pan-Africanism was the intellectual, political and economic cooperative effort, which was expected to lead to the political unity of Africa. In the 1960s, two ideological groups within the Pan-Africanist movement were created. The Brazzaville/Monrovia group was made up of 20 moderated, pro-Western, Francophone states in 1961 (now: Union Africaine et Malgache). The Casablanca group was made up of seven socialist states (Algeria, Ghana, Egypt, Guinea, Libya, Mali and Morocco). Though the two groups initially differed on how to approach pan-Africanism, they eventually became part of the Organization for African Unity.

Pan-Africanism was the first step toward NEPAD because it, like NEPAD was a framework for African development. It sought to foster radical change in the colonial structures of the economy, and the implementation of an inward-looking strategy of production and development. It sought unification of financial markets, economic integration, and a new political map of Africa. It was the first idea of an "African Renaissance" or "Black Renaissance".

Organization for African Unity

- Founded in 1963
- Charged with the responsibility to promote the unity of Africa and to advocated for the total liberation of Africa from colonialism. Additionally it sought to develop the conditions of peace, stability and democratic rule

East African Community - 1967

- Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda were the only members
- Aim was to create a common economic market

1970s*Lome Convention I – 1975*

- A comprehensive trade and aid agreement between the 15 member states of the European Union (EU) and 71 Africa, Caribbean and Pacific states
- Legally binding contractual arrangement of limited duration based on partnership, reciprocity, and equal benefits between the European Community of 15 and the 71 ACP states in the areas of trade, commodities, minerals, financial and technical assistance, and agricultural and industrial development
- Seen as a neo-colonial arrangement

The Economic Community of West African States – 1975

- 16 member states: Cape Verde, Cote D'Ivoire, Benin, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo
- Combined domestic product of US \$122.4 Billion
- The main objectives to be achieved, in stages, are:
 - Creation of economic and monetary union
 - Development and modernization of regional highway and telecommunications networks
 - Coordination and harmonization of national economic and financial policies in order to enhance effectiveness of national structural adjustment and economic reform programs
 - Regional convertibility of the nine national currencies and in the long term, the creation of a single monetary zone
- Major problems:
 - Minimal movement of capital within the region because capital markets remain underdeveloped
 - Non-compliance of member states with community decisions, policies and programs in a limiting characteristic of ECOWAS
 - This criticism stems from the failure of member states to fully contribute their agreed payments to the Community budget
 - Community is owed arrears of \$38.4 million by 11 member states

Oil Shocks

The oil shocks of the 1970

Turbulence within the Bretton Wood Institutions

- US drop the gold standard
- IMF and World Bank roles are re-examined and reconstructed
- GATT turns into the World Trade Organization

Brandt Commission: North South: A Program for Survival

- This report linked economic equity to development
- First major report on sustainable development by a Western agency

Berg Report

- Mandated by the World Bank
- Criticized Africa for its weak governance record
- First to mention structural adjustment and tied aid

1980s

Second Wave of Independence

- Zimbabwe
- Namibia
- Angola

South African Development Community (SADC) - 1980

- The Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), the precursor to the development community, SADC, was formally launched in April 1980
- It was initiated by the leaders of Front Line States, based on the July 1979 Arusha Conference which agreed on a strategy to form a regional body. SADCC was launched in Lusaka, by a Summit of leaders nine southern African states – Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and the soon-to-be independent Zimbabwe
- SADCC's principal objective was to reduce dependence on apartheid South Africa, particularly in the areas of transport and other infrastructure
- With the economic and political landscape of South Africa changing at the regional, continental and global levels, SADCC leaders transformed the organisation, through the Windhoek Declaration and Treaty of 1992, into the Southern African Development Community, seeking deeper regional integration
- The SADC family has since grown to 13 members including Namibia which joined in 1990, South Africa (1994), Mauritius (1995) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (1997)
- SADC has continued to regenerate itself with a recent institutional restructuring exercise that has

culminated in its long term development plan which compliments NEPAD goals at the Africa level, and the Millennium Development Goals at the global level. SADC's Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) advances the NEPAD ideals at the sub-regional level. The 15-year RISDP was launched in March 2004 in Arusha, Tanzania

Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa - (1980-2000)

- Continents blueprint based on the principle of collective self-reliance
- Sought to achieve rapid economic and social development
- Failed due to: opposition from donor community

Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) – 1983

- Burundi, Cameroon, CAR, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, Sao Tome, DRC.
Aim is common economic market

African Alternative Framework to the Structural Adjustment Programme for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP) - (1989)

Arab – Maghreb Union (AMU) – 1989

- First major regional integration arrangement in the North African region, comprising Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia
- Main objective is to strengthen all forms of ties among member states to ensure regional stability and enhance political coordination
- Want to gradually introduce free circulation of goods and services, and factors of production among them

1990s

OAU Extraordinary Summit (Libya, 1999)

The Summit mandated President Mbeki (South Africa) and President Bouteflika (Libya) to engage Africa's creditors to cancel Africa's external debt.

South Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement and the G77 (Cuba, 2000)

President Mbeki and President Obasanjo (Nigeria) conveyed concerns of Africa to the G8, UN, World Bank, IMF.

Realizing the similarity between the two mandates and the fact that debt relief formed only one aspect of the

overall development agenda for Africa, the OAU Summit in Togo in July 2000 mandated the three presidents to engage the developed North to create a constructive partnership for the regeneration of the Continent.

2000

Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP) (Okinawa 2000)

- The three presidents raised the issue of partnership with the G8 and thus began a working plan on MAP
- MAP is a comprehensive policy framework for macroeconomic stability, education, health, investment, ICT and regional integration. It has three components:
 - Political – MAP stresses the importance of political stability, peace building, conflict prevention and resolution, democracy and governance. It stresses the links between lack of democracy and of respect for human rights and the lack of development.
 - Principle of African Ownership
 - Regional Cooperation – Regional integration and cooperation are seen as a tool to increase the competitiveness of African economies and as a necessary step into the world economy

MAP Steering Committee (Pretoria, September – 2000)

- A steering committee was appointed
- Each President appointed two members to the Steering Committee in October 2000
- In February 2001, the Steering committee after a number of consultations produced a policy framework document called Draft 3 (a). This document was both a vision statement and an outline of a program of action for the political, social and economic recovery of the African continent. It outlined actions and responsibilities for African leaders and for developed countries

The OMEGA Plan (Yaounde, January, 2001)

- The OMEGA plan was conceived by President Wade (Senegal) and was presented at the Franco-Africa Summit in Yaounde, Cameroon
- It was also presented at the OAU Extraordinary Summit in Sirte in March 2001
- The plan is based on four central pillars – Building of infrastructure, creation of new technologies of information and communication (ICT), education and human resource development, health and agriculture

The Economic Commission of Africa Pact (Addis Ababa, November 2000)

- At the 8th session of the African Ministers of Finance in Addis Ababa, the Executive Secretary of the ECA, Mr. KY Amoako, was mandated to develop a Compact for Africa's Economic Renewal. Amoako produced and presented the ECA New Global Compact at the African Ministers of Finance

