An Ethics of Development in a Global Environment Report

The Africa Union –

Examining The New Hope For Africa

By: Ezinne C. Oji
Preface

Writing about Africa is one of the most ambitious things I have ever set out to do. I realized from the beginning that it would be challenging to try to cover anything substantial regarding the issues in the Africa. Still, my passion to discover in more depth some of the things that plagued my beloved continent caused me to persevere. The choice to write on the topic of the new hope of Africa was easy due to the recent and public formation of the Africa Union. The European Union - EU, its more popular counterpart for European countries has been written about by authors, students and academicians alike. Information on European nations are also readily available due to the history of the nations and the world’s interest in these areas. For Africa, many issues are contentious therefore there always seems to two polar views on matters and digging through all the information or lack of to find out the true story is somewhat tedious.

At this time therefore, it is important for me to state that this paper is in no way complete. I try to tackle issues that I had data for. The world seems to be divided into 4 groups on issues that concern Africa, those who believe that the challenges it faces is as a result of European countries and the USA continuing to oppress the people of SSA in subtler ways than was done during the colonization period. The other believe that African’s are the cause of their problems – that they really can’t do well for themselves and have become a group of people dependent and eager for hand-outs in the form of foreign aid. The third group could care less about the issues of Africa, believing that nothing going on the continent so far away from them should have an effect on them. The last group care but realize that the issues are bigger than them and more complicated than can be imagined. I happen to fall in this last group.

I know that this and any attempt to be an expert in the matter of Africa is somewhat foolhardy but the goal is to see it as a journey of discovery and perhaps a re-education.

Enjoy!

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The Africa Union –

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THE AFRICA UNION: Examining the new hope of Africa.

“This historic effort will require leadership, courage, and a willingness to depart from the ways of the past. If it is to do for Africa what the European Union has done for Europe”

-UN Secretary General Kofi Annan

1. INTRODUCTION

Thirty nine years after the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established to unite the peoples of Africa and end colonialism in Africa, the continent’s leaders inaugurated its successor, the Africa Union (AU). The Africa Union was officially launched in Durban, South Africa, on July 9, 2002. Loosely based on the structure of the European Union, it upholds the sovereign equality and independence of its 53 member states and aims to promote peace, security and solidarity on the African continent. The new organization inherits the OAU’s mantle of Pan-Africanism but has a broader mandate to meet the challenges of a rapidly globalizing era. At its inauguration, South Africa’s president Thabo Mbeki declared

“The time has come that Africa must take her rightful place in global affairs. The time has come to end the marginalization of Africa”.

Touted as the new hope for Africa - its lighthouse to safety and success, the Africa Union is being closely watched by many. There are many who believe that with this new coming together, Africa; its leaders and its citizens now has a chance at affecting its current economic and developmental situation. On the other hand, there are critics who believe that the Africa Union is from its creation - a joke destined to fail and again prove the world right – Africa cannot guide itself out of the condition that it finds itself in. This paper takes a closer look at the organization, considering its history and development, starting with its emergence from the OAU. In reviewing the history, we consider some of the reasons why
the OAU failed or succeeded as applicable. Next, we consider the organizational structure of
the current AU, attempt to learn how it works and how it plans to evolve to achieve its core
objectives.

African leaders often refer to the European Union as the organization after which
the Africa Union (AU) is modeled therefore it is relevant to examine the EU briefly,
considering the relevance and accuracy, of such comparison. Also, we’ll ask if there are
advantages and disadvantages to emulating the EU model if in fact this is the case. This
paper then attempts to take a brief look at the pressing issues that exist on the continent
particularly Sub-Saharan Africa and discusses some of the progress that is continually being
made. Is the AU setup to encourage the progress in Africa or are its bureaucratic structures
merely that - bureaucracies, with no true alignment to the issues that the continent as a
whole has to contend with to move forward in the world economy. In Going forward with
the AU, we consider how the AU can align itself to support the grassroots movements that
exist to combat the pressing issues at large

Again, this is not a fix-all paper but it seeks to ask pertinent questions about the
future and efficacy of the AU in affecting the destiny of Africa as a whole and Sub-
Saharan Africa (SSA) in particular in a truly positive way. It is one of the few EDGE reports
on Africa, the first on the AU in the company of multiple EU reports. The challenges faced
in writing this paper may explain some of the barriers that exist collecting accurate, unbiased
data on Africa and SSA. Still it is an academic experience that should be encouraged beyond
this one paper, so that people can join in scratching the surface on a big and complex
organization that is positioned to deal with enormous challenges for a large continent and a
hopeful people. This is not a fault finding mission, but a mission to question, offer solutions
and inspire action in readers.
2. **AFRICAN UNITY BEFORE THE AFRICA UNION**

2.1. **From Pan-Africanism to the OAU**:

A man named Sylvester Williams, born in Trinidad at the tail end of the 20th century was the originator of Pan-Africanism, since he was the first to publicly state and define what it was. The Pan-African dream, essentially was to restore the dignity of black men and women, advocate their return to the land of their fathers and to revive the African culture. Williams organized the first Pan-African Conference in 1900 with its primary focus as the fate of the Gold Coast and the confiscation of land in South Africa by the British and Afrikaners (Tshiyembe, 2002). In 1919 when William DuBois, founder of the NAACP organized what he then referred to as the Pan-African Congress in Paris, the focus was changed to – “a code of law for the international protection of the natives of Africa” (Wager). Over the years, Pan-African conferences were held and the focus of the meetings evolved as was relevant to the issue being faced by Africans on the continent and those in the Diaspora.

By the 7th Congresses held in Accra in the year 1958, the issues of decolonization and the confrontation of the East with the powers of the West dominated the political and diplomatic agenda at the congress and produced two forms of Pan-Africanism. The first which as the ‘maximalist’ approach sought “to redraw the geo-political boundaries set by the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), which had sanctioned the division of the continent of Africa into European spheres of influence”¹. The ultimate goal was to establish a United states of Africa that would give the continent a role in world affairs. This brave venture – at least for that time – though supported by a majority of the African leaders and those concerned with and in African Affairs all over the world, seemed to underestimate the influence and the power the former colonial powers still wielded. From their point of view, this plan for African Unification would greatly affect their vital interest in the continent – energy and mineral resources, powers of patronage and trading resources. However, this unification approach had hope based on the support of countries like the United States and China – but the support of these ‘progressive’ nations was displayed only in words.

The minimalist approach, the second form of Pan-Africanism which was personified in the Organization for African Unity set the seal on the schism, not due to popularity but due to the aggressive nature of the earlier plan and the external push against it. From the onset, this latter approach was seen as a weaker form of Pan-Africanism, this initial view of the organization may have set it up for its not to stellar performance over time. After the initial difference on the degree of unity, within this minimalist approach, the implementation of the agreed upon method was being debated. On one hand there were those countries which believed in the immediate unity of the entire continent of Africa – thorough an organization; what become known as the OAU. The countries in support of this were originally Ghana, Guinea, and Mali. Later on Egypt, the Transitional Government of Algeria, and Morocco, joined the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union to form the Casablanca Group\(^2\). This group was led emphatically by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Twenty-four member nations known as the Monrovia Group (or the conservatives) opposed Nkrumah’s radical notion for complete and immediate unification of the independent countries into state-like nations. They believed in a much more gradual approach to the quest for African Unity. The Monrovia group included countries like Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Togo.

Tanzania’s Julius Nyerere offered a different take on the issue, preferring that the Africanism Unification movement start on a more regional scale, with regional groupings as a precursor to full continental bodies. Onlookers believed that the rift between the groups would be a permanent one ending the hopes and dreams that Nkrumah and other leaders had for African Unity, despite the fact that the disagreements were only on the method for implementing unification. All the countries had been sold to the idea that unification was necessary to move the nations of the continent forward.

The diplomacy of Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie and Guinea’s Sekou Toure was what bridged the divide to bring the different sides in 1963 with the compromise that eventually became the Organization for African Unity - OAU\(^3\).

\(^2\) Makonnen Ketema -The Creation of the Organization of African Unity
2.2. The Organization for African Unity (OAU)

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah introduced the concept of African Unity to the continent most emphatically, so he is often credited as being the Father of the organization (OAU) although any careful examination of the evolution process reveals that the idea was much larger than any one individual.

On May 25, 1963, 32 Africa Heads of States signed the OAU charter in Addis Ababa formally birthing the organization. The day is now celebrated annually as Africa Day or African Liberation Day. It started off with thirty-one nations and twenty-one states joined gradually over the years, with South Africa becoming the 53rd member in 1994. All countries in Africa eventually became members of the OAU except Morocco, which withdrew from the OAU in 1984 after the admission of Western Sahara as an independent state. After the Spanish withdrew from Western Sahara, Morocco occupied it and claims it as one of its territories.

The organization’s over-arching charter is to promote unity and development of its members. The main objectives of the OAU were, inter alia, to rid the continent of the remaining vestiges of colonization and apartheid; to promote unity and solidarity among African States; to coordinate and intensify cooperation for development; to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States and to promote international cooperation within the framework of the United Nations.4.

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**Article II of the OAU Charter**

- To promote the unity and solidarity of the African States;
- To coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;
- To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;
- To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and
- To promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Although the OAU was successful in its cause to eradicate colonialism from Africa, by and large it failed at most of its’ objectives. The inability to settle the conflicts in Liberia,

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4 Organizations of African Unity, International Organizations. AllRefer.com Reference
Somalia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo was an example of its failure at the defense. These conflicts have affected the condition on the Continent severely and the OAU seemed powerless and ineffective in its dealings (Tshiyembe). The failure of the Lagos Plan (1980) and the African Economic Community (1991), initiatives aimed at executing the Organization’s power and influence in the objective of promoting solidarity and coordinating policies tell the same story. The Abuja Treaty established the African Economic Community (AEC) after which the OAU began operating on the basis of two legal instruments.

