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AFRICA, OUR COMMON DESTINY

Guideline Document

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

REC: **Regional Economic Community**

RIC: **Regional Integration Community**

CSSDCA: **Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa**

NEPAD: **The New Partnership for Africa's Development**

OAU: **Organization of African Unity**

AU: **African Union**

AUC: **Commission of the African Union**

FOREWORD

The Commission of the African Union can now focus on two vital documents: the first, on the Vision of the African Union and the Mission of the Commission of the African Union; and the second on the 2004 – 2007 Strategic Framework of the Commission. Both documents are intended to structure the 2004 – 2007 Programme which the Commission will submit to the Policy Organs of the Union next July.

It is important to note that the Vision, Mission, and Strategic Framework of the Commission are the outcome of a collective brainstorming and views sharing exercise. The series of brainstorming seminars which took place in Addis Ababa during the months of October, November and December 2003, brought together the staff members of the Commission and its external offices, African resource persons as well as key institutions to debate what should be the ambitions and related issues, the resources, the commitments, and the expected output of the Commission. In the end, the meetings synergized intellectuals, politicians, civil society and public sector representatives as well as African Ambassadors and development partners based in the Ethiopian capital. Underlying this exercise was the need for ownership by the people of the issue of African integration.

We have to welcome the fact that the Africa so much desired by the Founders of the African Union is an Africa conscious of its potentials, determined to pool its resources, an Africa critical of its own weaknesses, an Africa that wants nothing else but to be involved and participate fully in global trade.

But how do we attain this objective? The Strategic Framework and the future programme document trace the roadmap that we have to follow. The resources that we need for the integrated Africa to become a force to be reckoned with, a force that we can all rely upon, include, among other things, the political will to achieve integration, the leadership and commitment of the Commission, the accession of the people to the integration endeavour, the optimal use of all our assets, namely, our population, culture, languages, dialogue, our economies, and our human and financial resources.

We shall attain this goal through a determined effort to map out a strategy for what is possible and achievable; and to this end, we will all have to work hand in hand. First of all, our States, because this is where we should find our human and financial resources. Then, we have the people of Africa, since there can be no integration, except one that is desired and driven by the people. Lastly, we have the organs of the Union. We cannot devise a credible project for Africa with the shortcomings of the past. With adequate, sustainable and fresh resources, the Organs of the Union have to submit themselves to the logic of business governance. This means that they have to be more demanding with themselves, develop their own performance indicators, and commit themselves to producing agreed results within set deadlines.

On this score, the Commission needs to promote the values of integrity, transparency and good governance, mutual respect, particularly respect for women, solidarity and strong commitment to the cause of the African Union.

Chairperson of the AU Commission
For: The Commission of the African Union

Part I

COMMON DESTINY, SHARED VISION

COMMON DESTINY, SHARED VISION

I.1 PRESENTATION OF THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE CONTINENT

In the Beginning Was Africa

The discovery in Chad in 2003, of the oldest Australopithecus (Toumai) aged seven (7) million years, represented a confirmation that Africa is the motherland of Humanity. Africans were the first to initiate the gigantic human adventure of progress. By communicating with like humans, Africans developed communal hunting and fishing skills and strategies by dint of tools, language, fire and the art of pottery, all of which led to the decisive take off of animal husbandry and agriculture. Africa was the birthplace and source of civilization for the longest period in the history of humanity, a period that people persist in describing wrongly, as "Prehistoric" using one sole criterion - "lack of written records". In reality, History was born as soon as humans inhabited the earth, as evidenced by the development and flourishing of African agricultural basins, the first religions and marvellous rock art and sculptures.

Moreover, at the dawn of "Antiquity", Africa remained through Egypt, the driving force and teacher of the whole Universe with its art of writing and centralized authority, the Pyramids and architectural monuments, its sciences and other achievements. That period accounted for one of the high points in the History of Humanity. As a matter of fact, the mother of Egypt was Nubia together with its pre-Saharan extensions, while Egypt itself was undoubtedly the renowned civilization of the Nile, that wonderful river gushing forth from the African womb, a civilization imbued in myth and science.

This whole period of mankind's history had specific characteristics. It was from the intermingling of the various ecological and often complementary regions that the major achievements of the African emerged: firstly, Koush – a period similar to that of the Assyrians; then followed the period of Christian Nubia, and then by Carthage with its memorable encounters with Rome. Then we have Axum, Tekrour, Ghana, Kanem and other empires.

Then came one thousand years of tremendous and wide-ranging progress throughout the Continent from 7th to 17th Century. As a matter of fact, it was during this period that the Northern portion of the Continent became a great commercial hub that gave rise to extensive

Moslem space which created an impressive civilization born of the interaction and indeed fusion of numerous prestigious heritages bequeathed by ecumenism (Byzantine, Turkey, Arabia, Persia, India, China, Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa). This crude but prosperous period was also marked by the Fatimides, Almoravides, Almohades and Mali, and saw the blossoming of Lalibela in Ethiopia (13th Century), and of Zera Yacob (15th Century). It saw the prosperity of the Yoruba Kingdoms and the Hausa States, the Benin and Gao Empires, the Kingdoms of Kongo, Luba, Lunda and Great Zimbabwe all of which flourished concurrently with the Egypt of Salah Ed Din and the redoubtable Mamluk. Even the communities with non-centralized power structures did not remain unaffected, as evidenced by the human settlements (bwami) in the Maniema forest (DRC) which no doubt initiated chieftaincy institutions and kingdoms in the Great Lakes Regions. Briefly, during this period, Africa was replete with autonomous civilizations, both small and extensive, and yet sufficiently harmonious; open spaces with linkages even with South-East Asia thanks to the amphibious hegemony of Kiswahili speakers and the Indian Ocean Islands (Madagascar).

When the Portuguese with Bartholomew Diaz followed by Vasco Da Gama appeared on the Indian Ocean scene after having sailed around the entire African landmass in the 15th Century in search of "Christians and spices", the contemporary world was already in the making. Events started to unfold rapidly characterised by the breakdown and tribalization of past socio-political spaces and by demographic haemorrhage occasioned by the paroxysm of slave trade.

On the other hand, a black Diaspora sprouted across the continents, while new African hegemonies with increasingly close links with the slave trade system (Bornu, Ashanti, Dahomey, Bambara, Moose) were undergoing spectacular qualitative changes. All this took place before the 19th Century portrayed Africa as a Continent brought together, willingly or by force, by African conquerors who at times were inspired by a proselytising Islam, through Chaka, Ousman Dan Fodio, El Hadj Omar, Samory Touré, Tippu Tib, Mirambo, El Mahdi and others, some of whom were already faced with the colonialist invasion of European countries.

Consequently, the African Continent space criss-crossed by external interests – not without heroic resistance and various forms of rejection strategies - (Abd el Kader, Adb and Lerim, Babemba of Sikasso, Al-Sanusi, Oumar Al-Mukthar, etc.) missed out on the historic initiative of past Africans. Only the apocalyptic upheavals of the two World Wars, the international rivalries among the big powers, the crisis of the colonial

capitalist system and the dogged outcries of oppressed peoples, would pave the way for independence. This unique evolutionary trend was part of the historic march to progress by the people of Africa. It however, occurred under ecological, geological and geographic conditions which placed hurdles and obstacles in the way of progress and opportunities.

Africa Constitutes a Coherent Geographic Mass Teeming with Resources, but for Long Subjected to Adverse Factors

Africa is a huge landmass (8,000 km. wide and 30 million km² area) stretching deep into the Southern Oceans. Typified by both equatorial and tropical climates, the Continent is characterized by heat and drought (30% desert space) though traversed by some of the greatest rivers of the world (the Congo, Nile, Niger, Zambezi) which empty reluctantly into the Oceans through outlets that cut across coastal mountains.

With 20% of its total area made up of forests, Africa holds the planet's second lifeline with fabulous bio-diversity (flora and fauna) which has been subject to multiform exploitation.

The Continent is also immensely endowed with mineral and energy resources such as petroleum, gas and uranium, as well as hydroelectric basins. Although still under-exploited, Africa's mineral reserves account for about 30% of global mineral resources.

More specifically, 40% of the world gold and 60% cobalt reserves are to be found in Africa. Its petroleum reserves currently under exploitation are equally on the increase.

Africa's agricultural development was often hampered by very fragile soils characterized by lateritization, with the exception of volcanic and sedimentary soils found in river and lake basins. In the absence of agrarian and industrial revolution, nearly 80% of the Continent's labour force remains mired in manual and archaic agricultural practices in several countries, with increasing dependence on the outside world for provision of inputs and marketing of products. Moreover, the unpredictable rainfall pattern, seasonal and region dependent, has had serious negative impact on effective water management and control techniques as proven by the experience in Egypt and Casamance in Senegal.

Livestock production is similarly hampered by two negative zoological factors, namely: Tsetse fly and trypanosomiasis, as well as the anopheles, the mosquito specie responsible for malaria which has been a critical disease in the history of Africa. The anopheles for instance, forced the European colonizers to abandon some African territories with small-scale farming, while moving away to settle in malaria-free countries which they subsequently turned into settlement colonies.

The above natural but negative elements were compounded by socio-political factors culminating in high migration, further facilitated by availability of space and encouraged by African norms of hospitality to strangers. These factors offer one of the keys to Africa's historical "model", namely: instability of human settlements unsuited to accumulation, and an itinerant rural labour not conducive to progress. As a matter of fact, in Europe and Asia, population density was able to attain a qualitative threshold whereby, like in the Nile Valley under the Pharaohs, the need for survival called for qualitative and structural technological or institutional changes. However, this critical mass was not attained in many areas of Africa for internal reasons; and as from the 16th Century, for basically external reasons. For instance, in the 16th Century, Timbouctou had a population of between 150,000 and 200,000; but in the 19th Century, the explorer Barth found only 20,000 people in the city, that is ten times less. On the other hand, London counted 120,000 inhabitants in 1582, and ten times this figure at the close of the 19th Century.

Slave trade and colonization on which we need not dwell, out of complex, but which we should never forget, played the role of not only slowing down but also of fracturing Africa's progress. Having been bled by force, for four Centuries, of its best brains and manpower, and of between 30 and 100 million of its best sons and daughters, this state of affairs, necessarily, left indelible marks on the Continent; it left ineffaceable scars not only in terms of property but also in terms of human assets. Admittedly, we must learn to put things behind us. However, this does mean that we should sidetrack or sweep them under the carpet, and thereby fall from amnesty into amnesia. Rather, it means that we should, in all lucidity, understand the facts by establishing the truth, and thereby exercise Justice and celebrate Reconciliation.

Africa has, besides, been for long exploited. Shackled by colonization, hundreds of thousands of Africans were killed in wars of conquest and "pacification". Subsequently, further hundreds of thousands of Africans lost their lives in individual wars, such as the war against Nazism. Then came the dirty colonial wars in which Africans

were turned against one another for mutual extermination. The above are some of the factors that militated against development in the Continent.

I.2 Africa: A Complex Continent beset with Difficulties

At this dawn of the 21st Century, Africa portrays the image of a Continent that has taken very little advantage of the economic globalisation which has been gathering pace since the 80s and is evidenced by tremendous wealth creation. Whereas Asia and Latin America have succeeded in ameliorating their economic situation and integrating themselves into the global economy for their own advantage, Africa seems to be experiencing a lot of difficulties doing the same: Africa is indeed on the verge of marginalization. Representing 10% of the global population, Africa accounts for only 1% of world GDP and around 2% of global trade, figures which represent a net regression in relation to the 60s. Despite its efforts at promoting exports and attracting external investment, the Continent occupies only an insignificant position in the global economy. With the resultant stagnation and decline, Africa is home to the greatest number of LDCs (33 of the 48 least developed countries of the world) and people living below the poverty threshold (about 40% of the Continent's population – **Insert 1 and Insert 2**).

Africa's marginalisation in the global economy has led many observers to raise questions as to the appropriateness of the liberalization policies implemented in the Continent since the 80s, policies which represented a break from almost all the economic policies practised since independence. As a matter of fact, these policies were underpinned by the principle according to which Africa's economic crises were basically due to external imbalances arising from excessive domestic demands. Thus, the policies were geared to attaining the dual objective of reducing the balance of payment deficit and seeking to achieve a balanced budget. The key tools used to attain these two objectives were exchange rate adjustment, a hike in the already high interest rate, strict credit control, trade liberalization and deregulation of the price of goods and services.

For many, the time has come to revisit these policies and the strategies incidental thereto, because they have generally failed to generate the process of accumulation, or to speed up economic growth. Already, by adopting in 1989 "the African Reference Framework for Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (CARPAS)", African Finance Ministers took the initial steps to reassess these policies while making it clear that the search for balanced external budget without addressing the root causes of the

structural deficiencies in Africa's economies and societies would be insufficient to achieve sustainable and speedy development.

Insert 1: The LDCs in Africa

During the past 30 years, the number of Least Developed Countries has risen from 25 to 49. Of the 48 Least Developed countries of the world, 33 are to be found in Africa. They are: Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, The Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, The Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, São Tomé and Principé, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, The Sudan, Togo, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia. Nearly three – fifths of the population of LDCs are concentrated in these 34 Sub-Saharan African countries and, similarly, nearly three – fifths of the population of Sub-Saharan Africa live in the LDCs.

It has therefore become increasingly and absolutely necessary to undertake major changes by addressing the root causes of the structural deficiencies in Africa's economies, if we are to promote endogenous development and attain the economic and social objectives set by the international community, in particular those related to poverty reduction, which occupy a central position in the "Millennium Declaration" adopted by the United Nations in September 2000.[1]

Insert 2: Poverty in Africa

The poor growth in Sub-Saharan Africa has led to a marked increase in the number of poor people (over 25%) which, in the 90s stood at 500 million. More than 40% of the 600 million inhabitants of Sub-Saharan Africa are living below the international poverty threshold of US$1 a day per person, with the average income of US$0.65 a day, as calculated in accordance with the Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) method.

Africa's share of people living in absolute poverty in the world rose from 25% to 30% in 2000. On average, 45% to 60 % of the inhabitants of Sub-Saharan Africa exist below the poverty line. This percentage is much higher than in the other regions of the world, with the exception of South Asia. At least 50% of poor people are concentrated in 5 countries of East Africa and Nigeria. Furthermore, poverty intensity – that is, the ratio of income to poverty line – is greater in Sub-Saharan Africa than elsewhere in the world.

Lack of access to basic social services is more acute in most countries of Sub-Saharan Africa than in the rest of the world. The net average primary school attendance rate, which decreased in many countries of the Sahel in the 80s, now stands at only 67%, as against 94% in South Asia and 117% in East Asia. Health services have become increasingly inadequate

[1] US $3,050 billion would be needed to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. According to ECA estimates, Africa has to reduce poverty by an average of 4% per year in order to attain the international development goal of reducing poverty by 50% by the year 2015. The economic growth rate needed to attain these objectives falls between 5.6% for North African countries, and 8% for Central and East African countries. For the whole of the continent, the average growth necessary would be 7% a year. These growth rates require an investment/ GDP ratio of about 21and 46% for the two regions, respectively. The expected investment ratio for Africa stands at an average of 33%. As Africa currently accounts for an average of 3.5% economic growth, twice this figure (a growth rate above 7%) would be necessary if it is to attain the objective of halving extreme poverty by 2015, and this presupposes massive investment to the tune of 40% of GDP.

