



**AFRICAN REGIONAL INSTITUTION-BUILDING WITH
REFERENCE TO NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICAN
DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD): THE APPLICATION OF
THE KHALDUNIAN PRINCIPLE OF *ASABIYYAH* AS
AN INSTRUMENT OF UNITY AND COOPERATION**

BY

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ABSTRACT

This work investigates the idea of building alliance and solidarity among nations from an Islamic perspective by looking at the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), an African continental development programme that was proposed by five African Heads of State at an AU Summit Lusaka, Zambia in 2002. In this study, the theoretical framework employs the Khaldunian principle of *Asabiyyah* as an instrument of unity and cooperation to bring about cooperation between these nations. The source and method of data collection and their analysis were based on qualitative research which used the illustrative method and content analysis. The data were collected from books, journal articles, and governmental documents and speeches of African leaders on inter-regional cooperation and seminar papers. In order to achieve the aim of this research, the study provided a useful analysis of the social economic development across regions of the continent and sought to identify patterns and regularities of successful initiatives sparked by regional political-economic institutions. Early indications show that NEPAD is a good initiative for the continent and its Peer Review Mechanism helps assess African governments on corporate governance, accountability and democratic participation. Findings reveal that NEPAD has not only failed to set up a mechanism for sanctioning any state that defaults on observing good governance practice, but has also been unable to set up a regional security mechanism which could manage peace and security in Africa. It failed to restructure African political systems from patrimonialism to institutionalized electoral democratic political systems, and also failed to adhere to the Abuja Treaty that sought to establish only five (5) regional economic groups to the unprecedented and non-regulated proliferation of regional groups that number (14) fourteen with no sufficient resources to sustain and meet their regional obligations.

ملخص البحث

تهدف هذه الدراسة لاستقصاء فكرة تأسيس التحالفات بين الأمم من منظور إسلامي مستخدمة فكرة نهضة أفريقيا الجديدة المعروفة اختصاراً بـ NEPAD . وهذه الفكرة هي عبارة عن برنامج للنهوض بالقارة الأفريقية تم اقتراحه من جانب خمسة من رؤساء الدول في مؤتمر قمة دول الاتحاد الأفريقي في عاصمة زامبيا لوساكا عام 2002م. ويستخدم الإطار النظري لهذه الدراسة المنظور الخلدوني الذي يقوم على مفهوم العصبية كأداة لتحقيق الوحدة بين دول القارة الأفريقية. ينبغي الإشارة إلى أن مفهوم العصبية كما تستخدمه هذه الدراسة يرفض الاستعلاء القائم على العرقية، وسيادة النعرات الأثنية، لكن تنحو الدراسة إلى استخدام العصبية في جانبها الإيجابي في تعضيد وتقضيل العمل المشترك بين مجموعة من الدول تربطها مصالح وقيم مشتركة وتاريخ مشترك، إلى جانب وحدة المصير. وينطلق البحث من فرضية أن هذه الرؤية المشتركة للزعماء الفارقة يمكن أن تحكم سلوك هذه النخبة لإنهاض أفريقيا لتحقيق طموحات شعوب القارة، وقهر مشاكلها، وفي مقدمتها شبح الفقر والتخلف. إلى جانب مفهوم العصبية، تستخدم الدراسة المنظور التركيبي (Constructivism) والذي يقول تقول بأهمية المدركات في تشكيل قرارات النخب الحاكمة. اعتمدت هذه الدراسة على تجميع المعلومات من مصادر أولية، وأخرى ثانوية، كما اعتمدت الأسلوب الوصفي والاستدلالي في تحليل هذه البيانات. تم جمع بيانات البحث من الكتب، والمقالات الموجودة في الدوريات العلمية، والوثائق الحكومية، وأحاديث الزعماء الأفارقة حول ضرورة التعاون الإقليمي لإنهاض دولهم. من أجل تحقيق أهداف الدراسة، قام الباحث بتقديم تحليل مفيد لظاهرة التطور الاقتصادي الاجتماعي لعدة مناطق جغرافية في القارة الأفريقية. وأهم ما توصلت له هذه الدراسة أهمية مبادرات هذه المؤسسة الأفريقية الجديدة لإنهاض شعوب واقتصاديات القارة الأفريقية. لكن استراتيجية ومنهج ضمان توفير الحماية لدول القارة بما يضمن السلام والحماية للقارة لم يتحقق. كما أنها لم تقدم تطوراً عملياً لرفد وتقوية التوجه الديمقراطي لدول القارة، وتقوية دور المؤسسات. أيضاً من عيوب المبادرة فشلها في الالتزام بمعاهدة أبوجا والخاصة بإقامة خمس مجموعات اقتصادية داخل القارة حيث قامت في الواقع حوالي أربعة عشر تنظيماً إقليمياً داخل القارة لا تتمتع بموارد كافية للنهوض بشئون أعضائها.