The OAU officially became the OAU/AEC.

The following Specialized Agencies made up the OAU:

- African Accounting Council;
- African Bureau for Educational Sciences;
- African Civil Aviation Commission;
- Pan-African News Agency;
- Pan-African Postal Union;
- Pan-African Railways Union;
- Pan-African Telecommunications Union;
- Supreme Council for Sports in Africa.

As early as 1979, when the Committee on the Review of the Charter (The OAU) was established, it had become evident and accepted that a need existed to amend the OAU Charter in order to streamline the Organization to gear it more accurately for the challenges of the continent in a changing world. Despite numerous meetings, the Charter Review Committee unable to formulate substantive amendments or put together a strategic roadmap that effectively ushered the organization into the new globalization era. The result of the meetings by the committee was threefold:

- The Charter was "amended" by being augmented through ad hoc decisions of Summits such as the Cairo Declaration Establishing the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, etc;
A realization and affirmation of the need for greater efficiency and effectiveness of the Organization and the required need for urgent action; and

The need to integrate the political activities of the OAU with the economic and developmental issues as articulated in the Abuja Treaty.

Unfortunately the organization continued business as usual, changing very little due over the years; drawing up more documentation and adding to the existing charters. More time and funds were spent organizing meetings and summits than in implementing the new resolutions that were the outcome of previous meetings. Things only worsened over time. Sadly little changed in the structure or the effort of the organization for the 20 years between the year 1979 and 1999.

Realizing the need for urgent action a summit was held in Sirte, Algiers on the 9th of September, 1999 to address the issues of poverty, the AIDS epidemic etc. facing the continent and the Organization. The theme of the summit was “Strengthening the OAU capacity to enable it to meet the challenges of the new millennium.” This Summit concluded on 9 September 1999 with the Sirte Declaration aimed at:

- Effectively addressing the new social, political and economic realities in Africa and the world;
- Fulfilling the peoples’ aspirations for greater unity in conforming with the objectives of the OAU Charter and the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community;
- Revitalizing the Continental Organization to play a more active role in addressing the needs of the people;
- Eliminating the scourge of conflicts;
- Meeting global challenges; and
- Harnessing the human and natural resources of the continent to improve living conditions.

To achieve these aims, they decided to:

“Establish an Africa Union in conformity with the ultimate objectives of the Charter of our Continental Organisation and the provisions of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community.”
The idea of the Africa Union was proposed by the Libyan leader Moammar Al Qaddafi as a more effective institution than the OAU for increasing prosperity in Africa. As proposed by him the goal was to provide an effective channel to harmonize the economic and political policies of all African nations in order to improve pan-African welfare, and provide Africans with a solid voice in international affairs (Steinberg, 2001).

2.3. The issues:

According to the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, despite its recognized failures, the OAU deserves a greater share of the credit than it has been given so far, in the defeat of Apartheid and colonialism in the Africa. The OAU was the unwavering voice of the continent to the world when the continent of Africa was told it had not right to speak. Other successes of the OAU include its ability to secure peace agreements among several of its members and the establishment of conflict prevention mechanisms. The OAU was also able to establish critical pan-African doctrines and target behaviors such as respect for existing frontiers. Such successes helped ensure that through out the OAU’s existence, border conflicts among member nations have been kept at the a true minimum. Resolution of such disputes have been dealt with in a civil manner with the help of the OAU and its resources. The understanding of the necessity in the unique validity of free and fair elections as means of bringing about political change and governmental stability was cultivated through the OAU – particularly targeting some of the nations that had experience military rule.

Still critics abound with questions such as why the OAU was not quicker in reacting to or more forceful in its reaction to the Apartheid in South Africa. In addition to this critique is the OAUs inability to affect the outcome of the 1994 Hutu and Tutsi conflict in Rwanda that ended with more than half a million people dead in a period of 3 months.

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5 Address by Secretary-General Kofi Annan to the 38th Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, 8 July 2002
6 According to worldrevolution.org, in the thirteen weeks after April 6, 1994, at least half a million people perished in the Rwandan genocide, perhaps as many as three quarters of the Tutsi population. worldrevolution.org/article/1183
Looking back at the history of the OAU, a few scholars have been able to identify the primary reason why the OAU ‘failed’. The first reason that is rarely discussed by scholars is the financial burden that the organization itself put on its members. Most members had stopped paying their contributions and the arrears owed had amounted to approximately $50 Million. This deprived the OAU of its primary source of funding (Tshiyembe) making any good intentions that the body had - only an intention and non-executable. At a certain point in its existence the OAU, out of need, approached the international community for financial assistance weakening its strategic position as seen by members and onlookers alike.

Another reason for its failure was the level of bureaucracy that was sewn into the fabric of the organization. The most evident and publicly discussed was its policy to not get involved in conflicts within the borders of its member states. As a consequence of its policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, the OAU failed to prevent conflicts, stop genocides or challenge the persistent rise of dictators on the continent. In its defense, some have argued that the spirit of the OAU’s initial charter was to protect the supremacy of the member countries especially with regards to Western powers that seemed more interested in carving the nations of Africa into regions and States that ensured that they these former colonial masters maintained their control over their interests. In order to effectively protect this supremacy, it had to obey its own rules in the very least and trust that its member countries were able to self-govern.

The above example lies the greatest of all failure – the lack of agility. A lack of the organization to truly amend its policies as was necessary to keep the Western powers at bay and still ensure the basic human rights of the citizens of the continent. The organizational structure, its basic policies and the general procedures remained even when the world around the organization was changing. A close examination of the different divisions that made up the OAU showed that they were not setup to deal with the changing issues on the continent. By the 1980’s when the SSA countries started to see their GDP fall and the economic conditions of most of the nations worsened with time, the OAU had no cross country/pan-African means to deal with the new problems. Over the years there was always talk of strategizing for improvement, economic empowerment and sustainable development by the heads of states, still no actions emerged and OAU seemed to always react to conditions of the continent rather than proactively map out a strategy to strengthen its members.
Of greater concern to the African citizen was how deplorable the state of the countries had become during the watch of the OAU whilst, the pockets and bank accounts of the heads of states of these same nations got fatter, as monies promised for developmental projects were siphoned off. It was no secret at this point that African nations had its share of corrupt leaders – these same leaders were at the helm of the OAU.

It was evident as early as in 1979, that the OAU was quickly becoming defunct, still it remained practically the same for another 22 years. Perhaps its success at existing for those years without much change confirms the attitude of complacency ingrained in African leaders in the OAU that critics believe will keep the Africa Union as handicapped and powerless as the old organization. In summary, the reason for the failure of the OAU include:

- Lack of funding to operate effectively
- Lack of true unification of the nations that make up the OAU
- Lack of commitment from the heads of states of member nations
- Continuous ridicule from critics and a lack of respect from other international bodies.
- No true benefits to its members, affecting the efficacy of the OAU influence on the individual countries policies.
3. THE AFRICA UNION (AU)

3.1. About The AU

After the supposed failure of the AU, the idea of the Africa Union (AU) was received with skepticism both outside and within the continent. The questions arose as many could not believe that the OAU Member States could marshal sufficient political will and determination to put in place an effective Africa Union. A decision declaring the establishment of the Africa Union, based on the unanimous will of Member States was adopted by the 5th Extraordinary OAU/AEC Summit held in Sirte, Libya from 1 to 2 March 2001. In the decision, Heads of State and Government specified that the legal requirements for the Union would be completed upon the deposit of the 36th instrument of ratification of the Constitutive Act of the Africa Union.

South Africa deposited its instrument of ratification of the Constitutive Act of the Africa Union on 23 April 2001 with the OAU General Secretariat and became the 35th Member State to do so. South Africa's ratification as one of these 36 member states means it and the other countries before it are the founding members of the Africa Union. On 26 April 2001 Nigeria became the 36th Member State to deposit its instrument of ratification. This concluded the two-thirds requirement and the Act entered into force on the 26th of July 2001.

The complete establishment of the Africa Union was accomplished in four Summits, each accomplishing an instrumental part of what the Union is today.

The Sirte Extraordinary Session (1999) decided to establish an Africa Union
The Lusaka Summit (2001) drew the road map for the implementation of the AU
The Durban Summit (2002) launched the AU and convened the 1st Assembly of the Heads of States of the Africa Union.
While the OAU was primarily a political organization, the AU in its objectives recognizes and emphasizes economic integration as the route to political unity. Its objectives, different and more comprehensive than those of the OAU, focus less on sovereignty of the member states and more on the sovereignty of a unified continent and the influence of such a unity.

The vision of the Africa Union is encapsulated in the following statements found on their website:

- The AU is Africa’s premier institution and principal organization for the promotion of accelerated socio-economic integration of the continent, which will lead to greater unity and solidarity between African countries and peoples.
- The AU is based on the common vision of a united and strong Africa and on the need to build a partnership between governments and all segments of civil society, in particular women, youth and the private sector, in order to strengthen solidarity and cohesion amongst the peoples of Africa.
- As a continental organization it focuses on the promotion of peace, security and stability on the continent as a prerequisite for the implementation of the development and integration agenda of the Union.

