



**A CRITIQUE OF PERSPECTIVES AND CHALLENGES OF THE NEW
PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD)**

Orji, Chidi Paul, Ph.D.

Department of Philosophy, University of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences,
Umuagwo, Imo State

hipaulco@gmail.com, paul.orji@uaes.edu.ng

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-2941-5398>

&

Nwata, Ulunwa Philip, Ph.D.

Department of Business Administration, Faculty of Arts, Management & Social Sciences,
University of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences, Umuagwo, Imo State,

nwataulunwaphilip@gmail.com

&

Nwagbara, Rufus Godswill,

Department of Philosophy, Babcock University, Ilisan Remo, Ogun State

godswillnwagbara@gmail.com, nwagbarag@babcock.edu.ng

Abstract

African leaders sought to address the continent's development issues after earlier attempts failed, and they came to the view that the continent needed to reconsider its development strategy if it was to have any significance in the global community in the twenty-first century. NEPAD represents essentially a commitment made by African leaders based on a shared and unwavering belief that it is their urgent responsibility to end poverty and set their nation, both individually and collectively, on a course toward sustainable development. Poor social life and underdevelopment on the continent, which show up as poor health, general poverty, infant mortality, and economic backwardness, have been a difficult concern for African political leaders ever since African nations gained political independence. Therefore, NEPAD is thought to lessen Africa's marginalization and neglect in international economic interactions while reorienting the continent toward long-term development. Examining NEPAD's effects on Africa is the primary objective of this research. And how the people have been given fresh hope and optimism thanks to NEPAD's programs. Important policy frameworks and initiatives have been built for Africa's socio-economic sectors, including infrastructure, science and technology, education, ICT, agriculture and food security, and capacity building. Through NEPAD, Africa has seen a decade of transformation and notable advancements in the implementation and policies of political and socioeconomic governance. Peace and security, governance, economic progress, and the empowerment of women and youth have all seen some degree of achievement.

Keywords: NEPAD, Africa, Nigeria, Development, Health



Introduction

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has been referred to by various combinations of Architects and prominent supporters, typically portraying NEPAD as an effort to address Africa's enormous development challenges; some have even dubbed it Africa's "Marshall Plan." Others see it as a development strategy and a program of the African Union (AU). Critics, on the other hand, portray NEPAD as a "neo-liberal" project, which is obviously at odds with the views of its supporters, who see it as a revolutionary plan; some have even dubbed it the "Africanization of GEAR." Regardless of the name or epithet, NEPAD has generated a lot of debate. Development, peace, security, government, and democracy are all directly linked. It appears to have two distinct justifications and has been regarded seriously by both proponents and opponents of NEPAD. Its goal is to instill a culture of democracy, accountability, and "good" governance in African politics. In contrast, it aims to establish a "new" and improved partnership with the industrialized North to include them in efforts to support these new African projects through debt relief, increased official development assistance, infrastructure development, and direct foreign investment.

Thus, NEPAD is predicated on a trade-off: the industrialized nations of the globe would recommit to Africa's development in return for African leaders holding one another responsible. We must raise the question, "What prompted NEPAD?" to properly appreciate what NEPAD is. What is the origin of NEPAD? NEPAD really is visionary. It aims to fundamentally alter both intra-African politics and Africa's foreign policy. The post-Cold War reality of power disparities between industrialized northern nations and Africa served as the impetus for NEPAD. It is an attempt to respond to the political and military withdrawal of Western nations from the continent as well as the failure of external powers to fulfill their historical responsibilities to the region. NEPAD is also an effort to counteract unfavorable views about Africa. Re-engaging with the continent would help stop the continent's rising poverty and inequality and help change Africa's political, economic, and social landscapes if the outside world responded to NEPAD in a good and productive way. Thabo Mbeki made it clear that he was determined to combat Afro-pessimism in the industrialized world even before he was elected president. He sought to dispel the notion among Western governments, investors, and observers that Africa was home to a number of kleptocratic states, most of which are autocratic and have a high tendency to violate democracy and human rights. However, NEPAD is more than just an effort to improve Africa's reputation abroad. NEPAD also targets African ruling elites and other African communities. Africans should abandon the victimhood culture and mindset, according to NEPAD. It believes that by rejecting the alleged propensity to attribute all of Africa's problems to the outside world, it is adopting a highly "mature" stance. To do this, it seeks to instill in African politics the idea of "taking responsibility" for the continent's own errors and to become more critical of its own political evolution. The perception of the West in Africa, on the other hand, was that of a group of strong white states that are racist and believe that Africa has lost its strategic importance after the end of the Cold War. Such governments increasingly abandoned their political and economic responsibilities to the continent because they did not see the need to deploy soldiers to distant nations on the "Dark Continent," which they understood little about and much less about. Every piece of evidence supporting Africa's present high degree of poverty and marginalization in all



spheres has been studied, documented, and debated. These raise the question of how to halt this downward trend and firmly place Africa back on the global development agenda, as well as on the path to sustainable and irreversible development, so that Africa may make a genuine claim to this millennium.

