

AU AGENDA 2063: VOICES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE

SOUTH AFRICA'S VIEWS AND ASPIRATIONS

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FOREWORD

***Foreword by the South African Minister of International Relations and Cooperation,
Ms H.E. Ms Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, MP***

As part of its Golden Jubilee Celebrations, the Heads of State and Government of the African Union, during their 21st Ordinary Session of May 2013, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, adopted a Solemn Declaration that rededicated the collective leadership to the Continent's development. The Declaration also called for the development of a Continental Agenda that will guide the work towards a peaceful, integrated and prosperous Africa, driven by its citizens and taking its rightful place in the world, by 2063. The 22nd Ordinary Session of the African Union Heads of State and Government requested Member States to reflect on the draft Agenda 2063 that was presented to the Summit for discussion and submit their views to the African Union Commission (AUC) before the end of April 2014. Following this request, the Department of International Relations and Cooperation facilitated inter-Departmental consultations. Thereafter the South African input was submitted to the AUC during April 2014.

To ensure that the articulation of Agenda 2063 becomes people-centered and people-driven, the African Union Policy Organs, in their meetings held during June 2014 in Equatorial Guinea, requested Member States to consult domestically, to ascertain the views of key non-governmental stakeholders on Agenda 2063 and to submit these views to the African Union Commission by 31 October 2014. To this end, the South African government, led by the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, convened consultations with representatives of the Youth on 11 July 2014; Academics and Think-Tanks on 04 September 2014; Women on 16 September 2014; Civil Society on 09 October 2014; and the Business sector on 17 October 2014. As part of the consultations with Civil Society, the national Department of Arts and Culture held a conference on 2-3 October 2014 to launch the Charter for African Cultural Renaissance. A joint session of Parliament debated Agenda 2063 on 31 October 2014.

The consultations highlighted the investment and passion South Africans - across the spectrum - have for the Continent and its future. In the interactions, they debated, critiqued, proposed additions and strategies on Agenda 2063. They responded to the call to define, shape and pursue the future that they want. Their investment was informed by the collective understanding that South Africa's future is inextricably tied to that of the Continent, and that all collective effort and cross-cutting ownership and partnerships are needed for Africa to accelerate her development, and reach its full potential by 2063. It is the understanding that South Africa's history and democracy are rooted in Africa, and in Pan-Africanism, as reflected in the country's national anthem – Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica (God Bless Africa). It is the understanding that South Africa is, because Africa is.

The stakeholders welcomed the African Union's decision to develop Agenda 2063, highlighting the need to maintain and leverage the positive momentum of the past decade with regard to accelerated economic and social development on the Continent. Amongst others, the Consultations confirmed the urgency with which the stakeholders want the African Union and its Member States to strengthen the implementation of policies aimed at bettering the lives of ordinary Africans. Stakeholders emphasized that Africa has the essential resources to attain the Aspirations of the Agenda. The Parliamentary debate reaffirmed the importance of Agenda 2063 as an African-led initiative towards defining a new narrative and path for the Continent's development for the next decades.

What is needed, in addition to others, is sustained political will; bold and transformational leaderships across the sectors; coherence in national and regional planning and implementation; effective resource management; full implementation of policies; effective anti-corruption mechanisms; quality education and training; effective partnerships between the public sector and other social actors; and investment in infrastructure to facilitate development, job creation and poverty alleviation. In addition, the stakeholders emphasised that a mindset shift will be needed if the Aspiration for an Africa that is secure in its future, its identity, and its abilities, is to be achieved.

The outcomes of the consultations have been combined and presented to the African Union Commission as the inputs of the non-governmental South African stakeholders on Agenda 2063.

This publication then seeks to capture and store the views of South African Non-Governmental Stakeholder on Agenda 2063 - The Africa We Want, so that future generations can draw lessons from this generation.

CHAPTER 1 - THE VOICES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE



CHAPTER 1 - THE VOICES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE

In the month of May 2013, African leaders converged in the Ethiopian capital city of Addis Ababa to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), which was subsequently replaced by the African Union (AU) in 2002. As part of the celebrations, the Heads of States and Governments of the AU adopted a Solemn Declaration that rededicated the collective leadership to the continent's development. The Declaration called for the development of a Continental Agenda that will guide work towards a peaceful, integrated and prosperous Africa, driven by its citizens and taking its rightful place in the world, by 2063. The 22nd Ordinary Session of the AU requested Member States to reflect on the draft Agenda 2063 that was presented to the Summit for discussion and submit their views to the African Union Commission (AUC) before the end of April 2014. Following this request, the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) facilitated inter-Departmental consultations as mentioned by the Minister in her Foreword. The South African input was submitted to the AUC during April 2014. This process was followed by all Member States of the AU.

In order to ensure that the realisation of Agenda 2063 is people-centered and people-driven, the African Union Policy Organs, in their meetings held during June 2014 in Equatorial Guinea, requested Member States to consult domestically in order to ascertain the views of key non-governmental stakeholders on the Agenda, and to submit these views to the AUC by 31 October 2014. To this end, the South African government, again led by DIRCO, convened the following consultations with stakeholders:

- Representatives of the Youth on 11 July 2014
- Academics and Think-Tanks on 04 September 2014
- Women on 16 September 2014
- Civil Society on 9 October 2014
- the Business sector on 17 October 2014.

As part of the consultations with Civil Society, the national Department of Arts and Culture held a conference on 2-3 October 2014 to launch the Charter for African Cultural Renaissance. A joint session of Parliament also debated Agenda 2063 on 31 October 2014.

The outcomes of the consultations are hereby presented as the inputs of non-executive South African stakeholders on AU Agenda 2063. The document not only provides a summary of the outcomes of the consultations, but it also provides an analysis of the views of the specific stakeholders on each of the seven Aspirations articulated in Agenda 2063. As was expected, responses by the various stakeholder groups varied in content and nature due to their specific areas of interest. Furthermore, the way stakeholder groups defined and declared their views showed the typical characteristics of the groups. For example, youth responded quite differently from business and academics. The text below has retained these particular characteristics and nuances in order to do justice to the stakeholder groups and their views of Africa's future.

It should be remembered that the AU and its vision for the future of Africa has always been on the agenda of the South African leadership, from President Mandela to President Zuma, as well as most opposition leaders. At the OAU meeting in Tunis (1994) Mandela confirmed South Africa's commitment to the OAU ideals as follows:

We know it is a matter of fact that we have it in ourselves as Africans to change all this. We must, in action, assert our will to do so. We must, in action, say that there is no obstacle big enough to stop us from bringing about a new African renaissance We are happy ... to commit South Africa to the achievement of these goals. We have entered this eminent African organisation and rejoined the African community of nations inspired by the desire to join hands with all the countries of our continent as equal partners. ¹

Former President Mbeki was a co-founder of NEPAD and a foremost supporter of the African Renaissance. President Mbeki was well-known for his promotion of the African agenda, based on his belief that we are above all else, Africans: "...Whatever the setbacks of the moment, nothing can stop us now! Whatever the difficulties, Africa shall be at peace! However improbable it may sound to the sceptics, Africa will prosper! ²

Support for the African Renaissance was continued by President Zuma's government, often with a focus on the youth. For example, he encouraged delegates at the fourth Pan African Youth Union Congress (2014)

We look to the youth of Africa to become more focussed and more aware of the challenges facing this beautiful continent, so that you can be ready to take Africa to greater heights ... It is therefore incumbent upon the youth to forge unity among themselves and use their energy and drive to ensure the total success of the AU Agenda 2063. ... The Africa you will hand over should be free from war and conflict, disease, hunger, homelessness, extreme poverty and all other social ills engineered and sustained by actions of human beings. It must be an Africa that is at peace with itself in every corner. While Africa is making progress economically, there still exist pockets of conflict around the continent.

In a similar way President Zuma emphasised the need for unity: "We should therefore continue working in unity, to make Africa a continent of hope for the youth and future generations".³⁴

The Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, Ms Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, emphatically stated South Africa's commitment to AU Agenda 2063 at the Special Joint Sitting of Parliament on 31 October 2014:

Agenda 2063 is thus a shared strategic framework for inclusive growth and sustainable development for Africa's transformation. Importantly, it is a continuation of the Pan-African drive for self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity - in order to, amongst others; galvanize and unite in action all Africans and the Diaspora around the common vision of a peaceful, integrated and prosperous Africa, driven by its citizens and taking its rightful place in the world. But how high and fast we rise as a continent will depend on what we do today. The following principles should therefore inform our approach to the future, and these are:

- African ownership, including finding our own solutions to our problems
- Silencing the guns once and for all
- Self-reliance to reverse and eradicate our dependency including on Aid for fiscal support
- Our people must come first, with the benefits of a prosperous Africa fairly shared among all of us
- Industrialisation supported by a strong infrastructure, instead of dependence on commodities and other raw materials
- African unity should remain paramount
- Africa should continue to be assertive in world affairs and not give in to its demand for a permanent presence on the UN Security Council.⁵



CHAPTER 2 - WHERE HAVE WE COME FROM?



CHAPTER 2 - WHERE HAVE WE COME FROM?

From its inception in 1963, the focus of the OAU had been to unite African countries in the fight against the twin evils of colonialism and apartheid. Issues of development, good governance and integration had not been much of a feature in the OAU's agenda until the 1980s and 1990s when the Organisation was faced with the need for economic and structural reform. It is at this point that the Organisation facilitated a series of 'Pan African' initiatives that encouraged African governments to embark upon policies and strategies to respond to the yearnings of their people. Among these initiatives were the Lagos Plan of Action (1980); the Final Act of Lagos (1980); Africa's Priority programme for Economic Recovery (1986-1990); the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programme (1989); the African (Arusha) Charter for Popular Participation and Development (1990); the Abuja Treaty (1991); and the Cairo Agenda (1994), the NEPAD programme (2001).

It is against this backdrop that AU Agenda 2063 has emerged as "a logical continuation of recent developments with renewed and invigorated efforts to catalyse development and strengthen African integration and unity" (AU 2013)⁶. This new Agenda therefore plans to build upon the achievements of the past and draw lessons from the previous strategic planning efforts at regional and sub-regional levels.

As such, Agenda 2063 is a unique opportunity for citizens of the continent to play an active role in re-creating the African narrative by participating in the process of setting clear goals for Africa to work towards achieving unity, peace and development in the 21st Century:

The thrust of Agenda 2063 is a program of social, economic and political rejuvenation that links the past, present and the future in order to create a new generation of Pan Africanists that will harness the lessons learnt and use them as building blocks to consolidate the hope and promises of the founding parents for a true renaissance of Africa. (AU 2013)

As this publication seeks to document the responses of South African stakeholder groups - from academics to the youth - to the seven Aspirations articulated in Agenda 2063, it is important to understand the context of the Agenda that has as its primary aim to give voice to Africa and the African people. To this end, the Preamble of AU 2063 states the following, which serve as guidelines for the seven Aspirations:

1. *The people of Africa and her Diaspora, united in diversity, young and old, men and women, from all walks of life, deeply conscious of history, express their deep appreciation to all generations of Pan Africanists. In particular, to the founders of the Organisation of African Unity for having bequeathed an Africa free from slavery, colonialism and apartheid.*
2. *We echo the Pan African call that Africa must unite in order to realize its Renaissance. Present generations are confident that the destiny of Africa is in their hands, and that we must act now to shape the future we want. Fifty years after the first thirty-three (33) independent African states gathered in Addis Ababa on 25 May 1963 to form the Organization of African Unity, we are looking ahead towards the next fifty years.*
3. *We reviewed past plans and commitments, and pledge to take into account the lessons as we implement Agenda 2063. These include putting mobilization of the people and their ownership of continental programmes at the core; the principle of self-reliance and Africa financing its own development; the importance of capable, inclusive and accountable states and institutions at all levels and in all spheres, the critical role of Regional Economic Communities as building blocks for continental unity, and holding ourselves and our governments and institutions accountable for results.*
4. *We rededicated ourselves to the enduring Pan African vision of "an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena".*

The seven Aspirations discussed by each of the stakeholder groups mentioned above are:

- A Prosperous Africa based on Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development
- An Integrated Continent, Politically United based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism
- An Africa of Democracy, Respect for Human Rights, Justice and the rule of Law.
- A Peaceful and Secure Africa
- An Africa with a strong Cultural Identity, Values and Ethics
- An Africa of people-driven development relying on the potential of its women & youth; and
- Africa as a Strong, Resilient and Influential Global Player and Partner

The chapters below indicate how each group of stakeholders – Academics and Think Tanks, Business, Civil Society, Parliament, Women and Youth - understands the Vision and how it applies to the South African context. This consolidates DIRCO's African Agenda and its diplomacy of Ubuntu/ Botho, a uniquely African value that emphasises the interdependence of all humanity: "I am because you are".



**CHAPTER 3 ASPIRATION 1 - A PROSPEROUS AFRICA BASED ON
INCLUSIVE GROWTH AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**



CHAPTER 3 ASPIRATION 1 - A PROSPEROUS AFRICA BASED ON INCLUSIVE GROWTH AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

Aspiration 1 states that:

We aspire that by 2063, Africa shall be a prosperous continent, with the means and resources to drive its own development, and where:

- *African people have a high standard of living, and quality of life, sound health and well-being;*
- *Well educated citizens and skills revolution underpinned by science, technology and innovation for a knowledge society;*
- *Cities and other settlements are hubs of cultural and economic activities, with modernized infrastructure, and people have access to all the basic necessities of life including shelter, water, sanitation, energy, public transport and ICT;*
- *Economies are structurally transformed to create shared growth, decent jobs and economic opportunities for all;*
- *Modern agriculture for increased production, productivity and value addition contribute to farmer and national prosperity and Africa's collective food security.*
- *The environment and ecosystems are healthy and preserved, and with climate resilient economies and communities.*

The challenges of inclusive sustainable development were well-defined at the annual meeting of the African Development Bank in 2013:

What do we understand about inclusive growth and sustainable development in Africa? Not only has growth failed to benefit the majority in terms of human development, but it may be contributing to or worsening the extreme disparities in basic life-chances and staggering inequalities that are preventing millions of Africans from realising their potential. ... Africa's challenge therefore is to harness economic growth to a more equitable distribution of opportunity and human needs.

The issue of inclusive sustainable development has been prominent in earlier documents of the AU such as its initiative on the promotion and development of Agenda 21 in Africa,⁷ and the Africa Regional Consultative Meeting on the Sustainable Development Goals held in Addis Ababa in 2013.

The South African government views inclusive sustainable development as a condition for prosperity for South Africa and the continent, as is visible in its National Framework on Sustainable Development (2008) and the National Treasury's Inclusive Growth and Development document (2011). The National Development Plan Vision 2030 has as its main focus the importance of sustainable inclusive development for the peoples of South Africa.

Academics and Think Tanks

In the meeting with academics and think-tanks the discussion on Aspiration 1 of Agenda 2063 focussed on the need to eradicate poverty in Africa beyond the scope of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), ending in 2015, and towards Agenda 2063. Thus, at the root of aspiration 1 is the pressing need for poverty eradication on the continent. As such, the meeting with academics and think-tanks highlighted the parallels between the post-2015 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) process and the launching of the AU Agenda 2063. The view was that the MDGs served as universal minimum standards for eradicating poverty, whilst Agenda 2063 represents a much more ambitious and aspirational longer-term African vision for development that is formulated and owned by Africans themselves.

Whereas the international community seems to be converging on the very ambitious goal of reducing extreme poverty to below 3% by 2030 as part of the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) process, the academics and think-tanks argued in favour of setting a specific goal for African countries to reduce on average extreme poverty (income below US\$1.25) to 10% by 2045, and to below 3% by 2063. This is because of the unique set of dynamics African countries face in relation to the rest of the world and other developing nations. Although the world has achieved significant declines in extreme poverty recently (particularly developing nations in Asia) Africa has lagged behind in comparison.

The tremendous success of Asian countries in reducing extreme poverty - especially China where extreme poverty was reduced from over 60% in 1990 to less than 10% in 2010 - has been attributed to the significant economic growth experienced by the region over the last couple of decades. Africa has, on the other hand, experienced much slower rates of economic growth and displayed higher rates of inequality than other regions. In 2013, of the 1,04 billion people in the world living below the threshold for extreme poverty (14.7 % of the total population), 300 million (33%) were living in Africa. This makes Africa the region with the highest rate of poverty in the world.

While economic growth can contribute to the reduction of poverty, its impact varies across countries. This is a result of the differences in the poverty gap amongst countries. That is, an initial substantial poverty gap – when most of the poor are living far below the poverty line rather than near it – reduces the impact of economic growth in achieving major reductions in extreme poverty. The main cause of large poverty gaps is high levels of inequality. Being a region with one of the highest rates of inequality in the world, sub-Saharan Africa has a wider poverty gap than any other region in the world. The poverty gap between African countries themselves also varies drastically. In this context countries in Africa by 2030 are likely to be at different levels in terms of extreme poverty. By implication different policy measures will be needed to address the issue of extreme poverty in different African countries. Hence, the meeting with the academics and think-tanks advocated for the AU to consider setting additional country-level targets to meet the specific needs of member countries. This view is also in line with the proposed goal in the finalisation of the post-2015 SDG process of ensuring that 'no-one is left behind'.

The doctrine of ensuring that 'no-one is left behind' in pursuing aspiration 1 of the AU Agenda 2063 has implications for both macro and micro-economic policies of African countries. Drawing on empirical evidence, and Asia as a prime example, on a macro-economic level the meeting identified economic growth and reductions in inequality as the proximate drivers of poverty reduction in Africa. If relatively evenly distributed across a society economic growth will tend to raise individual income, drawing people out of poverty. That is, distribution-neutral economic growth will reduce the percentage of people living in poverty, although the absolute numbers may remain constant or even grow as the population grows. Similarly, reductions in inequality over time can reduce poverty rates.

On a micro-economic level the meeting with academics and think-tanks highlighted the various dynamics of poverty and relevant national policy choices which can help mitigate the living conditions of the poor. As such, emphasis was placed on a micro-economic framework that fosters an understanding of poverty as a condition that people may move into and out of multiple times during their lifetime, and on which national and sub-national policies may have significant impacts. Thus, a further delineation is made of those who remain poor over long periods of time and those who frequently transmit poverty between generations – the chronically poor. It is this latter segment of the population that gets left behind and bears the brunt of chronic poverty when African states begin to accelerate growth.

Five frequently overlapping primary chronic poverty traps were identified during the meeting, namely: insecurity and poor health; limited citizenship; spatial disadvantage; social discrimination; and poor work opportunities. These traps work together to create three primary features that distinguish the chronically poor from other groups of people in poverty: they typically have a small number of assets, low returns on these assets, and high vulnerability to negative external shocks (agronomic, economic, health, legal, political or social). The exclusion of the chronically poor from the political, social and economic systems that might allow them to begin to acquire assets makes them more vulnerable to shocks. In turn, their low starting asset/ capability position also leaves them with few resources to respond to shocks.

The discussion on aspiration 1 with the academics and think-tanks concluded by making a number of recommendations that African countries will need to consider in facilitating a sustained escape from extreme poverty for people on the continent, namely:

1. The first recommended intervention calls for governments to invest in social assistance, social insurance and social protection plans targeting a number of different sources of vulnerability. It was argued that social assistance – in the form of conditional and unconditional cash transfers, and income supplements in cash or in kind – has been shown to help create conditions that support people in moving out of poverty. Social insurance can be used to help those who are vulnerable to adapt to shocks without suffering the kinds of losses that drive people to, or keep them in, poverty.

In terms of this first recommendation, it was also noted during the meeting that though many countries in Africa already have social support programmes similar to the ones mentioned above, these are often fragmented and do not typically form part of a broader package of social protection schemes. It is therefore necessary to stimulate the development of more comprehensive social support programmes by increasing African government expenditure on welfare and pension transfers, while increasing government revenue and external financial assistance to support social assistance programmes. Increases in social assistance programmes are targeted so that African nations achieve a similar rate of social welfare spending as the average in Latin America and South East Asia.

2. The second recommended intervention that emerged from the meeting is the need for African economies to avoid the resource curse through diversification. For far too long economies in Africa have relied on extractive industries, which are not labour intensive. It was agreed that it is the time to shift focus to those sectors that have the potential to support the poor, including encouraging youth entrepreneurship through the development of small- and medium-sized enterprises; developing underserved regions; and developing the poor's access to improved agricultural inputs, including technology. Currently, young Africans are moving into Africa's fast-growing cities in search of employment, and most end up in urban self-employment. African governments need to make the informal sector a more sustainable form of employment, through linkages to the formal sector and providing an enabling business environment. This is essential to meeting Africa's job challenge.

