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## **NEPAD UPDATE**

### **NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT**

Briefing by By Prof Ben Turok MP (South Africa)

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#### **1. OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES OF NEPAD**

NEPAD is defined as "the framework for the socio-economic renewal of Africa". It is a "vision that seeks to determine the path to self-reliant development in the context of the realities of the global order."

NEPAD is not primarily an implementation agency. It is a facilitator, catalyst and negotiator.

NEPAD has as its main objective overcoming the appalling conditions prevailing on the continent, namely:

- \* 300 million people live on less than \$1 a day
- \* Low commodity prices for key products like coffee, cotton, cocoa, teas, sugar, and various minerals
- \* 1% of global foreign direct investment comes to Africa
- Africa has 1% of world trade
- \* Africa's debt is close to \$300 billion and debt reduction is very slow
- \* Only 2% of world tourism comes to Africa

It is accepted that the following conditions are essential for development:

- \* Conflict prevention and resolution
- \* Strengthen institutions and capacity
- \* Peer Review of good governance

Hence the PRIMARY OBJECTIVES have been identified as:

- accelerating poverty reduction
- promoting self-reliant sustainable development
- promoting the empowerment of women
- promoting sub-regional and continental economic integration

## **2 NEPAD STRUCTURES**

NEPAD structures were developed from 1999.

The idea for a new agenda was raised in Sirte, Libya in September 1999 which resolved to engage with Africa's creditors on the total cancellation of Africa's external debt as a prerequisite for renewal.

At the G77 in Cuba, April 2000, Presidents Mbeki and Obasanjo were asked to engage the G8 and Bretton Woods Institutions

In July 2000 at Lome Presidents Mbeki, Obasanjo and Bouteflika were mandated to attempt to develop a constructive partnership with the G8 at Okinawa, July 2000 on debt relief and overall development.

At the OAU Summit on 11 July 2001 the NEPAD programme was adopted.

\* The original *Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) on NEPAD* consisted of 15 member states (3 from each region): North Africa, West Africa, Central Africa, East Africa and Southern Africa. The HSGIC is chaired by President Obasanjo and two vice-chairs, Presidents Boutaflika and Wade.

\* The *Steering Committee* consists of the personal representatives of the above leaders plus the AU Commission.

\* The *NEPAD Secretariat* is based in South Africa and is tasked with coordinating programmes and projects, mobilizing technical and financial support, facilitating implementation, providing information, liaising with international partners, mobilising the private sector, and monitoring progress.

A Nepad Business Group has been established, Labour has been engaged in discussions, and Civil Society Desk has been established and a Gender adviser has been appointed at the Secretariat. It is accepted that a major task of the Secretariat is advocacy.

To this end, an agreement exists with the Nepad Contact Group of African Parliamentarians, assisted by AWEPA, to ensure that Parliaments across Africa are brought on board.

As at the end of 2003 the Secretariat had 27 professional staff and 8 support staff and received R40 million funding from a variety of sources including international donors.

## **3. IMPLEMENTATION**

Three phases have been identified: (a) Visioning and Policy (b) Preparing programmes (c) implementation.

In June 2002 detailed implementation plans were created for the following areas:

- \* Peace and Security,
- \* Democracy, Political. Economic and Corporate Governance,
- \* Health,
- \* Education,
- \* Agriculture,
- \* Market access
- \* The Environment

Actual projects have been identified in (a) energy (hydro schemes), (b) road and air transport, (c) communications, and (d) water.

Agriculture and infrastructure are the priorities. A comprehensive Africa agriculture development programme was prepared in 2002.

The NEPAD Secretariat began to engage directly with the Regional Economic Communities (REC's) and the Development Finance Institutions.

Since creating these implementation plans NEPAD has been able to set the agenda with its domestic and external partners. It has set about creating a new partnership with the developed world and multilateral organizations, mobilizing additional resources, and embarking on outreach and advocacy.

In the year ending March 2003 the Secretariat spent \$ 628 834 on process and a substantial sum on special projects.

In addition much has been done to strengthen political leadership in conflict resolution.

#### **4. AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM (APRM)**

The APRM has the following structure:

Committee of Participating Heads of State and Government (The Forum)

Panel of Eminent Persons

Secretariat

Country Review Teams

The main aim of the APRM is to accelerate progress in adopting and implementing NEPAD, and compliance with good governance and development. Each country should develop a programme of action with time-bound objectives and linked to a national budget to guide government, the private sector and civil society.

Thus far preparations for the APRM process has been completed with 23 countries signed up. The Review is starting with Ghana, Rwanda, Mauritius and Kenya.

## **5 OWNERSHIP OF NEPAD**

It is essential that national governments align their development plans with NEPAD principles, priorities and approaches since they are the primary agents of development. Additionally the Regional Economic Communities (REC's) are vital for coordination across borders.

The REC's are :

ECOWAS Economic Community of West Africa States  
IGAD Inter-governmental Authority on Development  
COMESA Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa States  
AMU Arab Maghreb Union  
ECCAS Economic Community of Central African States  
CEN-SAD Community of the Sahel Saharian States  
SADC Southern African Development Community

Following the considerable criticism of NEPAD for being a top down process when the programme was first launched, numerous meetings have been held with a range of civil society organizations and Parliamentarians in order to bring everyone on board.

## **6. MOBILISING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

It is accepted that Africa requires a multi-faceted strategy to enhance the competitiveness of African economies. NEPAD provides a platform for doing this as well as supporting negotiations for better access to world markets. A great deal of work has been done to facilitate a common approach in global negotiations though many problems remain. The case must also be established that Africa must become more self-reliant, while recognising the imperatives of a globalising world. Therefore efforts to draw Africa ever more into a world economy dominated by the strong must be treated with great caution.

Efforts must be made to alter the relationship with developed countries and the multilateral institutions on the following:

- Market access
- Foreign debt
- ODA
- FDI

Clearly allies must be found within the North to champion our cause within the various Parliaments and in civil society. This is particularly important in free trade agreements which must not be used to entrench the advantages of the North.

