

Priming regional alliances to Enhance trade negotiating leverage of African societies and polities

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International Trade Agreements (policies) to the National and
Regional Development Programmes**

Summary

The 21st Century has ushered in a time of unprecedented global wealth and extraordinary opportunities; but Africa has yet to benefit from this. In this globalisation of prosperity and plenty, an important dimension that features prominently in the Africa discourse is the relative contribution and weight of international trade and mechanisms for democratic development. Hence the critical question is: how is Africa to be gainfully integrated into the global economy without first achieving crucial **human security** nationally and economic and industrial integration within the region itself?

Such assertions notwithstanding, there are refreshing claims that progress has been made to ensure Africa's entry into the global arena. International negotiations, in particular the agreement by other G8 countries to phase out all export subsidies on agricultural goods have been set in motion. Debt reduction is in progress and a new facility to front load these resources has been proposed. Accompanied by and in the course of these developments, the author underpins the import of building coalitions of entrepreneurs, parastatals and governments to glean the benefits (**wider market and production base and potential, specialisation in goods and services production and marketing, increased competitiveness both in quality and pricing mechanisms, secondary processing within the region, bring out the critical production edge from the region, develop the requisite negotiating leverage, exchange of best practices lessons, ...**) of regional alliances, and put in place strategies for fruitful negotiations on trade and development that would enhance Africa's leverage in a maddeningly globalised world.

The author further asserts that **human quality and capital development** must feature prominently in a content bankrupted of its precious human capital leaving behind an ill-prepared leadership; handicapped fatally to lead national consensus; as learning systems and cultures collapse, some, beyond repair. It outlines the requisite basis for regional advocacy, cooperation and construction and deployments of alliances in trade negotiations and develops the strategic framework for developing communities of practice in trade negotiations. It finally underlines the need to develop the rights based approach to international trade and development. Economic and social coalitions must happen both at national and regional levels; networked into communities of practice focussed on advocacy, public relations, negotiation, and social marketing in addition to a systematic knowledge management. Economically, socially, politically there exist almost insurmountable obstacles to the flourishing of international trade emanating from internal structural and political obstructions. However, other societies in Latin America and Asia with identical features have managed to install and maintain functional socio-political systems. Hence, there is no reason to believe that Africa's participation in globalisation is doomed. A skilled and committed civic and state leadership can mitigate conditions that are hostile to human capital development and the requisite democratic governance that is indeed a sine qua non to achieving equitable growth and prosperity.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

<p>ACBF Africa Capacity Building Foundation;</p> <p>ACM Alternative Conflict Management</p> <p>AERC Africa Economic Research Consortium</p> <p>AFNS Africa Futures Network on Studies;</p> <p>ASEAN Association of South East Asian Nations</p> <p>AS-SLA Adaptive Strategies SLA</p> <p>AU African Union</p> <p>BHN The basic human need approach</p> <p>CBD capacity-building domains</p> <p>CBM capacity building modules</p> <p>CBO Community Based Organisations</p> <p>CHED Centre for Human Environment and Development</p> <p>COMESA Common Market of Eastern and Southern African Countries</p> <p>COP Conference of parties</p> <p>CoP Communities of Practice</p> <p>CSOs Civil Society Organisations</p> <p>DSA Dispute settlement Body (WTO)</p> <p>ECCAS Economic Community of the Central African States</p> <p>ECOWAS Economic Cooperation of West African States</p> <p>EGS Employment Generation Schemes</p> <p>EU European Union</p> <p>GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades</p> <p>GCA Global Coalition for Africa;</p> <p>ICA the income/consumption approach</p> <p>ICT Information communication Technology</p> <p>IGAD Inter-Governmental Authority on Development</p> <p>IMF International Monetary fund</p> <p>IPR intellectual property rights</p> <p>IT international trade</p> <p>KM Knowledge management</p>	<p>M&E Monitoring & Evaluation</p> <p>MIS Management Information Systems</p> <p>MTAs Multilateral Trade Agreements</p> <p>MTCS Multi-track communications Systems</p> <p>NEPAD Africa New Partnership Agenda for Development"</p> <p>NGO Non-Governmental Organisation</p> <p>PAPSL Participatory Assessment and Planning for SL</p> <p>PMESL Participatory Monitoring & Evaluation for SL</p> <p>PMSC Programme Management, Support and Coordination</p> <p>PPA Participatory poverty Assessment</p> <p>PPIISL Participatory Implementation for SL</p> <p>PRSP Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper</p> <p>RBA rights/asset-based development</p> <p>SADC Southern Africa Development Cooperation</p> <p>SAP Structural Adjustment Programme</p> <p>SLA Sustainable Livelihoods Approach</p> <p>SRAP Sub-Regional Action Programme</p> <p>SRCC Sub-regional Co-ordinating Committee</p> <p>SSA Sub Saharan Africa</p> <p>TRIPS Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights</p> <p>TVE Chinese Town Village Enterprise Programme</p> <p>UDEAC Union Douaniere des Etats de l'Afrique Central</p> <p>UMA Union of Maghreb Arab Countries</p> <p>UMQA Union Monetaire Quest Africaine</p> <p>UNGA United Nations General Assembly</p> <p>UNPAERD UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development</p> <p>African Alternative to Structural Adjustment Framework</p> <p>WB World Bank</p> <p>WTO World Trade Organisation</p>
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Priming regional alliances to Enhance trade negotiating leverage of African societies and polities

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I. Introduction

Even under democratically favourable contemporary global conditions, the stewardship of market economies in Africa are marked by uniquely austere organisational-strategic issues. Historical, ideological, and strategic characteristics internal and external to the change management process still would exist that make that African participation in international trade negotiations and the requisite entrepreneur-state interface a costly exercise. Such characteristics and problems can be identified and understood through critical, yet constructive, analysis focused on certain key elements of the negotiating strategy; in setting the stage for the evolution of political culture in transitional market regimes.

An important point that features prominently in the discussion of the trade, development and democratisation process in Africa is the relative weight of external factors - the economic adjustment programmes and conditionalities; which antedated the democratisation process by almost a decade, and whittling away the post-independence gains in social welfare. Such measures render the development context outsider-driven and hence, it actively encourages African polities to look to outsiders to provide the means for 'development'. Yet popular mobilisation does occur and has thrived despite years of oppressive governance. People initiated and mobilised themselves for activities that provide personal and individual fulfilment. Africa must and can marshal its forces of change to play a constructive role in the global economy under transformed meta-policies.

The requisite commitment to participate in development - to ending poverty and promoting democracy and human rights has never been more opportune and feasible in the 21st Century. Globalisation calls for new forms of cooperation, democracy and global governance forcing us to rethink and review some issues in the relation between the market, the nation state, democracy and citizenship. The emergence of the modern understanding of citizenship with the advent of capitalism in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries; was finally given voice as a massively influential political concept in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the events of the English, American and French Revolutions. The 'natural rights' and 'Rights of Man' announced by these revolutions, their concepts of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' and their attempts to found the modern nation state constitutionally on the will of the people helped to construct the modern conception of citizenship.

This paper analyses the advantages of regional alliances to put in place strategies for governments and civil societies to get organised for fruitful negotiations on trade, development and democracy addressing the slogan in currency 'we need trade not aid'. Part I deals with the analytical limitations on current perspectives on international trade and development and the need for popular participation in national trade and development initiatives. Part II outlines the requisite basis for regional and sub-regional cooperation in trade negotiations and Part III develops the strategic framework for citizen-state cooperation in trade negotiations and Part IV underpins the a conclusive chapter on the need to develop the rights based approach to trade and development.

Part I

African development: Historical synopsis and analytical limitations

I. A pandemic of declarations and plans of action for Africa:

Programmes to provide and utilise substantial quality of resources to meet the challenge of development have been on the African policy agenda for quite a long time. Substantial financial grants and loans have flowed into Africa in support of ‘human development’ and technical assistance to strengthen the flow and utilisation of resources within national economies has been mounted. Yet, like many other policy efforts, these have not yielded the desired results. Human capital flight has reached high proportions leaving behind an ill-prepared leadership, managerial and labour force. Skills, knowledge and positive work habits continued to be in short supply as learning systems decay in most countries.