*in relation to demand in most Sub-Saharan countries. This situation is reflected in the average infant mortality rate of 93**%**, which is above that of South Asia (84%), Latin America (46**%**) and East Asia (36**%**).*

*Also **worth noting** is the famine and malnutrition situation in Africa. According to FAO, 800 million people **worldwide** do not have sufficient food. This figure includes 200 million Africans, that is a little less than a third of the Continent's population. These people live in conditions of chronic food insecurity. According to the Partnership for Hunger Reduction in Africa, 31 million children aged between 0 and 5 years are malnourished. This scenario is compounded by food insecurity occasioned by natural disasters (drought, floods, pest invasion, etc.)*

Hunger is aggravated by the reduction in official development assistance, and privatization programmes in the agro-industry sector, which failed to achieve their objectives. This situation is further worsened by the decline of the major production systems (agriculture, fisheries, livestock production) under the combined impact of ecological degradation and the exodus of able-bodied manpower.

There is hardly any doubt that the problem of hunger is one of the critical challenges facing the continent. What has so far not been achieved, despite efforts, is a genuine coalition and appropriate policies that will ensure victory in combating malnutrition in the medium term.

In fact, combating the extreme poverty affecting about 40% of Africa's population through structural transformation of Africa's economies is likely to generate sustainable economic growth and development in Africa, reduce the Continent's marginalization and speed up its integration into the globalization process.

A striking manifestation of underdevelopment and the inadequate integration of the Continent into the global economy, abject poverty currently affects 40% of Africa's populations; and it has continued to worsen.

The centrality of the fight against poverty is justified all the more in the context of accelerated population growth.

As a matter of fact, whereas the global population is currently rising at an annual rate of 1.5%, in Sub-Saharan Africa it is increasing by 2% to 3.5% a year, which means that the population will double in 20 to 35 years (**Insert 3**).

Insert 3: Population Growth

The unprecedented population growth recorded in Africa during the past 30 years is attributable to the persistently high fertility rate and the remarkable decrease in mortality. The fertility rate which is estimated at 5.8% for the period 1995 – 2000 is the highest in the world. Four of the six countries in the world where the total fertility rate (TFT) is above seven are to be found in Africa. The same is true for the 14 out of the 16 countries where the TFT falls between 6 and 7. Pregnancy rates are higher in Africa than elsewhere in the world at all productive ages, the gap being wider in the 20 to 35 years age bracket which represents the age of optimum fertility. Fertility rate is above 100 births per 1000 adolescent women (15-19 years) in most low income countries. According to the report of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) 2000, the continent is currently home to 823 million inhabitants in contrast to a little

over 812 million the previous year.

Africa recorded an increase of nearly 20 million inhabitants which represent the highest population growth rate in the world: 2.3% as against 1.3% for Asia and 1.4% for Latin America.

At the current rate, the continent's population growth will spiral to 2 billion by 2050 that is 2.5 times higher than at the dawn of the 21st century. The threshold of generation renewal stands at 2.00 children per woman.

This accelerated population growth coupled with significant and rapid changes in spatial distribution, particularly as a result of urbanization, creates considerable investment needs in the area of physical infrastructure and in the social sector, needs which have not been met. As a matter of fact, owing to the young age of the population, the relation between dependants and active people is the highest in the world (nearly 1%, whereas this figure has decreased to 0.5% in East Asia). Moreover, Africa has a record level of youths needing education, whereas this ratio is currently on the decline in other continents. The situation is compounded by the upsurge of the AIDS pandemic (**Insert 4**) - the consequences of which are likely to be tragic for populations, labour productivity, economy and societal functioning - and the persistence or resurgence of diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, epidemics and sleeping sickness which impact greatly on production and labour productivity.

It is therefore economically justifiable to invest in the access of disadvantaged groups to social services. From the strict standpoint of economic rationality, improving the social indicators through substantial investment in education, health, infant and maternal protection, information, etc., should be placed on Continent's priority agenda. The youth should be the primary target of these investment initiatives because, in a world in which skills and expertise are becoming increasingly indispensable, the youth would constitute a huge asset for Africa if it is well educated and in good health.

The implementation strategies adopted in recent years have, unfortunately, not always been commensurate with the economic, political and ethical imperatives of developing these human resources which, today more than before, constitute the most vital asset of development in Africa, as in the rest of the world. Africa is paying a huge price for the inadequacy of its strategies, and at the threshold of this millennium, which is being celebrated as the millennium of expertise and knowledge, the Continent finds itself with the lowest human development index in the world, an index that is immensely correlated with poverty of which, in the final analysis, it constitutes the cause and effect.

Insert 4: AIDS in Africa

Over 95% of the 36 million people affected by HIV/AIDS, that is 25.3 million people, live in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS 2001; UNAIDS/WHO 2000). In 8 African countries, at least 15 % of the adult population is infected. In the countries in question, AIDS will claim about a third of the African youths now aged 15 years.

In 2000, millions of infected Africans during the initial years of the epidemic began to fall ill and2.54 million people have lost their lives as a result of HIV/AIDS related causes, as against 2.3 million in 1999.

Africa accounts for nearly 70% of adults and 80% of children living with HIV in the world and three quarters of the 20 million people that have died of AIDS in the entire world since the beginning of the pandemic, are in Africa.

It should be mentioned that several initiatives had been taken by African States in the health sector:

- *Declaration of the second AU Conference on Malaria and HIV/AIDS;*
- *Plan of Action on Polio Eradication in Africa;*
- *Pan-African tse-tse fly and trypanosomiasis eradication campaign*
- *Global Report on Violence and Health;*
- *Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI);*
- *Declaration on Combating Arterial Hypertension in Africa;*
- *Plan of Action for the Decade of the Disabled in Africa.*

As a result of this state of massive poverty which is aggravated or caused by inadequate access to social services, African populations live under very difficult conditions and, in most cases, people are stretched to the limit of survival.

Despite all this, Africa will not despair! However difficult the present situation may be, however arduous the challenges - and we shall cite some of them later - the fighting spirit of Africans has not changed, and the desire to build another Africa has never been so great.

Social and political factors also, to a large extent, help to explain this economic stagnation. A further factor is the nature of the demographic situation in Africa. However, analysts agree that development is halted by political constraints, prominent among which are the following:

- Institutional instability symbolized particularly by coups d'état: Africa experienced 186 coups d'état between 1956 and 2001, half of which took place in the 80s and 90s. The question may be raised as to whether the policy of denationalization of the 80s, coupled with changes in international aid priorities, have not helped to drive the momentum of delegitimization and disintegration of the established order (**Insert 5**);

- Persistence of inter or intra-State conflicts;

- Upsurge of new forms of atrocities in conflict areas which should be seen as heinous crimes (a reference to hands and arms being chopped off, and cannibalistic practices) perpetrated mainly against women and children;

- Exacerbation of identity pressures (ethnic and religious) – ethnicism – culminating in genocide, particularly in Rwanda in 1994;

- Disparities within social groups;

- Gender inequalities, in all their forms;
- Authoritarian and indeed autocratic nature of some regimes;
- Bad governance and management of public affairs as a personal estate;
- Legal and judicial insecurity; etc.

Insert 5: Inter or Intra-State Conflicts

The Continent has, for 40 years, been ravaged by inter-State, intra-State, ethnic, religious and economic conflicts. Whereas AIDS claimed two million lives in 1998, 200,000 lives were lost to conflicts. As a matter of fact, not less than 26 armed conflicts erupted in Africa between 1963 and 1998, affecting 474 million people, or 61% of the continent's population. At sub-regional level, 79% of the population were affected in East Africa, 73% in Central Africa, 64% in West Africa, 51% in North Africa and 29% in Southern Africa (ECA, 2001).

Of the seventy five (75) to eighty (80) of the conflicts recorded since 1945, about forty (40) were civil wars, some of which lasted quite long. For instance, the wars in Chad persisted for 40 years; South Sudan, 37 years, Eritrea, 30 years; Angola, 27 years, etc.. Moreover, these wars did not spare any of the Continent's geographical regions (Kouassi, 2000) distributed broadly in three categories: the Horn of Africa, (Ethiopia, The Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia); Southern Africa – 12 conflicts; and West Africa – some ten (10) wars. Only North Africa remained "marginal", with the exception of Algeria.

One of the consequences of armed conflicts is the appearance of refugees. In 2001, for example, Central Africa and the Horn had about 9.6 million refugees or persons displaced within their own countries as a result of armed conflicts.

Indeed, since independence in the 60s, Africa has experienced some thirty conflicts that have claimed 7 million lives, displaced 13 million people and generated 5 million refugees. The losses caused to Africa by armed conflicts are in the tune of US$250 billion, or 125,000 billion CFA Francs for the period 1980 – 1996.

We should further point out that religion constitutes a critical part of our culture, our tradition and way of life. It is crucial that it should not be exploited for political ends and that we should make the best of it. In the same vein, we should divest ourselves of obscurantist practices which are increasingly taking place under the guise of religion.

It is on the strength of the aforementioned observations that Africa's political leaders arrived at two major conclusions. The first is that economic integration should be considered as an imperative, a vital tool for speeding up economic development. In the first place, the affirmation of a common will for integration is likely to reduce, and indeed eliminate,

the sources of violent conflicts. Additionally, the widening of domestic markets and the harmonization of regulatory frameworks would help create an environment conducive to the profitability of possible or future investments in Africa. Clearly, it became necessary to take other measures to reduce the poverty phenomenon and initiate an accelerated sustainable development in Africa. Most of these measures have significant social or political dimensions, relating as they do to the mode of functioning of societies and the attendant management of public affairs. However, integration of economies remains a *sine-qua-non* to stimulate growth, without which development will remain illusory.

The second conclusion emanating from the analysis of Africa's realities is that socio-political variables impact considerably on economic processes, since in Africa, the economies are built into the society; hence the current widely held view that peace, security, stability, improving political and economic governance and the pursuit of the democratization process should be placed on Africa's priority agenda. Without these issues, economic integration will undoubtedly be illusory, and economic progress, precarious.

This position has been articulated with vigour by Africans themselves at many continental (The Cairo Agenda, the CSSDCA process, etc.) and international fora (the TICAD process, for instance]. There is growing consensus that, like in other regions of the world, peace and development in Africa go hand in hand; that peace is another name for development; and that respect for the cultural, sociological, ethnic and linguistic diversity that characterizes the countries of the Continent is Number One prerequisite. In the same vein, there is an increasingly vocal recognition by Africans of the inextricable linkage between economic, social, political, environmental, cultural and technological issues in the development process, and also the recognition of the need to henceforth adopt a holistic approach to these issues.

The above ideas, which had been for the most part developed and enriched during the Rio, Copenhagen, Cairo, Beijing and Istanbul Conferences and which focused respectively on the environment, social development, population, the rights of women, and human settlements, have clearly taken root in the Continent, and reflection on development related matters has also taken on a new momentum. For instance, the concept of sustainable human development has been understood by African governments and development experts as the widening of the opportunities offered to citizens to meet their material, political and cultural needs in a context of recognized diversity and pluralism.

This paradigmic renewal is imbued with numerous seeds of change conducive to development in the African context. It is noteworthy, among these seeds of change, that even if intra-African trade has remained modest and Africa is inadequately integrated into global trade, despite its natural riches (petroleum, gold, etc.) (**Insert 6**) it is not, by that token, all that much marginalized. It is, whatever the case, determined to take all the necessary measures to register a greater presence in the global market, thanks not only to increased investments and productivity, but also to more equitable and more just bilateral or multilateral agreements. It is equally noteworthy that the ingenuity exhibited in the informal sector, also known as the peoples' economy, could under some conditions, be put to use to improve the productivity and, by that token, the income and well-being of the people, without forgetting that it can also help conquer the world market. Lastly, it is noteworthy that, cognizant of the domination to which their Continent is subjected, Africans in their growing numbers now believe and affirm that their future depends primarily on themselves, and are convinced that their continent can regain its proper place in the world, through a societal project formulated in a participatory manner and appropriated without complex; a just, inter-dependent and strong society.

Insert 6: Africa's Natural and Agricultural Resources

Africa produces more than 60 metal and mineral products and is a major producer of several of the world's most important minerals and metals including gold, diamonds, uranium, manganese, chromium, nickel, bauxite and cobalt. Although under-explored, Africa hosts about 30% of the planet's mineral reserves, including 40% of gold, and 60% cobalt, making it a truly strategic producer of these metals.

Regarding oil, Africa has proven reserves of 75.4 billion barrels (7% of the world's total) and it produces more than 8 million barrels a day of over 40 types of crude oil. Five countries dominate Africa's upstream oil production. Together, they account for 85% of the continent's oil production and are, in order of decreasing output, Nigeria, Libya, Algeria, Egypt and Angola. Other oil producing countries are Gabon, Congo, Cameroon, Tunisia, Equatorial Guinea, Democratic Republic of Congo, The Sudan and Côte d'Ivoire. Chad and Mauritania will join the list soon.
In terms of agricultural production, the share of Africa's production vis-à-vis global production, is represented by the 2001-2003 estimated averages: rice – 2.6%, wheat – 3%, cotton – 7.6%, coffee – 15.7%, cocoa – 68.9%, maize – 6.8%, cassava – 54.4%, banana – 17.8%

Source: Various documents of the Commission of the African Union

It is against this background that NEPAD (**Insert 7**) was adopted by the Durban Summit, renamed from the New African Initiative adopted at the Lusaka Summit following the merger of the Millennium African Programme (MAP) and the OMEGA Plan formulated by African Heads of State. NEPAD therefore embodies the critical values and principles that should drive the Continent's economic growth and rebirth, namely: good governance, be it public or private, as well as political, economic and

social governance, and a society built on the rule of law, the region as the operational terrain, since Africa has been divided into five regions, and lastly, involvement of the private sector as a major investor. On this score, the fight against corruption in particular becomes a crucial concern.

In addition to the above basic facts, NEPAD has retained eight key sectors, inter-action of which would trigger development, namely: infrastructure development, education and training, health, agriculture, the new information and communication technologies, the environment, energy and access to the markets of the developed countries.

NEPAD is situated in the regional and global contexts in which reflection on development has had a new beginning. After the 80s and the 90s when economic liberalism seemed to have full sway, and liberal democracy was the order of the day, questions began to be raised, and many people did not hesitate to express their disillusion. Without casting doubts over the principles of market economy, many leaders rejected the idea of society being governed only by the rules of the market, and tried to combine economic efficacy and solidarity, efficiency and equity, growth and sustainable development, short-term gains and long-term prospects. A new development paradigm emerged, and was described as sustainable human development understood as meaning the widening of the opportunities offered to citizens to satisfy the material, political and cultural needs in a context of recognized diversity and pluralism.

This paradigm re-legitimized the long term as well as planning in the sense of preparing the future, and relocated human needs at the center of the development process. Development *per se* was understood as a process of liberation and auto-creation of material riches in the symbolic sense and meaning of the word. Africa's prospects of moving forward to conquer the 21st Century was subjected to re-evaluation, the results of which were much more encouraging than those achieved with the traditional theories.

