CEO’s Corner:
Forum on China Africa Cooperation: opportunities and challenges

Dr Matlotleng Matlou—Chief Executive Officer of the Africa Institute of South Africa

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“A good head and a good heart are always a formidable combination.”
Nelson Mandela

Africa’s historical unequal relations’ with other regions, going back centuries, has continued even after its independence era. This was a major reason for the call for unity espoused by leaders like Kwame Nkrumah and others during the period leading to the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) about fifty years ago.¹ Recognising that the high level objectives of the OAU’s founding fathers had not been achieved, some leaders began a process in the late 1990s which led to the formation of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) in 2001. The founding principles of NEPAD include: “good governance as a basic requirement for peace, security and sustainable political and socio-economic development; African ownership and leadership, as well as broad and deep participation by all sectors of society; anchoring the development of Africa on its resources and resourcefulness of its people; partnership between and amongst African peoples; acceleration of regional and continental integration; building the competitiveness of African countries and the continent; forging a new international partnership that changes the unequal relationship between Africa and the developed world; and ensuring that all Partnerships with NEPAD are linked to the Millennium Development Goals and other agreed development goals and targets.” Since then Africa has sought to re-evaluate its existing and new partnerships within the framework of the NEPAD objectives.

Africa’s relations with China can be traced back many centuries, especially coastal states in east and southern Africa where there is evidence of long standing trading links. After the communist revolution in 1949 until 1978, China mainly supported the African liberation struggles and provided limited human resources development and infrastructural aid to some Africa countries. In return over 20 African countries supported China’s entry into the United Nations in the 1970s and were allies in the non-aligned movement and South South cooperation. During 1979-1989, China began its reform period and was more inwardly focused. Engagement with Africa was mainly low level trade and some human resources development, especially at the university level. Between 1990 and 1999 China laid the foundations for its “going out” policy and trade, investment and other economic links quadrupled. Since 2000 the growth in these areas has...
The question about what makes a great leader always attracts different sorts of answers and you rarely find a straightforward description of what informs those answers. Many people still to this day rhetorically ask if leadership is innate or is it something that is acquired; unfortunately I also don’t have the answers. I have often found myself shocked by the actions of some people that are in leadership positions, but then again I am often informed by my own understanding of what a leader is, and how they are supposed to act, based on my frame of reference.

In 2008, I came across a book written by the late Dudley Thompson titled “They are Africans”, looking at African and Diaspora leaders of the 20th Century, and profiling well known liberation icons like Marcus Garvey, W.E.B Dubois, Jomo Kenyatta, Patrice Lumumba and many more, narrating their journeys, work and leadership. I am in awe of their contribution to Africa and the world. I constantly find myself questioning if we have lived up to their legacies as ordinary citizens of mother Africa.

We all know that our dark past needed torch bearers who were going to take the lead, and fight a progressive battle so we can see the light. Unfortunately no one lives forever physically and only their names and legend remain. Africa has seen a lot conflicts in the last 50-60 years, especially in the countries that received independence in the late 1950’s. It actually pains me to say that the conflicts have not stopped, and more and more people are failing to settle differences through dialogue. This brings me back to my point about leadership, more especially ‘self leadership’ - does it exist?

We are responsible for our actions and I believe that we (Africans) are capable of ensuring that we are masters of our own destinies. The month of July is celebrated as the Nelson Mandela month. Mandela is an icon who showed the world that Africans can work through their differences without resorting to war. He was once quoted saying “I dream of an Africa which is at peace with itself”. This still holds true today.

This month also saw the election of the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as the new Chairperson for the African Union Commission, and her election highlighted very interesting issues. She is the first woman ever to be elected to that position, and the first person from the SADC region. This is really a remarkable fit and makes you wonder if the Africa Union is really patriarchal.

We also heard the sad news of the passing away of Ghana’s President, John Atta Mills who was one of the most respected leaders in the continent, and had earned the title ‘Asomdwenehene’ (King of Peace). He brought a distinctive insight to Ghanaian politics.

Knowledge is one of the most invaluable resources in the world, and those who have it will be the leaders of the future, and I am crossing fingers that Africa will be at the forefront.

In this issue, we look at Regional Integration in Africa on page 9. We also have an article on the skills needed for sustainable development in Africa on page 4 and we look at Africa’s first leaders after independence on page 8. We have the book collection of Nelson Mandela books acquired by our Library on page 12.

This is my last column as the Contributing Editor for the Newsletter. I would like to take the time to thank the Newsletter Committee for their hard work and dedication, in ensuring that we have newsworthy content every month. I believe we have laid down a foundation to make it as interesting and engaging as it can be, and I am certain that there will be more in store.