- meeting in Algiers on 9 May 2001.
- The document discussed operationalizing MAP

** At this point there were three development plans circulating around the continent: The MAP Draft 3 (a), the OMEGA Plan and the ECA Global Compact.**

5th Extraordinary Summit of the OAU (Sirte, Libya, 1-2 March 2001)

- President Obasanjo made a presentation on MAP and President Wade made one on the OMEGA Plan. Both plans were endorsed and a decision was made that every effort would be made to integrate all the initiatives
- The Summit believed that Africa had to present a single, coordinated plan to its international partners
- The integration process began a MAP steering committee meeting in Abuja on the 3 June 2001

Integration Team (June 2001)

- An integration team was created at the Development Bank of Southern Africa following the Abuja meeting
- The team met a number of times in Cairo, Nairobi, Accra, Kampala and Algiers
- The final meeting of the five core MAP Steering Committee countries (South Africa, Nigeria, Algeria, Senegal and Egypt) was held in Pretoria, South Africa on 2 and 3 July 2001. The OAU and the ECA were also invited and the ECA Executive Secretary himself attended. MAP Final Draft 3 (b) was presented to the meeting. Following much vigorous debate, the meeting was successful in finalising a common, coordinated and integrated document for presentation to the OAU Summit in Lusaka, Zambia (9-11 July). This document was called the New African Initiative

The New African Initiative (July 2001, Lusaka, Zambia)

- The NAI was presented to the OAU Summit of Heads of State and Government. It was very well received and was unanimously adopted by the Summit in the form of Declaration I of the Summit
- At the First meeting of the Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee in Abuja on October 23, 2001 a new name for the initiative was created: The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)
- NEPAD replaced NAI, which was intended to be a working title for the purposes of the OAU Summit. Additionally, the Summit finalized management structures of NEPAD

NEPAD's priorities and strategies

NEPAD recognizes that accelerating Africa's development process calls for bridging certain gaps that exist in specific priority areas. It underlines the need to ensure growth rates are maintained at levels sufficient to alleviate poverty in a sustainable manner. This depends on addressing various factors that are of priority in order to translate development in a sustainable way. These are:

Establishing conditions for sustainable development

Peace and security

Without peace and democracy it is difficult to achieve any meaningful development. Africa better than any other continent has learnt the painful consequences of war. In recognition of the important link between peace and security and development, NEPAD has put strong emphasis on finding lasting solutions to existing conflicts, strengthening internal security of countries and promoting peace among the countries. NEPAD believes that this will best be realized by strengthening existing regional and sub regional institutions in four key areas:

- Prevention management and resolution of conflicts
- Peace making, peace keeping and peace enforcement
- Post-conflict-reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction
- Combating illicit proliferation of small arms, light weapons and landmines

Democracy and good political, economic and corporate governance

NEPAD subscribes to the fact that development is impossible in the absence of genuine democracy, respect for human rights, peace and good governance. In line with this all states involved with NEPAD will undertake a series of commitments towards meeting the basic standards of governance and democratic behavior while, at the same time giving support to each other. Institutional reforms will be expected from member states where required.

Regional co-operation and integration

NEPAD appreciates the fact that most African countries have low per capita income, limited markets and that their products are not widely diversified. As a result they do not offer attractive returns to potential investors thus have hindered investment in essential infrastructures that depend on economies of scale for viability. Regional integration provides a window of opportunity for African countries to pool together their resources in order to reap the benefits of economies of scale resulting from intra-African trade and investments. NEPAD seeks to rationalize the institutional framework for economic integration by identifying common projects compatible with integrated country and regional development programmes, and on the harmonization of economic and investment policies and practices.

Capacity building

This is meant to enhance the effectiveness of existing regional structures and the rationalization of existing re-

gional organizations. The main objective here is to bridge the gap between Africa and the developed countries so as to improve the continents competitiveness and enable it to participate effectively in the global arena.

Policy Reforms And Increased Investment

Infrastructure

Infrastructure plays a key role in dictating the pace of economic growth. NEPAD is alive to the fact that the existing structural gaps in Africa are a major impediment to the growth and poverty alleviation of the continent. In light of these challenges, NEPAD underscores the need for infrastructural development in Africa both for the benefit of Africa and the international community. NEPAD will focus primarily on interventions on regional or continental scale.

Human resource development

On this front NEPAD will focus on poverty reduction with special attention given to women, education especially with aim of bridging the education gap, health, science and technology and skills development.

Agriculture

NEPAD recognizes the role that agriculture plays in the livelihoods of most Africans as well as a prerequisite to economic development in the continent. As such, there is need to address a number of structural constraints affecting agricultural productivity in Africa. NEPAD recognizes climatic uncertainty and poor rural infrastructure as key impediments to agricultural development in the continent. As a result governments need to exploit irrigation opportunities where they exist, provide institutional support in terms of research and extension services as well as involve local communities in policy and provision of services.

About 70 per cent of the poor people in Africa live in rural areas and depend on agriculture for their livelihoods. Unfortunately little has been done to address rural development concerns as well as agriculture which happen to be the primary economic activity in most rural settings. NEPAD calls for increased attention in these areas in order to realize poverty reduction and improve the continents food security situation.

Environment

NEPAD has put a lot of emphasis on the role of a healthy and productive environment in development. The initiative therefore seeks to combat poverty and contribute to socio-economic development in Africa. In order to realize this, systematic combination of initiatives is needed in the development of a coherent environmental programme. The initiative seeks to address the following as a matter of priority:

- Combating desertification through rehabilitation of degraded land and addressing the underlying causative factors
- Wetland conservation

- Prevention and control of invasive alien species in our environments
- Protection and optimal utilization of coastal resources
- Monitoring and regulating impact of climatic change occasioned by global warming
- Encourage cross-border conservation initiatives and build on existing ones in order to improve conservation and tourism thus creating employment opportunities
- Securing institutional, legal, planning, training and capacity to enhance Environmental Governance
- Develop a fair system for financing environmental development

Culture

Culture plays a great role in perpetuating a people's identity which further informs their development priorities. NEPAD will endeavor to encourage the development of a legislative frame work that will see through the protection of our culture and indigenous knowledge, which encompasses tradition based literacy, artistic and scientific works, inventions, discoveries , designs, undisclosed information and all other tradition based innovations and creations resulting from intellectual activity in the industrial, scientific, literary or artistic fields.

Resource mobilization

Immense resources will be required to see through efforts to put Africa on the path of sustainable development. To achieve poverty reduction by half by the year 2015 a minimum growth rate of 7 per cent is required. This calls for massive resource mobilization which is only possible in the presence of good economic and political governance. NEPAD hopes that these resources will be realized through:

Increase capital flows

NEPAD proposes that an effective taxation system and prudent use of public resources will substantially free public resources for development. Domestic savings and investments must also be increased in order to fuel development. Governments must also put in place policies that will provide an environment that is conducive for investment in order to encourage both local and foreign investment in Africa as well as curb capital flight. Africa will need overseas development assistance (ODA) in the medium term but reforms will be needed in which ODA is delivered. A common position on ODA will be adopted by African countries in order to engage development partners whereby the economic governance initiative will be a pre-requisite for enhancing the capacity of African countries to effectively use increased ODA flows.