Thus, having rejected the afro-pessimism which had been so carefully crafted over the years, Africans in their growing numbers now believe and affirm that their future depends primarily on themselves. This feeling which prevails among many Africans, and which could be described as afro-responsibility, consists of the assertion that, despite the domination to which their continent has been subjected, Africans can regain their proper place in the world, through a societal project formulated in a participatory manner and appropriated without complex; an interdependent and virile society built on the ideals of justice.

This conviction is not without foundation for those able to detect the numerous seeds of change conducive to development, as evidenced by the increasing attention accorded to intra-African trade, the development of a new African entrepreneur class prepared and ready to compete on the global market, the determination of African countries, affirmed more than ever before, to show greater presence in the global market thanks to increased investments and productivity and to more equitable and more just bilateral and multilateral agreements. Among the several seeds of change, we can also underscore the growing interest in the ingenuity exhibited in the informal sector which is being increasingly described as the people's economy, as a way of highlighting the fact that the dynamism in that sector could, under certain conditions, be put to the service of productivity growth and, by that token, improvement of the income and well-being of the people, without forgetting that that sector can also help conquer the global market.

NEPAD marks a new beginning in many respects. Moreover, it has taken on board the criticisms of its "neo-liberal" orientation, frequently consulting the people of Africa and taking into account debt and gender issues. NEPAD also intends to promote rational development of Africa's natural and agricultural resources which are far from being insignificant as the Table above indicates. Furthermore, NEPAD intends to undertake these initiatives through judicious financial management which would enable the continent to move away from the spiral of poverty in which it finds itself as a result of the persistence of the debt/assistance binomial as a means of financing development/debt.

NEPAD will therefore be fully integrated into the Vision of African Union in conformity with the Decision of the Maputo Summit in July 2003 (Assembly/AU/Decl.8 (II).

The African Union was also born in this context.

Insert 7: The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was launched by the OAU Summit held in July 2001, in Lusaka, Zambia, as the New African Initiative. As a programme of the African Union, NEPAD's primary objective is to champion the challenge to eradicate poverty in Africa, establish stable peace and security conditions, and promote sustainable growth and development, and thus enhance Africa's effective participation in global political and economic affairs. At its meeting in Durban in July 2002, the first Summit of the AU endorsed the NEPAD Initial Action Plan, covering the areas of priority action to be taken, drawn mainly from the programmes of the Regional Economic Communities. While not involved directly in programme implementation, NEPAD plays the role of advocacy, promotion, as well as mobilization of financial and political support for implementation efforts. At its Second Summit, in Maputo, in July 2003, the AU Heads of State and Government adopted a declaration by which NEPAD is to be integrated into the structures and processes of the African Union, within a maximum period of three years.

The establishment of NEPAD was marked by the following series of meetings:

- *merger of the MAP and the OMEGA Plan on 3 July 2001 at ……. the New African Initiative came to being as a result of this merger;*
- *the New African Initiative was approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU on 11 July 2001;*
- *the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee established in Abuja on 33 October 2001;*

NEPAD is endowed with a three-tier structure:

- *Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee:*
- *Chairperson: President Obasanjo*
- *Vice-Chairpersons: Presidents Wade and Bouteflika*
- *Membership: 15 States, 3 from each OAU region including the five initiators:*
  Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa;
  Central Africa: Cameroon, Gabon and São Tomé and Principé;
  East Africa: Ethiopia, Mauritius and Rwanda;
  North Africa: Algeria, Egypt and Tunisia;
  Southern Africa: South Africa, Botswana and Mozambique;
  West Africa: Mali, Nigeria and Senegal.
- *Steering Committee: composed of the personal representatives of the five initiator Presidents.*
- *Secretariat: Headquarters in Midrand, South Africa*

In order to allow for effective operationalization, supervision of the key sectors was assigned as follows:

- *Human development (education and health):* ***Algeria***
- *Good political governance, peace, security, democracy:* ***South Africa***
- *Market access, product diversification, agriculture:* ***Egypt***
- *Private economy good governance:* ***Nigeria***
- *Infrastructure, Environment, NICT, Energy :* ***Senegal***

NEPAD has established the Peer Review Mechanism with the following structures:

- *The African Peer Mechanism Forum;*
- *A Peer Review Panel comprising seven African personalities, and presided by a Chairperson;*
- *A Secretariat based in South Africa.*

Christened in Durban in July 2002, after a transition period of three years and preceded by several Summit and Ministerial meetings as listed in the Inset hereunder, (**Insert 8**), the AU was celebrated by all and sundry as a historic opportunity, both conceptually and programmatically, to revive the Pan-Africanism born at the close of the

19th century, and to endow Africa with the requisite capacities to take up the challenges of the 21st century, namely: speedy and sustainable development, poverty eradication and the continent's integration into the global economy and society as a respected player.

Insert 8: Towards the Creation of the African Union

Since 1999 a series of summits and ministerial meetings were key moments in the establishment of the AU, notably:

Sirte (9.9.99) OAU Special Summit.

- *Libyan proposal for a federal United States of Africa with a US-Congress Sirte Pan African Parliament PAP as the apex organization*
- *Declaration on the establishment of the AU*

Abuja (May 2000) CSSDCA's 1st African Ministerial meeting

- *Called on African leaders to implement the Sirte Declaration and establish the AU, the PAPand accelerate the implementation of the Abuja Treaty establishing the AEC (African Economic Community)*

Tripoli (June 2000) Ministerial Conference on the Establishment of the AU

- *Clarification of the relationship between the OAU, AU, AEC and PAP*
- *Finalization of draft documents for the Lomé Summit*

Lomé (11 July 2000) 36th OAU Summit

- *Constitutive Act of the African Union is approved*
- *CSSDCA Solemn Declaration approved.*

- Entry into force of the Constitutive Act (26 May 2001) – one month after it was ratified by the 36th Member States

37th Lusaka (July 2001) OAU Summit

- *Asked Secretariat to prepare the establishment of the AU and make proposals for this to the Durban Summit*
- *Year from Lusaka to Durban designated as a transition year*
- *Adopted NEPAD*

Durban (July 2002) 38th and last OAU Summit and 1st Summit of the AU

- OAU disbanded and AU formally established in its place

- First year was designated as an interim year to allow the now Interim Commissioners to finalize proposals for the structure and financing of new Commission and the election of new Commissioners

- Issued a NEPAD Declaration on Democratic, Political, Economic and Corporate Good Governance.

Maputo (July 2003) 2nd AU Summit: Major results

- Elected AU Commissioners for a first 4 years term of office;

- Approved the budget and financing proposals;

- Approved the Structure of the African Union Commission and programmes for the launch of the other organs;

- Adopted a Declaration to integrate NEPAD into the African Union.

I.3 VISION OF THE AFRICAN UNION: RENASCENT PAN-AFRICANISM

It should be recalled, to start with, that the objectives of Pan-Africanism were, among other things, to build African Unity through the establishment of the United States of Africa, with the aim not only of eliminating colonial borders and frontiers, but also of eradicating the differences arising from ethnic, racial or linguistic pluralism. However, this Pan-Africanism which was seen by some as radical, had only a limited impact on the process of building African Unity, because the OAU adopted the principle of respecting the boundaries inherited from colonialism.

In establishing the African Union by virtue of the Constitutive Act, African Heads of State clearly recognized the need to do away with the 1963 compromise; and in many respects, the AU represents a radical break from the OAU.

The following Table (**Insert 9**) describes this break:

Insert 9: From OAU to AU – What is really new about the AU and its Commission?

From Unity**…..**	***…. To Union***
- *Single source of authority: Assembly of Heads of State and government*	- *Multiple sources of authority: Assembly of Heads of State and government + judicial (Court) and democratic institutions (Parliament)*
- *Therefore: purely a collaboration of governments of sovereign states*	- *Respect for national authority + right to intervene in grave circumstances*
- *Respect for national sovereignty paramount*	- *Provision to suspend governments coming to power unconstitutionally*
- *No interference in internal affairs*	- *Provision for peer review mechanism in NEPAD*
- *No questioning in public of actions of other governments*	- *Provision of public monitoring of delivery in CSSDCA*
- *No pooling of sovereignty envisaged*	- *Prime objective: enable Africa to meet challenges of 21st Century & strengthening position of Africa vis-à-vis global economy & international community*
- *Prime objective: collective struggle for national liberation from colonialism & defense of national sovereignty*	- *AEC and its regional integration programme incorporated in AU*
- *OAU separate from AEC established by Abuja Treaty – merged in 1994 as 'OAU/AEC'*	
From Secretariat	***…..To Commission***
- *Authority: Executive (SG gradually acquired power of initiative in later years)*	- *Authority: executive +own power of initiative*
- *Elected Secretary General and Assistant SGs*	- *Elected Commissioners with fully recognized political mandate*
- *Carry out decisions of Heads of State*	- *Collegial decision making*
- *Purely inter-governmental approach.*	- *Specific political task of its own*
	Community approach as well as inter-governmental possible Custodian of the treaties.

Source: ***African Union/European Union***

The above changes are underpinned by eight (8) key ideas emanating from the Constitutive Act:

- **The first key idea** is that the Continent's political liberation, accomplished formally and legally with the liquidation of the apartheid regime in South Africa in 1994, should be invigorated by substantial economic development. In a context of globalization and intense regionalization both in the North (European Union, NAFTA) and in the South (MERCOSUR, ASEAN), regional integration should be considered as strategic model for transformation and modernization of African economies, given the fact that increased trade is the foundation of sustainable growth and development.[2]

The Abuja Treaty adopted by the OAU Summit in 1991 and which made regional integration the strategic model for transformation of African economies suddenly regained its legitimacy, as the Founding Fathers passed on to the African Union the responsibility of speeding up the realization of this integration.

In this process of integration which we have to move forward and re-energize, the role of the state has to be revisited, since the state is recognized as having played a central role in the economic successes of some Asian countries, thus casting doubts over the paradigms prevalent in the past fifteen years.

With respect to border related issues, it is needful to transform these areas of turbulence into spaces for social interaction and mutual give-and-take. This can be achieved through effective demarcation and monitoring by way of border control logistics and infrastructure capacity building at both national and regional levels; it is also necessary to transform these borders into arenas of cooperation through consolidation of trade and free movement of people and goods.

- **The second key idea** is that the integration process should be geared to stimulating or reenergizing the role of states. This role should be re-visited in light of the experience of the Asian countries where it has been recognized that the state has contributed significantly to the economic success achieved by the countries of the region, since their economies are basically oriented towards the

[2] Vide Resolution CM/Res. 464 (XXVI) of the 26th Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers which decided that there should be five OAU regions: North, West, Central, East and Southern.

regional market. The modern African State must be strong. It should have the means and resources to protect its citizens against all forms of aggression and provide them with basic social services and security. Moreover, the inter-African solidarity which contributed to achieving the Continent's political liberation should be intensified more than ever before, not only in regard to countries with high potentials recovering from conflicts but also in regard to those that are victims of natural disaster. To this end, the integration process should focus particularly on humanitarian actions and civil protection.

- **The third key idea** is that integration should henceforth be endowed with an enlarged popular base, leading to an African Union sustained by a union of the people. The integration should be underpinned by strong leadership. Whereas political integration has so far been designed and implemented mainly by governments and national administrations to the exclusion of other players, it is clearly opportune and legitimate to enlist the participation of other stakeholders, particularly those of the private sector and the civil society.

  Regional integration should not be the exclusive preserve of a bunch of technocrats; rather, it should take on board all those with political legitimacy, particularly Parliamentarians. Moreover, since experience has shown that nothing meaningful and useful could be achieved without the active participation of economic operators, the AU Founding Fathers, from the outset, made it a point to associate political parties, civil society representatives and economic operators in the realization of economic integration through, for instance, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) or any other appropriate structure.

  Lastly and as stated above, central among those to be involved are parliamentarians, especially as the powers of the State will have to be transferred, in part or in totality, to a supra-national organ. If, in principle, this power transfer is conceivable and quite acceptable, it is necessary, however, - and this must be emphasized – to submit the decisions incidental thereto to the democratic scrutiny of national Parliaments, regional Parliaments or the Pan-African Parliament, depending on the subject. The point must be made that the integration momentum should be sustained by groups of countries that will serve as the engine of integration within and among the Regional Economic Communities (RECs); in other words, it is not necessary for all countries to be ready at the same time to

embark upon the integration process. Integration at variable speed should be conceivable, hence the importance of involving Parliamentarians.

- **The fourth key idea** which is incidental to the preceding idea is that political integration should be the *raison-d'être* of the African Union, the objective being to achieve federation or confederation in the long run. This key idea is fully in line with the theses advocating political integration, in the minority in 1963, and of which President Nkrumah was the most ardent proponent. However, the position of the advocates of the Unity of African States, without passing through stages, did not prevail, nor was the idea of achieving unity on the basis of cooperation. What won the day was the idea of building African Unity on the basis of regional groupings.

  Herein resides the most evident originality or the distinctive feature of the AU in relation to the OAU. It should not be forgotten in this regard that even if the belief in unity informed many activities undertaken by the OAU, the integrative unity of the Continent was not the objective of the OAU**,** whose more modest mission was "to coordinate and intensify cooperation" (Article II of the OAU Charter). The collapse of authoritarian regimes offered the hope that political integration would be achieved between democratic States respectful of human rights and keen to build equitable societies which have no room for exclusion, racism and discrimination against women. For it to be sustainable, political integration must be anchored on four integration spaces – continental, the African Union; sub-regional, the Regional Economic Communities, national, the states; and local space, the local communities. This presupposes not only the existence of three citizenship levels; namely, national, regional and continental; but also the evolution of regional economic communities created with the prospect of widening domestic markets, to embrace credible regional integration communities to which sovereignty will be transferred.

- **The fifth key idea** comprises two elements. The first is that the policies and strategies to be implemented would have no meaning unless they are human-centered. Humans – of whom fifty percent are women – must, in all circumstances, be both the actors in and beneficiaries of the structural changes engendered by development; and development should enable humans to accept their identities and conditions, rather than fall victim to them. On this score, development should be geared to backstopping the rural world and

the middle classes, thereby paving the way for partnership between the State, the private sector and the civil society.

- **The sixth key idea** is that Africa cannot move forward in any field unless the situation to which women are subjected, is speedily corrected, particularly violence against women in all its forms. Women account for over a half of the population and are increasingly involved in economic activities both in rural and urban areas. Gender issues should be mainstreamed into the activities of the Union at all levels and in all its organs, thereby creating an irreversible momentum of recognition and emancipation.

- **The seventh key idea** is that the African youth should, more than ever before, be mobilized around the ideals of African integration. Constituting over a half of the Continent's population and participating increasingly actively in political and democratic processes, the youth have a crucial role to play in the political advancement of the Continent and should be involved in accomplishing the objectives set in the Constitutive Act of the African Union. In this regard, the needs of the youth in terms of education, health and basic infrastructure will have to be met to shield them from the mistake of involvement in conflicts and wars. Furthermore, the fight against child labour, child trafficking, and the use of child soldiers needs to be stepped up.

- **The eighth key idea** concerns the African Diaspora. The Constitutive Act of the Union calls for total mobilization of all segments of the African population for the accomplishment of the set objectives. Undoubtedly, the Diaspora is a vital segment in this regard. It is, in fact, in a position to mobilize, for the Continent, the requisite scientific, technological and financial resources and expertise for the successful management of the programmes of the African Union Commission. Besides, it can form the bedrock of support in the partnership which Africa would like to see develop with the industrialized countries. On this score, the immigration issue and the question of devising an African position on the matter would be an abiding concern of the Commission.