Effort to address issues in Africa, including poverty, underdevelopment, undemocratic governments, and a lack of cooperation among African states, is the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). NEPAD, which was started by the most powerful African nations and backed by the developed world, sparked a heated discussion over whether it would be a true answer for Africa or "another false dawn." Based on the understanding that Africa has and will continue to offer much to the world and humanity, and that the rest of the world owes it a duty to respond to its current situation, African heads of state conceived NEPAD as a development framework that will do just that, which is why partnership is so important. NEPAD wants to unite the continent as an economic and trading bloc and increase its competitiveness; it wants to change the current global market and financial architecture; and it acknowledges that to do so, Africa must first organize itself, and that all African nations must cooperate in order to achieve shared goals and objectives.

The Foundation of New Partnership for Africa's Development Contribution to Africa

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was formed after a long search for a framework to guide Africa's socio-economic transformation. There was a need to address poverty and African marginalization within the world economy. Also, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set by the UN in 2000 prompted the urgency to adopt and implement the MDGs. This led to the initiation of NEPAD by Presidents Bouteflika (Algeria); Mubarak (Egypt); Obasanjo (Nigeria); Wade (Senegal); and Mbeki (South Africa). "The NEPAD is a programme adopted by the African Union focusing on political leadership and accountability of African leaders; to themselves, their people and their counterparts," said Dr. Reuel Khoza, Chairman of the NEPAD Business Foundation. "NEPAD aims to promote and sustain socio-economic development and foster the adoption of policies that are in line with global practices. Its purpose is to eradicate poverty, halt the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process, promote the empowerment and economic integration of women, and achieve the MDGs." Added to this, NEPAD is structured to provide leadership and management through the collective vision of African leaders seeking to promote a positive value system, norms, and standards.

This is done through various committees: Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC), NEPAD Steering Committee, and the NEPAD Secretariat. The African Peer Review Mechanism is accepted by Member States of the African Union as an African self-monitoring mechanism. It aims to foster the adoption of policies, standards, and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, and sustainable development, and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through the sharing of experiences and best practices, and is important to the sustainability of NEPAD.

In monitoring the progress made by NEPAD so far, African leaders have taken various steps to analyze its progress:



1. What has the international impact of NEPAD been?
2. Are conditions for African development being addressed?
3. Are leaders, countries, and organizations now conducting business differently?
4. Are perceptions about the continent changing?
5. Have African relations with development partners changed?
6. Has the implementation of programmes and projects started?

There have been encouraging and significant results registered during the last few years in several areas, such as:

- 1) **The African Union (AU):** It is leading in conflict resolution and peacebuilding in several countries. Budgets, mandates, and leadership of key organs of the AU are being reinforced.
- 2) **Consolidation of democracy:** Installation of democratic governments and improved macro-economic management on the continent has increased. Successful democratic elections and peaceful changes in leadership are more frequent with a reduction in unconstitutional changes in leadership. Post-conflict reconstruction initiatives are being developed. Good governance, democracy, and the promotion of human rights are becoming the norm in Africa. African leaders have committed themselves to increasing national budget allocations.
- 3) **African Peer Review Mechanism:** The APRM has received international acclaim, and the first sets of reviews have been completed in Ghana, Rwanda, South Africa, and Algeria. Twenty-six countries have acceded to the APRM. The APRM process is addressing corruption, poor governance, and inefficient delivery of public goods and services to its citizens.
- 4) **Priority Areas:** Agriculture, infrastructure, ICTs, science and technology, environment, and regional economic integration, which were not among the top priorities of the development agenda of international partners, have now become core issues. Furthermore, the successful development and launch of the Investment Climate Facility (a public-private financial facility) has been implemented. This facility is aimed at making African countries more attractive to investment globally.
- 5) **Health:** The emergence of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria provides resources for the overarching strategy to address AIDS and its impact on development. Increased support for integrated health systems to deliver programmes and new approaches to training and retention of health workers is emerging. Countries have moved to implement the NEPAD Health Strategy, and the partnership with the World Health Organization continues to yield positive results.
- 6) **Infrastructural Development:** In the past five years, the African Development Bank and the World Bank have increased priority to projects under the NEPAD Short-Term Action Plan for Infrastructure Development. Several regional infrastructure projects have been brought to the implementation stage. Infrastructure development has also been given a further boost by the UN Millennium Project and the Commission for Africa, recommending increased development partner support for infrastructure development. Development Partners have established the Infrastructure Consortium for Africa to meet priority infrastructure needs on the continent.
- 7) **African Economic Growth:** The average economic growth rate for the continent in 2004 was 5.4% (the highest in 8 years). According to the International Monetary Fund, for 2006, it is projected to increase to 5.7%. The challenge is to maintain the trend and to increase the rate



further towards the 7% target. NEPAD has also forged global partnerships with industrialized and developing countries and multilateral organizations. This has resulted in increased Development assistance (ODA) flows to Africa. Over the past five years, NEPAD has ensured increased ODA to Africa. African leaders have placed the African Development Agenda high on their priorities. It has been well received by the United Nations - the Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, the European Union, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Commonwealth, and the World Trade Organization.

NEPAD and the Prospect of African Development

The search for a Pan-African initiative and structure that can lead to the social and economic transformation of the continent of Africa in a rapidly “globalizing world” climaxed with the launching of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). This initiative is faced with certain challenges that constitute its problems. NEPAD’s overall success is anchored on three human factors. These include : (1) Leadership, good governance, and accountability (2) Foreign Western partners, and (3) African people. On the first challenge, NEPAD is a pledge by African leaders based on a common vision and shared conviction that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries on the path of sustainable growth and development, and at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politics. Consequently, the leaders have a duty to sell NEPAD to the African people and convince African partners that they are ready to participate in the world economy and body politics.