## **7. INTERACTION WITH THE GREAT POWERS - G8**

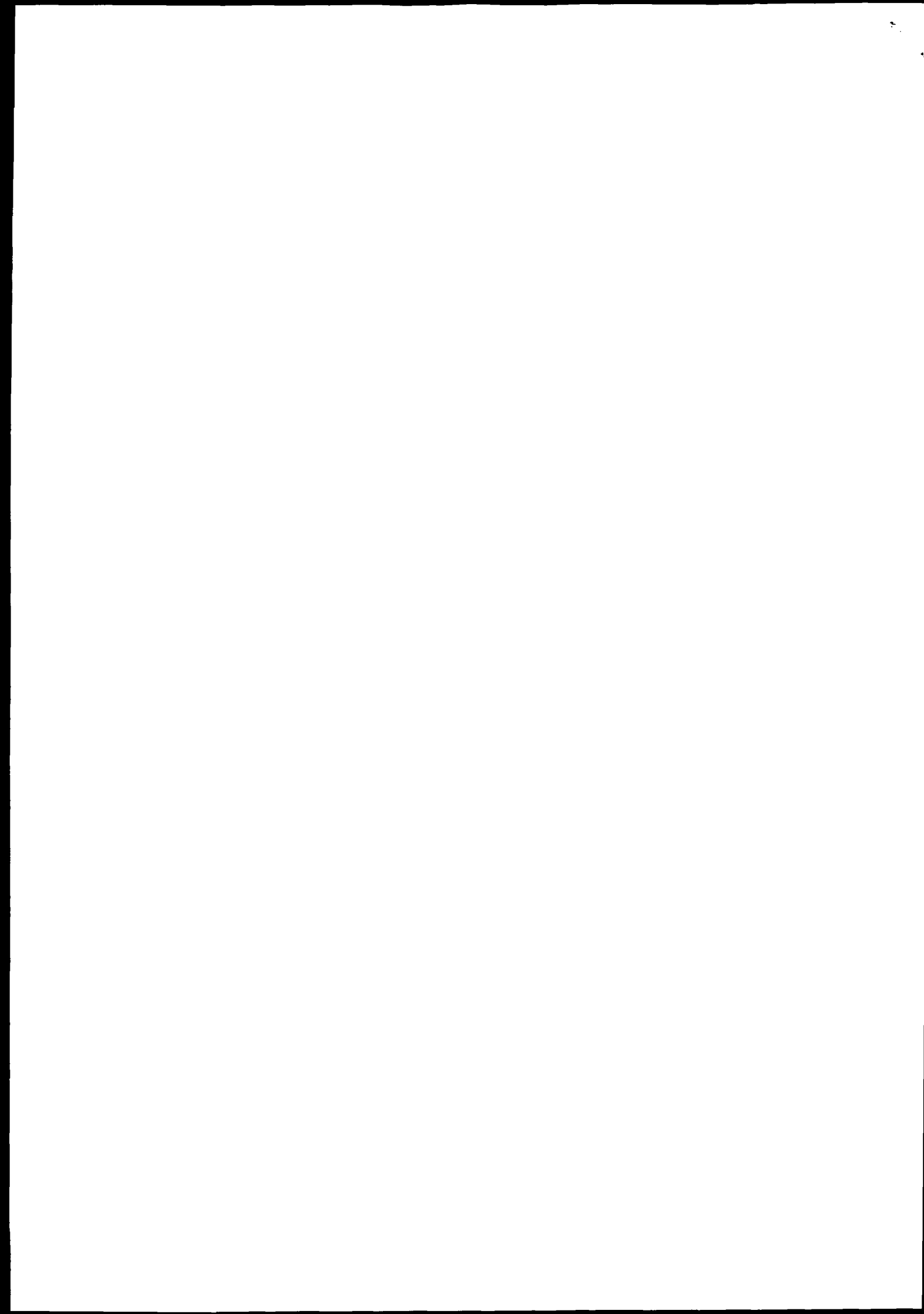
Although the G8 have yet to give adequate attention to the renewal of Africa's development, or even to reverse the negative factors which impact on Africa's economy, it seems that NEPAD has successfully managed to reverse the downward trend in development assistance to Africa. G8 assistance amounted to \$10 billion in 2002.

African leaders are in attendance at G8 meetings and there have been many interactions with the Bretton Woods institutions and other international agencies.

There are a number of new coalitions emerging such as the G20+ and the India, Brazil and South Africa group. These are having a profound bearing on the multilateral global system and will have an impact on how NEPAD proceeds.

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## NEPAD CONTACT GROUP OF AFRICAN PARLIAMENTARIANS

### PROPOSALS FOR ACTION AT MEETING IN CAPE TOWN

22 SEPTEMBER 2004

#### 1. ACTION BY STEERING COMMITTEE

Convenor to arrange next meeting  
Convenor to ensure translation of report in French and Portuguese  
Keep in touch with Nepad Secretariat  
Ensure that Contact Group maintains focus on economic issues

#### 2. ACTION BY CONTACT GROUP

Encourage advocacy on Nepad  
Strengthen linkages with existing institutions  
Encourage empowerment of women in economy  
Can we change IMF and World Bank policies ?  
Examine possibilities of funding for training across the continent

#### 3. ACTION BY AWEPA

Greater information flow in Europe on Africa  
Raise funds for training and information flow in Africa  
Provide support for preparing project proposals  
Attempt to create better coherence within Europe on Africa

#### 4. ACTION BY NEPAD SECRETARIAT

Facilitate intra-Africa trade  
Examine agro-industry cooperation in Regions  
Generate common position on foreign debt

#### 5. ACTION BY INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS

Ensure Nepad issues are fully raised in national Parliaments and Committee system  
Carry Nepad to the public and political parties  
Ensure regional networking on Nepad  
Contact local offices of UN and other international organizations to seek help with information retrieval.  
Ensure receipt of Nepad Newsletter