Happy Reading!!!
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The question we ponder here is to what extent does the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), inaugurated in October 2000, meet the requirements of the partnership espoused by the NEPAD principles? Commentators are divided on this issue. One of the founders of NEPAD, Thabo Mbeki described it as an unequal partnership; while many others laud the partnership as having provided Africa with vast opportunities and resources for development. The domination of China in this partnership is evident from the placing of its name first, even though this is not chronological. FOCAC was founded to ensure collective and pragmatic dialogue in order to jointly meet “the challenge of economic globalisation and common development”, but China is the pilot and Africa sometimes allowed space to be co-pilot. The first meeting had representatives of 44 African countries, high level Chinese delegations and officials from 17 international and regional organisations. The 2000 Beijing Declaration, covered the China Africa Programme on Economic and Social Cooperation. Since then the summits have been held every three years rotating between Africa and China. In December 2003, the Addis Ababa, Ethiopia summit, had 44 African states; falling to 35 in the November 2006 Beijing, China summit. The FOCAC Summits of November 2009 in Sharm El Shiekh, Egypt and July 2012 in Beijing, China were attended by attended by 49 and 50 African countries respectively.

A close examination of all the five FOCAC Declarations indicates that the relationship is one of China as donor and Africa recipient of aid and goodwill. In 2006, China issued an Africa Policy⁵, but there has been no similar reciprocation by Africa. The specific areas of engagement outlined by China were: Political field (high level visits, exchanges between legislative bodies, exchanges between political parties, consultation mechanisms, cooperation in international affairs and exchanges between local governments); Economic field (trade, investment, financial cooperation, agricultural cooperation, infrastructure, resources cooperation, tourism cooperation, debt reduction and relief, economic assistance and multilateral cooperation); Education, Science, Cultural, Health and Social aspects; (cooperation in human resources development and education, science and technology cooperation, cultural exchanges, medical and health cooperation, media cooperation, administrative cooperation, consular cooperation, people-to-people exchange, environmental cooperation, and disaster relief and humanitarian assistance) and Peace and Security (military cooperation, conflict settlement and peacekeeping operations, judicial and police cooperation and, non-traditional security areas). In 2009, an extra article dealing with academic exchanges between Africa and China was added and in 2012 there was an extra emphasis on five priority areas viz expanding support for sustainable development; supporting African integration and enhancing capacity for overall development; increased people to people friendships and promoting peace and stability in Africa.

China has clearly defined its policy towards Africa and is pursuing objectives that are in its best interests which is an accepted practice in international relations. It is important to understand that FOCAC and the Macau Forum (an association of Portuguese speaking countries) are both creations of China and instrumental for how it will engage Africa, amongst others. China is the main determinant of the agendas and development imperatives of both organizations, largely one-sided, where China provides the development and technical assistance, investments and Africa the markets for Chinese goods. Furthermore, the FOCAC secretariat is based in China, ensuring dominance over the policy process and collation of relevant information. Africa has not effectively utilized the AU or regional economic communities to engage with China, nor have these institutions developed the policy making and implementing capacity to drive the cooperation. The gift of the new AU $200m headquarters, in 2012 from China is an indictment of African leaders. It is one thing to receive gifts, but certainly not one’s office or residence. China has preferred dealing with African countries bilaterally, thus weakening the sub-regional and continental organisations and making token gestures towards meeting their goals.

During the recent two-day FOCAC ministerial meeting, two documents were released - the Beijing Declaration and Beijing Action Plan (2013-2015). South Africa, took over as co-chair of the FOCAC for six years, during which it will jointly lead in the implementation of the objectives of the Beijing Action Plan (2013-2015). With South Africa hosting the 2013 BRICS and 2015 FOCAC summits and now chair of the AU Commission the country has a huge opportunity to unite Africa behind a sustainable development agenda with its global partners over the next few years. However, if the past twelve years of FOCAC history must guide us, the chances of transforming the unequal relationship between Africa and China will require a lot more.A review of FOCAC over the past three years indicates that political exchanges have included Premier Wen Jiabao and various high ranking Chinese leaders visiting Africa, whilst 32 African heads of state and 17 deputy presidents and deputy prime ministers visited China. The flow of traffic and seniority of delegations is more from Africa towards China signifying the unequal relationship between the two regions.
Skills required by Africans in the 21st century to ensure Sustainable Development of the Continent!

By Thabani Mdlongwa

The African Union (AU) will celebrate its 50th anniversary in 2013. This of course covers the period that the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was formed between 1963-2002, and the AU from 2002, onwards. In this time, there have been many successes and equally many challenges. Africa today has many challenges, which include economical, social, political and environmental issues. The key questions that we should ask ourselves individually as Africans and the AU going forward is, how can we cope with some of the developmental challenges facing the African continent and what skills are required to ensure sustainable development in the continent for the 21st century? The ultimate goal as an African continent is that we must begin to find practical ways of achieving African Renaissance which indeed is an achievable goal, and one which many brothers and sisters across the African continent shed their blood for.

