AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY SOUTH AFRICA IN THE PROMOTION OF THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

BY

DANKISO IGNATIUS CHUNGI MABULA

(10072438)

A mini dissertation submitted to the faculty of Human and Social Sciences in part fulfillment for the Degree of Master of Arts (MA)in Peace Studies and International Relations, at the North West University – Mafikeng Campus

Supervisor :Mr. Kale Ewusi

Date of Submission : October 2004

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation for the degree of Master of Arts in Peace Studies and International Relations at the North West University hereby submitted, has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university, that it is my own work in design and execution, and that all material contained herein has been duly acknowledged.

....   30/10/2004........
Signature   Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a considerable debt of gratitude to the research work of those who have investigated the details of NEPAD. The African Institute of South Africa, ACCORD and the Secretariat of NEPAD have provided me with an invaluable information.

My sincere gratitude goes to God who provided me with enthusiasm and energy, my colleague and friend Victor Pitsoe who helped me with the organisation of the manuscript and also Mr. Kale Ewusi (jnr) for his continuous encouragement and constructive criticism. Lastly, I would like to thank my family for their long-suffering patience.

ABSTRACT

The New Partnership for Africa's Development - NEPAD is the continued search by African people and its leaders to develop Pan African structures that will initiate social and economic transformation in a rapidly globalizing world which continues to marginalize Africa. According to the human indicators of the United Nations Development Programme, Africa remains the poorest continent under the sun. Half of Africa's 875 million people survive on US $ 1 daily and they have little access to socio – economic infrastructure.

South Africa, guided by her foreign policy, which advocates respect for human rights, democracy and economic development, is at the forefront in efforts to promote NEPAD. South Africa's promotion of NEPAD is encouraged by her will to promote the philosophy of African Renaissance, to maintain her prestige in Africa and to assert South Africa's leadership in Africa.

Many internal and external problems have been encountered by South Africa whilst promoting NEPAD. Internal problems have been; unemployment, poverty, tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, corruption and an excruciating debt. The forces of globalization such as economic marginalisation and the non-representation of South Africa within the multilateral institutions such as the World Trade Organization have presented external problems.

NEPAD should develop social policies that complement liberal policies in order to address internal problems such as unemployment and poverty. African governments should not withdraw from being involved in their nation's economies and solely rely on liberal policies for economic capital flows. Lastly,

NEPAD should fight for the restructuring of the multilateral institutions such as the World Trade Organization.

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ACRONYMS

AAF – SAP	African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programme
ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution and Disputes
AMIB	African Mission in Burundi
ANC	African National Congress
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Community
APPER	Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	African Union
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Nations
ECA	Economic Community of Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union

FAR	Rwandan Armed Forces
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FIFA	Federation of International Football Association
G 8	Group of Eight Industrialized Countries
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
ICT	Information Communication and Technology
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOC	International Olympic Committee
MAP	Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme
MEDUNSA	Medical University of Southern Africa
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MONUC	United Nations Mission in Congo
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Association
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAU	Organisation of African Unity

OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
RCD	Democratic Rally of the Congo
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SPLA	Sudan's People Liberation Army
TNC	Transnational Corporation
TRIP	Trade Related Industrial Property
UN	United Nations
UNITA	Union for Total Independence of Angola
UN - PAERD	United Nations Programme of African Economic Recovery
USA	United States of America
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZACTU	Zimbabwe Confederation of Trade Unions
ZANU - PF	Zimbabwe National Union Patriotic Front

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

This study attempts to probe the challenges encountered by South Africa in her quest to promote NEPAD – *New Partnership For Africa's Development.*NEPAD is a continuing search by African leaders and their peoples to create Pan African structures that can lead to the social and economic transformation of the continent in a rapidly "globalising world"(Nabudere, 2002:1). The challenges that are encountered by South Africa are both internal and external. They are economical, political and social. They are characterised by poverty, excruciating debts, diseases, conflicts and Africa's minority position at the World Trade Organisation.

In the past years has been encapsulated and gripped within the vice of a tough, gruelling and hard times. This was the result of Africa's endeavours to fight hard to subjugate colonialism. These endeavours yielded envisaged results when by the late fifties Ghana under Nkrumah gained independence. By 1960 all French colonies except Algeria gained their self-rule. Belgian Congo also became independent. British colonies in East and Central Africa got their self rule too.Portugeese colonies got it in 1975. Southern Rhodesia now Zimbabwe got it in 1980. South West Africa, now Namibia got it in 1990 and finally South Africa introduced majority rule in 1994 (Breytenbach, 1999:93).

Post independent Africa failed to live up to the expectations of the people. The expectations of the people which are : freedom from external menaces as well as the provision of security from poverty and hunger were never met. Africans were exposed to some forms of negative governments such as the administrative

Bureaucratic regimes in the former French colonies. Within such states there are no differences between the administration and party politics. There is a single party, which uses the unscrupulous machinery of oppression to entrench its authority. The secret police and party cadres are used to carry out this operation. There is violation of human rights, abolition of the freedom of speech and the state of emergency. On the other hand, Africa experienced failed states resulting from corruption and conflicts. Such states have been prevalent in Somalia and Zaire, now DRC - Democratic Republic of Congo (Maninger,1998:24).

In a bid to respond to these type of governments, Africans were engaged in a series of bloody armed conflicts which resulted in a series of calamities and casualties. Subsequently conflicts gave rise to militarism in Africa. Militarism is manifested through military coups d' etat. A military coup d' etat is an unconstitutional accession to power through the use of force . In many African states leaders ascend to power through the use of force. For example in Zaire, General Mobutu took power by force. That led to a military uprising until Laurent Kabila took power in 1997 (www.marxist.com /11/9/2002).

African conflicts present unpleasant situations. For example, the since 1993 the Burundian conflict has resulted in the death of about 150 000 people which translates to 2 % of the population. About 800 000 Burundians have lost their homes including approximately 250 000 turned into refugees. Of that number 100 000 have been internally displaced while 150 000 were forced into "official recruitment camps" (www.usip.org. 8/5/2002).

Conflicts in Africa resulted in poor leadership and corruption. This results from paternalism. Leaders in power still maintain their relationship with the former coloniser. They could not beak free from political domination of the former colonial power, nor from the economic exploitation of the giant corporations that control Africa. They purchase support through concessions from powerful interest groups. They regard state control as their most important single economic, political and social resource. These leaders often pillage state revenues and do not show any commitment to development programmes. They pursue policies that exacerbate stagnation and an increase in income quality. As a result of this, they continue to borrow more money abroad for their own benefit (Mulinge, 2003:30).

African corruption is so high that between 1970 – 1976 twenty-five heavily indebted countries borrowed about US $ 176 billion abroad and about US $ 196 billion that was not accounted for vanished from Africa. Furthermore, the African Union report emphasises that corruption costs Africa about US $ 48 billion daily (Ross, 2003:10).

African socialism has been one of the sources for Africa's underdevelopment. It has prevented the continent from developing. It has led to a huge growth of the deficit of the state, provision of expensive welfare measures and overly ambitious construction projects covered by the state. This policy has been ascribed to leaders such as Nkrumah in Ghana and Julius Nyerere in Tanzania (www.wsws.org 11/9/2002).

Africa's debilitating state of affairs has been a cause for concern to many African leaders over the years. Since the seventies, myriad heroic efforts have been undertaken to resuscitate Africa from the entrenched quagmire. These include, inter

-alia the 1973 *"Declaration on Cooperation, Development, and Economic Independence.* It has failed because the West which has been pro – capitalism felt that it was too pro – communist. It was followed by the *Monrovia Declaration* in 1979.This culminated into the *Lagos Plan of Action.* Both these efforts failed because of the lack of funds and excessive reliance on external funding. Following that another attempts between the *Organisation of African Unity* – OAU and the *United Nations* - UN were undertaken. These include inter – alia, *United Nations Programme for Economic Recovery and Development* – UN PAERD . These efforts did not yield the envisaged results and failed (Maloka, 2004:8 – 9).

By the turn of the century, a new generation of African leaders took it upon themselves to become the captains of Africa's soul. African leaders such as Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria became worried about Africa's excruciating debt. These two leaders together with Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria presented a *formal ad hoc* request to the OAU now *African Union* - AU .

In their request, the leaders wanted to be granted a mandate by the organisation to prepare a comprehensive development programme that will serve as a pedestal for the regeneration of the continent as well as the formation of a partnership with the rest of the world. This partnership would involve the industrialised countries as well as the multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the *World Trade Organisation* - WTO .These mandate transcended the initial debt problem. In September 1999, the mandate known as the *Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme* - MAP *was* granted (www.dfa.gov.za. 4/4/2002).

Coincidentally, president Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal has already prepared an African regeneration programme known as the *Omega Plan*. This programme was presented at Franco – African Summit in Yaoundé Cameroon on 21st January 2002 (Nabudere, 2005:5).

The OAU relished and acknowledged the two programmes. The continental organisation decided that the two plans should be merged. These two programmes were welded to become NAI – *New African Initiative*. This took place in Zambia in July 2001. NAI was the adopted name for the induction of the programme. In October 2001 the formal name of the programme became known as *New Partnership for Africa's Development* - NEPAD (Yao, 2003:5). NEPAD is based on two pillars such as: (I) Good Governance and (II) Economic Liberalisation. Both aspects are evaluated by the Peer Review Mechanism, which is a system of voluntary self – assessment, constructive peer dialogue and persuasion (NEPAD at Work, 2002:4).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The study examined the following aspects:

- What is South Africa's role in promoting the NEPAD?
- What problems are South Africa encountering in her promotion of NEPAD?
- What is the impact of other factors hinging on South Africa's role in promoting the NEPAD?

1.3. Rationale of the Study

The study is important by the virtue that it evaluates the problems that South Africa encountered in her promotion of the NEPAD.The study gives the full account of South Africa's commitment in her endeavours to promote democracy, peace, prosperity, sustainable development, progressive leadership and good governance within the "*Dark Continent*". These endeavours will yield South Africa economic spin offs as she will penetrate the economy of most African states. Politically South Africa has been rewarded as the first chairperson of the AU.Furthermore the Pan – African parliament is located in South Africa.

1.4. Aim of the Study

To probe the challenges encountered by South Africa in her promotion of NEPAD.

1.5. Objectives of the Study

The study examined the following aspects:

- South Africa's role in promoting NEPAD.
- Problems encountered by South Africa in promoting NEPAD.
- The impact of the other factors hinging on South Africa's promotion of NEPAD

1.6.Scope of the Study

The study categorically focussed on the problems that were encountered by South Africa in her promotion of NEPAD.This is by the virtue that Africa is grappling with many problems that hinge on socio – economic and political recovery.

1.7. Theoretical Framework of the Study

The study operates within the theory of liberalism. Liberalism emphasises democracy and high level of economic interdependence. According to liberalism, there are other new key role players in world affairs such as international agencies, supranational bureaucracies, labour unions and transgovernmental coalitions. States are becoming more oriented towards economic growth and social security.

NEPAD is highly premised on democratic principles of good governance and economic liberalisation. These are the conditions prescribed to Africa by Triad-European Union, Japan and US for injecting US $ 64 billion annually. Furthermore Africa is grappling about playing its role in globalisation. The IMF, World Bank and WTO dictate for African states to liberalise their economies in order to be accommodated within the global economic interdependence.

1.8. Literature Review

Over the past decades Africa has been commonly known as the "*Dark Continent*". Such a derogative nomenclature has been the result of slavery, colonialism, World Wars 1 and 11, as well economic marginalisation. These adverse effects appear to be the bottlenecks or buffers towards the regeneration of Africa. Africans themselves are not immune from these poignant effects. Africans exacerbated the matters by engaging in perennial contemporary conflicts. The results have been devastating in the following manner: poverty, dictatorships, coups d' `etat, famine and destruction of the institutions of government and infrastructure. For example, the conflict in the DRC resulted in poverty, failing of the state and entrenchment of dictatorship (www.globalissues.org- 11/9/2002

Over the past decades Africa has been engulfed by a series of gruesome conflicts, poverty, debts, refugees and failed states where corruption has been the system of governance (Kremnyk and Zartman, 1995:40). Post in independent Africa has been eluded by economic and social security. That has been blockaded by perennial conflicts. For example, since 1995 there have been 17-armed conflicts around the

continent. They have been catastrophic and devastating with the following hallmarks: Amputations in Angola, genocide in Rwanda and Burundi and the ethnic cleansing in the DRC. The OAU did nothing significant to resolve these domestic or civil conflicts. The OAU became highly involved in interstate conflict. For example, the border disputes between Ethiopia and Eritrea
(Kieh, 1998:12 – 14).

In resolving domestic conflicts, the OAU displayed three patterns: (I) In cases such as Somalia and Ethiopia, the organisation admonished the warring factions to resolve their differences peacefully. In this regard admonition has been the premium tool for OAU's involvement; (II) In some instances the OAU supported and defended the status quo and governments who have been under the attack of rebels and belligerents. For example, during the Nigerian civil war, the OAU vehemently supported the Federal government against the secessionist Biafra
(Kieh, 1998:14).

The reluctance on the side of OAU to intervene on armed conflicts within countries has been made difficult by Article III; paragraph VII of the OAU Charter. The latter succinctly emphasised the principle of non – interference within internal affairs of the member states (Breytenbach, 1999:95). Article II has further made that difficult, paragraph VII of the UN Charter. The clause succinctly emphasises that the UN cannot intervene within the domestic jurisdiction of member states unless a call is made by the legitimate government that is under attack (Goulding, 1998:11).

Willy nilly any failures the OAU has made some significant contributions in resolving some of the continental deadliest armed conflicts. The OAU has facilitated the Arusha Peace Agreement for countries in the SADC – Southern

African Development Community. This significant contribution took place in Burundi. In that country, the OAU established the Observer Mission. The latter was established to resolve a conflict between the warring factions. Other noticeable contributions from the OAU took place in Somalia. The OAU, together with the UN hard to find peaceful solutions for conflict resolution in that country. Regardless these noticeable contributions, the role of the OAU in African conflicts have been wishy washy, highly humanitarian and lacking vigour and vitality. The snail pace of the OAU has resulted into a litany of violent armed conflicts trans continent whereby myriad people have lost their lives, others have been displaced within and outside their countries (Nhara, 1998:35 - 36).

Refugees problem has been the major feature in a litany of armed conflicts around Africa. This has been the problem dating back to the Cold War era. Over a period of thirty nine years, the Horn of Africa that is the East side of Africa, has experienced a dislocation of people who criss crossed the neighbouring borders seeking asylum. Between 1974 – 1995 more than 15 million people in the Horn became refugees. This has been the highest recorded number of refugees worldwide. Refugees sometimes cause insecurities in affected regions. For example, in 1994 the *Armed Forces of Rwanda* – FAR. FAR has been helped by the French humanitarian organisation - *`Operation Turquoise* to evade an attack that was to be launched by the *Rwandan Patriotic Front - RPF.* FAR members were safely taken into refugees camp in the DRC.While there, they managed to regroup and launched severe attacks into Rwanda directed at the RPF regime (Nzongola – Ntalaja, 1999:72).

In some cases, the host country gives access to movements from the troubled torn countries for recruiting people into their organisations. This has been evident when the Ethiopian government allowed the *Sudan People's Liberation Army* - SPLA access to forcefully recruit Sudanese who have been exiled in Ethiopia (Bariagaber, 1992:596).

The mineral wealth of a country is sometimes used to perpetuate these conflicts rather than to rescind poverty and starvation. The militia and rebels to sustain their war have seized minerals such as diamonds, timber, and uranium. During the Angolan conflict, the *Union for Total Independence of Angola* – UNITA which is a rebel movement that occupied and controlled a richly endowed diamond area. Diamonds were sold around the world in exchange for weapons. It is estimated that about US $ 4 billion worth of diamonds have been smuggled and sold in exchange of weapons. In Liberia, timber and iron ore worth about US $ 500 million have been seized by the rebels and sold to facilitate them to ascend into power. In Sierra Leone, diamonds worth millions of rands have been seized to help the warlords to be in power (Boutwell, 1999:16).

The rebels felt that the seizure of the minerals in their countries is indispensable for them to ascend into power. The money that is received from the sale of minerals is used to acquire arsenal that helps the rebels and militia to attack the government. For example, in 1989, Charles Taylor seized the Liberian timber and mineral resources with only 100 lightly armed insurgents. The minerals were sold and fire powered them to topple the government (Ostheimer, 1999:18).

Perpetual conflicts led to the collapse of states such as the DRC, Somalia and Liberia. The institutions of the state such as the judiciary, legislature, executive and the army collapsed. The absence of these institutions culminated into the emergence of *laissez faire* attitude. For example, guns such as the M – 16 and Kalashnikovs were openly sold at a street value of US $ 10 – 20 to young children (Boutwell, 1999:18). Within such states there are gruesome violations of human rights. For example, in the DRC the authorities and the national media waged detest campaigns against Tutsi people of Rwandese origin. Authorities incited civilians to attack Tutsis and other people who are suspected to belong to the opposition. Many people were reported to have been burnt alive, while others have been executed (www.web.amnesty.org – 11/9/2002).