## 6. ACTION BY INDIVIDUAL PARLIAMENTS

Create Nepad Desks  
Hold debates on Nepad  
Hold public hearings on Nepad  
Examine why productive capacity has declined since Independence  
Examine how Nepad funds will be used constructively  
Examine marshalling own financial resources across Africa  
Regular assessment of empowerment of women in the economy  
Is it possible to raise bonds from other African countries rather than the World Bank ?  
Examine non-tariff barriers in Region (including bribes)  
Examine persisting colonial agreements  
Are our Budgets excessively aid dependent ?  
Consider HIV/Aids as both health and development issue  
Use local academics as advisors and resource persons  
Review regulatory systems over economy  
Examine project preparation capacity is ready and projects are implemented  
Examine donor bureaucracy critically  
Invite Nepad Secretariat to visit  
Access Nepad Website  
Lobby for resources from North  
Prepare for WTO negotiations

Prof Ben Turok M P  
Convenor



## **PRELUDE TO THE EUROPE-AFRICA DIALOGUE**

### **TOWARDS A PRINCIPLED INTERACTION**

**BY PROFESSOR BEN TUROK M P (SOUTH AFRICA)**

1. The proposed Europe – Africa Dialogue has a great deal of potential. The proposal comes at a time of increased European consolidation and of growing African unity. There is now the possibility of continent to continent cooperation which could have global significance. However, for maximum effectiveness the dialogue should be based on mutually agreed principles.
2. Among the issues revealing the interdependence of Europe and Africa are: trade, investment, aid, exposing corrupt practices, overcoming drug trafficking, money laundering, contagious diseases, and the management of population flows.
3. The growing tendency to global multilateralism is a further reason for such dialogue between Europe and Africa, which are linked by geographical proximity and history.
4. For dialogue to be successful it should be conducted without paternalism on the one side and without resorting to blame on the other. We require a dialogue based on an objective understanding of the historical emergence of our respective systems, and in a spirit of mutual tolerance and respect.
5. This dialogue should be conducted at governmental and non-governmental levels in order to ensure the widest acceptance of the outcomes. This is essential as the dialogue may embrace issues which affect adversely various interests in both continents while nevertheless serving the overall public good of our peoples. There are many examples of vested interests in both continents resisting change. They should not be allowed to block progress which is in the interests of the majority. The removal of subsidies to farmers in Europe is one such instance. Some commercial farming interests in Africa also oppose socially progressive measures. In addition, many of Africa's primary commodity industries employ cheap migrant labour and are resistant to social transformation. If the proposed Dialogue is to result in the greatest good for the greatest number, it will have to win the support of the majority in both continents in order to counter the influence of such minority but influential interests.
6. The dialogue will have to identify system failures in each continent and in the relations between them in order to find solutions.

7. Such failures can be found in the arenas of economics, political systems, social structures and cultural matters.
8. A new historical moment is in process due to the positive initiatives by the African Union to place the continent on a growth and development trajectory.
9. It is widely accepted that Africa is the poorest continent and the evidence of massive poverty is beyond dispute.
10. It has also been demonstrated that globalisation is associated with the marginalisation of Africa and with the further impoverishment of the majority of its people.
11. While foreign aid is a valuable remedial instrument for poverty alleviation if properly targeted, it cannot serve as the primary measure for such purposes.
12. African experts argue that trade is better than aid, and that the asymmetry of trade relations between Europe and Africa is a major cause of concern. However properly directed aid may help remedy deficiencies in trade promotion.
13. It is therefore vital that the Europe-Africa Dialogue should focus on a rigorous examination of the actual trade relations between the two continents.
14. This should result in creating more advantageous relations, associated with partnerships which may continue to be unequal but which will nevertheless be mutually beneficial.
15. It is essential that such partnerships should include projects initiated by African institutions and that control remains the responsibility of both parties.
16. Dialogue should commence with a recognition that the malfunction of systems in Africa serves no one. When air travel is inefficient, when telecommunications do not work, when corruption invades commerce, it is difficult to advance economic interaction. These obstacles need to be identified and dealt with, always recognizing that behind the bad performance of individuals lies systemic weaknesses which need broad remedial measures.
17. In short, it is vital that both Europe and Africa agree on the principles which should govern their mutually beneficial relations and it is hoped that this memo will assist in that process.

## **POSING THE QUESTION IN A NEW FORM :**

### **CAN UNEQUAL INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS BE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL?**

Unequal partnerships within marriage can work if there is mutual attraction and good understanding. Between countries more is required. When colonial rule introduced European languages and culture into Africa, this did not establish the basis for equal relations between their countries. Relations between unequal countries can only be meaningful and sustainable where it is based on mutual benefit.

Africa needs dialogue and partnerships with Europe since it seeks economic benefits, while Europe continues to gain material benefits from its relations with Africa. However, there is no intrinsic obstacle to recognizing that while the existing relationship is unequal, it is yet possible to identify mechanisms for building partnerships and even overcoming this imbalance.

The new consolidation of Europe and the strengthening of unity in Africa provide a solid basis for continent to continent cooperation. Such cooperation is also vital for enhancing multilateralism in decision making and ensuring global stability.

The initiative to advance the Europe-Africa dialogue is to be warmly welcomed. Whatever problems beset our troubled world, dialogue is an essential alternative to tension and conflict. It is also important to identify what is helpful and what is unhelpful in moving dialogue forward. In particular we should avoid postures based on "blame" and yet face squarely existing problems and their origins.

Dialogue can become sterile and self perpetuating if there is no serious analysis of the asymmetry in the existing international world order and the consequent tensions, and if no solutions based on universal values of fairness and justice are on the agenda. However we should avoid an approach based on sentimentality since this inevitably leads to proposals based on charity rather than the pursuit of mutually beneficial relations. We must insist that cooperation be long term and sustainable. That means that there must be a strong structural element rather than ad hoc measures which can be easily reversed.

An Agenda for Priorities must be based on a recognition of asymmetry and that any outcome of dialogue will involve managing an unequal partnership. The emergence of the African Union and NEPAD is partly a response to this asymmetry, as have proposals for SOUTH-SOUTH economic cooperation, and indeed the emergence of the Group of 21 +. The Europe-Africa dialogue must examine the implications of intra-Africa regional cooperation as well as cooperation within the South. Do these factors constitute a threat to Europe ? If so, can these

relations be managed so that this is minimized. And, how can the polarization at Cancun be managed in the interests of all ?