At this time the officially identified objectives of the AU as contained in the Constitutive Act of its Charter are:

- To achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the peoples of Africa;
- To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States;
- To accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent;
- To promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples;

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7 “The Africa Union is Launched: Hopes for a Union Responsive to the People of Africa” http://gbgm-umc.org/umw/legislative/Africaunion.html

8 The Vision of the AU : http://www.africa-union.org/home/Welcome.htm
To encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

To promote peace, security, and stability on the continent;

To promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance;

To promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments;

To establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations;

To promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies;

To promote co-operation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples;

To coordinate and harmonize the policies between the existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union;

To advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology;

To work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

3.2. STRUCTURE OF THE AU

In order achieve some of the goals that the AU has identified, the Union is structured into divisions or branches which they refer to as organs. These organs are independent yet rely on each other to make the union function at it’s best. The AU consists of the following organs:

• The Assembly
• The Executive Council
The Assembly
The Assembly is made up of the heads of state of all member states and is the most important decision-making body of the union. The Constitutive Act is very specific about the functions and powers of the Assembly as the supreme organ of the AU. It adopts its own rules of procedure. The assembly meets once a year during which it elects a chairperson. Decisions are made by consensus or two thirds majority. The assembly has the function of deciding on common policies for the union, considers applications for membership, adopts the budget and directs the process of conflict resolution and it appoints the judges for the Court of Justice.

The Executive Council
The Executive Council is made up of the ministers of foreign affairs of member states and is accountable to the Assembly. The council decides on matters such as foreign trade, social security, food, agriculture and communications. The council prepares material for the assembly to discuss and approve.

The Permanent Representatives Committee
This committee is composed of ambassadors to the AU and has the responsibility of preparing the work for the Executive Council. Finally, the Permanent Representatives Committee consists of ambassadors and other officials accredited to the AU.

The Commission
This forms the secretariat of the AU and is made up of a chairman, a deputy and eight commissioners. To ensure that the smooth running of the AU, a secretariat of the organization
was formed – The Africa Union Commission. Amara Essy a career diplomat from Cote d'Ivoire was elected by leaders of the constituent republics to form the first government of the Union as the Chairperson of the Commission. His year long mandate was to oversee the initiation of the transformation of the Organization of African Unity from a loose confederation into a sovereign state with a legislative parliament, a supreme court of justice and a single currency. The headquarters of the new Africa Union Commission is located in the Africa Unity House, in Addis Ababa. It has the task to service Africa Union meetings, implement decisions and resolutions adopted by the Pan African Parliament, Heads of State and Government, all major union institutions such as the African Court, and ministers, keep the Au documents and archives and conduct the daily work of the coordination among member States, NGOs, African regional organizations, in all fields stated in the Charter. The commission deals with administrative issues and implements the decisions of the union. It is responsible for the coordination of AU activities and meetings. Applications for membership are made to the commission. One of the primary roles of the Commission and its staff, is the preparation of Strategic plans and studies for the consideration of the Executive Council of the Africa Union. Currently, Mr. Essy serves as the Interim chairperson while H.E. Alpha Oumar Konare, the new Chairperson of the Commission assumes his responsibilities.

**Specialized Technical Committees**

These committees deal with monetary and financial issues, the rural economy, trade, immigration, industry and science and technology. They are responsible for the implementation of projects and programs of the union.

**The Pan-African Parliament**

The Parliament will consist of elected representatives nominated from the five regions of Africa. It will ensure civil society participation in the AU processes.

**The Court of Justice**

The court will rule on human rights abuses in Africa in terms of a legal statute or framework.

**The Economic, Social and Cultural Council**
This council performs an advisory function and is composed of professional and civic representatives.

**Financial Institutions**

Three financial institutions will be set up under the auspices of the AU to provide funding for projects and programs. They are African Central Bank, the African Monetary Fund and the African Investment Bank.

**The Peace and Security Council**

The council will have fifteen members responsible for monitoring and intervening in conflicts. The council will be alerted by an early warning system as to any threats to security on the continent. The council will be finalized by a peace fund. The council will be advised by a council of elders and will have an African force at its disposal.
4. THE AU, EU AND ASEAN- A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS.

4.1. A New or Borrowed Vision

Close examination of the proposed structure and the overall goals of the AU reveal that at least on paper it was and is modeled after the European Union. However there are many that question if this is in fact the best blueprint to follow being that the current position of AU states in no way resemble the European Union states, nor is the reason for their formation in any way related. The European Union is the most successful instance of regional integration for political and economic purposes in the modern times. However in considering what it is that has made the model very successful there are notable differences between the goals and positions of the member countries in the EU when compared to those of the AU.

4.2. The European Union – A brief History

Europe Day, May 9th marks the date that the community now known as the European Union was officially formed. The historical roots of the EU lie in the second world war and perhaps all the wars fought in Europe before it, each having had such a devastating on the European nations. A few leaders came up with the notion that one of the only ways to secure a lasting peace between their countries was to unite them economically and politically. The idea of a economic community that spanned national borders in Europe was born., Found in 1950 as the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), members states: Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands decided to form an independent supranational body that made decisions for their coal and steel industries. The ECSC was so successful that these same countries decided to go further and integrate other sectors of their economies. In 1957 through the signing of the Treaties of Rome the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and the European Economic Community (EEC) were formed. Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined in 1973, Greece in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986. In this time, there had

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10 The history of the European Union: http://europa.eu.int/abc/history/index_en.htm

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been a move that merged the three communities (ECSC, EURATOM and EEC), so there was now one commission, one Council and a European Parliament.

The first elections for the parliament held across nation was held in 1979. In 1992, the Treaty of Maastricht introduced defense and justice as new areas of co-operation to the existing community and in so doing created what is the European Union. Austria, Finland and Sweden were the latest members in 1995. This year, the biggest ever enlargement takes place with 10 new countries joining\textsuperscript{11}. Another part of the idea of the EU lay in its political motivation to guard against the excesses of the totalitarianism, which member nations had witnessed either in the 1930s and ‘40s. Member states were anxious to pool their sovereignty (not giving it up completely) to protect their freedom\textsuperscript{4}. These states saw themselves as strong entities in the new economy with their step towards unification merely not a crutch but as an opportunity to add another dimension to the formidability of it’s members.

One of the unique things about the EU when compared to other communities of its type, is that from the onset was a mandate for integration. For the EU, integration meant common policies, initially concerning trade in the steel and coal industries, maturing into areas such as health and consumer affairs. This has meant that in spite of the sovereignty of these nations they have had to come together to make tough joint decisions in creating policies that work for them as well as the other Union nations as well. Over the years as the need has arisen, policies have also had to be modified – one being the initial agricultural policies that were built around the idea of producing agricultural products for as cheap as possible to the new policy that insists on supporting only farming methods that “produce healthy high-quality food without damaging the environment”\textsuperscript{12}. By its members creating unified positions on policies the EU has placed itself such that it can negotiate major trade and aid agreements with the rest of the world on behalf of member nations. One of the other successes or more accurately impending successes of the EU is that of turning its ‘common marketplace into a genuine single market in which goods, services, people and capital can move freely\textsuperscript{13}. Although work still needs to be done in making this market seamless (such as merging financial markets) the EU has been able to accomplish a

\textsuperscript{11} The European Union at a Glance: http://europa.eu.int/abc/index_en.htm
\textsuperscript{12} Integration means common policies – The EU at a glance.
\textsuperscript{13} The Single Market: Banning the barriers.

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great deal. This process is being aided by the other impending success eluded to - the introduction of the euro, the single currency of the EU which became a reality on January 1, 2002.

As new members join the Union, some of the policies have needed to be adjusted countries.

4.2.1. **How they got there – Noting the differences**

One of the things to note is that the success of the EU, has in fact taken quite a while to realize. Having existed for over half a century it is only in recent times that the key elements of the Union’s success have materialized. The EU case is the most ambitious, demanding and extremely expensive of bureaucracies. It has required thousands of skilled personnel over the years to ensure that the institutions of the union work together, co-operating not only with the governments of the member states but the institutions that comprise the EU. On close examination we begin to see that it is through integration that the EU has derived its strength.

One the biggest concerns is that the Africa Union seeks to emulate the EU in its results— which as mentioned before took half a century to attain, yet it’s implementation methods do not show true plans for integration of it’s member states. The successes of the EU were born – with emphasis on born - out of the unification of the countries, in policy and in general direction. African Countries cannot expect to remain as independent as they currently are and seek the results of the EU especially in the time the have apportioned. Compared to the EU, the AU is merely an organization that it member nations belong to and make available a few resources in hope that this new association will help the agenda of the country. Although the constitution of the AU defines an organization with goals similar to that of the EU, with close examination of the implementation and integration of the AU agenda with it’s member countries agenda, the AU resembles the ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) more. ASEAN as the name states an association of independent states pulled together for the purpose of pursuing joint projects when they are available and beneficial. According to the ASEAN secretariat website:

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The ASEAN Declaration states that the aims and purposes of the Association are: (i) to accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavors in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of Southeast Asian nations, and (ii) to promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries in the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The South East Asian nations chose to use the model of an association instead of a union with the knowledge of the structural and organizational difference between union and an association. The association model allows them to work independently and pursue opportunities that bring advantages without the obligation to play along at all times. At this time is also important to note that despite the fact other goals and areas of cooperation are mentioned in the ASEAN objective above, their focus has been on accelerating economic growth which has in turn delivered a few developments in the other areas. A strength of the ASEAN relationship is that the fact that these Asian nations identify their economies as capitalist economies giving consistencies to their push to pursue economic growth.

One failure of the ASEAN that the AU hopes to avoid is their emphasis on non-interference and sovereignty. The AU predecessor, the OAU, had fallen prey to that focus and as a result African countries saw some very bad human rights condition occur under its watch. The ASEAN nations are also dealing with certain human rights issues which ASEAN as an organization is choosing not to get involved in. Having learned from the OAU, the AU has chosen to confront issues that deal with human rights inspite of the sovereignty of member nations.