In addition, agriculture is central to the average African economy. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa 77% of self-employed individuals are employed in agriculture. Consequently, policies designed to grow this sector, increase its global competitiveness and serve as mechanisms to reduce working poverty, are critical. Emphasis was also placed on the need to improve infrastructure in Africa, especially rural roads, water and sanitation, information and communications technology and electricity.

3. The third recommended intervention involves focusing on human development. This entails the provision of education through secondary schools, with a focus on improving quality and access. For this to occur, improvements must be made in spending on education, intake, survival and transition to stimulate a system that is more efficient at getting students into the education system, keeping them enrolled, and training secondary graduates. Linked to this intervention is also an emphasis on the need to provide universal primary healthcare. Africa needs to have a functioning healthcare system that can better combat the spread of treatable diseases which have a disproportionate impact on the poor, especially malaria, respiratory infections, diarrheal diseases, and other communicable diseases.

4. The final recommended intervention which emerged is a need for progressive social change. This requires addressing the inequalities that keep people poor even when others are making progress. These barriers can be spatial, gender, caste, religion or ethnicity-related, among many others, but have a significant impact on trajectories of poverty reduction. Hence, focus must be placed on creating an understanding among policymakers that the chronically poor are constrained by structural factors rather than individual characteristics. These structural factors must be addressed.

Business

The meeting with business leaders highlighted that Africa currently has the fastest growing middle class in the world. This brings with it its own opportunities and challenges. One of the biggest opportunities of a growing African middle class is that it presents business with a huge potential consumer market. However, this in itself becomes a challenge as it exposes the fact that Africa is yet to transition from a consumer market to a producing society that can compete globally. Transitioning to a producing society – especially of value-added products – will assist the continent to spur the much needed economic growth which will produce the jobs and employment that are needed by Africa's increasingly young population.

Another challenge to Africa's economic renaissance is the inferior infrastructure found on the continent. Despite the progress that has been made in investments for infrastructural development through institutions such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and other programmes over the last fifteen years, a lot of work still needs to be done to bring the continent's infrastructure to a world class level that can allow the continent to compete on the globe. Clearly, sustained investments in infrastructure will be critical if Africa is to achieve the aims of Agenda 2063. This includes investment in power infrastructure and internet connectivity, including 4G technology. In this context, integrated infrastructure that will fuel sustainable economic growth requires all stakeholders to work together, especially business and governments.

Hence, it emerged from the engagement with business that government and the private sector will have to change the current way in which they relate to one another. There needs to be constructive engagement between government and business around the following areas:

- policy formulation and implementation;
- investment packages for regional and continental development; and
- partnerships that are actively monitored.

This engagement will allow for the emergence of a strong private sector in Africa whose competitiveness on the continent will be strengthened by such engagements, and therefore guarantee a positive contribution to the continental battle against the three evils of poverty, unemployment, and inequality. The engagement between government and the private sector will also strengthen trust between governments and African companies, and encourage strengthened accountability from both sides.

Civil Society and Culture

Achieving sustainable human development would remain an aspirational concept without the inclusion of all segments of society in a holistic, consultative and participatory way. (UNDP Youth Strategy, 2014:5)

The forum for civil society organisations recommended that citizens of the continent must play a central role in the socio-economic and broader development of countries in the continent. People-centred development will ensure that Agenda 2063 reflects the aspirations and contributions of everyone on the continent. In this context, the challenges posed by rapid urbanization and rural under-development should be addressed. Furthermore, a top-down approach to development was regarded as flawed and unsustainable and should be replaced by consultative partnerships between governments and peoples in the conceptualisation, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of projects and programmes throughout the continent.

Owing to the composition of this stakeholder group, that consisted mostly of artists from civil society, such as entertainers, creative artists, non-profit organisations, and the media, requests were made to governments to support artists as part of growing the economy in a sustainable manner. It was submitted that there is a need for the implementation of quota systems in favour of African artists. Government needs to create an enabling environment for local artists through policies and other means with an ultimate goal to stimulate sustainable and decent jobs for artists throughout the continent. Most importantly, there is a need to prioritise policies that offer distinct advantages to local cultural products and services over and above those that are imported.

There was a call for government to promote and support regional integration initiatives and establish regional centres of excellence that strengthen local economies. It was felt that implementation mechanisms with time frames should be adopted to ensure progress.

Parliament

During the 2014 State of the Nation address, the President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma mentioned

how the country will continue to support regional and continental processes to respond to and resolve crises, promote peace and security, strengthen regional integration, significantly increase intra-African trade, and champion sustainable development. This will entail supporting and executing decisions of the AU, as well as the promotion of the work of its structures ... Today Africa is freer, and today Africa is rising to claim its rightful place in the world, where women and youth have the keys to sustainably develop the continent. (Presidency 2014)

The commitment by Parliament is clear in that government will do all that is possible to create inclusive growth and sustainable development (Parliamentary Joint Sitting, 2014). According to an ANC Member of Parliament (MP), when one looks at Aspiration 1 – that deals with creating inclusive growth and sustainable development - the ANC-led government is already doing this because of manufacturing plants such as the one situated in the Eastern Cape that produces quality Mercedes Benz cars that are exported globally and creates local employment in the process. An MP from the EFF mentioned how socio- economic development should no longer be a pipe dream that will be realised in the future, but a real, immediate solution to food and water security. Land and agrarian reform for economic development and the enrichment of communities would also lead to social upliftment.

According to the Speaker of National Parliament (2015), the South African Parliament has also taken bold steps in support of sustainable development. This includes amongst others-

- Through the mainstreaming of our National Development Plan
- Awareness and advocacy training for Members and staff, and training on monitoring and evaluation methodologies
- National consultative seminars, with key stakeholders in government, civil society and national, provincial and local government legislators
- The establishment of a Parliamentary Budget Office, which provides strategic budgetary support to committees
- Extensive scrutiny of departmental budgets
- Debates, questions and Member's Statements
- The building of dynamic partnerships with amongst others, UN agencies, academia and civil society
- Putting in place the necessary mechanisms to ensure the monitoring and reporting of progress through the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).

Women

The stakeholder meeting for women consisted of 310 participants, some of whom represented government departments (local, provincial and national), as well as NGOs and civil society organisations. The group was divided into “Commissions” to discuss each Aspiration. The women’s Commission dealing with Aspiration 1 on sustainable and inclusive development ultimately suggested solutions for realising the vision of Agenda 2063 by setting general benchmarks for **actions** to be taken. The following priorities were recognised by the women present:

1. In order to succeed it is necessary to ensure popular, grassroots and broad-based ownership of Agenda 2063
2. There is a need for social mobilisation around the Agenda in the rural areas
3. It is necessary to increase awareness and education campaigns
4. an increase in self-belief, and increased skills development and training will empower women
5. African development should be strengthened by tapping into indigenous and inclusive knowledge systems.

The women also argued for the prioritisation of youth participation - and the community at large - in policy development. Women and people with disabilities should be empowered to participate in policy-making. In addition, active participation of communities in the implementation of policies will ensure that they are successful.

After addressing the actions required to strengthen the process of buy-in to AU Agenda 2063, the participants identified **critical success factors** (enablers and drivers) that should be acknowledged and implemented in the process of socio-economic development, including: ensuring a people-centred, continent-wide approach; ensuring cross-cultural participation with an emphasis on facilitating inter-generational communication; recognising the intersectionality of all stakeholders; and creating a communal legal framework. These factors would, according to this group, ensure that Africa is developed in a way that is mutually beneficial to all.

This Commission then identified certain **challenges** to the attainment of Agenda 2063, including gender inequality; lack of communication; improper policies and poor programme implementation; inadequate monitoring and evaluation of the results of policies; local and continental power struggles; poverty; weak accountability systems; and lack of an holistic approach to tackling corruption.

In order to **overcome** these challenges there is a need for more financial commitment with tangible results; community ownership of the processes and outcomes; adequate funding of civil society organisations; de-colonisation of the African mind-set, removal of barriers for business opportunities; and health awareness such as HIV/AIDS, TB, cancer, Ebola epidemics and hypertension.

In order to attain social and economic transformation, it was argued that strong political commitment was important to ensure the empowerment of African women, as well as the “political, economic and emotional protection of African women”. This would enable change as women would be active citizens and participate in the development of the continent.

It was further indicated that the alignment of domestic and national legal frameworks and policies with Agenda 2063 would ensure internal coherence, and encourage the ownership of this vision by lobbying and advocacy; the resourcing of policies and programmes; and capacity building.

Youth

In an era of the promotion of regional integration and rapid globalization, African governments should take proactive measures that harness the potential and competitiveness of their young people in the global economy. (UNECA, 2011:3)

The consultation with the youth was positive and emphasised that inclusive and sustainable social and economic development should and indeed could be attainable by 2063.

The youth agreed upon the following priorities in ensuring the attainment of Aspiration 1:

- **High Standard of living for African people: quality of life, sound health and well-being**

Young South Africans were in favour of radical economic transformation to achieve sustainable growth. In order to achieve this transformation, it is necessary to reduce bureaucracy. They were of the view that the youth should be given an opportunity to participate fully in the economy and called for the development of policies to be aligned with youth development. Quality education needs to be standardised and skills development initiatives need to be intensified. It was also argued that we need to ensure that trade policies benefit the youth. Other views that emerged include that:

- Investment dividends must be channelled towards basic education (especially early childhood development).
- Corruption is a serious concern that needs to be addressed as it impedes the development of young people. As such South Africa must first develop a national strategy on these issues and escalate them to the level of the African Union.
- Africa should develop clear trading policies to ensure significant beneficiation from the global trading network.
- Young Africans need to take control of their development at the local level (where they can practically influence decisions).
- African youth need to deal directly with issues of child marriage and HIV/Aids amongst others.

- **Well Educated Citizens: Science, technology and innovation**

The consultation highlighted that the youth want to prioritise the level of education in semi-rural as well as rural areas across the country and the continent. In this area, prioritisation would include the following:

- The introduction of farming as part of the school curriculum;
- Making sports compulsory in schools;
- The introduction of political education at entry level at schools;
- Introducing technical education;
- Focusing on indigenous knowledge in education. Access to career guidance from elementary levels of schooling.

It was suggested that DIRCO should consider taking students to international institutions for capacity building. Further submissions were related to the reactivation of Further Education and Training Institutes, Teacher and Nursing colleges, as well as the expansion and growth of tertiary institutions. Numerous participants agreed that the development of technical schools must be intensified from lower grade to encourage skills training. It is believed that technical, vocational and technological institutions are serious game changers for youth development.

Furthermore, youth at the consultation stated that

[w]e need to focus on African indigenous knowledge in most of our development thinking. We also need to industrialise Africa with supporting policies; this must include agricultural industrialisation. A distinctly African form of education needs to be designed and we should refrain from the assimilation of Western education systems. Commercialisation of innovative ideas should be intensified.

In relation to supporting education, infrastructure development must properly address socio-economic development within communities.

- **Good governance**

It was agreed that Agenda 2063 should be structurally implemented in the short, medium and long term with a consistent evaluation and monitoring system, coupled with financial transparency and accountability.

- **Cities and other settlements**

The youthful participants were aware that labour migration to economic hubs (cities) is a problem due to the burdens of inherited infrastructure. There is therefore a need to improve local economies to combat this trend. It was suggested that the AU should frequently engage African youth with regard to their socio-economic challenges in order to adequately understand and address these issues. In addition, African pessimism needs to be dismissed in order to unchain African dependencies on the West. It is also necessary to Intensify corporate social investment initiatives. A focus should be placed on the elimination of cultural rigidity in societies in order to encourage social interaction.

- **Youth economic empowerment**

Youth participants agreed that African economies should be structurally transformed to create shared growth and decent jobs for all. It was argued that it is necessary to ensure beneficiation as a means of adding value and to invest in infrastructure. Agricultural industrialisation was also seen as necessary to achieve this aspiration "with modern agriculture for increased production, productivity and value addition to contribute to farmer and national prosperity".

- **Sustainable African development**

The participants felt strongly that the continent, while attaining prosperity, should also maintain healthy ecosystems and preserve the African and global environment for future generations.

Analysis of common trends for Aspiration 1

- **Meaningful participation**

Although the different groups discussed at length the various ways that this Aspiration could be achieved, common trends identified focus on the integral role that people play in making this aspiration possible. Women, youth, children and the disabled are the participants identified as necessary to ensure that this Aspiration happens. It can only happen when vulnerable and marginalised groups such as those mentioned are empowered. This empowerment can be in the form of improved education and healthcare, infrastructure development, sustainable social and economic development, meaningful engagement in policy making and environmental protection. Thus, inclusive participation is necessary for this Aspiration to become a reality where women, youth, children and the disabled are part and parcel of the entire process and not just bystanders to it. Groups which placed emphasis on the involvement and participation of all groups to achieve this Aspiration includes Parliament, women and the youth themselves.

- **Focus on poverty reduction and decent employment**

In order for prosperity to occur there is an evident need for job availability and poverty reduction, and this can only happen through measures such as economic growth. Although commonalities were evident in the imminent challenges presented by unemployment as well as poverty, the ways that were identified by the respective groups to meet these challenges often differed in terms of perspective and context, but not extensively. For instance, the youth argued how it was necessary that African economies be structurally transformed to create shared growth which will result in decent jobs for all. Both women and youthful stakeholders placed an emphasis on for education and skills training. They argued in similar ways that it is necessary to increase awareness and self-belief through education. Social mobilisation was also mentioned by both groups as a necessity in rural areas.

Sentiments from Parliament were that jobs should be created, using the motor industry as an example. In addition, immediate solutions are necessary to address the challenges of food security, clean water and issues around land restoration for economic development and the enrichment of communities. Academics and Think Tanks placed priority on poverty eradication as they saw Agenda 2063 as a more viable and tangible goal to aim for beyond the MDG's. They argued in favour of setting a goal for African countries to reduce on average extreme poverty (income below US\$1.25) to 10% by 2045, and to below 3% by 2063.

Business emphasised the need for a transition from a consumer market to a producing society that can compete globally and create jobs. Transitioning to a producing society particularly in terms of value-added products will assist the continent to spur the much needed economic growth which will produce the jobs and employment that are needed by Africa's increasingly young population. Civil society and culture believed that government should create an enabling environment for local artists through policies and other means with an ultimate goal to stimulate sustainable and decent jobs for artists. There was also a need to prioritise policies that offer distinct advantage to local cultural products and services over and above those that are imported.

- **Good governance as a mechanism towards sustainability of development**

Interestingly, good governance was perceived by all groups as a critical factor necessary for achieving sustainable development. Business spoke of the friction which existed between it and government which needed to be addressed as both sectors complement and need one another. Together the public and private sectors can work towards achieving development that is sustainable for society and the continent. Governance is also critical for civil society and culture as they are reliant on government to meet their needs through policy planning and implementation. Thus only a credible, coherent and well-functioning government is able to meet the needs and demands of its population. Good governance occupies a significant role in relation to achieving sustainable development. A recommendation by academics and think tanks is as follows: in order to stimulate the development of a more comprehensive social support programme, an increase in African government expenditure on welfare and pension transfers was necessary. Such a recommendation is only possible through good governance, as it is expected that the government that undertakes this initiative must be credible in all aspects of finance, governance, accountability, transparency, dignity, leadership and integrity. With regard to good governance, the representatives of youth wanted financial transparency and accountability and felt that the implementation of a monitoring and evaluation system would assist in attaining goals. The women tended to agree and also mentioned the challenges posed by corruption.

Parliament focused on continuing with its drive towards sustainable development through supporting and executing decisions of the AU, as well as the promotion of the work of its structures.

**CHAPTER 4 Aspiration 2 - An integrated continent, politically united
based on the ideals of Pan Africanism**



CHAPTER 4 Aspiration 2 - An integrated continent, politically united based on the ideals of Pan Africanism

Introduction

The Agenda 2063 states that:

We aspire that by 2063, Africa will:

- ***Be a United Africa***
- ***Have world class, integrative infrastructure that criss-crosses the continent;***
- ***Have dynamic and mutually beneficial links with her Diaspora***
- ***Be a continent with seamless borders, and management of cross border resources through dialogue.***

Unity on the continent has been the main reason for the establishment of the OAU and the AU. Article 2 of the OAU Charter sets this out as follows:

- (a) To promote the unity and solidarity of the African States;
- (b) To coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa.⁸

Article 3 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union reaffirms in its first clause the aim to “achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the peoples of Africa.”⁹

For decades the principles of Pan-Africanism have continuously been presented as an important way to increase unity. The AU Assembly adopted the theme of the Summits of 2013 as ‘Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance’. At its core Pan-Africanism is “a belief that African peoples, both on the continent and in the Diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny” (AU 2013).¹⁰

South African government's commitment to a unified Africa became visible after the attacks on foreign nationals in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng in April 2015 when it sent out a clear message through a focused campaign to promote the acceptance of foreigners from other African countries. In addition, the Defence Force deployed units in key areas, and an indaba of traditional leaders was called together by the Zulu King.

Academics and Think Tanks

For Aspiration 2 the meeting with academics and think-tanks recalled that the formation of the AU in 1963 (then known as the Organisation for African Unity) was premised on the ideals of Pan Africanism and remains an expression of Pan Africanism. Pan Africanism stood as a necessary counter to a western world-view and sought to encourage the unity and solidarity of Africans on the continent and people of African descent in the Diaspora. For Pan Africanists the unity of Africans was a necessary pre-requisite to achieve the political, social and economic emancipation of African people and to shed the shackles of colonialism. However, the process of decolonisation has thus far only succeeded in achieving political freedom for the people of the continent. Economically, Africa is still largely marginalised and operating from the periphery of the global economic system. In some parts of the continent, African countries are still heavily dependent on their former colonial masters. Hence, Pan Africanism remains a necessary counter to the dependence on external leadership and decision making that is still prevalent in some parts of the continent.

Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma's email from the future challenges Africans to assume a Pan Africanist world-view in imagining a new future for Africa, unencumbered by colonial and neo-colonial dominance. For this to happen, the academics and think-tanks cited the development of an African epistemology as an important antidote to help rid African people of colonial mind-sets that were imposed on their psyche and passed on to subsequent generations of Africans. Colonialism

had worked to distort and rob Africans of their history and cultures. Thus an African epistemology that will revive indigenous African knowledge systems, history and cultures will play a vital role in ensuring that Africans do not reproduce 'coloniality' as their future even after juridical colonialism has been dismantled.

It was also agreed in the meeting with academics and think-tanks that it will be critical to define and implement Pan Africanism in an inclusive manner, mindful that some Africans remain uncomfortable with the concept. It was noted that even during the days of the struggle for liberation against colonial rule, Pan Africanism elicited ambivalent responses from political leaders in Africa. Those who were still under colonial rule embraced the idea of African unity based on Pan Africanism as a basis for waging the struggle for independence. However, once liberated, they then changed their stance and joined the leaders who had already won independence for their countries, but had been resistant to the call for unity based on Pan Africanism, for fear of ceding their power and sovereignty to a potential leader of the would-be union of African states. This is seen by the academics and scholars as one of the major factors that continue to hamper the contemporary calls for the integration and unity of Africa.

Nonetheless, the meeting stressed that integration is a political and economic necessity for Africa. It was, however, lamented that the current model for integration pursued by the AU is too dependent on the European Union (EU) model, and is not responsive to the reality on the ground. It also suffers from a lack of ownership by ordinary Africans. A linear model suggests a gradual and incremental process towards integration whereby countries have to move from one stage of integration to the next only once the preceding stage has been completed. The linear model also provides for member states to integrate at a pace that is suitable to their own circumstances, and allows for the formation of sub-groups that will deepen integration within the regional blocs.

In Africa the AU is driving the move for regional economic integration based on the bigger vision of creating an African Economic Community (AEC). The establishment of the AEC is envisaged to follow a linear process characterised by six different stages:

1. The creation of regional blocs (completed by 1999)
2. Strengthening of intra-regional integration and inter-regional harmonisation (by 2007)
3. Establishment of a free trade area and customs union in each regional bloc (by 2017)
4. Establishment of a continent-wide customs union and free trade area (by 2019)
5. Establishment of continent-wide African Common Market (by 2023)
6. Establishment of continent-wide economic and monetary union, including a currency union and a Parliament (by 2028)

Many of the regional economic blocs that have been formed on the continent have different objectives and are currently at different levels of development. Whilst a majority of the blocs have the establishment of an economic union as an objective, others have either limited their objectives to the formation of a common market or a customs union or a free trade area only. This is because many countries within the regional blocs are starting from a very low base of development, thus making it difficult to set very high integration targets. Hence the academics and scholars ask whether regional integration would assist countries with least developed economies to accelerate their economic development, or would it serve to increase the benefits of integration for the more developed, powerful countries on the continent?