### **NEW RELATIONS WITH AFRICA ?**

Fortunately, it is accepted by many in Europe that there has been insufficient attention paid to the problems of Africa on the one hand, and that there is an urgent need for new policies which will allow Africa's peoples to advance their own conditions of existence. The current process is rooted in the restructuring of the political systems of both Europe and Africa. But the initiative for Africa's renewal must remain firmly in Africa's hands.

It is noted that EU development aid amounts to 0.34% of GDP, which is below the target of 0.7% but nevertheless better than that of the US, the richest country in the world, which is a mere 0.12%. The EU provides \$29 billion, over half of global aid while the US provides \$ 12 billion (\$43 per US citizen). However this aid is not enough. Overall, per capita assistance to Africa has dropped by almost 40 % over the last decade. In a world of 6 billion people, one million own 80% of global gross domestic product and one billion struggle to survive on less than a dollar a day. Most of these reside in Africa.

The evidence is in the data. Per capita income in real terms in 2000 was 10% lower than in 1980. If we compare the GNP per capita as a proportion of world GNP per capita between 1960 and 1999, we find that Sub Saharan Africa fell by 47 % while the First world rose by 35 %. For each dollar of net capital inflow into Africa from the rest of the world, a dollar and six cents flows out, or is lost, through the negative trade balance, debt servicing, profit remittances or capital outflows. In the words of James Wolfensohn, the world is "out of balance". The promise of \$3,715 billion for development assistance for Africa from the World Bank this year will help but will not turn the situation around.

Much is made of prevailing conflict and instability in Africa as the root cause of distress. However the lack of safe water and sanitation causes more deaths than armed conflict, showing that economic problems are more fundamental. Indeed without addressing socioeconomic stagnation there can be no escape from instability. It must also be recognized that wars often have a basis in attempts to seek control of valuable resources for private gain.

This bears out the main contention of this paper that existing programmes such as Cotonou, the Barcelona process, the Generalised System of Preferences, and even the EU- SA agreement are not adequate. Despite important concessions for many African exports to Europe, the unequal relations remain in place. Some economists argue that Sub-Saharan Africa, the poorest region of the world, was actually made worse off as a result of the last round of trade negotiations. The World Bank concedes that many African countries are worse off now than in the 1960's. Hence, we must critically examine our socioeconomic priorities if the proposed Dialogue is to bear fruit.

## PERSISTING UNEQUAL RELATIONS

It is universally accepted that colonial and neocolonial practices served Europe's material interests and led to major inequalities between Europe and Africa. Many of these unequal relations remain in place and have to be redressed if unequal relations are to be overcome. Unequal relations are manifested in

**MATERIAL INTERESTS:** Trade relations, investment, skills transfer, labour, environment protection.

**SOCIAL RELATIONS:** Tourism, family relations, immigration, refugee flows.

**POLITICAL/SECURITY ISSUES:** Multilateral political relations, conflict resolution, peace, confronting terrorism

**HUMAN SOLIDARITY:** A hardheaded unsentimental approach to cooperation does not exclude notions of human solidarity. Under this heading we can include ODA, and non-governmental aid, support by volunteers, twinning, campaigning on human rights, trade union solidarity, political party cooperation, ideological debate, religious solidarity, and the effective blocking of monies derived from corruption by both African and European organizations and individuals..

**INTERGROUP RELATIONS:** Whatever proposals emerge on EU-Africa cooperation at state level, space must always be created to inter-group relations and cooperation.

**INTER-PARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS:** It is extraordinary how often Parliaments are omitted from discussions on dialogue despite the role of Parliaments in setting agendas internationally.

There is a clear imperative to get away from platitudes and generalities. What are the objectives and priorities which can lead to measurable progress and which demonstrably serve the interests of both Europe and Africa? The most obvious areas for cooperation are trade, aid and external debt. It should be possible to discuss these areas without adopting a patronizing position such as "Africa must behave better with respect to governance then Europe will be more generous". The majority of the beneficiaries of transfers also want good governance, indeed they are more concerned about good governance than observers at a distance. So we need to be very objective about such requirements and pay more attention to the mode of transfers than on lectures to corrupt regimes.

### A FISHING ROD NOT FISH

As to trade, unfortunately trade hit an impasse at Cancun which will not be resolved easily. Yet aid without trade relief, is inadequate. Pascal Lamy concedes that Sub-Saharan Africa has suffered a sharp deterioration in living standards over decades and its share of world trade has shrunk from 3 % in 1950 to less than 1 % now. Africa wants "a fishing rod not fish". Since 45% of Africa's foreign trade is with the EU, trade adjustment which goes beyond present concessions is fundamental. And that means attending to the massive agricultural support within the EU which makes African agricultural exports uncompetitive.

Without these measures, it is wrong to require structural adjustments in Africa such as

opening up markets, liberalization of the service sector, or even macroeconomic adjustments which will tighten the austerity screws on the economy which are already too severe in many instances. We also require greater scrutiny of aid. It is in the interests of Europe that aid is not dysfunctional. Instead it should be efficient and effective. This is not always the case as numerous studies have shown. This can only be changed through donor-recipient dialogue involving all stakeholders and not merely the relevant officials. Aid should be based on a transfer of actual resources to the recipient country and not to personnel and companies from the donor country. It is important that aid is not seen as providing employment to Europeans on temporary transfer to Africa, or to providing jobs in European NGO's. A joint review of aid on a multilateral basis is of the highest priority.

Debt relief has been canvassed ad nauseum. The current solution on offer, HIPC, is cumbersome, costly, and slow. It has taken many years of talk for only 5 countries to get irrevocable relief from debt servicing. Surely a new EU-Africa Dialogue can come up with a more effective proposal which will see speedy relief, and not just to the poorest countries. There is a spurious argument with respect to middle income countries of no debt relief without good governance, but it is clear that such pressures are not meaningful where governments are badly managed. Far more complex pressures are required to restore good democratic practices. Many economists argue that Africa's decline began in the late 1970's in tandem with the global bifurcation of North and South. Until then, the new governments in post-independence Africa had performed quite well. So Africa's decline is attributed primarily to "structural and conjunctural processes of the global economy", rather than to poor leadership in Africa. We need a major, public dialogue on these issues – they cannot be settled in the closed confines of the G8, IMF and Paris Club.