Another similarity between the ASEAN and the AU is the basis of the formation of the institutions/organizations.
5. AFRICA TODAY

5.1. Taking Stock

“The Crisis of Africa”, “Problems With Africa”, “Emergency in Africa” – These are typical titles that papers on World and African Affairs usually have when writing about my beloved continent. The fact is that Africa’s countries are faced with serious challenges – poverty, high mortality rate, low literacy levels, the AIDS epidemic. Most of the countries in Africa are classified as the least developed nations in the World. To keep up with the rest of the world these countries have sought loans from the World Bank, IMF and in the process signed for programs such as the Structural Adjustment Program that has done nothing but put these nations in a worse of condition than they begun.

5.2. Poverty

Recent statistics from the world bank show that 17 percent of the worlds poorest people live in Africa, second only to the 34 percent that live in South Asia. Troubling still is the fact that more than 51 percent of people the people that live in African nations live under the world poverty line. According to the World Bank, a person is considered poor if his or her consumption or income level falls below some minimum level necessary to meet basic needs. This minimum level is what is referred to as the "poverty line". What is necessary to satisfy basic needs varies across time and societies. Therefore, poverty lines vary in time and place, and each country uses lines which are appropriate to its level of development, societal norms and values.

What this means in essence is that over 415 million of the 815 million people in Africa have to live on less than $1.00 (US) a day (Minter, 1999; JICA 1999). Often when the dire situation of Africa is considered, the evaluation is limited to Sub-Saharan Africa – excluding nations that consider themselves part of the middle east which coincidentally are doing better on average according to economic indicators.

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The 48 countries that make up Sub-Saharan Africa are home to the 10 per cent of the world's population, struggling to survive on 1 per cent of the world's income. Considering that the countries in the G8\textsuperscript{18} with about 15 percent of the world's population command about 75 percent of the world income. The rift between the haves and have-nots continues to increase, Africa's top 20 percent of the population have access to more than 50 per cent of the total income, the bottom 20 percent have access to just about 3 percent. For the individual countries, the per capita GDP in real terms has fallen, on average, by 1 percent in the past 25 years (Nagarajan, 2001).\textsuperscript{19} In these areas, poverty manifests itself as rampant and high unemployment; hunger; decayed, decayed, unventilated, unplanned and shapeless dwellings; prostitution; numerous, unplanned, dirty and naked children who are either not going to school or are going to bad schools; fear; injustice; sickness; illiteracy; abundance of garbage and human waste; torn and tortured roads and scary alleyways; unlit streets; crime and criminals of all sorts.\textsuperscript{20} As a result of the poverty in the region, other socio-economic factors for these countries are affected. The number of children who receive any form of education, the petty crime level in communities, and the general health of the society at large is also affected. The majority of the countries classified by the UN as least developed are in Africa.

Many scholars have studied the condition of SSA and have concluded that one of the ways to increase the socio-economic positions of these countries to eradicate poverty as has been the mantra of the World Bank and its cohorts for dozens of years. Studies have shown that if poverty is eliminated, literacy increases because of the ability of the common man to afford education an issue in some cases, in the same vein, so does the health index – since access to health is no longer an issue. Still other scholars argue that in spite of ones economic situation, the world cannot sit and watch while, health is denied the people who need it the most. Studying the issue one begins to see the significant parallels between the chicken and the egg (which came first) conundrum and the poverty and education/literacy one – which will eradicate the other.

Numerous international development strategies have failed to yield the expected results in SSA. While these strategies seem to have improved other Asian and Latin American countries in the same predicament as the Highly Indebted and Poor countries (HIPC) as indexed by the

\textsuperscript{18} G8 Countries: Canada, United States of America, Japan, Germany, Russia, France, Italy, European Union.
\textsuperscript{20} From “Poverty reduction strategies for urban Sub-Saharan Africa”, MDP, April 2001
IMF – International Monetary Fund. Some believe that the continent is doomed to perpetual poverty and economic slavery, Africa has immense potential.

Figure 1: Image Showing Sub-Saharan Africa.

(North African countries are: Morocco & Western Sahara, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt)

Image Source: ex.matrix.msu.edu/.../map1print.html
Figure 2: Number of People Living on Less than a dollar a day

Figure 3: Percentage of Population Living on Less than a dollar a day
Figure 2 and 3 are based on data collected from the WDI online – World Bank Development Indicator, World Bank Group data on poverty, USAID and World Revolution organization, a self-proclaimed “watchdog on the number forging of capitalist sources”\textsuperscript{21}. It should be emphasized that these numbers are largely based on historical estimates and are subject to some uncertainty. Up to date survey and price data are not available for all countries. Also, the quality of household surveys can vary considerably among countries and over time, especially as it pertains to households in SSA and South Asia, the ones from whom the data is needed the most. Further, the international measure of poverty – the dollar a day measure, is also subject to introduce error in the attempt to get the correct picture of what the current positions are with regards to poverty. This is because, it fails to take into account absolute purchasing power parity exchange rates from region to region. Using this standard, in spite of its weaknesses provides for scholars, policy makers, government officials and others a fairly reliable view of poverty trends at the aggregate level. There have also been significant improvement in the in the coverage of household surveys used to generate this information and in data accuracy over the past few years.

With this data, in spite of its flaws – one is able to note that Sub-Saharan Africa has not been able to attain a downward trend to the number of the its citizens who are living on this said minimum of $1.00 a day

5.3. HIV/AIDS

To add to the devastating impact that poverty has cast on the region, the HIV/AIDS epidemic brings with it a complication to the socio-economic balances that ever existed. AIDS has been a hard hitter in this fragile region of the world with more devastating consequences on human welfare than anywhere else. Of the 34.2 million HIV-infected people in the developing countries, 75 percent of them live in Sub-Saharan Africa. This number makes up approximately 70 percent of the world’s incidence of the fatal infection.

Though several African nations continue to show strides in the right direction in improving the economic situations they are faced with, it is apparent that these nations are on the verge of collapsing under the weight of the consequences of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. According to the World Health organization, the staggering statistics are:

- 5.4 million new AIDS infections in 1999, 4 million of them in Africa.
- 2.8 million dead of AIDS in 1999, 85 percent of them in Africa.
- 13.2 million children orphaned by AIDS, 12.1 million of them in sub-Saharan Africa.
- Reduced life expectancy in sub-Saharan Africa from 59 years to 45 between 2005 and 2010, and in Zimbabwe from 61 to 33.
- More than 500,000 babies infected in 1999 by their mothers -- most of them in sub-Saharan Africa.

One of the most alarming speculations is that by the year 2010 there will be 40 million AIDS orphans in Africa, most of whom will have grown up with little or no social

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22 AIDS in Africa: Dying by the numbers. CNN Special on the AIDS Epidemic
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But African nations spend only $165 million a year to combat AIDS, with most of it being from the industrialized nations, this according to James Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank when addressing the, told the U.N. Security Council in January 2000. By his estimated, an effective and comprehensive prevention program for sub-Saharan Africa would cost $2.3 billion a year, nowhere near their current spending. Access to affordable drugs to combat the disease is held up in the countless debates and court proceedings on the patent rights to these drugs, the price of the drugs and the profitability and the intellectual property protection of companies that make these drugs. The fact is that the current prices of the drugs that are available to most in the developed world does not scale to help treat those in SSA and in other developing countries that are hard hit by the disease.

An underlying story in all this is the part that some multinational companies have had to play in the process of the propagating the disease at historic rates. Many men leave their rural homes to work in mines and on construction projects, jobs made available to these men, through the introduction of factories etc. This mobile work force and rapid urbanization has contributed to cities in which 40 to 50 percent of the population has AIDS. The imbalance in population of men to women in these make-shift cities/towns and the lack of access to their wives encourages inappropriate sexual behavior and increases the patronage of sex workers by these men. There are people who feel that the companies that hire these men should be diligent in educating them of the risks that are involved in such behavior. There are local court cases in Zimbabwe, Angola and Liberia, where the people contend that the companies could have done more to reduce the outbreak of the disease if it had provided more information to the workers of their risk.

In a document prepared for the U.N. Development Program, researcher Desmond Cohen writes that a 40 to 50 percent infection rate was once thought "wholly improbable." However, when one takes a deeper look at the culture that exists within SSA and is made aware of how much the people lack information to what could save them the more one begins to understand. For instance, men who return from these “job tours” pass the virus to their wives who pass it to their newborn babies and the propagation continues. Also since girls and women are sometimes forced to have sex

23 Same as above.

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with men in many of the male-dominated cultures that are in Africa, sometimes a woman who is aware of their husbands disease lies with him, knowing that she is condemning herself to death. Another sad fact is that, in some areas infected men "believe they can be cured by having sex with a virgin, and 12-year-old girls become infected.

5.4. War and Conflicts

*Compounding the issue of poverty is the AIDS Epidemic, and adding to that is War. Wars have also contributed to the problem of AIDs.*

Like migrant workers, truck drivers and young men, soldiers often visit "commercial sex workers," or prostitutes, 90 percent of whom are believed to have AIDS. Nigerian soldiers with the ECOMOG forces in Sierra Leone and Finnish soldiers serving as peacekeepers in Namibia took AIDS with them when they returned home.

Apart from the pain of spreading AIDS, War brings with pain in loss of life, desolate land, hunger, and makes destitute even those who had a level of stability in their lives. Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced about 26 major conflicts since 1963 affecting 61 percent of its population according to the OAU. There have been over 9.5 million refugees and hundreds and thousands of people have been slaughtered in Africa from a number of conflicts and civil wars.

The continued fighting in Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) has claimed about 2.5 million people and involved about seven nations since its outbreak in 1998. The 30 year Eritrea and Ethiopian war and the more recent conflicts in the Niger Delta of Nigeria over crude oil along with the Muslim-Christian clashes in the North, paint a picture of the continuous unrest that has pulled the people of SSA lower into poverty and dependence on the world for sustenance. Angola, which has seen an estimated 500,000 people killed since 1989 and an estimated 3 million refugees. It is also being torn apart due to resources such as diamonds and offshore oil, with various factions fighting for these prizes, supported by multinational corporations and other governments.