The ability of the African economy to participate in a competitive style is directly a factor of its economic governance. Economic governance revolves around sound economic management and performance of an economy over time, and sound economic management must result in sustainable economic growth and development

NEPAD: Between Hope and Despair

Is the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) a panacea for Africa's development problems or just another fad destined for the continent's development cemetery? This question has been posed since the inception of NEPAD in 2001. And it keeps on popping up like the proverbial frog on the beer mug. The popular and/or political critique is that NEPAD is a creation of a few African leaders, notably Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, and Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria, with backing from the West. And that is why even the Namibian government was initially skeptical about the whole idea, especially with regard to the peer review mechanism, one of its central pillars.

That critique is justified, but there is the risk of throwing out the baby with the bathwater. Ideas must be looked at from their own internal strength and coherence, and not necessarily where they originate. This, however, is not to disregard issues of democratic participation and the question of power in the generation of ideas. There is (or should be) a difference between setting an agenda for popular discussion and debate and pushing that agenda onto a passive populace. Agendas must, ideally, become blueprints and visions only after an exhaustive public debate and some degree of consensus. What we need to do, therefore, is to look backward to move forward -



historically speaking. We need to ask: what happened to the long and worthy list of similar grand plans, ideas, and initiatives meant to accelerate the development of Africa over the past three or four decades since independence?

The architects of NEPAD have to answer that question much more comprehensively before they can convincingly present their case. Or have they? Secondly, we need to adopt a critical and deconstructionist attitude, i.e., lay bare the plan to see what its strengths and weaknesses are and how it can situate itself within the broader trajectory of contemporary global forces.

According to Ebegbulem, Adams & Achu:

The quest for African development and more equitable forms of engagement between Africa and the Western world is not entirely new. Yet, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which was inaugurated in 2001 in Abuja, has continued to generate enormous attention both within and outside Africa. NEPAD has become the issue at national, African, and global fora, as Africa grapples with the real concern of daily survival, overcoming poverty, conflict, and disease, and reaping the fruits of development (Ebegbulem, Adams & Achu, 2012:270).

There is yet another subtle aspect about plans, visions, and initiatives that is less recognized, especially in positivist scholarship, for plans are usually used as a way of demarcating boundaries and framing the way problems and issues are thought about. It is a process of excluding alternatives that are sometimes not acceptable to those drawing up the plans. Because one is, in a sense, saying: this is the way we should think and ultimately proffer solutions to this or that problem. And in certain instances, especially those plans that are couched in futuristic terms, they serve to postpone problems and thus ease demands on the political system, at least for a while - Namibia's Vision 2030 is a case in point.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) must be seen in that light. Like its predecessors, for example, it metamorphosed from the merger of the Millennium Africa Recovery Plan and the OMEGA plan - leading to the New African Initiative (NAI) and eventually to NEPAD. So, the fundamental question is whether NEPAD will succeed where others wavered. How different is it from the others or what has changed, locally and globally, since the inception of NEPAD to make it succeed? On what grounds does it stake its claims as the panacea for the Continent's declining fortunes or, more broadly, as the harbinger of the much-talked-about African Renaissance (itself an essentially contested idea)?

Ebegbulem, Adams & Achu point out that:

The emergence of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is basically a pledge by African leaders predicated on a common and firm vision that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and place their country, both individually and collectively on a path of sustainable development. NEPAD, therefore, incorporates a commitment by African leaders to create and consolidate basic processes and practices of governance that are in line with the principles of transparency, respect for human rights, promotion of the



rule of law, accountability, integrity, etc. The challenging concern of African political leaders since the attainment of political independence by African countries has been the question of the continent's poor social life and underdevelopment on the continent, which manifests itself in the form of poor health conditions, general poverty, infant mortality, and economic backwardness. It is therefore believed that NEPAD will reposition the African continent on the path of long term development and minimize its marginalization and neglect in international economic relations. NEPAD is, therefore, a commitment by African leaders to accelerate the integration of the African continent into the global economy, as well as a call to the rest of the world to partner with Africa in her own development based on her own agenda and programme of action. (Ebegbulem, Adams & Achu, 2012:270-271).

Before venturing into tackling these questions, one has to spell out very briefly what NEPAD is. So what is it? "This New Partnership for Africa's Development is a pledge by African leaders based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and sustainable development and at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politic."

Several aspects are immediately discernible from this statement. These are:

1. The emphasis on African ownership of NEPAD and the role and responsibilities of leaders to see the plan through.
2. Second is the commitment to forging a new partnership with the West and international financial institutions (IFIs).
3. Thirdly, there is talk of creating an enabling environment by minimizing conflict through the promotion of good governance, macroeconomic stability, and maintaining transparency and accountability in both the public and private realms.

These elements are seen as the right mix for pursuing the NEPAD development agenda, which includes, inter alia, social and economic regeneration of the continent, poverty reduction, and economic empowerment of the people. And like many other plans before it, NEPAD is also premised on sectoral strategies - and all sectors are ably covered. This entire venture is not without a heavy price tag, as an estimated US\$64 billion per year is needed to achieve an annual seven percent growth rate. Where are the money and resources going to come from?