The principal outcome of these measures must be poverty relief on a long- term trajectory. Poverty must be seen as a violation of human rights. Much has been said on this subject which requires no embellishment here. Suffice to say that the present situation is untenable, given the enormous inequalities between social groups and countries globally. Current EU development policy is said to be focused on poverty eradication, but this needs to be demonstrated rigorously.

Joseph Stiglitz argues that the present dynamics of globalisation are not working for many of the world's poor, nor for the stability of the global economy. If we are to move to a greater sense of solidarity globally, and a solid basis for EU-Africa partnership, the above issues need urgent and practical attention.

## **NEPAD TO THE RESCUE**

While NEPAD is an initiative by African governments to install African ownership and leadership, it offers ample scope for broad partnerships within Africa and internationally. The organizational structure of NEPAD is as follows: NEPAD falls directly under the African Union Heads of State and Government Summit. The Summit has appointed an Implementation Committee (HSIC) which reports to the Summit. Then comes a NEPAD Steering Committee which oversees projects and programme development and it has a Secretariat which is currently

based in South Africa. NEPAD is therefore not a formal separate Organ of the AU, but “an integrated socioeconomic development framework for Africa”.

Although the focus of NEPAD is on socioeconomic matters, its vision and mission is very broad- to create conducive conditions for meaningful and sustainable development in Africa which encompasses overcoming poverty, growth and development, halting Africa’s marginalisation, and empowering women. The priorities are establishing the conditions for peace and security, democracy and good governance, regional cooperation and integration, and capacity building. The mandate is very broad indeed.

Since NEPAD is conceived as a broad programme of sustainable development, it includes; (a) the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), facilitating infrastructure programmes for transport, energy, ICT, Water and Sanitation, (b) facilitating food security and agricultural development, (c) coordinating Africa’s positions on market access, debt relief, and ODA reform, (d) monitoring the Millennium Development Goals in health and education.

A recent report (May 2003) by the African Development Bank reviews in considerable detail the implementation of the Infrastructure short term action plan. For the first time it gives information on actual progress with NEPAD programmes and identifies areas of partnerships across Africa and with institutions abroad. Most importantly it identifies “flagship projects” which have the highest priority. These are:

- \* implementing the Yamoussoukro Decision (air traffic control)
- \* Facilitating road transport
- \* ICT policy and regulation at regional level
- \* Power pools
- \* Nile Basin initiative
- \* Greater Inga integrator study
- \* Regional linkages for energy
- \* Capacity building for regional Economic Communities (REC’s)
- \* West Africa Gas pipeline
- \* COMTEL

It may be useful to set out the institutions which will oversee these projects at regional level in Africa:

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| 1 ECOWAS | Economic Community of West African States     |
| 2 ECCAS  | Economic Community of Central African States  |
| 3 IGAD   | Intergovernmental Authority on Development    |
| 4 EAC    | East African Community                        |
| 5 COMESA | Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa |
| 6 SADC   | Southern Africa Development Community         |
| 7 UMA    | Union of Arab Maghreb                         |
| 8 ITAF   | Infrastructure Technical Assistance Facility  |

The African Development Bank study shows the extent to which infrastructure development is prioritized. It is clear that NEPAD believes that unless every aspect of communication and cooperation is vastly improved within regions and across the continent, development will remain piecemeal and fragmented.

To give a sense of the actual projects, we list the projects for ECCAS (one of the poorest regions): electricity networks, energy, capacity building, road transport and regulation, trade, one-stop border posts, railway networks, ports, air transport regulation, global navigation satellite system, transport recovery, telecommunications equipment manufacture, and ICT policy and regulation. In detailing these projects, the AfDB lists the stage of development for each and the actual and potential sources of funding. It shows that there are many foreign partners already involved in practical implementation. However the NEPAD Secretariat and the APRM team keep insisting on analysis of Africa's own revenue generation and funding capacity.

### **COLLECTIVE ACTION FOR GLOBAL PUBLIC GOODS**

The E U – Africa dialogue must be based on a recognition that we need global collective action for the enhancement of global public goods. Many of these have been listed above. Many other issues require deeper analysis, such as the effect of the current international financial architecture and the constraining role of the IMF in Africa. We need a well-funded think tank led by African intellectuals which will unpack these issues and propose remedies. We also need to create a range of fora where Parliamentarians, experts, officials, and civil society representatives can examine concrete issues and identify solutions. These matters cannot be left to officials alone, nor to Summits. It is understood that Cotonou seeks a significant shift to partnering through political dialogue, but this should be inclusive. It must also be recognized that existing economic agreements such as Cotonou, have had limited success in lifting Africa out of its stagnation or in reducing poverty. Some even argue that existing international arrangements are increasing polarization and exacerbating poverty. The Least Developed Countries, especially in Africa are increasingly marginalized.

The fact that NEPAD is the socioeconomic programme of the African Union and that it is now linked with the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) there is a sound basis for examining in very concrete form how EU-AU economic relations are to be structured from now on. We also need far greater clarity on what is meant by "Regionalism". Some use the term for groups of states, others for the continent, others for even wider relations. Is it necessary for there to be common identities for regionalism to work? Is the goal primarily for economic integration? Or, can political-security considerations be the main motivation? In either case, where does the EU-AU connection come in most obviously?

We also need clarity on the possible contradictions between cooperation within a region, and liberalization to open up globally. Which gets primacy, "open regionalism" or "developmental regionalism"? Or is it a matter of creating building blocks for global integration? If so, is there room for regional cooperation with preferential provisions? Does the EU favour regional integration among ACP countries in order to gain access to larger markets, or to facilitate developmental integration within a subregion? What are the consequent effects of liberalization? Why does the EU favour the creation of free trade areas linking Europe's economy to regional



groupings of ACP countries? The evidence on the advantages need to be publicly available. And will this reduce ACP dependence on exports of primary products ?

Is it realistic to argue that poor developing African countries can combine to realize economies of scale in production and/or trade ? What research is needed to demonstrate either case ?