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There have been over 9.5 million refugees and hundreds and thousands of people have been slaughtered. If this scale of destruction and fighting was in Europe, then people would be calling it World War III with the entire world rushing to report, provide aid, mediate and otherwise try to diffuse the situation. Despite the numbers - mainstream media does practically nothing to raise awareness of the issue. The most likely reason is that most of those in the industry do not think that it is important enough to report extensively about the matter or that its listeners are really not interested. Still the news is not supposed to be about what people want to hear – but about the truth that is out there. Occasional coverage is provided, in the US but not anywhere near the volume as was seen during the build up and the ensuing crisis in Kosovo.

According to research from media organization Media Tenor, from 1 January 2002 until 30 June 2003, “September 11 has turned the watch back to the pre-1990’s, virtually eliminating all events and issues that are not related to either the United States or its coalition partners - especially when reporting on conflicts.... conflicts and wars played the most important role in all analysed television stations in Britain, Germany and the United States. But subtracting from this coverage Iraq and Afghanistan, only 0.2% (n=507) of all reports (N=23587) focused on conflicts in Africa. Wars without the involvement of the Western nations, do not seem newsworthy enough to appear on international TV news agendas, and the little coverage given only focuses on the brutality of the conflict and not on possible solutions.”

Of what relevance is news coverage to the issues at hand. Best summarized in Anup Shah’s paper from GlobalConflict.org are the following:

Background such as the colonial as well as post-World War II history, social and political context, international economic issues and much more are all perspectives needed to help people in the western nations and elsewhere to really begin to understand the present situations and issues in appropriate context.

In international affairs, influential nations, such as many from western countries all have direct and indirect influences around the world, so it is important for such issues to be presented broadly and to see issues such

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as those in Africa with this context in mind

From a somewhat self-interest perspective (which, after all, most countries prioritize on, in international affairs), things happening far away have an impact on us. For example, J. Brian Atwood, former head of the US foreign aid agency, USAID commented that “failed states” (which included a number of African countries suffering from conflict) “threaten our nation. They cost us too much. They create diseases that impact on us. They destabilize other nations. They stymie economic growth and they deny us economic opportunity in the largest new marketplace -- the developing world.” (quoted from Esman and Herring, editors, Carrots, Sticks, and Ethnic Conflict; Rethinking Development Assistance, (University of Michigan Press, 2001), Chapter 3 USAID and Ethnic Conflict: An Epiphany? by Heather S. McHugh, p. 54.)

Direct quotes from Anup Shah

According to GlobalConflicts.org, some of the reasons for the ever present conflict in the region are best summarized as:

- The Legacy of European Colonialism
- Unequal International Trade; Comparative Disadvantage
- Cold War by Proxy; the West’s Support and the arming of dictatorships in Africa
- Corporate Interests, Exploitation, Corruption and Other Issues
- These above And Other Causes Reinforce Each Other

Many political activists who have studied Africa, its government and its conflicts argue that the source of the unrest in most of the region is explained completely by the fact that different groups with major differences in cultures have been forced to live as one – due to a new structure or decree by governments that do not understand that the differences may have to be managed. Interesting – but not as credible as other reasons that other scholars give. Still it is true that the current state-hoods of most African Nations were not created as a result of commonalities in the people. The division to form countries and states were done in a manner

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26 Anup Shah: Conflicts in Africa : www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/Africa/Intro.aspl
that maximized the “spoils” of colonizing arms who believed that they would have the opportunity to control the region.27

Though the colonizing powers of the years past are responsible for some of the pain felt on the continent to date. It is sad but most prudent to conclude that many of the SSA nation’s problems of conflict, slow economic growth and social issues are interrelated and reflect dire problems with leadership.

5.5. Bad Governance and Corruption

In the past 20 years and across the continent there has been a trend in leadership that is very difficult to understand. Some countries elect leaders into power who turn around, abuse the power that got them into position and deny other aspirants the opportunity to lead the country e.g. by rigging the elections or preventing elections from happening. In the case of Eyadema, in Togo, the longest serving President in Africa (36 years), the military take over power and run the country, treating any attempt to have democratic elections as a travesty. When successful elections are held in some of these countries, some leaders declare the process, null and void and stay in power. Even those countries that have a stable and successful democratic process, are hurting in Leadership. These countries elect honest leaders who are put into power by a people who trust and hope for betterment of their condition with the newly appointed leader, yet while in power these leaders become corrupt and prey on their people.

Politicians are the most corrupt members of African societies. Joseph Mobutu of Zaire is reported to have stolen about $8 billion from his country. Famously, he enlarged the airport in his hometown to accommodate landings by Concorde which he leased from Air France—all the while his people starved. Nigeria’s Sani Abacha stashed away $4 billion. Zimbabwe’s Robert Mugabe just moved into a $6

27 See Additional Information of this paper for Map showing parallels for or control of the continent in the colonial times and the nations that were formed afterward – with the help of England, Belgium and others.
African countries have become the personal estates of official criminal gangs whose avowed aim is not the development of their countries, but rather the siphoning off of national resources into foreign banks.

- Columnist Kofi Ellison

Such corruption siphons off money intended for the development of Africa. Apart from making a lot of profit on the interest on investments accruing from Africa's stolen money, Europeans turn around and loan such money to Africa at exorbitant rates. Thus, in nearly all African countries today, money is spent to pay the interest on such loans (not on the debt itself) than we do on Health and Education. The leaders, stay on the top and take advantage of the situation the countries are in, requesting grants and loans from IMF, The World Bank who turn around and give us loans at ridiculous rates, which the country is still responsible for and the cycle continues with the arrival of new leaders. Such has been our lot since independence. Africa suffers from chronic intermittent growth, and perpetual deflation.

African leaders inherited a lot of problems when their countries gained independence, but the truth is that most of Africa’s problems have been greatly compounded as a result of the failure of its leaders. Some people go as far as to say that Africa can not self-govern to self-sustainability. In all this, still the West needs to accept responsibility for the role it has played in the demise of the nations of SSA. Not in the over-flogged position of colonialism, but in its part in sponsoring some of the dictators and in not having enough punitive response to their actions. Corporations with interests in some the subject nations, have lobbied their government for support of practices that would not be condoned in their respective countries.

6. GOING FORWARD WITH THE AU

With the problems mentioned in the earlier section, one can imagine that it is often difficult for the people of Africa to garner hope of becoming self-sustainable, or making things better, yet there is undeniable hope. There is a current campaign of claiming Africa for the 21st
century which the new SSA leaders and people as well as external supporters are working towards. The continent’s greatest hope lies in the initiative and resourcefulness of its own people. Reaching out to the world and trying the different programs that the conventional institutions have continued to experiment with hasn’t provided much relief to the people, so they are beginning to within - at themselves for indigenous initiatives to solve their own problems.

Initiatives like that of the self-employed metal-workers in Kenya who make cooking stoves out of scrap metal, or the firm which makes paper out of sugar-cane waste in Ghana (Amoako, 2000). Though these projects may seem like minute specks in the large picture of obstacles in Africa, these small movements are what I exemplify Africa’s hope in what seems a dire future. In Burkina Faso a self-help group called the Naam movement has been quietly working since 1967 to make villages responsible for their own development. They start off in instilling a respect in the community for traditional peasant knowledge and technical expertise which seems to be working 28. These Naam groups have built wells, set up vegetable gardens, planted village woodlots and built village shops and mills and have sustained communities.

“Ordinary people all over Africa they are engaged in the painfully difficult task of moving their continent forward. It will take years. But as one proverb says, ‘When the short road is blocked you have to take the long road.’ In Africa the short road to development has been tried. It led nowhere. Now the long road is all that remains. It will be taken. Africans are short of many things. But courage and determination are not among them.”

- Amoako, K.Y 29

Africa has many problems, struggles, stumbling blocks or whatever noun adjective pair one may choose, yet there is nothing that comprises this ‘plague’ of Africa that is insuperable. The fact is that many basic issues, left unattended and the greed of preying men, corporations and nations have compounded these basic issues into these dark situations that the African citizen has to work with.

The three main indices to consider in terms of development for Africa are economic, social and political. The economic indices tell the story that has been painted in the earlier part of this paper. The social indices show that half of Africa's children of school going age are out of school; this is even lower in rural areas and among girls. Despite major strides that had been made in the eradication of malaria, the disease is on the rise again throughout Africa. HIV/AIDS threatens to wipe out Africa’s fragile social and economic gains as stated earlier. Politically, the main concern in Africa is Governance or more accurately the lack of true governance, there seems to be an abundance in ruler-ship than in leadership.

6.1. Leadership and Governance

The choice to discuss the African leadership problem first is deliberate. If the AU is going to be a true catalyst in the transition of African nations to self reliance and good economic, good leadership within the AU and at the helm of governance in each country is crucial. In the last two decades, Africa has been described by many authors as a continent betrayed, in chaos or collapsed into anarchy and viciousness based on the continued failure of it's people by the leaders.

Some African countries in defense of their situation would argue that the lack of natural resources is the cause of their economic poverty. Others blame their "misfortune" on the exploitation of their wealth by Western powers. There is also a common understanding by both sides that point at Europe and North America as being responsible for the African bad fate, due to colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. The truth is that the crisis facing Africa today is a result of failures at all levels, both within Africa and outside it. Western countries have brought African nations to where it is, yet it is bad governance the keep these nations down and underdeveloped – it is time things changed.