Several strategies are envisioned. A capital flow and market access initiatives - to include domestic savings and investment, debt cancellation, production diversification, foreign direct investment, access to foreign markets for Africa's primary commodities, etc. But it is also hoped that the bulk of the money will come from the so-called development partners - the industrialized West, the G-8, and IFIs.



Proponents of NEPAD point to the peer review mechanism and its commitment to good governance and to the fact that it does not heap blame on the West for the continent's problems as some of its strongest trump cards. Perhaps that is why the G-8 countries are said to be supportive of NEPAD. It is the in-thing in town.

The Commonwealth is also very supportive of NEPAD. Our strategic collaboration with NEPAD on economic and political issues will, I'm sure, bear fruit, and we look forward to the development synergies in many areas, including the NEPAD Peer Review Mechanism." Fine words indeed. But are they going to take Africa to greater heights this time around?

One doesn't want to pour cold water on the continent's new child. But looking back, NEPAD is likely to flounder like many of the previous plans. First of all, there is basically nothing new in the NEPAD that has not been encapsulated in the previous plans before it. In fact, some like the Lagos Plan of Action or the Revised Framework referred to earlier, were more "African" and more "radical" as they put more emphasis on self-reliance, self-sustainability, democratization of the development process, and finally, a fair and just distribution of the fruits of development through the progressive eradication of unemployment and widespread poverty.

None of these radical agendas got implemented as they were resisted and eventually jettisoned. Instead, we ended up on the West/World Bank's favourite agenda, structural adjustment programmes. It will really take a great leap of faith to assume that NEPAD will succeed. As it stands now, NEPAD's agenda reflects many of the assumptions that characterized the neo-liberal socio-economic and political programmes that were designed for Africa in the late 1980s and 90s. We have noted earlier that some of the previous plans failed because of a lack of political will and resources, and sometimes resistance from the international financial institutions. Other scholars have been pointing to Africa's over-reliance and dependency on the goodwill of others and the unpredictable fluctuations of the world market, which Africa has no control over.

Although some naïve individuals keep telling us that more globalization, not less, is good for Africa, despite the negative consequences to the contrary. As Samir Amin noted a few years ago, Africa is already the most globalized continent in the world and yet the most marginalized. Yet NEPAD still advocates for greater participation in the world economy. But on whose terms? By trying to march towards its future hand-in-hand with its colonial, mono-cultural, low-productivity, and excessively dependent and open economy, Africa has ensured no dignified future for itself." And this is probably the fate that will befall NEPAD and thus Africa.

NEPAD'S View on the Global Political-Economy

Contrary to much criticism that NEPAD only focuses on partnership with the outside world, and does not talk enough about intra-African partnerships, NEPAD does have clear political economy perspectives on the African dimension itself. NEPAD points out that the building of cross-border and trans-African road networks, railways, and other means of transport and communication, and the consolidation of joint energy, water, and other systems, will be far more



effective and beneficial than economies of scale. NEPAD calls for the creation of an ‘essential regional public good’ to ‘enhance regional co- operation and trade’.

NEPAD clearly placed a great deal of stress on ‘capital flows’ within Africa and from abroad. In NEPAD’s own words, there is ‘...an urgent need to create conditions that promote private sector investment by both domestic and foreign investors’. NEPAD encourages ‘the promotion of intra-African trade and investments’ through ‘the harmonization of economic and investment policies and practices’. NEPAD offers ‘great investment opportunities’, especially through ‘public-private partnerships’, as well as ‘lowering the risks facing private investors’.

NEPAD proposes the establishment of a Financial Market Integration Task Force to ‘speed up financial market integration’. NEPAD further calls for ‘the deepening of financial markets within countries, as well as cross -border harmonization and integration’. The ‘co-ordination of national sector policies and effective monitoring of regional decisions’, and ‘the promotion of policy and regulatory harmonization’, according to NEPAD, is necessary to facilitate cross-border interaction and market- enlargement’. NEPAD aptly recognizes that most African economies are vulnerable because of their dependence on primary production and resource-based sectors. African economies have ‘narrow export bases,’ and they are in ‘urgent need to diversify production’. It is vital, says NEPAD, that African countries ‘pool’ or combine their resources within regional production strategies, and stimulate ‘cross-border interactions among African firms’, as well as cross-border inter-sectoral linkages.

NEPAD speaks out against the ‘absence of fair and just rules’ as far as the global trading system is concerned, and seeks to address the ‘unfavorable terms of trade’ facing Africa. It also speaks out against ‘biases in economic policy and instability in world commodity prices’ that affect Africa negatively. As such, NEPAD seeks ‘a new global partnership’ and declares that international multilateral institutions and the world’s most industrialized nations have an ‘obligation’ to negotiate more favourable terms of trade for African countries within the multilateral framework. NEPAD further encourages African states to actively engage the multilateral system of rules and regulations being created and implemented under the World Trade Organization (WTO). NEPAD also recognizes ‘the new trading opportunities that emerge from the evolving multilateral trading system. On globalization, NEPAD

NEPAD’S Criticism from African Constituencies

Apart from the weaknesses on the part of the G-8-Africa Action Plan, NEPAD faced a more serious challenge in Africa. Criticisms against NEPAD came in two forms. NGOs and other civil society organizations (CSOs) complained about the lack of consultation with this sector and that NEPAD was a top-down process. This sector was also highly critical of what they saw as the ‘neo-liberal’ economic prescriptions embedded in NEPAD, which, according to them, smacked of a self-imposed structural adjustment programme. On a more positive note, many CSO organizations came out in support of the political aspects of NEPAD, in particular the insistence on democracy, accountability, and good and democratic governance. The second challenge came from other African governments.