Broadly constituted task groups, not only officials, should examine (a) the development of core techno-bureaucratic, managerial, technical and entrepreneurial skills in Africa, (b) the effective use of capital resources, (c) the mobilizing of financial resources within Africa, (d) the facilitation of intra-regional trade in Africa, (e) manufacturing, processing and downstream enterprises within regions, (f) intra-regional trade and investment.

To conclude. There are many people of goodwill in Europe, within and outside of government institutions. Their goodwill is often frustrated in formal state to state negotiations, often creating a negative climate in Europe-African relations. The greatest challenge facing the proposed Dialogue is how to ensure the widest possible participation in order to allow space for those who can think beyond their immediate short term self-interest as Europeans.

#### Postscript

The estimated population of Africa in 1995 was 580 million.

Of these:

291 million people had average incomes below one dollar a day in 1998

124 million of those up to 39 years old were at risk of dying before 40.

43 million children were stunted as a result of malnutrition in 1995

205 million were without access to health services in 1990-5

249 million were without safe drinking water in 1990-5

More than 2 million infants died annually before reaching their first birthday

139 million youths and adults were illiterate in 1995

(African Poverty at the Millennium, The World Bank 2001)



**Meeting of NEPAD Contact Group of African Parliamentarians  
Good Hope chamber of the Parliament of South Africa  
Cape Town 22 September 2004**

**Précis of Meeting**

**Abstract**

The meeting arose out of a need to review the role of Parliamentarians across Africa with respect to the promotion and implementation of NEPAD. The meeting agreed that Parliaments should give much more attention to policy debates on the principles of NEPAD and to ensuring that national budgets reflect the philosophy and priorities of NEPAD. All Members in the meeting resolved to ensure adequate communication and promotion of NEPAD to the public and institutions of society generally.

**Opening**

The meeting was opened by Prof. Ben Turok, MP, South Africa and Par Granstedt, Vice-President of AWEPA. In attendance were the Speakers of the House of Federation of Ethiopia and the Parliament of Lesotho as well as Members and Senators from the National Assemblies and/or Senates (see annex 'A' for attendance list) of the following countries;

Burundi	Kenya,	Senegal,
EALA,	Lesotho,	South Africa,
ECOWAS	Mauritius,	Swaziland,
Egypt,	Mozambique,	Tanzania,
Ethiopia,	Nigeria,	Togo,
Gabon,	Republic of Congo	Uganda

The meeting was also addressed by Hon. Peter Schieder, the President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Several European MPs were present as well as various international agencies.

**Background to seminar**

The NEPAD Contact Group of African Parliamentarians was formed in Nairobi, Kenya in August 2003 as the result of a request by Prof. Nkuhlu, Head of the

NEPAD secretariat and an initiative of concerned Parliamentarians who wanted to ensure that all parliaments in Africa are fully engaged in the NEPAD process. In order to further the process and to report back on developments in their respective national and regional fora, a conference was organized in Cape Town, in the Good Hope Chamber of the Parliament of South Africa to review Parliamentary actions on NEPAD undertaken to date and to chart a course for future actions to be taken.

The meeting (see annex 'B') was organised into **introductory, briefing** (both from the NEPAD Secretariat and experts), **report back** (from the delegates) sessions, which were followed by **Regional group exercises**, and finally by a session which brought out the **conclusions** of the participating MPs/Senators and recommendations for the future. All Parliamentarians were provided with the latest NEPAD briefing documents.

#### **Issues identified by Parliamentarians:**

- The relation of NEPAD to Civil Society and need to present it to civil society;
- What the role of Parliament could be in the NEPAD process;
- Conflicts, peace and security, and post conflict reconstruction;
- The relation between NEPAD and national budgets in respective Parliaments;
- The linkage between Parliaments and the Executive on NEPAD;
- Children made vulnerable by HIV/AIDS – which must be dealt with adequately by NEPAD;
- APRM, and the effect of good governance on the NEPAD process;
- Industrialization and regional cooperation;
- Relations with the G8, the WTO and the IFIs on NEPAD;
- Debt reduction
- Education and policy;
- The relation between NEPAD, the AU and Regional Economic Communities such as ECOWAS, EAC, and SADC;
- Harmonization of NEPAD with other existing policies and initiatives;
- Economic empowerment of Women;
- Research and development.

#### **Introduction**

Mr. Par Granstedt, vice-President of AWEPA introduced the delegates to AWEPA's work with its African partners and to its work in the Parliaments of Europe, including the European Parliament. Prof. Ben Turok, MP South Africa and Convenor of the NEPAD Contact Group then introduced the background to

the present meeting. He noted that the initial meeting in August 2003 in Nairobi where the contact group had been formed, had indicated very clearly a lack of information and understanding of NEPAD, not only on a Parliamentary level but also among African populations in general. In particular he noted that:

- Members of Parliament in general did not know enough about NEPAD. This was due in part to the initial top down nature of NEPAD which had hitherto been dominated by the executive branches of government;
- That in a similar vein, Civil Society also did not know enough about NEPAD for the same reasons but that now that there was a consensus on the document, the information should be disseminated to Civil society;
- There was a need to discuss the role of Parliament in the NEPAD process. The present briefing was not a meeting to take the place of the Pan-African Parliament and did not constitute a parallel process. Rather it was designed to complement the eventual taking up by the PaP, of the legislative and oversight role of Parliaments in the process.
- That national and sub-regional Parliaments needed to ensure that budgets passed reflected NEPAD's self-reliant development cornerstone philosophy.
- That Parliaments needed to take a broad view of the issues affecting NEPAD, not a technocratic view; the focus should be on principles and policies, not on details;
- That Children affected by HIV/AIDS and the pandemic in general ought to be taken on board more effectively in NEPAD.