As mentioned earlier, the various regional blocs in Africa are currently at different levels of development in terms of implementing regional integration, and these disparities between the blocs are further accentuated by the multiple memberships of countries in different regional blocs. Multiple memberships create problems – especially within regional blocs with an objective of becoming customs unions – as it leads to the complication of both the internal regional tariff structure and the common external tariff when negotiating economic partnerships with other regional blocs in the world, since members belong to more than one customs union.

Criticisms of the linear model of regional integration when applied to the African context therefore hinge *inter alia* on the following factors related to the unique circumstances found on the continent:

- a majority of the 54 African states are small with weak economies relying primarily on one or two industries (mostly extractive industries)
- the continent is characterised by poor infrastructure which impacts negatively on intra-African trade
- the free movement of people and labour on the continent is beset by stringent travelling regulations
- regional conflicts and political instability in many African countries prevents cooperation
- lack of good governance structures to enforce completed trade agreements
- high levels of poverty, unemployment, poor skills, and low literacy levels.

All of these factors work together against Africa's ability to become economically competitive and to take full advantage of the benefits that come with regional economic integration. For Africa to be able to achieve regional integration, countries on the continent will need to, amongst others, increase economic growth, improve infrastructure, enhance competitiveness, increase intra-Africa trade, increase political stability, and achieve economic diversification.

Lastly, the meeting with academics and think-tanks also highlighted the prevalence of xenophobia and afro-pessimism as immediate threats to the goal of regional integration. These negative sentiments go against the spirit of Pan Africanism, and contribute to the sowing of divisions amongst the people of Africa. This has been further illustrated by the recent spate of xenophobic attacks against foreign African nationals in South Africa, sparking widespread condemnation from many leaders on the continent and abroad, as well as calls to boycott South African businesses, artists, and products. Whilst the South African government has rightfully branded these attacks as unpardonable criminal acts against fellow Africans, many intellectuals in the academy have pointed to the untransformed nature of the South African economy as the root cause for this type of violence.

In conclusion, it was agreed that the pursuit of regional political and economic integration would benefit from *Collective Responsibility* as a concept and implementation framework, in order to strengthen and translate the current regional cooperation into regional integration. Collective Responsibility as a concept for regional integration puts emphasis on the widespread support and cooperation of stakeholders between and within all Member States, including governments, civil society, the business sector, and the general citizenry. In addressing the issue of xenophobia and afro-pessimism it was agreed that there is a need for a 'dialogue' to assist the continent in addressing these issues and other national fault-lines that could prevent or compromise continental unity. Managing the diversity within and between Member States would benefit from the '*Dialogue of Civilisations*' approach being used in Iran, Turkey, and Spain. The '*Dialogue of Civilisations*' approach has as its central tenants openness towards others and a willingness to shed misconceptions and stereotypes in order to generate confidence and trust across cultural and national borders.

Business

On the Aspiration related to continental integration, the business leaders lamented the slow pace of integration on the continent that continues to hinder the private sector's ability to take full advantage of the many opportunities that Africa has to offer. The lack of integration, specifically the lack of a common visa similar to the European Union's Schengen Visa, makes travelling around the continent a very expensive task, and hinders opportunities for intra-African cultural tourism and trade. In terms of trade, the non-implementation of agreements and treaties aimed at integrating the continent, such as the Yamoussoukro Declaration on the Liberation of Access to Air Transport Markets in Africa adopted in 1999 has had profoundly negative implications for trade facilitation. The implementation of the Declaration would enable the creation of regional hubs that could cater for AU Member States that do not have their own airlines.

African economic integration will also mean that Member States have to consider the manner in which they formulate and implement policies that have a strong bearing on economic growth and job creation. Different, and at times contradictory, tax regimes is one of the challenges hindering economic integration and accelerated intra-African trade and investment.

Civil Society and Culture

In order to accomplish the integration agenda as set out in Aspiration 2 civil society raised the following important points:

- **Identity of Africans:** The negative impact of colonialism on Africa's identity was acknowledged, including the need to redress this and to (re)assert Africa's identity. This would contribute to Africa's renaissance and help solidify bonds of Pan Africanism as Africa works towards 2063. Civil society organisations are also expected to be proactive and cooperative as they have the potential to contribute meaningfully to Africa's destiny. This can be achieved by taking ownership of African issues and providing "African solutions to African problems".
- **Regional Integration and the "One Africa" Approach:** In the discussions, delegates called for an Africa which by 2063 would have no borders between countries. Regional integration should be a catalyst for continental cooperation and unity. In this context, Africans should not need any visas to travel within the continent and there must be no stateless persons, refugees, illegal immigrants and internally displaced people. In order to arrive at this, participants argued that current member states of the African Union must deal effectively with issues of migration and the threat of xenophobia.

The relationship between government and civil society is crucial because of the complimentary roles that each occupy. Civil society is effective at raising public awareness about a particular set of challenges and this is intertwined with efforts to motivate political decision-makers such as government to take action to address them (Barnes, 2013).

Paramount for the aspiration of unification through partnerships between civil society and government are government programmes for capacity building; agreements regarding levels of investment by government; volunteerism as a support system; inter-continental and bi-lateral relations between states and civil society organisations. Government should host capacity building programmes for policy implementation at various levels that include members of civil society.

The challenge is that Africa is not homogenous, meaning that each and every country has its own specific political, socio-economic and cultural dimensions. In order to develop shared African values there needs to be a popularisation of African philosophy, as well as the promotion of AU symbols such as the flag and the anthem. At present there is no common philosophy to bind us together. Instead there are competing national interests. Another challenge is that although policies are in place, they are not being implemented due to lack of resources: human, finance and technological amongst others. Popular campaigns and publications marking significant events e.g. Africa Day, African Seasons and Pan African Festivals need to be introduced as well as the Buyelekhaya initiative. Pan African platforms also need to be reviewed, and outreach strategies must be developed that promote pride in our continent.

Parliament

This Aspiration is a continuation of the Pan African drive for self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity (Minister of DIRCO, 2014). The Minister of DIRCO outlined how government's work for a better life for South Africans is intertwined with the country's pursuit of a better Africa in a better world. The country's destiny is linked to that of the Southern African region and the entire continent. Regional and continental integration is the foundation for Africa's socio-economic development and political unity. It is important to note that South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030 already includes the key proposals contained in Agenda 2063, including a strengthened focus on regional co-operation and integration. The NDP highlights that South Africa needs to deepen its investment and promotion of co-operation and integration as a means to enhance socio-economic development. Amongst others, enhanced regional integration will expand regional and continental trade, and the sharing of experiences and technical co-operation across the sectors.

The President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Jacob Zuma further emphasised during the June 2014 State of the Nation address that countries of Sub-Saharan Africa have increasingly become integral as a trade partners for South Africa. The country should therefore continue to champion broader regional integration through the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the envisaged tripartite free trade area that spans Eastern and Southern Africa.

An ANC MP highlighted how the founders of Pan Africanism had a clear vision which included the liberation of African people from all forms of bondage, humiliation and degradation. They wanted to see African people, regardless of borders, being treated with respect and dignity. Therefore, for Africans to realise the African Renaissance, we need to move together as one united continent. "Unity is our watchdog, unity is our salvation. We need to delete imaginary boundaries imposed on us and reclaim the glorious glory of Ubuntu" (ANC MP, 2014). Agenda 2063 prioritises South Africa's unity and regional integration as key vehicles for Africa's accelerated social and economic development. The Minister of DIRCO highlighted how the Solemn Declaration adopted by our leaders at the 50th anniversary celebrations held in May 2013 speaks to the determination and the collective responsibility required in order to develop Africa to its fullest potential. She stated that the destiny of Africa is in our hands. We must act now to shape the future we want. This is what is at the heart of Agenda 2063. Agenda 2063 is thus a shared strategic framework for inclusive growth and sustainable development for Africa's transformation; a continuation of the Pan African drive for self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity.

For an Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) MP the struggle against colonialism must be fought through the liberation of the only colony – being the Western Sahara – and the forced rejection of abuse, torture and the continued humanitarian crises in the Western Sahara being perpetuated by another African state (Morocco). The EFF MP further reiterated that solidarity means the rejection of all forms of invasion of resources of the Sahrawi people on its shores, especially by Spain and its allies.

For the EFF MP integration should go beyond South-South co-operation and the Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) grouping. She argued for making the regional economic communities (RECs) that have, for too long, failed the economic development of the people more effective. This must be done in the interest of using the natural resources of the African continent in the interest of the African people. An MP from Agang stated that: "In order to save the continent we must begin by looking at ourselves if we truly reflect Africanism, who holds true Africans values amongst us? The African identity should be characterised by prosperity and not poverty".

Women

The large group of women stakeholders who were consulted understood that the core business of the integration agenda was to strengthen African regional organisations, such as SADC, as a means to achieving our mission of a united Africa. Questions were posed during discussions to identify what would be needed in an integrated agenda and what the regional challenges would be. It was cautioned that a united Africa is considered to be a good policy, but is still impeded by crime, poverty, conflict, spurs of xenophobia, lack of skills and education, and health risks.

It was recommended that integration can be achieved through:

- transportation networks, in existence and to be developed
- infrastructure development
- bringing rural areas into the 21st century through local trade
- education services such as the Thusong Centres
- communication and production of goods and services to serve the needs of the local, national and regional population.

It was agreed that it is possible to transcend borders. In order to do so, it is necessary to transfer skills, to develop expertise and to empower societies and communities (especially the vulnerable and marginalised).

Youth

Young Africans are the key to an African renaissance and will remain players in and advocates of social transformation and development in many spheres. (UNECA, 2011:1)

The youth who were consulted were certain that the African renaissance would be attainable by 2063 through independence of the continent, common identity and common currency amongst other factors. It was argued that Africa could emerge as a continent free of colonialism by 2063 through:

- the immediate decolonisation of Western Sahara
- an end of the occupation of the Chagos Archipelago and the Comorian Island of Mayotte
- ending the presence of foreign military bases and other similar elements on the continent
- re-establishment of the Liberation Committee
- establishment of military capacity to deter future foreign military threats
- adoption of economic policies that will directly benefit the people of Africa to avoid re-colonisation
- building hegemony within the global multilateral order through alliances with progressive global forces in order to ensure that the continent is not marginalised.

This stakeholder group was of the opinion that Africa should build alternative continental structures that will champion the African agenda, freeing Africa from foreign aid dependency, and reaffirming Africa's solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination and independence. It was further agreed that an African Renaissance can be achieved through a shared African Identity that goes beyond racial categorisation. This necessitates an Africa that is defined by "Africans for Africans", based on shared values and a common destiny.

Youth Overview of African Integration

- **Political Integration:** young South Africans want democratic, grassroots, broad-based participation with a developmental agenda
- **Economic integration:** amongst the recommendations were a common currency; increased intra-Africa trade; integrated markets; African ownership of the economy; and the redistribution of resources;
- **Social and cultural integration:** promotion and protection of African languages was championed, as well as the elimination of social and cultural prejudices.

Challenges confronting African Integration

The following challenges emerged from consultations with this important stakeholder group:

- Lack of convergence of economic policies across Africa
- Foreign hegemony over African economies, as visible in the central role of donor countries in macro-economics in Africa and the role of international corporations in local economies
- Lack of good governance and corporate administration
- Insufficient skills development strategies, and which are not responsive to market needs
- Lack of efficient implementation of AU Summit decisions and resolutions. It is clear that there is a tension on the continent between national priorities/ interests and continental priorities.
- Africa's dependency on foreign aid and funding weakens its position as a global player

- Lack of infrastructure prevents seamless integration
- Low intra-Africa trade, because of lack of diversity with regard to trading options within Africa for e.g. too much focus on minerals such as oil, gold, platinum and commodities of fruits and vegetables as opposed to information technology, telecommunications, renewable energy and so on
- Slow pace of industrialisation and growth
- The exportation of raw materials and unfinished products due to lack of beneficiation weakens African economies. Africans should not only be consumers and exporters of raw material

Opportunities; Facing the Future

The most striking opportunities that could lead to integration were identified as:

- Relative political stability in the region
- The high potential of an Integrated market at least in the different regions
- Dedicated investment in human capital development, science and technology
- The abundance of natural resources
- Vast possibilities of intra-African -trade due to the large population of African (now over 1 billion)

Enablers for Unity

The two most important enablers for unity were identified as:

- Peace and security
- Infrastructure development

Struggle against colonialism and the right to self-determination of people still under colonial rule

The Youth drafted the following resolutions related to this priority area:

- We recognise the heroic efforts of our people and our leaders in the past, particularly in the struggle against colonialism, apartheid and imperialism. We recognise the centrality of UN Resolution 1514 in the granting of independence to colonial countries, as well as the people in the African struggle against colonialism and the right to self-determination. We call for the immediate decolonisation of Western Sahara, the last case of colonisation on the African continent. To this end, we call on the African Union to re-establish the Liberation Committee to facilitate the resolution of this issue. We also call upon the youth to engage in solidarity campaigns and activities that will expedite the resolution of this issue.
- We call to bring an end to the unlawful occupation of the Chagos Archipelago and the Comorian Island of Mayotte.
- We reaffirm our solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence.
- We deplore the presence of foreign military bases and other elements on the African continent.
- The diminishing global mineral resource base is likely to reignite the scramble for continental riches in the future. Therefore, Africa must build military capacity to possibly deter foreign military threats in the future.
- We note that neo-liberal policies have played a central role in the re-colonisation of Africa. We therefore call on the adoption of economic policies that will directly benefit the people of Africa and lead to the improvement of their material living conditions.
- Africa must build its hegemony within the global multilateral order through alliances with progressive global forces in

order to ensure that the continent is not marginalised. Conversely, Africa should build alternative continental structures that will champion the African agenda.

- The decolonisation of the continent necessarily entails that Africa frees itself from foreign aid dependency. This includes marking a rupture with the old colonial path that has rendered Africa the exporter of natural resources to the former colonies. Accordingly, the youth of Africa must take centre stage in the quest to produce finished products within the continent to the benefit of the African people

Analysis of common trends

- **Pan Africanism – what is an African?**

Pan Africanism resonated significantly throughout the groups with the youth placing strong emphasis on Africa taking charge through relevant and alternative continental structures which will champion the African Agenda. African Renaissance was at the core of achieving Aspiration 2 through developing a shared African Identity that goes beyond racial categorisation. This necessitates an Africa that is defined by “Africans for Africans” and based on shared values and a common destiny.

Decolonisation was seen as critical by all the groups towards championing a continent that was free to achieve set objectives based on the principles of Pan Africanism. The decolonisation of the continent necessarily entailed Africa freeing itself from foreign aid dependency and this included ending the old colonial path that has rendered Africa an exporter of natural resources to its former colonies. The youth and a Member of Parliament shared similar sentiments towards countries identified as still violating the human rights of others through colonialism and other injustices. The Youth called for the immediate decolonisation of Western Sahara, an end to the unlawful occupation of Chagos Archipelago and the Comorian Island of Mayotte and reaffirmed their solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence. The MP spoke of the struggle against colonialism and liberation of the Western Sahara and the rejection of abuse and torture being perpetuated by another African state (Morocco).

Parliament also placed emphasis on Pan Africanism where Africans from all walks of life come together to work towards the common cause of unity. Gratitude was shown towards the founders of Pan Africanism who paved the way to a better, liberated and united Africa; an Africa where its people should be free from all forms of bondage, humiliation and degradation. The Minister of DIRCO mentioned how the Solemn Declaration adopted by African leaders at the 50th anniversary celebrations spoke to the desire, determination and the collective responsibility that was necessary to develop Africa to reach its fullest potential. Africa Leaders wanted to see African people, regardless of borders, being treated with respect and dignity. This was very important considering the spate of xenophobic attacks which spread throughout parts of South Africa in 2015. Therefore, for Africans to realise the African Renaissance, there was agreement to move together as one united continent.

For all stakeholders, knowing ones identity was important: who is an African? In order to save the continent we must begin by looking at ourselves. The African identity should be characterised by prosperity and not poverty.

Academics also spoke at length about the significance of Pan Africanism and how it was necessary to encourage the unity and solidarity of Africans on the continent and people of African descent in the Diaspora. It was acknowledged that the continent had succeed in the process of political decolonisation. However, economically the continent was still largely marginalised and operated from the periphery of the global economic system.

The email from the future written by the AU Chair was identified as an important reference point as it challenged Africans to assume a Pan Africanist world-view, by imagining a new world order and a future for Africa, which was not burdened by colonial and neo-colonial dominance. For this to happen, the academics and think-tanks cited the development of an African epistemology as an important antidote to help rid African people of colonial mind-sets which were imposed on their psyche and passed on to subsequent generations of Africans.

There was general agreement that by delving into the issue of African Identity, it was expected that the negative impact of colonialism would be acknowledged and addressed, by re-asserting an identity of Africa which resonates with Africans. This would contribute to Africa's renaissance and help solidify bonds of Pan Africanism as Africa works towards 2063. Amongst the cultural representatives, art was identified as integral towards achieving the African Renaissance. Thus all aspects of African culture, philosophy, literature, artefacts and creative arts need to be embraced and taught throughout the broader spectrum of society, so that people can identify and understand who and what they are.

There is an inherent need to find a common meaning of the term "An African". This could be done through gathering more central and acceptable clarity on what is "An African", whether Africans are defined through colour, language, race, culture, nationality, ethnicity etc. Issues of diversity were also mentioned and highlighted as important in understanding the complexities of identity.

- **Regional integration as a spring-board**

Regional integration was a common feature amongst the groups, with the slow pace being criticised. The youth identified three forms of integration as important in the pursuit of the goal of African integration, namely: political integration: where they placed emphasis on principles of democracy as necessary for accomplishing desired outcomes. Economic integration: where a common currency was identified as necessary for development. The third form of integration was social and cultural integration: where the promotion and projection of African languages was seen as important.

Regional and continental integration was also seen as very important by Parliament, as it was the foundation for socio-economic development and political unity in Africa. South Africa was identified as being ahead in this regard because of the National Development Plan (NDP), which already included key proposals contained in Agenda 2063, including a strengthened focus on regional co-operation and integration. Academics and Thin-tanks stressed how significant integration was for political and economic development within the continent. However they also lamented the integration model pursued by the AU as too dependent on the one in use by the EU that does not represent African reality at grassroots level, as there wasn't enough ownership by ordinary Africans. The AU was seen as driving the move for regional economic integration based on the bigger intended vision of creating a united African Economic Community (AEC). The academics eventually agreed that the pursuit of regional political and economic integration would benefit from Collective Responsibility as both a concept and implementation framework, which would strengthen and translate the current regional cooperation into regional integration.

Business on the other hand were dissatisfied at what they called the slow pace of integration which they identified as hindering ambitions from the private sector to penetrate the growing markets found in the continent. Overall, business took the issue of African economic integration very seriously as it meant that Member States had to carefully consider the manner in which they formulate and implement policies that have a strong bearing on economic growth and job creation within the continent.

Women understood African integration as strengthening the African regional organisations in existence, such as SADC, in order to accomplish the mission of a united continent. Recommendations from Women included the development of existing transportation networks, education services and the communication and production of goods and services that serve the needs of the people. Civil Society focused on the "One Africa" Approach, where delegates came together with a plea and desire that by 2063 the continent should not be divided by borders. This will ensure that there are no stateless Africans, refugees or illegal immigrants.

- **Challenges and Opportunities to Regional Integration**

The Youth identified challenges such as a lack of convergence of economic policies across Africa, lack of good governance and corporate administration, insufficient skills development strategies, the exportation of raw materials and unfinished products due to lack of beneficiation was not assisting in strengthening African economies and the lack of efficient implementation of AU Summit decisions and resolutions amongst others. Opportunities identified by the youth included

dedicating investment in human capital development, as well as in science and technology initiatives, although the abundance of natural resources was also perceived as the resource curse, when used optimally and efficiently it presented opportunities and vast possibilities of Intra-African-trading was possible due to Africa's large population size (now of over 1 billion). The youth believed that all this could be enabled through peace, security and infrastructure development.

For the Academics and the Think Tanks various regional blocs in Africa are currently at different levels of development in terms of implementing regional integration, and these disparities between the blocs is further accentuated by the multiple memberships of countries in different regional blocs. The overlap of multiple memberships created problems on continental regional. The linear model to regional integration was also criticised because of factors such as that the majority of the 54 African states were small with weak economies relying primarily on one or two industries. The continent was also characterised by poor infrastructure, which impacted negatively on intra-African trade; visa requirements did not make travelling across the continent a good experience, regional conflicts and political instability in many of the countries was also a serious threat to integration. For Africa to be able to achieve regional integration, the Academics and Think-Tanks believed that countries across the continent would need to increase economic growth, improve infrastructure development, enhance competitiveness, increase intra-Africa trade, increase political stability and achieve economic diversification amongst others.