Africa needs fair and accountable governance that works in the best interests of poor people, at national, regional, and international levels. Some blatantly claim that the virus of deception and greed has run so deep into the fiber of the culture such that it is impossible to develop good governance of the African people without considerable external involvement. While others argue, at stated earlier, that excessive external meddling by these external forces over the years has contributed to the problems more than brought resolution. Consider the fact that many African leaders when placed in international roles and given a chance to lead, are able...
to do so, in spite of the so-called endemic curse, Kofi Annan of the United Nations, a case in point. So the truth is that there are elements and cultures within the societies that make it easy and rewarding for these leaders to betray the trust of their people. With that said, it is still important that any external extension of aid in building African leadership should be one that is considered with care, one that does not merely prescribe a new ideology for which African’s will be guinea pigs for. The extension of aid in governance must be one that addresses the core failing points of leadership in Africa.

The responsibility of this paper is not to find out who is responsible, and to what degree. Instead, the questions are what to do and what role the AU, African’s and the world citizens should play in moving forward. For Africa, these governance failure points can be summed up into the following:

- Lack of transparency
- Lack of innovation in addressing the needs of the society
- Corruption
- True and ‘self-sacrificial’ service.

A new generation of enlightened African leaders has now decided to stake Africa’s claim to the twenty-first century. They have promulgated a framework plan entitled the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) to move the continent forward from its current state of crisis to one of renewal bringing with it a better way of life for all Africans

-Kempe Ronald Hope, Sr.30

The truth is that before NEPAD, there had been a good number of failed initiatives such as the Lagos Plan of the 1980’s which failed primarily as a result of the lack of political commitment, ownership, lack of will and resources. Sir Kempe in (Kempe, 2002) states that of the NEPAD will be more successful than these failed initiatives because unlike initiatives like the Lagos Plan which was driven by politics of the cold war and by politics of the western world, NEPAD is a simple pledge by African Leaders based on a common vision to place their countries individually and collectively on a path to sustainable economic growth. NEPAD is couched within five core principles — good governance; entrenchment of democracy, peace and

30 Abstract of “From crisis to renewal: toward a successful implementation of the new partnership for Africa’s development” African Affairs (2002) 101, 387-402

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security; sound economic policy-making and execution; productive partnerships; and domestic 
ownership and leadership — which are seen as the preconditions for Africa's renewal. African 
leaders it seems have come to a place where they realize that there is truly no good excuse for the 
misery the continent is in. This initiative is anchored on the determination of Africans to 
extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion 
from the developing world.

Good Leadership for in SSA is entrenched in the now popular phrase good governance. It is a requirement to move these African nations forward in the 21st century. In summary, good governance is viewed as quality political and institutional management of economic policies that emphasizes rationality, efficiency, procedure, and impersonal relations in political management. It calls for accountability at multiple levels of government and outside of government. Its key elements are bureaucratic efficiency, the rule of law, and the true influence of the governed people. Essentially the concept has come to be associated with the object of liberal democracy, with other features like participation, representation and political fairness added to its core principles.

Mentioned as one of the core principles of NEPAD’s promise, good governance is an all encompassing term used to express a target to accomplish the other four promises. Good governance is possible in Africa; it requires charismatic leaders, who put first the interests of the people and are ready to suffer for their communities. It requires a spirit of self-denial that will be possible if Africa has sufficient men and women who understand that leadership is first and foremost service. The Africa Union as an example to the nations has to be provide clarity to the public about it's decisions and the benefactors of the decisions. These are the signs of an accountable government. According to Ngaire Woods, it means having clear procedures agreed to by all members of the political community about how decisions are to be made and ensuring transparency and adequate flow of information in the decision process. It is a process of incorporation of those for whom decisions are to made into the decision making mill. It is a process of social empowerment for the people.

What the AU must do therefore is support activities that encourage good governance and punish action that is non-indicative of the goal mentioned. One of the ways the EU has been able to ensure the co-operation of its membership areas such as governance and human rights issues

31 Adejumobi, Said “Engendering Accountable Governance in Africa”
is in gate-keeping its membership and only admitting into the union those who adhere to standards kept and have demonstrable proof of adherence. The AU should re-consider its current admission policy or have a way to distinguish between those governments that do not uphold the Spirit of NEPAD – in the same vein, it should provide a compelling reason, incentive an advantage to those that actually are in compliance.

6.2. Debt Relief and Economic Change

Africa’s poverty can be looked at as either a poverty of the people of Africa or as a poverty of the nations of Africa. The Key Indicators table in the appendix of this paper shows the global economic indicators for the main regions and we are alerted to the divide between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’. Are the African nations so impoverished in resources that they truly cannot fend for themselves economically? How can a country be incapable of generating enough income to take care of its’ own? In trying to answer these questions you are bound to stumble onto certain anomalies that start to paint a more complete picture of the situation. These answers also expose certain injustices dealt the SSA, which will be discussed at a later section.

The data presented in Key Indicators Table is generally what one would find in most reports that are available to the general public – it paints an incomplete picture of an Africa that remains crippled and incapable. The fact is that to a significant extent SSA’s economic woes are tied to the debt burden it has to bear. For a group of countries that the world ridicules as hopeless, dark and irrecoverable, it is revealing to discover that the IMF alone transferred over 3 billion dollars out of the continent between the years 1980 and 2000. The last section of that table shows the progression of debt in the SSA during the same timeline and one questions how it is that the same organization continues to demand repayment of debts that they are aware were misappropriated by corrupt leaders, yet continues to take from the mouths of the people of Africa.

Jubilee Research formerly Jubilee 2000 an economic think-tank that campaigns for debt cancellation based on what is states as injustices of the world economic system and provisions for these loans. Jubilee presents the following list as debt summary for SSA in its’ reports:

For every $1 received in aid grants in 1999, Sub Saharan Africa paid back $1.51 in debt service. Sub Saharan Africa owes $231 billion to creditors, that is $406 for every man, woman and child in Africa. Sub Saharan Africa bears 9 per cent of the developing world’s debts, but has only 5 per
cent of the developing world's income. Since 1996, Sub Saharan Africa has paid the IMF $1.2 billion more than it has received from the IMF. In 1999, Sub Saharan Africa paid $15.2 billion in debt service. This works out at $42 million a day.

Sub Saharan Africa spends over twice as much on debt service as on basic health care. This region of the world also spends 6.1 percent of GNP on education and spent 5.0 percent of GNP on debt service. If Africa's debt were cancelled it could almost double its spending on education. Since 1990 debt service has risen from $10.9 billion to $15.2 billion, a rise of 39 percent. Sub Saharan Africa's terms of trade has worsened steadily since 1980, as commodity prices have fallen. The effect is to make SSA 40 percent worse off in terms of its trade relations with the rest of the world. If Africa's export prices had kept pace with import prices since 1980, Africa could have repaid its debt twice over.

The IMF and World Bank in response to the pressure by debt relief advocates started the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HPIC) initiative which in absolute terms does not reduce the debt service nor the debt (Ezekwesili, Apr. 2000). The argument of those against the debt campaign is that it is irresponsible of debtor nations to request creditor forgive debts that are actually borne by taxpayers in these creditor nations. Yet within these countries there are ways that corporations and individuals that are truly incapable of repaying debts are relieved of some of the responsibility.

Consider Nigeria, a country that the IMF and World Bank does not consider in its HPIC initiative because the belief is that as an Oil Producing nation, the country has enough resources to pay its debt without relief. It should be noted at this time, that it is western based corporations like Chevron, Exxon-Mobil and Texaco that continue to benefit from oil exploration in the delta regions in Nigeria, and area riddled with continued conflict and facing an ecological crisis.

Nigeria is a very poor country with a GDP per capita of US$853 per person. Compare this to compared with US$22,093 for the UK and approximately US$26,251 for Canada. Yet every year required to divert US$1.7 billion of its resources its western creditors as repayment for US$28.5 billion in debts. Fact remains that revenues from Nigeria's oil has provided some type of financial relief but that does not equivocate to enriching the nation. Revenues net of

32 Jubilee Research “Examining Africa’s Debt” African Affairs 2001 100 302-421
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production costs and foreign company earnings are approximately US$11 billion per annum, which for a population in excess of 111 million people equates to net revenues of only US$100 per person, per annum; or 27 cents per day. Note that the World Bank and IMF consider this to be one of the best situations in Africa, thus the non-admissibility of Nigeria into the HPIC initiative as mentioned above. Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa, one in every seven African’s is a Nigerian, this decision of excluding Nigeria from HPIC affects approximately 14 percent of the poor in Africa.

One of the greatest barriers to economic recovery of the SSA region is its overwhelming debt burden this number amount to about 230 billion US dollars which the creditors are bent on collecting. This reality, often dismissed, must be considered when Africa’s economics are discussed. This is where the AU can begin to affect the destiny of its member nations. In terms of trade, the strength that African nations have is in raw materials to developed nations. The AU should take a position against the World Bank and the IMF, leveraging its strength over the developed world in the raw materials market to have the debts that have accrued over the years re-considered and in many cases forgiven. It is no secret that earlier corrupt regimes siphoned these monies into private accounts – so it is unfair that the nations should be left with the burden of re-payment. Most of the monies seat in foreign bank accounts accruing interests – these accounts should be seized paid to the IMF and other debtors in fair proportions and debts forgiven. Legal action should be sought against past leaders to discourage such behavior from occurring in the future of SSA nations.