  Integration policies and strategies need time to yield results and for their full impact to be felt; they have to be situated within specific time frames, given the fact that the apathy, rigidities and constraints to be combated cannot disappear overnight. For this reason, the policies and strategies must be inspired by a long-term vision which could serve as compass, and facilitate strategic

management of development in a context characterized by numerous uncertainties. The importance of having a vision to orientate Africa's development has, therefore, recaptured the limelight after decades during which structural (so called) adjustment was given preference over strategic planning, reactivity over pro-activity, and short-term economic reform programmes over medium or long term development planning.

It is also of vital importance to engage in the politics of what is possible and achievable.

The African Union has, therefore, been inspired by several conceptual and programme sources, prominent among which are the OAU, the Abuja Treaty, the Arusha Declaration, the CSSDCA and NEPAD. The Inset hereunder summarizes the inputs from these various sources. The African Union has also been inspired by the major decisions that have punctuated the history of the OAU. (**Insert 10**).

Insert 10: Strands in African Political discourse brought together in the AU

- ***OAU strand****: African political unity strengthens Africa's position in the world and Africans should handle conflict prevention, management and resolution in their continent by themselves;*
- ***Lagos Plan of Action*** *adopted in 1990 which provides guidelines for policies and programmes in economic, scientific and cultural sectors. The Plan launches the basis of regional economic communities*
- ***Abuja Treaty*** *(1991): African economic integration to promote development, creation of AEC on basis of RECs as pillars (Regional Economic Communities), Treaty provides for gradual establishment of PAP, Court of Justice and ECOSOC and recognizes African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights.*
- ***Arusha Declaration:*** *African Charter on popular participation in development*
- ***CSSDCA:*** *involvement of civil society bringing in accountability, transparency and principles of action in four key areas to be known as the '4 Calabashes':*
  - *Security – AU to be responsible for security in Africa*
  - *Stability – rule of law, good governance, human rights, democracy, etc*
  - *Development – promotion of economic cooperation and integration*
  - *Cooperation – member states should act jointly & collectively.*
- ***NEPAD:*** *'Partnership for development' between African leaders and the international donor community and in which the former pledge to work to eradicate poverty, ensure good governance and efficiency while the latter would provide new and additional resources; it involves an African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and is organized around 3 components:*
  - *Conditions for sustainable development: peace, security, good governance, sub-governance, sub-regional and regional integration*
  - *Sectoral priorities: infrastructure, human resources, agriculture, environment, culture, science and technology*
  - *Mobilizing Resources: debt relief, ODA, domestic resources mobilization and a Market Access Initiative.*

A united[3] and integrated Africa; an Africa imbued with justice and peace; an inter-dependent and robust Africa determined to map for itself an ambitious strategy; an Africa underpinned by political, economic, social and cultural integration which would restore to Pan-Africanism its full meaning; an Africa able to make the best of its human and material resources, and keen to ensure the progress and prosperity of its citizens by taking advantage of the opportunities offered by a globalized world; an Africa capable of promoting its values in a world rich in its disparities: this is how one can express the vision of the African Union.

To achieve those goals, many challenges have to be tackled, prominent among which are:

- **To face up to the weakness of regional integration,** acceptance of gradual transfer of sovereignty and delegation of power to the regional and continental levels**,** which might result in the RECs evolving from inter-governmental management to confederal and, later, federal management. This development would, in turn, dictate the evolution of the African Union, that is from inter-governmental management with transfer of sovereignty, followed by confederal management leading to federation, upon the RECs evolving to the confederal stage;

- **the quantitative and qualitative human resource deficit** in some key areas, arising from the mediocre progress in the education and health sectors. For instance, the rate of primary school registration in Sub-Saharan Africa stagnated between 1995 and 2000, whereas there was progress in other regions. Furthermore, of the eight (8) countries of the world where life expectancy dropped by over three years, six are in Africa (Botswana, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe). This deficit needs to be corrected with utmost urgency;

- **eradication of the most acute pandemics**: the reference here is to AIDS which is spreading in the Continent with

[3] The Africa one is referring to is indeed the whole of Africa, from North to South, from East to West without distinction as to race, colour and religion. We should, therefore, discard the nomenclatures "Black Africa" and "White Africa" and some of the terminologies used in some North and East African countries which apply the term "Africa" to countries south of the Sahara. It is needful to avoid the classification of "North Africa" under the Middle East, and do away with cooperation agreements that embody the division of the Continent. Furthermore, the acknowledgement of the "Francophone Africa", the "Anglophone Africa", the "Hispanophone Africa", and the "Lusophone Africa" spaces should not be to the detriment of the Pan-African dimension and the integration efforts on the Continent. Proposals to create a league of Black States put forward in the recent past would be inadmissible. Africa's future resides in its total unity.

devastating effect, and malaria which, as has now been recognized, seriously impacts on the Continent's productivity;

- **the fragility of eco-systems and vulnerability *of production systems*** *to* the vagaries of climate: since many Africans depend on biomass use to meet their food needs, and these agro-silvo – pastoral systems are very sensitive to the environmental degradations and changes which affect much of the Continent, per capita food production fell in 31 out of 46 African countries.

  Solutions are needed for long-term reduction of this dependence which has become all the more serious because, for 40 African countries, there was a net deficit in overall cereals trade during the past five years. Consequently, sub-Saharan Africa was the only region in the world to experience a fall in its real consumption growth rate (around – 1.3%).

- **Africa's poor economic performance:** despite the structural adjustment policies implemented since the 80s, the Continent remains in the throes of relatively low labour productivity, the specializations inherited from colonialism which have hardly changed, and an industrialization level that has remained largely inadequate;

- **digital gap**: the obvious progress towards an information society in which the NICTs will play a major role, holds out the risk of further widening the already very huge gap between industrialized and developing countries, thereby exposing Africans to the danger of isolation. The concept of digital solidarity proposed by the Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade which focuses on indirect individual contribution strategy deserves consideration;

- **exacerbation of the problems related to political and economic governance** peace, security, institutional stability and societal democratization. We have already discussed the major manifestations of these problems which portray Africa as a Continent synonymous with violence;

- **the problems incidental to preservation of cultural heritage** and development of cultural goods whose importance for Africa's future needs to be underscored;

- **consolidation and modernization of the State**: it is indeed a fact that wherever there is a collapse of the State, there is aggravation of poverty and human rights violations. In the circumstance, the State is faced with difficulties in ensuring peace and security and in providing basic social services for the people;

- **the need to assert the political leadership of the Commission** on all the political, economic, social and cultural issues facing Africa as a whole. To this end, the political will prevalent at the birth of the African Union should not be allowed to evaporate; rather it should be strengthened with time. Furthermore, it should be agreed with Member States and the development partners (bilateral, multilateral, NGOs, other development support associations) that Ministerial and African experts meetings should be held under the political leadership of the African Union Commission. This will indeed help avoid duplication and overlap, a source of wastage, allow for greater harmony of programmes and consolidate the capacities of the African Union.

Owing to the complexity and multiplicity of these challenges, the vision of the African Union can be fully realized only at the price of relentless struggle that has to be waged on several fronts and as a long-term endeavour. However, it behoves those who believe in this vision and those with the legitimacy to do so, to take measures, and indeed all the necessary measures, to create conducive conditions to crystallize this vision. The African Union Commission clearly has a vital role to play in this regard, owing to its centrality in the Union's institutional arrangement.

Within the space of one generation, the African Union should enable us to fully build an Africa reconciled both with itself and with its Diaspora, using its own resources; an Africa allowed to play the major role that it can legitimately assume in a polycentric, interdependent and more equitable world, a world from which will be jettisoned the skeletons of economic, political and ideological polarization which so much characterized the past century.

I.4 MISSION OF THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION

The mission of the African Union Commission consists essentially in doing all that is necessary to establish the conditions which will facilitate the attainment, in the shortest possible time, of all the objectives enshrined in the Constitutive Act of the African Union, by initiating discussion and policies, by educating and rallying the people of Africa and the rest of the world, by carrying out advocacy missions, by stimulating reflection, by seeking overall coherence of the organs of the African Union, by building its own capacities and by establishing follow-up/evaluation mechanisms.

Top on the list of these objectives is the acceleration of the complete and total implementation of the Abuja Treaty, whose priority nature has been affirmed many a time. However, in a context where the commitment of Africa's active forces is perceived as a *sine qua non* to render credible and consolidate the achievements made in the area of integration and for further progress on this front, there is an even greater concern now than in the past to build and/or consolidate a coalition, a partnership, between both state and non-state players in the process of transforming Africa.

Member States of the African Union, its organs including those stipulated in the Constitutive Act, and the five Regional Economic Communities provided for in the Abuja Treaty, are clearly expected to play a major role in such coalition. The same is true for the existing myriad inter-governmental organizations. It is however necessary to spell out guidelines and roles for accomplishment of the objectives and define the obligations of the various institutions, as well as those of Member States.

However, the coalition would truly deserve that name only when private sector and civil society organizations (political parties, NGOs, labour unions, women's and youth associations) have become an integral part of the coalition. The African Union Commission is expected to animate and coordinate this coalition in many ways, the most important of which may be summarized as follows:

1. Capacity Building Mission

The Commission will have to invigorate the capacities of the organs and specialized institutions of the African Union (**Insert 11**), those of Member States, particularly the national integration structures and those

of the RECs. As regards the RECs and given their diverse pace of evolution, the Commission should map out the ways and means to forge inter-regional cooperation that would allow for exchange of experiences with a view to accelerating the process of integration in some of these communities. It is necessary, in any case, to build the capacities of all the RECs to enable them to think of integration in new ways (it should be recalled that the RECs emerged at a time when regional integration was protectionist in nature and took precedence over international integration of African economies), deepen reflection thereon and, above all, find for themselves an operational basis at different levels. This linkage between reflection and action should be at the core of the activities of the African Union.

Insert 11: List of African Union Organs according to the Constitutive Act

The Organs of the African Union are as follows:

The Assembly of the Union, *the supreme organ of the Union is composed of Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives. This organ meets at least once in extraordinary session.*

The Commission of the African Union, *is the Secretariat of the Union. It is composed of the Chairperson, his or her Deputy and Commissioners. It represents the Union and defends its interests under the direction of the Assembly and the Executive Council. It can initiate proposals for submission to the other organs of the Union and executes decisions taken by them. It assists member states in executing the policies and programmes of the Union, particularly the CSSDCA and NEPAD. It formulates common positions of the Union and coordinates the work of member states during international negotiations.*

The Executive Council, *composed of the Foreign Ministers or such other Ministers or representatives as are designated by the governments of Member States, is responsible for coordinating and taking decisions on policies in areas of common interest to Member States.*

The Permanent Representatives' Committee*, composed of Permanent Representatives or other Plenipotentiaries of Member States****,*** *is responsible for preparing the work of the Executive Council and acting on the latter's instructions.*

The Peace and Security Council composed of 15 Member States *is responsible for the promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa, preventive diplomacy and restoration of peace. It is also responsible for disaster management and humanitarian activities. It is expected to replace the Central Organ of the Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Mechanism established in 1993 by the Heads of State at the Tunis Summit. To enable it to discharge its responsibilities with respect to deployment of peace support missions and interventions in the event of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, the Peace and Security Council may consult a Panel of the Wise composed of five African personalities and mobilize a Standby Force.*

The Pan-African Parliament, *will be* ***unicameral*** *but represented by all Parliaments of the countries of Africa. It will adopt legislations by two-thirds majority of its members.* ***It will composed by five members per country with at least one woman.***

The African Court of Justice *which will adjudicate in civil cases will be responsible for human rights protection and monitoring human rights violations. It will also constitute itself into a real criminal court in the long term.*

The Economic, Social and Cultural Council *is an advisory organ composed of different social and professional groups from Member States of the Union, particularly youth and women's associations.*

The African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights *adopted at the Ouagadougou Summit in 1998 has jurisdiction in cases of human rights violation by any State party, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and African intergovernmental organizations. The Court can hear cases filed by individuals and nongovernmental organizations with observer status in the Union, when the State party concerned makes a declaration to this effect. It is composed of 11 Judges elected by the Assembly for a mandate of 6 years renewable only once.*

Three Financial Institutions[4]:*The African Central Bank; The African Monetary Fund;The African Investment Bank.*

Specialized Technical Committees *composed of Ministers or senior officials responsible for the sectors falling within their respective areas of competence. Seven Technical Committees, number and composition of which are not limited, are provided for in the Constitutive Act of the Union; namely:*

- *The Committee on Rural Economy and Agriculture;The Committee on Monetary and Financial Matters;The Committee on Trade, Customs and Immigration Matters;*
- *The Committee on Industry, Science and Technology, Energy, Natural Resources and Environment;*
- *The Committee on Transport, Communications and Tourism;*
- *The Committee on Health, Labour and Social Affairs; and*
- *The Committee on Education, Culture and Human Resources.*

The Commission should strengthen analytical capacities and foster proactive reflection both in countries and in the RECs without which there will not be any anticipatory and forward-looking approach worthy of the name. This is the only way they can become a strategic watchdog, which the AU should establish, an issue that would be examined later.

Concerning the specialized institutions in particular, the Commission should share with them its vision and values, while ensuring that their distinctive competencies are brought to bear. To this end, the Commission needs to strengthen its linkages with the inter-governmental organizations operating in the field of integration as well as civil society organizations which have considerable useful experience in the same field.

Among the capacities to be developed, one can also mention not only Africa's negotiation capacities with its external partners, but also the negotiation capacity of the various social groups in Africa. Building negotiation capacity is in most cases inextricably linked to building the

[4] This integration process enjoys the full support of the African Development Bank and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

organizational capacities of players (be it in the economic, social, cultural or political fields) and therefore involves the capacity to coordinate the intervention of these players, a coordination whose necessity has already been highlighted.

Building negotiation capacity is, to all intents and purposes, closely linked to the definition of an African position on issues under negotiation; for instance, the various conventions on the environment, agricultural subsidies, protection of certain industries and cultural diversity; for, it is only when Africa speaks with one voice that it can command respect and attain its objectives. The interest generated by NEPAD which was a result of the merger of two initiatives, the Millennium African Partnership (MAP), initiated by Presidents Mbeki, Obasanjo and Bouteflika, and the OMEGA Plan of President Wade, each of which evolved independently, and the success achieved in the struggle against Apartheid thanks to the centrality accorded to it by all Member States of the OAU, are eloquent proof that Africa's strength resides in its unity.

In view of the fact that the issues on the international agenda which are of interest to Africa are particularly numerous and cut across several fields, mechanisms should be found to ensure that dialogue is institutionalized among the parties concerned in contrast to the dialogue conducted through *Ad Hoc* mechanisms.