One would argue that one of the key or fundamental ways of addressing some of the developmental challenges that exist on the African continent is by providing the people on the continent with a variety of skills and knowledge. This is going to enable the continent to confront the challenges that currently exist and ensure sustainable development. There are four key skills which, one would argue need to be harnessed through educational efforts, supported by key stakeholders in each of the African economies like (business, government, labour, civil society) in order to enable Africans to cope with the ever growing global demands.

The four skills are: Basic skills which include the ability to read, write, speak and listen. In this instance, both primary and secondary education efforts on the African continent need to be strengthened, as this is the base upon which our future leaders are groomed and developed. Science and Technology skills which include the ability to conduct and disseminate research especially within an African context, innovation and development skills in the field of sciences and skills in information and communication technology (ICT). A good example of this is the recent awarding of the SKA project, to be hosted in Africa, which showed Africa’s capabilities in the field of science and technology. Technical and Vocational skills which include the ability for people to be creative or for creative thinking, for example creating (entrepreneurs); and people with problem solving skills to some of the developmental challenges in Africa like youth unemployment and poverty. Social skills which include a sense of awareness of African citizenship and pride, that is (identity, their history in relation to their local context and other African countries), ethical principles, being able to associate with people from diverse racial backgrounds, communication skills and emotional intelligence.

We should as Africans in this generation begin to implement some of the great ideas and philosophy forged by some of our great leaders like Mandela, Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda Steve Biko and Kwame Nkrumah just to mention a few and begin to see these take shape. To borrow Steve Biko’s concept of Black Consciousness-I think it is high time as Africans we develop “African Consciousness” if we are to achieve the ultimate goal of an Africa that is united. As people on the continent, prepare to celebrate 50 years of the AU, it would be wise just to reflect on these 50 years and ask ourselves, is this kind of African continent our forefathers fought for? , is this the kind of African continent we want the future generation to live in? And ultimately have we done enough and what can we do to make the African continent a better place for all?
There were also consultations with some of the regional economic communities and with the African Union Commission. The interactions with the RECs seem to have mainly been diplomatic interactions, whilst those with the AU led to China providing various forms of assistance. There were a large number of visits but it unclear what the qualitative results were. It seems they present a huge opportunity for China to display itself as a centre of world power with leaders continuously streaming into Beijing to consult on various issues and to seek aid and other opportunities.

Chinese direct investment in Africa exceeded $15 billion, with investment projects covering 50 countries and; it met the pledge of providing $15 billion of preferential lending to Africa. China has built over 100 schools, 30 hospitals, 30 anti-malaria centres and 20 agricultural technology demonstration centres and provided over 1,500 peace keeping forces in Africa making it the largest contributor among the United Nations’ PS. Most of the infrastructure projects have been built with Chinese materials and training has taken place in China. This is very similar to western aid which comes with strings and most of which returns home. China and Africa have conducted increasing people-to-people and cultural exchanges featuring mutual learning. A number of activities have been carried out, including the Chinese/African Cultures in Focus, Joint Research and Exchange Plan, Think Tanks Forum, People’s Forum and Young Leaders Forum. China has trained close to 40,000 African personnel in various sectors and provided over 20,000 government scholarships to African countries. China and Africa have set up 29 Confucius Institutes or Classrooms in 22 African countries. Twenty pairs of leading Chinese and African universities have entered into cooperation under the 20+20 Cooperation Plan for Chinese and African Institutions of Higher Education. It will be imperative to closely track the quality and appropriateness of the training provided and the extent to which the trained personnel contribute to socio-economic developed on returning home. Furthermore, are these training programmes related to the needs of various countries as outlined in their human resources development plans?

At the 2012 Beijing meeting a $10 billion low cost loan was announced twice that of the 2006 Beijing summit; a billion dollars special loan for small and medium-sized African businesses was setup; 100 joint demonstration projects on scientific and technological research would be established across Africa; 100 African postdoctoral fellows would conduct scientific research in China. Furthermore, China wrote off the debt of some of the poorest African nations; agreed to construct 100 new clean-energy projects on the continent covering solar power, bio-gas and small hydro-power and gradually lower customs duties on 95 percent of products from the African states it has diplomatic relations with. The agricultural technology demonstration centres built by China in Africa will increase to 20, 50 agricultural technology teams will be sent to Africa and 2,000 African agricultural technician personnel. China also will provide medical equipment and anti-malaria materials worth 500 million yuan to the 30 hospitals and 30 malaria prevention and treatment centres built by China and train 3,000 doctors and nurses for Africa. China will build 50 schools and train 1,500 school principals and teachers and increase the number of government scholarships to 5,500 by 2012. China will also train a total of 20,000 professionals of various fields for Africa over the next three years. Africa must ask the question what is in it for China to be spending so much resources on the continent. Our history from the Arab and Atlantic slave trades, colonialism and neo-colonialism should be warning signs. Africa has been too quick to trust and welcome outsiders to its detriment. Furthermore, Africa must evaluate Chinese aid based on the latest international principles of its development effectiveness and value for money.