NEPAD will also seek to address Africa's debt burden by advocating for debt relief by linking it with costed poverty reduction outcomes. NEPAD debt relief initiative will require agreed poverty reduction strategies, debt strategies and participation in the economic governance initiative to ensure countries are able to meaningfully absorb extra resources.

Improve market access

Africa's share in global trade has remained very small to meaningfully impact its development. In order to

reverse this trend, NEPAD suggests:

- Diversification of production in order to improve the Africa's export base
- An increase in value addition in agro-processing and mineral beneficiation
- Development of a broader capital goods sector
- Support the development of private sector both formal and informal sectors.

Main Priority areas of NEPAD

- Operationalising the African Peer Review Mechanism
- Facilitating and supporting implementation of the short-term regional infrastructure programmes covering Transport, Energy, ICT, Water and Sanitation
- Facilitating the implementation of the food security and agricultural development programmes in all sub-regions
- Facilitating the preparation of a coordinated African position on Market Access, debt relief and ODA reforms
- Monitoring and intervening as appropriate to ensure that the Millennium Development Goals in the areas of health education are met

Strategies may vary, for example, in fair trade there is the strategy of promoting diversification of exports with a focus on market access for Africa's exports to industrialized countries. Regarding finances, some are advocating for unconditional debt cancellation, while others are seeking debt reduction. Many governments are attempting to negotiate for debt reductions, while CSOs in the North and South see debt cancellation as the moral obligation of developed countries. The issue of fair trade is high on the agenda of many CSOs as farming subsidies given to farmers in developing countries continue to pose unfair competition to Africa's agricultural products. The APRM is to be used to bring about good governance, with African countries guiding one another as to how to improve their governance. However, each actor should have strategies that best suit its strengths.

The AU is already laying down its plan of action just as the G8 have their Africa Action Plan. The AU is in the process of preparing detailed projects and programmes for implementation. Some of these include the integrated action plan for land and water management, energy, transport, telecommunications selected in light of sub-regional priorities, (details can be found at www.mapstrategy.com). CSOs can create parallel projects or get involved in ongoing ones.

NEPAD and the AU

The AU sees NEPAD along with the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA) initiative as its most important tools to achieve the AU objectives. Nevertheless, the almost simultaneous transformation of the Organization of African Union (OAU) into the AU and the launching of the NEPAD led to some confusion regarding the relationships between AU & NEPAD. In fact, both were being run in parallel structures at the beginning.

However, now that the AU is firmly standing on its own feet, NEPAD will be one of its programmes seeking to realize Africa's Renaissance. This does not mean that NEPAD is the exclusive property of the AU. In fact, one of the strong points of NEPAD has been described as its ability to influence the state as the key player in the process of development through initiatives like the APRM and encourage the participation of all stakeholders. Therefore, the AU can be considered as the residence of NEPAD, where everyone can visit and interact.

According to the Maputo Declaration, integration of NEPAD includes review of the contents of NEPAD programmes and the portfolio of the African Union as well as integration of the processes and structures. The NEPAD Secretariat has been harmonizing and synchronizing the programs and projects with those developed by the African Union. Joint meetings have been held in all areas of NEPAD and the processes are being discussed between the NEPAD Secretariat and the African Union Commission for the provision of legal status and international engagement.

NEPAD and the G8 Countries

Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, are the eight most industrialized and richest countries of the world known as the group of 8 (G8). They have hailed NEPAD as a welcome initiative for revitalizing their partnership with Africa. At Kananaskis, Canada in 2002 the G8 countries adopted an Africa Action Plan in response to NEPAD. This plan aims at using NEPAD as the basis upon which to build future relations with Africa.

Canada pledges to make significant increases in its assistance to Africa by 2010, while France has promised to meet the assistance target of 0.7% of GDP by 2012, with half of its additional aid being for Africa. Russia has cancelled billions of dollars of African Debts. The UK and USA promise to greatly increase their assistance by 2006.

The G8 countries see demographic and well-governed Africa as a necessary pre-requisite to global peace. Unfortunately, there exists a difference between African Countries and the G8 countries. The G8 see the fulfillment of NEPAD aims as a pre-condition for increasing aid to Africa. However, African Countries see increased aid as a pre-condition to the achievement of NEPAD's aims. Nevertheless, a number of significant trade initiatives like the Everything but Arms Initiative of the European Union and the African Growth Opportunities Act (AGOA) of the US are encouraging first steps. However, plans, such as NEPAD's peace and security initiatives, do need financial assistance and compromises will have to be reached.

Ultimately, NEPAD is Africa's initiative and the answer to its success lies in our own hands.

The African Peer Review Mechanism

A new approach to good governance

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is a mutually agreed instrument voluntarily acceded to by the Member State of the African Union (AU) as an African self-monitoring mechanism. The mandate of the APRM is to encourage participating Member States in ensuring that their policies and practices conform to the agreed political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and standards, and that mutually agreed objectives in socio-economic development contained in the New Partnership for African's Development (NEPAD) are achieved.

What are the Origins of the APRM?

The 37th Summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in July 2001 in Lusaka, Zambia adopted the Strategic Policy Framework and a new vision for the revival and development of Africa through its Declaration on the New African Initiatives, now called the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

The Inaugural AU Summit held in July 2002 in Durban, South Africa, endorsed the NEPAD Progress Report and Initial Action Plan and encouraged Member States to adopt the NEPAD Declaration on Democracy, Political Economic and Corporate Governance and accede to the APRM in its Declaration on the Implementation of the NEPAD

Peer learning central to APRM

The overarching goal of the APRM is for all participating countries to accelerate their progress towards adopting and implementing the NEPAD priorities and programmes, achieving the mutually agreed objectives and compliances with best practicing respect of each of the areas of governance and development.

The APRM seeks to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful best practices, including identifying deficits, and assessing the needs for capacity building of participating countries. Thus, the APRM promotes peer learning and capacity building by exercising constructive peer dialogue and persuasion thereby making the process effective, credible, and acceptable.

What are principles of the APRM?

The APRM is an African owned and managed process. It is voluntary in nature and participation in the process is open to all Member States of the AU. The core guiding principles of the APRM are that every review should be: technically competent; transparent; credible and free of political manipulation.

Performance and progress will be measured in four substantive areas:

- Democracy and political governance
- Economic governance and Management

- Corporate governance; and
- Socio-economic development

How will the governance and development performance of countries be measured?

The codes and standards that are referred in the Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance are those agreed to by the AU with regard to the area and key objectives of democracy and political governance and those that are internationally recognized with regards to other areas and the key objectives of governance and socio-economic development.

Many of these codes or standards include detailed tools, templates and methodologies for self-assessment of compliance by countries.

Furthermore, over the years, successive OAU and AU Summits have also taken decisions aimed at promoting democracy, good political governance and socio-economic development. In particular, through the AU Constitutive, Member State commit themselves, among others, to the objectives and principles of protecting and promoting democracy, good political governance, human rights and the rule of law. Indicators are used as the means to determine whether the criteria, codes and standards have been met.