Other belligerents have been elevated to the status of national heroism because they are perceived as solaces for the people who are tired of wars. For example, during the US and UN invasion in Somalia, many people lost their lives. The approach of both the UN and US to save civilians has lost its direction. The US soldiers ended fighting the militia. Somali people, whom the US protected, felt that the war has been waged against. They felt that somebody was needed to salvage help them out of the quagmire. Subsequently, Mohammed Farrah Aidid fought tooth and nail with both parties. He was elevated from a villain to a hero by the fact that people assumed that he protected them (Kieh, 2004:19).

The weapons that are acquired during armed conflicts spill over to the new wave of conflict, which is crime. This is by the fact that these weapons are relatively small and do not need any form of formal training for their handling. This led to West Africa experiencing an alarming rise in armed robberies .An increase of arms proliferation presents major violation of human rights. For example, in May 2004, hundreds of people have been massacred in an ethno – religious conflict in Kano and Plateau regions in Nigeria. Machetes and firearms have been freely used (King, 2004:15).

Conflicts have resulted into the increase of poverty in Africa. Human Development figures emphasise that about 200 million or 28 % or Africans are perpetually hungry (NEPAD at Work, 2002:20). Osei – Hwedi (2003:254) adds that in the year 2000 sub – Saharan poverty stood at 2.2 billion people that translates to 30 % of the world's population. Africa remains the poorest continent with more than half of its citizens surviving at about US $ 1 per day or less than that. About three quarters of the total population of Africa lives in rural areas where poverty is abundant. About 60 % of the rural poor are women (Taylor, 2003:45).

The intense scale of poverty transcends into explosive health crisis. Within the health sector, Africa delivers far lower *vis `a vis* other continents. Children and juvenile death rates are at 105 and 169 per 1000 compared to 6 and 7 per 1000 of the developed countries. The life expectancy stands at 48.9 years against 77.7 years in the developed countries. There are only 16 doctors available for 100 000 people as compared to 253 per 100 000 in developed countries (Maloka, 2004:489).

African population reduces explosively due to the results of deaths caused by diseases such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, diarrhoea and malaria .About 800 000 children die of diarrhoea before their fifth birthday. Malaria accounts for about 1.2 million deaths and 1 million die of pneumonia. About 250 000 women die during childbirth (NEPAD at Work, 2002:20 – 25). The SAP's – Structural Adjustment Problems that are imposed by the World Bank and IMF – International Monetary Fund on African states, exacerbates Africa's problems. SAP's enforces African countries to cut on their social spending in order to make up for their debt. For example, in countries such as Malawi and Tanzania, less than US $ 2 is spent daily per person on healthcare as compared to US $ 11.50 spent per person for debt repayment (Kaya, 2003:191).

The scourge of HIV/AIDS is highly sky rocketing to an extent that it has become a social, economic and democratic crisis. It is the menace to stability and the future development of Africa. It destroys the builders of the future such as engineers, teachers and nurses (Powell, 1999:9). Akokpari (2001:30) adds that HIV/AIDS is so severe that it can lead to Africa without people. It is estimated that about 22.5 million people in sub – Saharan Africa are now HIV positive. In 1998, about 3.5 million that equal the total population of Eritrea contracted HIV. Two million of that number passed away. Women are the most people who are affected by HIV/AIDS. Views emphasise that about 55 % of the infections in sub – Saharan Africa during 1999 affected most women (Ezeogu, 2003:191).

Africa enters the 21st century as the least developed, economically underdeveloped and the poorest continent. Of the 46 least developed countries globally, 34 are found in Africa Estimates maintains that about 12 % of the world's population resides in Africa, but the continent produces a meagre 3 % of the global GDP (Mulinge, 2003:22).The current state of affairs of Africa's economic backwardness results from colonialism. Africa acquired independence that has been characterised by depleted and mundane economy. That was influenced by Nkrumah's philosophy of : *"Seek ye first thy political kingdom and all else will be added unto you"*. Africans concentrated on acquiring political with the conviction that the economy will follow thereafter. That created the existing problems for Africa (Mamdani, 1999:135).

The state of African economy is that the economy is held within the hands of the elite minority few whereas the other has gone out of the country .That has resulted in newly established governments borrowing money from the IMF and World Bank. On the contrary, lack of appropriate monetary, fiscal, and exchange rate as well as the unavailability of well designed debt financial management strategies have been synonymous with African states. Furthermore there has been corruption, lack of transparency as well as inadequate domestic savings and lower investment. These have resulted into a litany of borrowing (Obadina, 2004:35).

Too much borrowing has led to the elasticity of the debt in African countries. Debt has become so excruciating that some countries were unable to meet their obligations. Unfortunately there is no law that allows countries to declare insolvency. By 1987 the total debt of African countries stood at US $ 1020 billion. On the other hand debt service stood at US $ 250 billion. The amount of debt accelerated over the years. In 1995, the debt stood at US $ 250 billion (Omole, 2003:35).

Debt service has been 48 % while in other states it has exceeded 100%. Debt has a negative impact on African states. There are negative impacts such as : external shocks; distortion of growth rates ; and disruption of social structures. The impact of external shocks is characterised by: fluctuations in exchange rates and variable interest rates. That has resulted in Africa's loss of revenues. Between 1980 – 1984 Africa has incurred losses amounting to US $ 43 billion. Distortion in growth rates resulted in failure to provide essential services to debt service. Finally, the disruption of social services resulted into the unavailability of social delivery in favour of debt repayment (Maloka, 2004:225).

Many concerted efforts have been undertaken by African states in a constructive dialogue with the debtors to cancel the debt. The results have not been satisfactorily. That undermined the partnership between the debtors and Africa. The former has been dictating terms to the latter. Debtors have imposed debt scheduling to African states out of favour of debt cancellation. African countries have been advised to purchase debt back form the banks at a low discount. That was the conditions of debt scheduling. That resulted in African states accumulating interest rates worth billions of dollars to the existing debt. SAP's became the conditions for debt scheduling (Mulinge, 2003:26).

Globalisation which refers to: *"the broadening and deepening of linkages of national economies into the global or world market for capital, goods and services* has eluded Africa over the years (Lipalile, 2001:296).Though globalisation, Africa has been experiencing an excruciating and exasperating marginalisation. The forces of globalisation such as : *Information Communication and Technology* – ICT; *Multinational Corporations* – MNC's ; *Transnational Corporations* – TNC's and *Foreign Direct Investment* - FDI have not been doing any good for Africa. Africa's FDI has been bad over the years. In 1999, about US $ 865 billion flowed in all countries around the world. Africa managed to acquire a paltry US $ 10 billion (Nicholson, 2002:30).

Currently less than 2 % of FDI flows to Africa annually. Figures highlight that Africa receives a paltry inward investment *vis `a vis* other countries. In 2001, Africa received less than US $ 20 billion compared to US $ 330 billion received by the Western Europe (Subramoney, 2004:68).

Information Communication and Technology which is the backbone of international trade is less available in Africa vis ` a vis within the developed world. This exacerbates Africa's economic marginalisation. For example, more than 97 % of all Internet hosts are in developed countries (Ng`etich, 2003:77).

Africa's array of problems has led to the generation of leaders becoming the controllers of Africa's destiny and captain's of the people's souls (Khoza, 1999:289). Leaders such as Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria and Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal concertedly took upon themselves to keep Africa's head above waters. Their endeavour has been premised on acquiring two forms of freedom which freedom from want and freedom from fear. Subsequently that initiative culminated into the construction of a comprehensive programme that has been aimed at addressing issues of security, stability and economic development. The programme has been premised on the idea that *"there is no peace without development and no development without peace"*. The programme became known as *New Partnership for Africa's Development* – NEPAD.NEPAD is a holistic, integrated sustainable development initiative for the economic and social revival of Africa (www.dfa.gov.za.- 4/4/2000.

NEPAD is a merge between the *Millennium Partnership For the African Recovery Programme* - MAP and the *Omega Plan*. The MAP is the initiative of Thabo Mbeki and Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal constructed Olusegun Obasanjo while the Omega Plan. After ascending power in 1994, the South African ruling party the *African National Congress* – ANC, attempted to improve the image of Africa to attract foreign capital. The party relinquished populist and socialist ideas (Tieku, 2003:254).

Mandela's government pronounced that the foreign policy of the new government would be guided by liberal internationalism. The latter advocates for good governance, respect for human rights and the liberalisation of the economy. Economic liberalism ensures free trade and privatisation. International liberalism is the cornerstone of MAP.Olusegun Obasanjo has brought the element of security, stability and cooperation into MAP. His concept dates aback to the early nineties. He organised the African the African leadership forum in Paris on issues of security, stability and co – operation among Africans. This provides the reason for socio – economic issues becoming the cornerstones of NEPAD (www.gov.za. – 4/4/2002).

MAP appears to be the dominant element in NEPAD.This is because of the intense contributions of South Africa and Nigeria. Obliviously, president Wade of Senegal brought the Omega Plan into NEPAD. The Omega Plan is based on four cornerstones, which are,: (I) health, (II) Agriculture, (III) Human Resource Development and (IV) Building the infrastructure for Information Communication and Technology. The OAU acknowledged the two tenets and recommended that they should be merged. Subsequently they were merged to form NEPAD which had its genesis on the 23rd October 2001 in Abuja, Nigeria (Bala and Vickers, 2003:11).

NEPAD is a joint venture by the Africans to depart the "Dark Continent" from socio – political pessimism, excruciating and exasperating debt, child soldiers and bad news to the establishment of an "African Century" which mirrors sustainable economic growth and development. It is premised on the establishment of good governance, respect for property and human rights, and the liberalisation of the economy. All these can be achieved through the following objectives :

(I) Democracy and Good Political Governance, (II) Economic and Corporate Governance, (III) Socio – Economic Development and (IV) African Peer Review Mechanism (Maloka, 2004:518).

1.9.Hypotheses

The study is premised on the following hypotheses :

- South Africa is playing a leading role in the NEPAD.
- South Africa appears to be encountering problems when promoting the NEPAD

1.10.Significance of the study

The study is valuable *ipso facto* that it investigated the problems that South Africa encountered in her promotion of the NEPAD.The study gives full account of South Africa's commitment in her endeavours to promote democracy, peace, prosperity, sustainable development, progressive leadership and good governance within the "Dark Continent". These endeavours will yield South Africa economic spin offs as she will penetrate the economy of most African states. Politically, South Africa has been rewarded as the first chairperson of the AU.

The study is essential and invaluable to : Researchers; South African policymakers; Secretariat of NEPAD; Promoters of NEPAD; Research Institutions such as ACCORD and the African Institute. The *raison d ` `etre* is that it provides an invaluable data on the problems encountered by South Africa in her promotion of NEPAD.

The beneficiaries from the study include inter alia : Students from the disciplines of Peace Studies and International Relations; Politics; and other related fields.

1.11.Methodology

1.11.1.Subjects

Key personnel that are involved in South Africa's promotion of the NEPAD.These people include, inter alia:

- **Director of the NEPAD within the Department of Foreign Affairs in South Africa :** This person is highly equipped on South Africa's relations with Africa and the rest of the world. Additionally, he/she is conversant with the NEPAD.
- **Research Institutes such as Africa Institute and ACCORD :** These institutions invaluable data on Africa's socio economic and political problems such as HIV/AIDS, poverty, debts and conflicts as well as the NEPAD.
- **Secretariat of NEPAD: As** the nerve centre of the NEPAD.The invaluable data is highly entrenched within this structure.

1.11.2.Methods of data Collection

- A questionnaire with both open and closed ended questions. Open ended questions give the respondents a chance to explain the challenges encountered by South Africa in promoting NEPAD. Closed ended allow respondents to answer in short. i.e. Yes / No.
- Semi structured interviews with the personnel stated above.
- Telephonic interviews with personnel stated above

1.11.3.Ethical Considerations

- The researcher ensured the confidentiality of the data obtained from the respondents.
- Respondents were informed that participation was voluntarily.
- The researcher undertook to provide the respondents with the report of the findings.

1.11.4.Procedure

The letter of introduction is obtained from the department of Political Studies and International Relations. It served as a mode of identification for the researcher that he is a student at North West University. It was an official request for the researcher to be given access to sources of information.

1.11.5.Data Analysis

Most of the data was qualitative. It was obtained from the secondary data and interviews with the people who possess the knowledge of the NEPAD.

CHAPTER TWO

SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN PROMOTING NEPAD

This chapter examines the role that is played by South Africa in promoting NEPAD.Throughout the chapter, the reader will uncover the reason behind South Africa's promotion of NEPAD, South African Foreign policy and the NEPAD, the African Renaissance and the role of South Africa in the resolution of conflicts in Africa.

2.1. The Reason Behind South Africa's Promotion of the NEPAD

In 1996, the South African government followed the global trends by adopting the Western liberal principles. GEAR – *Growth, Employment and Redistribution*, the macroeconomic framework became the fundamental policy for all activities of the government. This liberal strategy is aimed to make South Africa to become a destination for *Foreign Direct Investment* – FDI and for Africa to occupy its position in the complex globalised economy. This forms the backdrop for South Africa's promotion of NEPAD, which advocates for the liberalisation of the economy and respect for democracy and human rights. Liberalisation of the economy translates into removal of trade barriers and privatisation of the states assets, for promoting economic growth. South Africa uses NEPAD to encourage African states to develop liberal policies and establish democratic governments. These are perceived as the requisites for economic development (Tieku, 2004:253).

South Africa's promotion of NEPAD is influenced by the reason that President Thabo Mbeki attempts to defend his efforts of eradicating poverty, resolving African conflicts peacefully, promotion of democracy and economic growth that are contained in the MAP – *Millennium Partnership For the African Recovery Programme.* The *raison de` `etre* is that Mbeki has worked tirelessly hard to prepare the programme ahead of his counterparts, Presidents Obasanjo and Bouteflika. MAP contains five principles such as :

- Promotion of peace, security, and governance;
- Investing in Africa's people;
- Diversification of Africa's production and exports;
- Investing in ICT and other basic infrastructure;
- Developing financial mechanisms (Pityana 2004:38).

Views furthermore expound that Mbeki has gone an extra mile to promote MAP which forms the basis for his enthusiastic promotion of the NEPAD.In Nabudere (2002:6-7) he comments this about his promotion of MAP :

"During the year 2000,we spent sometime meeting the political leadership of the developed world the – North,. Accordingly, in May, we met Prime Minister Tony Blair in London and Washington DC respectively. We also met the then governor George W Bush in Austin, Texas.In June, we were part of the Berlin meeting on progressive governance.... In the same month, we visited to participate in and addressed the meeting of the Nordic Prime Ministers. Again in June, we addressed the meeting of the European Council held in Portugal which was attended by all heads of the governments of the EU – European Union. In July, together with presidents Obasanjo and Bouteflika,we met the heads of states and governments of the G7 in Tokyo and had the opportunity to hold bilateral discussions with the Japanese Prime Minister, Yoshiro Mori.While in Tokyo, we also met the President of the World Bank, Jim Wolfensson.Later in Pretoria, we also held discussions

with the Managing Director of the IMF,Horst Kohler.In September, we addressed the UN Millennium Summit and had the opportunity to meet President Putin of Russia among others. Before this, we had also interacted with the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan who committed the UN to cooperate with us as we worked on MAP"

Mbeki is highly quoted at length above. He explicitly expounds the route that he undertook to promote the MAP. He uses the plural pronoun "we" to refer to people he visited with around the world. This excludes the G7 meeting in Tokyo. Throughout, he neither divulges the names of the people who had accompanied him. Obliviously this illustrates that he carried the enterprise alone. Mbeki's promotion of the MAP illustrates the enhancement of South Africa's prestige and status. Furthermore, he wants to secure Africa's social and economic position in the complex globalised world. He did this to lobby for support in relation to South Africa's quest to acquire a permanent seat in the Security Council.

NEPAD is promoted by South Africa to reverse Africa's marginalisation in the world economy especially the Northern hegemony. South Africa attempts to challenge the following through the NEPAD :

- Depressed international commodity prices have enriched the North, but have contributed to the impoverishment of Africa;
- The shift in international investment patterns has encouraged business in the North and has left Africa as a developing continent in the cold;
- Mounting debts have left Africa as a developing continent in the cold

South Africa, *vis a vis* other founders of the NEPAD such as Nigeria,Algeria,Egypt and Libya possess the financial muscle to carry NEPAD forward. This forms part of South Africa's distributive foreign policy. A distributive foreign policy manifests itself when a country is able to use its resources for the benefit of other countries. The budget allocated for foreign missions in South Africa gives the testimony to this. According to Vale and Mpaisha (1999:204) South Africa's foreign expenditure for 1995 stood at R645 million. Out of that, R105 million has been spent on African missions. Leon (2001:30) adds that South Africa spends more money on foreign missions than any other African country. The allocations for foreign missions in 2001 were as follows: R134 million to host international conferences; R58 million for missions in Rwanda, DRC and Burundi; R25 million for other African priorities including the chairing of the African Union.