African governments have launched many initiatives collectively, in their efforts to tackle the formidable development challenges facing the continent. Some of these initiatives are still alive and current. Initial efforts by the Organisation of African Unity (now African Union) included

- 1) the declaration by African Heads of State and Government of The **Monrovia Symposium**, The **Lagos Plan of Action and the subsequent Final Act of Lagos**, The **Arusha** , **Khartoum**, and **Addis Ababa Declarations**, The **Cairo Agenda for Action**, The **Abuja Treaty**, The **Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS and ORID....**
- 2) Africa also actively participated in the formulation of a myriad of very costly exercises resulting in numerous multilateral and bilateral initiatives almost on yearly basis. Some of the very significant ones are the United Nations Programme of Action for **African Economic Recovery and Development** 1986-1990, **African Alternative to Structural Adjustment Framework**,¹ **United Nations Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries** for the 1990s, The World Bank studies such as **Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: an Agenda for Action** (1981), and **SSA: from Crisis to Sustainable Growth** (1989), The most comprehensive initiative however, is the current “**Africa: New Partnership Agenda for Development**” NEPAD, adopted in 1997, by the UN and revised late 1998,²
- 3) Bilateral initiatives include inter alia the United States **Proposal for a Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity in Africa**; the **Swedish Initiative Partnership with Africa**; initiative by the United Kingdom entitled “**Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the Twenty-first Century**”, Initiatives related to peace and security, include the **French Reinforcement des Capacites Africaines de Maintien de la Paix**; the **British African Peacekeeping Initiative**; the United States **African Crisis Response Initiative** and the **Office of Transitional Initiatives** (OTI). As Africa enters to the mainstream Globalisation, off direct significance to Africa’s survival within the process, is the **Tokyo International Conferences on African Development**, Japan-led initiative. Africa’s place in the globalisation were considered and articulated and an action plan developed, defining institutional strategies aimed at ensuring enhanced coordination and feedback between global initiatives and Africa; defining strategies for harmonisation of various multilateral and bilateral initiatives, ensure effective follow-up, monitoring and evaluation arrangements; and productive mobilisation of financial resources. Under the European Union - African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) partnership billions have been pouring into the continent

¹ These were aimed at presenting clearly the region’s medium and long-range development priorities and strategic agenda within the global arena. Their overall desire was to achieve a broad-based “self-reliant” and “self-sustaining” growth and development process. International multilateral and bilateral initiatives were also taken to help define the African development agenda and to support its implementation within a global perspective.

² A System-wide Special Initiative on Africa is currently in effect as the implementing arm of the “New Agenda”. The focus is placed on the achievement of macroeconomic stability, economic growth and the equitable distribution of that growth. While it is too early to evaluate its trends, NEPAD is struggling to gain institutional acceptance among the majority of states and land on the development pedestal that all states would like to see.

for decades. The revised **Lomé convention** brings the two dimensions, viz. the citizen right dimension and the “developed” and “underdeveloped” nations interface; into one instrument where inter-state and citizen-state relations are examined through the discerning eye of human rights.

An important focus in the deliberation of trade discussions is on participation. We all agree that we must strive to ensure that States recognise the constitutive tenet: that development springs from the collective imagination, experiences, and decision of people; once more testifying to how critical it is for development to proceed from the cultural make-up, skills, needs, and aspirations of individuals and communities. Human development is both an individual and a collective action. It is individual because it requires people to look within themselves for the creative energy to initiate ideas for action. It is collective in that people will be more successful if they can work together for a common vision for lobbying government, local business and more importantly for sharing resources. Values, attitudes, and identity within the community and with the outside world play a critical role in developing individual and community momentum for sustainable fair trade. People’s aspirations create the material base of livelihood security; because people actively explore and discuss the identity systems that are the foundation for the activities in their daily lives, capable of undertaking effective planning and lobbying government for promoting local planning and action.

On the other hand, it is popularly claimed that a functioning democracy underpins favourable for market and trade conditions. Implicitly or explicitly, the Western liberal democratic model is often taken as the acme of democratic governance. The target that a host of other African countries set themselves in the process of democratisation is the attainment of institutions and practices that have been the basic ingredients of the Western democratic tradition. Moreover, a direct and participatory form of democracy is presumed to be the hallmark of the perceived African pre-colonial democratic tradition, more specifically of “village democracy”. The pre-colonial past has been portrayed in diametrically opposite fashion: as an age of barbarism and arbitrary rule (by colonialists), and as one of egalitarianism (by Africans). Both positions apparently suffer from selective presentation of the facts. Ultimately, one is also forced to question the relevance of a pre-colonial socio-political organisation to the contemporary African reality. For it is inconceivable that Africa can go back to its past, however idyllic it may be imagined to be -- all attempts to relate the contemporary question of democratisation to pre-colonial African society smacks either of naiveté or of ideological manipulation. At any rate, it is self-evident that Africa in the 1990s is a much different proposition than the Africa of the 1890s or earlier. So much has changed in territorial configuration, social and economic differentiation and the international alignment of forces. Contemporary Africa can only build on the cumulative legacy of its pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial experience.

II. International trade process and globalisation: Options for participation

African countries declared under the Libreville Declaration that they ‘are committed to enhancing our cooperation at the international level and to adapting the structure of our organisation to meet the new challenges and to taking advantage of the opportunities arising from the new environment. We accordingly instruct the ACP Council of Ministers to: review the role of the ACP and ACP-EU institutions with a view to making them more effective and relevant to contemporary challenges; give directions for future intra-ACP cooperation, bearing in mind the need to maintain cohesion at the sub-regional, regional and international levels; to organise, on a regular basis and as the need arises, meetings of Ministers responsible for the various aspects of our cooperation; and adopt, after appropriate consultations, the ACP negotiating mandate for future ACP-EU relations no later than mid-September 1998. They also agree to undertake to maintain our contacts with each other and with the leaders of the European Union, the Commission and the European Parliament to ensure a better understanding and appreciation of the ACP's positions and aspirations. We undertake to meet periodically, and consequently we mandate the Council of Ministers to make the necessary arrangements to this end.’³

³ The Libreville Declaration on Globalisation: Adopted by the First Summit of ACP Heads of State and Government *Libreville, Gabon, 7 November 1997*

WTO came into force with new set agreements, negotiated for the most part without the effective participation of African countries, in January 1995. Such agreements included the MTAs, The Agreement on Agriculture, TRIPS, and the Agreement on Safeguards. IMF, the World Bank and the WTO have evolved a common understanding and strategy with regards to the movement and management of international financing between the within the framework of the various agreements; including prescriptions within the SAPs, particularly those related to trade liberalisation and foreign investment have found their way into the WTO articles of association. The complexities involved and the pains that await the African and other developing countries are reflected by the increasing numbers of disputes referred to the new DSB of WTO. By 1998 hundreds of requests were submitted to the body. Most disputes included allegations of contravention of the national treatment provision of GATT -Article III.⁴

Hurdles of this nature notwithstanding and considering the drive, characteristics and dynamics of globalisation, the fundamental question facing Africans is not whether they have options for participating in the international trade process; it is to be successful partners and actors in the process. Once they subscribe to the international system, their governance practices and social justice systems will come under increasing media floodlights, scrutiny and pressure from super-state multinationals that are neither accountable to any legal regime or responsible corporate entities that would bring corporate contribution to bear on the world's deprived nations.