Business identified the slow pace of integration as a challenge. As long as the continent continued to use the current visa system that made doing business across the continent a serious challenge due to the high costs involved, necessary development will continue to stall. Thus what was recommended was the ratification of agreements and treaties which would ensure easier travel across the continent. For Women, socio-economic challenges were identified as preventing regional integration across the continent and recommendations were in line with transcending borders in order to transfer skills, develop expertise and empower local, regional and continental societies and communities.

The challenge for Civil Society was that Africa was not homogenous, meaning that each and every country has its own specific political, socio-economic and cultural dimensions. In order to develop shared African values there needs to be a popularisation of African philosophy, as well as the promotion of AU symbols such as the flag and the anthem. At present there is no common philosophy to bind us together. Instead there are competing national interests.

- **Infrastructure development**

All the groups without exception identified lack of infrastructure as a challenge on the continent that halted seamless integration. Academics and Think Tanks criticised the slow linear model of regional integration, particularly when it's applied to the African context.

- **Facilitation of trade**

The President of the Republic of South Africa has emphasised the country's increasingly integral partnerships with Sub-Saharan countries, which is good for trade. There was general agreement that trade will lead to growth and development, and that South Africa should continue to champion broader regional integration through the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the envisaged tripartite free trade area that spans Eastern and Southern Africa.

The Academics and the Think Tanks believed that regional integration was only possible through increasing economic growth which would then lead to an increase in intra-Africa trade and an enhancement of competitiveness. Business lamented that the slow pace of integration has had an adverse effect on opportunities for intra-African cultural tourism and trade. Business also highlighted the negative effect of non-implementation of agreements and treaties on trade facilitation, as they were initially intended to foster integration at continental level. It was believed by Civil Society that Africans deserved true integration which was visible through migration as well as through trade across the continent.

- **United stance to combat xenophobia**

The Youth agreed that an African Renaissance could be achieved through a shared African Identity that went beyond racial, ethnical, national, cultural and gender-based categorisation. This was necessary to prevent discriminations such as xenophobia and hate crimes due to one's identity not being the same as others. Parliament also wanted a united continent where the people of Africa would not be classified or discriminated against as a result of where they came from. Academics and scholars spoke of the prevalence of xenophobia and afro-pessimism as growing threats to the goal of regional integration. These sentiments go against the spirit of Pan Africanism, and contribute to the sowing of divisions amongst the people of Africa. The women warned that although a united Africa was perceived as a step in the right direction it was still impeded by crime, poverty, xenophobia, lack of skills and education, as well as health care risks, which all need to be addressed.

In order to ensure regional integration, civil society argued that Member States of the African Union must deal effectively with issues of migration and the threat of xenophobia.

**CHAPTER 5 Aspiration 3 - An Africa of good governance, democracy,
respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law**



CHAPTER 5 Aspiration 3 - An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law

Introduction

The Agenda states in terms of this Aspiration that:

We aspire that by 2063, Africa will:

- **Be a continent where democratic values, culture, practices, universal principles of human rights, gender equality, justice and the rule of law are entrenched; and**
- **Have capable institutions and transformative leadership in place at all levels,**

Good governance and democracy have been central issues on the AU agenda. A summary of Article 2 of the organisation's African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance highlights the main objectives as:

1. Promote adherence to the universal values and principles of democracy and respect for human rights
2. Promote and enhance adherence to the principle of the rule of law
3. Promote the holding of regular free and fair elections
4. Prohibit, reject and condemn unconstitutional change of government
5. Promote and protect the independence of the judiciary
6. Nurture, support and consolidate good governance
7. Encourage effective coordination and harmonization of governance policies amongst State Parties
8. Promote State Parties' sustainable development and human security
9. Promote the fight against corruption
10. Promote the establishment of the necessary conditions to foster citizen participation, transparency, access to information, freedom of the press and accountability
11. Promote gender balance and equality
12. Enhance cooperation between the Union, Regional Economic Communities and the International Community
13. Promote best practices in the management of elections.

Good governance and democracy are central to the South African agenda, starting from the Constitution of 1996 to the Values of Parliament declaration. The Chapter 9 Institutions such as the Human Rights Commission are important institutions to protect democracy and good governance principles and practices. South Africa was one of the first implementers of the APRM process in 2007. A vibrant opposition and civil society organisations, like the Good Governance Learning Network, act as watchdogs for similar purposes, and frequently use the independent courts to enforce government adherence to democratic and good governance principles.

Academics and Think Tanks

For the academics and think-tanks, Agenda 2063 has included welcome objectives in the areas of governance, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. On governance, it was highlighted that it might be useful for the continent to set African Development Goals that determine the overall framework for the work programmes over the next 50 years. This approach takes the view of good governance as not only being about a system of procedures for making and implementing decisions, but also as a system of ensuring that the 'correct' decisions are made. Thus, good governance is embedded within the development imperatives of the continent, whilst also emphasising the political and institutional processes and outcomes

deemed necessary for the achievement of developmental goals.

Members of this group also highlighted that there needs to be a balance between good governance and democracy. This stems from the realisation that good governance is not always synonymous with democracy. A democratic government can at times display bad governance by securing the interests of the ruling elites at the expense of the will of the people. Whilst at the same time a benevolent autocrat, who is resistant to regime change and opposition to his/ her rule, can display good governance by ignoring his/ her personal needs and putting the general interests of the population on top of the agenda. Therefore the focus of good governance should be in the achievement of accountability and the provision of quality services to African citizens.

On democracy, this meeting highlighted the tension between the concepts of democracy and constitutionalism, especially with reference to regime changes. In the immediate aftermath of political independence from colonial rule, African politics became characterised by authoritarianism. The initial focus of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) had been to rid the continent of colonial rule in order to promote the principle of self-determination and foster the establishment of state-sovereignty, free from all forms of external interference. However, with the principles of state-sovereignty and non-interference in the domestic affairs of Member States being viewed as sacrosanct during the times of the OAU, this opened space for the emergence of dictatorships. Nonetheless, the situation has changed with the Member States of the African Union only vowing to respect the sovereignty of Member States to the extent that such states adhere to democratic values and the rule of law. Although this may be the official stance of the AU, much still needs to be done to ensure that the AU acts according to this principle and ensures its consistent application.

In addition to revisiting the linkages between constitutionalism and regime change, the meeting with academics and think-tanks stressed the need for the AU to reflect on its approach to terrorism and secessionist movements, including the right to self-determination and non-discrimination. Discussions on terrorism have to distinguish between internal rebellions, expressions of discontent, and terrorism as undemocratic behaviour. This is so as to ensure that legitimate and genuine voices for change on the ground are not confused with unconstitutional changes of government (or regime changes as they are known).

The human rights discourse on the continent also needs to reflect on the relationships between Constitutions and Parliaments. Constitutions, rather than Parliaments, should be viewed as the supreme law of countries. Nevertheless, there is also the reality that Constitutions can also be undemocratic. Focus should therefore be on how to reconcile African and democratic values (common humanity, respect for human dignity and so on) with Constitutions. This would require the process of drafting Constitutions to be as inclusive as possible, engaging different sectors of society including leaders of opposition parties and civil society, as was the case in South Africa with the Constituent Assembly. This should in fact happen in all instances of law-making.

Furthermore, strengthening justice will not only assist in achieving the aspiration for good governance and the respect for human rights, but it will also have positive ramifications for the aspiration for a peaceful and secure Africa. African governments should not just pay lip-service to the promotion and protection of the rule of law, but should ensure that this principle is deeply engraved in the social fabric of their societies. One proposal that emanated from this discussion on strengthening justice on the continent was for the African Court on Human and People's Rights in Arusha to be strengthened and developed into the legal hub of the continent mirroring The Hague and the ICC as an African Criminal Court. In this context, it will also be important to operationalise all the Regional Tribunals.

Business

The meeting with business leaders emphasised the need for African governments to strengthen their institutions of good governance and respect for the rule of law. Good governance and respect for the rule of law have profound implications for regional integration, economic growth, and job creation. A prime example of sectoral cooperation that needs to be supported and strengthened is the current initiative of the Committee of Central Banks which focuses on contributing to financial integration in Africa. The committee cooperates through information-sharing on lessons learnt in crisis

management and responses to minimise or avoid bank failures. The cooperation has been necessitated by the increase in cross-border banking activities and the important role that central banks have to play in facilitating economic growth. Also, illicit financial flows that continue to rob Africa of billions of dollars in tax revenues make the cooperation of banks more than necessary.

According to business leaders, the challenge of corruption is another major factor hindering the efficient operation of the private sector on the continent. Corruption leads to higher transaction costs and undermines economic performance in the private sector by repressing entrepreneurship. Other political issues linked to accessing state power, such as the change in government/ regimes, also contribute towards impeding the effective operation of the private sector on the continent. More often than not, businesses across the continent have had to hold back on deals due to uncertainties associated with changes in government.

Civil Society and Culture

So what we need is a new generation of visionary leaders who can deliver the African dream. (Mwanjisi, 2013)

The participants expressed that the continent needed leadership which was selfless, accountable and reliable, and leaders who are committed to equity and justice. Accordingly, it was stressed that these leaders must build institutions that promote democracy, fair electoral processes, human rights, good governance and inclusive practices, while at the same time fighting tribalism, corruption and elitism.

Views expressed were that lack of social cohesion and the inequalities of our societies impede sustainable development. Lack of a strong relationship between government and civil society was also a challenge. This need not be, as civil society is able to mobilise advocacy campaigns that generate political will among decision-makers to implement strategies that achieve desired results (Anan, 1999:37). Government support is necessary for developing and promoting local management of the creative industries and ensuring local ownership. There is a need for the development of clear policy documents that will enable progress to be monitored and evaluated. In addition, cultural assets must be appropriately protected under national and international copyright laws.

The aspiration of good governance could be accomplished through reconsidering the provision for ratification processes of multilateral agreements (such as Human Rights Covenants). One way is to consider reducing the required number of Member States to ratify treaties before they enter into force. The challenge remains that continental treaties continued to be delayed and not ratified due to a lack of political will and commitment through resources. There continues to be divisions between government and civil society around these issues. Dialogue needs to be encouraged and inclusive discussion structures and processes are also necessary.

Parliament

During the Parliamentary debate leaders of the Opposition parties placed emphasis on a number of governance issues that Africa needs to improve on in order to build the kind of future that is envisioned in Agenda 2063. Opposition parties highlighted the need to ensure that Africa builds and strengthens institutions of governance. Governance institutions on the continent have to work to entrench the rule of law, and ensure that citizens enjoy the benefits of an independent judiciary, an accountable executive, and a strong legislature. And for this to happen, Africa will need strong selfless leaders who will not be prone to the "politics of the stomach" and who can put the interests of the people first, above everything else. Thus it is absolutely imperative that leaders fight corruption at every level of government. Democracy and governance can only flourish on the continent if leaders respect the supremacy of constitutions and institutions. In South Africa human rights are entrenched in the 1996 Constitution and Chapter 9 institutions are sanctioned by the Constitution to play an oversight role.

The Democratic Alliance (DA) stressed that governance on its own will not be enough to steer Africa towards the vision of

Agenda 2063. Accordingly, emphasis must be put on good governance. There must be a sense of urgency in translating ideas and plans from paper form to tangible programmes that will bring us closer to the Vision. An important element of good governance is a culture of holding free and fair elections. The right of the African people to hold their leaders accountable for their governance decisions through the ballot box must be promoted and protected. Building a culture of free and fair elections is also important in ensuring a good environment for investment and trade.

The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) also added to the debate by placing emphasis on the need for the institutions of governance in Africa to be owned by the people of Africa. For the EFF, the OAU and AU were formed particularly to eradicate all forms of colonialism and white minority rule in order to ensure African ownership of the continent's vast natural wealth, to be used for the benefit of all African people. In addition, the governing party – the ANC – reiterated the continued need to reform global systems and institutions of governance. The party drew attention to the fact Africa is the biggest generator of the work of the UN Security Council but remains unrepresented (without a permanent seat) in the UNSC. This must be addressed.

Women

In the consultation with women, it emerged that the ways and means to achieve democratic governance is through media and by word of mouth. It is to be noted that rural women are left out of decision-making processes, which is problematic and weakens the process of policy-making and implementation. In order to ensure effective democracy and good governance, women must fill leadership positions across the continent. It is also important to note that “women need to develop other women” to ensure that democratic processes be accepted and internalised at grassroots level.

Youth

The youth were very enthusiastic and positive about this Aspiration. They felt that it can be accomplished through the following:

- **The promotion of democratic governance**

According to the UNDP Youth Strategy (2014:18) “in order to respond to the needs of young people, and to guarantee that their basic human rights are recognized and enforced, young peoples’ active and meaningful participation in their societies and in democratic practices and processes is of crucial importance”. Thus, the voice and involvement of young people in Agenda 2063 is a necessary factor in ensuring that all aspirations are met. There is also a need to document young people’s experiences in and of Africa and being African.

The youth forum that was consulted believed that democratic governance was accomplishable through eradicating corruption and promoting integrity. They agreed that immediate action should be taken against non-obliging countries. Political commitment and the ‘domestication’ of Agenda 2063 through national priorities is necessary for its success.

The Youth felt that the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) should be compulsory for all member states of the African Union – although the recommendations of the Review could remain optional. Institutions must be set up by the AU for accountability purposes.

It was agreed that democratic governance could be attainable by 2063 through among others:

- the institutionalisation of human rights
- respect for different religions and beliefs
- respect for the rule of law
- ensuring inclusive and enforceable policies
- establishing institutions similar to Chapter 9 institutions (for instance a Human Rights Commission) on a continental basis

- ensuring clear separation of powers across arms of state and levels of government
- regular elections with prescribed terms of office
- ensuring fair, accessible and free justice
- establishing a permanent youth Parliament.

- **Human Rights**

The centrality of human rights was emphasised by the representatives of South African youth. They argued for institutionalising human rights in all member countries; human rights issues such as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Transgender & Intersex (LGBTI) equality need to be considered as inclusivity is paramount for progress to occur. Within the continent religious and faith beliefs should be respected. The youth stressed that co-existence is necessary in order to thrive. In addition, women need to be fully involved in transformation and thus gender discrimination should stop.

Peace is a necessary condition for democracy. The youth consulted were of the view that negotiating is a means to deter or avoid conflict and war. In this context, the rights of children should be protected; the use of child soldiers must not be permitted; and the exploitation of children must stop altogether. It was again stressed that respect for the rule of law is critical and that human rights need to be promoted through legal and policy frameworks. In this regard, Ministries responsible for legislation and implementation should heighten advocacy programmes and popularise the above mentioned rights.

- **Education**

South African youth expressed the view that the rule of law must be fully enforced as this will ensure accountability and help in fighting corruption. It is also necessary to popularise the principles of democracy, governance, human rights and the rule of law through education. Therefore, in order to ensure tangible action, democratic governance and values must be integrated into school curricula by the Department of Education and other related Ministries.

Educational programmes proposed by the youth include the use of the traditional and new technologies to popularise democratic principles. Radio and current social media role models and leaders can be used as goodwill ambassadors to promote democratic principles during youth road shows. Exchange programmes for youth to travel to African States should be developed in an accessible and visible way.

- **Elections and Regime Change**

A desire exists amongst Africans of an Africa where elections meet the basic tenets of democracy and international standards of law, and where the nexus between legitimate free, fair and credible elections cannot be over emphasised. (Chukwuemeka, 2013)

The youth discussion group was of the view that leaders in government need to be held accountable for their actions. Africa must have leaders who are able to lead fairly and justly, and who will mentor emerging leaders. There is a necessity to identify a suitable and jointly acceptable duration to serve in electoral office as recommended by legislation, and this could be enforceable through treaties or protocols. Local legislation must be within both the law and the Constitution such as having elections within designated time frames. Respect and acceptance of current leadership as well as the adoption and protection of democratic laws is essential for the youth.

- **Access to Justice**

Participants felt strongly that access to justice through independent courts is a pre-condition for a true democracy. Thus separation of power is crucial. There was agreement among the youth that laws should be enacted and enforced to fight corruption. There is a need for fair, accessible and free justice, particularly for women and children.

- **Participation**

Meaningful participation is paramount in the minds of young South Africans. To this end, there should be a youth forum which is sustainably funded, such as a Permanent Youth Parliament/ AU youth structure. Participation in such a forum should be legislated. The importance of youth in governance is also confirmed by the AU:

Most African countries are making efforts to involve young people in political and decision making processes, as reflected in the establishment of national youth parliaments and youth appointment in executive positions and consultation with young people on policies and programmes that affect their lives (AU, 2011:1).

- **Country reviews**

According to the youth monitoring and evaluation of countries, e.g. through the APRM, should be a compulsory arrangement. This is as a result of the significant role occupied by the APRM, which is integral for the continent's development. According to the APRM Base Document (2012)

the primary purpose of the APRM is to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through the sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and best practices, including identifying deficiencies and assessing the needs for capacity building.

Analysis of common trends

It is clear from the views of the different stakeholder groups that they all recognise the value of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law. All groups emphasise the need for democracy to flourish in Africa. Particular attention is also given to the need to ensure that procedural forms of democracy such as regular elections and the smooth transition of regimes are enforced. The common view that emerges is that democracy and good governance can only be achieved in Africa if African countries start strengthening institutions of good governance i.e. an independent judiciary, an accountable executive, and a strong legislature. Linked to this is a common recognition amongst the groups for African leaders to be held to the highest standards of accountability. As the meeting with academics and think-tanks aptly put it, "the focus of good governance should be on achieving accountability and the provision of quality services to African citizens."

Corruption was also highlighted by all the groups as a serious impediment to efficient service delivery and sustainable development initiatives, and it also hinders the operational effectiveness and efficiency of the private sector.

Hence, the need to entrench the respect for the rule of law is seen by all as crucial in many respects. For the youth, the rule of law is central in protecting the human rights of vulnerable groups in society such as the LGBTI community, women, children and the disabled. The business sector highlighted the important role that respect for the rule of law will play in achieving regional integration, economic growth, investment, trade and job creation.

Another issue that received attention from the groups was the need to improve public participation by African citizens in decision-making processes (as was also emphasised under Aspiration 1). The meeting with women emphasised the need to close the information gap through popular media in order to include rural women in decision-making. Similarly, the meeting with youth organisations called for the use of mainstream media, social media, and road shows to popularise democratic principles and human rights. Importantly, the meeting with civil society groups stressed the need for a much stronger relationship between governments and civil society as working together will benefit Africans.



CHAPTER 6 ASPIRATION 4 - A PEACEFUL AND SECURE AFRICA



CHAPTER 6 ASPIRATION 4 - A PEACEFUL AND SECURE AFRICA

Introduction

AU Agenda 2063 articulates this aspiration as follows:

- *We aspire that by 2063, Africa shall have:*
- *An entrenched and flourishing culture of human rights, democracy, gender equality, inclusion and peace;*
- *Prosperity, security and safety for all citizens; and*
- *Mechanisms to promote and defend the continent's collective security and interest*

The AU's Peace and Security Council and its Department has an extensive programme to ensure initiatives towards peace and security, implemented through its field missions and liaison offices (AU 2014). Although the AU has not been effective in some cases, over the past two decades coups have diminished, while opposition parties are more active in most countries. However, intra-state conflicts still take place, and affect countries like Somalia and Nigeria. The spectre of terrorism on the continent is also a real concern. This emerging trend of fundamentalist conflict and violence threatens to stall development on the continent.

Several organisations support the AU in this difficult area. For example, the African Centre for Peace and Security Training (ACPST) is mandated to enhance the ability of practitioners to make and implement policies that improve human security in Africa, primarily through short courses and workshops (ISSAfrica 2015). Another organisation is the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC 2015). The KAIPTC is one of three institutions designated by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as a regional Centre of Excellence for the delivery of training and research in the areas of conflict prevention, management and peace building.

South Africa plays an important role in peace keeping missions in Africa. According to Tshivhidzo (2015)

... since 2000, South Africa has been a major contributor to the United Nations and African Union peacekeeping mission efforts and has troops and military observers deployed in the DRC, Burundi, Darfur in Sudan and Nepal among others. There are currently just under 3 000 South African soldiers participating in peacekeeping missions under the AU and United Nations. In 2007, the SANDF received R388-million to enable it to perform its peacekeeping missions.