Trade between Africa and China grew from $10 million in the 1980s to over $166.3 billion by April 2012; three times the 2006 figure. The balance of trade in most cases favours China, because the Chinese goods are usually subsidised through various forms of state support. Inter-African trade is substantially less than that with China and it likely to remain so for a long time. Africa should insist that China assists it to increase the quantity and quality of goods that Africans trade amongst themselves and then help the continent penetrate international markets. China needs Africa for natural resources to fuel its socioeconomic development, as a market for its huge volume of exports, mainly manufactured goods and as an ally in its aspirations to be a global power. Natural resources do not last forever and if not managed properly create their own challenges – Dutch disease. Africa has to also appreciate in today’s global village knowledge economies are the star performers with the greatest value being in intellectual capital and ideas. China has opened its market to African processed products, but has done little to assist Africa develop these. Furthermore, very few African companies have been able to successfully invest in China. The use mainly of Chinese products and services in the investment chain across Africa reduces backward linkages and multiplier effects of local employment. In addition, China benefits from purchasing raw materials at relatively lower prices, especially in countries like Angola and the DRC where it has negotiated barter deals to construct various infrastructure projects. Jobs are created in China through the processing of the raw materials and when exports are sent to African countries amongst others.

There are widespread concerns about Chinese funded projects where often, the ratio of Chinese expatriates (labour and enterprises) to locals contracted is as high as 70 per cent Chinese; and the quality of finished products is also an issue. Many Chinese firms have also been accused of poor labour practices across Africa; human trafficking of workers; customs and excise scams; corruption; collaborating with Triads (crime syndicates) and poor environmental and corporate social responsibility. Language difficulties, different work cultures.
By Vincent Mnisi

Mr. Lwazi Apleni, Intern at the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA) Research division and one of the winners of the 2012 Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) Trust Young Writers’ competition, has just returned from an all expenses paid O.R Tambo Edu-Tour that saw him visiting Swaziland, Mozambique and Tanzania.

The tour was very enlightening and it enabled me to know more about other struggle heroes that contributed to the liberation of South Africa,” said Apleni. He added that, through the tour, he also met people from all walks of life and shared different life experiences. The highlight of the tour was a visit to Morogoro where the Chief Albert Luthuli Primary School and Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College are situated.

“The year 2012 marked the 20th anniversary of the handover of the schools by South Africa to the Tanzanian government. We were also joined by the Deputy President of South Africa, Hon. Kgalema Montlanthe, who delivered a speech at Chief Albert Luthuli Primary School. We also met South Africans who were exiled in Morogoro who shared with their experiences of what it was like living, growing and attending school in the area during their time” added Apleni.

Apart from site visits, the essay winners engaged in debates on various issues, including the roles of South Africans who were in exile and those who were not, and regional integration in Africa. “The regional integration discussion was done in conjunction with Dakawa Girls High School, focusing on the issues of using one currency in a specific region. For instance, there were suggestions that the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries should use one currency and there must be mobility i.e. no visa must be required. The issues of exchange programmes such as cultural exchange were also discussed”, he added.

The SOMAFCO Trust and Mzumbe University also hosted a mini-concert commemorating the role played by Solomon Mahlangu in the liberation struggle. The Department of Social Development (DSD) and Department of Public Enterprise (DPE) also participated in the trip. The DSD officially announced that the Minister (Hon. Ms Bathabile Dlamini) intends to make the 2012 Young Writers’ competition winners, ambassadors for other young people in South Africa.

“The trip was great, as it was an eye-opener for me. The current crops of young people are often regarded as people who are not embracing the role played by struggle heroes. So this was a great opportunity for me, as a young person, to be part and parcel of a trip of this magnitude. I learnt more about the liberation struggle. The winners’ essays will be published in Bloemfontein in December. I appreciate the inspiration the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA) has given me. I am humbled by their unconditional support”, he concluded.
some of the challenges that Chinese firms will have to overcome as they increase their presence across Africa. Western and other firms also have their own negative history in Africa and the developing world, so the Chinese experience is not totally unique. What is important is vigilance from African countries to ensure that Chinese firms respect their laws. However, there is a lot that Africa can learn from China especially focus, dedication, innovation, hard working spirit, sacrifice, frugality amongst others.