POTENTIAL RISKS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marginalisation • Economic and financial disruption • Loss of policy autonomy 	Consequences	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Greater inequality between nations and peoples 2) Deflationary 3) LDC and DC 4) Loss of national income, 5) Heavy debt burden
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Isolationist policy would crack given the increasing number of people who are gaining access to radio, telephone, faxes, televisions and the Internet. Countries are members of various international, political, social, economic, humanitarian

Figure 1 Risks and Consequences of Globalisation

and religious bodies including international human rights instruments. With their signatures, they must now participate within the rules and expectations of these bodies. The choice therefore, is finding ways and means to manage the outcomes and impact of globalisation on the nation's development goals and strategy and the welfare of its peoples. It is not when to participate, but how countries wish to integrate their activities into the process and at which speed. *The bottom line choice is to decide on the degree and form of participation without sacrificing domestic priority needs and the general national interests.*

III. Analysis of trade and development issues is also marked by other limitations:

Analyses of globalisation, trade and development issues in Africa are marked by policy, structural, processual and strategic limitations. These are

- 1) Inattention to problems of articulation or production of trade governance regimes and process within lived African political experience rather than simply as formal or abstract possibilities. This is compounded by a nearly exclusive concern in certain institutional perspectives on trade and development with generic attributes and characteristics of humanitarian and political

⁴ The provision aims at ensuring that internal taxation and regulation are non-discriminatory against imported products and that they do not frustrate benefits of tariff concessions. The professed intent of the national treatment rule is to eliminate or reduce hidden domestic barriers to trade and to increase transparency and predictability. These are designed to impede the adoption of policies and measures that have domestic protection as their purpose. To abide by this provision, African countries must ensure that goods imported are not subjected to internal taxes or other internal charges in excess of those applied to "like domestic products". Such goods should be accorded treatment no less favourable than that accorded to like domestic products in respect of the rules and requirements affecting the sale, purchase, transportation, distribution or use of the product. Regulations relating to the mixture, processing or use of products should not specify that a certain amount or proportion must come from domestic sources, and internal taxes or other internal charges or internal quantitative regulations should not apply in a manner so as to afford protection to domestic production. Thus, as the process of trade liberalisation gathers momentum, the application and enforcement of competition policy at the national levels assume greater importance for the to-be winner countries and inflict greater pains for the poor and helpless.

organisations and consequent neglect of analysis in terms of specific strategies and performances of organisations.

- 2) Ambiguity as to whether civil society is the agent or object of development in situations of contested sovereignty: In the current drive for democracy and development, civil society and institutions within it, are “foregrounded” as the arena, agents and instruments of the movement. Internal and external demands for good governance and the need to reform the indigenous State into a system of transparent practices have placed a heavy emphasis on social institutions as autonomous actors within governance projects. The most likely and most effective initiative has come from below, outside the decrepit, authoritarian state, in civil society. Society yields the spontaneous interests, demands, and institutional mechanisms of political reform. From this perspective, the state has only a limited role to play. Its function will not be to manage society' governance aspirations and activities, but to create the enabling conditions for their free play.
- 3) Inadequate treatment of the role of international agencies and of relations between global and indigenous aspects or dimensions of these. Insofar as the activities of external agencies are not understood and engaged in partly as indigenous societal potentialities developing gradually into actual structures, functions and characteristics of State and societies, their governance (and developmental) impact may diminish with their proliferation. This can mean little more than a weakly co-ordinated multiplication of programmes and projects which have immediately recognisable or measurable effects in limited areas, but which seem to suspend rather than serve the ultimate goals of management of political systems. The strategic co-ordination of diverse international activities supportive of political reform (and development) can become a challenge both for the international agencies involved and for the Africans.
- 4) There are fatal tendencies to narrow trade governance regimes to the terms and categories of immediate, not very well considered, political and social action, a naive realism, as it were. Still another expression of naive realism in existing perspectives on trade governance regimes is the common assumption that democratisation and the proliferation of middle class social organisations is in and of itself an index of progress. The assumption seems plausible. After all, what is more obvious in projects of democratic transition in Africa than the goal of increasing the number of social institutions that will build stronger civil societies that in turn spawns favourable conditions for the growth of democracy. Nevertheless, the assumption is open to question as these organisations have own ideological inclinations and biases and relations external to them that would not necessarily make them supportive of the process.

In sum, naive realism within existing perspectives and projects of democratisation emphasises the **immediacies of institutional and political activity to the neglect of the constitutive and regulative concepts and norms that define, structure and validate democratic institutions and democratic practices**. It attempts to establish a direct relation to social experience, largely by passing the intangible yet no less significant terrain of critical political thought. Its immediate turn to the practical tasks of inducing people to participate in ostensibly democratic activities such as elections, the full meaning of which is often beyond the grasp of the participants, tends to become a substitute for the making of transparent and open rules of political engagement.

Part II

Advantages of regionalisation and forming alliances and strategies for Government and civil societies

Regionalisation and alliances between state and civil society face many limitations in the sphere of institutional development. African groups have been unable to establish a clear and coherent voice nationally or regionally on issues, which are crucial to their international advocacy work, or to the interest of the communities they profess to serve. This contravenes the ideals, standards and rules of effective networking management process. It also encourages well-meaning individuals to alienate themselves from the process, rather participate in it and work to improve it. Having weighed these challenges carefully, must be determined to address the following issues that have hitherto hampered good networking

1. It has been often raised as to whether African groups have so far been effective in promoting and institutionalising empowerment among their people through lived experiences gained within the continent. Commitment to professional networking principles and practices are not clearly in evidence in economic management.
2. It is also argued that African groups do not show sufficient awareness of the difficult socio-political choices facing them if they are to become more involved in addressing the development challenges of livelihood insecurity and poverty. These difficulties are further compounded by the poor relationship existing between and among us. There is too much readiness for uncoordinated and unilateral action without meaningful and adequate understanding, let alone agreement, on critical issues with other constituencies.

While many proposals for remedial action have been formulated, real commitment to collaborative processes at the inter-organisational level has always been limited. Mobilising the action required has also remained a daunting challenge, as many practical and structural constraints militate against commitment by individual groups to inter-organisational initiatives nationally and regionally. An increased awareness of this problem, has led us to question the nature of the relationship, which has existed between them providing significant impetus for change in networks development consciousness and practice. This would be a major opening for the mutual incorporation of strategies and process in a more dynamic and complex articulation of professional work. As a result, increasing attention is exerted on the development of communities of practice and the knowledge management coordination nexus. By publishing such a strategy, African groups would have taken a first bold step in gearing individual groups and networks into action, and generating the momentum required for a true process of collaborative development. The advantages of such a process would mean

1. **Wider market base and production potential:** many African countries have populations less than 10 million and are stuck with an internal market base that would allow little room for economies of scale to operate. Regionalisation can bring such dimensions as economies of scale to the best advantage of the nations involved.⁵ Countries can also specialise in the production of goods and services. Policies and strategies formulated around these issues could greatly assist individual as well as group of countries increase their rates of participation in global affairs. Firstly, effective regional integration in Africa would increase intra-African trade and financial transactions. With a relatively less fierce competitiveness amongst countries, national production, service and distribution capacities could take stronger roots for the bigger and more competitive global market. Secondly, negotiating and bargaining powers of the region in general, and the weaker nations in particular, could become stronger, and hence, more meaningful in the global space. Thirdly, resources could be pooled at lower marginal cost through an effective integration and cooperation framework to put in place the required support services such as energy, communications, transportation, training, and research and product development. Finally, coordination of policies, programmes and activities could lead to better understanding between nations and minimise political and social conflict (*See part III – 4*)
2. **Increased competitiveness** both in quality and pricing mechanisms as nations specialise in the production and marketing of goods and services, such as common airline systems, telecommunications...

⁵ Cross border activities in trade, finance, diplomacy, sports and culture have always taken and shall take place within African countries with or without a formal declaration on their part to participate in the process. For instance, they have, over the years, with no end in sight, exported one or more primary commodities and imported substantial goods and services from outside the continent. Activities within the financial markets and multinational firm's, investments have cross borders for centuries into African countries. In short, African countries are consciously or unconsciously participating in global affairs in one form or another but at varied degrees. *The structure and conditionalities of institutional frameworks designed to guide the globalisation process could inflict pains.* It could be painful for African countries at negotiating tables agreeing to conditions and new issues such as intellectual property rights, and trade liberalisation, knowing full well that compliance could strangle their fragile economies and maturing process. *There are also pains that could be inflicted from the process itself.* Countries could suffer an increasing wage inequality between skilled and unskilled workers within their economies as a result of rapid trade liberalisation; or Public and private debt could expand more rapidly than would have otherwise, in response to rapid financial liberalisation. Three, farm-gate prices for export crops could fall below border prices in face of rapid agricultural price liberalisation reforms. What is of significance to policy makers in these regards, is that as countries increase their rates of effective participation, in the global process

3. Development of **secondary processing** within the region in raw materials such as petroleum, diamonds, precious metals, organic agricultural outputs, handicraft, leather...
4. Development of **tourist potential** within the region via combined safaris, eco-tourism and historic, theological and cultural tourism...
5. Bring out the **critical production edge** from the region in material that are or can be exclusively produced in Africa such as traditional dresses, crafts and artefacts
6. develop the **requisite negotiating leverage** by developing cross national skills in international negotiations as have Asian countries have done via the ASEAN,
7. Exchange of **best practices lessons** in all of the above: Africa must reinforce its **knowledge management** strategy to participate in the global arena via systematic database, learning, action and feedback. Simply put, *knowledge* in this context is the most valuable of strategic resources, and *learning* an important capability for expanding development resources.