2. The Crucial Mission of Ensuring Overall Coherence in the structure of the African Union. To this end, efforts should be deployed in two directions:

a) **Harmonizing, rationalizing and strengthening** the RECs to enable them to meaningfully play their role as pillars of integration. There is a need first and foremost to ensure that the activities of inter-governmental organizations contribute to the consolidation of the RECs in their integration endeavours. To this end, it is noteworthy that the Continent accounts for some hundred IGOs with cooperation rather than integration vocation, with West Africa having a track record in this area. This proliferation of roles results in duplication, wastage, red tapism and poor performance. Clarification of these roles will go a long way in strengthening these IGOs and foster their effective interaction with the RECs. There is also the need to support the RECs during the different stages of regional integration. Lastly, it is needful to establish an organic

relation between the Commission and the Secretariats of the RECs;

b) **Integrating** into the AU Commission the programmes and activities which have been implemented to speed up the integration process in the Continent. The questions raised as to the most judicious way to integrate NEPAD into the African Union structure, as was the case for CSSDCA, demonstrate the magnitude of the task of the Commission, a task which is all the more arduous because external interference cannot be ruled out; and the fact that in the existing circumstances, the operational activities of the Commission will, to a very large extent, depend on resources from external partners should equally constitute a major concern for the Commission. To this end, it would be necessary to more effectively manage the process of establishing the organs and better define the stages of implementation. Should this coordination fail, it is to be feared that this would result in considerable wastage of effort and reduced effectiveness which the African Union cannot afford in a context in which Africa is not only lacking in resources (human, financial, material and informational) but is also subject to deficits in terms of poor image and unfavourable attitudes due, among other things, to the not always satisfactory performance of the intergovernmental organizations which sprouted in the Continent since accession to international sovereignty. Despite the great diversity of the concerned players and the philosophies underlying their interventions, which may not necessarily be convergent, and also because of the disparities in their resource base, coordination by the African Union will be vital as it will create the necessary synergies, pave the way for economies of scale and help forge a common identity.

3. Reflection Mission

Stimulating Reflection on a number of issues/challenges which deserve to be fully understood shall constitute one other mission of the Commission. The issues in question include the formulation of a common defence and security policy which should play a major role in the elimination of light weapons trafficking and combating the phenomenon of child-soldiers; the judicious operationalization of the principle of free movement of persons and goods with special focus on the concept of border – country; guidelines on the issue of Council on the Future of the Union; the necessary clarification of the role of the RECs in

the building of an integrated Africa and the modalities for their coordination with the organs of the African Union; consideration of the most appropriate strategies and modalities for guaranteeing predictability in the financing of the Commission and other organs of the African Union; structuring the AU as planned, particularly the relevance of the 18 organs which should make up the AU; consideration of the recruitment and working conditions of AU staff, etc.

Identifying and implementing measures to encourage the return to Africa of the capital exported by Africans[5] and which according to many estimates, is far greater than the amounts received as development assistance; integrating the Diaspora in the work of the African Union as a source of technical assistance and funding for the programmes of the Union, or as linkages for resource mobilization in industrialized countries; in general terms, the problems relating to brain-drain; development of African intellectuals; promoting quality scientific and technical research; search for excellence in the universities and other research institutions as well as institutions of higher learning; promoting and developing African languages and their wider use; promoting the culture of peace through arts, culture and sports; the judicious management of the ethnic factor in cultural policies; the thorny issue of external debt which is crippling Africa and strengthening the weight of partners in economic and political processes in Africa, the new role of the state in planning, the peoples' economy, the impact of privatization policies on integration - all these also constitute areas where in-depth studies should be thoroughly and vigorously carried out.

The establishment of a network of experts and competencies in Africa and in the Diaspora could to a great extent help in the conduct of such reflection. It will indeed create the necessary synergies between African experts and the Diaspora in the work of the Commission.

For each of the above areas of reflection, many options are possible with as many scenarios. It is the responsibility of the African Union Commission and its partners to clarify these options and study all the possible implications bearing in mind that the clarity of the options adopted will determine the transparency of the action of the African

[5] This amounted to US$131 million in 1991 according to The Financial Times

Union vis-à-vis all its organs and partners, be they African or non-African. This work of exploring and explaining options is also imperative and indispensable in ensuring that the policies and actions retained will be consistent not only with what is desirable but also with what is possible, and that their coordinated implementation will be such as would enhance the effectiveness of the African Union.

4. Strategic Watchtower Mission

By the term strategic watchtower, we mean a system/service for the gathering, analysis and dissemination of strategic information for the future of Africa. The strategic watchtower system which is also known as the watchdog will have the objective of identifying and analysing information on internal and external variables on the Continent's environment, the evolution of which could have a significant impact on the accomplishment of the ambitions and aspirations of the Continent in the next 25-30 years. *This basically means an extension of the reflection mission*.

On this score, the AU can distinguish itself radically from the OAU which carried out very few proactive brainstorming exercises since 1979, year of the Monrovia Symposium with the theme: "What kind of Africa in the Year 2000" whose results were to a large measure taken on board in the formulation of the Lagos Plan of Action adopted by the OAU Extraordinary Summit in April 1980. This Plan has yet to be implemented. Most African states, as a result of the debt problem, have been obliged to adopt programme stabilization and structural adjustment programmes which are in opposition to the concepts underpinning the Lagos Plan of Action.

The activities to be undertaken by this strategic watchtower system is to identify major trends and highlight the seeds of change, comprehend their meaning and anticipate their development, and thereby react in a proactive manner to these changes. There is an urgent need to establish such a system in view of the very many uncertainties about the future of Africa, the diversity of the fields covered by these uncertainties (which are social, political, cultural, environmental and technological in nature) and lastly in view of the fact that these uncertainties relate to endogenous and exogenous variables and therefore are not manageable equally by individuals and African players.

The system should also gather, analyze and disseminate not only historical but also proactive information covering several fields and embracing Africa's internal as well as external environment. It goes

without saying that the information generated within this framework should pave the way for the work of the "Council on the Future", whose major objectives are to reflect on the relevance of, and the developments brought about by the changes taking place in the world, the structures and organs of the Union as well as the specialized institutions, and to serve as strategic watchtower for all the issues affecting African integration and global development.

5. Information Mission

The Information Mission is vital as it would enable the African Union to involve all players in the process of regional and continental development and integration. Additionally, if it is the aim of the African Union to ensure that Africa makes its voice heard, rediscovers itself and projects its true image – in its diversity, riches, hopes and fears, weaknesses and achievements – the African Union Commission should set for itself the task of serving as the interface between Africa and the rest of the world.

On this score, it should adopt a communication policy capable of projecting the image of a winning Africa by way of thousands of small and unspectacular projects which above all, re-instil confidence in those, both within and outside the Continent, whom conflicts, famine and the ravages of disinformation have made sceptical about the Continent's future. African News Agencies can play a vanguard role in this struggle. These agencies, be it URTNA or PANA, need to be re-energized by way of Pan-African programmes. We should also not forget the private press whose dynamism has been largely instrumental to the deepening of democracy and the rule of law in many African countries.

The external offices of the Commission should be at the forefront in this struggle by seeing to it that, in their host countries, a credible current of support is generated for the activities of the African Union, its Commission and the various organs. A campaign to popularize the objectives of the Union should be undertaken; such initiative will even be more effective if informed by the realities on ground. These external representations should therefore be strengthened and be endowed with adequate human and financial resources to enable them to execute their programmes.

Cultural entrepreneurs, artists and sports associations should also be enlisted in this communication drive. In fact, they possess immense potentials to enhance Africa's image and remind everyone that development is also a matter of culture and that, on this score, Africa, far

from being an orphan, has contributed and is still able to contribute a lot to the world in the spirit of open dialogue.

The African Diaspora in Europe and America can also become vital players provided they are purposefully mobilized. The reasons for such mobilization are not hard to find. First, there are historical reasons: it is hardly necessary in this regard to recall that the Founding Figures of the Pan-Africanist Movement which started early in the 19th century, hailed from the Diaspora (William Dubois: 1868-1963 United States; Marcus Garvey: 1887-1947 Jamaica; George Padmore: 1902-1952 Trinidad; Kwame Nkrumah: 1909-1972 Ghana). Then, we have epistemological reasons owing in particular to the emergence of the global as a framework for action and observation of international relations from the sociological standpoint.

6. Advocacy Mission

African public opinion should not be sidelined in this advocacy initiative. It should be instilled with the idea that the African Union is not exclusively a matter for states; that it is also basically a matter for the people; that it entails an integrative and inclusive approach involving the Malagasy agriculture as much as the South African economic operator, the Egyptian painter as much as the Nigerian labour leader; leaders of civil society organizations in Congo as much as political players in Tanzania. In this connection, the decision to establish the African Parliament and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC), and to organize Pan-African integration associations, particularly women's and youth associations, in the spirit of pluralism and respect for differences, and other civil society organizations should leave no one in any doubt about the commitment of African Heads of State to give concrete meaning to participation and partnership, and their will to make the African Union a tool to build a new equilibrium between State and non-state actors on solid foundations, a prerequisite for meaningful people's ownership of and participation in the integration process.

What is also needed here is for the African Union Commission to show the international community that Africa is not a dying continent, but one in which the logic of marginalization practised over centuries of forced integration (including slave trade, colonization, neo-colonization, globalization) did not succeed in eroding its rich heritage of knowledge and expertise, both theoretical and practical. Proof of this resides in the vivacity of local crafts industry (weaving, pottery, basketwork), endogenous medicine and pharmacopoeia, divination and numeracy systems, botanical and zoological taxonomy, teaching methods and

procedures, metallurgy techniques, etc.. all of which constitute a vast field of knowledge and expertise that deserve to be popularised. That this material civilization has survived despite attempts at cultural cannibalism and ethnic genocide should compel us to revisit the phenomenon of under-development and to resituate it in a wider historical perspective, thereby making it an episode limited in time, an episode which can be overcome. Emphasis should be placed on History, History approached not as a refuge but as a recourse, bearing in mind, in the words of Césaire, that the short cut to the future is through deeper knowledge of the past.

In this war of information, great attention should be paid to the Arab world, if for anything, because Africa is also partly Arab and a majority of Arabs live in the African Continent. Africa is therefore obliged to build strategic partnership with the Arab world.

Advocacy should also focus on strengthening South-South cooperation and building new partnerships with the great countries of the globalised world (G8 countries, the European Union, Scandinavian countries) on the basis of more equitable bilateral and multilateral agreements. On this score, the Commission will seek to invigorate its relation with the United Nations System, while ensuring most particularly that the later does not replace it in carrying out its own obligations. The United Nations System is expected to provide support to the policies, programmes and projects of the Commission, and backstop institutional capacity building, both human and organizational.

7. Follow-up/Evaluation Mission

Establishing a follow up/evaluation mechanism will constitute a crucial mission of the African Union which will enable it to attain its objectives. The Organization of African Unity was generous with initiatives in the area of continental development. The same is true for bilateral or multilateral cooperation agencies which experimented many of such formulae in Africa. For instance, during the past 30 years, several continental and non-continental initiatives have been undertaken with varying results. We can recall, among others, the structural adjustment programmes inspired by the Washington theory of Consensus whose implementation failed to resolve the problem of indebtedness in countries and generate economic growth to address the root causes of poverty. Similarly, the commitments made at Monterrey in 2002 to step up by 6 billion US Dollars the Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Africa are yet to be implemented.

PART II

TOWARDS THE POSSIBLE AND

THE ACHIEVABLE

II.1 Facing the Challenges

As has already been said, the challenges that need to be tackled in order to crystallize the vision of the winning Africa are many and diverse. To this end, it is needful to define priorities in the major areas of economic, social, political, environmental, cultural, sporting and technological life of the Continent. This will entail:

- **Fostering the political will of our States to achieve integration and the African Union:** legality will be the engine of African integration. The legitimacy and efficacy of the integration process call for greater political clarity on the part of Member States as demonstrated by their ratification of relevant instruments and implementation of decisions. The desired integration requires that Member States delegate power and progressively transfer sovereignty both at sub-regional and continental levels. Lastly, mobilization of peoples, the civil society and opinion builders (the media and cultural creators) is equally necessary to achieve a collective ownership of the integration process.

- **Asserting the Commission's leadership role and sense of history:** the *raison d'être* of the African Union Commission is the accomplishment of continental integration. It should at the same time be conscious of the stages established to arrive at this objective. As a matter of fact, the Commission in the circumstances is the engine of the train of continental integration. In its vision, the regional integration communities are the vital linchpin of integration: in short, they are the critical partners in making integration both gradual and irreversible.

- **Preserving our cultural heritage and developing culture as the foundation of sustainable development:** as is known, Africa is in great danger of being dispossessed of its cultural heritage, both material and non-material. This danger is compounded by the threat of aggression by the dominant cultures under the cover of globalization. And yet, this heritage impacts on the future much more than is generally recognized.

- **As far as possible, formulating options for Africa's social and economic development:** Africa has a tradition of resistance, but this is increasingly on the decline. This has

resulted in the weakness of its negotiation and anticipatory capacity which, in turn, has led to Africa's increased dependence on recipes fashioned from the outside.

- **Purposefully addressing peace and security related problems:** there is no doubt that a fresh wind of hope has been blowing over Africa with the on-going resolution of numerous conflicts. However, a lot remains to be done if Africa is to shed the perception nurtured about it, as a violent Continent. Here, there is a need to address both the structural and occasional causes of conflicts.

- **Promoting the legitimacy of institutions and the emergence of a society based on the rule of law:** deepening the democratic process calls for the creation of conducive conditions for the legitimization of institutions. Furthermore, just as the state should have nothing less than legitimacy, so the governed should demonstrate civic responsibility.

- **Offsetting the qualitative and quantitative human resource deficit :** the example of the countries that have taken the leap forward (particularly in Asia) shows that a proper training policy for both top officials and specialized manpower constitutes a decisive factor of economic development.

- **Eradicating the most serious pandemics:** we are referring in particular to HIV/AIDS which is spreading all over the Continent with devastating effect, and to malaria which, as is now known, seriously impacts on the Continent's productivity.

- **Reversing the fragility of eco-systems and their vulnerability to climatic vagaries:** pressure by users and the impact of the consumption pattern in industrialized countries create conditions of competition for the natural resources of the South. This results in a vicious circle which, in turn, undermines the traditional production systems.

- **Significantly improving Africa's economic performance and eliminating food insecurity by ensuring collective self-sufficiency at community, regional and continental levels:** this stems from several factors, usually in combination; chronic production deficits, weaknesses in early

warning systems, political incompetence and unsafe production conditions. The net result is that Africa has remained a continent that has not enough food to feed its people, with its attendant consequences particularly for women and children.

- **Mobilizing further resources to finance development:** the insufficiency of internal savings to finance national development is a problem that has been underscored many a time. Besides, despite structural adjustment policies, the Continent remains in the throes of relatively low-level productivity, the specializations inherited from the colonial economy which has hardly evolved, and a largely inadequate industrialization base. Another challenge in the area of investment is the meager flow of foreign capital to Africa. This situation has resulted in ineffective infrastructure development, especially transport, communication and energy which are primary sectors of vital importance.

- **Formulating focused social policies:** although, in recent years, the need to focus more on social policies has been recognized by African policy-makers as well as their financial partners, it is necessary to implement credible social development policies which emphasize development and progress of the family, improvement in living standard and quality of life, and social security.

- **Building strong partnerships and meaningful dialogue:** Africa should seize upon its relative advantages to create more value added. Inter-African and South-South partnerships as well as Afro-Arab dialogue are vital aspects of this approach.