What are the Stages of the review process of the APRM?

There are five distinct stages in the APRM:

- **Stage One** is information gathering through national processes: on the political, economic, corporate governance and development environment of the country based on current background documentation prepared by the APR Secretariat and self-assessment by the country being reviewed, and material provided by national, regional and international institutions. The country also prepares a draft Programme of Action
- **Stage Two** is Country Review Visit: Wide consultations with government officials, political parties, parliamentarians, representatives of civil society, (including the media, academia, trade unions, business and professional bodies) are done
- **Stage Three** is the preparation of the APR Team's report. The report is based on the finding of Stages One and Two. The reports measured against the applicable political, economic, corporate governance and socio-economic development commitments made in the country's Programme of Action
- **Stage Four** begins when the report is submitted to the APR Forum through the APRM Secretariat. The consideration and adoption of the final report by the APR Forum, including their decisions in this regard, marks the end of Stage Four

- **Stage Five** is public release of the APRM Report. The report is publicly tabled in key regional and continental structure such as the Pan African Parliament, the African Commission on Human and People Rights, the Peace and Security Council and the envisaged Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) of the AU

What are the types of Review?

There are four types of reviews:

- There is a base review, which is the first country review, and it is carried out within 18 months of a country becoming a member of the APRM
- There is a periodic review that takes place every two to four years
- A member country can, for its own reasons, request for a review that is not part of the periodically mandated reviews; and
- Early signs of impending political and economic crisis in a member country would also be sufficient cause for instituting a review

Several pathways for engagement

The APR Team, at Stages One and Two, interacts and consults extensively with government officials, parliamentarians, representatives of political parties, the business community and representatives of civil society (including media, academia, trade unions, non-governmental organizations (NGO), community-based organizations, and faith-based organizations). These consultations and briefings are intended to provide an opportunity for the APR Team to interact with key stakeholders in the country and to brief them on the APRM processes, spirit and guiding principles.

In addition, by acceding to the APRM, the Member States participating in the APRM have committed themselves to ensuring the participation of all stakeholders in the development of the national Programme of Action including trade unions, women, youth, civil society, private sector, rural communities and professional associations as well as access to all information and stakeholders. Civil society and business can also participate, at Stage Five, during the public release of the APRM Report especially at the level of ECOSOCC.

The organizational structure of the APRM

The APRM has the following structures:

- a) The Committee of Participating Head of State and Government (APR Forum) is the highest decision making authority in the APRM
- b) The Panel of Eminent Persons (APR Panel) oversees the review process to ensure the integrity of the process, to consider review reports and to make recommendations to the APR Forum
- c) The APRM Secretariat (APR secretariat) provides the secretarial, technical, coordinating and administrative support services for the APRM; and

d) The Country Review Team (APR Team) visits the country to review progress with the country's Programme of Action and produces the APRM Report on the country

The Role of the APR Secretariat in the review process

The APRM Secretariat at the continental level is established to provide oversight to the implementation process at country level and to provide strategic support to countries undertaking the review process. In addition, the secretariat provides support to the APR Panel through implementing its findings. The key areas of contact between an acceding country to the APRM and the continental secretariat are likely to be on the following areas during the implementation phase of the process;

- Support in the development of a credible financing framework including establishment of multi-donor trust funds
- Guidance to ensure a capable methodological assessment that can derive the information required from the APRM questionnaire
- Guidance to ensure an effective and inclusive public engagement strategy that meets a minimum standard of participation
- Guidance to ensure a technically competent and inclusive National Governing Council that shall ensure effective direction setting and management of the process
- Ongoing research on where the appropriate position of APRM is, as regards ongoing government reform initiatives

Civil Society Organisations and NEPAD

Post independence Africa saw the entrenchment of repressive regimes through manipulation of existing constitutional provisions in order to perpetuate self-preservation of the political elite. The period was marred by political persecution of those who harbored divergent opinions. Popular participation was completely overshadowed by the overbearing presence of government in almost every sector. The post cold war era saw the emergence of civil society movement in Africa, which heralded a new dispensation of political freedoms. Sooner or later the concept of popular participation gained credence as the only avenue to secure local ownership of Africa's development process. Participatory approaches to development, policy formulation, planning, implementation and monitoring were touted as indispensable elements for macro-economic growth and stability of the continent. Civil society was in the frontline to ensure the engagement of locals in development processes.

It became clear that the active participation of all members of society was the only way to develop a free and just society. The democratic wave across the continent brought a new dimension to popular participation in Africa though greatly impeded by the low levels of civic culture. The civil society movement has a role to nurture the development of a strong civic culture across the continent that will see the various development processes being informed by local realities as perceived by Africans themselves.

Therefore, civil society participation in the NEPAD process is imperative for its success. The increasing strength of African Civil society may well offer a real chance to tackle the continent challenges and secure the successful re-integration of young people as key players in Africa's development processes.

The Role of CSOs in NEPAD

Changes are being observed in both the civil society organizations and their government counterparts, in relation to the role a responsibility of CSOs. CSOs are convinced that their role should not be limited to service delivery. Service delivery alone will not ensure achievement of the intended changes in the livelihood of the poor and the marginalized. Accordingly CSOs must be more actively involved in policy dialogue and consultation on issues of local, national, regional and global concerns. The major roles of CSOs in NEPAD could therefore be to:

- Raise awareness of civil societies on issues regarding NEPAD and popularize the NEPAD document
- Mobilize support for the NEPAD process
- Safeguard the people's ownership of the process
- Assist the people of Africa to gain maximum benefit from NEPAD
- Monitor and evaluate the NEPAD process
- Engage with the APRM planning and implementation processes

At the continental level, a civil society desk has been established within the NEPAD secretariat to allow the civil society to liaise with a common focal point. This is an outcome of the NEPAD civil society meeting of 1-2 July, 2003 at Maputo, Mozambique. It is also during the Maputo meeting that four civil society regional coordinators were appointed to support the Secretariat and facilitate the cohesive and effective participation of civil society organisations from East, West, Central and Southern Africa regions.

Undoubtedly, this will be enriched by the collaboration with the African union Ecosocc which was officially launched last 28 March, 2005 at Addis Ababa. The ECOSOCC is chaired by Professor Wangari Mathai (East Africa), Nobel Peace Prize 2004 as interim chairperson.

At the sectoral level, all the programs are designed in collaboration with civil society representatives. The APRM process shows a tangible example as all the members of the Panel of Eminent Persons are representatives of civil society.

Another example is ECOWAS, which after the Yamoussoukro summit in May 2002 has created a focal point position within its structures. This focal point works with various NGOs, many of whom are applying for, and getting, observer status within ECOWAS/NEPAD programmes.