Part III

National alliances to enhance trade negotiating leverage of African societies and polities

The primary instrument in developing a competitive international edge is the relations between state and civil society. The main issue in state-citizens relations however is whether or not state institutions has the capacity and the will to relate to citizens and citizens groups on the basis of mutual respect, autonomy, equality and trust. The relationship between citizen’s organisation and state institutions is characterised by positions of unequal power, making it very tempting for state institutions to dictate conditions and terms of relationships. **The Arusha Declaration and Charter on Popular Participation** has helped in focusing attention and forging a consensus on the critical question of development. The Charter was right to imply that democracy underpinned successful development and that successful development was the outcome of popular participation not only at the project level, but far more importantly - participation in citizenship. Participation in citizenship is the basis of all other forms of participation in development.



Fig. 2 Nodal linkages in regional trade negotiation network co-ordination

The evidence for this assertion is the virtual absence of civic education training as a key component of many development programmes and projects. It is the fundamental argument of this paper that civic education - learning about and appreciating one' rights, duties, obligations and

responsibilities as a citizen and the immediate rules, laws and governance structures within which one exercises citizenship is the first and fundamental step in development participation. Without it, transitional regimes will make no significant headway either with new strategies for development or with its tentative lurch towards democratic governance. Beyond platitudes and good intentions many civil institutions cannot participate in dialogue with state institutions because they lack the personnel with requisite skills and facilities such as research centres and Think Tanks, to inform their arguments or present credible data to support their assertions. Far more critical in determining both the level and quality of dialogue between state institutions and civil society is the political and economic context in which African regimes find themselves. To be quite frank, the context for dialogue, cooperation, and interface between transitional regimes and citizen’s organisations has so far been determined to a large extent by the rules and wishes of the international donor community.

The above analysis underscores the need for closer co-operation and understanding between them. State institutions must accept as a universal right that the rights and obligations of citizenship are not gifts from the state institution or party. These rights are clearly spelt out in The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations. It is the assertion of this paper that these articles form the legal basis for relations between state institution and citizens organisations. In fact this is the only acceptable basis in a democracy, for state institutions to relate to citizens. Based on this assertion, the following guide-lines are offered as the basis for drawing up as appropriate in each country, mechanisms, and modalities for citizens -state institution relations. The relationships must be based on the following generic notions: **humility and optimism, macroeconomic prudence, and the right to development**. Achieving human security (not just protecting people but also empowering people to fend for themselves) and the development of social capital and the logic of collective action relates to the interface between the various elements that contribute directly to enhancing competitiveness; buttressed by advocacy, **public relations and affairs** work in enlightening society, **social marketing** in selling new ideas and ‘cultures’ and enabling **negotiations** strategies.

	Advocacy for international trade regime reform	Social marketing of ideas in IT	Negotiation in international trade	Public relations for promoting an African agenda
Focus	setting the agenda shaping the debate advancing the policy	Develops messages to increase knowledge and model behaviours; enhances image of sponsors	determine agenda building coalitions influencing the policy compliance-prone decisions	Develops messages and cultivates relationships in order to enhance outreach with key publics
Media effort	Policy makers other advocates general public	Individuals general public Partners	professionals, social networks publics - individuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clients, shareholders, funders • general public • Partners
Method	Cultivate relationships, project desired image, and maintain visible community involvement	Create an optimum blend of marketing in order to reduce the target audience’s perceived barriers to accepting the idea, product	Utilise ‘media and ads, in conjunction with community strategies, to put pressure on policy makers & reframe public debate	Identify decision-makers at all levels that can influence and be involved with helping the individuals to render their own decisions

Fig 3: Advocacy, social marketing, negotiation and PR

Part IV

Regional alliances to enhance trade negotiating leverage of African societies and polities

- 1) **Effective participation in sub-regional, regional and global groupings:** COMESA countries are working to facilitate cross-border investment, trade and payments through accelerated tariff reductions between countries; and, the establishment of external payments and domestic regulatory systems. Discussions and consultation were held recently to transform the Union Monetaire Quest Africaine into a monetary and economic zone. Union Douaniere des Etats de

l'Afrique Central is undergoing re-organisation. ECOWAS has revised its treaty and working on measures to rationalise the more than 30 inter-governmental groupings that exist within West Africa. SADC has been restructured, and is currently finalising a series of trading and capital movement arrangements between members.

- 2) **The critical issue is whether Africa as a whole can gainfully be integrated into the global economy without first achieving economic and industrial integration within the region.** Sub-regional economic cooperation and integration groupings have been established across the region. However, governments and business establishments to participate meaningfully in the sub-regional and regional cooperation and integration arrangements. The speed at which globalisation is taking place around the continent, has brought about renewed interest to regional integration and cooperation arrangements in Africa; pushing African countries to rethink their strategies, approaches, and commitment to regional and sub-regional economic integration. Consensus on this matter is pointing to the need to broaden and interface countries respective production bases, and channel capital inflows to productive investment within a carefully managed integrated framework. Several initiatives are taking place in Africa in response to this renewed interest. These would need to be sustained and improved upon, as part of the effort to consolidate and expand the base required for effective participation in the global space. Two already recognised policy issues are implicit in these pronouncements and ongoing initiatives, and would only need to be pursued effectively.
- 3) One concerns the harmonisation and synchronisation of member states long-term development strategy and policy frameworks with sub-regional or regional development agenda and strategy. Vital to this issue is the rationalisation of the institutional and protocol provisions of the many integration and co-operation bodies in the region particularly, the West African sub-region, and living by and within the rules of participation. The rationale usually advanced is the absence of a **synchronised development strategy, regional industrial policy, or a harmonised system of investment incentives**, makes the adoption of a common policy toward attracting direct foreign investment within the region more difficult. Hence a harmonised approach would facilitate the mounting of collective and individual aggressive marketing and negotiating strategies within a coordinated framework.⁶ The other policy issue, which has constrained national commitment to participate in regional groupings, relates to the *equitable distribution of industries and community projects*. Sharing of benefits and losses equitably within integration movements has always been problematic for policy makers in Africa. The crux of the challenge therefore, is putting in place transparent policies and instruments aimed at the harmonisation of production and resource mobility and distribution in order to capture and maintain interest and commitment of members.⁷
- 4) A strategic agenda for promoting and strengthening international trade consists of the need to search for and provide a fresh and renewed focus in programming framework in response to national responsibilities in the coming decade and the demands of globalisation; the need to develop **methodologies and approaches and train policy makers and development planners** in the art and techniques of analysing and integrating present and anticipated global trends, challenges, opportunities and outcomes into development programming and management, learning from best practices in the areas of resource mobilisation, poverty reduction and cross borders trade and finally the formulation and execution of a system-wide regional decade programme for the development and utilisation of human capacities in Africa.
- 5) **Vital to these theses is the critical role of human qualities:** Programmes to provide and utilise substantial quality of human resources to meet the challenge of development have been on the

⁶ Further the coexistence of different types of intergovernmental organisations could hamper sub-regional economic integration if the agendas overlapped or are in conflict with each other and multiple memberships in IGOs could result in a heavy drain on already strained national budgets of many countries.