NEPAD is promoted to maintain peace, security, and stability in Africa. These are the main requirements for the attraction of Foreign Direct Investment. South Africa deploys soldiers around Africa to rescind bloody conflicts to maintain peace and stability. For example, South Africa has deployed its forces as part of the United Nations Mission in Eritrea and Ethiopia (Viljoen, 2004:17).Financial muscle that is flexed on the department of defence enables South Africa to engage in any peacekeeping mission in Africa. Currently, South Africa contributes 75% to the military budget of the SADC region. South Africa's strength is complimented by her ability to manufacture her own arms through institutions such as Armscor.On the other hand, members of the defence force posses an abundance of experience in war situations. They fought the Cubans and the rebel movement in Angola for a long time. Former revolutionary fighters have been fighting the apartheid government for a long time.

According to Barber (1998:324) the most challenging cross border problem is refugees. They enter countries for economic and political reasons in search for better life and running away from problems in their own countries. As a wealthy state in sub Saharan Africa, South Africa attracts the poor and the wretched from Africa. Refugees compound South Africa's problem by competing with locals for available jobs. Some increase crime by selling drugs and arms smuggling. South Africa promotes NEPAD to curb the problem of refugees. If South Africa develops alone then she will consistently experience refugee problems. Africa is therefore encouraged to develop as a unit for the elimination of social problems such as refugees.

Views maintain that South Africa's promotion of NEPAD is an enhancement of the moral duty that is informed by her foreign policy to protect human rights. South Africa feels obliged to help those countries that helped her during the years of apartheid. These countries have provided shelter and training for South Africans in exile. Nigeria has contributed about US $ 10 million for the ANC.In this regard South Africa feels that it should develop Africa on her own without any financial assistance from African countries.

Leon (2001:29) further expounds that NEPAD promotes president's Thabo Mbeki's Millennium Africa Recovery Programme. The programme aims to search for economic prosperity and human development. These are achieved through the eradication of poverty, unemployment and HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, South Africa plans to reconstruct Africa into a better place for all humanity. Through NEPAD, Africans are educated that democracy is not only about institutions, constitutions and the bill of rights but about the emancipation and empowerment of the people. Through emancipation, the minority groups, the oppressed, women, children, and the aged are guaranteed their rights, which are constitutionally protected by the government. Some of these rights include enfranchisement, restitution of land, and equal distribution of scarce resources such as power, renewable and non renewable materials.

Currently Africa is able to acquire about 2 % of the total of FDI.Through NEPAD South Africa attempts to draw the attention of the world to invest in Africa. African countries are encouraged to rescind competing against each other in terms of trade but form regional blocs that will accelerate trade amongst themselves. Competition among African states results in the loss of revenues while selling common goods at different prices. Furthermore NEPAD is promoted to increase *Official Development Assistance* - ODA to Africa.ODA has decreased from 37.2 % in 1990 to 31.2 % in 1999 (Anyemendu,2003:18). Other views emphasise that Africa's share of the global market has fallen from 5.9 % in the early 80's to 2 % currently.

NEPAD is highly preoccupied about reversing the decline of World Bank credit to African agriculture from 39% to 7% over the last twenty years. On the other hand NEPAD encourages Africans to increase food security through increased food production and raising nutritional standards as well as improvement in productivity. Other improvements include the improvement of the institutional environment for agriculture and an increase in rural purchasing power. Unfair agricultural subsidies that the EU and the United States of America provide to their farmers are another thorny issue that propels South Africa to promote NEPAD.

Through the NEPAD South Africa encourages African states to develop their transport and telecommunications infrastructure, which is the backbone for trade. In the SADC region South Africa is the only country that possess well developed roads and transport. South Africa possesses seven out of sixteen ports within the region. These ports are able to handle a large cargo. The other ports are underdeveloped and this hinders them to hold large cargo. Conversely South Africa possess about 84 % of the region's telephone system. These problems influence SADC to rely heavily on South Africa. This slows the rate of trade. South Africa promotes the NEPAD to reverse that (Alden,1999: 244).Another problem is that of roads. Excluding South Africa, the rest of Africa has a mere 180 000 km of paved roads. Most of them are characterised by potholes. This hinders efficient trade among members.

Africa needs to develop appropriate mechanisms to relate with the dominant institutions of multilateral financial world without falling into the dependency trap. On the other hand NEPAD is promoted to repair the tainted image for the procurement of goods and services by other states. Some government officials inflate prices for their countries while they transfer millions of dollars abroad. The NEPAD proposes for the establishment of institutional reforms that are designed to produce effective measures to combat corruption and embezzlement. Africans are also advised to remain modest so that most of the meagre public revenues are devoted to poverty alleviation (Anyemendu, 2004:19).

Views maintain that South Africa's promotion of NEPAD harness the formation of constructive partnership between African countries and the rich North countries to eradicate poverty in Africa. South Africa attempts to illustrate to the critiques of NEPAD that African countries and their donor partners have a partnership which replaces an old aid mentality and passive donor relationship. Within NEPAD both parties are equal partners. Conversely consideration is given to the pooling of African representation within bodies such as the WTO – *World Trade Organisation*. This representation will not only save costs but encourage African countries to arrive at a united and harmonised position on trade negotiation issues and enable them to speak with a single, united voice that enhances the capacity of Africans to ensure that their interests are more effectively protected during negotiations.

2.2.South African Foreign Policy and NEPAD

2.2.1 Foundational Principles

The notion that South Africa should play an assertive role in African international relations pre-dates the 1940's.This wish existed on the minds of the myriad leaders from various societies. In April 1940, the then leader, Jan Smuts pronounced South Africa's urge to participate in African affairs. He emphasised that for South Africa to assume her position in African affairs, appropriate policies should be formulated. These policies would accrue South Africa profitable economic results. The white minority government did not accede to Smuts' proposal.

During the late sixties, the white minority government revisited Smuts' idea. The regime had invented two conceptual approaches suitable for South Africa's relation with Africa. These concepts are known as *Détente and Dialogue*. They have been perceived as the *modus operandi* to acquire status for the continent and lucrative returns. The late seventies presented a proposal presented to Southern African states to form a *Constellation of Southern African States*. This was presented under the guise of establishing an economic partnership. The crux of the matter was that South Africa wanted to infiltrate the revolutionary freedom fighters harboured within these neighbouring countries. Unfortunately it was turned down by these states (Le Pere, 1998:6 – 7).

South African Foreign Policy was based for the regulation of the preservation and protection of the white minority sovereignty. The white state was preserved through promulgation of draconian decrees guided by apartheid. The custodian of the minority government ensured that blacks acquired the form of training and education that will make them submissive and subservient. Any means that challenged apartheid were subdued and subjugated through incarceration without trial (Van Niekerk, 2001:278).South Africa's segregation policy received a lukewarm welcome from the international arena. The *United Nations* - UN was at the forefront of the attacks. Much of the *ad hoc* sessions of the UN were devoted on finding suitable solutions to dismantle apartheid. Subsequently the president of the General Assembly disallowed South Africa participation in UN's activities. That disgusted South Africa, which responded with the withdrawal of Pik Botha its ambassador from the UN. Furthermore the apartheid regime withheld its contributions to the UN.

Liberalism was exposed when other key stakeholders in international relations exposed their dissent concerning South Africa's behaviour. The *Federation of International Football Association* – FIFA and *International Olympics Committee* – IOC expelled South Africa from its structures. Conversely OPEC – *Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries* imposed an oil embargo on South Africa beckoning her to rescind apartheid. This outlines that in international relations it is not only the states that are powerful, there are other role players.

Foreign Policy making of the apartheid era acted as an *Oligarchic Bureaucratic* process. Decision-making was curtailed and centralised into the hands of a small, elite, white and male sector. The white electorate, pressure groups and white members of the ruling party were excluded from this exercise (Barber and Barrat, 1999:169 – 170).

2.2.2.South Africa's Evolving Foreign Policy

In 1989 Nelson Mandela was released from jail. That culminated in the ubanning of revolutionary and freedom movements. Between 1993 – 1994 the ANC - *African National Congress* outlined principles that would guide South Africa's approach to international relations. These were tabled in a discussion paper presented by foreign policy group and in an article presented by Nelson Mandela. In both publications a strong moral dimension that embraced: human rights; international law; peace; and disarmament were tabled. Mandela emphasised that foreign policy should be based on the belief that human rights should be the cornerstone of international relations. The working group acknowledged that and added that human rights should be extended beyond politics to embrace the economic; social and environmental concern (www.anc.org.za – 12/5/2004). Van Niewkerk (1999:1) outlines the seven principles of South African policy presented by the ANC in a comprehensive document entitled *Foreign Policy Perspectives in a Democratic South Africa*. They are :

- A belief in and preoccupation with human rights which extends beyond the political, embracing the economic, social,and environmental;
- A belief that just and lasting solutions to the problems of human kind can only come through the promotion of democracy, worldwide;
- A belief that justice and international law should guide the relations between nations;
- A belief that international peace is the goal to which all nations should strive. Where this breaks down internationally, agreed peaceful mechanisms to solve conflicts should be resorted to;
- A belief that our foreign policy should reflect the interests of Africa;

- A belief that South Africa's economic development depends on growing regional and international economic cooperation in an independent world;
- A belief that our foreign relations must mirror our deep commitment to the consolidation of a democratic South Africa.

Views maintain that it is not surprising for the ANC to emphasise moral dimension in its Foreign Policy. The *raison d` `etre* is that the party has fought a lengthy liberation struggle in pursuit of human rights. It had succeeded in overthrowing apartheid, and in doing so it had received resounding support from the international community. Inspired by its own *political miracle,* the ANC set out to promote its moral values. There has been some noticeable success in a number of ways, *inter alia* : taking a leading role in a campaign against nuclear proliferation; the banning of landmines; and conflict resolution in Africa (Barber, 1999:320).

As contained in (www.gov.za – 4/2/2003) South Africa's Foreign policy objectives that are extracted from the ANC are:

- To promote democracy and respect for human rights;
- To prevent conflict and promote peaceful resolution of disputes;
- To advance sustainable development and peaceful resolution of disputes.

Economically, South African Foreign Policy continues to search for prosperity. It is influenced by the liberal policies of free trade and market economy. For example, in 1996, the South African government pronounced that the liberal macroeconomic policy GEAR – *Growth, Employment and Redistribution* would be the guiding policy for all government's activities. Furthermore emphasis is asserted to expand South Africa's economic boundaries to seize new economic opportunities.

Coincidentally the NEPAD asserts for the promotion of liberal policies such as free trade and privatisation of the state assets. Nevertheless, these are the economic liberal policies of the ruling party promoted by president Mbeki.

Van Niekerk et al (2000:92) maintains that South Africa's foreign policy is both distributive and regulatory. The former president Nelson Mandela has illustrated the latter after the execution of Ken Saro Wiwa and eight members of the Ogoni tribe. Mandela went on publicly to condemn this incident and called for more punitive measures to be carried against the Nigerian government. This highlighted South Africa's stance for violation of human rights. The former is illustrated through the utilisation of South Africa's resources in African affairs. For example South Africa has used its military to aid the Mozambicans who were attacked by floods. On the other hand South Africa has been involved in peacemaking in Africa noticeably in the DRC. South Africa hosted the Inter Congolese Dialogue which was paid for by South Africa's taxpayer. Conflict resolution is the basis for the NEPAD.

Vickers and Fourie (2003:17) highlight that South Africa has formulated three broad reformist strategies used as *modus operandi* for intervention by the NEPAD.They are :

- Reforming the inter – state and embryonic world state system, including the launching of a new World Trade Organisation Round. This should be achieved through cooperation with peripheral allies such as Egypt; Nigeria; Brazil and India. There should be a demand for a larger volume of the reformation of the financial institutions and the United Nations;

- Lending the South African prestige and a concrete assistance in the alleviation of the plight of the African continent;
- Establishment of the basis for a newly evolved North – South ideology of social democracy.

2.2.3. The African Renaissance and NEPAD

The African Renaissance is the concept that aims to regenerate Africa the way in which the NEPAD does. It is an old concept with various presentations. Pixley Isaka ka Seme called it the *Regeneration of Africa*; Leopold Senghor called it *Negritude*; Nnamdi Azikiwe called it *Renascent Africa* and Thabo Mbeki calls it the *African Renaissance*. All these advocate for one aspiration of developing Africa.

According to Vale and Maseko (1998:11) the African Renaissance is a holistic vision that is aimed at promoting peace; prosperity; democracy and sustainable development; progressive leadership and good governance. This is not a concept of president Mbeki alone but for the ANC collective. Mbeki drives this concept forward. After assuming office, Mbeki carried forward the liberal policies that have been started by Mandela. This was a signal to the business community that he was committed to the idea of making South Africa and Africa a destination for FDI and international commerce. As a response to South Africa's policy of promoting democracy, Mbeki launched scathing onslaughts on one party and personal rule in the continent. He also encouraged African peoples to govern themselves by refusing and resisting all tyranny.

Mbeki's liberal reforms and open condemnation of undemocratic governments in Africa angered African leaders, many who have harboured the ANC during the liberation struggle. These leaders retaliated and accused Mbeki of promoting

Western ideas at the expense of African values. Mbeki and the government acceded on formulating a new strategy to promote neo liberalism in Africa. This new strategy encapsulated the positioning of neo liberal message within a broader transformational agenda. Instead of the perpetual attack of illiberal regimes in Africa, Mbeki called for the joint reconstruction of Africa. This was aimed to conclude the work of earlier Pan Africanist movements and to re – invent the African state to play its rightful and effective role in the complex global economy. For the achievement of this, Mbeki introduced the concept of African Renaissance as a conceptual framework.

The African Renaissance is the spatial design for Africa to challenge the existing geopolitical order including the old models of state sovereignty, state boundaries, national identity, and the Northern hegemony. It emphasises the following principles:

- An economic recovery of the continent;
- Establishment of good governance and political democracy on the continent;
- Mobilisation of African people to take their destiny into their own hands and the prevention of the continent's wealth from being expropriated (Van der Waldt et al..,2001:235).

The African Renaissance is the concept that paved the route for NEPAD.They are both promoted by South Africa informed by her foreign policy. The South African government has opened the African Renaissance Institute to ensure that these projects are well researched and enhanced.

2.2.4. South Africa's Role in Conflict Resolutions in Africa to Promote NEPAD

South Africa has been highly involved in conflict resolutions in Africa as part of the NEPAD's promotion. President Mbeki has been instrumental in this process. He has played a prominent role by cajoling president Charles Taylor of Liberia to relocate to Nigeria for the facilitation of peace in that country. On the other hand, South Africa has been involved in conflict resolutions in the DRC, Burundi and Lesotho.

2.2.4.1. South Africa's Involvement in the Conflict in DRC

The DRC has been gripped by a boiling and turbulent conflict that has lasted for four decades. As a measure to rescind that conflict, president Mbeki presented the concept of "*Renaissance Peacekeeping*" to the leaders of Zimbabwe, Uganda, Rwanda, and Zambia in January 1999. Mbeki invited these countries to establish a joint multinational operation aimed to rescind violence in the DRC (www.iss.co.za – 9/9/2002).

In February 2002, South Africa hosted the Inter Congolese Dialogue at Sun City. This was a convergence that bought all the stakeholders involved in the DRC conflict to iron out their problems. The dialogue was sponsored by South Africa. It was scheduled to last for 45 days. Towards the 45th day nothing concrete has materialised. Mbeki abandoned his duties and personally flew to Sun City to take charge of the proceedings. He developed a compromise document that was discussed and finally accepted by all stakeholders. It transpired that an interim government led by Joseph Kabila should be established. Additionally, a new military force comprising of all stakeholders should be instituted (www.allafrica.com- 9/9/200).

According to Wakabi (2003:29) the South African government is highly involved in peacekeeping in the DRC besides peacemaking. An involvement in peacekeeping is evident when South Africa deployed troops to the DRC as a contingent of the *United Nations Mission in Congo* – MONUC. Ndaba (2004:22 – 23) adds that South African soldiers deployed in the DRC are highly engaged in peacebuilding activities apart from their original mandate. Warrant Officer Strydom has began a child welfare programme for street kids, orphans, and children living with HIV/AIDS. The project began with donations from her husband. Thereafter she negotiated to secure an unused warehouse from its French owner. She houses these children in it. She continues visiting local schools to teach young girls about the dangers of prostitution. She also teaches them sewing skills, and ways to plant and sell vegetables.

The lower structures are involved in rescinding peace to complement the work that is done by the top level structure. A Durban based *African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes* - ACCORD has played its part in resolving the conflict in the DRC.ACCORD organised a round table discussions for stakeholders in the DRC conflict. They included *inter alia* rebels from RCD – *Congolese Democratic Rally,* unarmed political parties, ministers from Mobutu's government, the archbishop of Kisangani and a broad range of civil society groups. These parties were engaged in open discussions on many critical issues (Naidoo, 2000:99).

2.2.4.2. South Africa's Involvement in a Conflict in Burundi

During the year 2000, South Africa got involved in the conflict in Burundi. Former South African president, Nelson Mandela took over from the late Julius Nyerere as Burundi mediator. Mandela committed himself together with South Africa to establish lasting solutions for peace in Burundi. That became the core of Mbeki's

Millennium African Recovery Programme, which is intended to obliterate poverty, conflicts and underdevelopment in Africa.

Mandela called *a Peace Summit* on 21 February 2000 in Arusha, Tanzania. All but Hutu rebel movements turned up. Proposals for sustainable peace talks in Burundi were drafted at the Summit. These included the creation of an integrated army; setting the date for holding of democratic elections and the provision of amnesty for perpetrators. Mandela managed to secure a meeting scheduled for the 6th June 2000.In that meeting he managed to cajole opposing parties to establish an interim government (Rankhumise, 2002:16-17).