Related to this issue is the call for African countries (including South Africa) to be represented as permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) that deals mainly with conflict on the continent.

Academics and Think Tanks

A peaceful and secure Africa is one in which Africa is in harmony with itself and the global community. This is the sentiment that was expressed in the meeting with academics and members of think-tanks. This vision of Africa should feature an entrenched culture of human rights, human security for all its citizens and peoples, and the capacity to secure peace: "In this Africa, our people would live longer and live better". This vision for a new Africa is sought against the backdrop of the realisation that for a long time our continent has been plagued by war and armed conflicts. Most of these conflicts have been intra-state conflicts fought by different groups within countries vying for control of the state, rather than inter-state conflicts between two or more countries with conflicting interests.

Thus to achieve this vision of a peaceful and secure Africa, the meeting identified five key statements that the continent (all stakeholders, including governments, civil society organisations, business, academics, citizens, etc.) will need to consider in developing a strategically effective response to peace and security challenges on the continent. These statements reflect a need for Africa to revisit what security as a concept means for the continent. That is, whose security do we speak of?

Do we speak of the security of states or regimes, or are we talking about human security? And what does it mean to talk about the human security of ordinary Africans? Who are the arbiters of this security? What kinds of threats to security can we identify? And what are the best ways available to us to deal with such threats?

The five statements identified by academics and scholars are as follows:

- a. Following the developments in Tunisia in December 2010, young Africans continue to challenge the status quo and behaviour of ruling elites – but to what end? Disturbingly, there is the failure of the recent popular uprisings to effect democratic change. In South Africa, there are increasingly violent community protests against failures of service delivery. How will the youth channel its energies? Or as the economists remind us, how do we accommodate the aspirations of the 'working poor' or the unemployed?

This statement raises the question of youth unemployment as a threat to the political and socio-economic stability of nations, viewed from traditional understandings of security. According to this view the state is the main source of security and economic development. Thus unemployment and the protests and uprisings that it sparks present a threat to the security of African states. However, when viewed from a human security perspective, this statement highlights the threat that unemployment and non-inclusive development pose on the ability of African youth to maximise their life-chances and life-choices. The latter view of security takes human beings as the primary referent of security. By focussing on alleviating the kinds of challenges (e.g. unemployment, poverty and inequality) that hinder the development of African people on the ground, we can pave the road to achieving a peaceful and secure Africa.

- b. States are at times unable to respond appropriately to the factors that generate violence and extremism. Violent conflict is often addressed after the outbreak, in an ad-hoc manner, and mostly to extinguish the remaining fires. Will States increasingly rely on military or militarised responses using security sectors or arrangements such as the African Standby Force (ASF), the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC), or even external mechanisms such as the US African Command (AFRICOM) in responding to social, political and military crises?

This statement draws attention to the fragility of many African states and their lack of capacity to deal with outbreaks of violence. This also relates to the challenges that the state faces in protecting its legitimacy as the entity that has the monopoly over the legitimate use of violence or enforcement within its territory. Other groups (rebels, dissidents, insurgents, etc.) in society do not have the right to the use of violence unless deemed so by the state. This underscores the threat that weak African states face from aggrieved groups in society, and their lack of formal and informal mechanisms that could enable them to address grievances in ways that allow them to be aired and resolved, or managed without recourse to violence.

Moreover, the second statement emphasises the strategic culture of African states with regard to security. Currently, the responses of African states to security challenges are characterised by a staunch militarism with limited space for preventative non-military or conciliatory measures. However, there is a recognition that regional initiatives such as the ACIRC remain necessary to fill the gap between 'no response' to African crises and at least 'some response', until such a time that the African Standby Force is up and running.

- c. Continental hegemons and regional superpowers seem to be reaching the limits of their influence. In fact, some are of the view that South Africa might have reached the limits of its inspiring role on the continent. Its domestic weaknesses (namely the consolidation of democracy, and managing the triple challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality) reduces its demonstration value (soft power) especially relating to the export of models of 'state building' and 'Governments of National Unity' (GNUs) – as well as the capacity to participate in peace-making, peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction and development. Furthermore, South Africa's engagement with Agenda 2063 in relation to its other commitments in international relations requires reflection. There seems to be a challenge in balancing the South African version of the African agenda with other South-South and South-North agendas. This strategic policy terrain appears opaque for many outside governments, including the local population.

In this respect, do South Africans have a shared understanding of our national interest and of national, regional and global security imperatives? Will the profit motive now drive government's foreign policy, or will the impulse for solidarity and Ubuntu prevail? How can South Africa strike a reasonable balance?

- d. Violent conflict – in varying guises – is spreading throughout the continent despite the claim of 'Africa Rising'. What does this mean for the quality of democratic governance in Africa? How does democratisation lead to stability, growth and development?
- e. The state versus human security debate is stagnant. In practice, state security is still predominant amongst ruling elites, privileging securocrats over African peoples and societies. Consider the recent turmoil in neighbouring Lesotho and the manner in which it was addressed. The extensive media images of the tension, the players, and the solutions were mostly about soldiers, police officers, armoured vehicles, bullet holes and talking politicians. Do we need to refresh our thinking to deal with the failure of securing people and states? Could visionary leadership lead to security for all?

The meeting concluded that "silencing the guns by 2020" will challenge the continent to look at the issues holistically, with the understanding that peace and security has a direct impact on all the other Aspirations. This is particularly in relation to sustainable and inclusive development, human rights, good governance and the rule of law.

Business

The meeting with business leaders acknowledged the role that the decline in conflicts on the continent has played in creating new opportunities and possibilities for African businesses. It was emphasised that it is important for this trend to continue into the future for business to be able to flourish in a safe and enabling environment. African prosperity can only be realised in a peaceful and secure environment unencumbered by the destruction that comes with war and conflict.

Parliament

Unsurprisingly, there was unanimous recognition by all the members of Parliament of the significance of working towards a peaceful and secure Africa. The DA (main opposition) parliamentary leader commended South Africa for the great example it is setting for the continent proving that multi-party democracy can indeed work on the continent. According to him, South Africa is proving all Afro-pessimists wrong by offering the hope of a peaceful change of government on the continent.

An EFF MP stressed that security efforts aimed towards working to ensure that Africa becomes a peaceful and secure continent must be for the benefit of ordinary Africans as opposed to being aimed at silencing and 'disciplining' them so as to create an environment that "allows for the theft and looting of Africa's natural resources by governing elites and their partners in the developed [and developing] world". Thus for the EFF, peace and security on the continent must translate to peace and security for ordinary African citizens rather than peace and security only for governing regimes and elites. An MP from the UDM also reiterated these sentiments by arguing that for Africa to become peaceful and secure the continent needs to adopt a culture of intolerance for authoritarian regimes whose only ambition is to embezzle public funds for personal enrichment whilst creating conditions for violent discontent expressed through war and conflict.

On the other hand, the ANC expressed its support for the government's African agenda, and the commitments that the country has made in contributing South African skills and resources in supporting "regional and continental processes to respond to and resolve crises, promote peace and security..." In backing the government's African agenda, the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) also expressed its support for South Africa's minimal interference in the internal matters of other African states, whilst acknowledging the responsibility to join continental efforts "in combating military coups, terrorism, violent extremism, and human-, drug- and arms trafficking". For the ACDP,

... issues of peace and security stand out precisely because of all the other challenges we face in Africa, being heavily impacted by this. How we deal with the present realities in this area will determine whether or not we achieve the Africa we want.

The interconnection between issues of security on the continent and other aspirations expressed in Agenda 2063 was further emphasised by an ANC MP, when he drew attention to the relationship between peace and security and regional integration. He argued that "in 2063 peace and security will prevail only when we as Africans enjoy common philosophy, common identity and common world view and language". Therefore, for the ANC it will be of vital importance for the continent to prioritise the task of educating African youth, as the ultimate custodians of a prosperous African future, on common African values such as Ubuntu/ Botho (a version of African humanity and interconnectedness).

Another ANC MP drew attention to the relationship between development and security. She highlighted the significant threat posed by Africa's jobs crisis, especially for the youth, on prospects for peace, stability, and prosperity. Therefore, "for Africa and the world to achieve lasting peace and prosperity, women and the youth must be the drivers in the engine of development".

Women

The woman representatives consulted referred to Resolution 1325, known as the Maputo Protocol, which provides that the State has as its primary role the protection of citizens. It was noted that consultations - including those on peace and security - need to be conducted in partnership and solidarity with women from other countries. Lessons learned need to be shared, regionally and internationally.

- Peace and security matters in the discussion that were identified as requiring attention were:
- The provision of adequate humanitarian assistance for all in situations of need
- Adequate provision of resources (human and financial) for civil society engagement in the area of peace and security
- The political will to achieve and maintain peace throughout the continent
- Institutional capacity required to achieve and maintain peace
- Human rights education to be included in school curriculum
- The training of women in mediation and conflict resolution to ensure peace and security.

The women were convinced that the root causes of conflict should be identified and addressed; and that women must be engaged in all discussions and processes to attain peace and ensure security.

Of particular importance to South Africa was the continuous process of tightening South African borders (border security) to address human trafficking, drug smuggling, car theft and illegal immigration.

According to the women, matters that restrict peace and security are: rape, gangsterism, lack of access to justice for women, inadequate labour rights for women, and the failure to protect female refugees.

Youth

To achieve this aspiration of a peaceful and secure Africa by 2063, the following points were raised by the youth:

General

- Diversification of sources of income so that the state ceases to become the main source of income. This will assist in ridding the scourge of "the politics of the belly" – a phenomenon previously responsible for the lack of transparency and good governance in Africa

- Improving civil-military relations in order to also improve human rights awareness and the general rejection of coup d'états (illegitimate regime changes) on the continent
- Putting in place a funding formula for the African Standby Force (ASF) to adequately intervene in crisis situations (based on proportionality as per the GDP) while also ensuring wide representivity through open recruitment. This will decrease dependency on foreign actors whose agendas and motives might not be in sync with the African agenda and the renaissance
- Forging a common peacekeeping and military doctrine for the African Standby Force
- Bringing about equitable distribution of resources as opposed to the status quo where resources tend to be distributed based on ethnicity, religion, region, etc.
- Promoting a wide celebration and awareness of Africa Day so as to forge a common African identity and thus continental cohesion
- Facilitating a free movement of people through a common African market.

The resourcefulness of identity

- Many young Africans who migrate overseas, or even within Africa, in search of greener pastures face exploitation, extreme abuse and maltreatment, amongst others, which may result in xenophobic abuse (African Union, 2011:viii). There is therefore an urgent need to strive towards forging a common African Identity so as to effectively deal with the phenomenon of xenophobia amongst other discriminations.
- At national level, Africans need to be proactive through promoting entrepreneurship and changing stereotypes so that those from outside national borders are not viewed as competitors, but as contributors to national GDPs;
- There is a need for increased awareness through synergising existing initiatives and coming up with new ones to deal with diversity, with a general view that this phenomenon is not invariably counterproductive, but could be a real strength;

Human and drug trafficking

Human trafficking was seen to be a problem on the continent and the youth group recommended that there should be better implementation, monitoring and evaluation of existing legal instruments at sub-regional and regional levels. Youth also recommended that:

- Legal and policy instruments to prevent and combat trafficking should be legislated at national levels
- Issues of poverty and unemployment should be prioritised and tackled so that the target group ceases to be vulnerable, easily lured and susceptible to dubious schemes and empty promises by the perpetrators of such violations
- The public needs to be educated - awareness must be created on the challenges of human and drug trafficking.

Analysis of common trends

• Strengthening continental institutions

There was consensus on most issues related to a peaceful and secure Africa. All the stakeholder groups agreed on the centrality of the need for peace and security to prevail on the continent if any of the aspirations envisioned by the AU Agenda 2063 are to be realised. A number of areas of convergence of views emerged amongst all the groups in this regard. For instance, all the groups stressed the importance for Africa to strengthen continental institutions and the capacity of countries to respond to issues of human rights violations. African citizens and peoples should be placed at the centre of peace and security initiatives through the entrenchment of a culture of human rights and human security. Thus security should be about securing ordinary African citizens, especially vulnerable groups such as women and children, and not

governing regimes, especially authoritarian regimes. This then creates the need for women to be engaged in all discussions and processes to attain peace and ensure security.

- **The nexus between security and sustainable development: towards human security**

Another common trend that emerged from all the groups is around the security-development nexus, i.e. the notion that peace and security are integral to the achievement of sustainable development in Africa, and by the same token development is also important for the attainment of peace and security. In this regard, the meeting with youth organisations emphasised the need to address issues of poverty and unemployment on the continent so as to prevent vulnerable groups, especially amongst the youth, from being tempted to join criminal syndicates that perpetrate crime and insecurity through illicit activities such as human trafficking, drug smuggling, and small arms proliferation. The parliamentary debate also highlighted the danger presented by Africa's job crisis to peace and security on the continent. For business peace and security is seen as important for the private sector to flourish on the continent and thereby allowing the sector to contribute to the creation of employment and economic growth on the continent.

- **Education and the development and recognition of shared values**

"Returns on education are all-encompassing and have implications for peace and security if support for effective social integration, as well as training and meaningful employment, are not provided for young Africans" (UNECA, 2011: viii).

Another common area of interest identified by all the groups is the need for continental initiatives that promote the education of African citizens on shared values. Hence, there is consensus that there is a need for lessons on common African values and human rights to be added to school curricula. This is seen as important in forging a common African identity so as to effectively deal with the phenomenon of xenophobia and other forms of unfair discrimination. Thus peace and security is also seen as being integral to social cohesion and regional integration.

By 2063, it is possible for Africa to have emerged as a peaceful and secure continent through inter alia strengthening AU institutions to deal with issues of human rights violations and strengthening early warning mechanisms to alleviate such violations. What was also envisaged is accelerating awareness campaigns through civic education, as well as revamped education curricula that include human rights issues.



CHAPTER 7 Aspiration 5
- An Africa with a strong cultural identity, values and ethic



CHAPTER 7 Aspiration 5 - An Africa with a strong cultural identity, values and ethics

Introduction

The Agenda 2063 states the fifth Aspiration as follows:

We aspire that by 2063:

- ***Pan Africanism shall be fully entrenched; and***
- ***The African Renaissance has reached its peak.***
- ***Our diversity in culture, heritage, languages and religion shall be a cause of strength.***

In 1996 the members of the OAU adopted the Cultural Charter for Africa, following a perceived need to harmonise culture in Africa. The Charter was revised in 2005 as the Charter for African Renaissance with a strong emphasis on the tenets of the African Renaissance. South Africa ratified the Charter in 2015 (Department of Arts and Culture, 2015). A number of cultural initiatives have since been coordinated by the AU.

The AU hosted the Africa Re-imagined Creative Hub Project from 20 - 25 May 2014 In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The African Renaissance and Pan Africanism are the core elements of this AU initiative. As the AUC Chairperson Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma said: "Arts and culture are the soul and the spirit of Africa and her people. Without the voices of our creative minds, the 2063 Agenda would be sadly diminished". (2014)

At the opening of NEPAD's Regional (SADC) Conference on Arts Education Dr Ibrahim Mayaki, CEO of NEPAD, stated that In African cultures, Arts are integral to our lives. Educational content and structure should not only reflect the characteristics of each art form but also provide the artistic means to practice communication and to interact within various cultural, social and historical contexts (Department of Arts and Culture, 2015).

This statement confirms a two decades long commitment of the South African Department of Arts and Culture to promote the arts and culture not only for arts' sake but also for social and economic development of South Africans, and of Africa. Typically, the Africa Month theme for 2015 was: 'Opening the doors of learning and culture for peace and friendship from Cape to Cairo: We are Africa!' (Department of Arts and Culture, 2015)

Academics and Think Tanks

In working towards the achievement of this Aspiration, the meeting with academics and think tanks noted some of the challenges and possible pitfalls that the continent faces in redefining its cultural identity. In the colonial era culture was appropriated by the colonisers and used as an instrument to divide and conquer African people by reinforcing supposed differences or tribalism/ ethnicism. The post-colonial era has in turn been marked by the political abuse of culture and identity for patronage and civil war mobilisation. Within this context, South Africa and African governments in general have thus far failed to prioritise the issue of culture and identity in crafting a new post-colonial African future. This in turn has resulted in the carrying over of 'old ethnic/tribal grudges' inherited from colonisers.

Issues of culture and identity in the post-colonial era have been viewed with less regard as they are perceived to be 'sentimental' and 'soft' issues as opposed to the more 'hard-core' issues of the need to address infrastructure challenges, social security, and economic growth and development. Consequently, there is the current failure to understand the economic, social and political benefits of culture.

Hence, the meeting with academics and think tanks acknowledged that in working towards the aspiration of an Africa with a strong cultural identity, values and ethics the continent needs to learn from these experiences as part of the process of redefining its cultural identity:

1. As a first step towards crafting a new African cultural identity, Africans need to accept their common heritage and the diversity of cultures on the continent. The aim of this will be to foster a multi-cultural consciousness geared towards greater social cohesion and unity. There needs to be intra-African cultural exposure and a 'dialogue of civilisations'.
2. Secondly, greater attention must be paid to language policy in order to promote the official use of indigenous African languages in the public service and formal economy with multiculturalism and multilingualism as the ultimate goal. However, greater care must be taken to de-link ethnic nationalism from language policy (Alexander, 2004: 124). Language policy geared towards promoting indigenous languages will help in dealing with the current monolithic neo-colonial policies found on the continent that promote the dominance of English, French, and Portuguese. Such policies are the result of the flawed theory that, as an African, you must abandon your culture and language/s as a precondition to modernisation.
3. Thirdly, curriculum reform and new pedagogy that foregrounds common histories and heritage will also be important in forging a strong common African cultural identity. This reflects the need for African youth to become familiar with the shared history and experiences of Africans, and will help combat unwanted tendencies towards xenophobia or Afro-phobia.

The meeting also stressed the importance of realising the economic, social and political benefits of culture. On the economic front the richness of African culture provides immense opportunities to spur tourism on the continent. The creative, performing and visual arts, as well as related industries such as music, fashion, and crafts, already contribute significantly to economic growth. Therefore investment in these industries must be improved as they form the bedrock for tourism. According to a World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) Report (2015: 3) the contribution of the tourism industry to Africa's GDP stood at over US 83.3bn in 2014, which amounts to a direct contribution of 3.4% to the region's GDP and is forecast to rise by 3.7% to US 86.4bn in 2015.

The attraction of the tourism industry as a key driver of economic growth in Africa can be attributed to its catalytic effect on other sectors in the economy in terms of production and creating employment (Christie et al., 2014: 48). Tourism generates a demand for services across different industries, including transport, hospitality, entertainment, telecommunications, and financial services. This increased activity across the economy also accounts for job creation. The tourism industry in Africa is reported to have generated over 8.6 million jobs directly in 2014 (3% of total employment), and also accounted for a total contribution to employment (including direct, indirect and induced) of over 20.4 million jobs in 2014 (7.1% of total employment) (WTTC, 2015: 4).

On a social front, the meeting placed emphasis on the need for Agenda 2063 to prioritise the development of indigenous African knowledge systems, informed by Pan Africanism. This is required to address the dominance of Western paradigms and the general absence of Africa-centred and Africa-inspired discourse, resulting in the current cognitive and epistemological alienation of Africa.

The development of an Africa-centred epistemology has to draw on the African renaissance and the potency of African heritage and African generated knowledge and experiences. From this perspective, the Agenda would support the development of, and respond to:

- Indigenous health and medicinal systems
- new African technologies
- engineering, ecology and energy with an African heritage bias
- African architecture and environmental considerations
- intellectual property laws and patency from an African perspective.

Thus, an African knowledge system is essential for the continent to own its narrative, and plan for its future.

An Africa with a strong cultural identity, values and ethics is one comfortable with a universal value system and philosophy of life. On a political front, such a value system would assist in conflict resolution and the transcendence of religious cleavages; and support African legal systems and the administration of justice. Discussions thus highlighted the importance for Africans to have the space to define their own identity, informed by their particular journeys and where they want to go. The meeting agreed that the continent should promote the acceptance of a common heritage based on the principle of Ubuntu, which is inherent in all African cultures, whilst recognising a diversity of cultures. The ultimate aim should be multi-cultural consciousness to support social cohesion and a dialogue of civilisations. These would be useful in addressing xenophobia, not only in South Africa, but also the rest of the continent.