Just like CSOs, many such governments also complained about the lack of consultation by the NEPAD architects. Concern was also expressed that some supporters of NEPAD wished to see NEPAD as some super program outside the confines of the African Union (AU). To be sure, many autocratic African governments were critical of NEPAD because they were visibly threatened by NEPAD's strong emphasis on democratic and accountable governance. In the end, a revised NEPAD was adopted by the AU as the 'economic programme' of the union, and the NEPAD steering committee was increased from 15 to 20 African states during the official launch of the AU in Durban, South Africa in July 2002.

Preconditions for NEPAD'S Success

Quite understandably, some have wondered whether NEPAD will be no more successful than many well-intentioned projects in the past. The conditions for the success of the project are:

Peace and Security: The absence of violence and unnecessary crises on the continent will create an investment-friendly environment capable of attracting foreign investment as well as foreign capital inflows. This is sine qua non for the realization of the ideals of NEPAD.

Good Governance: NEPAD emphasizes the existence of a link between development on one hand, and democracy, respect for human rights, and good governance on the other. Corrupt practices can distort the electoral processes and the extent to which elected leaders actually represent the interests of their constituencies. Corruption can distort the independence of the judiciary as well as the oversight functions of the legislature. The ultimate effects of such corrupt practices are the erosion of accountability and a reduction in the standards of governance. This monster called corruption must be eliminated if NEPAD is to succeed.

Self-Reliance: African cannot depend on external financing for the success of NEPAD. African states must vigorously and consistently fund the project, as this will confer respect and integrity on the continent. Thus, the dream of placing Africa on equal footing in global affairs will be realizable.

Availability and Accessibility of Relevant Information: Accurate, timely, and relevant information is a vital resource to any meaningful and sustainable development. Information is one of the critical factors that define the progress of advanced countries. Africa must invest heavily in the generation and management of this fifth factor of production, which developing nations have consistently ignored to their detriment. Information is a desideratum for the success of NEPAD in its various aspects and processes.

Library and Information Centres: Societies risk stagnation unless they make constant provision for the injection and absorption of new knowledge. Libraries and information centres are the intellectual storehouse serving as a giant memory. A society without well-developed libraries is tantamount to a person without a brain and memory. These institutions function as an agency for acquiring, organizing, and preserving for use, knowledge as fixed in any recorded



format. Information is a powerful tool for personal, organizational, and national development. It is said to be an inessential part of a nation's resources, and access to it is one of the basic human rights; information is not only a national resource vital for scientific and economic progress but is also seen as a medium for social communication.

NEPAD's Strength and Impact

NEPAD is bound to succeed, for it represents perhaps the most significant initiative ever advocated for moving the African continent from crisis to renewal. Given that it is based on a set of internationally accepted core principles that are recognized as prerequisites for sustainable growth and development, it has great potential for success if implemented by the majority of African states. Indeed, there is much riding on NEPAD. It holds considerable promise for economic, political, and social development in Africa.

However, the consequences of its failure will be costly and will undoubtedly return the continent to its marginalized status and prove the African pessimists right. Though NEPAD may be a plan "of extraordinary vision and immense realism, as the Canadian Prime Minister, Jean Chretien, is reported to have said, to succeed, African leaders will need to put their houses in order. If African leaders will passionately take up the joint responsibility of developing the capacity to sustain growth at a level required to achieve poverty reduction and sustainable development by developing positive home-grown economic plans through better anti-smuggling measures and strong manufacturing base; placing increased emphasis on science, research and technological innovation and creating the kind of climate that will retain Africa's technocrats; strengthening mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution; promoting and protecting democracy and human rights; ensuring good governance and fight against corruption; ensuring more access to international market and less dependent on aid for several years of aid have not and will not solve Africa's problems and aid by its very nature is political; restoring and maintaining macroeconomic stability; instituting transparent legal and regulatory framework for financial markets and auditing of private companies and the public sector; promoting the role of women in social and economic development; and making room for human security for the primary aim of development should be to ensure a better standard of living for present and future generation/ Development is not merely about increasing the gross domestic product or the per capita income but a process of empowerment and self-reliance; a freedom from want, depreciation and marginalization.

NEPAD's Mechanism for Sustainable Development in Africa

The NEPAD framework declares that there are preconditions for sustainable development in Africa. These are peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights, and sound economic management. These preconditions need to be analyzed in detail. Hope groups the core principles of NEPAD into five.

The first principle is "good governance" in the areas of corporation, economy, and politics. One of NEPAD's characteristics is its emphasis on good governance to achieve economic growth and



development. Promoting the rule of law, institutional reforms, enhancing accountability, participation, and responsibility are aims of good political governance. In this context, NEPAD presented a concrete step, named the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), in 2002. On the other hand, economic governance entails things like transparent management, regulating fiscal policy, public expenditure management, and debt management, etc. Lastly, good corporate governance refers to the development of corporate structures in Africa in order to maintain the global standards to attract private international capital flows.