Possible immediate actions for CSOs

The NEPAD processes are already underway. Therefore CSOs must include in their plans what they want to do within the NEPAD framework. Major achievements so far have included securing civil society participation in the APRM and organizing civil society fora to develop engagement principles and establish firm national priorities. Moreover attempts to raise awareness in the form of workshops meeting and booklets such as this one have been made. However a lot remains to be done. Some immediate actions could be:

- Reviewing and engineering common positions on NEPAD's approach in general and its specific components in particular
- Advocating for increased external assistance and systematic use of resources from HIPC and financing for development initiatives
- Designing and implementing programmes and projects with realistic goals expediting the successful implantation of NEPAD
- Advocating on raising awareness focusing on making complicated international and national issues and policies accessible to public in simple and understandable language
- Creating awareness among the CSOs about NEPAD as well as among governments and leaders on the indispensability of the inclusion of the civil society
- Creating space in the structure of NEPAD to ensure that the CSOs could assist in the analysis of issues implementation monitoring and evaluation mechanisms
- Creating an enabling environment that gives CSOs access to financial resources and information to participate actively

The NEPAD CSO and Gender Unit

The NEPAD Secretariat spearheaded an outreach and consultation process, which culminated in several meetings, workshops and consultations. They included the Elmina-Ghana CSO/NEPAD, the Accra-NEPAD/private sector forum, the Gabon Gender Summit, the Maputo African Union CSO/NEPAD, the Mali NEPAD Communication and Advocacy workshop and the Dakar NEPAD Media workshop. The Communication and Outreach office

at NEPAD also performed a number of functions that built a bridge between NEPAD and CSOs, and paved way for the creation of the Gender and CSO Unit.

The NEPAD/CSO Maputo meeting ushered in a new chapter in the engagement of CSO and NEPAD Secretariat. At the end of these consultations, ten key challenges were identified namely;

- The challenge of mobilizing and ensuring the effective participation of CSOs in NEPAD initiatives at REC level and creating a favourable environment for their coordination, capacity building on NEPAD and REC issues
- The challenge of mobilizing and ensuring the effective participation of CSOs in NEPAD initiatives at sub-regional level, their coordination, capacity building on NEPAD issues and determining their role in different regional economic regimes
- Winning CSO support in order to use their networking capabilities to advocate for NEPAD at the grassroots level
- Mainstreaming CSOs in communication and advocacy on NEPAD and the need to build CSO capacity to understand the NEPAD process itself, support and participate in its implementation.
- Creating a conducive environment for CSOs to understand the nature, operations and role of different Regional Economic Commissions (RECs) and mechanism of engaging with them at the sub-regional level
- Strengthening the understanding of integration process at regional and different sub-regions, within the context of ECOSOCC
- Popularizing NEPAD and improving relationships between CSOs, governments and the private sector
- Capacity development within CSOs to effectively participate in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of NEPAD
- Processing and simplifying knowledge on new ideas rolling out of the NEPAD Secretariat action plans such as African Peer Review Mechanisms to national level
- Establishing and Maintaining Mechanism for continuous consultations between NEPAD and CSOs at all levels

By the end of the Maputo consultations consensus had already emerged on the need for an institutional mechanism at NEPAD that could deal with CSO matters. Gender issues were also identified as a cross-cutting issue which needed to be addressed at policy and programme levels across all sectors. From these consultations it was becoming evident that the Civil Society Organizations (CSO) and gender issues could easily be considered under the same umbrella.

By September 2004, the NEPAD Secretariat had put in place institutional mechanisms to deal with gender and CSO matters as proposed by different stakeholders and gender experts. The creation of this office indicated a clear commitment by the Secretariat to gender issues and a demonstration of the Secretariat's desire to actively involve CSOs in the implementation process, as NEPAD projects move into the implementation mode.

The framework of engagement

The principle of popular participation of African people in the activities of African Union is a prerequisite to success of the AU as enunciated in the African Charter for Popular Participation. To quote from the ECOSOCC statute this principle is “guided by a common vision of a united and strong Africa and by the need to build strong partnerships between governments, and all segments of Civil Society, in particular women, youth and the private sector in order to strengthen solidarity and cohesion among our people” This spirit is enshrined in the objectives and Principles of the Constitutive Act which provides for the establishment of the Economic Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) under Article 5 and 22 of the Act.

Article 41 of the NEPAD document calls for CSOs' commitment among key partners in the NEPAD process, while Article 45 of the same document recognises the efforts put in by the CSOs in reinforcing the call for greater democratization and good governance. This call is echoed by the appeal by the political leaders in the continent under Article 55 and 56 of the NEPAD document, to all the African people in their diversity to recognise the challenge facing the continent and rise up to it.

For NEPAD secretariat to implement mandates under the principle of popular participation and also related mandates under AU and NEPAD policy documents, it had to put in place a requisite institutional mechanism in the form of the Gender and Civil Society Unit. The Unit has a twin mandate to both spearhead the gender mainstreaming of NEPAD Policies, programmes and the entire implementation process and also ensure CSOs are mobilized to effectively participate in the NEPAD implementation process.

Goals, Objectives and Strategies of CSO Mobilisation for NEPAD activities

Goals	Objectives	Strategies
<p>Coordinate, mobilize and enlist effective participation and involvement of CSOs in the implementation of NEPAD</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identify, inventorize and create a CSO stakeholders data base, with thematic expertise in NEPAD priority sectors 2. Develop a CSO mobilization and participation strategy NEPAD Secretariat. 3. Create and facilitate the work of the NEPAD/CSO Think Tank and generate regular progress reports 4. Adopt NEPAD communication material for CSOs use in advocacy work on NEPAD 5. Develop and upgrade the capacity of CSOs on NEPAD policies, programmes and advocacy campaigns 6. Implement the CSO mobilization and participation strategy of NEPAD 7. Liaise with the AU's CSSDCA on implementation of ECOSOC within the context of AU/NEPAD integration 8. Monitor and evaluate the progress achieved in mobilizing CSOs and participation in NEPAD Processes and report regularly to Management and Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee through the Steering Committee. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. To develop a comprehensive thematic CSOs data base for NEPAD sectors to draw from as well as upgrading it continuously. b. To build the capacity of CSOs and up grade their knowledge on NEPAD policies, programs and processes c. To set up and facilitate a NEPAD/CSO Think Tank within the context of ECOSOC to inform the NEPAD implementation process d. To involve and ensure effective participation of CSOs in the implementation, monitoring and design of NEPAD policies, programmes and processes e. To facilitate the liaison between CSOs and RECs within the context of AU's ECOSOC framework f. To monitor and evaluate progress made in involvement and participation of CSOs in NEPAD Processes