### **Briefing**

Dr. Mohammed Jahed, Chief Economist, NEPAD Secretariat, gave the assembled delegates a progress report on the action plans for NEPAD. Although the entire briefing will not be reproduced here the main points touched on were:

- That NEPAD was the socio-economic programme of the African Union, not a separate agency;
- That addressing conflict on the African continent and peace and security and post-conflict reconstruction were important elements of NEPAD;
- That the primary objectives of NEPAD (see his paper) also involved good governance, Human rights, and in this respect the APRM was an innovative concept which had been acceded to by some 23 countries so far. It was expected that between 30-35 countries will have acceded to the APRM by the end of 2004;
- That altering the relationship between developing countries and MFIs was also central to the process especially with respect to market access, Debt, ODA, and FDI (Foreign direct investment);

- That the engagement of the Regional Economic Communities (“RECs”) such as ECOWAS, the EAC and SADC in the process was crucial and the regional continental development programme needed to be accelerated;
- That both Civil Society and the private sector needed to be mobilized in support of NEPAD;

## **Report back of Delegations**

### *Structural considerations*

The report back from country and regional delegations varied on what had been accomplished so far in terms of bringing NEPAD to Parliaments and to Civil Society. There was unanimity however on behalf of all delegations that much more needed to be done if both Parliaments and Civil Society were to play meaningful roles in the NEPAD process.

Most Parliaments had had initial sensitisation sessions or in some cases ‘NEPAD Days’ although there were some Parliaments, which had only attended conferences regarding NEPAD due to upcoming elections or for other domestic reasons. Of the states represented, it was acknowledged that most had developed a NEPAD structure in the Executive Branch although this was mirrored by Parliamentary Committees or fora in only a few Parliaments. In most cases it was acknowledged that communication on NEPAD between the executive structures and Parliamentary ones was lacking. In one case it was said that “*Partnership seems to mean anything but Parliaments*”. All delegations were of the opinion that NEPAD had not descended to the grass roots and that populations were, in general, badly informed about NEPAD.

### **What should be done ?**

The report back session generated not only recognition of the limited consciousness of NEPAD in Parliamentary and Civil Society spheres but also very specific ideas about what should be done to correct this and what issues should be prioritized. Some examples were:

- Parliaments should hold public meetings with constituents on NEPAD to both inform and elicit feedback on the NEPAD process;
- Sub-regional and regional cooperation should be accelerated in order to make optimal use of synergies and strengths of respective countries. In this respect existing sub-regional structures such as ECOWAS, EAC and SADC should be capacitated;

- Links between NEPAD executive and Parliamentary structures need to be initiated in order that everyone has the most up to date information;
- Links between the Parliamentary contact group and European Parliamentary structures need to be initiated in order to have a dialogue on support to NEPAD with northern colleagues.

It was acknowledged by the delegates that there were some pre-conditions for NEPAD to succeed and these included peace and security, post-conflict reconstruction and development, good governance, human rights as well as HIV/AIDS. In this regard it was noted that if HIV/AIDS remained unchecked, it had the potential to completely undermine any progress on NEPAD, which might conceivably result. It was noted that the issue of HIV/AIDS had been treated as a 'health' issue in the NEPAD documentation rather than as a developmental issue. In terms of issues, which needed to be prioritized, the assembled delegates emphasized the following;

- Education and capacity building: this was almost unanimously identified as critical to the development of capacity to deal with complex issues such as industrial development, agitating for the release of tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade, debt relief, and agricultural access to markets. In addition it was necessary to address the brain-drain phenomenon.
- It is essential that the empowerment of Women be accorded a high priority;
- The G8 process had not yet yielded much in terms of actual delivery and a new approach was perhaps called for;
- How to deal with WTO and MFIs in terms of negotiations and how to follow the process adequately;
- Harmonization of sub-regional initiatives within the context of NEPAD; an example was given of competing large energy infrastructural projects which might have better been combined.
- What was needed in terms of regulatory frameworks to encourage small and medium sized enterprises ?
- Access to affordable and relevant technology was needed to encourage development.
- Research and development needed to be accelerated in order to bring African solutions to African problems. Regional cooperation was key in this regard as no one country had the ability to really mount serious R & D programmes.

**Meeting of NEPAD Contact Group of African Parliamentarians  
Good Hope chamber of the Parliament of South Africa  
Cape Town 22 September 2004**

## **Conclusions and Recommendations**

The assembled Speakers and Members of Parliament from Burundi, EALA, ECOWAS, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Kenya, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Republic of Congo, Senegal, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, and Uganda, concluded, after deliberations, that the Parliamentary contact group on NEPAD ought to continue to promote and implement the NEPAD process pending the development of full capacity of the Pan African Parliament to do so and resolved to follow a three year plan of support, oversight and promotion of NEPAD along the following lines:

- 1) Information dissemination about NEPAD in all African Parliaments;
- 2) Policy-responsibility and budget oversight for NEPAD to be introduced in African Parliamentarians;
- 3) Close cooperation and links between the NEPAD secretariat, NEPAD structures in AU states, and African Parliaments (national and regional);
- 4) Advocacy – There was an obligation on members of Parliament to go to the electorate in their respective regions, countries and constituencies in order to sensitise the electorate about what NEPAD is and to seek their involvement in the process;
- 5) Electronic dissemination of information ought to be increased by using the internet and websites to spread the message about NEPAD. This could include developing a portal on the NEPAD secretariat's website to include information for Parliamentarians and about the Parliamentary contact group;
- 6) NEPAD newsletter: delivery to Parliamentarians needs to be ensured;
- 7) Lobby in Europe for Northern support: the NEPAD Contact Group of African Parliamentarians ("Contact Group") will link up with European Parliamentarians to lobby European Parliaments and decision makers on support for NEPAD initiatives;
- 8) Women's rights and empowerment need to be institutionalized in NEPAD;