APPROVAL PAGE

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

Muhammad Ghali Ahmed.

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*This research is dedicated
to my wife
&
my children
for their patience during the course
of the research*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AC	Arusha Convention
AC	Atlantic Charter
ADF	African Development Forum
AEC	African Economic Community
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AT	Abuja Treaty
ATC	African Telecommunication Community
ATPC	African Trade Policy Center
AfDB	African Development Bank
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AU	African Union
BOP	Balance-of-Payment
BWI	Bretton Woods Institution
CAAU	Constitutive Act of the African Union
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CBK	Cereal Board of Kenya
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
DFI	Direct Foreign Investment
EAC	East African Cooperation
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Commission of West African States
EC	European Community
EEC	European Economic Community
FAL	Final Act of Lagos
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FARA	Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa
GATT	General Agreement for Tariffs and Trade
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GESI	Global Environmental Sanitation Initiative
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistributive Strategy
GIS	Geographic Information System
GIEWS	Global Information and Early Warning System
GDJ	Global Distributive Justice
GNP	Gross National Product
GSTP	General System of Trade Preferences Among Developing Countries
GRD	Global Resource Dividends

HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HDI	Human Development Index
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDA	International Development Assistance
IDG	International Development Goal
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Agreement on Development
IOC	Indian Ocean Community
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRT	International Relations Theory
ISO	International Standard Organization
IT	Information Technology
LC	Lome Convention
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEAs	Multilateral Environmental Agreements
MFNs	Most Favored Nations
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBI	Nile Basin Initiative
NCPB	National Corn Producer Board
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NICI	National Information and Communication Infrastructure
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NMAI	New Millennium African Initiative
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RBC	River Basin Commission
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RIA	Regional Integration Agreement
RTA	Regional Trading Agreements
RPFS	Regional Programme for Food Security
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SACU	Southern African Custom Union
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
SGR	Strategic Grain Reserve
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TCP	Technical Cooperation Programme
TFFS	Trust Fund for Food Security
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
UEMOA	West African Economic and Monetary Union
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference for Trade and Development

UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UN	United Nations
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZOPFAN	Zone of Peace and Neutrality for the ASEAN Nations

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

African leaders, under the umbrella of the African Union (A.U.) have decided to forge an alliance for development and, thus, put up programmes known as the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) in order to address challenges facing them as a people of the African continent. In fact, the problem of poverty, illiteracy, and socio-economic deprivation, political instability, coup de etat and scientific marginalization are what NEPAD is tasked to undertake. This chapter states the research questions, significance and justification of the research problems, review some relevant literatures on NEPAD, it explains theoretical frameworks from the Western as well as the Khaldunian's *Asabiyyah* approach and states its research methodology. The chapter also discusses in detail historical development of statehood and nationhood in Africa, and how African leaders failed to comprehend the function of states vis-à-vis their peoples' aspiration for development.