Achievements

- Operationalized the CSO and Gender unit which has already embarked on the gender mainstreaming and CSO mobilization at Regional level and also through RECS and National Level through National NEPAD Chapters
- Developed a framework which provides a roadmap for CSO mobilization to participate in NEPAD initiatives and processes. The framework is being used to sensitize Management and professional staff in the Secretariat ahead of CSOs mobilization
- Already developed a three year Comprehensive Strategic Plan which provides a road map for mobilizing and effectively involving CSOs in the implementation of NEPAD initiatives. As a starting point a one year work plan for the current year is already in place
- The unit has also developed concept papers around key areas of CSO concern and also recommended in recent reports such as the Commission for Africa (CfA) and various MDGs Reports. The concepts target various CSO stakeholders including the CSO themselves, women, youth and children, which if supported can effectively contribute to CSO empowerment, stability, capacity building and effective participation and ownership of the Africa's renewal process and NEPAD
- During the process leading up to the G8 Summit in Gleneagles the Gender and CSO Unit secured authority to circulate the NEPAD's Heads of States position papers to the CSOs for comment, input as well as critique. Similarly in the follow up to the G8, NEPAD once more secured space for African CSOs participation in the African Partnership Forum and enlisted CSOs input in the NEPAD/AU position papers by inviting CSOs to serve in the Ad-hoc Expert Group Meeting that was put together to prepare African position

CSOs critique on NEPAD

Various regional civil society groupings have already discussed the NEPAD in depth and formulated positions that have been forwarded to the NEPAD's secretariat. In summary, the critique has centred on two things: the process through which the NEPAD was developed and the content of the NEPAD (primarily, the viability of the specific macro-economic proposals within the NEPAD as well as the lack of gender-responsiveness of the NEPAD).

Recurrent themes in existing African civil society analysis of the NEPAD include:

- Anger and disappointment that the NEPAD's authors failed to consult with African civil society and Africa's peoples on its formulation until April 2002 (nearly two years after it was initiated)
- Suspicion about the potentially progressive governance commitments contained in the NEPAD, only in part because of the NEPAD leadership's endorsement of flawed recent elections in Congo-Brazzaville, Madagascar, Zambia and Zimbabwe

- A sharp critique of the NEPAD's near total lack of gender-responsiveness
- A nearly universal rejection of the NEPAD's neo-liberal framework
Questioning of the resource mobilization strategies contained in NEPAD
- A demand that NEPAD take into account African development priorities already set during the 1990s and to date through African participation in various international policy-making processes (such as those in Beijing, Copenhagen, Cairo, Monterrey, Rio de Janeiro, Vienna on women, economic and social development, reproductive and sexual rights, financing for development and human rights)
- A sense that while the NEPAD is not the right strategy, an African vision and programme of action on development and globalization is necessary, particularly in the wake of the stalling on more progressive plans like the Lagos Plan of Action and the African Alternative to Structural Adjustment
- A growing commitment to protest African elites who attend meetings such as the World Economic Forum's African meeting where non-violent activists are attacked by the police and where plans which affect us are developed over our heads

NEPAD's secretariat response has essentially been that, in terms of process, they are trying to convene African civil society under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). And, in terms of content, that the NEPAD is essentially a framework and CSOs should wait to see the final programmes being developed (in the five priority action areas). This will enable them to comment more substantively.

In terms of process, what is desired is a mechanism for permanent engagement, particularly with respect to re-formulating the NEPAD. And in terms of content, for the fundamentals to be in place before getting to the details under each programme.

AYP and NEPAD

A key element of the strategy of the AYP is to facilitate action and integrate young people into sub-regional priorities. Within this framework strategies are pursued to facilitate networking of delegates and action for inclusion in sub-regional instruments of governance chiefly the East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

AYP recognizes the strengths and opportunities of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as a framework that youth and youth organizations can use for Africa's development. AYP also recognizes that youth need to work with NEPAD and that NEPAD has committed itself to "African ownership and leadership, as well as broad and deep participation by all sectors of society." NEPAD has been termed as a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and, at the same time, to participate actively in the world economy and body politic. AYP feels that this concept and the process need to embody youth as a principle target and beneficiary. However, disengagement of youth from this important process is high.

Young people are getting increasingly informed and becoming a lot more critical about the challenges confronting Africa as a continent. They have demonstrated unmistakable clarity on current issues and expressed strong feelings about the way African governments are approaching and handling these issues. What is clearly evident is that a forum has been provided for the venting of their beliefs and values. However, providing a platform for self-expression is not enough. African youth needs to galvanize their ranks and be part of agenda setting and implementation.

Youth are key to achieving NEPAD's objectives

If NEPAD is to succeed in halting Africa's marginalisation in the globalisation process and enhancing its full and beneficial integration into the global economy, then youth must be at the vanguard of this process. The impacts of living in a complex and rapidly globalising world are paradoxical, affecting us all. In this rapidly globalising world, youth are highly affected and rarely considered. Youth are at the sharp end of globalisation they can be the most affected but they are also potentially the most adaptable to change. African youth have great stake in finding means to contribute effectively to the development of the global and local community, and to build the tools, actions and understandings to reshape globalisation and its impacts and make globalisation work for Africa. This is one of the reasons for which AYP maintains a programmatic partnership with the International Youth Parliament to ensure that issues affecting African Youth are also given the importance they rightly deserve at all international decision making structures.

NEPAD in itself does not constitute a conclusive strategy for the sustainable growth of the African continent but represents a window to take the quest for development to another stage. The fruits of renaissance take time before they mature and for that reason, it is crucial to ensure that ongoing participation and interest of young Africans in NEPAD in order to avoid gaps of vision.

AYP's involvement in NEPAD

Central to AYP's goals is the promotion of increased participation of young people in national and international policy decisions, and to ensure a framework for ongoing gatherings of African youth at future and ongoing decision-making forums. Within this context AYP has since its inception taken a keen interest in ensuring that indeed African youth participate fully and effectively in NEPAD. In 2002-3 AYP organized a series of reflection evenings to generate knowledge and interest on the NEPAD agenda among African youth.

More importantly AYP dedicated a plenary session to NEPAD and the African Union (AU) at its very first sitting in March 2003, where 162 youth from 43 African countries were represented. It emerged from this discussion that most youth believe that the ideals of NEPAD are indeed noble but that there was need for youth as well as other sectors to be consulted and involved in the process. Delegates also highlighted lack of knowledge and understanding of some of the concepts because of NEPAD's economic focus. At the same meeting participants declared their unequivocal support for the AU. NEPAD's focus is on sustained positive change in Africa and AYP believes that youth provide the necessary continuity for such a long term development project while they may express some novel and innovative ideas to many of its sectoral priorities. It is however important that youth be given the opportunity and be empowered to effectively play this role. There is great need for youth to be integrated into NEPAD structures right from the local to the regional levels but on the other hand youth must also understand the issues involved in order to be able to discharge their role credibly. In this light delegates to AYP2003 mandated AYP to equip youth all over Africa with information to enable them to assess and appreciate the relevance of NEPAD and the roles that youth can play at all levels.

It was thus decided that AYP should come up with a systematic and holistic strategy to facilitate the effective participation of youth in the whole NEPAD process. This strategy recognizes that before youth can hold any meaningful discourse on NEPAD they must first be informed of what NEPAD entails and only then can they have an informed debate. This was the genesis of the AYP-NEPAD Programme.

Actions undertaken to date

In fulfilling its mandate within its NEPAD programme the AYP Secretariat has undertaken the following actions.