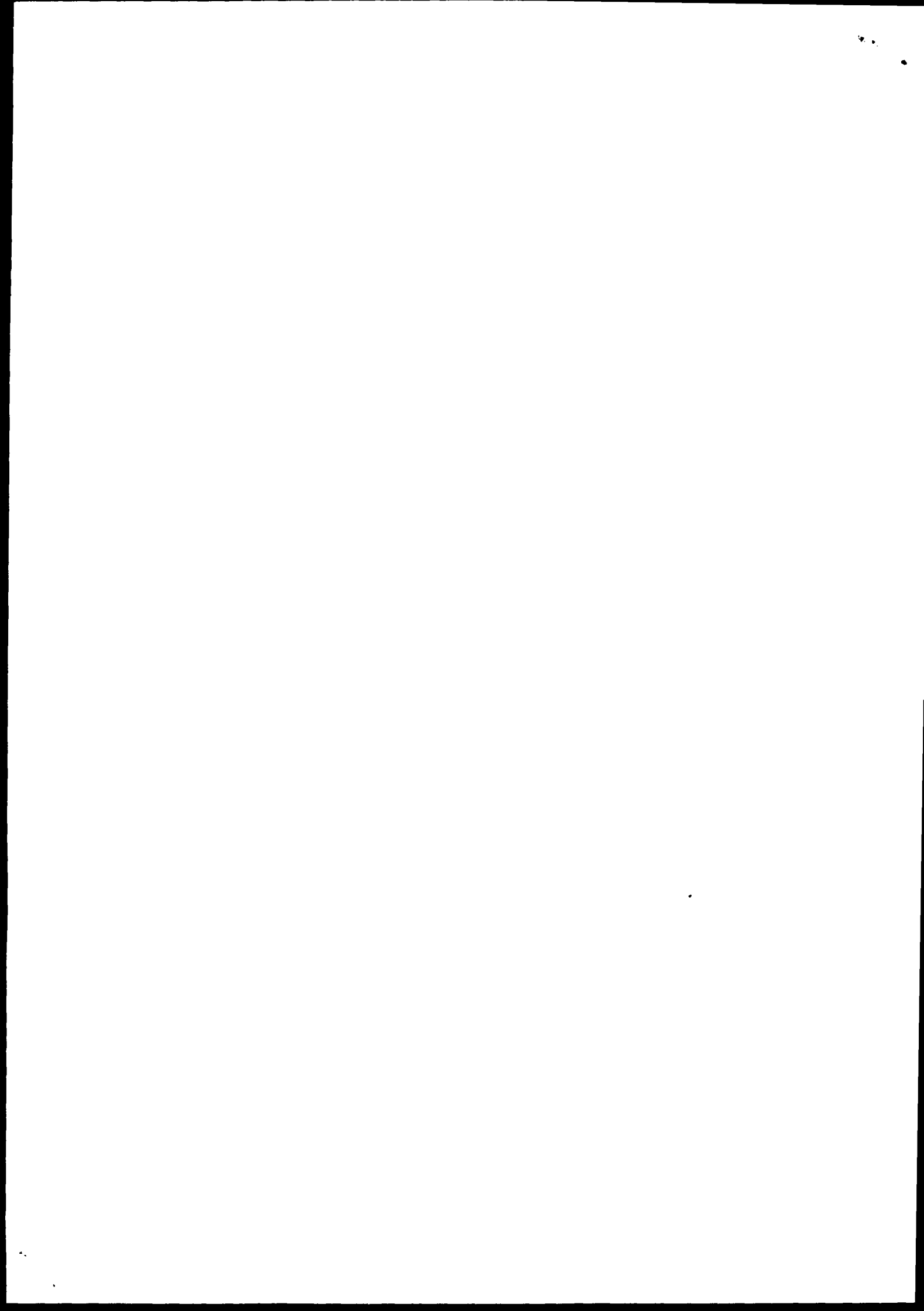


- 9) National NEPAD day: One day a year ought to be designated as a national NEPAD day where the latest developments could be examined and successes celebrated.
- 10) Language – The information about NEPAD ought to be available initially at least in English, French, and Portuguese.

The members of the contact group further decided to form a steering Committee to guide the activities of the contact group. Prof. Turok, MP, South Africa was appointed as Convenor of the Contact Group and the new steering Committee will be composed of the delegates from:

Egypt  
East Africa  
Burundi  
ECOWAS/Senegal  
Mauritius  
Kenya  
Uganda  
South Africa  
Convenor

In order to support the actions of the Contact Group on NEPAD, German development Cooperation (“GTZ”) and European Parliamentarians for Africa (“AWEPA”) were asked to source funding and support for these initiatives. It was reported that the African Capacity Building Initiative (“ACBI”) has already committed some funding.



## PROFESSOR BEN TUROK M P

### CURRICULUM VITAE

#### BRIEF HISTORY

Ben Turok has been involved in the struggle against apartheid and for the creation of a democratic South Africa all his adult life. He became politically active as a student at Cape Town University and was soon associated with the progressive movement and the African National Congress, first in Cape Town and then nationally.

Ben Turok's struggle record includes being National Secretary of the SA Congress of Democrats in the late 1950's, Member of the National Secretariat of the Congress Alliance, foundation member of Umkhonto We Sizwe, (was awarded three medals for service), Member of the Secretariat of the SA Communist Party, editor of Sechaba (official organ of the ANC) in exile, having returned from exile in 1990, he became a member of the Gauteng ANC Provincial Executive and held various other positions.

In 1955 he presented the economics clause of the Freedom Charter at the Congress of the People and was arrested in the Treason Trial with Nelson Mandela. He was later imprisoned for three years for sabotage. In 1966 he went into exile in Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and the UK.

His Parliamentary career started in 1956 when he was elected unopposed to represent African voters in the Cape Provincial Council. In 1994 he was elected to the Gauteng Legislature and became Head of the RDP Commission and member of the Gauteng Cabinet. In 1995 he became a member of the National Parliament and served on the Finance and Trade and Industry Committees.

His academic qualifications include three degrees in engineering, (including a professional qualification), philosophy and political science. He has written or edited 16 books, mainly about development in Africa, and politics and economics of South Africa. He has also participated in numerous conferences and seminars across the African continent and throughout the world. He was the Director of the Institute For African Alternatives (IFAA) based in London and with centres in six African countries which pioneered policies on Africa's development. He lectured at the Open University in the UK for twelve years and at the University of Zambia and at many African Universities. He is currently visiting professor at the University of Kwazulu Natal.

Ben Turok has been involved in the promotion of NEPAD, is the Convenor of the Pan African Contact Group of members of parliament across Africa, and is currently a member of the S A Parliamentary Committee on the African Union. He is the Chairperson of New Agenda, the South African Journal of Social and Economic Policy, published by the Institute For African Alternatives (IFAA). He was recently invited to be a member of the Executive Board of the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe.