“There needs to be a global effort that declares transnational crime placed on the same pedestal as narcotics, money laundering and terrorism. The weapon of deterrence must include forfeiture and recovery of its proceeds” (Ezekwesili, 2000).33

In combating corruption there must be encompassing means that include prevention and punishment. Programs of prevention that include institutional and societal reforms and deterrent programs that punish culprits with prosecution and sanctions expressly through forfeiture. Again looking at a country like Nigeria that has a foreign debt of about US$28.5

33 Ezekwesili, Oby “Catalyzing global action for the recovery of corruption proceeds” Submitted Paper April 29th The 9th International Anti-Corruption Conference (IAAC)

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billion has almost twice that amount ($50 billion) as stolen loot sitting in foreign accounts. In supporting transparency the AU must convince the world that a transparency in investigations concerning Africa’s wealth must also be met. There needs to be transparent process of tracing, identifying and more importantly extraditing stolen wealth back into the countries from which the monies were looted. The extradition process must also include a mechanism (transparent to all) to distribute the recovered resources in such a way that it guarantees the social and economic welfare of SSA’s people. To achieve this, the AU must be prepared to develop and support a core group of financiers and legal experts. There have been many failed attempts to deal with these type of recoveries in the past, however this was usually done on a country by country basis, where each country has to provide its own staff of experts. With the formation of the AU, pulling of resources in the manner is particularly beneficial. A group of experts should be formed under the auspices of the existing Court of Justice of the AU. The primary goal of the group is to develop through research and provide information to aid tracing, identifying and to provide a legal case for each member state and it’s looted wealth as they arise. The Jewish campaign at procuring concerted global action yielded concrete results in the recovery of gamut of monies, properties fn all other forms of assets of victims of the Holocaust and provides and example that a campaign to recover Africa’s looted wealth. Like Ezekwesili, stated in her speech: making such analogy does not start to liken the wicked an systematic genocide and persecution that Jewish suffered by the Nazis, yet it provides an example of a systematic approach to ‘righting a wrong’. Another recommendation is that the campaign to recover stolen goods be separated from the issue of reparations for slavery currently discussed in US and at the UN.

These are two separate issues with overlapping supporters for the most part. However, there has not been any reasonable argument against the recovery of goods and it would be a travesty to deny SSA from receiving it’s ‘lost’ non-debatable wealth due to political hiatus. Information will have to be provided to the people of African, African’s in the Diaspora as well as friends of Africa – people at the grassroots with access to the world stage to be part of the campaign. It will need a strong coordinated effort as such a group within the AU. Though unsuccessful in actually improving true exchange between the US and SSA nations, the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) offers promise.

The greatest benefactor of the AGOA at this time is Nigeria, due to the import of crude-oil. Heavy dependence or reliance in exporting crude-oil or other natural resources should be discouraged because the continued mining and drilling depletes the natural resources of the

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countries, a valuable factor used by the World Bank in determining credit worthiness, economic prowess and potential. The Africa Union needs to encourage a shift towards developing other sectors to utilize the US-African Trade relationship, textile, labor, service, finished goods.

The greatest potential exists in the Agricultural sector, however it is stymied by the unfortunate inability of many African producers to meet U.S. regulations or standards. Since such standards are often defended as necessary to protect American customers, the burden is left in getting African farmers to produce products of the set standard. Providing training to the farmers is the obvious of many ways to walk in the right direction, still there is a need for the farmers to have access to equipment that the rest of other agricultural exporters have for them to remain in the global market and even stay competitive. As the US–Africa Agricultural trade is encouraged, a deliberate effort should be made to penetrate the global market as a whole.

6.3. Empowerment of Women

Pertinent to the discussion at this time is that women are especially disadvantaged in the AGOA, because of their unequal access to development opportunities. African governments and the AU have to provide a means that guarantees African women, the typical subsistence farmer continues to have the ability to sell her produce in the local markets.

“The maximum participation of the African working classes, peasants, women and youth in decision-making processes, at local, national and regional levels in matters that affect their lives must be the norm”

- The Addis Ababa Consensus

6.4. Summary of Recommended Future AU behavior and Policies

To truly go forward in this hope of ours the following key elements must be investigated and considered.

Visionary leadership, involvement of the community in knowing that the fate of the nations lies in their hand. A grass root movement to seek and elect leaders that have proven that they understand the attitude of pure service required to lead them out of dependence on aid and
others. AU should establish ways of punishment or electoral fraud. As African governments return to the democracies, the AU should focus on helping its member nations return credibility to the election process within. It is easy for corrupt officials to continue to sway the elections because people already expect there to be some type of irregularity with the result. Campaigns should be sponsored by the AU and other organizations that believe in the need for true democracy in Africa to educate the people on their right to participate in fair elections at all levels of government and the value of participating in such elections.

Implementation will prove challenging, however it is important that this aspect of development is not ignored because it is crucial that the legacy left by corrupt leaders in Africa begins to be removed. It will require that the African people participate in elections and elect into office leaders that understand that Africa has been given a chance to ‘change its destiny’ with the new interest in the continent by the world’. The AU can seek means to raise funds to sponsor educational programs that encourage participation. Bad governance and leadership is often cited as the reason why Africa is in its current state. There are a plethora of non-government organizations which exist to promote participation by the everyday man in the electoral process, it Funds that are collected should be used with true transparency because to actually build credibility with the foremost leadership arm (the AU) there should be adequate transparency at such a high level of ‘government’.

The AU has in itself been criticized as having a somewhat neo-liberal poise. For true African unity and democratization, the voice of the AU should be the resounding of the voice of the masses.
7. CONCLUSION

Things that need to be addressed primarily discovered in the Panel with the charter to review the Architecture and Capacity of the AU and most of which I agree with.

For Success of programs in Africa, the solutions have to be owned. Ownership comes with buy in by the people. Most projects are looked at with scrutiny by the local people sometimes they fail to address the true issue and instead work on the symptoms of the issue. This type of aid delivery will not lead to self-sustainability. It is important that the solutions be born locally, this begins to highlight the need for education.

For the next decade even as Africa heads towards self-sustainability, it will still rely on foreign aid and involvement of other nations in its’ quest. Yet, after 30 years of struggle the following:

1) Look within the country for ideas - pair local experts with scholars. These scholars, need not be western. The AU may need to look at economies that have grown in recent history. In those success stories are universal principles which when applied in the right way for the African people should result in the same type of growth. The Era of one size fits all is over.

2) Aid is good, but not all AID programs are for the benefit of Africa’s people. AU should develop a framework by which programs offered or bided for are scrutinized its ability to run without dependence on the donor nations. Questions. Ensure that the donors have the right motives and provide checks to ensure that true ownership of the projects are in the hands of the locals (Holdt, 2002).

3) Peace and Stability is necessary. Although the research did not point to the conflicts as being the root cause of the deteriorating state of Africa, the continued conflict in regions like Angola, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo have caused most of the advancements in development that occurred in the last 15 years to actually start in the negative trend. Also as much as foreign Aid is important in the initial stages of this venture. Foreign investment in Africa's economies will be extremely necessary in the venture infancy stage. One of the main
reasons that African has been unable to lure investment is not because of its’ weak economies but due to the inability of most nations to vouch for stability in the region to conduct free trade.

4) Look for aid elsewhere, there seems to be a strong dependence on the US and other western contributing nations for foreign AID and investment. Statistic show that in 1999, Japan was the 2nd highest foreign aid contributor to SSA, a time when Aid from the US was on the decline. As Asia’s economy has grown there has been a push towards international co-operation with the establishment and new growth in banks like the JBIC, Asia DB.

5) Focus on Decentralized methods.
In general, there will still be a need for foreign aid. However, the goal of the AU should be to construct initial programs that will stimulate local economic growth. At this time, a evident success needs to be seen by the masses. Another issue that needs to be addressed is the involvement of donor countries or groups in the region. Aid is good however the AU should carefully scrutinize the aid that it’s member countries Specific, terms for projects, - respect and true development of the people local
As a trading bloc, the AU has bargaining power that no single nation has ever had. A well constructed

My findings show that the AU needs to reorganize around the issues that pertinent to the continent. According to the Africa Commission, an astounding 43 % of the resources that have been made available to the Commission for the AU has been spent on the projects that facilitate the administrative efforts of the AU. Organization and re-organization are good if they are planned out in advance rather that having to invest more monies in re-doing what could have been done right in the first place. Nonetheless, below are some of the key areas that the AU should plan re-organization around.

- Education
- Land Reform
- Creating Specialist Economics (Product specialties)/trade agreements
- Renegotiation of Unfair Inherited Contracts
- Combating Corruption

Ezinne Oji
Encouraging Decentralization
Re-Entering the international market – Renegotiating terms as Unit
Encouraging cooperation with other countries/Improve foreign policy
Keeping members in check

The AU need to strengthen its relevance by proactively seeking and providing opportunities to its members with the power of the group.

Things for the AU to note and consider in its’ daily operation and execution.

• Maintain high standard for itself and develop ways to check accountability.
• Rile of Human Rights/Empowering the masses
• Have ways to ensure that governments are accountable
• Common Institutions with the union such as the African Court
• Encourage consultants from within the communities to consult for and work on local initiatives.
• Metrics to measure the potential for positive impacts.
• Not all monies are good monies
• Find ways to ensure that different members in different regions specialize in certain agricultural productions. As trading bloc, encourage tariffs, work as a strong trading block in the global market. The AU will need to make a case to the world trade organization concerning the unfairness that countries like the US bring into the world market with the government subsidizing large agricultural companies and ensuring that prices remain high and that the US farmers have an unfair access to the market.
• Brand ‘Made In Africa with Pride’ and start a campaign to promote African using African made, aim at high quality. Educate the masses about the relevance in purchasing African goods, to sustain productivity and patronage
• Work on technology initiatives, work with other partners besides the US and Europe. Partner with countries in East Asia in acquiring more affordable technology. Investment and not necessarily aid and grants
• AIDs is a world issue now, in this area the AU need not be afraid or ashamed to call on the
world to deal with this problem. Mining cities and the responsibility of the mining companies
in helping proliferate the disease by importing workers and not providing the necessary
education when it was made obvious the behaviors of these miners.