⁷ A vital lesson could be learnt from the experience of the ASEAN. They realised from their own mistakes that “industrial programming”, whereby the authorities would decide the type and location of industries to bring about a regionally balanced distribution in member countries may not necessarily capture, nor benefit from the effectiveness of scale economies. A “gradualist approach” with two or more member countries to coordinating their investment activities on the basis of market signal and national comparative advantage was found to be more effective in speeding up of integration.

African policy agenda for quite a long time.⁸ Yet, like many other policy efforts, these have not yielded the desired results. **Human capital flight from the region has reached high proportions leaving behind an ill-prepared labour force.** Skills, knowledge and positive work habits continued to be in short supply. School systems are in shambles in most countries. The crux of the challenge therefore, is creating, retaining and putting to productive use peoples with such qualities throughout the economy. It is basically about having the ability and willingness to identify, sequence, and execute human-centred development priorities and programmes in the face of limited human, financial and institutional capacities. It boils down to formulating and executing national and sectoral policies that would enhance countries aggregate commitment, will power and capacities to mobilise, develop, motivate, encourage and utilise all segments of the population. To meet this challenge is synonymous to meeting the development challenge at large. The results, under all probability, would lead to the creation of a strong nation active in both domestic and world transactions and go a long way in meeting the challenge.

- 6) **Learning from adaptive strategies:** the impact of globalisation increasingly creates the awareness of policy makers at national, sub-regional, regional and multi-national levels to the need for adopting a comprehensive approach to the management of development efforts in Africa, using African initiatives and development experiences of other developing regions. The East Asian experience has dominated the examples in the literature and, in most cases, overshadows cases for replication in Africa; while the fact is that with the right policy-mix and the human resources to affect policies Africa could effectively participate in the globalisation process maximising benefits while minimising losses. The Asian region is rapidly expanding its manufacturing industries due to its prepared response to globalisation trends. The opportunities unleashed by this development, come from three fronts:
 - a) The region's demand for primary and intermediate products such as natural rubber, iron ore, and petroleum products is increasing at an unprecedented rate for its new factories established in response to globalisation opportunities.
 - b) Secondly, Asia is manufacturing simple adaptable equipment and farm implements such as hand water pumps, rice mills, mini-hydro equipment, and hand-tools for agriculture and computers. These are not only needed for African households but for African industries as well to raise the level of income and reduce the level of poverty within the region. The exchange of appropriate technologies is a global opportunity that Asia can offer Africa.
- 7) Lessons could also be learnt from the positive policy initiatives taken within the region in its transformation exercise. Another area where lessons could be drawn and learnt for policy formulation purposes is in cross borders transaction between neighbouring African countries. One of the findings in the study is that cross borders policies be studied and taken into account when national development policies and strategies are formulated given their interdependence nature. The balkanisation of Africa reinforced globalisation tendencies by the separation of peoples with the same ethnic identities or affiliations. It is natural that such peoples between the borders of two or more countries share common bounds, cultures, religion and traditions. They generally trade and/or interact with each other formally and informally.

II. Policy and programme framework for regional and sub-regional co-operation

The regional mechanism focuses at building capacity for human and resource development. The following programme areas are identified as key components of the continuum: institutional strengthening, advocacy for macro-policy support, and conflict management. Major capacity building targets are identified to strengthen the capacity for conducting effective AU, Regional Development Banks, bilateral and multi-lateral organisations regional and sub-regional coordination work; an

⁸ Substantial financial grants and loans have flowed into all African countries beginning with the time of gaining independence in support of education and training activities. Technical assistance programme to strengthen the flow and utilisation of human resources within national economies have been mounted over the last three or four decades. Labour administration, employment laws and regulations and civil service policies and personnel management practices have long been on the books in many countries. Pronouncements have been made by countries at international labour and other conferences regarding workers' rights, reward, punishment and career development programmes

enhanced policy environment for popular participation in with special emphasis on the development of new sectoral/ regional policy and strategic options and build managerial capacity within regional and sub-regional organisations to manage such a programme with components ranging from institutional strengthening, advocacy for macro policy and programme co-ordination and management.

III. Vision and mission and regional partnership framework

The development objective in regional coordination is to enhance livelihood security through regional development through a comprehensive programme on regional and sub-regional trade development and supportive policies and guidelines including a monitoring system for their efficacy. The vision of the partnership is livelihood securities that promote the development of human and social capital in Africa; while the mission is to mobilise nations and regional and sub-regional organisations to redirect and expand regional and sub-regional and interregional and sub-regional political, programme and financial commitment and action. The value of the international partnership should embrace a set of common values and principles based on strong African political leadership and commitment as the basis for effective action. It should also have strong country focus and orientation to locally-set priorities, local institutions, including local governments, NGOs and other community-based organisations. Institutions prepared to join the Partnership must respect its values, a sense of shared responsibility among all partners, transparency of action and accountability for results. There must be willingness by UN and other external agencies to act flexibly and to complement one another based on comparative and competitive advantage, and maximum reliance on existing organisational entities without the creation of additional bureaucratic structures. This will entail

- development of regional cooperation and coordination for building regional consensus on key policy areas, seeking of solutions to global economic and social issues and promotion of capacity building in activities better implemented at regional level;
- promotion of exchange of information and appropriate techniques, technical know-how and relevant experience; promotion of scientific and technological cooperation; coordination of sub-regional and regional research activities; and identification of regional priorities for research and development; coordination of networks for systematic observation and assessment and information exchange, as well as their integration into world wide networks; and coordination of and reinforcement of sub-regional and regional early warning systems and drought contingency plans. At regional and sub-regional level the mechanism is to ensure maximum impact at country level through support for national programmes.

IV. Programme objectives and M&E arrangements

A. Programme Management, Support and Coordination

Programme Management, Support and Coordination (PMSC), will provide overall managerial and operational support to the programme and its sub-programmes from the programme level. This will help to ensure coordination between programmes of government, donors, NGOs, and local communities in trade and development. PMSC will also provide technical-backstopping functions for the common cross-cutting issues embedded in each sub-programmes related to gender, finance and investment, technology, and overall monitoring and evaluation of the programme.

Objective: To establish the capacity to efficiently and effectively manage international trade negotiations and to provide operational and administrative support to the national programme.

- Output 1: A PSU established, with an appropriate gender balance, and operational within the AU, to ensure and provide the day-to-day management, coordination of activities and support to the sustainable fair trade provision
- Output 2: Internship Programme developed to educate young professionals.

Objective: To develop awareness, consensus and coordination amongst stakeholders to work together towards the common goals of sustainable fair trade through improved dialogue.

- Output 1: A database developed and maintained of sustainable fair trade provision and related programmes, projects and activities being undertaken or planned by all interested stakeholders, desegregated by gender focus ad appropriate, with periodic reports.
- Output 2: A multi-agency, cross- sectoral and national sustainable fair trade provision technical Committee comprised of technical experts form government, NGOs, private sector, academia, the international and donor communities, and other interested stakeholders, ensuring an appropriate gender balance, to provide technical advice and guidance to the sustainable fair trade provision.

Objective: To provide the ways and means for collaboration between and amongst stakeholders to work together towards the common objectives of sustainable fair trade.

- Output 1: Education and advocacy campaign at the national level on the sustainable fair trade approach and programme to enhance understanding and promote collaboration amongst relevant stakeholders
- Output 2: A monthly “sustainable Fair trade Newsletter” or similar instrument, to keep stakeholders and partners up-to-date on major activities and progress of the sustainable fair trade and related activities of partners
- Output 3: Multi-agency, cross-sectoral and multi-disciplinary structures established and operational to oversee, guide and coordinate capacity building activities and the delivery of technical assistance for the major domains covered by the SLP and its sub- programmes

B. Participation for sustainable fair trade promotion

The main thrust of sustainable fair trade promotion is to support broad-based participation in the trade and development process. The objective is to ensure the active participation of all relevant stakeholders, particularly of grassroots people and their organisations, in assessing problems and opportunities, action planning and project identification, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of activities. It also provides a means of catalysing popular momentum for local development and provides a framework for the active participation of key stakeholders in the implementation of activities at the sub-national levels. It will benefit from, as well as feed into, the empowering effects of participation by enabling people to take charge of actions that will improve their livelihood systems

Objective: To develop, refine and maintain participatory methods, tools, and techniques that enable stakeholders at all levels, particularly the beneficiaries themselves. To participate in assessment, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of activities that will improve their living conditions through the sustainable livelihoods.