According to Neethling (2001:47) the South African government sent troops to Burundi as part of negotiations. These soldiers provided VIP- *Very Important Person* protection to about 150 Burundian political leaders who had returned from exile. These soldiers were 1 467 in number. The South African government incurred their expense. Cilliers (2003:5) adds that South Africa further dispatched a further 700 soldiers as part of AMIB – *African Mission in Burundi*.

South African troops in Burundi have been highly involved in peacebuilding. Soldiers have been highly involved in community rehabilitation projects. They have formed projects such as: *Street Kids and The hand that gives*. These projects help orphans, children living on the streets, refugees and poor people. One unnamed soldier undertook to donate part of his salary to support an orphan whose parents died in the conflict. Every Sunday these soldiers sacrifice their lunch meals and give it to children. Chaplains from the South African force motivate and preach in local churches (Nemtshongwana, 2004:15).

2.2.4.3. South Africa's Involvement in a conflict Situation in Lesotho

On the 22nd September 1998,South African troops entered Lesotho to quell a coup that was planned by the Royal Lesotho Defence Force. This invasion received a lukewarm welcome. Basotho felt that South Africa was seizing Lesotho.SADC was confused by that invasion. It emphasised that neither formal consensus that authorised South Africa to invade Lesotho was reached. On the other hand South Africa has contravened Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. The latter outlines that any peacekeeping mission should be endorsed by the UN and the continental organisation such as OAU now AU.South Africa expounds that her mission has been informed by her foreign policy which advocates for the respect of democracy and human rights (Van Niewkerk, 1999:3).

CHAPTER THREE

THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED BY SOUTH AFRICA IN THE PROMOTION OF THE NEPAD

This chapter examines the internal and external challenges encountered by South Africa in her promotion of the NEPAD.The internal challenges are political, economical and social, whereas the external challenges present themselves in the form of globalisation accelerated by its agents such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation.

3.1. Africa's Endogenous Problems Hinging on South Africa's Promotion of NEPAD

According to Akokpari (2001:23) since independence in the sixties, sub Saharan Africa in particular has been a cesspool of economic decadence, a theatre of horrible and gruesome conflicts and wars with concomitant ephemeral regimes.Mulinge (2003:23) adds that Africa enters the 21st century as the poorest, least developed continent that is economically and technologically on the periphery. Furthermore, Maloka (2004:239) expounds that Africa's social services and welfare especially education, health, unemployment have deteriorated severely meanwhile the scourge of refugees, HIV/AIDS, conflicts and the excruciating and exasperating debts have skyrocketed.

These problems illustrate that Africa's social, economic and political problems hinge exasperatingly on South Africa's promotion of the NEPAD.

3.1.1 Political Problems Hinging on South Africa's Promotion of NEPAD

Africa has been adversely affected by the bottlenecks of political instability. This problem hinges on the NEPAD to develop Africa.Stremlau (1999:104) highlights that the political instability in Africa result from human security challenges such as poverty, hunger, underdevelopment and disease as well as the violation of human rights. Views emphasise that the crisis in Zimbabwe and Sudan present a serious litmus test for the credibility of the NEPAD.

3.1.1.1.Zimbabwean Crisis

As mentioned earlier the current state of affairs present a serious test to the NEPAD's commitment to the promotion of good governance in Africa which incorporates the respect for human rights. This matter is compounded by the world's expectations on South Africa to take full responsibility of hegemony within the SADC – *Southern African Development Community*. Currently Zimbabwe experiences the illegal seizure and occupation of land that legitimately belongs to the whites by the blacks. This action is spearheaded by the war veterans and sanctioned by the ruling ZANU – PF – *Zimbabwe National Union Patriotic Front*. Conversely the opposition operates under suppressive conditions such as constant harassment of the press and the destabilisation of key civic organisations such as the ZCTU – *Zimbabwe Confederation of Trade Unions* through the establishment of splinter groups. Towards the 2002 elections President Mugabe established violence as the pedestal of his campaign. In this regard the opposition leaders were subjected to torture and intimidation with an accelerated increase in sexual torture. Other people disappeared without any trace.

The 2002 elections have been subjected to myriad controversies. The government introduced a number of changes to create more obstacles for the opposition. The government promulgated the following decrees:

- Public service officials were the only people who qualified as election monitors. This ruled out civic groups to monitor elections and allowed few external invitees as election observers;
- Banning of the provision of civic education concerning voting by the NGO's;
- Prohibit civic organisations from receiving any foreign funding.

Another obstacle, which was presented, was the unavailability of the voter's roll for public scrutiny. This empowered the government to inflate the number of voters. The Electoral Supervisory Commission was placed under the leadership of two military officials who instilled fear within the opposition. Mugabe then expelled the EU observers from Zimbabwe and continued to declare the elections free and fair (Raftoupoulos, 2002:415 – 416).

As the custodian of the NEPAD President Mbeki is expected to take action against Zimbabwe. Conversely, Mbeki's action against Zimbabwe is characterised by quiet diplomacy and ambiguities. Mbeki does not act according to the NEPAD's expectations. He has shown solidarity to his fellow liberation leader, while negotiating the context for South Africa and broader continental growth through the ambitious plan the NEPAD.Mbeki's quiet diplomacy and controversial support of Mugabe is corroborated by the sensitivities around South Africa's role as a hegemony and the need to avoid the kind of foreign policy positions that the former President Mandela took against Nigeria after the execution of Ken Saro Wiwa.Mandela publicly condemned Nigeria's actions and demanded an action to be taken. That resulted in the isolation of Africa within the SADC circles.

Mbeki went a step further to defend Zimbabwe at the Commonwealth meeting in Australia in 2002. He boldly asserted that the ostracisation of Mugabe has been inspired by the white supremacy. This comes from intransigent whites who do not accept black rule in Zimbabwe. Mbeki's behaviour raised concerns about his commitment to the NEPAD and the African Renaissance. This is corroborated by the rhetoric he emphasised in September 1998 at an African Renaissance meeting. He maintained that :

> *"We want to see an African Continent in which all people participate in systems of governance by which they are truly able to determine their destiny and put behind us the notions that democracy and human rights are peculiarly "Western" concepts. Thus we would have to assume a stance of opposition to dictatorship, whatever form of it may assume. Thus we say that we must ensure that, elections are held, these must truly be democratic, resulting in governments which the people would accept as being genuinely representative of the will of the people" (Taylor 2002:404).*

After the controversial win of elections by the ZANU – PF, the ANC which advocates for the respect of democratic principles highlighted that the will of the people of Zimbabwe has prevailed. How can the will of the people of Zimbabwe prevail if the grounds were not level?. Furthermore the elections did not concur with what Mbeki has articulated above. The Zimbabwe case presents a test for the sentiments attached in the NEPAD document to be measured against and for leaders such as Mbeki to translate their rhetoric into a serious action. Interestingly these commitments were not imposed upon leaders such as Mbeki, but they were constructed and voluntarily endorsed by them with commitments to act rather than providing a lip service. On the other hand, Wiseman Nkuhlu the Chairperson of the NEPAD's Steering Committee asserted that punitive measures would be taken against those countries which failed to obey the NEPAD's rules and that action will be extended against those countries which fail to respect human rights.Mugabe violates human rights and fails to stick to the NEPAD's game plan. Neither action nor punishment is meted out to Mugabe and Mbeki defends Mugabe internationally. These actions question the credibility of the NEPAD.Views hold that if Mbeki was committed to the NEPAD his response to Mugabe's behaviour would be different to signal the defence if his NEPAD.

During the "Review Workshop" of the NEPAD in January 2002, Mbeki strongly asserted that :

> *"If we unite through an initiative that can permanently reshape this continent and bring about sustained improvement in the lines of our people' then we would have lost an opportunity that will not presents itself again for some time again."*

It is ironic that the damage has already being caused to the NEPAD's credibility. This is through the inaction, ambiguous and the reluctance by the NEPAD to take action against Zimbabwe.

3.1.1.2.Authoritarian Rule

Authoritarian rule is the form of government in which power is located and centralised in one person, an elite group, religious group or a political party. These tenets occupy the highest seat in the government. Their subjects live within constant oppression such that the authority withholds their rights and liberties. Within this government the constitution is unavailable. Subsequently certain privileges and prerogatives that are highly guaranteed by the states are curtailed to the authority (www.geocities.com – 8/2/2002).

This type of rule is rife in the continent. Authoritarians ascend power through the barrel of a gun or illegal extended term of office, which results from the change of certain clauses in the constitution. Once in power these leaders and their cohort become omnipotent and deity, and call themselves the authority. Draconian rules that render courts powerless are effected. These decrees include, inter alia : the banning of the opposition; detention without trial and the suppression of the media. For example, in Gambia people are detained without trial whereby others disappear without any trace (Saine, 2003:62).

The tampering of the constitution has been evident in Namibia. President Sam Nujoma has altered the constitution to allow him to run for the third term of office. In Swaziland the monarch passed laws that renders anyone to be illegal when criticising it. The unavailability of the constitution and the rule of law leads to gross violation of human rights. The main culprits are mostly women and children. Girls and women are subjected to continuous sexual abuse and gruesome rapes. In Sierra Leone and Liberia young children are forced to join armed rebels. If they refuse, they witness their parents being decapitated (Williams 2001:8).In the DRC, the army and the rebels were burning people alive where others were executed by the army. On the 28th August 2002,about 230 unarmed civilians, including several Catholic priests and nuns were executed by the armed opposition troops (www.webamnesty.org - 11/9/2002).

3.1.1.3.Conflict in Sudan

The current conflict in Sudan presents another challenge for the NEPAD.The NEPAD has never lived up to its expectations with regard to the Sudanese conflict. As a result of that, the conflict moved from bad to worse. Currently the region of Darfur is experiencing a conflict between the Arab nomads and African farmers.

The conflict is the result of competition over land and scarce resource such as oil. Furthermore, the government-backed militia the *Janjaweed* commits atrocities such as torture, murder, rape, destruction of the villages and ethnic cleansing. All these are carried to Africans. On the other hand, the government detains people without trial and lock them inside horrible conditions. Other people disappear without trace (Wakabi 2004:23). Haroun (2004:14) adds that other people are unfairly removed from their land to make way for the prospective discovery of oil. Currently about 10 000 people have been removed from their area without any compensation. In this case Sudan does not adhere to the rules of the NEPAD. One wonders why the statement that was articulated by Wiseman Nkuhlu not applicable to Sudan ? The NEPAD is very quite about the events in Darfur. This raises questions concerning the NEPAD's definition of good governance.

a list of growing problems such as economic globalisation; environmental degradation; resource scarcity; the spread of the diseases and Transnational crime.

3.1.2. Social Problems Hinging on South African Promotion of NEPAD

Poverty, health, education and brain drain are the bottlenecks towards South African promotion of the NEPAD.

3.1.2.1. Poverty

Katembula – Mwansa (2003:74) asserts that Africa of today remains the poorest *vis `a vis* other continents. Millions of the peoples of Africa live in poverty that is unimaginable. Poverty remains the worst human crisis after HIV/AIDS in Africa. Masheane (2003:169) emphasises that poverty remains one of many chronic problems that haunts African countries. Lekhesa and Selinyane (2003:148) expound that poverty is highly intense and acute such that it is difficult to implement most human development programmes. Views maintain that about 50% of the African population survives at an income that is below poverty line. Additionally estimates outline that more than 1 million people in Africa live at US $ 1 daily.

Mulinge (2003:23) states that the number of the poor in Africa keeps rising. Between 1990 – 98, the rate of the poor increased from 249 – 291 million. It is argued that the rate of poverty is more than economic growth. Motloung and Mears (2002:3) explain that the increase of poverty delimits people's wishes to acquire knowledge, education, and access to health. The causes of poverty are underdevelopment and unemployment among others. The latter is agued to be the highest in the world.

The sectors of the society that are vulnerable to poverty are the women and children especially those living in rural areas. In most African societies the women are poor because they lack access to and control of the resources. These problems are accelerated by the *raison d ` `etre* that they are denied access to cash or credit. Furthermore matters are compounded by lack of land ownership by women and higher prices that are charged to them by the squires.

Women dominate African agriculture but do not have a voice in the sale of their products and live mostly in rural areas. This is the reason to their poverty. Randriamaro (2003:22) explains that women are worried by the NEPAD's willingness to continue to implement failed methods of the Bretton Woods Institutions – *World Bank and International Monetary Fund* to reduce poverty in Africa. According to women, the NEPAD's strategies include the same conditions that are contained in the SAP's. This includes the status quo of micro economic credit.

3.1.2.2. Health

Currently Africa experiences the most acute and exasperating health crisis. Africa *vis ` a vis* the developed nations possess the standard of health that is mundane and backward. Subsequently there is negative experience of untimely preventable deaths, the spread of curable diseases as well as more disabled people.

Willy nilly the current state of affairs of the African health the NEPAD embraces the neo liberal policies some of which have caused this health quagmire. For example the SAP's that were introduced by the world bank forced African states to cut on social spending of which health is part of. It does not imply that the NEPAD applies SAP's for the regeneration of Africa. The crux of the matter is that certain neo liberal policies such as privatisation impacts negatively on health. In Zambia for example, people have been dying in large numbers as a result of the introduction of SAP's. Certain hospitals were privatised. The state controlled hospitals provide inadequate service. On a visit to these hospitals one gets a poignant sight. Emaciated figures shiver under sparse bedclothes. Families crowd around, bringing food to the sick to add to small hospital rations of beans and porridge. In another ward rows of children lie on beds slowly passing preventable diseases like malaria, pneumonia and Tuberculosis. In a cleaner hospital half of the beds stand empty. In this hospital families are expected to pay 100 000 kwacha (about R320) deposit to buy a better chance of life (South African Worker's Guide to Globalisation 2003:45).

The introduction of SAP's in Africa hinged negatively on health in other African states besides Zambia. In Kenya the World Bank enforced the government to impose a charge onto clinic service. At the clinics a US $ 2 was charged to treat sexually transmitted diseases. Subsequently the attendance for the treatment of sexually transmitted diseases dropped sharply. People were unable to afford to pay for the service that was provided. Attendance dropped by 60%. In Tanzania and Malawi more money is spent per person to repay the external debt *vis `a vis* on the provision of health. Less than US $ 3 .50 is spent per person compared to US $ 11.50 spent per person for the repayment of debt. Obeng and Akussah (2003:24) elaborate that the cutbacks on the provision of health may result in the spread of curable diseases such as pneumonia, tuberculosis and meningitis. This by the fact that suitable medication might be unavailable and other people are impecunious to afford payment of the services provided.

Africa is beset by serious health crisis. This has resulted into serious reduction of the average life expectancy. Currently the average life expectancy in Africa is 48.9 vis `a vis 77.7 in the developed countries. On the other hand there is a shortage of medical doctors in Africa. Estimates maintain that there are only 16 doctors for every 100 000 people whereas in the developed countries there are 253 doctors for every 10 000 people. The number of deaths from curable diseases annually is highly shocking. More than 3 million people die from tuberculosis, 1.2 million die from pneumonia, 500 000 die from measles 800 000 die from diarrhoea and 250 000 die at birth (Maloka, 2004:489).

Kaya (2003:122) highlights that the Southern African region experiences a debilitating health crisis. One health crisis, stunting or low weight for age is adversely affecting the region. This disease is more common in rural areas. Babies that are born at lower weight are most likely to die compared to those born with a normal weight. The surviving ones are likely to be stunted for the rest of their lives. They may also suffer from reduced cognitive development and learning disability.

The recent study conducted in Zambia and Malawi has ascertained that children who are stunted prior six months of age scored lower on an intelligence test when they are between 8 – 11 years of age compared to those that are not stunted.

The sad issue concerning the NEPAD and health crisis in Africa is the continuation of the failed approaches that has caused this state of affairs. These crisis might continue.

3.1.2.3. HIV / AIDS

Ten years ago HIV/AIDS has been regarded as a social crisis. Today it has transcended into a developmental crisis. This is by the fact that the scourge of the disease affects other aspects such as economy and education besides health. The disease negatively affects active people who are supposed to play leading roles in the development of the continent. Other people regard it as a security crisis. It is widely maintained that HIV/AIDS is extremely acute to the extent of Africa remaining without any human life (Akokpari, 2001:31).

According to Obeng and Akussah (2003:32) sub Saharan Africa accommodates 11% of the world's population and about 8% of the adult population is believed to be HIV positive. It is estimated that there are 16 000 new infections around the world daily and 95% of that is in Africa. These infections account for the highest number of recorded deaths in Africa. For example, 14 million people have recently died from HIV/AIDS. Ironically 11 million of that number lives in Africa. Views emphasise that average life expectancy in some African states is reduced as a result the scourge of HIV/AIDS. In Botswana the average life expectancy is currently at 39 years of age instead 70 years. In South Africa, Malawi, and Zambia it has dropped below 40 years instead of 50 years. Thirty per cent of the children who are born to the mothers who are HIV positive risk the life of contacting HIV virus through breastfeeding.