NEPAD's principle of "entrenchment of democracy, peace and security" is a crucial point for the success of the project. Most of the African nations live under dictatorial regimes, suffer from long civil wars, terrorism, and crimes, etc. Developmental goals of Africa cannot be achieved within unstable social and political environments.

Another core principle is "sound economic policy-making and execution. The main purpose of NEPAD is firstly to achieve regional economic integration and then link the whole continent to the globalization process. The NEPAD framework document entails the restoration and maintenance of macroeconomic stability and introduces appropriate institutional frameworks to achieve these standards. Any project for Africa's development needs to be owned by Africans themselves. The main flaw of the previous initiatives was the indifference of African governments and people to them. NEPAD aims for full "domestic ownership and leadership" to find permanent solutions to Africa's problems. NEPAD attaches great importance to "productive partnerships" between Africa and its bilateral and multilateral partners. This principle regulates the co-operation between the donor and recipient countries.

Theoretically, it includes the partnership of all African states to maintain an overall political, social, and economic development and improvement of Africa through cooperation. The other side of this partnership is the contribution of the industrialized states to the project. NEPAD is another African initiative that leans upon the aid of rich donor states.

However, the concept of "partnership" seems to be problematic. NEPAD, being a leader-driven initiative, is criticized for insufficient popular participation and ownership. Somalia, Zimbabwe, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and many other African countries are not ready to be an automatic member of NEPAD, which has obviously ambitious political aims for the whole of Africa, such as peace, security, and democracy. Thus, the term "enhanced partnership" is offered for NEPAD's structure, which refers to a selective, limited partnership between rich states and Africa. However, this contradicts NEPAD's main goals, which envisage a collective development for the continent.

On the other hand, the nature of this partnership is debated too. A partnership between the poor South and the rich North is not a partnership of equals. NEPAD is not a project of mutual interests. Financial support of industrialized states in return for good governance in Africa raises doubts about either the will of the North or the sustainability of the project. This "partnership of



unequal partners always contains danger to give priority to wealthy states' interests instead of the weak ones.

Evaluation

As mentioned before, NEPAD declares that the socio-economic development of Africa can only be achieved with good governance in politics, economy, and corporate. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is one of NEPAD's concrete steps, which increases hopes for Africa's development in good governance and democracy. The characteristic of this mechanism is that the states voluntarily join it and agree to be examined by other African states in terms of NEPAD guidelines. Experts assess and critique the countries' performance in democracy and political governance, economic governance and management, corporate governance, and socio-economic development.

29 African countries have signed the APRM Memorandum of Understanding and are open to being "inspected" by their peers. These countries are: Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Republic of Congo, Kenya, Lesotho, Mali, Malawi, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tome Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Togo, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia. Five of them have completed the process: Algeria, Ghana, Kenya, Rwanda, and South Africa. Each Country Review Team will be headed by a member of the APR Panel, supported by experts in each of the four focus areas of the APRM. These experts may be drawn from the in-house resources of the APR and NEPAD Secretariats, or they may come from supporting organizations such as the African Development Bank (ADB) and the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), as well as from other African Union (AU) organs such as the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights.

The peer review process is composed of five stages: Firstly, a background study is done, and information is collected by the APRM Secretariat. Besides, the government of the country being reviewed completes a self-assessment questionnaire and prepares a draft national action plan. Secondly, the APRM review team, composed of experts in four focal areas, visits the country, conducts interviews with related groups and sectors, and makes investigations during their visit. Thirdly, the review teams prepare a draft report of their analysis and recommendations for the next review and discuss it with the government. In the fourth stage, the Participating Heads of State and Government reviews the draft report and come up with a decision according to the will of the reviewed states' improvement and the will to cooperate. The decision may be to give more assistance or impose measures. In the end, the report is made public and tabled in various regional and sub-regional institutions. APRM aims to include both governments and civil society within the reforming process.

However, APRM also has serious flaws that bring along suspicions about whether it is a pathway for Africa's socio-political improvement or a false dawn. The APRM Secretariat is criticized for being understaffed and lacking research capacity. On the other hand, the independence of reviewing bodies is crucial for the process. If the government of the state being reviewed finds



the opportunity to influence the APR Panel, this means the failure of the mechanism and may even bring the danger of whitewashing corrupt governments via the APRM process. The weakness of civil society in African states is another problem because APRM needs full participation and ownership by both official organs and society in theory. Jordan draws attention to the contradiction of the APRM principles, which lead to a failure for the socio-political improvement envisaged by it. NEPAD Secretariat 2002a declares that: “the primary purpose of the APRM is to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability” and NEPAD Secretariat 2003c asserts that “[t]he overall objective is to consolidate a constitutional order in which democracy, respect for human rights, the rule of law, the separation of powers and effective, responsive public service are realized to ensure sustainable development and a peaceful and stable society.” These APRM base documents emphasize both political stability and democracy, although they are two different concepts that generally cannot be pursued at the same time. A government may have the chance to find an excuse for its undemocratic policies, such as suppressing political freedom on the grounds of political stability, as in the case of Rwanda.

Although APRM is seen as NEPAD’s most concrete step, it has important weaknesses that prevent to get the intended results. For example, submission to APRM is voluntary. This means that no state can be forced to be reviewed, and they can leave the mechanism if they wish. On the other hand, NEPAD has no power to compel the countries to either sign up or to comply with the standards of good governance. The fact that APRM has no power to impose sanctions and measures causes the comment that it has “no teeth”. Inefficiency of the mechanism to promote good governance and democracy can be witnessed in examples of corrupt top government officials in Africa, and also in Zimbabwe and Swaziland, which adopted NEPAD and APRM but are still known for their human rights restrictions and abuses.