The chapter looks at the historical development of NEPAD on the sudden moral conception of the African leaders' determination to improve and remove African people from the malaise of underdevelopment and, also to make them inclusive rather than exclusive from the globalized world economy. In other words, the African leaders are determined to reverse the existing relationship with the Western world and African friends globally in a genuine true partnership for the development of the African continent. Therefore, the programme of NEPAD is seen to base its primary objectives

in addressing the continent's political class from their collective Lusaka declaration statement that states as follow: "We are convinced," that:

"A historic opportunity presents itself to end the scourge of underdevelopment that afflicts Africa.¹ The resources, including capital, technology and human skills, that are required to launch a global war on poverty and underdevelopment exist in abundance and are within our reach. What is required, therefore, is to mobilize these resources and to use them properly and its bold and innovative leadership that is genuinely committed to a sustained human development effort and the eradication of poverty, as well as, a new global partnership based on the shared responsibility and mutual interest".²

In other words, NEPAD wishes to solve African problems through the existing Western institutional structures in the African states without providing alternatives for its conviction to the African population on how the leaders will overcome the corrupt Western institutions in Africa. Henceforth, the following questions are raised in order to state that NEPAD as a continental development institution had failed to meet its objectives to 'extricate Africans from poverty' since it was inaugurated in 2001.

2 How did African leaders wish to address these issues vis-à-vis the complexity of globalized power politics and the power hegemony of the West?

1. What are the parameters which African leaders would adopt to solve all these problems enumerated for moving the continent forward? Are they going to rely on the existing Western corrupt institutions which they introduced to the continent to resolve poverty and other issues?
2. Are the African leaders utilizing NEPAD under the complexity of the exploitative globalization process of the African resources to solve the under-development in Africa or are the African leaders suggesting

¹ Waal, Alex De. "What's new in the 'New Partnership for Africa's development?," in *International Affairs*, 78, 3 (2002), pp. 465

² Ibid.

alternative solutions to circumvent the global exploitation of their economic resources and the African people?

3. Are the African leaders further leaning and relying in their economic recovery solution on the Western colonialists to extricate them from poverty, re-arrange their institutions, if so, what have they gained since associating their socio-economic and political reliance on the Western colonialists right from independence? Have the African leaders realized that their excessive dependence and heavily reliance on Western political elites and institutions which had caused underdevelopment in the continent, and had further exacerbated several social, economic and political problems and pains on the African peoples, in particular, and the continent in general since independence?
4. Are there readymade induction programmes for the African bureaucrats and political class to transform the existing institutions to serve the interest of the Africans rather than using the institutions to serve their primary interests?
5. Does their new conviction aimed at restructuring African political systems in order to be seen as service delivery mission for the people of Africa, or they are to continue with the existing institutions?

Furthermore, it became imperatively clear to usher in such continental farsighted programme so as to bring about continental development in its general approach. However, it aimed at building on the existing cooperative and collaborative effort between and among the African states which has been going on since the coming into existence of the Organization of African Unity in the 1960s, but has not been properly coordinated in order to meet the aspirations and yearnings of the

African peoples. This inability of realizing its primary objectives as mentioned above owes to the fact that NEPAD is not working since its formation in 2002 at the African Heads of States Summit in Lusaka, Zambia which was the primary reasons for its inauguration. This made me to further ask the following questions:

1.1 WHY IS NEPAD NOT WORKING IF IT WAS SET TO ADDRESS THOSE ISSUES?

NEPAD is not working because it lacks the primary social binding principles between the African peoples and their governments' institutions that ought to be seen in its social-contract philosophy and objectives. Accordingly, it fails to realize its primary objectives to face the problem of poverty eradication from the continent, provide education for all before 2015, and work towards establishing political stability and democratic institutions.³ In other words, the time frame given by NEPAD to achieve its programme further creates doubt in its sincerity, and shows that it has failed to meet the expected development agenda.

1.2 THEREFORE, HOW DID I BECOME AWARE THAT NEPAD IS NOT WORKING?

Based on my personal experience as one of the staffs of the Presidency on Poverty Eradication Programmes of the Nigerian government, one of the founding states and the initiators of NEPAD in 2002 have seen contrary to any improvement in social, economic, scientific development, information and communication technology ICT, and political stability, primarily in Nigeria. Furthermore, my readings of academic journals and debates of scholars on NEPAD, and from other studies and daily news

³ See the NEPAD document at (www.gov.za/issue/nepad/com2meet.htm).

papers, articles, speeches of some African critics and debates of several key-stakeholders in respect to policy-makers and bureaucrats has equally justified that the essence of the creation of NEPAD has failed. Hence, their argument on political and market reforms is justified from the inability of NEPAD to establish ‘free and fair’ electoral process in the continent and other socio-economic development programmes. Furthermore, they justified its failure to bring about institutional building or restructuring, and could not be relied upon when it comes to equitable distribution of economic gains where the principles of all-inclusive mechanism are followed in the commonwealth of the nation. Consequently, NEPAD failed to improve on highly claimed Millennium Development Goals (MDG) as stated in its programme initiatives. Neither had it instituted general policy for Education for All (EFA) in order to overcome the evil of poverty in the continent. This makes it a very serious issue to address the stance of NEPAD in the continent as regards to moving Africans and the continent forward. Therefore, I ask the following question.