The meeting thus concluded with a few recommendations that could be initiated immediately in pursuit of this cultural Aspiration:

- a. Lobby for the declaration of more world heritage sites on the continent, and move to preserve and develop these sites. Candidate sites include, the Liberation Heritage Trail Site, the slave trail, and the population migration trail. The Continent also needs to lobby for the change of UNESCO's emphasis on tangible heritage to include intangible heritage.
- b. African languages projects within and between countries.
- c. There must be a concerted effort to improve the media content (especially public broadcasters, internet portals and other targeted platforms) to promote African cultural, heritage and language content, and to promote shared values.
- d. Development of African and Diasporic (recognising different waves of diaspora) cultural exchange programmes.
- e. Improve investment in the protection, preservation, promotion and development of cultural industries and heritage centres with an emphasis on intra-continental tourism.
- f. Cultural diplomacy is a domain concerned with establishing, developing and sustaining relations with foreign states by way of culture, art and education. This is the most underdeveloped area of conscious engagement with each other and with the diaspora/s. It offers the use of soft power to generate concrete benefits. The power of cultural diplomacy is in the instrumental use of arts, culture and heritage to achieve political, social and economic transformation.

In summary, the meeting with the academics and think-tanks concluded that this Aspiration is critical, particularly as it relates to one of the Agenda's key principles, namely, self-reliance and self-determination. Unless the Continent is clear on its being and the knowledge of its being, it will continue to relate to itself based on others' narratives, which largely seek to maintain Africa's continued subordination and marginalisation in the global system.

Civil Society and Culture

Civil society groups highlighted the importance of the family, community, beliefs, heritages and value systems in African culture as this was an integral part of Ubuntu. Reasserting African identity through the promotion and protection of African culture should also be enhanced through appropriate education (with an emphasis on indigenous languages) and ownership of the means of communication (having African-owned and oriented media to assist in articulating the narrative). There was a proposal that the South African authorities should consider declaring 25 May (Africa Day) a public holiday, in (re)affirmation of the country's African identity.

The creation of an African museum was suggested as well as the establishment of media that will promote African heritage and continental tourism. Forums of regular interaction with cultural experts should be established; lack of continuity, lack of research on African culture and over-reliance on corrupted African history prevent the development of shared values. In addition, the lack of audiences in the production of African arts is as a result of consumer needs that are often western oriented. Another challenge is that creative industries are often owned by foreign investors.

This group, which consisted mainly of artists, pointed out the dilemma of how to distinguish between a dynamic culture that is evolving and cultural domination. The following suggestions were made:

- The formation of a common cultural vision whilst still recognising cultural diversity
- The use of community and traditional leaders and elders as a source of reference on African history and African culture
- Culture recalls identity and defines our worldview and therefore Africa must re-visit its cultural development prior to colonialism in order to learn to value its identity.
- Setting up an institutional framework to support a continental programme under the title Creative Sector 'Africa Re-imagination Creative Hub (ARCH)'.
- Establishment of a permanent African library with a virtual dimension to include knowledge of African architecture, music, film, artworks and so on.

The participants agreed that it was important to define the African aesthetic and then support those who teach others about this. Another central point raised was that it is necessary to redefine African morals and values, and further apply these morals and values to artistic expressions with a view to maintaining the meaning and role of art as an expression and method to teach and promote African values to our societies. Civil society further deliberated extensively on the challenges that currently exist to enable them to work together as Africans - such as diversity - and that Africa is still defining itself through the lens of its colonial past.

A renowned sculptor, poet and academic undertook the final presentation in the civil society discussion. Through the skilful use of African proverbs he illustrated the importance of a cultural renaissance and the reclaiming of cultural constructs which centuries of colonialism had attempted to destroy. Using illustrations drawn from local languages, he showed how this process uncovers Africa's historical understanding of technology, cosmology, astronomy and advanced mathematics/science theories such as relativity. African renaissance requires the re-birth of these knowledge systems and a reversal of the cultural alienation brought about by centuries of oppression.

There is a great diversity in language and communication which is currently based on the language of colonial leaders, e.g. anglophone, francophone and lusophone. This becomes the foundation of African culture and how Africans define themselves in the mist of globalisation. Artists need to start concentrating on how the creative sector is marketed, packaged and distributed in order to build interest and increase demand to deliver African culture (in African languages) to the masses.

It was argued that Africans are more inclined to consume Western cultures instead of African cultures due to colonialism, and that artists themselves are also challenged by the current economic dynamics that dictate their products to suit consumer demands. The creative sector further acknowledged that they do not possess the expertise to change the understanding of African culture and need to work with governments in addressing this challenge. The cultural and creative sectors questioned what makes up the borderline of African culture. As agents of cultural expression in a highly dynamic and globalised environment they felt this point required greater discussion than the time afforded.

Lastly, funding should be made available for research aimed at exploring the role of the creative industries in Africa and the promotion of African culture. Funding is also necessary for research on linguistics and how language influences identity among Africans.

With regard to government, the civil society forum argued that governments should create implementation structures for existing language policies that promote cross border vernacular languages. It would be a good idea to promote Swahili as an AU fourth official language. Government can lead the process through existing mechanisms, institutions and dialogue. This can be done using expertise, training programmes, strengthening of existing institutions, technological systems and research. This process can be monitored through existing mechanisms that would include institutions, the platform provided by Africa Month and further dialogue. Because there was no shared African language it made it difficult

to collaborate and to achieve set objectives within reasonable time-frames. There is a need to Identify and implement common heritage and education in African history. Research platforms, training avenues and platforms for showcasing local content were necessary. Colonial heritage however, still continues to define the African continent.

Parliament

Good governance requires active public participation and the engagement between the different branches of government, including the administrative apparatuses of the state and civil society (Deputy Minister of Public Service and Administration, 2014). According to an ANC MP our heritage as South Africans, and in particular as Africans, dictates that we will never give up on our aspirations until our dreams are fulfilled. Another ANC MP highlighted how growth and prosperity will prevail only when Africans enjoy a common philosophy, common identity, common language and common world view. Institutions of learning are crucial in this regard. The youth of our continent should be proudly African. Our philosophy of Ubuntu, 'You are because I am' captures the essence of our values as Africans. According to an MP from Agang the emancipation of Africans from their past is reliant on the discovery of when Africans first surfaced on earth. This discovery is very necessary because Western ideologies and ways of thought have taken over, mainly as a result of colonialism. Amongst others, if one is to focus on Parliament and the dress code adopted in Parliament, it is Western inclined; it isn't a depiction of South Africa or African cultural identity. Thus research is necessary to unearth who we are as Africans and what our values are, if ever the aspiration of an Africa with a strong cultural identity, values and ethics will be realised.

Parliament's responsibility towards the promotion of culture was evident during the sitting of the Select Committee on Education and Recreation where the AU Charter for African Cultural Renaissance was approved as it did not contradict South Africa's Constitution (Parliament, 2014). Culture has a significant role to play in society and thus it cannot be disregarded or neglected as it is integral to identity formation and knowing one's heritage. The Committee Chairperson argued how integral arts and culture was in terms of undoing the legacies left by colonialism in Africa and encouraged arts and culture to be taught beyond the early grades in secondary schooling. The end goal is to make the Charter a part of the school curriculum as this would make its implementation easier and more practical (Parliament, 2014).

The Charter was presented by the Chief Director for International Relations in the Department of Arts and Culture who highlighted how it was initially endorsed by the AU Conference of Ministers of Culture in Nairobi from 10 to 14 December 2005 and later adopted by the AU Assembly in Khartoum, Sudan in January 2006.. The Charter occupies a significant step in advocating and promoting issues around arts, heritage and culture. It also recognises the role of culture in political, social and economic development. Cultural exchanges and initiatives contribute to mutual enrichment, understanding between human beings and to maintaining peace amongst states. Through the Charter's strategic focus, the Chief Director outlined a number of outcomes central to sustainable development, which included the promotion of a unified approach to culture, arts, cultural values, language, heritage and creative industries (Parliament, 2014).

Women

The question of identity was posed in the consultation as "[t]he struggle against colonialism and the right to self-determination of people under colonial rule".

The women who were consulted highlighted the need for public awareness to end the struggle against colonialism. As such, the peoples of Africa have the right of self-determination. It was concluded that civil society, at all levels and then - in particular - at the level of women, should be involved in this process.

The women present were of the view that Agenda 2063 establishes a continental avenue for reconciliation and unity within countries and among nations. The aim is to create a common vision; a common understanding of identity. This can be achieved through proper planning; the political will of leaders; and economic emancipation that will end colonialism in Africa, and prevent neo-colonialism.

Vehicles identified to address unawareness and to stimulate greater involvement in the final process of de-colonisation were:

- new school curricula
- the participation of traditional leaders and elders
- translation of history and current affairs into indigenous languages
- the use of religious platforms to spread the word
- debate on radio
- information sharing
- encouraging open-mindedness through travelling

It is also important to take note of current dependencies on former colonial powers, impeded access to information and resources, and the prevalence of poverty and corruption on the continent.

This stakeholder group suggested that African and country-specific policies pertaining to colonialism should be reviewed. It was recommended that the continent and its people return to the final process of de-colonisation in acknowledgement of the original culture and values of Africa by:

- realising the full empowerment of women
- skills development and economic transformation
- integration of cultural programmes
- land ownership that will bring true liberation and development.

Youth

During the Youth commission centred on Africa as a strong and influential global player and partner, it was argued that

by breaking down the cultural barriers which have hindered the growth and transformation we all desire and pray for ... Africa has the potential to be an influential cultural player on the global scale if only Africans can collectively value, promote and protect the immense cultural heritage they have.

In terms of mechanisms for the promotion of culture the UNECA report proposes the "(e)stablishment of a regional mechanism that will promote and sustain youth culture, values, morals and ethics" (UNECA, 2011:74).

The youthful representatives were convinced that by 2063 Africa will emerge as an integrated continent through political, economic, social and cultural integration. This necessitates investment in African arts, theatre, and literature – Africans telling their own stories about their experiences in Africa. Discussants were of the view that an active 'Africanism' is needed to reflect African cultures and customs and the promotion of African languages, such as Kiswahili. It was noted that Africa still suffers from foreign cultural domination. This may be as a result of ongoing colonial ties/ divisions, relationships that are hard to break and have thus created slow progress. Thus the African youth must play an active role in building hegemony in all ideological apparatus to correctly reflect the African continent. This includes the radical transformation of the academia, media, cinema, religion and arts to truly reflect and advocate all aspects of African culture.

Analysis of Common trends

- **Unity in diversity**

The Youth spoke of breaking down the cultural barriers which have hindered desired growth and transformation for all. They viewed Africa as having the potential to be an influential cultural player on a global scale, but this depended on

Africans collectively valuing, promoting and protecting their diverse and immensely rich cultural heritage. MPs believed that prosperity will prevail only when Africans enjoy a common philosophy, common identity, common language and common world view. As such the AU Charter for African Cultural Renaissance serves as a good platform to unify a diverse group of people under a singular common premise.

The Academics acknowledged that issues around culture and heritage are not taken up with the same consistency and importance as other issues. As a first step this group believed that crafting a new African cultural identity required Africans to begin to accept their common heritage and the diversity of cultures on the continent. The aim of this will be to foster a multicultural consciousness geared towards greater social cohesion and unity. The academics and parliamentarians have a common understanding in as far as reforming the education curriculum in order to forge a strong common cultural identity. Women on the other hand identified a united continental avenue for reconciliation within and across countries in order to bring a common vision and a common understanding which would also address and acknowledge the variety of cultures across the continent.

Civil society highlighted and acknowledged the importance of the family, community, beliefs, heritages and value systems in African culture as an integral part of Ubuntu. They also highlighted how the lack of continuity, the lack of research on African culture and an over-reliance on corrupted African history prevented the development of shared values. They therefore advocated for the formation of a common cultural vision with an emphasis on cultural diversity. This would ensure that commonality and diversity complement and strengthen one another.

- **Damage done by colonisation**

All the groups except business (which did not comment on this Aspiration) highlighted and emphasised the damaging role that colonisation has had over an extended period on African culture, history, arts and heritage by causing rifts as opposed to fostering unity amongst Africans. There was a determination and desire for African culture to disassociate from the culture fostered by former colonisers. The demand was to decolonise Africans from past constraints in order to unearth and develop art and culture that resonates with the identity history, culture and heritage of all Africans.

- **Language is an important factor**

The Youth were of the view that an active Africanism was needed as this would allow reflection and critical debate around issues of African culture, history and customs. There was also desire expressed for the promotion of African languages, such as the Kenyan language Kiswahili, as the main languages for communication.

Similarly, academics and scholars argued that greater attention should be paid to advocating for the official use of indigenous African languages across all mediums. This would serve as a crucial step in the right direction for African culture and heritage because of the integral role that communication plays in lives. Language policy geared towards promoting indigenous languages will help in dealing with the current monolithic neo-colonial policies found on the continent that promote the dominance of English, French, and Portuguese. For civil society reasserting African identity through the promotion and protection of African culture needed to be enhanced through appropriate education with an emphasis on indigenous languages. There was an agreement amongst the participants that it was important to define the African aesthetic and then support those who teach others about it. It was also suggested that community leaders, traditional leaders and elders should be utilised as sources on the teaching of African history and culture.

It was suggested that governments should create implementation structures for existing language policies such as promotion of regional cross border vernacular languages. Like the youth, civil society advocated for the promotion of a common African language such as Swahili which should be used as an AU fourth official language. Civil society also highlighted that funding was necessary for research on linguistics and how language influences identity among Africans.

- **The arts must be strengthened to nurture a common culture**

According to the young South Africans present, this necessitates investment in African arts, theatre, and literature – Africans telling their own stories about their experiences in Africa. The Parliamentary Select Committee's approval of the AU Charter for African Cultural Renaissance was a progressive step in the right direction. The Charter encourages promotion of arts, heritage and culture. In addition, cultural exchanges and initiatives contribute to mutual enrichment, peace and understanding amongst human beings. The Academics and Think Tanks highlighted the importance of realising the economic, social and political benefits of culture. Economically, the richness of African culture provides immense opportunities to spur tourism across the continent. To this end, investment in the protection, preservation, promotion and development of cultural industries should be improved.

- **Media should be used to further African languages and culture**

The South African youth representatives argued for the radical transformation of academia, media, cinema, religion and arts in order to truly reflect and advocate all aspects of African culture. Discussions with academia and think tanks highlighted the importance for Africans to have the space to define their own identity, informed by their particular journeys. They recommended lobbying for the declaration of more world heritage sites on the continent, and a move to preserve and develop these sites. Media can be the appropriate platform to ensure that such cultural dialogues takes place. Cultural exchange programmes were also a priority.

Civil society argued for ownership of the means of communication, such as having an African owned and oriented media to assist in articulating the African narrative. The creation of an African museum was also recommended. A challenge for media was the lack of audiences in the production of African arts, because consumer needs were often western-inclined. Another challenge was that creative industries were often owned by foreign investors. There was another suggestion from civil society to establish a permanent African library with a virtual dimension to include knowledge of African architecture, music, film, artworks and so on.



CHAPTER 8 Aspiration 6 - An Africa where development is people-driven, relying particularly on the potential of women and youth



CHAPTER 8 Aspiration 6 - An Africa where development is people-driven, relying particularly on the potential of women and youth

Introduction

The Agenda 2063 states as its sixth Aspiration the following:

We aspire that by 2063, Africa:

- **Is People-centred and caring**
- **Puts children first**
- **Women are empowered and play their rightful role in all spheres of life**
- **Has full gender equality in all spheres of life**
- **Has engaged and empowered youth**

The aim is that by 2063 there will be full gender parity, with women occupying at least 50% of elected public offices at all levels, and half of managerial positions in the public and the private sectors. Gender was in the spotlight at the 24th Session of the African Union Heads of States' Summit held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from 30-31 January 2015, which focused on the "Year of Women's Empowerment and Development towards Africa's Agenda 2063". It was also decided that the first decade of AU 2063 should focus on the important role of women on the continent.

Ultimately, by 2063 young African women and men will be progenitors of the African knowledge society and will contribute significantly to the economy. The creativity, energy and innovation of African youth will be the driving force behind the continent's political, social, cultural and economic transformation.

The need to mobilise the youth is stated in the AU's Youth Charter, which emphasises the need of member countries to protect the rights of youth (AU 2006):

Clearly a new emergent and integrated Africa can be fully realized only if its demographic advantage "large population of youth" is mobilized and equipped to help drive Africa's integration, peace and development agenda. This vision emanates from the belief and conviction that a strong and accountable leadership and successful integration needs to be anchored on participation; the investment in youth; and mainstream the great potential of the population of which the youth are an essential pillar.¹¹

The rights of women and youth are also central to South Africa, with specific provisions in the Constitution. The National Youth Policy (2009) states that:

In focusing on the needs of young South Africans, the policy highlights priority target groups that include young women, youth with disabilities, unemployed youth, school aged-out-of-school youth, youth in rural areas, and youth at risk. The policy further supports the key interventions that will provide for holistic development of youth. The four pillars upon which the policy proposes specific interventions are education, health and well being, economic participation and social cohesion (Presidency 2009:2).

Academics and Think Tanks

This Aspiration was not looked at during the meeting with academics and think-tanks. It was discussed in depth at the youth consultation held on 11 July 2014, and further deliberated on at the consultation with women convened on 16 September 2014. However, it is important to note that the role and impact of women and youth on the realisation of Agenda 2063 is not limited to this Aspiration, and has been fairly covered under the other Aspirations that have already been discussed. Business also did not discuss this Aspiration directly.

Civil Society and Culture

Civil society organisations believed that capacity-building was needed to achieve this Aspiration. Capacity is rooted, ultimately, in a sense of agency and the ability to act together with others to make a difference (Anan, 1999:37). Participants focussed on the need to transfer skills and knowledge to ordinary people in order to enhance their contribution towards Agenda 2063. They pointed out the importance of harnessing and promoting Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) as a contribution to the African and global knowledge economy. It may also be worthwhile to look at identifying and sharing continental good practices toward development and to support development through internal African expertise and knowledge networks (Sudarkasa, 2013).

Furthermore, appropriate training for women and the youth, particularly in entrepreneurship, would be essential in creating sustainable employment and eradicating poverty. Commitment to improving the labour force means greater focus on youth preparedness for 21st century labour markets as well as entrepreneurial opportunities (Sudarkasa, 2013). This would ensure that Africa's human capital pool will be well placed not only to provide skilled labour for African economies, but also to enhance innovation and be at the forefront of technological development. Experts in indigenous dance/games/music can be used to transfer knowledge to the youth.

Women and youth should be allowed easy access to AU structures and be in a position to influence AU decisions e.g. proposing the establishment of an AU Youth Commission. There is a need for training programmes that reclaim the African narrative by using platforms such as social media. In addition, there should also be more lobbying, petitioning and funding for specific institutions supporting women and children, as well as the celebration of unifying events such as Africa Month, Women's' Day, and Youth Day.

Parliament

According to an ANC MP, Africa is a young continent in the sense that over 60% of its population is comprised of the youth. Therefore the creativity, energy and innovation of African youth will be the driving force behind the continent's political, social, cultural and economic transformation. However, the evils of the apartheid education system that intended to make the African child a hewer of wood and a carrier of water still plagues us, even twenty years into our democracy (ANC MP, 2014). Unemployment still haunts the majority of the country's youth. Poverty, inequality and hunger continue to be the life experience of many children and young people. To achieve the development of women and youth, paraphrasing Bob Marley, we Africans will fight: "[w]e know we shall win, as we are confident in the victory of good over evil".

For one ANC MP the AU's mining vision that focuses on a skills revolution to train hundreds of thousands of young Africans in Science, technology, engineering, innovation and research is monumental. This involves the development of skills in priority sectors like mining, infrastructure development and finance.

Another ANC MP highlighted how women and youth will and must be the important cog in the engine that will drive development in Africa. With the right resources and guidance, the exuberance, aspirations and energies of our youth could be harnessed to take our continent to a different level of development. Affording opportunities of decent work and education to our youth will be a better way of building responsible families and communities. The African Youth Charter is meant to address the marginalisation of youth from the mainstream society as they face the realities of inequality in income, wealth and unemployment. To achieve our commitments for the continent's development to be people-driven, it is imperative that our resources are directed to educating women and youth and ensuring that they take a lead in the development and prosperity of South Africa and the continent. Practical realities on the ground require that women and young people become the key drivers of development on the ground.

An ANC MP further added that the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and the Spanish Fund, which was created in 2007, contribute to the eradication of poverty and the economic empowerment of women. One of the key objectives is to monitor the promotion and the protection of the rights of women, children and young persons. The Pan

African Women's Organisation (PAWO) unites African women to exchange views and provides the opportunity to transform in a rapidly changing, globalised world.