- **Addressing the problem of digital gap:** the obvious progress towards an information society in which the NICTs will play a major role presents the risk of further widening the already substantial gap between industrialized and developing countries, unless Africa reacts appropriately.

None of the above challenges is simple. They underscore the fact that the scenario of an assertive Africa can become full reality only at the cost of unrelenting struggle on several fronts. It is certainly going to be a long drawn struggle which will take a generation in view of the oppositions, constraints, rigidities and inertia to be combated. However, it is also needful to devise a strategy for what is possible and what is

achievable with regard to African integration. It therefore behoves the stakeholders of the vision of an assertive Africa, those who subscribe to this vision and those who have the legitimacy to realize it, to devote their best efforts to the endeavour and take all the necessary measures to create the conditions conducive to its materialization. The African Union has a vital role to play in this positive momentum.

II.2 STRATEGIC AREAS

The formulation of an activity programme consistent with long-term vision of a winning Africa is one of the priorities of the African Union Commission. The Vision and Strategic Framework have a long-term horizon, but the specific Action Plans are sequential.

For the Commission, Africa's Vision, the Strategic Framework and the various programme documents which it will have to present to the policy organs, are predicated on strong premise, namely:

- determined inter-governmental management of integration by strong States that take on board quality public sector and dynamic private sector or associations;
- self-reinforcing democratic practices;
- an environment that consolidates peace and human security;
- Member States respecting the Decisions of the Continental Organization.

It will indeed be necessary for Member States to delegate power in areas to be determined, if the comparative advantage of the Union is established. Similarly, there is a need for consensual ownership of the process not only by two-thirds majority but also by qualified majority in order to facilitate decision-making and speed up the integration.

It is vital to reorder the priorities of the Continent, given its limited resources. The following strategic areas are therefore intended to create adequate and enabling conditions to attain the entirety of the objectives enshrined in the Constitute Act:

- backstopping and speeding up the process of transformation of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) into Regional Integration Communities (RICs);

- building the capacities of the organs of the Union (through coordination, rationalization of activities and integration of NEPAD, the CSSDCA and the RECs);

- stimulating brainstorming on issues of common interest, playing the role of watchtower and strategic watchdog, and strengthening negotiation capacities on issues on the global agenda;

- interfacing between Africa and the outside world and undertaking advocacy mission;

- making more visible the positive changes taking place in the Continent;

- monitoring and evaluating the progress achieved in the area of integration;

- promoting human resource development for the Continent's socio-economic development;

- consolidating the capacities of youth and women's movements in the spirit of respect for differences;

- promoting an appropriate policy in the area of humanitarian action and civil protection;

- stepping up the efficiency of the public sector particularly through modernization of the administration and promotion of private initiative.

In view of the aforesaid, six key objectives will be retained for the 2004-2007 programme, namely:

- make the African Union Commission stronger and more responsible;
- formulate a shared vision of Africa's future; and promote and defend Africa's positions on matters of interest to the continent and its people;
- contribute to Africa's cultural radiance;
- enhance international and regional cooperation;
- promote a new citizenship anchored on Africa's basic values and performance culture; and
- promote strong and integrated economies in Africa.

II.3 STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Make the Commission Stronger and more Responsible

The African Union distinguishes itself from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) by the magnitude of the responsibilities conferred on it. Although the Constitutive Act does not make detailed reference to the Commission, the responsibilities entrusted to the Chairperson of the Commission and his colleagues are considerable. Apart from the responsibilities involved in evaluating the threats to peace and security and bringing such threats to the attention of the policy organs of the Union, the Commission has the task of assisting in formulating and implementing development strategies and policies.

For the Union to become an effective organization, the Commission needs to demonstrate a lot of dynamism, efficacy and creativity. In this connection, it will basically rely on legality (signing and ratification of documents). In all its activities, the Commission has to take into account the international context in which the Union was established and the new areas of commitment of African countries, particularly the commitment to collectively encourage and promote good governance and human rights. Consequently, the Commission has to organize itself in a way to discharge all its responsibilities and face up to the challenges of interacting with the outside world. It should be designed as the embryo of the continent's executive, the embryo of a continental government with the Chairperson of the Commission at the helm.

To this end, it is crucial that the Commission be endowed with the resources to discharge its mission, thereby enabling it to assert itself both within and outside the continent as the vanguard inter-governmental organization for Africa's economic and political integration.

Strategy

Competent and adequate human resources: highly needed are well qualified, competent and honest staff together with a system of equitable representation not only for the regions but also in terms of gender. Additionally, a system of motivation should be put in place to make it possible to recruit and retain human resources from Africa and its Diaspora. This is vital if the African Union Commission is to be able to discharge its mission.

Still on the bid to ensure efficiency, there is a need to focus on a mechanism for regular performance evaluation and on a system for continuous training as a way of bringing staff up to the required standard in a highly competitive international context.

Concern for gender and regional balance: justice and equity constitute Number 1 values for the African Union and the Commission. As this, in many respects, reflects the political will of our Heads of State to mainstream gender, the Commission will make gender parity a critical criterion in the recruitment process, and ensure that gender is taken on board in its programmes as a cross-cutting issue. The Commission will additionally pay special attention to the gender debate in the Continent, ensure implementation of the resolutions adopted in this field, and backstop the initiative for women's promotion by States and the civil society.

Rational NICT Policy: the Commission should not place itself on the sidelines of the New Information Technology, or Communication to put it briefly. On the other hand, acceleration of the integration process calls for effective management of these various tools, especially the establishment of efficient external intranet and connectivity system.

Multi-lingualism will be a respected rule in the Commission, and will also be encouraged in the staff.

Commensurate financial resources: it is well known that the recovery of financial contributions including accumulated arrears of contributions has already been the subject of high-level decision. This recovery strategy provides for possible sanctions against States that fail to pay up their arrears. The fact however remains that these regular contributions and recovery of arrears are not sufficient to cover all needs.

All possibilities to mobilize alternative resources to finance the programmes of the African Union should therefore be explored, particularly for critical areas such as conflict prevention and resolution, as well as peace keeping. The idea whereby each State would set aside some budget (up to 0.5% of total income) should be explored. Similarly, the possibility of creating a Fiduciary Fund should be considered. Contribution by the RECs by way of tax and customs levies should also be looked into. This will demonstrate the strong political will for integration in Member States and constitute the starting point for the highly desirable ownership of the integration by the people and the parliaments of the African Union.

On the other hand, the Commission has to strengthen its financial and accounting management procedures and systems, without which it will not be able to receive sustainable funding.

For the Commission to remain in step with its Vision, it will also have to transform the existing annual budget programming system into a biennial or even multi-annual programme.

More comprehensive institutional arrangements in the Commission: sports and culture are two vital sectors of life in Africa which also have integration and exchange capacities that the Commission needs to speed up the Continent's integration. The strategic importance of these sectors should be more clearly reflected in the structure of the Commission, which is not the case at the moment.

More effective specialized institutions with enhanced capacities: the Commission needs to rally African Union specialized institutions behind the vision and standards anchored on efficacy and product quality. It should pave the way for these institutions to radiate and develop themselves fully while providing them with the means to consolidate their capacities, and enabling them to develop and preserve their distinctive competencies.

More robust cooperation with inter-governmental and civil society organizations: to achieve the desired results, the Commission should take on board the wealth of available experience and competencies that are likely to be of value to it. Most inter-governmental and civil society organizations are repositories of this expertise, and increased cooperation between them and the Commission will be an asset for integration. Besides, the much-needed ownership of the African Union by the people of Africa will be dependent on wider involvement of the civil society.

An effective diplomatic representation in the African Union: a strong and responsible Commission will be the mouthpiece of all the institutions and countries keen to backstop Africa's development. It will therefore strive for more accreditation of countries and institutions to the African Union Commission.

Expected results

1. The Commission's intellectual leadership, strengthened

On matters of crucial importance to the future of Africa, the Commission should severs a source of ideas, reflection and information. It should also become a venue for authentication of the ideas and information developed in other bilateral or multilateral frameworks of relevance to Africa. It is at this price that the Commission will become a source of intellectual value added.

2. Programme design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation capacities, invigorated

Several initiatives on Africa have been developed and implemented in bilateral and multilateral forums. Rare are those initiatives that could be attributed exclusively to Africans. These include in recent years NEPAD (2001) and some 20 years ago, the Lagos Plan of Action (1980).

The situation could change if, with competent staff and a proactive attitude, the African Union identifies the key issues affecting Africa, studies these issues and rallies the African intelligentsia to design solutions which will have greater chances of success as they will receive the political blessing of the supreme organs of the Union.

3. Representational and negotiating capacity of the Commission, strengthened

Objective 2: Formulate a shared vision of the Continent through systematic promotion of African common positions on issues of strategic interest for the States and people of Africa

For this vision to materialize, many challenges have to be addressed. A range of options more or less wide ranging, depending on the timeframe retained, is on offer with respect to each of these challenges. It is necessary to study them and in all clarity, establish choices, the implications of which should first be analysed with the necessary care.

In addition to enlightening the stakeholders and policy makers on the existing challenges, the Commission needs anticipate the changes likely to impact on African economies and societies, bearing in mind that

these changes could occur on several fronts and in several areas. This calls for a capacity on the part of the Commission to detect the seeds of change. The positions that will be formulated to address existing and/or future challenges have to be popularized appropriately and vigorously defended. They should also be taken on board in the preparation of the plans and programmes of the Union and its organs. Additionally, it is needful to take all the necessary measures to ensure that Africa's voice is heard with greater effect especially in the global policy making bodies.

Strategy

Working groups will be constituted for the key issues and/or areas already identified. As far as possible, the working groups will be open to a wide range of players from the continent and the Diaspora (experts from the public and private sectors, civil society organizations, the academia, professional associations, political stakeholders, workers' organizations, etc.) and organized in a way to foster constructive interaction among them. To facilitate this interaction in a non-restrictive atmosphere, members of the working groups would be chosen on the basis of their individual capacity.

However, effort should be deployed to ensure that the thoughts and proposals of these working groups offer the opportunity to develop the intellectual products of African research institutions, be they public or private.

Expected Results

- **The Vision of Africa's Future, further fine-tuned**. This can be achieved mainly through forward-looking reflection on geographical regions or specific themes.

- **Strategic watchdog system, operational**. This will prepare the ground for policy makers and other stakeholders to focus on the key issues needing in-depth and more informed debate, including crucial issues concerning the future of Africa.

- **Africa's position on the major issues on the global agenda, strengthened.**

Objective 3: Ensure the growth and development of African Culture and Sports

World history shows that no country has ever developed outside its culture, that is, "by sleeping on other people's mats". This is particularly true in this 21st Century which, all agree, will be a century of knowledge, know-how and expertise. It is therefore important to ensure that Africa has access to the existing and future scientific and technical heritage, since the Continent has made significant contribution to such heritage, and to give a preponderant place to the cultural values which underpin our societies, in order to develop sound norms and practices that can operate as "screening devices" and encourage practices conducive to development. Africa has its own history, with a range of virile cultures.

To this end, the following strategies could be pursued:

- safeguard cultural heritage;
- promote cultural entrepreneurial initiatives;
- develop and promote African culture and its universal values by "infrastructuring" culture;
- promote local/endogenous knowledge;
- preserve African identity and project the Continent's cultural pluralism while building the Union on the recognized cultural unity of Africa;
- more effectively project Africa's image;
- promote justice by viewing African history with a sense of duty and truth, and work towards reparation of the numerous wrongs meted to Africa, such as slavery, colonization, apartheid, xenophobia, genocide, human rights abuses, etc. while ensuring that on-going discussions on the identity fluidity or inflexibility, and the impact and lessons of history are never sidelined, but should rather serve to promote a better understanding of the present;
- promote collective and individual sports in Africa and take advantage of their exchange and integration capacity.

Expected Results

- **The place of culture and cultural actors in development, enhanced**. Culture should not only be a dimension of development; it should also be the bedrock of development.

- **Better showcasing of Africa and its material and non-material products.**

Objective 4: Ensure that the momentum of continental integration is irreversible by promoting regional cooperation.

Informed by their assessment of developments worldwide and within the Continent, African Heads of State and Government decided in Sirte, in 1999, to speed up the process of continental integration. Accordingly, the Commission of the African Union should now come up with pertinent strategies.

Strategies

Four strategies are being proposed under this Objective, but this number is open-ended:

- progressively establish key political and financial institutions to stimulate integration;

- build the capacity of RECs to enable them fulfil their mission as regional and continental integration tools and as spaces that promote transfer of sovereignty;

- strengthen institutional linkages between the AU and the RECs and institutionalize dialogue both among the RECs, and between the RECs and other public and private cooperation agencies operating in the AU priority areas;

- facilitate establishment of free trade areas/customs unions in each REC, (creation of regional monetary and economic unions, harmonization of tariff and non tariff systems, monetary and fiscal policies, and adoption of common policies in specific areas).

Expected Results

- Free movement of goods, services, capital and information, as well as right of establishment will eventually become a reality in all RECs.

- The RECs would have evolved from Intergovernmental Organizations to Confederation and later, Federation. This

change will, in turn, determine the development of the African Union; namely, a shift from an Intergovernmental Organization, with gradual transfer of sovereignty, to Confederation and subsequently Federation, when the RECs will have reached the phase of federation.

- Regional Institutions will play an increasingly vital role in the debate on regional policies, especially harmonization of policies in their priority areas, including macro-economic policies and social programmes. Two new types of sovereignty will likely emerge, in addition to national citizenship; namely, regional and continental citizenships.

- Progress made in the area of integration, monitored rigorously.

Objective 5: Promote a society based on the rule of law and African citizenship

This objective has two components. The first is to reduce the number of violent conflicts in the Continent and prevent potential wars. Conflicts indeed pose a major threat to genuine citizenship because force prevails over the rule of law in conflict situations.

A study of the causes of conflict and instability in the Continent also shows that poverty and non-satisfaction of basic needs are critical explanatory variables. One of the objectives of the Strategic Framework will therefore be to find ways and means to stimulate sustainable economic development which is crucial to poverty eradication poverty. But the study also shows that lack of good governance and democracy, violation of individual and collective rights and shortcomings in the culture of peace are other major explanatory variables of conflicts. The second objective is to establish governance systems to promote peace, stability and human security, thereby minimizing the causes of conflicts in the Continent.

Furthermore, religion being a vital part of our culture, our tradition and way of life, it behoves us to ensure that it is not used for political ends. We should similarly eschew obscurantist practices which are increasingly being indulged in, under the cloak of religion.

Strategies

- diversify and operationalize conflict prevention, early warning, risk analysis, management and resolution mechanisms both at continental and regional levels.
- promote good governance, democracy and the rule of law, and combat impunity.
- fight against corruption, money laundering and drugs.
- promote a culture of peace.
- popularize the duty to protect human kind.
- control post-conflict situations.
- combat illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons.
- fight against the use of child-soldiers.
- combat mercenarism.
- combat terrorism.
- advocacy for implementation of the treaties making Africa a continent free of antipersonnel mines, weapons of mass destruction (bacteria-based and nuclear weapons) and toxic wastes.
- operationalise the country-border concept.