1.3 HOW SERIOUS IS THE PROBLEM?

The failure of NEPAD in Africa is considered as a very serious issue as it does not meet the primary aspiration of the people for poverty eradication, education for all by 2015 and the policies and principles of the Millennium Development Goal and the AGOA project in general.⁴ As such, the resources of the African nations are being spent in trivial politicking by which the African politicians are playing one ethnic community against another, or fussing religious sentiments between Islam and Christianity at each other’s throats rather than initiating meaningful social, economic and scientific development programmes in order to meeting the aspirations of the

⁴ Ibid.

African people. Furthermore, African leaders are being surrounded by sycophants who are known as ‘failed-politicians’ whose primary political agenda is to serve their primary up-keeping. In other words, the maintenance of this new development in African politics leads to the unprecedented corruption in the political system in African states.

Consequently, the resources of the African peoples meant for improvement of their lifestyle, moving the African continent forward in line with the global socio-economic development end up in individuals’ private pockets. For example, the Nigerian government runs a very expensive ‘Democratic Politics’ where the Nigerian President is surrounded by 54 Senior Special Advisors, in addition to his 67 Ministers, comprised of Senior and Junior Ministers. In short, the Nigerian government, like the newly democratic states in Africa, is one of the most expensive democratic politics in entire African states. Therefore, the resources that would have been used to meet the aspirations of the Nigerian community are rather being spent to maintain those political jobbers and sycophants. Similar situation is being recorded in those African states that claimed they are pursuing ‘democratic governance’, rather than institutionalizing democratic principles of good governance in the continent. This tells us how serious the failure of the realization of the NEPAD programmes whereby national resources are being channeled towards ‘personal benefits’ and trivial political sentiments in Africa. Meanwhile, national budget often displayed that the government is rolling out development programme year-in-year-out without any meaningful achievement whatsoever. So, it made me to further ask the following question as follows:

1.4 WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF THE PROBLEM IS NOT SOLVED?

The current slow pace of movement of the African leaders in the implementation of socio-economic development policies in line with the NEPAD vision and programmes may bring serious political instability to the continent, if serious measures are not taken to address the perennial scourge of poverty, political alienation of some African communities, trans-border disputes between African neighboring states and ready to translate each African states budget into meaningful socio-economic development objectives and muscle the political will to tackle the menace of resource wastage of the African peoples. Then, the future is very bleak in the continent. Besides, African politicians are perceived, and in turn behaved like '*father figure*' or adopted '*god fatherism*' that relied heavily on their patrimonial prowess of their followers or their sycophants. Such a conception of power in the mindset of the African political class and the people of Africa conditioned to behave as such, has serious implications for the effective administrative policies to bring about changes in order to meet the challenges of running good governance.

Also the African Politicians, notwithstanding, are not seen in their real sense as public servants entrusted to serve their peoples, neither are they being held accountable for their wrong doings during and after their political tenure in office. Rather, the African politicians are perceived to be elected into office as their 'birth-rights' destined to rule their people. Each, however, got into electoral process by chance of 'Destiny as king' not really meant to serve his people through implementation of programmes and policies, but, rather, his people ought to serve him by using the available resources to meet his desires. As such, he chooses to change the National Constitution at will without any consideration to the interests of the people. He may choose to abuse the office power as he perceived to be 'destined king,' to