Masheane (2003:191) asserts that the scourge of HIV/AIDS has negatively affected the economy of many African states. Views project that within ten years time, the wealth of Southern African states will be reduced by 15-20 %. Furthermore the current costs of the modern therapy used in developed states are very expensive. It costs about US $ 10 000 per case per annum. This is more than the GDP per capita of many African states. In future it is projected that the cost of HIV/AIDS will be around R15 000 – 20 000 per case. This is feared to be unaffordable to many people. Only 40 – 45 % of the population will afford intensive treatment.

The education sector is the other one that is affected by this scourge. Some children are orphaned as a result of their parents succumbing to HIV/AIDS. In this regard older siblings are forced to abandon their education to seek employment to look after their younger brothers and sisters. Conversely other learners abandon their classes to look after their ailing parents. The teaching fraternity looses experienced staff as a result of HIV/AIDS. In Zambia about 600 teachers die each year whereby in Cote d' Ivoire one teacher dies daily.

According to Owumi and Ezeogu (2003:199) women and girls are the most vulnerable and highly infected group. Most of these culprits live in the rural areas. In some cases men live rural areas into urban areas to look for employment. While there some of them become engaged in casual unprotected sex and risk to contact HIV/AIDS. When they go back to their wives they sleep and infect them which HIV/AIDS. In some cases they fall in love with young girls and infect them with the virus.

By the look of the statistics the scourge of HIV/AIDS continues to ravage the continent. It is sad to uncover that within the NEPAD document there is a limited reference of the programmes that are appropriate to combat HIV/AIDS. After perusing the NEPAD document the surprised advisor of HIV/AIDS to the UN Secretary General commented that:

> "*The NEPAD hardly mentions HIV/AIDS at all. But how can you talk about the future of sub Saharan Africa without AIDS at the heart of analysis ?...There's actually a faintly comic aspect to [the scant references to HIV/AIDS in the NEPAD document]...Unless we deal with HIV/AIDS, all the proud considerations of the NEPAD are doomed....Why is the war against terrorism sacrosanct, and the war against AIDS equivocal ?..In the answer to that question lies the challenge for the NEPAD and the true test for the G8*" (Vickers and Fourie 2003:14).

3.1.2.4. Education and Brain Drain

Education is reputable to be an instrumental force for the provision of better quality life for various individuals and societies (Indabawa, 2001:114).In African societies, education has been beset by extremely difficult problems. These resulted in poor attention being paid to basic adult literacy and general education by some African states. SAP's that are imposed on African states by the World Bank and IMF caused such a problem. The SAP's impacts negatively on parents and children. SAP's instructed various governments to introduce the payment of school fees. Subsequently learner enrolment dropped severely. During the late 80's about 50 % of African learners aged between 6 – 11 years dropped from school. By the 90's that number increased by 10 %. Furthermore matters are compounded by unavailability of learner support material. For example, in Tanzania there is only one textbook for every 20 learners, whereby in Zambia learners do not possess a single textbook. Seutloadi (2003:9) explains that poverty adds to the problems that beset education. In most African countries children do not eat any breakfast when they go to school. Others do not eat anything at all during the day. These circumstances, sometimes affect their concentration adversely.

Africa has the highest number of illiteracy. It is estimated that about 862 million people are illiterate in Africa. Within that number 113 million are children. To add to this problem, some adults and children are poorly educated. This is the result of inadequate skilled staff and appropriate teaching and learning infrastructure. Professor Gumbi of MEDUNSA – *Medical University of Southern Africa* highlights that most institutions of higher learning in Africa lack teaching-learning infrastructure such as: audio visual aids, skill laboratories and guidance counselling centers. This leads to provision of less qualitative education in Africa.

The unavailability of funds for education affects the standard of higher education negatively. Africa experiences a shortage in the conduction of research and publication. External publishers mostly publish the social problems, which affect the continent. In most cases these publications refuse to cover problematic issues that beset the continent but prefer those that slanders the continent. Lack of funds has led to the decline of African scholarly journals. In 1996 Africa had 400 journals published in 48 countries. That number has currently fell down to 48 journals published from 16 countries. Furthermore the level of African Research and Development is extremely low. Currently Africa possess four R&D- *Research and Development* scientists for every 10 000 people as compared to the average eight for every 10 000 people around the world (Nel and Teng Zeng, 2003:29).

Another problem, which faces Africa, is the issue of brain drain. Highly qualified people leave the continent for better paying jobs in Europe and North America. According to Ajayi (2001:3) about 30 000 Africans with doctoral degrees in various fields ply their trade in Europe and North America. King (2003:14) adds that Ghana is one of the African states that face a severe exodus of professionals. Between 1993 – 2002 about 3 157-health professionals left Ghana and went abroad. That number included about 594 out of 871 doctors who were trained by the country. As a measure to contain the problem, Ghana introduced the payment of allowances to entice the professionals to stay in the country. That action infuriated the Bretton Woods Institutions. Ghana was scolded and enforced to revoke these incentives.

Perpetual conflicts that continue to ravage the continent impact negatively on learners. The latter have to flee into places of safety and abandon their classes. Conversely the infrastructure such as school buildings are destroyed during the war.The war between Ethiopia and Eritrea resulted in the destruction of 38 out of 58 schools in Tigray, West of Ethiopia. On the other hand Ethiopia spends around US $ 1 million daily to sustain this war. This money is supposed to be tackling social problems such as unemployment and poverty (Akokpari 2001:34).

3.1.2.5. Refugees

Bariagaber (1999:596) maintains that the greatest threat to peace, security and national sovereignty today is the issue of refugees. Refugees run away from their countries of origin to other countries to seek for their human rights such as escaping from poverty and misery. Within the borders of the host country the rights of the refugees may clash with those of the local citizens such as employment, security and social services especially if these rights are lacking in a particular country. The host country may find it difficult to provide the refugees with adequate housing. As a result the NGO's take over. In order to keep the pot boiling the NGO's behest for funds from the international community. The received funds are sometimes insufficient to cater for large number of refugees. Currently there is a shortage of funds to provide for the refugees from Sudan inside Chad. The World Food Programme - WFP requested US $ 30.5 million to provide for refugees in Chad. Unfortunately only US $ 14.8 million was given out. This makes the job of the WFP difficult.

Sometimes the refugees cause insecurity within certain regions. Currently there is a feud between Uganda and Sudan as well as between Sudan and Eritrea. These countries accuse each other of harbouring and sponsoring the rebels. Sudan is accusing Uganda of sponsoring the rebel movement SPLA – *Sudan's People Liberation Army* that is harboured in Uganda. On the other hand Uganda accuses Somalia of sponsoring the Ugandan rebel movement. This vicious cycle of accusations led to both countries fighting on opposite site in the DRC. Sudan backed the government while Uganda was on the side of the rebels. Eritrea and Sudan on the other hand accuse each other of supporting rebels from each country. This led to the closure of a border between Eritrea and Sudan (April, 2004:3).

In some cases the refugees increase crime. The border between South Africa and Mozambique experiences an international crime. There is an exchange of small arms and game between criminals of both countries. Mozambicans are alleged to supply small arms to South African criminals. Brand new fire arms and arsenal collected from the Mozambican war are sold at a street value. For example an AK-47 rifle is sold for R350.These arms are the ones that are used to rob banks and in car highjacking. It is estimated that it costs the South African government about R700 million per annum for border protection (Barber, 1999:324).King (2004:15) adds that sometimes refugees increase the proliferation of small arms which cause gross violation of human rights. For example, the cross border smuggling in Nigeria has resulted in huge quantities of small arms available. These arms find their way into the wrong hands. In May 2004 several hundred people were massacred in conflicts in Kano and Plateau states. Firearms and machetes were used freely.

The NEPAD faces the horns of dilemma when dealing with refugees. The document emphasises protection of human rights. When dealing with refugees it becomes a problem because other people who need refugee status have violated human rights in countries of origin. For example Charles Taylor who is harboured in Nigeria.

3.1.3. Economic Problems Hinging on South Africa's Promotion of NEPAD

Africa is regarded as an economically underdeveloped continent. Myburgh and Nkomo (1999:232) highlight that the South African economy is in such a disarray such that if it can be washed away the whole of the continent can disappear without trace. In this regard we look into the state of African economy and debt as the problems that are encountered by South Africa while promoting the NEPAD.

3.1.3.1. The Structure of African Economy

In some African states the economy is mundane and backward. This results from *inter alia,* too much interference of the state within the economy. This is not according to the liberalists, which the NEPAD ascribes to. Within such states the state is an entrepreneur that establishes the hiring of wage labour and the extraction of surplus value from its subjects. The state perpetuates exploitation by inducing peasants through coercive force. Peasants are channelled and dictated by the state to produce cash crops (Kaya, 2003:5). Olukoshi (2003:9) adds that the intervention of the state in some African economies is very rigid. For example, after acquiring independence Tanzania established state shops to sell milk and sugar. This is still happening 20 years after independence. Ipso *facto* the state was supposed to employ the methods that could have resulted in more opportunities for the people and itself. This could have produced retailers and the state would be relegated to the regulator.

Views emphasise that many African states have failed to acquire the substitution for import industrialisation and transcend into light basic manufacturing. There is an imbalance between light manufacturing intermediate and the capital goods sectors. This presents a poignant picture that Africa fails to channel investments more into consumers as opposed to strategic industrial activities. Furthermore, Africa has failed to adopt the solutions that push the substitution of wholesale away.

Omole (1999:12) maintains that Africa relies heavily on export earnings acquired from few agricultural and mineral productions. This results into narrow production. Agriculture forms the backbone of African economy. It forms the basis of employment, foreign exchange earnings and government revenue. It is ironically sad to uncover that agriculture uses the old methods of production and few people or clans who leases it through exploitative means own the land. Subsequently the producers are working at a loss. As mentioned earlier the NEPAD follows the patterns of the World Bank and IMF with regard to agriculture. Those methods were tried, tested and failed. It is sad to uncover that the NEPAD, which aims to redevelop Africa, worships the dictates of the multilateral institutions.

The informal sector, which accounts for 20 % of the total output of the economy including the labour force, is highly neglected in some African countries. This sector is never linked to the mainstream economy. On the other hand, the market and product of Africa is fragmented. The exploitation of the market and familiarisation of the product are difficult. African market is fragmented in this manner : 23 out of 50 countries have the population of less than 3 million people; 10 countries have a population of less than 1 million each. Most of these countries have an underdeveloped infrastructure and are landlocked. These problems give producers a tough time to reach the markets easily and on time (Maloka, 2004:258).

Ideologies dominate the economy of most African states. Socialism forms the basis of the economy of most states. In Zambia Humanism is pursued, whereas in Kenya African Socialism informs the economy. Within these approaches welfarist rather than economic development approach is evident. This results in investment being sacrificed for human consumption because more benefits are provided for the citizens. Subsequently there are more consumers than producers. This creates a picture that the economy of most African states lack strategic vision in economic policy making; rigidness in planning systems and posses some distortions in the allocation of technical background.

3.1.3.2.Debt Crisis

Views emphasise that Africa enters the 21st century as the highest debt burdened continent. Debt in Africa is most excruciating and debilitating. It remains one of highest problem that beset the continent today. It is sad to uncover that the state of the affairs of the debt does not only affect the present generation but may transcend into the next generations. The debt has tethered Africa within the framework of underdevelopment. Africa's financial resources are used for debt repayment than social development. Akokpari (2003:26) highlights that debt repayment accounts for much of income acquired from internal revenue and export earnings. For example Cameroon spent 36 % of its total annual earnings to repay debt *vis `a vis* 4 % spent on social services during 1996/97 financial year. In Somalia debt repayment accounts for 112% of the income earned from export earnings.

Over the years Africa's debt at a fastest rate. This pattern resulted in many African states being declared to be HIPC – Highly Indebted Poor Countries. From the early 70's to date there has been a tremendous increase in African debts. Africa's debt rose from US $ 14.8 billion in the 70's to US $ 91 billion in the 80's.In 1993 alone it was estimated at US $ 213 billion. It rose to US $ 337 billion in 1997.The latter debt amounted to 108 % of the GDP of 1997.Furthermore the service of debt amounted to 72% of the total export earnings.

This is the graphic representation of Africa's Total External Debt and Debt Service in US $ millions:

TABLE ONE

Debt Component	1970	1980	1990	1996	1997	1998
Total External Debt	9.981	123.338	288.773	338.510	328.320	332.423
Total External debt Service	1.004	19.997	27.737	32.529	32.529	30.889

(Source Munyae and Mulinge *Debt Relief Initiatives and Poverty Alleviation* 2003 : 4)

Many endeavours have been undertaken by Africans to engage with the World Bank and IMF to cancel Africa's debt. This did not produce the envisaged results. The World Bank and IMF maintained the status quo. The World Bank and IMF introduced a new approach, a poverty alleviation programme to HIPC countries. This programme brought about debt scheduling that was given to HIPC countries to buy their debt back at the banks at a certain discount. In this regard counties are awarded an opportunity to swap old loans for the new long term IMF guaranteed bonds at a discount of up to 35% (Mulinge 2003:26). Maloka (2004:222) warns that debt rescheduling has exacerbated the increase on the amount of debt by adding over US $ billion to the already existing debt. The perpetual increase of debt resulted into the negative effect of the GDP – Gross Domestic Products of many countries (Nicholson 2001:7). Africa's debt ratio rose from 18.3% in the 70's to 80.3% in the 90's.

This is the table that indicates Africa's external debt ratio and debt burden in %.

TABLE TWO

Indicators	1970	1974-79	1980-85	1986-94	1995-99
External Debt / GDP Ratio	13	23.0	42.8	61.8	60.0
Debt Service / Export Ratio	5.3	7.0	21.1	20.2	20.2
Total	18.3	30.0	69.3	88.0	80.3

(Source: Munyae and Mulinge *Debt Relief Initiatives and Poverty Alleviation Initiatives* 2003: 5)

The level and intensity of debt varies from region to region in Africa. From the debt in East Africa rose by 17 % The North Africa's debt decreased by 21 % between 1990 and 1999.Then the debt in Southern Africa rose by 5 % whereas West African debt decreased by 22 % during that time.

This is a graphic illustration of the changes in external debt in % of GDP within various regions.

TABLE THREE

Region	1990 - 94	1995- 99	Change in %
North Africa	81.0	60.0	-21
West Africa	102.0	80.0	-22
East Africa	68.7	85.7	17
Southern Africa	20.0	25.0	5

(Source Munyae and Mulinge *Debt Relief Initiatives and Poverty Alleviation* 2003 : 5)

Africa's debt is accelerated by corruption. Between 1970 and 1996,25 of heavily indebted countries in sub – Saharan Africa borrowed US $ 176 billion. During the same period US $ 196 billion in unaccounted for funds vanished from Africa. Experts emphasise that corrupt government officials mostly stole this money. An African Union report for 2003 estimates that corruption costs Africa about US $ 148 billion a year. The UN Economic Commission for Africa shows that Africans have embezzled 37 % of the continent's wealth outside its borders *vis `a vis* 17 % of Latin America, 4 % in South Asia and 3% in East Asia (Herbert 2003:10).

3.2.External Problems Hinging on South Africa's Promotion of NEPAD

3.2.1.Globalisation – The Definition

When defining globalisation both the negative and positive perspective surface. Views outline that such definitions are metaphorically a "*mixed grill*". This the result of ambivalence that arises from the definition .One sector of the society elicit that globalisation has the potential to erode national sovereignty of the weakest and poorest states, meanwhile it widens the technological divide among states. Conversely it is perceived as the provision of nice environment for greater respect of human rights and gender equality. Other perceptions qualify it to be an "*economic orthodoxy*" that perpetually fails people to enrich investors and big corporations.

As contained in South Africa's Worker's Guide to Globalisation (2003:7) globalisation is perceived to be the enforcement of liberal economic policies and ideologies on weaker and smaller states. This malpractice leads to the erosion of better living conditions of workers and communities around the world. Pityana (2003:4) expounds that the negative approach of globalisation leads to the imposition of cultural and economic interests of the developed and powerful world into the weaker and developing states. For example, Susan Rice in Makgetlaneng (2000:11) illustrates that :

> "*Nearly 50 % of Africans are under the age of 15.These are people who can develop fierce brand of loyalties for everything from soft drinks to blue jeans. Africa, a market of approximately 700 million potential consumers, truly represents the last frontier for the United States' exporters and investors*".

A positive definition is provided by Lipalile (2001:296) who perceives globalisation as "*the widening and deepening of the linkages of national economies into the world* *or global markets for goods, capital and services*". Other views define it as the process of growing interconnection and interdependence in a modern world. Furthermore other positive perceptions define globalisation as the worldwide spread of modern technologies of industrial production and communication.

By taking a microscopic glance at the positive definitions one would ascertain some different positive approaches. Two definitions emphasise the economic aspect. The other one emphasises the economic, technological and political aspect. In economic terms globalisation advocates for the liberalisation of economy which translates into privatisation and removal of trade barriers. This subsequently develops into the widening and the deepening flow of trade, finance, and data on a single, integrated global market. This develops into the reduction of artificial barriers, the expansion of capital flow and transfer of economy. Iya (2001:296) maintains that the privatisation of the state assets as asserted by globalisation had a negative impact on workers and states. Thousands of people lost their jobs whereby many states lost their autonomy by compromising their laws in favour of those of the MNC's and TNC's.