Besides, although democracy is a core principle for NEPAD, Africa is still a continent of undemocratic changes of governments. The NEPAD spirit has been unsuccessful in avoiding the military coups in Equatorial Guinean 2004 and Mauritanian 2005. There are examples of managed and manipulated elections, as occurred in Togo in 2005. APRM seems to be a do-gooder but an inadequate effort for Africa’s democratization process. Naturally, democratization and good governance demands should come from the society.

One of NEPAD’s main themes is its peace and security mission. The NEPAD framework declares that “efforts to build Africa’s capacity to manage all aspects of conflict must focus on the means necessary to strengthen existing regional and sub-regional institutions especially in four key areas: Prevention, management and resolution of conflict; peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace enforcement; post-conflict reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction; combating the illicit proliferation of small arms, light weapons and landmines.

This shows the will of NEPAD to end the Western states’ direct peacekeeping operations on the continent and replace the regional organizations for such activities by using domestic as well as external resources. The US supported this vision of NEPAD and began to work directly with



regional organizations such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the AU to resolve the conflicts in Sudan and Darfur, respectively. The US is also involved in the establishment of the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), which has 9000 soldiers for peacekeeping and peace-enforcing duties in Africa. On the other hand, the UK and France also developed initiatives to enhance Africa's capacity in conflict management. The UK supplied logistics to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for its peace operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

However, Africa's peace and security problem has not been resolved. There has been a success in ending the conflict in Angola and Mozambique, but Darfur, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are still arenas of violence. Moreover, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, and Sudan still pose danger with their fragile status. The initiative does not provide a concrete plan to maintain peace and security on the continent, although it provides one (APRM) to achieve good governance. However significant the level of debt write-off, however sincere the will to implement the NEPAD Action Plans, nothing positive will be achieved in terms of sustainable development outcomes if there are major deficits in capacity. He offers a fundamental capacity development programme with change and transformation at the individual, institutional, and societal levels. Namely, these are public services, the legislative bodies, the justice systems, the local governments, civil society, the private sector, and infrastructure. Effective partnerships are crucially important during this process.

In our opinion, defining the problem and making suggestions to overcome the capacity deficits are necessary to provide an improvement in NEPAD's implementation. However, I think that the causes of chronic capacity deficits in Africa and NEPAD's failure to achieve its goals must be the same. If there had been the necessary will and ability to overcome the capacity deficits of Africa, perhaps there would be no need for NEPAD. NEPAD's most important disadvantage is its dependency on foreign states. Having a colonial past with the industrialized states of North America, many Africans believe that they are responsible for the current underdevelopment and insecurity of Africa. There are serious doubts about NEPAD that it serves the interests of them instead of Africa. This, in turn, mitigates Africa's dependence on the world economy, its status as a supplier of raw materials, and an importer of manufactured goods. In addition, regionalism insulates Africa's nascent industries against international competition." He offers an integration including marginalized regions in Africa, Latin America, and the Arab World. He asserts that this integration is also an alternative to globalization and not initiated from the top but from below by various sectors. The European Union may serve as a model for Africa's regional economic integration. Long-term economic development should rely on Africa's domestic sources and capacity instead of foreign aid. Furthermore, the measures that can be taken under an institutional umbrella may also prevent the continent from the adverse effects of the globalization process and the global economic crisis.

Conclusion

The demands placed on NEPAD will be far more than its capacity to meet as its implementation gains momentum. The continent's needs are so great, the causes of African poverty are so



complex and interconnected, and NEPAD's financial and technical resources are so alluring that this is inevitable. However, aside from operational overload, there is a risk that NEPAD will waste its most valuable asset- its status as a regional institution that derives its legitimacy from its democratic roots and goals on a regional and global scale- in meeting too many demands.

This preliminary commentary suggests that in the next phase of NEPAD's development and discussion, every proposed action or program should be subjected to three tests: whether it effectively utilizes NEPAD's regional status without repeating the work of other regional agencies; whether it specifically and peculiarly requires the unique authority of NEPAD, which comes from its claim to speak for the people of Africa through democratically elected heads of state; and whether it will benefit Africa's poor in the short, medium, and long term.

Although it is hoped that these criteria will aid in prioritizing among the many actions that have already been proposed and will be proposed for NEPAD, it is more likely that as the debate progresses, NEPAD will proactively generate programs and actions that are uniquely suited to it; in that case, the framework proposed here will have served not only as a gatekeeper but may also prove beneficial in maximizing NEPAD's unique strengths. Africa has developed tangible projects with budgets and schedules from the start of NEPAD and conducted a thorough evaluation of its needs at the regional level. These budgets have been submitted to Africa's financial partners, foreign private sector businesses, and the African private sector. There has been a conference on NEPAD funding. NEPAD has been accepted as the foundation for future ties with Africa by the UN and the OECD. In fact, the program was endorsed by the UN General Assembly in a resolution as the overall framework that the UN system and the international community should focus their efforts on in order to promote the development of Africa. African heads of state have been invited by G-8 leaders to present on NEPAD many times. To maintain continuous communication with African leaders, high-ranking officials serve as special representatives. G-8 leaders responded to NEPAD by adopting an African Action Plan (AAP) and have started putting the plan into action, fulfilling their pledge to strengthen ties with African nations whose performance aligns with NEPAD pledges.