- Output 1: Methods, tools and techniques for PAP for sustainable fair trade, which purposefully and meaningfully disaggregates relevant data and information by gender and other socio-economic characteristics, developed and available, and regularly reviewed, monitored and updated to reflect experience and new thinking.
- Output 2: Methods, tools and techniques for PPI and PME for sustainable fair trade, require the explicit and active participation of both men and women at the community level to developed and make available, and regularly reviewed, monitored and updated to reflect experience and new thinking.

C. Multi-Track Communications System (MTCS)

The overall objective of the Multi-Track Communications Component is to enhance the capacity of all stakeholders to articulate their perceptions and value systems, mission and objectives, and to share knowledge and experience effectively. This will enable them to make better decisions and take actions that enhance their livelihood systems utilising efficient and effective multi-track communication systems. The development and operation of the MTCS system will be stakeholder-driven. Stakeholder requirements of the MTCS will be studied and compared with functional

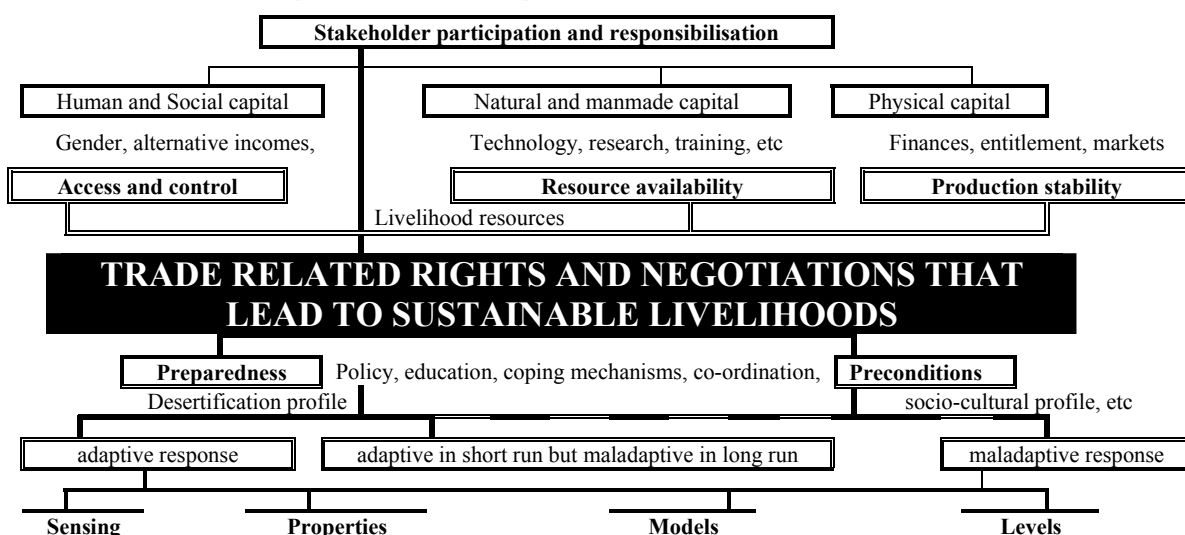
communication systems already operational in Africa. On this basis, communication tracks, channels, media and tools will be identified and mapped for strengthening and/or inclusion in the strategy, along with mechanisms for operationalising the network.

Objective: To identify the requirements of a Multi-Track Communication system that is responsive to stakeholder needs and promotes communication between different stakeholder groups.

Output 1: Relevant stakeholders, who will be active in the sustainable fair trade provision and multi-track communications system identified and prioritised for action, with an emphasis on women and other vulnerable groups, and the levels and types of interaction between stakeholders established.

Output 2: Information and knowledge requirements of different stakeholder groups, the availability of required information and the potential means for communicating required information in a manner appropriate for each group, identified and discussed amongst stakeholders.

Fig. 4 sustaining fair trade provision relationships



Objective: Share knowledge systems, tools, technology and adaptive strategies that people had developed on their own long before donors, NGOs, and political powers came into being.

Output 1: an interactive continental database on institutions, publications, case studies and planned activities set up. Actionable areas in this regard include designing a database format to be agreed upon by all constituencies in African regional trade negotiation network co-ordination, designing electronic format for the database on highly flexible and assessable computer soft ware, setting up a database of all institutions, publications, case studies.

Output 2: Regional economic communities take lead in capitalising on the wealth of information generated in national programmes and develop regional trade negotiation network co-ordination disciplines through out the African Network. Actionable areas in this regard include identifying national programmes that are ahead in certain disciplines and these programmes identified in and take lead responsibility in developing that area within the entire African Network.

Objective: Initiate immediate advocacy networking, research collaboration and interregional consultation activities on all existing information in national regional trade negotiation network co-ordination activities.

- Output 1: Compiled listing (however irregular) of all existing publications, institutions, and ongoing activities in all regional trade negotiation network co-ordination regions in Africa. Activities include Compile publications, case studies, and other outputs to date of all national programmes and disseminate them.
- Output 2: Governments, IFI, donors, multinationals sensitised on key issues affecting marginalisation of local actors in plans that they have not participated in their formulation. Activities include exchange of information on sensitisation and advocacy forums; advocacy networking to support specific claims in regional trade negotiation network co-ordination and exchange of information in the interregional network on appropriate and best use of use media to promote the ideals of regional trade negotiation network co-ordination.
- Output 3: Proposal on research and post-graduate training jointly and severally developed and presented. Activities include develop research and post-graduate training and exchange of research protocols, methods and tools among all stakeholders in the interregional network.
- Output 4: Interregional co-operation and consultation improved through exchange visits to study specific issues and formalising relationship between network collaborators. Activities include organise exchange visits to study specific issues; e.g. participatory development, conflict management, joint forest management, national networkers formalise relationship between network collaborators, form a working group for collaboration and carry out the follow-up activities.

Objective: Develop information communication mechanisms on key initiatives a view to co-ordinate activities that reinforce each other for a meaningful continental impact.

- Output 1: Tracks, channels and levels of communications identified. Activities include Identify and map out formal tracks of communications for interregional networking, identify informal communication media and channels for interregional networking, and identify interpersonal communication channels for interregional networking.
- Output 2: Communities of Practice (CoP): here the recommendation is to develop CoPs (freely allied information and advocacy set of contacts and forums that deliberate on specific issues to develop emerging consensus on what constitutes best practices and forums of exchange of such outcomes that can influence the individual and hence their institutions) on the following thematic issues: the rights based approach, governance and human and rights for dry land peoples, participatory assessment, planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation, gender and women empowerment, elimination of absolute poverty and food security, policy formulation and management. The objectives of developing the Communities of Practice listed above are to evolve rules of conduct so as to evolve and/or enhance social responsibility and unity in addressing the conceptual and operational clarity of the specific CoP substance under discourse. The exchange of knowledge and the management of the utilisation of that knowledge are important features of these CoP and KM. a well-defined CoP strategy to achieve organisational goals and provides choices be developed. A series of procedural guidelines that would underscore the mechanism for participation, communication and interaction among CoP will emerge as the process evolves. The main purpose of the advocacy and advocacy networks is to review and development within the context of the partnership drive is to enable it to be the animator of such CoP networks and development of a more participatory vision of KM. There are opportunities to broaden this scope to other ACM tools

- Output 3: Clear designations of tracks of co-operation, dependency, services and conflict, where one may arise, among interregional network stakeholders identified. Identify and map tracks of co-operation between all stakeholders in the interregional network. Identify dependency, especially where national programmes depend on other national programmes in the interregional network. Identify service needs and provisional abilities among the network. Identify potential areas of conflict of interest among network stakeholders.