3.2.1.2.The Challenges Presented by Globalisation on South Africa's Promotion of NEPAD

Increased Corporate Power and the Erosion of National Sovereignty

Globalisation empowers big corporations such as MNC's – Multinational Corporations and TNC's – Transnational Corporations. Through globalisation an increase of big corporations was experienced and most of them originate from the rich developed nations. On the other hand, it becomes sad to uncover that while the rest of the world grapples with economic globalisation, Africa is the home to the spread of diseases, global small arms trade, criminal networks, narcotics trafficking and other undesirable hazards (Stremlau, 1999:117).

Views emphasise that the power that is given to the big corporations has increased intensively over the years. This is by the reason that these corporations possess money, which is their strength. They have more money than most African states. Iya (2001:291) adds that 87 % of the world's top 100 corporations are from the *Triad Nations* that is Japan, Europe and the United States of America. Korea, China and Mexico account for 56 % of the world's top 50 corporations. Dlamini (2001:109) explains that the concentration of the world's big corporations within the *Triad* leads to the centralisation of economic activity, capital and other resources to these nations. Subsequently developing nations are forced to abandon trade in their own territories and move abroad. In recent years, many South African companies shifted their primary listings to the big and active Western markets of London, New York and Tokyo. On the other hand such a move does not help Africa in any way because Africa is perpetually marginalised from the globalised economy.

Globalisation resulted in most countries of the West trading off part of their sovereignty for a share of Transnational partnership whose ultimate goal is to enhance mutual socio – economic and political benefits among nations. This culminated into the rise of NAFTA – *North American Free Trade Agreemen*t signed between the USA, Canada and Mexico. Then followed the ASEAN – *Association of Southeast Asian Nations* signed among Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei. NAFTA and ASEAN formed the APEC – *Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation*. The other members include Communist China, Taiwan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, Chile, and New Papua Guinea. The Europe formed the EU - European Union. These trading partnership award opportunities for trans-local economic, political, cultural and social relations including interdependencies. Within these trading blocs'trade restrictions are removed (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1995:235-237).

The relationship of most African states is the opposite of what is mentioned above. The relationship is imbued by these hallmarks: disintegration and dismemberment. The fundamental of national unity, which is communities in African states, have lost solidarity. This emerging pattern makes it difficult for most African states to consolidate strong partnerships. Currently the state of affairs of African politics is engulfed inside confusion. In most states there are continued break ups of groups into minorities. These breakaways are carried out violently. Currently the SPLA in Sudan claims to be in control of the Southern Sudan. This attitude has intensified the already existing conflict in that country (Uroh, 2001:86).

Chinsinga (2001:60) argues that Africa's trading blocs are debilitated. This forms the basis of the difference between the trading blocs in the North and Africa. Although there have been sub regional blocs such as the ECOWAS – *Economic Community of West African States*, and the revived EAC –*East African Community* as well as the SADC on the continent to date. Their impact on their respective regions has been minimal. In some instances much of attention and resources of these organisations is directed to resolution and containment of regional conflicts rather than economic promotion. The ECOWAS for example, is best known for military interventions in regional conflicts such as in Sierra Leone rather than for regional economic intergration. Another problem is the lack of commitment among members of the region to resolve conflicts in member states. Currently there is a widespread of complains about human rights abuse in Zimbabwe. The members of the SADC region are quiet about that.

The MNC's and TNC's continue to create stateless international community. They dominate the global world economy because of their excessive financial might. These big corporations exploit their financial might to their benefit. Money is used to wield a big stick that enforces various states to change laws to suit the needs of these corporations. In case states become intransigent the corporation might punish through exodus or speculating against the currency of that particular state in world markets (www.findarticles.com – 8/6/2003). For example, after assuming power Laurent Kabila pronounced that Marxist - Socialism will be the ideology that guides the DRC. He radically seized the assets of the Banro Resources Corp and 45 % of Telecel's equity. That resulted into the negative collapse of the economic indicators of the DRC (www.marxist.com – 11/9/2002).

Kiiza (2001:45) expounds that the economic muscle that is at the disposal of these corporations erodes the sovereignty of the state. In this regard the state is unable to protect the rights of its people as enshrined in the constitution. The rights of the workers are taken by these corporations, which enforce exploitative working conditions such as payment of low wages; working for unpaid long hours and silencing the union. For example many footwear workers at Nike earn between R200 – 300 monthly. An average price of one pair of Nike is R600.Sometimes these people work 72 hours a week instead of the normal 48 hours a week. South African footwear workers are currently at loggerheads with their employers concerning salary increase and the improvement of their working conditions. The employer argues that they are highly competitive and demand too much. The employer insists that it is imperative that they reduce their salary demands and benefits and compete with cheaper imports from Asia. If they continue to complain the employer will be left without an option but to retrench to make up for the incurred costs.

Increased Inequalities

Oguntande (2003:22) argues that globalisation accelerates the gap between the rich and the poor. Under globalisation the 20 % of the wealthiest nations account for 84.7% of the word's total GNP. On the other hand their citizens account for 84.2% of the total world trade and possess about 85.5% of the world's total domestic savings. The flipside of the coin highlights that the world's poorest 20 % manages to own a paltry and meagre 1% of the total world's GNP. By 1997 the assets of the world's top three richest men worth more than the value of what was produced in 48 countries combined. The world's richest man had the wealth that amounted to US $ 50 billion. This highlights that globalisation results in the accelerated gap between 20 % of the richest states and 20 % of the poorest states (Oguntande, 2003:22).

Daouas (2001:1) emphasises that globalisation has increased the economic growth and wealth of a few nations over the years. Africa was unable to acquire that wealth as a result of marginalisation. The plight of Africa and the global economic imbalances have rescinded development and increased poverty. Africa's economic marginalisation is illustrated when the continent manages to elicit 2% of the world's total output and 1% of foreign investment. Africa's marginalisation has resonated into deep global financial instability and the deterioration of the economies of many states.

The *International Labour Organisation* – ILO maintains that Africa suffers from perpetual adverse socio – economic problems. This leads to social tensions often resulting in internal political stability. For example since the advent of GEAR – *Growth, Employment, and Redistribution* in South Africa there has been continuous feud between the government and the public servants concerning salary increase. In

1999 wage negotiations between the public sector unions and the government never reached a common envisaged agreement. The government unilaterally decided to implement a 6.5 % increase, which was at the epicentre of the conflict. That increase was below the inflation rate. That resulted in a two days strike attended by nurses, teachers, police and social workers.

A Decline in International Trade and Capital Flows

The trade relationship between Africa and Triad is based on unfair and unequal exchange of commodities. Most African products are produced from mundane and lower level of technology. Subsequently African producers are left without an alternative but to reduce the prices of their goods. This cost Africans their returns and labour. On the other hand goods from the *Triad* are produced from high tech sophisticated equipment. Subsequently the prices of these goods become expensive. In this regard the goods from the *Triad* generate more profit than African produced goods (Makgetlaneng, 2000:14).

Lipalile (2001:298) elaborates that during 1985 – 91 Africa's capacity of trade fell from 21% - 14 %.This resulted in Africa experiencing unfair trade regarding raw materials. This matter was further compounded by lack of developed and appropriate infrastructure. In terms of trade Africa operated within the dictates of *Triad*. This is because the *Triad* possess advanced resources and infrastructure such as shipping, processing and marketing. The availability of infrastructure at the disposal of *Triad* led to Africa being reduced to *"beggar thy neighbour*". The *Triad* abused its potential by charging African exporters exorbitant prices to transport their goods. In some cases they determined the selling price of the products. Furthermore naïve Africans were thrown into the deep end of competition with the *Triad* who possess advanced knowledge with regard to the markets. This competition presented itself in three levels : the competition from foreign goods on the domestic market; competition for capital from other regions; and competition in foreign markets. This forced Africans to close down or downsize operation because of lack of proper preparedness. On the other hand Africa is too weak to demand and win concessions from the developed states.

Ajayi (2001:2) emphasises that free trade or the removal of trade barriers are the most important vehicles for any country or continent for global economic intergration. In case of Africa most of the countries are not integrated to international trade. This is caused by concentration of Africa's economy within the narrow range of primary commodities. Subsequently the market share of Africa shrinked over the years. During 1960 – 69 Africa's total share of world economy stood at 5.3% of exports and 5.0 % of imports. Between 1990-98 these figures have dropped dramatically to 2.3 % and 2.0 % respectively. This declination result from restrictiveness of Africa's trade regimes; high transportation costs and Africa's distance away from the major world markets. It is argued that Africa is doing all that is needed to be integrated to the global economy. This at a snail's pace because other countries do still have protective trade policies.

Capital flows are another important facet for economic global intergration. Obliviously Africa has been the first continent to be integrated to the global economy. This is by the reason that the preponderance of Africa's wealth is held internationally more than any other continent. Africa's gross national ratio of capital flight ranges between 24 % and 143 %. The crux of the matter is that Africa fails to acquire much of the world's total profits. In 1999, about US $ 865 billion flowed around the world through Foreign Direct Investment. Africa managed to acquire a paltry 1.2 % of that which is about US $ 10 billion. Out of that South Africa received 1.4 billion, which is the fourth highest in the continent. In this case how much did HIPC received (Nicholson, 2003:32).

Chinsinga (2001:64) adds that sub Saharan Africa has recorded a decline in FDI over the years when compared to other continents. In 1996, Africa's share of FDI was US $ 5 billion *vis `a vis* to US $ 81billion for South East Asia. The total share of Africa does not even come closer to that of individual countries such as Singapore and Communist China who managed to attract US $ 9 billion and 16 billion respectively. As a result of globalisation, projections outline that Africa will loose more FDI in future. This is the result of Africa's lack of capacity to attract available global capital. These features include, *inter alia* skill labour workforce and political stability. Furthermore Africa's inability to provide infrastructural requirements such as roads, electricity and basic health compounds the matter. The present state of affairs presents despair and gloom for Africa's quest into global economic intergration.

As contained in NEPAD at Work (2001:54) Africa is highly marginalised with regard to FDI. Currently Africa manages to attract only 0.9 % of the world's total FDI. Such an adverse situation impacts negatively on creation of jobs; transfer of technology; as well as on management and organisational skills. Africa's inability to attract FDI result from wrong economic and political activities as well as the lack of adequate legal framework especially on the enforcement of contracts.

Gondwe (2001:1) outlines that Africans endeavour to increase economic growth at 7 % annually. Views maintain that with the current state of affairs an annual growth rate of 7 % annually is still afar to be reached. This can be possible under the following circumstances:

Required Investment rate.................................. =33 % of GDP

Estimated Attainable Savings..............................= 15 % of GDP

Since Savings = Investment then

Savings Gap = (33 % - 15%)................................OF GDP

With Estimated External Flows ....= 8 % of GDP

Estimated Resource Gap (18% - 8%). ....= 10% of GDP

(Per Annum)

[This amounts to US $ 54 billion per annum]

Daouas (2001:2) highlights that for Africa to achieve the envisaged 7 % growth per annum the following should be considered:

- Creation of better possible conditions for private investments to promote greater transparency and openness in domestic and foreign trade;
- The role of the state should be redefined and civil society should be reformed to improve the business climate in order to make economies more efficient;
- The transparent legal and regulatory framework that encourages private investment should be developed.

Insufficient Telecommunications and Information Communications and Technology

According to Ng'tiech (2001:77) the world today experiences an explosive expansion of telecommunications and *Information Communication and Technology* -ICT. This is not the case with most countries in sub Saharan Africa. The *raison d` `etre* for this is that human security in the form of food, water, and prevention of the spread of diseases take the centre stage in the list of priorities of many African states *vis `a vis* the provision of telecommunications and ICT. The few available telecommunications infrastructure subsequently leads to Africa's connectivity to cross border interaction and financial transactions marginalised.

Views maintain that the cost of telephone has dropped tremendously around the world. As a supplement to that there has been a rise in the number of telephone lines. Within Africa there has been a status quo regarding these developments. Matters are further compounded by the fact that Africa has been entrenched within a quagmire of lower network penetration, obsolete equipment and longer waiting period for the installation of telephone line. Ajayi (2001:3) illustrates that in 1996 there were only 2 telephone lines for every 100 Africans. The average waiting period for telephone installation in most African states was 31/2 years. Basically this is the longest waiting period around the world. The shortage of telephone lines in Africa resulted in President Mbeki highlighting that there are more telephone lines in Manhattan than in the whole of sub Saharan Africa. This unavailability forces the majority of Africans to connect their links to Europe or North America. This results in a call from South Africa to France to be less expensive than a call to Cameroon. On the other hand it takes an e-mail message the whole day from some African states abroad. This is because of Africa's lower teledensity
(Maloka, 2004:483).

The acute lack of telecommunications infrastructure hinges negatively on the advent of the Internet in the continent. The internet forms the backbone of ICT which is currently a *sine qua non* of market based economy. The spread of ICT is relatively lower in Africa *vis `a vis* the rest of the world. By the end of 1996 only 11 African countries possessed the Internet access (Ng'tiech, 2001:78). Pityana (2001:42) adds that Africa is an ICT desert to an extent that this continent has been highly and completely marginalised from the global knowledge revolution. The level of is so low to an extent that only two African counties make it to the world rankings of Internet hosts. South Africa is ranked in position 20 with about 140 000 hosts. On the footsteps of South Africa is Egypt with only 2.043 hosts. Twelve other countries manage to provide hosts that are below 1000. Other twenty countries do not possess any Internet connectivity. By the look of things 97 % of the internet hosts around the world are found in developed countries. Singapore accommodates 3.7 million people but it has thousand times internet hosts more than 60 of the poorest countries combined. This creates a serious problem for people in these countries to acquire new ideas easily and conduct trade.

Views highlight that Africa's lack of internet connectivity results from :

- High cost of computers;
- Expensive software which changes from time to time;
- Expensive charge apportioned to upgrade computers;
- Higher taxes imposed on computers.

Higher international tariffs and the lack capacity make it more difficult for some African countries to access enough bandwidth for the delivery of web pages over the Internet. These results in many African countries possessing internet links of less than 64 Kbps. Lower capacity bandwidths cause African internet networks to experience a severe congestion. The international administrative and registration of Internet adds to the already existing woes of some African states. The American Registry for Internet users has recently seized the administration and registration of the Internet address space of Africa. This implies that for any new internet address to be granted a certain payment must be advanced to the registry in the USA. Network operators are expected to pay a licence fee of US $ 2 500 annually to keep their network active (Ng'tiech, 2001:80).

There is a gap between urban and rural Internet users in Africa. Most of the internet hosts are situated in urban areas. For example, in Kenya about 85 % of the internet hosts are in the capital city, Nairobi. Conversely over 80 % of the total population reside in rural areas. This presents a poignant picture that the rural people have a curtailed access to the Internet or do not have it at all. The problem of illiteracy adds to the already existing problem. The majority of the people have little or no formal education at all. The computer literacy on the other hand is very low. These are the problems which buffer against people to gain internet access. As a result they are left by that passing train of globalisation (Ajayi, 2001:4).

Finally views maintain that Africa's continued marginalisation within the ICT will lead to Africa being unable to occupy its position in the globalised economy.

3.2.2.The Problems presented by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund on South Africa's Promotion of the NEPAD

According to Frieden and Lake (1995:14) the World Bank and International Monetary Fund were established by the allied powers through the Bretton Woods Agreement in 1944.This gives the explanation why these institutions are called the Bretton Woods Institutions. The IMF focus on the international monetary cooperation and the World Bank deals with the liberalisation of trade and investments among developing countries. Other views expound that the World Bank provides loans to developing countries to develop large projects such as the building of dams, roads and hydro – electric power stations. On the contrary the IMF borrows loans to countries to pursue their domestic affairs. Nevertheless both institutions pursue the same cause of lending money to the developing nations.

As a developing continent Africa has over the years engaged in borrowing money from the Bretton Woods Institutions. Africa's borrowing appetite began in the early 70's with a small amount. As the years progressed so was the rate of Africa's borrowing (Omole, 2003:2). The Breton Woods raised the interests when Africa continued to borrow. Africa's debt increased to the level where it was unable to meet the demands of repaying it. In order to help Africans to repay the debt, these institutions introduced the SAP's – *Structural Adjustment Programmes.* The SAP's ensured that all forms of state control in the economy and state subsidies were dissolved. African countries were dictated to liberalise their economies, remove trade related barriers, privatise state owned assets and retrench people within the public service in the name of enhancing efficiency and the logic of free market (Kiiza, 2001:40).

As contained in South African Worker's Guide in Globalisation (2003:42 – 43) the conditions outlined to Africa by the SAP's include:

- **Privatisation:** The assets of the state were sold to private ownership. Private companies, which bought these assets, controlled essential services such as water and electricity. Transnational Companies purchased these services mostly. Furthermore governments outsourced many of its functions claiming to play a role in "*core business*". It is through privatisation where South Africa sold six of South Africa's broadcasting radio; 30 % of Telkom to Telcom Malaysia and America's SBC Communications; 20 % of Airports Company to an Italian company. These deals injected R8.6 billion into the government's coffers.Willy nilly huge capital gains many people lost their jobs from these transactions. About 120 000 jobs were lost in the public service and further 56 000 in the parastatals.