The so called non-interference and no-conditionality policy of China in Africa is partly failing to encourage good governance. Examples of this were evident recently in Libya, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This cannot be non-interference but indifference for its own interests, which sometimes facilitates corruption, violence, and environmental irresponsibility throughout the continent. The barter of infrastructure for natural resources, often provided by African leaders at below market prices, satisfies China’s needs, whilst providing these leaders with opportunities for patronage and means of holding onto power. Meanwhile the present and future development of various African states is mortgaged away. The problem with the skepticism raised by the critics is that China’s tolerance for corruption and political risk in its investments has met with warm reception by African leaders.

It is crucial that Africa critically analyse the pros and cons of China’s Africa policy; clearly define what its interests are and how these can be met for the greater benefit of its over 1 billion people through the partnership with China. Africa must utilise the aid and goodwill from China to create the conditions for its own takeoff (as espoused by the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action and NEPAD) and reduce its dependency on outsiders. Africa has to appreciate that in international relations there are no permanent friends, but interests. China is not being altruistic; it requires adequate returns on investment on its relations with Africa.

There currently seems to be no clear regional or continental strategy to deal effectively with the myriad Chinese actors – national state and its agencies, provinces, business sector. The challenge is that Africa has since the formation of the OAU about fifty years ago, developed dozens of plans but has been very weak in implementing them. This has been replicated at the sub-regional level where there is a plethora of regional economic communities which fuel duplication, lack of focus and waste of resources. Add to this the 54 states and their plans; creating a recipe for confusion, disaster and slow progress. This is resulting in a fragmented approach which weakens Africa’s bargaining position. In stark contrast, China, and all the other actors, come into Africa with well thought out and packaged proposals that enable them to maximize the benefits from any relationship with African countries. China, in particular, seems to have a purposeful strategy and is successfully delivering on all its objectives vis-à-vis Africa. The question is what is the driving force behind China’s sudden economic interest in Africa? Is it part of a well-crafted strategy to exploit the continent’s vast resources or is it true partnership seeking to make Africa an equal partner and enhance its sustainable development? Given Africa’s experience with the West before and after independence, the English saying ‘once bitten, twice shy’ is of particular relevance.

1 Dr Kwame Nkrumah in his address at the OAU’s founding, stated that:

“We must unite now or perish. I am confident that by our concerned effort and determination, we shall lay here the foundations for a continental Union of African States. … We have emerged into independence in a different age, with imperialism grown stronger, more ruthless and experienced, and more dangerous in its international associations. We must recognise that our economic independence resides in our African union and requires the same concentration upon the political achievement. Is it not unity alone that can weld us into an effective force, capable of creating our own progress and making our valuable contribution to world peace? We are fast learning that political independence is not enough to rid us of the consequences of colonial rule. It is said, that we have no capital, no industrial skill, no communications and no internal markets, and that we cannot even agree among ourselves how best to utilise our resources for our own social needs.

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Although democratic elections were held upon gaining independence, the first African leaders would soon revert to single-party states. When multi-party systems were eventually re-instated, the leaders clinging to power would be ousted.

**Algeria:**
In July 1962 the French government granted Algeria independence. Although democratic elections were held, the first president of Algeria, Ahmed ben Bella, soon adopted a single-party system.

**Benin:**
Benin, formerly known as Dahomey, gained independence in 1960. A Marxist-Leninist single-party system was adopted in 1975, following the fifth military takeover in 1972 by Mathieu Kerekou. However, by the end of the 1980s, Benin’s economy had deteriorated to the extent that the government could not pay civil servants’ salaries and public violence erupted. In February 1990, the restriction on political organisations was lifted, a multi-party National Conference established and the Marxist-Leninist ideology abolished. Following elections in February 1991, incumbent President Kerekou was defeated by Nicephore Soglo and a peaceful transfer of power followed. As President Soglo failed to improve living conditions, Kerekou narrowly won the 1996 presidential election. In March 2001, he was re-elected for another five years after which he retired, as this was his final term in terms of the constitution.