Part V

Priming the Partnership Agenda: A global RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH for fair trade

One of the most recent initiatives in African development is the **Commission for Africa**. Its proposed programme of work are focused on improving governance; human development; peace and security; opportunities for growth and financing development. Indeed looking at the first two priorities as detailed in the Executive Summary of its report-- The Commission states that on improving governance "*Africa needs more leaders committed to real and effective poverty alleviation: contributing to improved governance needs to be the defining feature of the Commission for Africa's work, contributors suggested*". It demands practical action is needed across the continent.

Indeed Mr Blair, the Commission's chairman, has underpinned the need to focus on Africa in his recent speech in Addis Abeba. He asserted that "the beginning of the 21st Century is a time of unprecedented wealth and opportunity for the world. The European Union is enlarging to the east, restoring prosperity and political stability to those countries. In South East Asia, we have seen incredible economic progress. The face of Latin America has been transformed. And today, the world's two largest countries - China and India - are growing at as much as 9% per annum, lifting over 20 million people out of poverty every year. But when the United Nations meets next year to review progress towards the MDGs, it will find that Africa - as a continent - has not enjoyed the progress, which other parts of the world have seen. In Africa, most countries are still as poor as they were 40 years ago. In some countries, life expectancy, having improved for many years, has fallen back to what it was in the 1950s as a result of AIDS." "This is why I have said that Africa will be one of my two priorities for the UK Presidency of the G8 in 2005 - along side climate change. We are calling for a revaluation of IMF gold to wipe out the debt owed by poor countries to the IMF. Finally, the UK has proposed a new International Financing Facility to front-load these resources, so that they can be invested in Africa's future now. However aid alone is not the answer. We also need to increase private sector investment in Africa".⁹

"We need action to open up opportunities for business in Africa to grow faster by trading with the rest of the world. I welcome the progress made in the WTO negotiations in Geneva in July, in particular the agreement by other G8 countries to match the EU commitment to phase out all export subsidies on agricultural goods, which make it harder for Africa to compete with subsidised goods from richer countries But we should not wait for the WTO to increase the opportunities for Africa to trade. African leadership is also vital at the continental level. The African Union is already showing how important it will be, particularly on governance and security issues." African governments and societies undoubtedly depend on international assistance in their projects of reform. Such assistance is vital for the projects in many areas and at many levels. Yet it must be recognised that external support creates problems as well as opportunities for development and democratisation on Africa. In confronting the imperatives of social, economic and political change, nothing is more challenging for our polities than the strategic co-ordination of diverse global and local elements, relations and activities within themselves, nor has anything greater potential for enabling them achieve successful transitions to democracy. Two major conclusions are derived from the review above.

⁹ Blair, T. (2004) Speech to the Commission for Africa, Addis Abeba

1. In the first instance, it has become clear that African countries have done much work over the last two decades in defining and suggesting the required policy prescriptions in response to the call for efficiency, competitiveness and regional integration. Policies related to ensuring conducive political, economic and social environment have been well articulated, adequately documented and fully debated by policy and decision-makers involved with Africa's development at various levels. Yet the analysis shows that despite the clarity and appropriateness of existing policy prescriptions, desired results were not achieved proportionately to the efforts and pronouncements made during their implementation. **What went wrong?** Countries in most cases lacked the will to nurture the minimum qualitative and quantitative "human capacities" needed and the requisite "human capacity utilisation" policies, strategies and institutional framework, to manage the outcomes of prescribed policies.
2. The second major conclusion to be drawn focuses on the net impact of ineffective vs. effective participation within the international economic system, termed as globalisation. The alacrity and dynamics present 'under-governed' and 'under-managed' African countries with little or no choice but to be active players within the process. Most countries are yet to reach the minimum threshold required for maximising gains from local and global opportunities. Consequently, the process of integrating economic, political and social activities into the global arena has been slow relative to the rate of progress made in other developing regions.

I present specific pointers to where we should travel. Programmes aimed at international trade governance capacity building should be aimed at sustaining and enhancing with an added interest on strengthening their level of effectiveness for addressing the threats and opportunities; supporting effective engagement in constructive dialogue, based on common respect, mutual benefits, genuine interdependence and shared responsibilities, between African nations and other countries must as a priority be pursued by competent bureaucrats. Further national and regional laws and policies would need to be revised with an eye on the national interest where necessary.

Granted that modest progress was made in civil society participation, much work still needs to be done in expanding growth and fostering democratic practices. This is not only required to build on the progress made so far, but also to be responsive to policy issues associated with the process of change management. Policies would need to be owned and authored by the various stakeholders with implementation criteria and mechanism for monitoring clearly defined and established. Development management efforts need to take on a broader perspective if they are to provide deeper understanding of, and policy and institutional responses to, inter and intra-national policies and their outcomes. Consequently, the recommendation is intended to strengthen on-going initiatives for increasing the human development index of African countries. Fundamental to the recommendation are three special considerations.

The critical role of human qualities in meeting the challenges of Africa:

We need to accord the critical role of the **HUMAN FACTOR** in creating sustained human development, its proper place within the process of development management in Africa. **The human factor** underscores the rationale for the need for a revolutionary action plan. A major contributing factor to the appalling situation is that there is and has been a shallow understanding of, and a feeble grip on, the essential components that constitute the required human qualities for development, and the intensive and comprehensive nature of their development and utilisation processes. Labour administration, employment laws and regulations and civil service policies and personnel management practices have long been on the books in many countries. Countries at international labour have made pronouncements and other conferences regarding workers' rights, reward, punishment and career development programmes. As such, important components and commitment required to build and use a quality labour force for accelerating and sustaining growth are not properly addressed in the education, training and productivity programmes. Efforts have failed to produce and retain the necessary pool of self-confident, healthy, knowledgeable and skilled public and private sectors labour force, which is full of initiatives and resourcefulness with a sense of purpose, work ethics, vision, integrity and direction. The constraining factors in the debate that are worth noting are predicated upon

1. the focus of human resources development policies and programmes that is placed generally on providing basic skills, which may not be as relevant or flexible to changing local and global imperatives. Hence capacity building (even when professionally executed) is traditionally regarded and treated not as a sustained process, but appended to nearly all sector-development projects or programmes. This approach neglects the intensity, complexity and comprehensiveness of the **human quality development process**. It is aimed particularly at upgrading only skills and knowledge of largely a redundant public service labour force.
2. On the part of policy and decision makers and funders, there is a killer implicit assumption, which is left unattended; available workforce would motivate itself and be productive. It is essential that aggregate labour force productivity be induced, through deliberate strategies and policies as part of development management efforts not only for production to take on an increasing trend over time, but also to retain the qualified labour force. Lessons from Asia show a vital role to be played by government and private sector policies in these regards.