Expected Results

- Africa will become a more peaceful continent, free of antipersonnel mines, small arms and light weapons, nuclear programmes and weapons of mass destruction.
- Children's rights violations will be punished.
- Misappropriation of funds will be monitored and punished.

- Laws will be enforced more effectively.
- The concept of border-country will be better appropriated.
- An environment conducive to peace and stability will be created.
- Border and electoral disputes will be brought under control.

PART III

ANNEXES

Annex I: BASIC DATA ON AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND DATES OF THEIR ACCESSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE OAU/AU

Country	Pop. (in million) 2002	GNP/p $ 2002	Area 1000 (Km^2)	Accession to the UN	Accession to OAU	Constitutive Act of the African Union
1. Algeria	31.40	1,720	2,382	08.10.1962	1963*	31.05.2001
2. Angola	12.70	660	1,246	01.12.1976	1976*	20.12.2001
3. Benin	6.60	380	113	20.09.1960	1963*	11.07.2001
4. Botswana	1.60	2,980	582	17.10.1966	1966*	02.03.2001
5. Burkina Faso	12.60	220	274	20.09.1960	29.10.1963	02.03.2001
6. Burundi	6.70	100	28	18.09.1962	1963*	01.03.2001
7. Cameroon	16.20	560	475	20.09.1960	25.08.1963	19.04.2002
8. Cape Verde	0.50	1,290	4	16.09.1975	1975*	09.7.2001
9. CAR	3.63	260	623	20.09.1960	1963*	01.03.2001
10. Chad	9.00	200	1,283	20.09.1960	1963*	16.01.2001
11. The Comoros	0.60	390	2	12.11.1975	1975*	27.2.2001
12. Congo	3.20	700	342	20.09.1960	12.07.1963	29.05.2002
13. DRC	55.20	90	2,344	20.09.1960	13.09.1963	09.07.2002
14. Côte d'Ivoire	16.80	610	322	20.09.1960	08.06.1963	01.03.2001
15. Djibouti	0.560	900	22	20.09.1977	1977*	10.01.2001
16. Egypt	71.20	1,470	1,001	24.10.1945	1963*	30.07.2001
17. Equatorial Guinea	0.50	1,840	28	12.11.1968	1968*	24.2.2001
18. Eritrea	4.50	160	118	28.05.1993	1993*	01.03.2001
19. Ethiopia	67.70	100	1,104	13.11.1945	09.06.1963	09.03.2001
20. Gabon	1.20	3934	268	20.09.1960	06.07.1963	05.06.2001
21. The Gambia	1.50	390	11	21.09.1965	1965*	18.04.2001
22. Ghana	20.20	270	238	08.03.1975	15.07.1963	21.05.2001
23. Guinea	8.40	410	246	12.12.1958	24.06.1963	05.07.2002
24. Guinea Bissau	1.30	150	36	17.09.1974	1974*	07.07.2003
25. Kenya	31.10	360	580	16.12.1963	1963*	10.07.2001
26. Lesotho	2.20	470	30	17.10.1966	01.11.1972	12.03.2001
27. **Liberia**	3.30	150	111	02.11.1945	1963	01.03.2001
28. **Libya**	5.40	6,700	1,759	14.12.1955	11.09.1963	29.10.2000
29. Madagascar	16.90	240	587	20.09.1960	10.04.1963	10.06.2003
30. Malawi	10.90	160	118	01.12.1964	1964*	14.02.2001
31. Mali	11.30	240	1,240	28.09.1960	24.07.1963	21.08.2000
32. Mauritania	2.60	340	1,025	27.10.1961	26.04.1963	04.07.2002
33. Mauritius	1.20	3,800	2	24.04.1968	1966*	19.04.2001
34. Morocco	29.70	1,190	446	-	1963*	-----
35. Mozambique	19.60	210	801	16.09.1975	1975*	25.05.2001
36. Namibia	1.80	1,780	824	23.04.1990	1990*	21.03.2001
37. Niger	11.60	170	1,266	20.09.1960	14.11.1963	09.02.2001
38. Nigeria	129.90	290	923	07.10.1960	26.07.1963	26.04.2001
39. Rwanda	7.40	230	26	18.09.1962	05.08.1963	18.04.2001
40. Sao Tome and Principe	0.20	290	1	16.09.1975	1975*	02.03.2001
41. SADR	0.30	-	252	-----	1984*	02.01.2001
42. Senegal	9.90	470	197	28.09.1960	02.07.1963	31.08.2000
43. Seychelles	0.10	3,127	0.45	21.09.1976	1976*	09.04.2001
44. Sierra Leone	5.60	140	72	27.09.1961	11.09.1963	01.03.2001
45. Somalia	7.80	190	638	20.09.1960	1963*	01.03.2001
46. South Africa	43.60	2,600	1,221	07.11.1945	23.05.1994	23.04.2001
47. The Sudan	32.60	300	2,505	12.11.1956	19.07.1963	24.01.2001
48. Swaziland	1.10	1,038	17	24.09.1968	1968*	18.09.2001
49. Tanzania	37.20	280	945	14.12.1961	14.09.1963	11.04.2001
50. Togo	5.30	270	57	20.09.1960	1963*	14.09.2000
51. Tunisia	9.80	2,000	164	12.11.1956	01.10.1963	21.03.2001
52. Uganda	24.70	250	241	25.10.1962	03.08.1963	09.04.2001
53. Zambia	10.00	330	752	01.12.1964	--	01.03.2001
54. Zimbabwe	12.30	560	390	25.08.1980	--	03.04.2001

Morocco, founding member of the OAU withdrew from the organization in 1984 following the admission of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. It is absolutely necessary that Morocco rejoin the African Union.

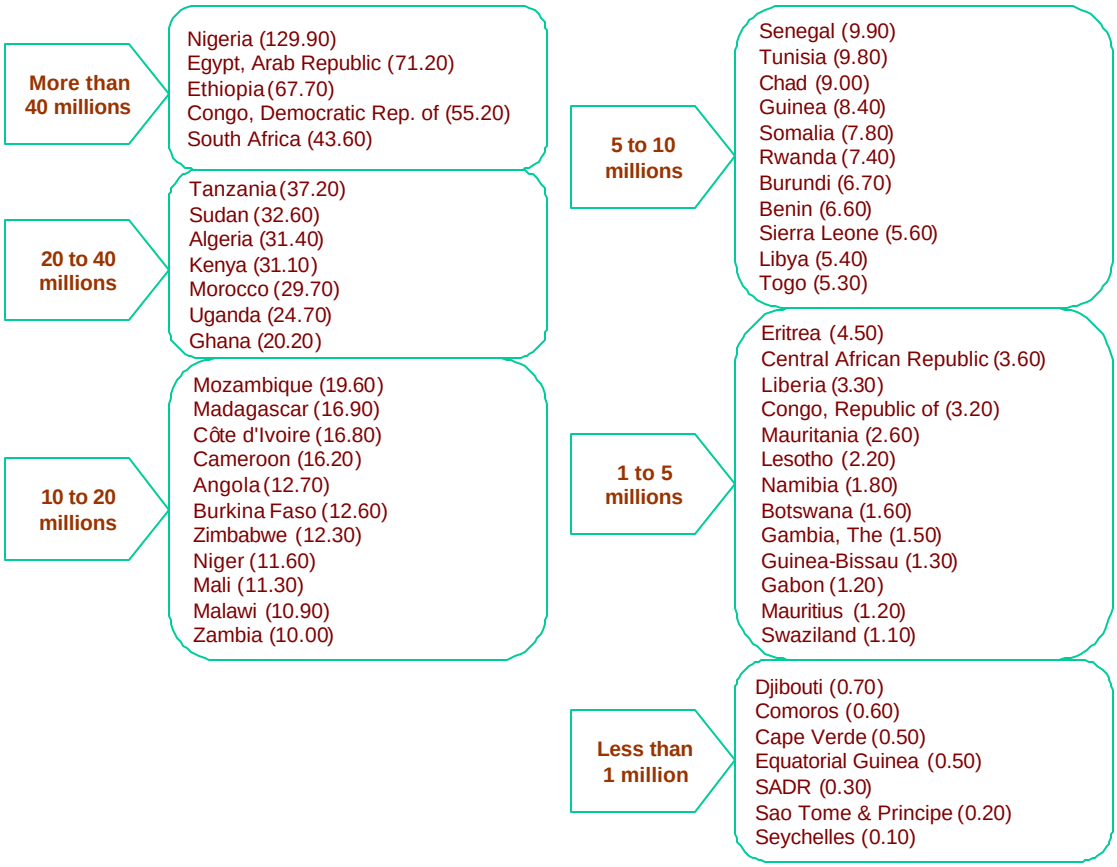
* **Indicative dates. Various sources: World Bank, ADB, United Nations**

Classification of Countries by Population

	Countries	Population (million 2002)
1.	Nigeria	129.90
2.	Egypt	71.20
3.	Ethiopia	67.70
4.	D.R. Congo	55.20
5.	South Africa	43.60
6.	Tanzania	37.20
7.	The Sudan	32.60
8.	Algeria	31.40
9.	Kenya	31.10
10.	Morocco	29.70
11.	Uganda	24.70
12.	Ghana	20.20
13.	Mozambique	19.60
14.	Madagascar	16.90
15.	Côte d'Ivoire	16.80
16.	Cameroon	16.20
17.	Angola	12.70
18.	Burkina Faso	12.60
19.	Zimbabwe	12.30
20.	Niger	11.60
21.	Mali	11.30
22.	Malawi	10.90
23.	Zambia	10.00
24.	Senegal	9.90
25.	Tunisia	9.80
26.	Chad	9.00
27.	Guinea	8.40
28.	Somalia	7.80
29.	Rwanda	7.40
30.	Burundi	6.70
31.	Benin	6.60
32.	Sierra Leone	5.60
33.	Libya	5.40
34.	Togo	5.30
35.	Eritrea	4.50
36.	CAR	3.60
37.	Liberia	3.30
38.	Rep. Congo	3.20
39.	Mauritania	2.60
40.	Lesotho	2.20
41.	Namibia	1.80
42.	Botswana	1.60
43.	The Gambia	1.50
44.	Guinea-Bissau	1.30
45.	Gabon	1.20
46.	Mauritius	1.20
47.	Swaziland	1.10
48.	Djibouti	0.70
49.	The Comoros	0.60
50.	Cape Verde	0.50
51.	Equatorial Guinea	0.50
52.	SADR	0.30
53.	Sao Tome & Principe	0.20
54.	Seychelles	0.10
	Africa	**839.20**

Source : AU/UNFPA, "Socio-economic indicators on population and development in Africa"

Categorization of Countries by Population

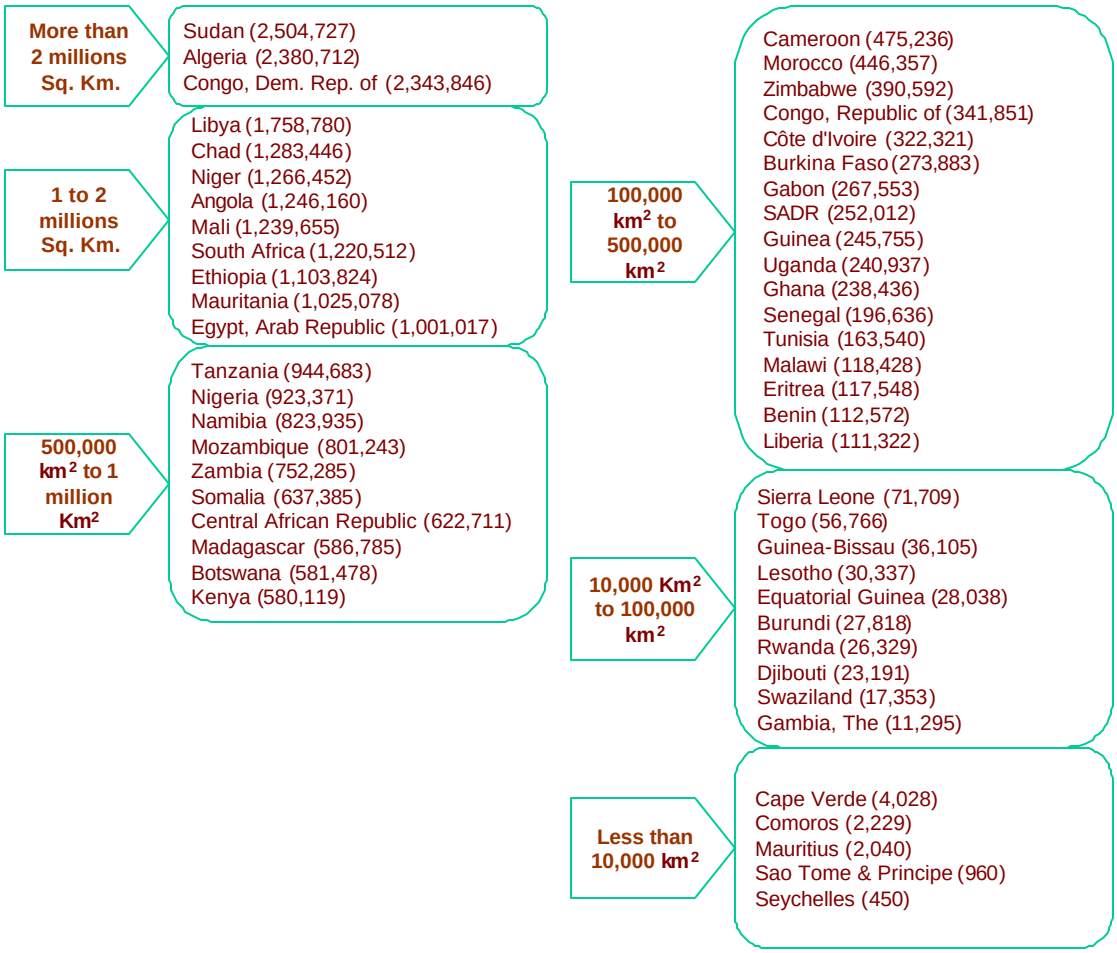


Classification of Countries by Land Area

	Countries	Area (km²)
1.	The Sudand	2,504,727
2.	Algeira	2,380,712
3.	Congo, D.R.	2,343,846
4.	Libya	1,758,780
5.	Chad	1,283,446
6.	Niger	1,266,452
7.	Angola	1,246,160
8.	Mali	1,239,655
9.	South Africa	1,220,512
10.	Ethiopia	1,103,824
11.	Mauritania	1,025,078
12.	Egypt	1,001,017
13.	Tanzania	944,683
14.	Nigeria	923,371
15.	Namibia	823,935
16.	Mozambique	801,243
17.	Zambia	752,285
18.	Somalia	637,385
19.	CAR	622,711
20.	Madagascar	586,785
21.	Botswana	581,478
22.	Kenya	580,119
23.	Cameroon	475,236
24.	Morocco	446,357
25.	Zimbabwe	390,592
26.	Congo, Rep.	341,851
27.	Côte d'Ivoire	322,321
28.	Burkina Faso	273,883
29.	Gabon	267,553
30.	SADR	252,012
31.	Guinea	245,755
32.	Uganda	240,937
33.	Ghana	238,436
34.	Senegal	196,636
35.	Tunisia	163,540
36.	Malawi	118,428
37.	Eritrea	117,548
38.	Benin	112,572
39.	Liberia	111,322
40.	Sierra Leone	71,709
41.	Togo	56,766
42.	Guinea-Bissau	36,105
43.	Lesotho	30,337
44.	Equatorial Guinea	28,038
45.	Burundi	27,818
46.	Rwanda	26,329
47.	Djibouti	23,191
48.	Swaziland	17,353
49.	The Gambia	11,295
50.	Cape Verde	4,028
51.	The Comoros	2,229
52.	Maurice	2,040
53.	Sao Tome & Principe	960
54.	Seychelles	450
	Africa	**30,281,381**

Source : AU/UNFPA, "Socio-economic indicators on population and development in Africa"

Categorization of Countries by Land Area



ANNEX II - Millennium Development Goals

Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than US$1 a day
	Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger
Achieve universal primary education	Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling
Promote gender equality and empower women	Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and in all levels of education no later than 2015
Reduce child mortality	Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate
Improve maternal health	Reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio
Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases	Have halted by 2015 and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS
	Have halted by 2015 and begin to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases
Ensure environmental sustain-ability	Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources
	Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation
	Have achieved, by 2020, a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 millionslum dwellers
Develop a global partnership for development	Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system (includes a commitment to good governance, development, and poverty reduction—both nationally and internationally) Address the special needs of the least developed countries (includes tariff-and quota-free access for exports enhanced program of debt relief for HIPC and cancellation of official bilateral debt, and more generous ODA for countries committed to poverty reduction)

	Address the special needs of landlocked countries and small island developing states (through the Program of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States and 22nd General Assembly provisions)
	Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long term
	In cooperation with developing countries, develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youth
	In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable, essential drugs in developing countries
	In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications

Source: United Nations

ANNEX III
SOME AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

I. AFRICAN UNION/OAU

1. *African Declaration on Co-operation, Development and Economic Independence – May 1973*
   The declaration is the first comprehensive document adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the OAU during the 10th anniversary session of the Assembly.