**Botswana:**
In 1965 Botswana was granted responsible self-rule by Britain with Sir Seretse Khama as Prime Minister. When Botswana gained independence in 1966, Khama became executive president. Although a multi-party system has been sustained in Botswana since the 1960s, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has been in power ever since. The country has been one of the most stable and peaceful countries in the world for many years. Leaders succeeded each other orderly. President (Sir) Seretse Khama was in power until his death in July 1980 and was succeeded as president and leader of the BDP by Vice-President Ketumile Masire (later Sir). In 1998, having served almost 18 years, Masire retired and was succeeded by Festus Mogae who selected as vice-president Lieutenant-General Ian Khama, the eldest son of late Seretse Khama. President Mogae stepped down in April 2008 and handed power over to Ian Khama.
Regional Economic Communities (RECs) or intergovernmental organisations in Africa form the building blocks of the African Union (AU); they share the vision of achieving greater economic integration and the implementation of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) programme. Some of the most prominent of these are: the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAC), and most notably the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

As pillars of the African Economic Community (AEC), these regional blocks were founded upon the notion of establishing grounds for mutual socio-economic development among African states; as many African states are stricken by poverty, political instability, weak financial institutions, violence, and diseases especially HIV and Aids. COMESA, EAC, and SADC established a Tripartite in 2005, aimed at strengthening and deepening economic integration of the Southern and Eastern Africa region. The RECs comprise 26 countries with a combined population of nearly 600 million people, a combined GDP of approximately US$1 trillion, a GDP per capita averaging US$1,184 and make up half of the AU in terms of membership and just over 58% in terms of contribution to GDP, and 57% of the total population of the African Union.

At the COMESA, EAC, and SADC Tripartite Summit held on October 22, 2008 in Kampala, the Tripartite Summit agreed on a programme of harmonisation of trading arrangements amongst the three RECs, free movement of business persons, joint implementation of inter-regional infrastructure programmes, and institutional arrangements on the basis of which the three RECs would foster cooperation. The Tripartite Summit underscored the fact that the Tripartite arrangement is a crucial building block towards achieving the AEC, as outlined by the treaty of Abuja. The Tripartite Summit reviewed the progress on the implementation of the joint programmes in trade, customs and economic liberalization amongst the three RECs. The summit resolved that the three RECs should immediately start working towards a merger into a single REC, with the objective of fast tracking the attainment of the AEC.

The three RECs as pillars of the AEC, recognized by the AU Constitutive Act and the Abuja Treaty are implementing regional integration programmes in trade and economic development which cover the establishment of Free Trade Areas (FTAs), Customs Unions, Monetary Union, Common Markets, and regional infrastructure development programmes in: transportation, information and communications technology, energy and, civil aviation, as the first step towards the realization of the continental integration. The overarching objective of the three regional organizations is to expand trade, alleviate poverty and improve the quality of life for the people of the Eastern and Southern African Regions. The Tripartite vision is to improve the economic and social welfare of the citizens of COMESA, EAC, and SADC, through the promotion of regional economic growth by creating a conducive environment for regional trade to take place. Regional integration is crucial for Africa to achieve meaningful economic growth and development. It is through regional integration and cooperation that political and socio-economic integration can be achieved on the African continent.
Gabon:
Gabon gained independence from France in August 1960 with Leon M’Ba as the first president. Upon his death in 1967, M’Ba was succeeded by vice president Albert-Bernard Bongo. Bongo created a single-party system but as a result of the falling oil prices since 1986, the population was experiencing hardship. By the end of the 1980s, the political climate in Africa turned against single-party dictatorships. In January 1990, violence broke out in Gabon’s urban areas and the Bongo government became one of the first African single-party regimes to lift the restriction on opposition parties. Bongo converted to Islam and adopted Omar as his first name during a visit to Libya in 1973. President Omar Bongo died in 2009, and was succeeded by his son Ali Bongo.

Côte d’Ivoire:
Côte d’Ivoire, a former French colony, gained independence in August 1960 and Felix Houphouët-Boigny, who had been prime minister, became the country’s first president. For at least two decades, Côte d’Ivoire, under Houphouët-Boigny enjoyed prosperity and stability. However, the president had authoritarian tendencies, and soon the political system turned into a single-party dispensation dominated by his Democratic Party (PDCI). The president reluctantly yielded to widespread public demand for competitive politics in early 1990, and was re-elected during the October 1990 presidential election. President Houphouët-Boigny died in December 1993, acknowledged as being one of the greatest French-speaking African leaders.

Mauritius:
The Island gained independence in March 1968 due to negotiations led by the then Prime Minister Seewoosager Ramgoolam. However, the *Movement Mili-tant Mauricien* (MMM) founded in 1969 gained support among all ethnic groups and won the June 1982 elections under the leadership of Anerood Jugnauth who became prime minister. When the MMM split Jugnauth formed a new party, the *Mouvement Socialiste Mauricien* (MSM). Although Jugnauth’s economic policies were showing success, he nevertheless found it necessary to form an alliance with the MMM. The MSM-MMM alliance won the 1991 elections, but failed to win the 1995 general elections. The 2000 general elections were once again won by the MSM-MMM alliance and according to an agreement by the alliance, Jugnauth would serve as prime minister for the first three years of the five-year term, after which Jugnauth would become head of state and non-executive president (September 2003). The MSM-MMM coalitions once again lost the 2005 general elections, though Jugnauth was to continue as president until the end of his term in 2008. He was re-elected in 2008.
Gambia:
Prior to granting Gambia responsible self-government, David (later Dauda) Jawara’s People’s Progressive Party (PPP) won the elections. When Gambia gained independence in 1962, Jawara continued as prime minister. In 1966, Jawara was knighted by the British queen. In 1970, Gambia became a republic with Jawara as president. The country remained a multi-party state with Jawara’s PPP winning every election with a large majority. In July 1994, Jawara’s government was overthrown after being elected for a sixth term in office in 1992.