manipulate the Law and the Judiciary system of their respective countries. For instance; after spending second term of Five Years tenure in office, President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal decided to change his country constitution for another third term or rather become life President in office. Also, President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, after completing a second term of four years in office (1999-2007), decided to change the Nigerian Constitution for another third term in office. Hence, the actions of these Presidents led to the unprecedented political instability in Nigeria and Senegal till date. Similar attempts, however, were being made by the Malian embattled President Ahmodu Toumani Toure after completing his second term of five years political election, he acted very unprofessional but like a Monarch King aiming to change the Constitution and remain for another five years in office or life President like Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe. Furthermore, the recently held election in Uganda has placed the incumbent President Yuwari Musaveni into a life president that cannot be challenged by any one. Like other African shroud and crony politicians, President Yuwari Musaveni had his hands full of all types of tricks and manipulations of ethnic community versus another in the state of Uganda. Yet, no one has been able to call him to respect the Ugandan Constitution, neither is the state judiciary is capable of challenging his manipulation of the country's constitution for the past five years. Consequences of these actions led to development of several belligerent rebels in northern Uganda, the breaking of the Mali Republic into two by the Touaregs Azawad National Liberation Movement seeking secession from the republic, the sudden emergence of political-religious movement of the Boko Haram in northern Nigeria threatening the territorial integrity of these states. These are issues that the failure of NEPAD has created. Furthermore, the result of political instability has caused relentless power struggle between the ruling ethnic and the perceived marginalized

ethnics in Africa, those that have faced political alienation and none recognition of their political participation had created the Sothern Sudan state from the main Sudan. The instability further pushed for more creation of ethnic states that were wrongly detached from their original people as the consequence of the 1885-1886 Berlin Conference balkanization of the African people without their knowledge by the European colonialists. Unfortunately, the African political class, notwithstanding, deliberately avoid their primary responsibility for creating enabling environment for efficient distribution and redistribution of their states' resources in order to improve their people plights in a way that would bringing about meaningful socio-economic development programme. In other words, this would have translate all the God given resources, both natural as well as human, through implementation of better corporate policy governance for the common good of the people.⁵ It should, however, be born in mind that, not to say for the least, that in the last decades of multiparty political activities in Africa, the continent had rather unable to sustain the overall benefit of democratic politics. It's effect have not yet resulted in sending the right message of systemic transition of power away from the traditional neo-patrimonialism in the current inter-play of politics in Africa. As stated above, if the mindset of African political class did not change for good, and to take African development as their primary priorities, but, rather to continue the wastage of both financial and natural resources without being checkmated before 2050 or there about, the African people and the continent would be worse-off economically and political. Next, the continent would face the second phase of revolutionary movement of either on Islamization of the continent or would be ethnic-religious movement. Hence, the Arab Spring is taking place today, Africans would not be quiet to play 'lest wait and see' behavior,

⁵Schatzberg, Michael. Political legacy in middle Africa, father family, food (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), p. 59.

rather, some powerful ethnic group would move other ill-feeling of political marginalization ethnics to their furtherance of secession movement in the continent. This is where I see the NEPAD did not only fail to tackle all the above problems, but is not capable of solving the problems that have been in existence since the colonial time.⁶ Neither would any programme succeed as there are grossly absence of autonomous institutions empowered to settle all the enumerated socio-economic conditions of the African peoples.

1.5 THEREFORE, WHAT HAS BEEN DONE ABOUT THIS PROBLEM SO FAR?

Writers and commentators on NEPAD and its itemized programmes has carried out research on the new policy programme initiatives of the African Union since the creation and adoption of the idea of NEPAD and its policy framework in 2001, but are finding it extremely difficult to comprehend why NEPAD is failing? Why NEPAD is not working, does it lack political will or it has no sufficient resources to meet its programme initiatives? Is NEPAD another neo-colonial agency created by the Western powers to further their resources needed for their development? What is wrong with the initiation of NEPAD being mooted to bring about principles of good governance, economic growth and stability, poverty eradication and education for all? Or does NEPAD lack the expertise to implement sound micro and macroeconomic policies that ought to bring about improved African market system?⁷ Why is the programme

⁶ Visit (www.gov.za/issue/nepad/com2meet.htm)

⁷ See K.Y. Amoako, 'Fulfilling Africa's Promise', Millennium Lecture, 10 Downing St, 10 December 2001, UN Economic Commission for Africa, "Compact for African recovery operationalising the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme", Addis Ababa, 20, April 2011 (www.uneca.org).