According to the South African Deputy Minister of Public Service and Administration (2014) Agenda 2063 requires

.... a conscious investment in the young people of the African continent for a brighter future. Transformational leadership is typically proactive and receptive to new ideas coming from young people. Let us therefore heed the call made by one of the fathers of our democracy, Oliver Reginald Tambo, when he said 'a nation that does not invest in its young does not deserve its future'.

Transformative leaders should drive the efforts to ensure that young Africans are empowered as we steadfastly march with determination towards 2063, a future that we desire and deserve.

Women

The women consulted argues strongly that the process of consultation on Agenda 2063 must happen at community level and in cooperation with government, civil society and the private sector. All documentation related to the Agenda must be translated into local languages, including braille and use of sign language, to ensure that the widest possible audience could be reached. This theme of *inclusiveness* features strongly in the deliberations with female stakeholders.

This was a robust and vocal gathering of women who enjoyed the discussions on the socio-economic and sustainable development of Africa that will contribute to a united and prosperous continent. Africa's role in the international community, its leadership, peace and security, post conflict development, gender empowerment, and a democratic and free continent were matters discussed. There was general consensus that Agenda 2063 can and will be attained, as the member states of the African Union and their peoples are already aware of the challenges and opportunities facing individual countries and the continent, and are working to address them.

It was agreed that by 2063 Africa will emerge as a strong, resilient, peaceful and influential global player and partner, with a significant role in world affairs. The women affirmed the importance of African unity and solidarity in the face of continued external interference including, attempts to divide the continent with undue pressures and sanctions on some countries. It was further agreed that Africa will be a major economic force in the world in future, with her rightful share of the global commons and fully capable of financing her own development.

Youth

The enormous benefits young people can contribute are realized when investment is made in young people's education, employment, health care, empowerment and effective civil participation. (UNECA, 2011:1)

This aspiration could be attainable by 2063 through inter alia involving women in governance, protecting and enforcing the rights of children, protection of children against violence and the elimination of the practice of child soldiers.

The unfortunate reality is that along with other groups such as women and the disabled, youth bear the brunt of internal and external crises, whether related to finance, food, education, climate change or human insecurity (African Union, 2011: vii). It is thus essential to ensure the participation of youth in the African economy; align development policies with youth development; and formulate and implement trade policies that benefit women and youth. With inclusive and enforceable policies, the youth believed that they would be able to advocate for the promotion and the protection of women and children: "Today, African young people have visions and aspirations that may seem unattainable, yet they make an essential contribution to today's societies and the future that awaits coming generations" (UNECA, 2011:5). In as far as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on issues relevant to women it appears that much has been accomplished. According to African Youth Voices (2012:2) the

... continent has made significant progress towards the achievements of the MDGs in specific areas of gender equality and women's empowerment, education, tackling child mortality and improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS and promoting global partnerships.

Agenda 2063 must ensure even more progress than the MDGs and contribute to discussions on sustainable development post-2015.

Analysis of common trends

- **Youth, women and people-centred development**

It is interesting to note that the valuable role of women and youth in development is openly recognised and accepted. Women and youth are not only mentioned as important roleplayers under this Aspiration, they play even more significant roles within wider society. The youth believed that this Aspiration could be attainable through involving more women in governance. Protecting and enforcing the rights of children was also identified as a necessity and the protection of children against violence and the elimination of child soldiers is crucial. Women, youth and the disabled were known to suffer immensely as a result of poverty, war, crime and climate change amongst other difficulties, it was necessary to identify practical and tangible solutions to ensure that by 2063 this is no longer the case. The youth argued how structuring development and policies around women and children would be very beneficial in the medium- to long-term. It is also essential to ensure the participation of youth in the African economy by aligning development policies with youth development. There was a need to formulate and implement trade policies that benefit women and the youth. With inclusive and enforceable policies, the youth believed that they would be able to advocate for the promotion and the protection of women and children.

- **The future lies in the hands of young Africans**

Parliament was quick to outline the youthfulness of the African continent. The future for the youth comes with daunting challenges such as poverty and unemployment, but it also brings opportunities that are dependent on the desire to succeed over adversity. An MP identified women and youth as an important cog in the engine that will drive development in Africa. It was believed that to achieve our commitments for the continent's development to be people-driven, it was integral that resources are directed to developing women and youth and ensuring that they lead in the development and prosperity of South Africa and the continent. Initiatives and programmes which were identified as key to addressing issues of women empowerment was that by NEPAD and the Spanish Fund. The Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO) was also identified as uniting African women to exchange views and promote their development.

- **Participation and voice**

During the consultation with women, discussions focused on Africa's role in the international community, its leadership, peace and security, post conflict development, gender empowerment, a democratic and free continent. The women affirmed the importance of African unity and solidarity in the face of continued external interference. It was further agreed that Africa will be a major economic force in the world in future, with her rightful share of the global commons and fully capable of financing her own development. For civil Society, women and youth should be permitted easy access to AU structures and be in a position to influence them in order to prioritise people-centred development, e.g. proposing the establishment of a Youth Commission. Continental platforms must be created to allow the voices of women, children, youth and the disabled to be heard and taken seriously. Groups encouraged the celebration of unifying events such as Africa Month, Women's' Day, Youth Day.



CHAPTER 9 Aspiration 7
- Africa as a strong and influential global player and partner



CHAPTER 9 Aspiration 7

- Africa as a strong and influential global player and partner

Introduction

Agenda 2063 defines Aspiration 7 as follows

We aspire that by 2063, Africa shall be:

- **A major social, political, security and economic force in the world, and with her rightful share of the global commons (land, oceans and space,).**
- **An active and equal participant in global affairs, multilateral institutions, a driver for peaceful co-existence, tolerance and a sustainable and just world.**
- **Fully capable and have the means to finance her development**

Kimenyi and Moyo (2012) summarise the precarious position of Africa in the global context:

For Africa, global governance matters. Decisions made by developed countries have a direct bearing on the well-being of the African people—most recently demonstrated in the developed world's global economic and financial crisis. Despite having no control over the crisis and its mitigation or outcome, negative repercussions still occurred in African economies including: increased currency volatility, reduced flows of private capital to the region, reduced flows of remittances and decreasing commodity prices. These outcomes then induced consequential implications on poverty, food security and health. Yet, Africa has been a marginal player in global governance matters, which impact its economic stability and overall well-being. While African countries have made major progress reforming their economies—improving the business climate and governance; and macro-economic management—these efforts are unlikely to bear fruit if impeded by developed countries.

However, African countries, and the African Union are strengthening their positions in the world, either through bi- or multilateral agreements, such as South Africa in IBSA and BRICS. This was already envisaged in the NEPAD 2001 establishment document that contained several sections on Africa's position in the world (NEPAD 2001). The global relationships are also emphasised in the AU's Common African position (CAP) on the post-2015 sustainable development agenda.

South Africa's moral authority, derived from its struggle history, and its willingness to play an active role on the world stage, gives it unique leverage with both the global North and the South. Pretoria's preferred instruments for advancing its priorities (African Agenda and multilateralism) has been through consensus building, dialogue, and negotiations. Using its reputation as a reconciled nation, constructing bridges between positions that seemed irreconcilable has proved appealing to Africa and the world.

In DIRCO's White Paper *Building a Better World: the Diplomacy of Ubuntu* (2011), the Department posits that South African international relations is informed by the history of colonialism and the liberation struggle, as well as by the hard-won constitutional values of dignity, equality and freedom. As a beneficiary of many acts of selfless solidarity in the past, South Africa believes strongly that what it wishes for its own people should be what it wishes for the citizens of Africa and the world. Within this context the Preamble of the 2011 White Paper states that South African foreign policy is distinctly Afro-centric and is founded on the African philosophy of Ubuntu.

DIRCO's policy states that the philosophy of Ubuntu means 'humanity', and is reflected in the idea that we affirm our humanity when we affirm the humanity of others. This value must inform South Africa's interactions with other countries in Africa and the world. It is also maintained that South African foreign policy will be framed by respect for our common humanity and the diversity of nations.

Therefore, the philosophy of Ubuntu recognises the sovereign humanity of others, and which forms a new kind of community based upon an understanding of cosmic harmony or wholeness. This Afro-centric approach is one that appeals to many

Africans. The National Development Plan Vision 2030 also placed Africa as central to South Africa's foreign policy priorities.

Academics and Think Tanks

The discussion paid homage to earlier efforts of - and the progress achieved - by African leaders in trying to assert the role of Africa as an influential global player and partner through previous and existing frameworks such as the Lagos Plan of Action (1980), the Abuja treaty (1991) and creation of NEPAD (2002). The approach taken with Agenda 2063 to consolidate all current Plans was welcomed as this will provide a clear roadmap in a results-based manner. However, it was noted that in the discussions on the Agenda there is a need to reflect on the 'Africa Rising' narrative. That is, from what is Africa rising? And how sustainable is this rise?

The meeting cast a spotlight on the untransformed nature of global institutions of governance and Africa's continued marginalisation in the global system. Africa is currently the greatest generator of the work of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) but not one African country is a permanent member of this important Council. Within this context, does Africa have an influence on the agenda setting, discussions and the outcomes of the decisions taken in the UNSC? If so, then to what extent is this happening? What has been the impact of the cooperation agreement between the AU Commission and the UNSC?

The representatives of the Academia and Think Tanks agreed that to achieve the Agenda, and in particular this Aspiration, the continent will need to focus on and strengthen the following:

- a. Leadership
- b. Ownership, coherence and alignment of support with national and regional priorities
- c. Building and sustaining support for Agenda 2063 in multilateral fora
- d. Popularisation and internalisation of the goals and aspirations of Agenda 2063 by academics and think-tanks
- e. Development and implementation of Common Positions (such as those on climate change, UN reform, and The post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals)
- f. Building coalitions with other nations in the Global South
- g. Sustainable growth of African multinationals and corporate interests, especially within the region, and boosting intra-African trade
- h. Growth of foreign direct investment as opposed to conditional foreign aid
- i. Channelling of remittances
- j. Reform of the UNSC and strengthening the capacity of the Africa Group in other negotiating fora, for example in the World Trade Organisation (WTO)
- k. Development of capacity for African negotiators in all multilateral fora

In addition, the meeting highlighted that for Africa to be a strong and influential global player and partner, the planning has to reflect the state of African agency. That is, the extent to which the continent has, and exercises, the ability to act on its own, in pursuit of its own interests. Therefore it is necessary to reflect on the state of African agency. Do the Continent's various partnerships with other regions and individual countries strengthen or weaken its agency? What will the state of African agency look like in 2063? Furthermore, the role of the AU Commission, as an expression of African agency, has to be discussed.

In conclusion, the meeting agreed that Africa will be a strong and influential global player and partner only to the extent that all the AU Member States are committed to the achievements of the all the Aspirations. It was also stressed that this cannot be the responsibility of a few countries. It needs to be a united and concerted effort.

Civil Society and Culture

Civil society identified the following as necessary for this aspiration:

- **Ownership of Resources**

It was pointed out that Africa should benefit from its own vast natural resources and generate sufficient revenues and assets to fund its own development. It was felt in this meeting that that South Africa should take the lead as the strongest economy on the continent. This would lessen dependence on outside countries. Land-based and marine resources needed to be protected as a priority. In this regard, non-reliance on external resources was highlighted as an important goal to strive for. Participants felt strongly that reliance on external donor funding and aid undermined the independence of Africans and their states, as conditions are always attached by outside players.

- **Financing the African Union**

Efforts must be made to fund the African Union budget from within Africa and to ensure financial stability. Individual member states of the African Union should pay more, as a contribution from their GDP, to the AU budget. This will ensure that control of projects and programmes rests with Africa and Africans. The curbing of illicit financial flows from the continent, often with the collusion of foreign multinational companies, needs to be addressed as this problem denies the AU access to another potential source of funding.

- **Relations with the rest of the World**

Africa should strive for a greater voice on international matters. The participants espoused a vision of an Africa that is independent, united and proud. Furthermore, the participants called for the reform of the UNSC and indicated that Africa must have a permanent seat on the Council.

Parliament

The Parliamentary debate highlighted the cross-cutting nature of the impact of all the Aspirations of Agenda 2063 for the achievement of each. Thus for Africa to assert itself on the global stage as a strong, influential player and partner much work needs to be put into the achievement of all the other Aspirations envisaged in the Agenda. Africa will not become a strong and influential global player and partner until the continent becomes truly unified in its endeavours to solve the challenges that it faces within and beyond Africa. And this is where the political unity espoused under Aspiration 2 of Agenda 2063 becomes important. As noted elsewhere, Africa still occupies a marginal position on the outskirts of the global system sustained by the unreformed nature of global institutions of political, economic, and financial governance such as the UN, IMF, the WTO and the UNSC Africa, therefore, needs to be united in its endeavours to advocate for the reform of these institutions. As one ANC MP so aptly put it:

In the future geopolitical dispensation, that the Agenda 2063 seeks to achieve, we cannot continue to wait on the side-lines when our issues are discussed and agreed upon. We refuse to be benchwarmers, but we demand to be active participants in bringing African solutions for African problems. There will be no solutions about us, without us. That has to begin with a determined push for the reform of the UN systems and the international finance institutions, like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (JPS, 2014, p. 110).

However, Africa will not be successful in mounting a serious challenge for the reform of these institutions if it approaches the issue as 54 separate independent states. Africa has to be united in its participation in international finance and development fora. "In this regard, it would be important for Africa to affirm the importance of a common African position on the post 2015 development agenda" (JPS, 2014: 111).

Discussions also re-emphasised the importance of forging and consolidating partnerships with other nations and regions in the Global South. Such partnerships will provide meaningful international support for Africa's development aspirations.

The new Development Bank of the BRICS was cited as a prime example of such a meaningful South-South partnership to tilt the scales in the balance of forces within the international financial architecture (JPS. 110).

The debate further noted the challenges posed by the security-development nexus on the continent's global ambitions. It was acknowledged that Africa can never achieve this Aspiration without meeting the demands for security and development on the continent. In terms of development, the debate underlined the importance of the realisation of Aspiration 1 of Agenda 2063 of a "prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development". Particular emphasis was placed on Africa's enormous wealth in natural resources, which is yet to be fully exploited. However, it was also acknowledged that poor management of these natural resources has thus far resulted in the failure of Africa's mineral reserves to contribute to the economic growth and development of the continent. In fact, Africa's resources have contributed to war and conflict on the continent. It was therefore stressed that proper management of Africa's mineral resources is needed in order for these resources to play an instrumental role in eliminating the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

In terms of meeting the demands for security on the continent, the debate stressed the need for African countries to work together under the auspices of the AU to effectively combat threats to peace and security. As such, focus was shifted to the need to strengthen the AU Peace and Security Council so as to enable it to deal with and respond promptly to peace and security challenges on the continent. Attention was also drawn to the increasing challenges posed by transnational terrorist organisations such as Boko Haram and Al Shabab that can only be combatted through coordinated efforts.

Women

The women endorsed an Africa that speaks with one voice; that participates in the local and world economy; and that claims ownership in continental and international political and economic fora. The view was that one of the most important issues in this regard is that Africa should have a permanent seat in the UNSC.

It was agreed that Africa and her women must show solidarity in liberating the oppressed through a continental and domestic empowerment programme that will ensure that Africa will be further strengthened and will continue to be developed as a strong and influential global player and partner. It was further agreed that the continental position could only be attained through a total buy-in at grassroots level.

The African Agenda 2063 provides a platform where the goals of the continent can be discussed in an in-depth way. It was however, indicated that certain impediments need to be taken cognisance of, including:

- the mentality of entitlement on the continent
- the current fragmentation of the continent, especially when under pressure.
- lack of communication and lack of continuous engagement with communities.
- For the women, solidarity will ensure that Africa will attain her rightful place in the world.

Youth

The evolving global situation is creating conditions that could either create more opportunities or make youth aspirations even more difficult to achieve, depending on the ways in which governments react to the situation. (UNECA, 2011:5)

Africa has enough natural and human resources to be an influential global player and partner by 2063, provided amongst others that:

- there is strong political will
- the youth takes centre stage as owners of this initiative
- there is a continued dialogue with the youth

- there is investment in education and skills development
- improvement in quality of life
- regional and continental integration.

The Pan African Youth Union (PAYU) should be revived to respond to the gap between the AU and the youth. The effectiveness of PAYU was that it could “serve as a channel for youth engagement and for conveying youth perspectives for integration into national, regional and continental policies, strategies and programmes” (AU, 2011:1).

Who are we in Africa – “A view from 2063”

As a starting point the youth discussed how each of them view themselves in the African context, answering the questions: ‘Who am I in Africa and what do I bring to Agenda 2063?’ Amongst others the following roles were identified:

- I am in the business of exports and imports – I support regional and continental integration
- I support economic development through supporting informal sector entrepreneurs who graduate to the formal sector
- I am a leader and a unifier through my community development work focused on education
- I nurture and develop the younger generations – instilling hope in Africa and in their future through workshops aimed at youth empowerment
- I am a writer. I change narratives about my Africa, her present, future and all in between

“The Africa we want in 2063”

From this starting point, the Youth discussed the theme “this is the Africa in which we want to be in 2063” in the following way:

- We are united - a family that carries each other
- We live in the spirit of Ubuntu
- We have wealth in abundance (intellectual, financial, cultural, spiritual)
- We have an internationally recognised and respected identity

From answering these two questions, it was reaffirmed that the African Youth are the voice of the new Africa. The youth must provide a new breed of African leadership as the key stakeholders in the achievement of Agenda 2063.

How can Africa be a strong and influential global player and partner by 2063?

The youth participants made the following suggestions to achieve the position of a strong global player:

- An influential Africa necessitates a mindset transformation: new perspective, new ways of living - We need to invest in changing our people’s attitudes and habits towards their inner abilities and strengths - to affirm the African!
- Through strengthening and redefining the African Union in line with the aspirations and needs of Africans - A stronger AU must be reflected in increasingly unified positions globally.
- This includes initiating new effective policies that are aligned with continental advancements. It also includes eliminating the gap between the AU and the youth.

- The AU must also be strengthened with a focus on the increased effectiveness of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as the building blocs of the Union. Coordination of policies at regional level and inclusion in the continental arena should enhance Africa's voice globally. These underlying initiatives could promote regional unity, economic cooperation, trade, investment and freer flows of peoples
- Africa's presence in the global market would be strengthened by a Continental Free Trade Area. The African Economic Community must be a reality by 2063 to enable access to the continental market by all Africans. This will lessen dependency on foreign markets and strengthen Africa's negotiation positions globally
- We can increase levels of effectiveness through ensuring good governance in all spheres (financially, politically and otherwise)
- By investing in good education for both leaders and the youth. This includes addressing the need for African education to be based on African needs and models, not on Western models that serve to perpetuate the status quo. There is also a need to ensure that young people are equipped with social and market-related skills that will enable them to be well integrated young competitive adults in the economy at national, sub- regional and global levels (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2011: VII).
- By exposing the youth to the relevant issues and matters that pertain to the future of their continent in order to cultivate ownership of the future.
- Africa has to harness and utilise resources strategically as leverage in international/ multilateral engagements. This includes resources such as:
 - Land: Stop selling land, rather lease, especially agricultural land
 - Minerals: Establish resource reserves.
 - Adopting a culture to study each other's success as Africans, sharing expertise and knowledge in order to increase African-generated knowledge and the effectiveness of the Union (e.g. Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe sharing expertise on diamond mining and creating a beneficiation zone).
 - Pursuing institutional and inter-generational knowledge transfer at the domestic, regional and continental levels

What are the risks/ challenges we could face on our journey to 2063?

- Lack of visionary and bold political leadership that has the interest of all Africans at heart. Our African leaders need to regain their political will to pursue and implement the policies that aimed at fully liberating, integrating and developing the continent.
- Incoherence between domestic, regional and continental policies that make the articulation and promotion of African positions in the global arena a challenge.
- Lack of implementation of agreed common positions in the global arena (e.g. votes in the UN Assembly, WTO positions and so on). Another related challenge is the bilateral agreements between African countries and others that may run counter to regional and continental integration efforts.
- The lack of trust and dishonesty among Africans and between African countries. With the diverse backgrounds we have in Africa, exclusionary cultural paradigms that speak of the 'Other' resulting in ethnicism and xenophobia amongst Africans.
- The mentality of dependency found in many of our people – we need to be free from looking to the West for answers.
- The high levels of corruption and crime, inefficient civil services, as well as insufficient investment in education and training.