NEPAD outreach

AYP has undertaken to develop youth friendly publications on NEPAD. Key among AYP's priorities has been to simplify and summarize the ideas found in the NEPAD base documents and other publications into a form and language that is pro-youth. The concern is to try to put the ideas into the particular context of youth for instance with relevant examples on what opportunities particular ideas present. The idea is also to provide a comparative analysis with other initiatives from within and outside the continent which will affect or interplay with the NEPAD initiative in some significant way. This will help youth in getting a holistic look at the challenges of socio-economic development and how NEPAD fits into this. Most importantly the initiative seeks to identify pathways to action that will give youth practical ideas on how they can engage the NEPAD process.

AYP intends to capitalize on its wide network in 50 African countries to realize these endeavours.

In addition AYP intends to create a small website to avail this information online. In the long run and with more funds this website is expected to grow into an interactive online Youth NEPAD Resource Centre that will serve as a central repository for pro-youth information on NEPAD as well as a forum of exchange where youth can express their views on NEPAD and even more importantly youth can be able to share knowledge and experiences gained on NEPAD. For instance youth best practices in any of the priority areas can be posted here.

This is necessary given that lack of information and understanding of NEPAD among African youth will greatly impede their participation and considerably complicate their ability to engage NEPAD. We hope that through this book and the website youth will be equipped with the basic facts and understanding they need in order to seek increased knowledge on NEPAD, engage in constructive discourse and participate in the implementation of the programme or the activities of NEPAD National Steering Committees.

Participation in the APRM

Objective 8 of the African Peer Review Mechanism Organization and Process outlines youth as a criterion for evaluation of government practices. Based on the standards of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the objective sets standards for the constitutional guarantee of the rights of children and young persons, establishment of institutions to safeguard these rights, and it sets standards for the promotion and protection of the rights of youth in participation in public life.

AYP is committed to youth participation in the APRM process given that lessons from APRM are not incremental to the long-term benchmarking of a country if it fails to involve youth. The value of the NEPAD APRM process is that the lessons gained from the audit shall occasion inward reflection and development of structures necessary to meet commitments more successfully. Commitment to developing alternative ways of doing politics, business and social interactions cannot be sustainable unless they are youth centred especially in Africa's context.

AYP sees an advantage in the fact that its headquarters is in Nairobi, Kenya and Kenya is one of the countries that have offered themselves up for review. In this regard AYP has taken a leadership role in ensuring youth representation and participation at all the stages. AYP seconded members to the National Governing Council of APRM and was designated as the convenor for the socio-economic pillar of the exercise.

AYP organized a series of youth consultations on each of the four areas of the review in Kenya namely macro-economic governance, political governance and democracy, socio-economic development and corporate governance. These series of meetings were convened to mainstream youth into the unfolding NEPAD APRM process with the view to providing information on APRM. Also, the meetings invited perspectives from youth serving organizations and youth on the four areas of APRM review.

AYP is hoping to build on the successful integration of youth in the APRM process in Kenya to leverage the

participation of youth in the APRM in other African countries up for review.

Partnership with NEPAD Kenya Secretariat

AYP has forged close working links with the NEPAD Kenya Secretariat which also serves as the interim coordinating structure for the 14 Eastern African countries. AYP is currently serving as the link between youth and the NEPAD Kenya Secretariat. AYP is encouraged by the willingness of this secretariat to accommodate youth and is taking advantage of this to not only ensure greater participation of youth in NEPAD in Kenya but also within the wider Eastern Africa. AYP views this as an opportunity to create a model for youth participation that can then serve as a best practice for the rest of Africa.

AYP has also sought to bring to the attention of local, national and international leaders the case for greater involvement of youth in the NEPAD and other development process. AYP places strong emphasis on gender parity and is concerned about the gender perspectives of NEPAD especially as concerns young women. To this end AYP has forged a close working relationship with other initiatives fighting for the inclusion into NEPAD of women and young women. AYP had a strong presence at strategic women focussed meetings in order to represent the interests of young women. AYP has however faced challenges in its advocacy agenda, the most critical being limited financial resources.

Recommendations

Youth have to prepare their position on the AU and its programmes and ensure that:

- Their concerns must get to the implementation committee through the NEPAD Secretariat with clear demands/recommendations that they will be able to take on board;
- The final G8 Action Plan for Africa must be reviewed with youth critique in mind and concrete demands/recommendations made and forwarded to them.
- The protocols of the AU must be reviewed (with respect to youth participation, etc) and ensure youth participation in developing the protocol establishing the ECOSOC, specialized technical committees, the peace and Security Council, and the financial institutions.
- Ensure that youth issues are mainstreamed in the country NEPAD strategies at national level before they are submitted to the NEPAD Secretariat for incorporation in the regional action plan.
- Develop strategies on how to use the CSSDCA mechanisms to hold governments accountable particularly on commitments they have made. A standing conference will be held every two years
- Encourage the youth to apply for positions in the Commission of the African Union.
- Lobby governments to sign the Protocol Establishing the Pan African Parliament adopted at the Lusaka Summit. There is need to lobby for its amendment to include youth and increase women's participation. Currently it proposes one woman out of 5 representatives per country only;

The proposed AU/NEPAD Youth Convention

The African Union (AU), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in partnership with Umsobomvu Youth Fund (a youth development structure established through the initiative of South African government in 2001), are proposing an Africa-wide youth convention whose core objective will be to deliberate on youth development issues in the continent. The proposal for a youth convention constitutes an attempt to institute a more structured and systematic process of dialogue between Africa's young people and leadership as defined by institutions such as AU and NEPAD.

The processes and events leading up to the convention will aim to assess and analyze developmental opportunities, risks and implications that arise for Africa's young men and women. Developing an African youth analysis of common development challenges facing the region will become a crucial part of the convention. In particular, the convention will assess the extent to which African youth are accorded opportunities to influence their own development within the recent socio-economic framework provided by AU and NEPAD. The NEPAD Strategic Framework for Youth Development will serve as a main source of reference in this regard.

The proposed convention also contributes directly to the advancement and acceleration of some of the key NEPAD objectives including the following:

I. Peace, Security, Democracy and Political Governance Initiative

This section covers the conditions for sustainable development including peace and security and the democracy and political governance.

II. Economic and Corporate Governance Initiative

This section covers the conditions for sustainable development including improved state capacity to promote economic growth and development.

III. Human Resource Development Initiative

This section addresses Human Resource sectoral priority including poverty reduction, education, reversing the brain drain and health.

Objectives of the convention

The convention will have a number of key objectives with clear outcomes. A monitoring and evaluation mechanisms will have to be put in place to ensure the achievement of set objectives.

Key objectives of the convention will be to:

- Enable young people the space and opportunity to interact and institute a structured and systematic dialogue with Africa's leadership in AU and NEPAD
- Provide space and opportunity for young people to share information and exchange ideas on

- pertinent issues facing the continent
- Create a platform where young people can meet and discuss common development challenges affecting them
- Develop a programme of action for youth development in the continent
- Contribute to the development of Good Governance through the participation of young people in the continent
- Propose a structured and systematic mechanism for influencing policy development in the AU/NEPAD structures
- Lobby for inclusion of young people in all developmental matters affecting them

Outcomes of the Convention

The convention will have a set of key outcomes. These include:

- Developing a common programme of action for youth programme in the continent
- Establishing a basis for creating ongoing dialogue between youth structures and relevant AU/NEPAD structures in the continent
- Creating a mechanism for establishing ongoing dialogue and creation of a platform to discuss common development challenges among youth organisations in the continent
- Establishing, coordinating, monitoring and reviewing mechanisms to ensure the implementation of resolutions taken at the conference

Approach and Methodology of the Convention

The current proposal is that the convention should assume a three-phased approach.