Ghana:
Kwame Nkrumah founded the Convention People’s Party (CPP) in 1949, and started a campaign for the independence of Ghana. In 1952 he became the first black African on the continent to hold the post as prime minister, being elected by the legislative assembly when his party won the colony’s first general election. At the pre-independence election held in July 1956, the CPP won a two-third majority of the assembly seats. In March 1957, Ghana, formerly known as the Gold Coast, gained independence to be the first black-rulled African state, in addition to Ethiopia and Liberia that have already achieved independence. When Ghana became a republic in July 1960, Nkrumah was made executive president. Nkrumah continued his propaganda for Africa’s total liberation from colonialism. He also played a leading role in the deliberations that led to the creation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. Criticism from the opposition arose, and by 1964 Nkrumah became intolerant, banned opposition parties and introduced a single-party system with the CPP as the sole legal party. While Nkrumah was out of the country in February 1966, his government was overthrown by a joint army and police force. Between 1969 and 2000, Ghana experienced 9 changes of government. At the end of 1981, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings seized power for a second time. In 1992 Rawlings opened up the political system for multi-party elections, which he won, backed by the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Rawlings and the NDC also won the 1996 elections. Having served the maximum of two presidential terms as stipulated by the country’s constitution, Rawlings did not stand for re-election in 2000.

Madagascar:
The decolonisation process in Madagascar followed much the same pattern as in other French African colonies, with Philibert Tsirinana backed by the Parti social démocratique (PSD) becoming vice-president in 1957 and elected as the county’s first president in October 1958. On gaining full independence in June 1960, Tsirinana retained the presidency. As has happened almost throughout the continent when a country gained independence, nearly all the opposition parties joined Tsirinana’s PSD and the country evolved into a single-party state. Although President Tsirinana was re-elected in 1965 and 1972, he failed to improve socio-economic conditions and was forced to hand over power to the military in 1972 following violent public unrest. In June 1975, Lieutenant-Commander Didier Ratsiraka was installed as head of state and the country returned to civilian rule.
The AISA Young Graduates and Scholars (AYGS) initiative is a research capacity building programme. The programme was conceived in 2005 with the aim of building a body of knowledge on, and to project the African voice in, various discourses about the continent and the African diaspora. It is further intended to bridge the existing gap of expertise in knowledge production on African affairs by developing a cadre of knowledge producers among the youth. The objective of the AYGS has always been to provide a platform for young and emerging scholars on new insights in the debates pertaining to the challenges facing African societies. It also intends to forge a new way for the upliftment of African value systems and the ultimate integration of the African continent. AISA has partnered with several organisations, such as the Guggenheim Foundation, New York, which brings graduate students or fellows from their programmes to exchange ideas and compete with AISA’s chosen young scholars. The Council of Europe is another organisation that used to sponsor AISA Young Scholars to European Union activities, and co-sponsor AISA activities.

New Publication:

The Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA) Library and Documents Services (LDS) Division has opened its doors to all to access its collection on the life of former state President Nelson Mandela as part of the month long Mandela Month celebrations.

The Library and Documents Services Division has 133 books on Nelson Mandela. The most recent additions to the library collection, among others are; In the words of Nelson Mandela, Conversations with myself, Selected speech and writing of Nelson Mandela, Mandela way and many more. LDS is inviting community members, schools, and universities to come and learn more about his life, coming of age, education and 27 years in prison, and also to learn more about how to access the AISA library. The LDS Division is an invaluable source of information about Africa and African affairs. It provides up to date information sourced from various publishers and databases, while other information is gained through partnerships with various international African Research Institutes. The library web based system enables everyone with an internet connection to access its holdings in an abstract format. To obtain full-text documents, please contact the AISA library and documentation services on (+27 12 304 9748)
Morocco:
In March 1956, after 44 years of French rule, Morocco was granted independence. Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Yusuf began to rule in 1957 as King Mohammed V. Upon his death in 1961, his son was inaugurated as King Hassan II. A constitutional monarchy and a multi-party system were adopted.