The quality of the relationships, especially those between Africa and the industrialized nations of the North, will be a deciding element in NEPAD's ability to establish and sustain fruitful collaborations with industry, regional organizations, civil society, and development partners. Since some of the reasons for Africa's underdevelopment are due to forces and conditions that African leaders are unable to alter on their own, even though the causes of the continent's underdevelopment are partially "African" (such as corruption, mismanagement, and governments). The system that regulates international trade is a clear example. A trading system that encourages free commerce in goods and services that allows developed nations to compete is overseen by the World Trade Organization (WTO). On the other hand, the WTO system permits protectionism in sectors like textiles and agriculture, where the developed world cannot compete. Here, a strong cooperation is obviously required to provide benefits for the weaker party as well. A healthy partnership also necessitates the development of mutual respect, trust, and shared ideals so that partners may cooperate for their mutual gain. Africa will expect the parent



countries of transnational corporations operating in Africa to fulfill their responsibilities in guaranteeing transparency and corruption-free operations by enforcing appropriate codes of conduct and business practices, even though African governments are responsible for setting the standards as well as the institutional and legal frameworks for good corporate governance.

The commercial sector, particularly multinational corporations and state-owned entities, is also expected to exhibit corporate social responsibility and consideration for the local environment in which they operate in Africa. Companies must maintain accountability, transparency, fiscal restraint, and corruption-free procedures while acknowledging that profit is the primary driver of investment. The transfer of suitable technology, together with employment creation and workforce training, is another aspect of their duties. To accomplish the admirable goals of NEPAD, we hope that Africa and all of its partners in this project will cooperate. The implementation of NEPAD will be a lengthy and ongoing task, just as we should recognize that it is an extension of the African Renaissance, a concretization of the Renaissance, and essentially the means by which the Renaissance would be delivered. Even if NEPAD is predicated on a simple agreement, there is a trade-off since it seeks to shut down the conversation of the deaf by securing a partnership between African leaders and the G-8 and other developed nations, but this relationship is by no means assured. There is undoubtedly a need for a deal: that the industrialized powers will grant Africa more access to their markets, lessen and, ideally, eliminate the continent's enormous debt load, and ensure more aid flows to Africa in return for Africa holding itself politically and economically responsible and thereby fostering the attraction of foreign capital to the continent. The continent sorely needs these resources to improve its health and education systems and create infrastructure.

References

- Akande L (2002). Obasanjo, African leaders outline NEPAD's success path. Nigeria World. Glose Press.
- Bukarambe, B. (2004). Historical overview of Africa's development efforts. In: NEPAD in the Nigerian Dock. NIIA.
- Ebegbulem, J., Adams J., & Achu, A. (2012). The challenges of integrating Africa into the globalized world through new partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Vol. 2 No. 6 [Special Issue.
- Hope, K.R. (2002). From crisis to renewal: towards a successful implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development. African Affairs
- Hope, K.R. (2006). Prospects and Challenges for the NEPAD: Addressing Capacity Deficits' Journal of Contemporary African Studies, Vol.24. African Affairs
- Hammed, H., & Kabo, S. (2013). African Peer Review Mechanism and Crisis of Good Governance in Africa. Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization Vol.19. ISSN 2224-3240 ISSN 2224
- Izeze, E. E. (2004), Keynote address. In: NEPAD for journalists. NIIA.
- Kanu, I. A. (2013). African identity and the emergence of globalization. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*. Vol. 3. No. 6. pp. 34-42.



- Kanu, I. A. (2013). Globalisation, globalism and African philosophy. C. Umezina (Ed.). *African philosophy: A pragmatic approach to African problems* (pp. 151-165). Germany: Lambert.
- Kanu, I. A. (2013). On the sources of African philosophy. *Filosofia Theoretica: Journal of African Philosophy, Culture and Religion*, Vol. 2. No. 1. pp. 337-356.
- Kanu, I. A. (2013). The dimensions of African cosmology. *Filosofia Theoretica: Journal of African Philosophy, Culture and Religion*, Vol. 2. No. 2. pp. 533-555.
- Kanu, I. A. (2014). A historiography of African philosophy. *Global Journal for Research Analysis. Volume. 3. Issue. 8.* pp. 188-190.
- Kanu, I. A. (2014). Being and the categories of being in Igbo philosophy. *African Journal of Humanities. Volume 1. Issue 1.* pp. 144-159.
- Mayaki, I. (2012). Africa's decade of change. Kenya: NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency.
- Mayaki, I. (2012). NEPAD and the Next Phase in African Development. Chatham House.
- Nadudere, D. (2002). NEPAD: Historical background and its prospects (A presentation at African Forum for Envisioning Africa. Kenya University Press.
- Ogbinaka, K. (2006). NEPAD: Continuing the Disconnections in Africa? *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol.1, no.6.
- Omotayo, G. (2012). Olusegun Obasanjo: Passing the Torch. The Teacher Gospel Ministry
- Omoweh, D. (2004). Theoretical perspectives on the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), In: NEPAD in the Nigerian dock. NIIA.
- Perry A (2007). Thabo Mbeki: The dream deferred. *The Times Magazine*