2. *The Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU on Economic Development and Co-operation – 1976 Kinshasa*

3. *The Monrovia Symposium – February 1979*
   The symposium analysed the situation and proposed a Programme of Action based on a new approach geared to African Unity

4. *The Lagos Plan of Action – 1980*
   The plan in 13 chapters provides detailed sectoral programmes in the economic, social, cultural and scientific fields

5. *Final Act of Lagos– The African Economic Community*

6. *Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (APPER) 1986-1990*

7. *African Common Position on Africa's External Debt Crisis, 1987*

8. *African Charter for Popular Participation in Development – 1990*
   The African Economic Community Treaty (The Abuja Treaty) 1991-1994.
   The Treaty was finally ready for signature which took place in Abuja, Nigeria, on 3 June 1991. The Treaty entered into force in April 1994.

9. *Declaration of the Assembly on the establishment of a Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Mechanism, Cairo 1993. It also laid the foundation for OAU efforts at establishing a Conflict Management Mechanism.*

II. UNITED NATIONS

10. *United Nations Programme of Action for Africa's Economic Recovery and Development (UN-PAAERD) 1986-1990*

11. *World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) – 1980*

12. *Africa's Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP – 1980 – 2000)*

13. *UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990's (UN-NADAF) 1992*

14. *The Special Initiative of the United Nations System on Africa, 1996*

15. *Report of the Secretary General to the UN Security Council on the Causes of Conflicts and on Promotion of lasting peace and sustainable development, 1998*

16. *UN Expert Group Studies*
Under this initiative two studies were carried out:
   i. *African Commodity Problems: Towards a Solution*
   Financing Africa's Recovery (Report and Recommendations of the advisory group on Financial Flows for Africa)

17. *The Development Decades (United Nations Transport and Communications Decade for Africa (UNTACDA) and Industrial Development Decade for Africa (IDDA)).*
The UN adopted two sectoral development decade for Africa
   i. *UN Transport and Communications Decade in Africa*
   ii. *The UN Industrial Development Decades in Africa*

UNESCO

18. *1993 – 1995: Biennial programme "Priority Africa"*
19. *February 1998: Africa Audience*

IFAD

20. *1994 – The initiative of '82 Nobel Prize laureates on the Horn of Africa*
21. *1985 – First phase of the special programme for sub-Saharan African countries affected by drought and desertification*

ECA

22. ***AISI*** *(African Information Society Initiative) The African Information Society Initiative is the African mandate to use ICTs to accelerate economic and social development in Africa*

23. ***SIA*** *(Special initiative for Africa)*

24. ***ADF*** *(African Development Forum) The African Development Forum (ADF) is an initiative led by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) to position an African - driven development agenda that reflects a consensus among major artners and that leads to specific programmes for country implementation*

25. *(Information Technology Centre for Africa) The Information Technology entre for Africa (ITCA) is an information and communication technology (ICT) ocused exhibition and learning center to demonstrate to African policy makers nd planners the value of ICT for development*

26. ***AKNF*** *(Africa Knowledge Networks Forum) Africa knowledge Networks Forum*
27. *An initiative led by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) to facilitate knowledge-sharing and research partnerships between professional networks, and between them and key knowledge end-users, including policy-makers, trainers at institutions of higher learning, civil society organizations and the private sector.*

28. ***POPIA*** *(Population Information Africa) The Population Information Africa (POPIA) is an initiative led by the Sustainable Development Division (SDD) of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) to establish an on-line space aimed at sharing and disseminating population and development-related information among African policy makers, planners and researchers.*
29. *African Reference Framework for Structural Adjustment Programme for Economic Recovery and Transformation (CARPAS) – 1989*
30. *African Plan for Implementation of the Action Programme for a new international economic order Conference adopted by ECA Ministers, Nairobi, February 1975.*

FAO

31. *Consultative group on international agricultural research*
32. *Apthous fever in Maghreb countries and in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)- 1999*
33. *Promote Regional Food Security– 2002*

WHO

34. *UN special initiative on Africa, the Health Dimension, 1996*
35. *Africa 2000,to expand water supply and sanitation services in Africa,*
36. *Africa Malaria Day, 2003*
37. *Horn of Africa Initiative, 2001*
38. *Largest initiative to eradicate polio in West and Central Africa, 2000*

Bretton Woods Institutions

World Bank

39. *Global partnership for eliminating river blindness, 1974*
40. *Multi-country HIV/AIDS programme for Africa, 2000*
41. *Indigenous knowledge programme, 1998*
42. *Early childhood development in Africa, 1999*
43. *Nile Basin Initiative, 1999*
44. *Transport policy programme for Africa, 2001*
45. *Gender and law initiatives in francophone sub-Saharan Africa, 1998*
46. *Anti-corruption Initiatives in sub-saharan Africa, 1999*

IMF

47. *Structural Adjustment Facility, 1980*
48. *Enhanced structural adjustment facility (I,II), 1985*
49. *Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC), 1993*
50. *Capacity building institutions, 1999*

CONFERENCES AND SUMMITS

51. *The 1990 Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World*

52. *World Conference on Education for All, Thailand, 1990*

53. *World Summit on Children, New York, 1990*

54. *World Human Rights Conference, Vienna, 1993*

55. *International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 1994*

56. *World Summit on Social Development, Copenhagen, 1995*

57. *Fourth World Conference on Women: Towards Equality, Development and Peace, Beijing, 1995*

58. *Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT II), Istanbul, 1996*

59. *World Food Summit, Rome, 1996*

60. *International Conference on Financing for Development, Monterrey, 2002*

BILATERAL INITIATIVES

61. *European Union-Africa (ACP, EU-South Africa, EU-Maghreb, Africa-EU Summit)*

62. *The Tokyo International Conference on Africa's Development, TICAD I (1993), TICAD II (October 1998), and TICAD III (October 2003). We should also underscore the role of the World Social Movement in diagonising the crises in Africa, particularly the impact of globalization, the role of multilateral institutions and the ineffectiveness of the initiatives in favour of Africa, not forgetting the formulation of alternative policies.*

63. *African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA), 2000 - 2002*

64. *China Africa Forum 2000 – 2003*

ANNEX IV - LIST OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES/TERRITORIES UNDER FOREIGN OCCUPATION

COUNTRIES/TERRITORIES	OCCUPYING POWER
Chagos Islands	United Kingdom (Diego Garcia Military Bases)
St. Helena Island	United Kingdom
The Canary Islands	Spain
The Azores	Portugal
The Madeiras	Portugal
La Réunion	France
La Mayotte	France
Ceuta and Melilla	Spain

Annex V: LANDMARKS ON THE ROAD OF PAN-AFRICANISM

1900: *First Pan-African Conference (with Sylverster William) in London*
1911: *Universal Congress of the Races in London*
1919: *First Pan-African Congress (with W.E.B. Dubois) in Paris*
1920: *Declaration on the Rights of Black People in the World, New York (with Marcus Garvey)*
1921: *Second Pan-African Congress in London, Brussels and Paris*
1923: *Third Pan-African Congress in London and Lisbon*
1924: *Universal League for the Defence of the Black Race in Paris (with Marc Tovolu Quénum alias Kodjo Houenou and René Maran)*
1927: *Fourth Pan-African Congress in New York*
1930: *Creation of the Negritude Movement with, among others, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Aimé Césaire, et Léon G. Damas*
1935: *International African Friends of Abyssinia*
1941: *Creation of the African Business Council in New York*
1944: *Pan-African Federation in London*
1945: *Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester*
1946: *Creation of the Rassemblement démocratique africain (RDA) in Bamako, Mali*
1953: *Sixth Pan-African Congress in Kumasi, Ghana*
1956: *First Congress of Black Writers and Artists in Paris (with Société africaine de culture– SAC – and Présence Africaine)*
February 1958: *Creation of the Parti du regroupement africain (PRA)*
April 1958: *First Conference of independent African states in Accra, Ghana– Establishement of an African Common Market and constitution of an African Group at the United Nations*
December 1958: *First Conference of African Peoples in Accra, Ghana – Proposal to establish a commonwealth of independent African states*
1959: *Second Conference of independent African states in Monrovia, Liberia*
1959: *Second Congress of Black Writers and Artists in Rome*
May 1959: *Creation of the Ghana-Guinea Union (which became Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union in December 1960)*
May 1959: *Creation of the Conseil de l'Entente (Benin-Sahel Union) with Côte d'Ivoire, la Haute Volta, Dahomey and Niger.*
1960: *Second Conference of African Peoples in Tunis, Tunisia*
1960: *Third Conference of African states in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*
June 1960: *Creation of the Mali Federation (with Senegal and The Sudan)*
December 1960: *Creation of the Brazzaville Group (which became the African and Malagasy Union, which in turn became the African and Malagasy Economic Cooperation Union, which later became the African and Malagasy Common Organization - OCAM)*
1961: *Third Conference of African Peoples in Cairo, Egypt*
1961: *Formation of the "Casablanca Group" (dissolved in 1963)*
1961: *Formation of the "Monrovia Group" (dissolved 1963)*
1963: *Establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*
1965: *Creation of the Gambia River Development Organization (OMVG) in Dakar, Senegal*
1966: *First World Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar, Senegal*
1968: *Creation of the Senegal River Development Organization (OMVS) originally established as "OERS" in 1968 and then transformed into the OMVS in 1972*
1970: *Creation of the West African Economic Community (in CEAO) in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso*
October 1973: *Creation of the Mano River Union in Freetown, Sierra Leone (with Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea)*
28 May 1975: *Creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Lagos, Nigeria*
1976: *Adoption of the Kinshasa Declaration approved by the OAU Summit in Gabon in 1977*
September 1976: *Creation of the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL) in Gisenyi, Rwanda*
1979: *Adoption of the Monrovia Strategy*
1981: *The Lagos Plan of Action*
December 1981: *Creation of the PTA which became COMESA (Common Market of East and Southern Africa) in 1994*
1982: *The Sene-Gambia Confederation (with The Gambia and Senegal) - dissolved in 1989*

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December 1982: *Creation of the East African Economic Community (EAEC) in Gisenyi, Rwanda*
March 1984: *Attempts by Mobutu Sese Seko to create a league of Negro African states*
12 February 1989: *Creation of the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) in Rabat, Morocco*
June 1991: *Treaty establishing the African Economic Community in Abuja, Nigeria*
1992: *Creation of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in Pretoria, South Africa – transformed into the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in Windhoek, Namibia, on 17 August 1992*
March 1994: *Creation in N'Djamena, Chad, of the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC)*
9 September 1999: *Establishment of the African Union in Sirte, Libya*

Annex VI: MAJOR DECISIONS IN THE PROGRESS OF THE OAU TOWARDS THE AFRICAN UNION (AU)

17 – 21 July 1964 - Cairo
Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration and Specialized Commissions such as the Defence Commission created in replacement of the African High Command, established.

13 – 16 September 1968 – Algiers
Recommendation on the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources of the Continent, adopted

September 1969 - Addis Ababa
OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, adopted

Monrovia 1979:
Seminar on "What kind of Africa in the year 2000" – a newunity plan adopted

1980 – Lagos
Lagos Plan of Action and Final Act of Lagos adopted.

24 – 27 June 1981 – Nairobi
African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted. It entered into force in 1986, and is headquartered in Banjul, The Gambia.

30 November – 1 December 1987, Addis Ababa
The Third Extraordinary Summit of the OAU devoted solely to the thorny issue of the Continent's external debt estimated at US$ 200 billion. The meeting adopted a seven-point "Common Declaration" asking, in the main, for relaxation of the repayment conditionalities, debt rescheduling and increase in the price of raw materials.

July 1990 – Addis Ababa
- *OAU Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes taking place in the world, adopted*
- *African Charter on Popular Participation, adopted*
- *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, adopted.*

1991: *Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) commonly known as the Abuja Treaty, adopted.*

29 June – 1 July 1992 – Dakar
Proposal for establishment of a Conflict Prevention Mechanism accepted in principle. Other themes addressed at the Summit included the HIV/AIDS and the Continent's indebtedness.

1993: *Declaration on the establishment of a Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Mechanism whose major organ is composed of the Heads of State of Members of the sitting Bureau of the Assembly, adopted.*

1997: *African Common Position on Africa's External Debt Crisis, adopted.*

8 – 10 June 1998: Ouagadougou

The Heads of State decide to unilaterally, but partially, lift the embargo imposed on Libya by decision of the UN Security Council.

1999:

- *Grand Baie Declaration and Plan of Action, adopted in April 1999*
- *Algiers Decision on Unconstitutional Change of Government adopted in July 1999*
- *Sirte Declaration on the establishment of the African Union, adopted in September 1999.*

12 – 16 July 1999: Algiers

The 35th Summit while condemning the seizure of power by force threatens coups d'état perpetrators with exclusion.

2000:

- *Lomé Declaration on the Framework for OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes of Government, adopted in July 2000.*
- *Solemn Declaration on the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) adopted in Lomé, in July 2000.*
- *Constitutive Act of the African Union adopted at the Lomé Summit.*

9 – 11 July 2001: Lusaka

Some forty Heads of State and Government were in attendance at the 37th Summit, theoretically, the last Summit of the OAU. It was marked by the birth of the African Union, as participants endorsed the transformation of the Organization.

July 2002: Durban

Protocol relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council, adopted.

July 2003: Maputo

- *The Commission of the Africa Union established with the election of 10 Commissioners.*
- *AU Convention on Prevention and Combating of Corruption*