- **Budget Cutbacks:** The role of the government in service delivery is highly decreased. This is by the reason that SAP's dictated that governments should practise a tighter fiscal discipline. In this regard the provision of efficient social delivery is highly sacrificed. This has impacted negatively on the standard of health and education in some African countries. Furthermore that has resulted in the increase of unemployment. Views maintain that since the advent of SAP's the wages of Africans fell by 50 – 60 % and unemployment rose by 40 %. Projections highlight that if the current state of affairs continues then 57 million children will be out of school by 2015 because their parents will be unable to pay for their fees.
- **Deregulation:** The new owners of the previously state owned assets pass unfair labour laws, which are embraced, by the states. The state deregulates its laws. These laws include inter alia: workers work for longer hours than before; reduced pay for the overtime or night work; reduced benefits such as the unemployment insurance or maternity leave; relaxation of health safety regulations and pollution control. This empowers the employer to generate more profit at the expense of the worker's rights. The power of organised labour and civil society are reduced.
- **Free Trade and Financial liberalisation:** Most African countries experience a serious economic disaster that presents itself as result of the removal of trade barriers such as tariffs. This approach increases more exports to promote economy. In this regard the export processing zones that become special economic areas are established. Within these areas employers are paid low wages and work for longer hours to produce goods for export. On the other hand various African countries have implemented financial liberalisation, which makes it easier for African companies to take their wealth abroad. Blade Nzimande of SACP – *South African Communist Party*

condemns offshore investment because it increases unemployment. Conversely, financial liberalisation creates an elite class which has the vision to ride on the wave of globalisation. These elites aim to enhance their integration into the TNC's. By comparison the investment of these people is far less in Africa than abroad. In September 2000 the South African Reserve Bank announced that the investment of big South African companies in Southern Africa amounted to R7.85 billion through FDI *vis `a vis* R74.5 billion invested outside the continent. Currently more South African businessmen are highly engaged in the establishment of business and financial networks outside Africa than with Africans. In this regard the establishment of elite networks outside the continent makes South Africans to be African agents of FDI (Taylor, 2003:11).

Maloka (2004:283) outlines the results of the conditions of SAP's on African states and their impact on South African promotion of the NEPAD :

- **Budgetary Reductions:** The World Bank and IMF enforced that African countries should reduce their budget on social spending. This undermines human conditions and the future potential for development. As highlighted earlier there is evidence that the standard of health and education in some African states has dropped dramatically due to cutbacks on social spending.
- **Indiscriminate promotion of traditional exports through price incentives offered only to the 'tradable':** This move has undermined the production of food and self-sufficiency and has resulted into undesirable environmental degradation.
- **Across the board credit squeeze: This** has lead to the overall contraction of the economy. There has been a decline in capacity, utilisation and closure of many enterprises.

- **Unsustainability of interest rates :** It has shifted Africa's economy towards speculative and trading activities. This has become less incentive to productive investment and it has fuelled the rate of inflation.
- **Dependence on market forces for getting the prices right in a structurally distorted and imperfect market:** This has worsened the inflation through sharp rises in the costs of production and mark ups. t has resulted in the deviations from the desirable production, consumption patterns and priorities. This may also hinge on the whole process of transformation.

3.2.3. The Problems Presented by the World Trade Organisation – WTO on South Africa's Promotion of NEPAD

The WTO was established in 1995. Currently it consists of 144 registered members. It develops and formulates the rules for international trade. Since its inception there are strengthened rules and regulations in the international trading system. These rules provide accelerated certainty and security for market access. These rules are governed by a system or procedure but not only by the interplay of economic play. Any contravention of these rules is subject to chastisement. Furthermore the WTO ensures the economic interaction and fair resolutions of disputes (www.dfa.gov.za – 4/4/2002).

Amuwo (2003:4) warns that the WTO is a structure that was established to protect the USA and its interests. Other views maintain that it has been created to establish the set of rules that favours the developed industrialised countries at the expense of the under developed countries. On the other hand the WTO contributes to the trading system that is engulfed within myriad complexities for less developed countries such as those in Africa.

The WTO impacts negatively on the African continent. This is by the fact that the agreements undertook at WTO exhibit imbalances and weaknesses. Such agreements exhibit the prejudice of the developed states on trade related issues against developing nations such as those in Africa. On the other hand these decisions do not consider any form of development for Africa. This behaviour has been evident at the WTO Ministerial Conferences in Doha and Geneva. During these convergences, the presented draft texts were non inclusive. They did not elaborate clearly on many issues of the members of the developing nations. The number of so-called "*friends of the chair*" have been appointed by the chairperson on a furtive criteria and without imput from the developing nations. During the meeting at Doha peculiar incident occurred. Towards the end of the meeting the extended the meeting by a day. African leaders do not know until today who took that decision. Most of them have already made arrangements to leave on the initial scheduled final day. This highlights that there is no principle of democracy in the WTO (Hormeku, 2003:5).

The WTO does not exercise transparency and coherent disciplines for credit exports. There is a special and preferential treatment for the members of the developed nations. The latter are given subsidies and export credit. Furthermore there is a use of a wide range of non-tariff instruments by the developed states. These include *inter alia*, tariff quotas, seasonal entry thresholds, entry prices and variable specific duties (www.dfa.gov.az – 4/4/2002). For example, Saldanha Steel in the Western Cape exported steel to the USA. The US government complained to the WTO claiming that Saldanha Steel was subsidised. The WTO ruled in favour of the US and informed the US to impose high tariff on that steel going into the country. That resulted in South African steel becoming more expensive than US steel. On the other hand the WTO does not punish the members of the developed nations who continuously break up their commitments not to open their agricultural markets for African products and provide subsidies to their farmers. Since 2000, the USA and the EU have committed together a total of US $ 360 billion to farmers.

The amount of subsidies, which are given to EU farmers and US, impacts negatively on African farmers. Oxfam notes that the amount of subsidy given to US cotton farmers led to the loss of US $ 43 million incurred by Malian cotton farmers (Dempster 2003:5). Views argue that most cases that are brought to the WTO are full of subjectivity and biasness in judgement. Out of 51 cases brought forward 48 favoured industrialised countries. This is by the fact that the industrialised countries have hundreds of trade experts based at the WTO to negotiate trade agreements. Most of these people undertake this as a full time job. Conversely African states have few skilled people to negotiate trade agreements. These people are not employed on a full time basis.

The WTO exercises an unfair and malfeasant practice on TRIP's – *Trade Related Intellectual Property*. This encapsulates the regulations on ownership claims to the intellectual property such as ideas, inventions, some items such as computers, software, seeds and books. Africans contest for the review of article 27.3(b) of the TRIP's agreement. Africans demand clarity about the classifications of living organisms including plants and animals. These include gene sequencing and biological as well as other natural processes for the production of plant and animals that should not be patented (Hormeku, 2003:6).

The TRIP's favours developed states at the expense of Africans. For example during the trade negotiations between South Africa and EU, the EU manipulated TRIP's to force South African wine producers to abandon names such as sherry, port and ouzo from their products. South Africans have been using these names from time immemorial. The removal of these names by South Africa benefit Europeans because the new names adopted by South Africans are not familiar on the global market.

Africa and the Caribbean countries are still grappling with the WTO to provide them with the maintenance and security of their preferences. On the other hand Africans alone call for the WTO to establish the means that would lead to the development of agriculture to lift millions of people out of poverty. There is a call made by Africans that the WTO should realise that there is a need for Africans to enjoy agricultural preferences. Africans call for the development of the modalities that would facilitate development and industrialisation of its states. This includes the negotiations to address tariff peaks and escalations (Khor, 2003:9).

Within the WTO bodies the members of the African Union are granted the status of an observer. On the other hand African states are forced to accept the position of the bigger states concerning various issues. That was evident when Africans were forced to accept the position of the USA for the new round talks on the four "*Singapore Issues*". African civil organisations maintain that the WTO is the only multilateral organisation that lacks international democracy, transparency and participation (African Agenda, 2003:14).

The WTO drag its feet to implement agreements reached at Doha. These agreements favour Africans. These are agreements on TRIPS and public health, special and differential treatment and agricultural modalities. Africa continues to fight for the reformation of the multilateral trading system and the removal of the existing imbalances as well as application of flexibility in the rules and their application. On the decision making process, Africans demand that a transparent, democratic and an all inclusive and consultative decision making process in the WTO should be established. The WTO embarks on a status quo.These are the economic challenges that South Africa dealt with in her promotion of the NEPAD.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF THE CHALLENGES ON SOUTH AFRICA'S PROMOTION OF NEPAD

This chapter uncovers the impact of the challenges on South Africa's promotion of NEPAD.The impact of these challenges is positive and negative and it is evident in economic, political and social aspects. These impacts affect South Africa and the entire continent in general.

4.1.The Impact of the Economic Challenges on South Africa's Promotion of NEPAD

As it is mentioned in the earlier chapters, Africa has been economically marginalised for a long period. NEPAD is architectured to address this poignant and unpalatable situation. As a *modus operandi* to correct this malady NEPAD employs the liberal policies, which advocates for privatisation and creation of free markets. Kiiza (2001:36) agues that liberal policies impact negatively on South African promotion of NEPAD.The negative impact manifests itself in three ways :

(1)It gives rise to ungovernable markets;(11) It centralises the allocation of values and private capital; and (111) The state is relegated to an impotent player in the national and international economy. Subsequently the MNC's and TNC's occupy the central position ahead of the state in the governance of the national economies of various African states. These big corporations use money and power to influence host states to promulgate laws that favour the advancement of their unscrupulous activities. Some of these policies violate rights to life, protection, health, freedom of association, and safe working conditions. For example, Nike shoe manufacturing company employs workers under unprotected poor working conditions and pay them poverty level wages. These workers work 14 – 16 hour shifts. If these workers organise a labour organisation, they are either suppressed or the company relocates its operations elsewhere.

Liberal policies lead African states to advance short-term quick fix goals rather than long term ones which are sustainable. This results in African states sacrificing to find suitable methods durable for sustainable economic governance. Obadina (2004:35) adds that liberalisation has sacrificed the emergence of industrial development in favour of uncontrolled and open markets. Africa's failure to pursue industrialisation results in Africa's too much reliance on obsolete machinery for production. Subsequently Africa's production becomes mundane and expensive. This hits hard on the producer. The producer looses too much when the price of goods are high because of the competition from the cheaper and well manufactured goods from abroad.

Open and free markets deny Africa an opportunity to develop indigenous entrepreneurs who are able to establish modern firms that adopt and grow to utilise capital and labour efficiently. Africa manages to produce small scale business people who scratch a living on agriculture, retail and services. It is sad to ascertain that there are only few people who have the capability to develop into massive manufacturers. Liberal policies, which are promoted by NEPAD, do not open a passage for African states to pursue industrialisation, which has turned, into the fortune of developed countries and recently the *"Asian Tigers"* – Malaysia, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea.

Liberal policies inform African states to remove subsidies in agriculture. Conversely, the developed countries such as the EU and USA continue to subsidise their agricultural products. The removal of subsidy by Africans impact negatively on farmers. Cotton farmers in Mali suffered a huge loss of about US $ 43 billion in earnings. In South Africa about 4 000 farmers and their families experienced a drop of 47 % in cotton production. About 24 000 jobs were lost. Rice industry in Ghana has crumbled. This is because of the extensive import of greatly subsidised EU and USA imports. This makes Africa's export impossible (Dempster,2003:5). On the other hand South Africa was forced to change the names such as ouzo and sherry on its wine products when it entered into a trade agreement with the EU. This is very unfair because the Europeans are not familiar with the new names. This creates a problem at home as people are used to the old names. South African products sell at a slower pace *vis a vis* those of their European counterparts.

Liberal policies are highly important for economic growth in Africa but they do not feature well to encourage both domestic and foreign investments. These aspects accelerate for the establishment of medium to high-level technology and the development of infrastructural services that are necessary for the overall economic growth. These are not possible in Africa because of the preference for open markets. Botswana and Mauritius are highly ranked for their successful implementation of liberal reforms. They rank above China. Their ranking does not do any good for their economy because they are unable to attract higher volumes of foreign investment with regards to industrial production, which helps to develop new machinery necessary for production.

Generally speaking the cornerstone of NEPAD, privatisation has caused a serious calamity for myriad workers in Africa. Through privatisation about 150 000 jobs were lost in public service in South Africa alone. This has been the case in other African countries. Furthermore, South Africa attempts hard to use privatisation to access the global markets. The results do not favour her because the country's companies are exposed to a difficult competition. These companies do not perform well because of the expertise and experience that is possessed by their counterparts. Subsequently more and more investment flowed out of the country and continent. Taylor (2003:10) highlights that the South African Reserve Bank announced that about R74 billion of investment from South Africa is held overseas *vis a vis* R7.5 billion of investment held in Southern Africa. Furthermore several South African Companies such as South African Breweries, Anglo – American, Old Mutual and Billiton moved their listings from the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to the London, New York and Tokyo Stock Exchanges.

Through NEPAD the African elites are able to ride the globalisation wave accelerated by liberal policies. These elites consists of Transnational executives; their affiliates; globalising state bureaucrats; capital inspired politicians and professionals. These elites push forward for the integration and accommodation of global capitalism. They possess a strong distinctive class conscious and perpetuate to integrate themselves into the international financial and business networks. They play an agent on the ground for Foreign Direct Investment. These people are aware of their shared value with their partners abroad at the expense of the development of the masses who are unable to break through their ranks.

Wealth and Africa has eluded Africa over the years. This is the result of globalisation that is an unavoidable negative challenge for South Africa's promotion of NEPAD.This situation impedes growth and development for Africa in many ways. Many governments fail to crush poverty and provide jobs for their citizens. On the other hand Africa's problems is worsened by unsustainable debt and the unfulfilled promises of official assistance at a time when most countries cannot continue with their social reforms and development efforts without financial assistance.

Debt impacts negatively on the development of many African states. The increase of debt and its servicing exceeds national income and takes the highest proportion of export earnings. This pattern hinders and impedes the provision of services such as health and education. Subsequently most Africans are unable to go to school because they cannot afford the fees that are charged at schools. On the other hand people do not visit clinics because of the charged fees. For example, Kenya experiences a 60 % drop for the attendance at clinics because of fees that are charged for consultation. This raises the rate of Sexually Transmitted Infections which are a risk to HIV/AIDS (Mulinge, 2003:18).

NEPAD is highly depended on foreign aid which is accompanied by certain conditions which impede Africa's socio – economic growth. NEPAD expects US $ 67 billion but there has been a drop from US $ 32 to US $ 19 billion in foreign aid to Africa. On the other hand the G8 promises a paltry US $ 6 billion to be shared among countries, which stick to good governance. This condition creates a huge problem because countries will develop at different rates. This is because others will not be receiving any aid. There will be an influx of refugees into the countries that are developing. Refugees are known to be the force behind the proliferation of arms. Monitoring and repatriation of refugees cost host countries a lot of money.

The World Trade Organisation impacts negatively on South Africa's promotion of NEPAD.The conditions, which Africa is, exposed to at the WTO makes Africa's goal to be a global trading partner to be difficult. This is by the fact that there is no democracy within the structures of the organisation. Favouritism, which is at the advantage of developed nations, destroys African production. For example the ruling that allowed USA to increase tariffs on South African steel led to the withdrawal of South African steel from USA. Such a move cost South African steel a lot of fortune and created a scourge of unemployment.

The unavailability of full time and skilled negotiators within the WTO lead to African states presenting different demands. Furthermore it leads to African states loosing their cases. The failure to attend serious African issues such as agriculture, TRIP's; and public health cause a serious harm. South Africa possesses a sophisticated technology that can be used to produce cheap drugs for many ailments. The rules contained in TRIP makes it difficult for South African drug manufacturers to produce these drugs. Subsequently African countries are forced to import expensive drugs, which drain their coffers. The production of drugs in South Africa would create employment and help to reduce poverty. On the other hand the neglect of agricultural issues relating to Africa impedes African growth because the EU and USA enjoy subsidising their goods at the expense of Africans. Africans are unable to produce more to sell and feed themselves because they are competing with cheaper goods from abroad.

President Mbeki emphasises that the promotion of NEPAD impacts positively on African economy. He maintains that it is through the NEPAD that the G8 and EU produced a comprehensive African Action Plan aimed to advance the economy of Africa. Additionally the G8 promised to inject US $ 6 billion annually into Africa.

NEPAD has advanced investment opportunities among various African states. Currently the investment between Nigeria and South Africa has generated millions of rands for both countries. For example MTN a giant cellular network operation in South Africa gained US $ 568 million for 2002 – 2003 financial year in Nigeria alone. Other South African companies such as Grinaker; Umngeni Water; Protea Hotels and South African Airways generate lot of money in Nigeria. On the other hand Nigeria export butter, cocoa and petroleum to South Africa. This venture earn Nigeria about US $ 128 million annually (Umana,2004:11).It is not only Nigeria which gains from the economic partnership with South Africa. Southern African countries gain from this partnership. Many South African companies ranging from banking, retail, construction to brewing are doing business in the SADC region. In this regard these companies provide employment and skills to the people of these countries. This help to curb poverty and unemployment.