The first approach will involve sub-regional summits that will be held in four different regions of Africa i.e. Southern Africa; North Africa; West Africa; and East Africa. This first phase constitutes a build-up phase. The main objective of sub-regional summits is to allow space and opportunity for different youth movements and structures to interact and develop common positions on the challenges and opportunities for youth development within their socio-economic contexts. A total of 100 participants (including representatives from sub-regional economic communities, AU and NEPAD) are expected to attend the sub-regional conferences as observers. AU and NEPAD structures will assist in developing the criteria for invitation of delegates to both the summits and convention.

The second phase i.e. convention will involve the presentation of sub-regional positions and joint programme of action by sub-regions. This phase constitutes a consolidation phase. The inter-connection between the two phases i.e. – build -up phase and the consolidation phase will allow for the development of well-thought out resolutions and programme of action about issues affecting young people in the continent. The second phase will involve more structured interactions and discussions between youth structures and movements that attended the sub-regional summits and AU/NEPAD delegates.

Whilst the sub-regional summits will be entirely a youth affair i.e. youth discussions, the main convention will involve a dialogue, discussion and participation with and by the relevant AU/NEPAD structures. Such an approach will allow the necessary interaction between youth structures and decision-makers. For instance AU/NEPAD delegates will share their views on how they think youth development issues in the continent should be taken forward.

The third phase (implementation phase) will be a post-convention phase. It's important that both the sub-regional summits and convention should not become 'talk shops.' A clear mechanism will have to be developed to allow for the monitoring of both summit and convention resolutions. A Coordinating Committee to be elected at the convention will among things be responsible for the following key actions and activities:

- Popularise the post-convention programme of action to youth structures and movements across the continent
- Develop a strategy a plan for 'selling' the programme of action to AU and NEPAD structures
Initiating important meetings with relevant stakeholders
- Develop monitoring and evaluation mechanisms for the implementation of the programme of action
- Develop mechanisms and strategies for interacting more meaningfully with AU/NEPAD structures
- Develop mechanisms for reporting back the progress of the implementation of the programme of action to relevant youth structures and movements in the continent

As far as possible, participation of organisations representing young men and women with disabilities from across the continent will be encouraged. The Strategic Framework for a NEPAD Youth Programme mentions the right to equal participation by all the youth components in the continent, including young women and youth who are socially excluded or lacking resources.

Key thematic issues

Some of the key thematic issues for the summit will be revolve around the key thematic issues:

- Defining modern-day challenges, problems and opportunities facing young people in the continent;
- Taking stock of the present: How are the youth development issues addressed in the current AU/NEPAD programmes?
- Looking into the future: How do AU/NEPAD structures view the incorporation of youth development agenda in their policies, programmes and structures; What mechanisms should be put in place to take the youth development agenda forward?
- What are the possible areas of cooperation between AU/NEPAD and youth structures on development? Who sets the agenda?
- Understanding responses developed by young people to the modern-day challenges facing them;
- Changing the 'rules of the game.' Defining the relationship between AU/NEPAD structures and African youth structures; Are African youth structures active participants or interested parties? From Youth as developmental stakeholders to youth as developmental partners: Defining the role of African youth in development.
- Locating the position of young people in Africa in the world today;

- How do young people think the current social, political and economic problems facing youth development can be tackled;
- Establishing an Africa-wide youth movement, what should be the approach to developing young people in the continent?
- What kind of strategic partnerships should be forged?
- What kind of key interventions should be made aimed at reversing the tide of under-development and deprivation for the African youth? Who are the primary actors/agencies?



Reflections

Challenges

NEPAD is definitely not without its own huge mountain of challenges that need to be surmounted. It is a sobering reality that despite excellent planning, top-down initiatives have frequently failed. Participatory approaches, although entailing detours, conflicts and controversies, tend to come up with more positive results, or at least with the commitment to try again stemming from the feeling of ownership. Therefore, if all actors are willing and contribute, NEPAD can find solutions to Africa's challenges. These have been identified as:

- Founding partnerships on a realization of common interests, obligations, commitments, benefits and equality
- Ensuring that NEPAD remains Africa owned, led and driven
- Ensuring the implementation process is focused and always on track
- Ensuring the well-being of the people is not compromised
- Creating mechanisms for African Civil Society to access and contribute to the implementation of NEPAD
- Raising foreign funds without compromising Africa's interest
- Persuading the North to release its power stranglehold

Criticisms

In the past, many initiatives relating to African development have failed for various reasons. Therefore, it is beneficial to consider some criticisms of NEPAD as they are driven by serious concerns rooted in analysis and arguments aimed at making NEPAD a success. Fortunately, NEPAD is open to criticisms. For instance, to mention a recent phenomenon at the Africa Union, amendments were made to ensure that the senior posts of the AU Commission are occupied by as many women as men as a step toward addressing gender equity. Some of the major criticisms are:

- NEPAD was a top-down process initiative not open to participation in the initial stages
- NEPAD is based on neo-liberal foundations, which may not prove adequate
- NEPAD is too focused on donor priorities
- NEPAD is more outward looking than self-reliant
- A lack of funding threatens to leave NEPAD as another dream
- NEPAD lacks clarity of implementation. There appears to have been no serious thought given to implementation mechanisms and country differences. Radical and transformative measures are still to be incorporated
- Goals set in NEPAD are borrowed from various initiatives like the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that are unlikely to materialize within the given deadline
- Many Africans are skeptical of the political commitment, the poorer use of funds and their governments' good faith

Conclusion

The political commitment of African leaders, appropriate institutional structures, increasing domestic resources and a pledge of practical support from the international community gives NEPAD a good chance of being implemented.

The success of NEPAD will require the participation of all actors, especially young people who have the greatest stake in the continent's future. We must take the challenge of mobilizing in support of this initiative by setting up, at all levels, structures for organization, mobilization and action.

NEPAD needs to be mainstreamed into the existing legislation frameworks and institutions. CSOs have a major role to play in this process. As Africans we have the primary responsibility for our own development and NEPAD provides opportunity for action. We must not relent in implementing this ambitious programme of building sound and resilient economies and democratic societies.

Young people must not shy away from NEPAD, instead they should work hard to influence policies and bring about improvements in NEPAD's implementation. As such, they must rise to the occasion acknowledging that they have both the right and obligation to participate in NEPAD and should have no reservations in demanding entry into a process that is truly African.

Finally, we concur with the NEPAD main document that in fulfilling its promise, this agenda must give hope to the African child and re-affirm that the 21st century is indeed Africa's century. We all must endeavor to bring this promise to fruition.

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