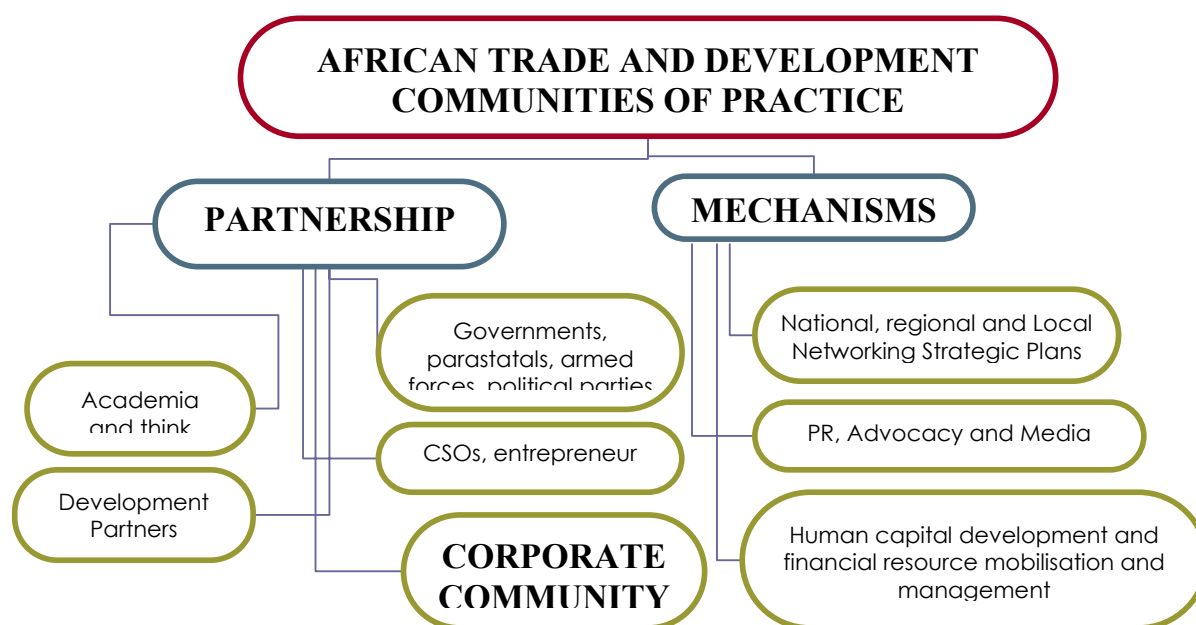


Figure 5 Proposed communities of practice

A consensus has emerged in the development literature regarding the treatment of the issues identified above: a concerted massive action over a sustained period, on the development and utilisation of a pool of **critical human qualities** at all levels and spectrum of society would provide the foundation and engine for the elimination of absolute poverty and gaining a respectable and beneficial place within the process of globalisation. A disciplined, healthy, nourished, and motivated labour force is required to produce and distribute the goods and services needed for sustained human development. Leadership teams that are committed and willing with positive attitude to facilitate the process of opening up greater opportunities for every citizen are needed. The private sector would require a proactive and innovative managerial and entrepreneurial team with capacities and will power to understand and cope with “arm’s-length” trading modalities of external firms and investors with respect to subcontracting, alliances, licensing, franchising and other non-equity forms of international participation in the global economy.

The crux of the challenge therefore, is creating, retaining and putting to productive use peoples with such qualities throughout the economy. It is basically about having the ability and willingness to identify, sequence, and execute human-centred development priorities and programmes in the face of limited human, financial and institutional capacities. It boils down to formulating and executing national and sectoral policies that would enhance countries aggregate commitment, will power and capacities to mobilise, develop, motivate, encourage and utilise all segments of the population. To

meet this challenge is synonymous to meeting the development challenge at large. The results, under all probability, would lead to the creation of a strong nation active in both domestic and world transactions. The suggested agenda would go a long way in meeting the challenge.

A comprehensive human capital development and utilisation programme be formulated, launched and executed by private sector. The overall objective is to develop a critical mass of human qualities and ensure their effective participation in the development process in order to provide, consolidate, expand and sustain the required base for development within a rapidly shrinking and competitive global environment and hence the rights-based approach (RBA). The RBA empowers people and making them capable to decide on the matters of their interest. It brings in legal tools and institutions like laws, the judiciary as a means to secure freedom and human development. RBA is expected to add missing element (human rights) that would provide enabling environment for equitable development by empowering people to take decisions affecting their lives. It provides both vision of what development should strive to achieve - to secure freedom and dignity of the people every where, and a set of tools and essential reference - human rights principles and standards. It is essentially based on values, standards and principles captured in the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and human rights treaties. It also attempts to translate the people's needs into rights recognising the human person as the active subject and claim holder. It further identifies the duties and obligations of those against whom a claim can be brought to ensure that needs are met.

The value of this approach lies particularly in the transformative potential of human rights to alleviate injustice, inequality and poverty. Human rights are moral norms, standards of accountability and weapons in struggle for social justice. The rights based approach to development would entail following main features that make it compatible to the needs- based approach, in depth assessment in which human rights values and principles are featured; analyse and assess by looking at the standards through the prism of human rights and programme development should be carried out on the basis of human rights values and principles such as non-discrimination, universality and participation. The programme would not necessarily be around a particular right or a set of rights but around areas such as governance, poverty, and environment - - as such it is compatible to the needs- based approach.

Summing up the actionable agenda

The actionable agenda seeks to get an insight into the workings and benefits of such transactions to influence policy formulation. A critical review analysis and alignment of objectives, activities and implementation arrangements be undertaken with the view of making them more direct and responsive to domestic and external trade. The overall objective is to consolidate and link the various programmes to provide a coherent trade negotiation framework to consolidate programme management framework for managers at each level of responsibilities; integrate programme across sectors with a renewed and more direct focus on areas with greater positive externalities on the human development process; and define, design and develop programmes/project implementation and monitoring and evaluation networking systems and procedural manuals;

- 1) Appropriate tools and approaches for analysing and integrating into development policy formulation global issues, trends, possible outcomes and their policy implications be developed, disseminated and taught to African decision and policy makers at national, sub-regional and regional levels. The overall objective is to enhance development management capacities to address emerging challenges of globalisation. A corresponding project will have to be developed aimed at achieving a number of specific objectives including the need to develop methodologies, approaches and general policy guidelines for analysing and mainstreaming global issues, trends and outcomes into development management programming and processes; develop training materials for development managers and trainers in the art of analysing and mainstreaming global issues; conduct training workshops and policy seminars and disseminate methodology and policy manuals; and develop/strengthen centres of excellence to monitor the process of globalisation and advice countries accordingly as and when needed.
- 2) Conduct and disseminate results of **best practice case studies** and experience in the **mobilisation of foreign investments and savings, and cross borders policies** and their impact on peoples between the borders of two or more countries sharing common bounds, cultures, religion and

traditions. The overall objective is to learn from best case practices to guide the formulation of policies for positioning Africa in the global economy.¹⁰

- 3) A comprehensive **human capital development** and programmes on **human security** be formulated, launched and executed. The overall objective is to develop a critical mass of human qualities and ensure their effective participation in the development process in order to provide, consolidate, expand and sustain the required base for development within a rapidly shrinking and competitive global environment.
- 4) Several KM¹¹ initiatives, though not part of an continent-wide coherent plan, and targeted at satisfying the needs of only a specific programmes, are already underway in Africa (for example, intranet, eWorkspaces, e-mail discussion groups). But they are not enough. Simply put, *knowledge* in this context is the most valuable of strategic resources, and *learning* one of the most important capabilities for expanding its development resources. Africa must reinforce its **knowledge management** strategy to operationalise an effective strategic locus to participate in the global arena. In KM we observe what is essential for systematic database, learning, action and feedback that have been identified as a major weakness. Simply put, *knowledge* in this context is the most valuable of strategic resources, and *learning* is one of the most important capabilities for expanding its development resources. The benefits of KM are acknowledged as playing an extremely significant role in preserving institutional memory; disseminating best practices in a more effective manner; eliminating the practice of “reinventing the wheel”; providing information that is timely, actionable and to the point; linking internal knowledge with that of external and other multiple stakeholders and providing the basis for a more effective information management.

In the above review, the attempt has been to identify some of the impediment and the need for strategic partnership and alliances for the consolidation and preservation of development within the context of the global market arena. Economically, socially, politically there exist almost insurmountable obstacles to the flourishing of international trade emanating from internal structural and political obstructions. However, other societies in Latin America and Asia with identical features have managed to install and maintain functional socio-political systems. While it is too difficult to predict how the international system of trade governance will evolve, there is no reason to believe that Africa’s participation globalisation is doomed. A skilled and committed civic and state leadership can mitigate conditions that are hostile to human capital development and the requisite democratic governance that is indeed a sine quo non to achieving equitable growth and prosperity.

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¹⁰ Specifically, the recommendation is to continue assisting member states to formulate policy framework drawing on the experiences of East Asia including the Chinese TVE programme; continue providing leadership to open dialogues between the African region and East Asia for working out strategies to promote aggressive marketing and financing trades between the two regions and advising on the necessary policy instruments to sustain the dialogue; study the impact of cross borders policies on the livelihood of peoples trading along and across the borders, and to help stratify countries for globalisation policy-making purposes

¹¹ Knowledge can be divided into two spheres. explicit knowledge is formal, codified knowledge that comes in the form of books, documents, white papers, databases, and policy manuals, etc. and tacit knowledge is defined as informal, un-codified knowledge found in the heads of people: highly experiential, difficult to document in any detail, ephemeral and transitory.

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