Views emphasise that South Africa's promotion of NEPAD results in an unequal trade between South Africa and the SADC region. In the year 2000 South Africa's export stood at about R56.2 billion *vis a vis* R8.2 billion from SADC into South Africa. This outlines that the pattern of trade and investment within the SADC is between South Africa on one hand and the rest of the SADC on the other. This pattern is reinforced by the fact Johannesburg is a global city that is being used by major MNC's and service companies as a base for their operations in the entire SADC region. Gauteng province's well developed infrastructure and the presence of the other businesses there create economies of scale and positive externalities that are very attractive for corporations connected to the major MNC''s located in the centres of global political economy such as London, New York and Tokyo.

Economically the promotion of NEPAD impacts positively on South Africa. Many South African black mining companies are penetrating the rich mines in the DRC and Angola. On the other hand many European companies in such as Telecom Malaysia have invested huge in South Africa. This generates billions worth of rands for South Africa.

4.2.The Impact of Social Challenges on South Africa's Promotion Of NEPAD

The social challenges present a huge and negative impact on South Africa's promotion of NEPAD.These challenges are highly intense in such way that the financial resources needed to develop Africa are used to address them. The state of affairs of these problems creates a despondent situation for NEPAD to reach its goals after a very long time.

HIV/AIDS inflicts a serious damage on South Africa's promotion of NEPAD. Africa remains one of the continents with the highest rate of HIV/AIDS. The World Bank estimates that African countries loose 1% of GNP per capita because of the HIV. The death of one member of a family from HIV causes the income of the family to fall by half. This impacts negatively on feeding, clothing and education of that family. The scourge of AIDS negatively affects the agricultural sector, which forms the backbone of many African countries. That has resulted in the fall of the output by half in one third of rural households.

African governments spend US $ 150 million on AIDS prevention per year. This is not enough. About US $ 1 billion is needed to contain the epidemic. AIDS has become a major hurdle for Africa's developmental efforts. The money that is used for its prevention was supposed to be used for developmental projects such as building of dams, roads, hospitals and schools.

Africa is caught into the quagmire of international poverty. The latter is perpetual and leads to economic underdevelopment. Such a situation misleads people to pursue corrupt modus operandi to capture the wealth of various African states. Poverty leads African states fail to provide adequate funding to various government institutions. This leads to poor governance, which derails economic development. For example, under funded judiciary means that property rights and contracts are not fully enforced. This leads to investor pessimism, which causes capital flight and discourages foreign investment (Obadina, 2004:35). The failure to institute corrupt free institutions tarnishes the image of NEPAD, which advocates for good governance. Poverty leads to more ethnic strife in African states. These struggles diminish resources, fuel political instability and reduce the mobility of resources. This is by the fact that these resources are exploited to fuel the war without considering measures for preservation.

Poor people emphasise that the liberal reforms that are pursued by NEPAD widens the social gap. Through NEPAD rich people become richer and poor become poorer. This is by the fact that poor people are unable to access funds necessary to purchase privatised assets. Furthermore services that are provided by private owners are very expensive and unaffordable.

NEPAD's efforts towards unity and form of renaissance are hampered by the growing hatred for African foreigners in various African states. This phenomenon is described as xenophobia. It is the intense dislike or fear of foreigners or strangers. It represents a contemporary form of intolerance and discrimination. Xenophobia is on the rise in Southern Africa due to immigration and refugees. The locals emphasise that foreigners are taking their jobs, responsible for the proliferation of small arms, and the rise of crime. Within the minds of the locals, foreigners are unfortunately depicted as the main cause of the rise in unemployment. As a result of this erroneous thinking, every immigrant in South Africa, whether documented or undocumented is perceived as illegal. There is a constant desire by hard-core xenophobes to get rid of all immigrants. This is an infringement of their rights. It has become common for South African police to raid night clubs around Johannesburg in pursuit for "illegal" immigrants (Akokpari, 2003:30).The way locals perceive fellow Africans impacts negatively on the call of NEPAD for a common partnership among African peoples to find solutions to develop Africa. Locals feel that the problems beyond their borders have nothing to do with them.

The impact of these social challenges does not do Africa and South Africa any good. The problem of AIDS leads to financial resources necessary for development be used to curb the spread of the disease. Other continents are developing while Africa deals with its health problems. Africa is robbed of its skilled people whose expertise is needed for the advancement of the continent. The ill treatment of the immigrants by the locals diffuses the spirit of unity among Africans. On the other hand certain countries cannot develop in isolation surrounded by a pool of underdeveloped countries. These countries will present South Africa with the influx of immigrants who will enter the country illegally and proliferate small arms. More money that is for development will be advanced to curb immigration problem.

4.3.The Impact of the Political Problems on South Africa's Promotion of NEPAD

Political challenges impact both negatively and positively on South Africa's promotion of NEPAD.

Positively, South Africa has gone in long strides to help to bring peace in the Great Lakes. This endeavour has gained a good reputation for South Africa as most of her companies have acquired lucrative business deals in the DRC. One such company is Mvelaphanda, a diamond company that is currently mining the wealth of DRC. On the other hand ESKOM a South African energy company is underway to source electricity from the Inga dam to provide it to the whole of the SADC region. In Zambia ESKOM has acquired a shareholding in the Lusemfwa Hydro Power Company which operates two power stations. In Mozambique the company made a major contribution towards the installation of an underwater gas system linking Bazaruto and the existing gas distribution system. ESKOM works in partnership with other African utilities. It has proposed for the formation of a NEPAD Energy Fund which outlines mutual benefits these parties could derive from the optimisation of scarce resources.

Peace initiative by South Africa in the DRC has resulted into the establishment of an interim government led by Joseph Kabila with four deputy presidents. Furthermore in Burundi an interim government was established whereby a leader from each ethnic group got a chance to rule the country for a period of 18 months. Another breakthrough came when presidents Paul Kagame and Joseph Kabila converged at Pretoria signed a pact to rescind a feeling of animosity and disgust between the two neighbouring countries. All these attempts yielded South Africa positive results, which culminated in South Africa being, rewarded the chairpersonship of AU as well as a chance to host an international conference against racism. It is not only South Africa which benefits from promotion of NEPAD.The whole of Africa benefits as there shall be the prevalence of peace and stability which are the cornerstones economic development.

The promotion of NEPAD does not impact positively only on South Africa and Africa. There are some negative impacts, which tarnish the image and credibility of NEPAD. Crises in Zimbabwe do not speak well of NEPAD in South Africa and abroad. The opposition party in South Africa the Democratic Alliance launched some scathing attack on the ruling party to take some stringent radical action against the regime of Mugabe. Furthermore the Democratic Alliance called for the transformation of a foreign policy that would address problems in Zimbabwe. Internationally, Zimbabwe's problem has damaged the relationship between the African Union and the European Union. In 2003, the EU wished to hold a follow up meeting between AU and EU.The latter indicated that Mugabe will not be welcome. Surprisingly South Africa demanded that Mugabe should be part of the meeting. Subsequently the meeting was called off. The EU maintains that NEPAD and the EU have largely ignored the extent of human rights abuse in Zimbabwe.

It is very sad to uncover that South Africa and the AU rally behind Mugabe. Mugabe has been highly admired for his so called land reform programme. It would be admirable if the landless people of Zimbabwe benefited from the land grabs. Sadly, most of the land that was seized from commercial farmers is now owned by the heavyweights within the ZANU – PF. For example Mugabe's sister and several war veterans own more than two farms each.

The ongoing crises in Sudan especially the ones in Darfur impacts negatively on NEPAD. Rapings, torture and burning of civilian homes in that region signals that nothing significant is carried by NEPAD to address these problems. This protracted conflict and Darfur crises compound matters for conflict resolution. The spotlight is on Darfur and the main conflict, which involves the North and South, is already forgotten. Whenever main role players are needed to respond to the rescind of conflict it becomes a problem. This is by the fact that they will be many each presenting his/her own demand.

Too much interference of France into the Francophone countries derails NEPAD to reach its goals that are aimed to develop the whole of Africa. France imposes its own conditions into its former colonies, whicl. do not develop them. These conditions create problems during conflict resolution. NEPAD was architectured to formulate African solutions to African problems. Whenever there are problems in any Francophone country, France intervenes under the guise to restore peace. The crux of the matter is that France enters to protect its own interests at the expense of the locals. This makes it difficult for NEPAD to implement its own laws in such countries.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter provides the conclusion and recommendations.

It has become evident that since the early seventies to date the number of attempts was undertaken by the Africans and the international community to find suitable solutions and plans to redevelop Africa. It all began in 1973 when Africans sought to establish *a New International Economic Order* – NIEO .The intended plan received a lukewarm welcome from the West in particular. The West felt that it was an attempt to destroy capitalism and Western civilisation. Furthermore the West felt that its approach was purely communist. This failure led to the establishment of the *African Declaration on Cooperation, Development and Economic Independence.* This aimed to develop Africa's self-economic sustainability and to move away from economic dependence. This led to the establishment of an African Economic Community. These were grand plans initiated by the Africans to empower the continent economically. Unfortunately five years lapsed without the production of concrete results from these efforts. This delay and failure was the result of the unavailability of funds.

An attempt to restore these failed plans was undertaken. That culminated in the development of the *Lagos Plan of Action* – LPA of 1980.Besides the mandate to revive the failed plans the LPA attempted to locate solutions that would rescind Africa's heavy reliance on external import model of industrialisation. The unavailability of funds led to the failure of the LPA. The United Nations established a joint partnership with the OAU to redevelop Africa. This produced the United

Nations Programme of Action For African Economic Recovery. The UN failed to commits itself and provide funds for the programme. It is sad to uncover that the predecessors of the NEPAD failed to materialise because of the lack of funds and too much reliance on the external support.

The NEPAD fails to read and understand the failures of the previous attempts. It rather continues to employ them in its quest to redevelop Africa. This corroborates the convictions of many people that the NEPAD will never succeed. Just like its predecessors the NEPAD is perceived to fail because of its reliance on foreign aid. The NEPAD aims to inject US $ 64 billion from the current US $ 3.5 billion annually. This is envisaged to be achieved at an annual growth rate of 7 %.This appears to be too ambitious because the NEPAD's developmental goals will be reached through aid from private investment outside the continent. It is interesting to find out what will happen to the developmental programmes of the NEPAD if the West breakaway from the partnership. On the contrary the G8 pledges to provide funds to the NEPAD but it attaches conditionality to that aid.

These conditions are related to the promotion of peace and security, which are the cornerstones of good governance and liberalisation of trade. The G8 categorically states that aid will only be provided to the countries, which stick to the conditions attached. This will then divide African countries because others will develop ahead of those that do not stick to the conditions.

The NEPAD is primarily constructed within a partnership between the West and African states. This partnership raises questions. The donor countries are the main partners because they attach certain conditions to provide aid. Conversely the West has continuously broken up their commitments to open up agricultural imports from

Africa. Furthermore the West is still subsidising its farmers heavily. This unfair practise costs African farmers too much. This raises a concern about the future of this partnership.

Another partnership between the civil society and Africans is not mutual. The civil society perceives it as a top-down structure because governments dictate terms for them. The civil society feels that the NEPAD has failed to engage or consult with a diversity of African civil society and the NEPAD remains unknown to most ordinary Africans.

African leaders assert that the NEPAD is "*Africanness*" in nature and breaks away from the liberal principles of the West. That is not exact. By taking a microscopic look on the NEPAD, one realises that it is a prototype of the Western liberal principles. In its economic emancipation of Africa the NEPAD, promotes the liberal ideologies such as privatisation, which has resulted in thousands of job losses. For example the IMF advised Zambia to open her markets.

The purchase of privatised assets resulted in many job losses. The anti – globalisation movements criticised the NEPAD that it is not "*Africanness* "and it is a continuation and preservation of Western ideologies. In their argument, these movements emphasised that the NEPAD is highly committed by working with the IMF and World Bank by implementing a comprehensive development framework and poverty reduction strategies that are designed by these institutions. Another argument that is raised is that the macroeconomic policies adopted by the NEPAD are tailor made by the IMF. Civil groups feel that the NEPAD fails to develop African solutions to African problems.

Agriculture forms the basis of African economy but The NEPAD's fails to develop agricultural modalities that account for food security, rural development and livelihood. The NEPAD continues to employ the failed *modus operandi* of SAP's to develop agriculture. For example the NEPAD is still limiting loans for the women who are the cornerstone of agriculture.

The NEPAD regards HIV/AIDS as another communicable disease. It does not provide a comprehensive plan to tackle this problem. The UN AIDS report asserts that HIV/AIDS is destroying a quarter African workforce.

The issue of Zimbabwe has provided the litmus test for the credibility of the African Peer Review Mechanism. Fundamentally the problem is not related to the NEPAD document but African leaders' adherence to the document. President Mbeki has told journalists this year that : *"we have agreed that there must be an independent peer review mechanisms that must make judgements as to whether African countries are abiding to what has been agreed upon. There is commitment to deliver and we have to deliver"*. In this context African leaders have failed to commit themselves and neglected to criticise Mugabe openly as well as on the outcomes of the election crisis of 2002.This has tainted the credibility of the APRM.

It is incumbent and imperative that the APRM develop an approach that is not vague. It should be clearly stated that that if a country disobeys the NEPAD rules what form of punishment would be meted out. For example, sanctions. All members of the AU should observe these. The voluntary element should be removed from this process. An itinerary should be drawn where two members from each regions are evaluated once per cycle.

The NEPAD should acknowledge that African countries do not develop at the same time because of their resource capacity. This should be addressed by eliminating the vague unrealistic goals of the NEPAD and replace them with the development of the short, medium, and long term goals. In this regard a structure for the distribution of funding that can be used as an accurate benchmark to measure the progress of various projects should be developed. Short-term goals should focus on the provision of the basic infrastructure that is required to attain medium to longer goals. For example ICT – Information Communication and Technology is the basis of FDI- Foreign Direct Investment .In this regard more telephone lines should be provided to get access to internet which facilitates access into foreign markets. This will culminate in paving a way for the Africans to occupy their roles in the complex globalised economy.

The NEPAD has located education on the periphery. The success of the *"Asian Tigers"* can largely be attributed to the development of effective policies for education and training, and the creation of skilled workforce. The NEPAD should place education at the top of its priorities. Effective policies for education and training should be established. Each country should set up an Institute of Standards and Industrial Research. This institute should encourage MNC's to adopt local Small and Medium Enterprises as subcontractors.

Governments should then offer packages that consist of cost sharing grants and loans for equipment and consultation training. Research and Development – R&D should be given a high priority. In this regard, tax exemptions should be granted to enterprises that conduct R & D, which advances biological, electronic and technological development. On the other hand the government should provide tax exemptions on R&D programs.

Foreign Direct Investment is another area that eludes Africa. The NEPAD should develop appropriate strategies that would address this problem. The NEPAD may use the restrictive entry method to deal with the MNC's. Foreign companies should be attracted to Africa with many incentives but at the same time governments should exert control over their operations in order to promote growth of indigenous enterprises through rules and negotiations. MNC's should be required to form close ties with local Research and Development units. This should be done through the system of licensing and joint ventures between MNC's and local companies. This system permits entry for local companies into more advanced activities and alignment with new developments, products and processes.

Access should be given to companies that specialises in agriculture and Information Communication and Technology because these are highly required by African states. The availability of MNC's is enough to benefit local productivity and competitiveness. Their global marketing presence and well-known names as well as their access to the international flow of information is highly advantageous to the host country.

The NEPAD need to inform the World Bank, IMF, and WTO that these liberal policies benefit the rich states *vis `a vis* Africa. In this regard a tailor made liberalisation framework, which takes place according to the needs of a country, should be developed. For example, with regard to Africa, liberal policies such as privatisation cause unemployment. In this regard the liberalisation modalities that enable African states to decide their pace and scope of operation for liberalisation are needed.

Within the debates held at the WTO, the problems such as agriculture, TRIP's and health that are related to Africa are relegated to the peripheral position. The NEPAD need to assert that these problems hinge on Africa's growth and development. It is therefore imperative that they are treated on merit they deserve. On the other hand the patent rights that are withheld by developed countries should be challenged to award South Africa to utilise its scientific, industrial and financial capacity to produce a basic drug for HIV/AIDS. In this regard the government could be the buyer and the seller at prices that are set by social policy that is set with subsidies covered by external donors.

The NEPAD should push forward for the democratisation of the institutions such as the WTO, World Bank and the IMF. African states should push forward for the position of a permanent seat in the Security Council. More full time skilled negotiators should be posted to the WTO to guard against unfair practices the WTO impose on Africans.

The problems that South Africa has encountered in promoting the NEPAD will not be overcome overnight. This will be defeated if only a comprehensive and practical partnership among the stakeholders is developed. The rich countries should not attach any conditions on their aid. Both the NEPAD and donors should develop a common understanding that the aid is for development and not for enrichment. Both parties should draft a developmental plan.

In 2009 president Mbeki who is the stalwart of the NEPAD steps down. This should not develop pessimism into Africans. The NEPAD is not a "Mbeki Affair" alone. It is enshrined into the seven principles of the ANC policy for foreign affairs. One of the policy asserts that South African Foreign policy should reflect the interests of Africa. This forms the cornerstone of South African foreign policy. In this regard the change of leadership is not the change of a policy but its continuation. Matters can only change if the opposition seize power.

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