• There needs to be a move to internalize the profits from the resources in Africa. Any contract
that was negotiated in years earlier that are

1. Given the background of weak linkages in the past between the OAU and
the subregional organizations (SADC, ECOWAS, EAC, IGAD, AMU etc.),
how is the AU process rectifying this weakness?
2. How can subregional organizations be helpful to the integration process?
What kind of structural relationship is envisaged to integrate the RECs into
the AU?
3. How does the AU model reflect specifically African experiences and
aspirations?
4. How are CSOs and other stakeholders to be engaged, sensitized and
activated in the process of building the Union?
5. What is the timing and sequencing of the establishment of the institutions?
6. Given the provisions for human rights in the Constitutive Act of the AU,
what monitoring and enforcement mechanism should be established?
7. How are existing national and subregional parliaments to relate to the
African parliament? What principles for assumption of powers are to be
followed?
8. What are the resource requirements for the AU Commission and other
institutions. Where will the resources come from? If they are to be primarily
membership dues, how will the AU augment its resources in comparison
with the OAU which has always had chronic funding problems?
9. What provisions are envisaged for seeking technical assistance in building
the necessary African institutions?
10. What are the human resource requirements for the AU? How should its
senior staff and leaders be selected?
11. How will it seek to leverage a collaborative and meaningful association with
relevant research institutes, foundations, CSOs, universities, and other
independent institutions? What interface does the AU anticipate with the
UN?

From: The architecture and Capacity of The Africa Union
http://www.uneca.org/adfiii/docs/issuepn2.PDF
More than ever it has become clear that this African hope can only be held up if the Africa Union realizes that power it has in working as a group. It’s been tried many times before as individual nations – this time, the hope is that as the common African proverb says:

*It is easy to break a broomstick but a broom cannot be cut in two.*
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9. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Detailed Map Of Africa
Quest for Unity – From the OAU to the AU

(Source: Africa Union in a Nutshell – Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Africa)

African countries, in their quest for unity, economic and social development under the banner of the OAU, have taken various initiatives and made substantial progress in many areas which paved the way for the establishment of the AU. Noteworthy among these are:

- Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Final Act of Lagos (1980); incorporating programmes and strategies for self-reliant development and cooperation among African countries.
- Africa’s Priority Programme for Economic recovery (APPER) – 1985: an emergency programme designed to address the development crisis of the 1980s, in the wake of protracted drought and famine that had engulfed the continent and the crippling effect of Africa’s external indebtedness.
- OAU Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes taking place in the World (1990): which underscored Africa’s resolve to seize the initiative, to determine its destiny and to address the challenges to peace, democracy and security.
- The Charter on Popular Participation adopted in 1990: a testimony to the renewed determination of the OAU to endeavour to place the African citizen at the center of development and decision-making.
- The Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) - 1991: commonly known as the Abuja Treaty, it seeks to create the AEC through six stages culminating in an African Common Market using the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as building blocks. The Treaty has been in operation since 1994.
- The 2000 Solemn Declaration on the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation: establishes the fundamental principles for the promotion of Democracy and Good Governance in the Continent.
- Responses to other challenges: Africa has initiated collective action through the OAU in the protection of environment, in fighting international terrorism, in combating the scourge of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, malaria and tuberculosis or dealing with humanitarian issues such as refugees and displaced persons, landmines, small and light weapons among others.
## Sub-Saharan Africa Data Profile

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<th>Population, total</th>
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<th>Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)</th>
<th>Under 5 mortality rate (per 1,000 children)</th>
<th>Child immunization, measles (% of under 12 mos)</th>
<th>Prevalence of HIV (female, % ages 15-24)</th>
<th>Illiteracy total (% age 15 and above)</th>
<th>Illiteracy female (% of age 15 and above)</th>
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<td>GDP (current $)</td>
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<td>GDP growth (annual %)</td>
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<td>3.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Value added in agriculture (% of GDP)</td>
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<td>17.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Value added in industry (% of GDP)</td>
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<td>28.9</td>
<td>27.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Value added in services (% of GDP)</td>
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<td>53.4</td>
<td>56.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exports of goods and services (% of GDP)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gross capital formation (% of GDP)</td>
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<td>17.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Current revenue, excluding grants (% of GDP)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall budget balance, including grants (% of GDP)</td>
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**Technology and infrastructure**

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<th>2002</th>
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<td>Fixed lines and mobile telephones (per 1,000 people)</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>40.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Telephone average cost of local call (US$ per three minutes)</td>
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<td>..</td>
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<td>Personal computers (per 1,000 people)</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>9.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Internet users</td>
<td>1.5 million</td>
<td>5.3 million</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paved roads (% of total)</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aircraft departures</td>
<td>332.3 thousand</td>
<td>341.9 thousand</td>
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**Trade and finance**

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<th>2002</th>
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<td>Trade in goods as a share of GDP (%)</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>56.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trade in goods as a share of goods GDP (%)</td>
<td>94.4</td>
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<td>High-technology exports (% of manufactured exports)</td>
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<td>..</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foreign direct investment, net inflows in reporting country (current US$)</td>
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<td>13.8 billion</td>
<td>7.0 billion</td>
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<td>Total debt service (% of exports of goods and services)</td>
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<td>11.2</td>
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<td>32.1 billion</td>
<td>27.7 billion</td>
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<td>Aid per capita (current US$)</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>20.7</td>
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*Source: World Development Indicators database, August 2003*
## Living Below Poverty Line ($1.00 A Day)

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<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>In Millions</th>
<th>Percentage of Population</th>
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<td>120</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>220</td>
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<tr>
<td>Europe and Central Asia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and the Caribbean</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>85</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle East and North Africa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>290</td>
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</table>
Key indicators: regional data from the WDI database

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Surface area thousand sq. km</th>
<th>Freshwater resources per capita</th>
<th>Forest area land area % of total</th>
<th>Average annual deforestation</th>
<th>Energy use per capita kg of oil equivalent</th>
<th>CO2 emissions per capita metric tons %</th>
<th>Access to improved sanitation facilities %</th>
<th>Access to improved water source %</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Asia &amp; Pacific</td>
<td>16,301</td>
<td>6,020</td>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>871</td>
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<td>76</td>
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<tr>
<td>Europe &amp; Central Asia</td>
<td>24,066</td>
<td>13,465</td>
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<td>-0.1</td>
<td>2,653</td>
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<td>Latin America &amp; Caribbean</td>
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<td>31,530</td>
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<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
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<td>0.8</td>
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<td>58</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economy</th>
<th>GNI billions</th>
<th>GNI per capita PPPc Atlas methodb</th>
<th>GDP per capita billions</th>
<th>Gross capital formation % of GDP</th>
<th>Exports of goods and services $ millions</th>
<th>Debt service to exports %</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Asia &amp; Pacific</td>
<td>1,640</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>3,790</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>Europe &amp; Central Asia</td>
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<td>1,970</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latin America &amp; Caribbean</td>
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<td>3,580</td>
<td>6,900</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
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<td>1.0</td>
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<td>450</td>
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<td>311</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>1,750</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>18</td>
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</table>

| States and Markets | Stock market capitalization $ millions | Military expenditures % of GDP | Expenditures for R&D % of GDP | Fixed line and mobile phone subscribers per 1,000 | Euromoney credit worthiness rating 100=low risk | High-technology exports % of manufactured exports | PCs per 1,000 | Paved roads % of total | 
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------------| 
| East Asia & Pacific | 702,049 | 2.1 | 1.00 | 207 | 37.5 | 31 | 19.1 | 21.2 |
Europe & Central Asia  234,808  3.0  0.80  375  42.7  8  52.1  91.3  
Latin America & Caribbean  419,043  1.3  ..  326  43.5  15  59.3  26.9  
Middle East & North Africa  124,157  6.7  ..  153  45.4  4  32.0  66.3  
South Asia  144,085  2.6  ..  38  38.7  5  5.3  36.9  
Sub-Saharan Africa  212,707  2.0  ..  41  28.4  4  9.9  12.9  

Global Links

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trade in goods</th>
<th>Net private flows</th>
<th>Total external flows</th>
<th>Foreign direct</th>
<th>Net aid flows</th>
<th>International tourism arrivals</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of GDP</td>
<td>$ millions</td>
<td>% of GDP</td>
<td>$ millions</td>
<td>% of GNI</td>
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</tr>
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<td>765,395</td>
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<td>4.6 21 17,931</td>
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Note: Figures in italics are for years or periods other than those specified.
a. Most recent year available. b. Atlas method; see WDI Statistical methods. c. Purchasing power parity; see About the data in WDI table 1.1.

## World Bank - Basic Data Table for SSA

### Sub-Saharan Africa

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<td></td>
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<td>years</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>% of population</td>
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</table>

.. means that data are not available or that aggregates cannot be calculated because of missing data in the year shown.
H. High-income economy.
L. Low-income economy.
M. Middle-income economy.
h. Estimated to be a high-income country.
l. Estimated to be a low-income country.
m. Estimated to be a middle-income country.
a. Refers to mainland Tanzania.
African Maps Showing Modern and Pre-Colonial Areas

(Source: http://www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/Africa/Intro.asp)

The two maps below, courtesy of Black Studies Library (BSL), Empathos National Library, show the partitioning of Africa.

![Map of Africa showing colonial territories](http://www.geocities.com/cjmasonm/Africa/africamaps.html)

The BSL Maps (http://www.geocities.com/cjmasonm/Africa/africamaps.html) provide some interesting historical insights into the region.

Map of Africa from World Sites Atlas (http://www.sitesatlas.com/Maps/Maps/Africa.htm) provides a clickable map of Africa that allows you to see information for each country.