Mozambique:
In June 1975 Mozambique gained independence from Portugal without any election held. The then Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique (Frelimo) leader, Samora Machel was inaugurated as executive president. When Machel died in a plane crash in October 1986, he was replaced by Joaquim Chissano. In December 1999 the second multi-party elections were held and declared free and fair. Chissano was re-elected. In May 2001 Chissano announced that he would retire at the end of his term in

Namibia:
Namibia was captured by South Africa from Germany during World War I gained independence in March 1990, with the leader of the South West African People’s Organisation (SWAPO), Sam Nujoma as the country’s first executive president. Although the executive president is directly elected by the voters for a maximum of two five year terms, the constitution was amended in 1998 to allow President Nujoma to serve a third term. The two-term limit has since then been reinstated.

Nigeria:
When Nigeria was granted independence in October 1960, it was a democratic federal state sharing the British Crown. Abubaker Tafawa Balewa was appointed Prime Minister and Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe as governor-general. In 1963, Nigeria became a federal republic with Azikiwe non-executive president and Balewa continuing as prime minister. In January 1966, Balewa and the prime ministers of the Northern and Western regions were killed in a military coup.
Is leadership in Africa Development-Oriented?

By Otsile Malebaco

Postcolonial Africa has experienced devastating wars and conflicts of varying degrees, whilst efforts at establishing systems that would promote peace and prosperity remain thwarted for many countries. Upon attainment of political independence, postcolonial African leaders prescribed to varying development ideologies such as socialism, communism while few openly supported capitalism. Foreign influence of the former colonisers also tried to champion development on the continent but with few positive results. This brings the question; Is leadership in Africa development-oriented?

In an "ideal" world, a leader puts the needs of people before themselves, driving the objectives for development with a vision and mission in sustaining the achievements. Africa’s leadership icons such as Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela, Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah and Patrice Lumumba all had the vision and mission to liberate and empower their country men by respecting their human rights because they believed in equality. They had a specific objective to achieve for their countries, that’s why a leader identifies a new platform for development which would provide a way for the next leader. But we have not seen this in some of the current African leaders, most have undone or recreated policies or programmes which had been established by their predecessors. Soon after African countries gained independence, these countries performed reasonably well and grew their economies. Universities and other skills training institutions were reintroduced in most countries, thus igniting debates on how Africa should move forward. One could ask, what went wrong in sustaining those achieved developments and growth or what is lacking in the quality of governance in those countries? Could it be the disagreement among the nations community on economic and social policies to pursue, could it be the mismanagement of national resources or ideological conflicts (the practice of true democracy)?

It appears Africa cannot sustain what it had achieved in the first decades of independence. This could be blamed on poor leadership, such as leaders staying in power longer than they are constitutionally allowed to, mismanagement of resources by leaders or lack of foresight and moral competence in sustaining those achievements for development. Apart from leadership, this questions the judiciary of all institutions within those countries, as they are the custodian of the state as well as responsible for capacity building in creating good leadership in tackling low incomes, poverty, unemployment, rapid urbanisation, and inequality between people. However, it is important to note the leadership situation reflects the state of nations such as Zimbabwe, Mali, and Democratic republic of Congo.

Marc van der Erwe, in New Leadership Ethos points out that, “The ability to foresee the future will affect both the moral competence and role of leaders.” Leadership which acts by creating and implementing projects for development, that meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability for the future generations to meet their needs, is the leadership Africa needs.
Senegal:
In April 1960, Senegal gained independence from France. Léopold Sédar Senghor, who spent most of his time in France as an academic and poet, was inaugurated as president. At the end of December 1980, President Senghor became the first African president to retire voluntarily.

South Africa:
The first non-racial elections in South Africa took place in April 1994. The African National Congress (ANC) emerged as the strongest party and one of their leaders, Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as president, along with two deputy presidents, Thabo Mbeki and FW de Klerk. Nelson Mandela was referred to as the “leader among leaders”.

Uganda:
Although Uganda gained independence in 1962, it was only in 1986 when troops of the National Resistance Army (NRA), led by Yoweri Museveni, seized power that a period of stability came about lasting until today.

Zambia:
Kenneth Kaunda formed the United National Independence Party (UNIP) with Simon Kapepwe, and led Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) to independence in October 1964. Kaunda became president and multi-party politics continued until 1972, when Kaunda changed the political system to a single-party state with UNIP as the sole legal party. However, the decline in Zambia’s economy sparked widespread dissatisfaction and tension in the country during the 1970s and 1980s, forcing Kaunda to lift the ban on political parties in 1990. The October 1991 elections were won by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by Frederick Chiluba.
Vision
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Mission
To produce relevant research products aimed at informing sustainable political and socio-economic development in Africa.

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**Tel.: +27 12 304 9700**
**www.ai.org.za**