Recommendations

- The youth must take centre stage as the owners of this initiative and be in continuous engagement through workshops and fora where they can elaborate upon and discuss progress towards 2063.
- DIRCO should create youth dialogue groups to enable continuous input on the Vision – the engagement that started with this consultation should continue
- The Pan African Youth Union should be revived to respond to the gap between the AU and the youth. Africa cannot be an influential global player and partner in 2063 without investment in the building blocks at national and regional levels. These include investments in quality education and improving the quality of lives of Africans; and the political will to pursue much needed domestic and regional reforms and integration agendas.
- Without true political will, Agenda 2063 will become another term without meaning for Africans. Africa has the natural and human resources to be an influential global player and partner by 2063!

Analysis of common trends

- **Leveraging natural resources**

The stakeholder groups all agreed on the integral role that needs to be played by Africa's rich resource wealth in positioning the continent as a strong and influential global partner and player. The common view is that African countries should be able to benefit from their vast natural resources in such a manner that would allow the continent to fund its own development initiatives and avoid dependence on external donor funding.

- **"One voice"**

There was also a consensus amongst the groups that Africa needs to speak with one voice on the global stage. This relates to issues of advocating for the transformation of global institutions of governance such as the IMF and World Bank and lobbying for Africa to have a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Linked to this is a general recognition of the importance of partnerships between Africa and other countries in the Global South in order to ensure a stronger voice in calling for political and economic transformation of the global system of governance. A united front is also identified as being significant for Africa's participation in the global economy. As such, regional integration is important for African countries to be able to negotiate favourable trade deals with other countries and regions in the world.

CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSIONS – “A CALL TO ACTION”

In this chapters above we have reflected upon the views, perceptions and recommendations of various role players and stakeholder groups in South Africa, ranging from academics to the youth. Records of the consultations have shown that South Africans, young and old, men and women are realistic about where Africa is right now and hopeful about the future. The Aspirations of AU Agenda 2063 were engaged with in a vibrant and positive way, and with thoughtful consideration. What can be gleaned from this synopsis is that there are many issues that occupy the minds of South Africans in pursuit of a better Africa. The voices of Africans themselves must be heard in crafting the path to 2063 and we hope that this publication captures some of those voices and diverse perspectives in an informative way.

The Heads of State and Government of the African Union assembled in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia during the 24th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union in January 2015 reiterated that Agenda 2063 builds on past achievements and challenges and takes into account the continental and global context and trends in which Africa is realizing its transformation. The points they raised are discussed below in the context of the results of the national consultation reflected above.

The Pan African vision and project

Consensus around Pan Africanism amongst the groups was clear: Africa needed to retrace its roots of origin and return to basics. An African Renaissance was identified as an integral starting point towards finding a common African identity. In order to achieve an African identity decolonisation needed to take place. Amongst the group, sentiments existed on defining and determining “who we are as Africans”. Figuring out and unearthing the meaning of the term African was believed to be a necessary starting point towards achieving a common identity. Africa needed to free itself from neo-colonial chains created by foreign aid dependency and outdated colonial paths of trade which has rendered it an exporter of natural resources. Sovereignty needed to be restored to those that remained colonised to this very day such as the Sahrawi people in Western Sahara, Chagos Archipelago and the Comorian Island of Mayotte.

The continent needs to work in unison in order to ensure that confronted challenges are rectified according to a common agenda. Africans needed to continue from where the Founders of Pan Africanism had left off by liberating the continent from all forms of bondage, marginalisation, humiliation and degradation. Important guides which assist the continent are the Solemn Declaration adopted by African leaders at the 50th anniversary celebrations and the email from the future written by the AU Chair. These are crucial in ensuring African solutions to African problems, they also pave the way towards the realisation of Africa’s inherent rich potential. Through Pan Africanism the continent can begin to imagine a new world order which was not burdened by colonial and neo-colonial dominance, a world order where a prosperous Africa is able to decide its own fate without outside interference. Thus an African epistemology and way of thinking is a necessary feature that can help mould African people to begin to value their worth and meaning as Africans. A joint collective responsibility is necessary to develop Africa and allow it to reach its fullest potential.

An African turning point

Agenda 2063 serves as a crucial turning point for Africa as it provides an achievable vision for the continent and its people. The present generation is aware that Africa’s destiny will only remain under their own control when they act collectively to shape the future they want. Fifty years after the first thirty-three (33) independent African states gathered in Addis Ababa on the 25th of May 1963 to form the Organization of African Unity, Agenda 2063 has raised expectations towards the next fifty years. Central from the stakeholder groups has been the importance of pursuing regional integration which was seen as necessary step if the continent is to grow and develop further. The slow pace at integration thus far has had an adverse effect in as far as economic growth, trade, business and other opportunities.

The Solemn Declaration has rededicated the continent’s collective leadership towards a common purpose. By calling for the development of a continental agenda that would guide work towards a peaceful, integrated and prosperous Africa,

driven by its citizens and taking its rightful place in the world, by 2063. Agenda 2063 lays the foundation towards a common continental purpose. It is now up to the different stakeholder groups to unite and ensure that agreed upon milestones are reached and progress is collectively achieved. There is a need for a common African identity where people see themselves in others, not as enemies or threats, but as brother, sister and friend. The spirit of Ubuntu needs to be resurrected as it stipulates I am, because we are. Thus Africans from all walks of life need to come together and embrace their differences by uniting and not discriminating. Coherent and decisive leadership is a must in this regard - the continent requires leaders who share and possess a common vision that places emphasis on the interest of the people of Africa relative to the needs of the state or the individual.

Lessons from global developmental experiences

Africa is part of the global political economy and therefore changes that occur outside of the continent also affect it immensely. The 2008 global economic crisis is a case in point. For this reason, Africa needs to ensure a global footprint that would see it as a contributor and not an aid-seeker. Focus has also been shifting over time towards issues around the environment, particularly climate change. African leaders have responded by adopting environmental policies that are responsive to these changes, but more needs to be done to combat the effects of climate change in order to ensure sustainable development for future generations.

The common view is that African countries and peoples should be able to benefit from their own vast natural resources in a sustainable manner that would allow the continent to fund its own development initiatives which cater towards African needs. Focus should also be directed towards sustainable energy across the continent. The trend globally is premised on the identification and use of alternative energy sources and Africa should not be left out, given the huge population that relies on energy across the continent.

Learning from past and present

Africa has endured a great deal over its history including slavery, colonialism and in the case of South Africa, apartheid. The legacy created by these immoral systems has led to continuous reliance on former colonies for assistance and support. They have fostered separation amongst African states and African people. They have ensured that the continent suffers as a result of poverty, famine, war, environmental degradation, corrupt leadership and lack of necessary development. However since independence from former colonies, Africa has been gradually developing and learning the fundamentals and necessities needed to unite the continent.

It began with the Founding Fathers of Pan Africanism in the 1960s with the formation of the Organization of African Unity in 1963. Since then initiatives such as the Lagos Plan of Action (1980); the Final Act of Lagos (1980); Africa's Priority programme for Economic Recovery (1986-1990); the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programme (1989) and others have been moving Africa forward. During these initiatives, leaders of the continent were learning and rebuilding to ensure that someday Africa will be able to stand on its own. It is fundamental to understand that an African focused agenda, premised on the principals of Pan Africanism and the African Renaissance, is the solution to the challenges confronting the continent.

The African Union since its formation has championed many initiatives that have culminated in Agenda 2063. The Agenda sets out attainable goals, which if achieved, could change the course of Africa's history for good. Transformation of any kind will only occur once the continent has united towards a common purpose

People-centred development, gender equality and youth empowerment

Sustainable development and growth is unlikely to occur if women and the youth are not part of the process of change. Emphasis has been placed on ensuring that more women are included in leadership, business and governance positions. Protecting and enforcing the rights of children was also important. Until this day a number of children across the continent

are still used as child soldiers, many more continue to suffer as a result of poverty, while other are forced into illicit child labour practices. Moreover, attention should also be directed towards the elderly and the disabled who often bear the brunt of suffering and neglect. It is important to create a society and a continent that cares for its own, irrespective of gender, age, race, religion, association, ability and perceived worth.

Unemployment has remained a serious challenge with a number of youth across the continent still struggling to find decent jobs. Mechanism need to be introduced to assist in job creation and economic growth. A need exists to ensure the participation of youth in the African economy by aligning development policies with youth development. There is also a need to formulate and implement trade policies that benefit women and the youth. Development, investment and empowerment of women and youth in the agricultural sector was identified as a good starting point. The protection of women and children during incidences of war and civil conflict was of utmost importance, as these group were the ones that suffer the most as a result of torture, rape, mutilations and other atrocities.

In order to ensure people-driven commitments for the continent's development, it was necessary that resources are directed to developing women and youth and ensuring that they lead in the development and prosperity of Africa.

The changing global context

One of the strongest arguments regarding South Africa and Arica's place in the world is that the continent deserves a seat in the UN Security Council and also more direct involvement and representation in the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO. It is clear, however, that Africa will only be taken seriously when the continent begins to speak in one voice. Therefore strengthening of the AU with a focus on the increased effectiveness of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as the building blocs of the Union is necessary in terms of ensuring that Africa has stronger global influence.

Ultimately the promotion of regional unity, economic cooperation, trade, investment and freer flows of African people across the continent is the end goal. Africa's presence in the global market would be strengthened by a Continental Free Trade Area. The African Economic Community must be a reality by 2063 to enable access to the continental market by all Africans. This will lessen dependency on foreign markets and strengthen Africa's negotiation positions globally.

Having known where we come from assists us in understanding where we are going. 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika'.



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50th ANNIVERSARY SOLEMN DECLARATION

50th ANNIVERSARY SOLEMN DECLARATION

We, Heads of State and Government of the African Union assembled to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the OAU/AU established in the city of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 25 May 1963,

Evoking the uniqueness of the history of Africa as the cradle of humanity and a centre of civilization, and dehumanized by slavery, deportation, dispossession, apartheid and colonialism as well as our struggles against these evils, which shaped our common destiny and enhanced our solidarity with peoples of African descent;

Recalling with pride, the historical role and efforts of the Founders of the Pan-African Movement and the nationalist movements, whose visions, wisdom, solidarity and commitment continue to inspire us;

Reaffirming our commitment to the ideals of Pan-Africanism and Africa's aspiration for greater unity, and paying tribute to the Founders of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as well as the African peoples on the continent and in the Diaspora for their glorious and successful struggles against all forms of oppression, colonialism and apartheid;

Mindful that the OAU/AU have been relentlessly championing for the complete decolonization of the African continent and that one of the fundamental objectives is unconditional respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each of its Member States;

Stressing our commitment to build a united and integrated Africa;

Guided by the vision of our Union and affirming our determination to "*build an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven and managed by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the international arena*";

Determined to take full responsibility for the realisation of this vision;

Guided by the principles enshrined in the Constitutive Act of our Union and our Shared Values, in particular our commitment to ensure gender equality and a people centred approach in all our endeavours as well as respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of our countries .

ACKNOWLEDGE THAT:

1. **The Organisation of African Unity (OAU)** overcame internal and external challenges, persevered in the quest for continental unity and solidarity; contributed actively to the liberation of Africa from colonialism and apartheid; provided a political and diplomatic platform to generations

of leaders on continental and international matters; and elaborated frameworks for Africa's development and integration agenda through programmes such as NEPAD and APRM.

- II. *The African Union (AU)* carried forward our struggle for self-determination and drive for development and integration; formulated a clear vision for our Union; agreed that the ultimate goal of the Union is the construction of a united and integrated Africa; instituted the principle of non-indifference by authorizing the right of the Union to intervene in Member States in conformity with the Constitutive Act; and laid the groundwork for the entrenchment of the rule of law, democracy, respect for human rights, solidarity, promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of Women and Youth in Africa.
- III. The implementation of the integration agenda; the involvement of people, including our Diaspora in the affairs of the Union; the quest for peace and security and preventing wars and genocide such as the 1994 Rwandan genocide; the alignment between our institutional framework and the vision of the Union; the fight against poverty, inequality and underdevelopment; and, assuring Africa's rightful place in the world, remain challenges.

WE HEREBY DECLARE:

A. *On the African Identity and Renaissance*

- i) Our strong commitment to accelerate the African Renaissance by ensuring the integration of the principles of Pan Africanism in all our policies and initiatives;
- ii) Our unflinching belief in our common destiny, our Shared Values and the affirmation of the African identity; the celebration of unity in diversity and the institution of the African citizenship;
- iii) Our commitment to strengthen AU programmes and Member States institutions aimed at reviving our cultural identity, heritage, history and Shared values, as well as undertake, henceforth, to fly the AU flag and sing the AU anthem along with our national flags and anthems;
- iv) Promote and harmonize the teaching of African history, values and Pan Africanism in all our schools and educational institutions as part of advancing our African identity and Renaissance;
- v) Promote people to people engagements including Youth and civil society exchanges in order to strengthen Pan Africanism.

B. *The struggle against colonialism and the right to self-determination of people still under colonial rule*

- i) The completion of the decolonization process in Africa; to protect the right to self-determination of African peoples still under colonial rule; solidarity with people of African descent and in the Diaspora in their struggles against racial discrimination; and resist all forms of influences contrary to the interests of the continent;
- ii) The reaffirmation of our call to end expeditiously the unlawful occupation of the Chagos Archipelago, the Comorian Island of Mayotte and also reaffirm the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, with a view to enable these countries and peoples, to effectively exercise sovereignty over their respective territories.

C. *On the integration agenda*

Our commitment to Africa's political, social and economic integration agenda, and in this regard, speed up the process of attaining the objectives of the African Economic Community and take steps towards the construction of a united and integrated Africa. Consolidating existing commitments and instruments, we undertake, in particular, to:

- i) Speedily implement the Continental Free Trade Area; ensure free movement of goods, with focus on integrating local and regional markets as well as facilitate African citizenship to allow free movement of people through the gradual removal of visa requirements;
- ii) Accelerate action on the ultimate establishment of a united and integrated Africa, through the implementation of our common continental governance, democracy and human rights frameworks. Move with speed towards the integration and merger of the Regional Economic Communities as the building blocks of the Union.

D. *On the agenda for social and economic development*

Our commitment to place the African people, in particular women, children and the youth, as well as persons with disabilities, at the centre of our endeavours and to eradicate poverty. In this regard, we undertake to:

- i) Develop our human capital as our most important resource, through education and training, especially in science, technology and

- innovation, and ensure that Africa takes its place and contributes to humanity, including in the field of space sciences and explorations;
- ii) Eradicate disease, especially HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis, ensure that no African woman dies while giving life, address maternal, infant and child mortality as well as provide universal health care services to our citizens;
 - iii) Accelerate Africa's infrastructural development, to link African peoples, countries and economies; and help to drive social, cultural and economic development. In this regard, we commit to meet our strategic targets in transport, ICT, energy and other social infrastructure by committing national, regional and continental resources to this end;
 - iv) Create an enabling environment for the effective development of the African private sector through meaningful public-private sector dialogue at all levels to foster socially responsive business, good corporate governance and inclusive economic growth;
 - v) Take ownership of, use and develop, our natural endowments and resources, through value addition, as the basis for industrialization; promote intra-Africa trade and tourism, in order to foster economic integration, development, employment and inclusive growth to the benefit of the African people;
 - vi) Also take ownership, preserve, protect and use our oceanic spaces and resources, improve our maritime and transport industries to the benefit of the continent and its peoples, including by contributing to food security
 - vii) Preserve our arable land for current and future generations, develop our rural economies, our agricultural production and agro-processing to eradicate hunger and malnutrition, as well as achieve food security and self-sufficiency;
 - viii) Expand and develop urban infrastructure and develop planned approaches to rapid urbanization and the emergence of new cities;
 - ix) Make our development agenda responsive to the needs of our peoples, anchored on the preservation of our environment for current and future generations, including in the fight against desertification and mitigation of the effects of climate change, especially with regards to island states and land-locked countries.

E. On peace and security

Our determination to achieve the goal of a conflict-free Africa, to make peace a reality for all our people and to rid the continent of wars, civil conflicts, human rights violations, humanitarian disasters and violent conflicts, and to prevent genocide. We pledge not to bequeath the burden of conflicts to the next generation of Africans and undertake to end all wars in Africa by 2020. In this regard, we undertake to:

- i) Address the root causes of conflicts including economic and social disparities; put an end to impunity by strengthening national and continental judicial institutions, and ensure accountability in line with our collective responsibility to the principle of non-indifference;
- ii) Eradicate recurrent and address emerging sources of conflict including piracy, trafficking in narcotics and humans, all forms of extremism, armed rebellions, terrorism, transnational organized crime and new crimes such as cybercrime.
- iii) Push forward the agenda of conflict prevention, peacemaking, peace support, national reconciliation and post-conflict reconstruction and development through the African Peace and Security Architecture; as well as, ensure enforcement of and compliance with peace agreements and build Africa's peace-keeping and enforcement capacities through the African Standby Force;
- iv) Maintain a nuclear-free Africa and call for global nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation and peaceful uses of nuclear energy;
- v) Ensure the effective implementation of agreements on landmines and the non-proliferation of small arms and light weapons;
- vi) Address the plight of internally displaced persons and refugees and eliminate the root causes of this phenomenon by fully implementing continental and universal frameworks.

F. On democratic governance

Our determination to anchor our societies, governments and institutions on respect for the rule of law, human rights and dignity, popular participation, the management of diversity, as well as inclusion and democracy. In this regard, we undertake to:

- i) Strengthen democratic governance including through decentralized systems, the rule of law and the capacities of our institutions to meet the aspirations of our people;
- ii) Reiterate our rejection of unconstitutional change of government, including through any attempts to seize power by force but recognize the right of our people to peacefully express their will against oppressive systems;
- iii) Promote integrity, fight corruption in the management of public affairs and promote leadership that is committed to the interests of the people;
- iv) Foster the participation of our people through democratic elections and ensure accountability and transparency.

G. *On Determining Africa's Destiny*

Our determination to take responsibility for our destiny. We pledge to foster self-reliance and self-sufficiency. In this regard, we undertake to:

- i) Take ownership of African issues and provide African solutions to African problems;
- ii) Mobilize our domestic resources, on a predictable and sustainable basis to strengthen institutions and advance our continental agenda;
- iii) Take all necessary measures, using our rich natural endowments and human resources, to transform Africa and make it a leading continent in the area of innovation and creativity;

H. *Africa's place in the world*

Our endeavour for Africa to take its rightful place in the political, security, economic, and social systems of global governance towards the realization of its Renaissance and establishing Africa as a leading continent. We undertake to:

- i) Continue the global struggle against all forms of racism and discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerances;
- ii) Act in solidarity with oppressed countries and peoples;

- iii) Advance international cooperation that promotes and defends Africa's interests, is mutually beneficial and aligned to our Pan Africanist vision;
- iv) Continue to speak with one voice and act collectively to promote our common interests and positions in the international arena;
- v) Reiterate our commitment to Africa's active role in the globalization process and international forums including in Financial and Economic Institutions;
- vi) Advocate for our common position for reform of the United Nations (UN) and other global institutions with particular reference to the UN Security Council, in order to correct the historical injustice with Africa as the only region without a permanent seat.

We pledge to articulate the above ideals and goals in our national development plans and in the development of the Continental Agenda 2063, through a people-driven process for the realization of our vision for an integrated, people-centred, prosperous Africa at peace with itself.

As Heads of State and Government, mindful of our responsibility and commitment, we pledge to act together with our Peoples and the African Diaspora to realize our vision of Pan Africanism and African Renaissance.

Adopted by the 21st Ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union, at Addis Ababa, on 26 May 2013.

AFRICAN UNION

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Agenda 2063: an e-mail from the future

Presentation by Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, Chairperson of the AU Commission to the Retreat of Foreign Ministers held at Bahir Dar, Ethiopia on 24-26 January 2014.

Date: 24 January 2063
To: Kwame@iamafrikan.com
From: Nkosazana@cas.gov
Subject: African Unity

My dear friend Kwame,

Greetings to the family and friends, and good health and best wishes for 2063.

I write to you from the beautiful Ethiopian city of Bahir Dar, located on Lake Tana, as we finalize preparations for the Centenary celebrations of the Organisation of African Unity, which became the African Union in 2002 and laid the foundations for what is now our Confederation of African States (CAS).

Yes, who would have thought that the dream of Kwame Nkrumah and his generations, when they called in 1963 on Africans to unite or perish, would one day become a reality. And what a grand reality.

At the beginning of the twenty first century, we used to get irritated with foreigners when they treated Africa as one country: as if we were not a continent of over a billion people and 55 sovereign states! But, the advancing global trend towards regional blocks, reminded us that

integration and unity is the only way for Africa to leverage its competitive advantage.

In fact, if Africa was one country in 2006, we would have been the 10th largest economy in the world! However, instead of acting as one, with virtually every resource in the world (land, oceans, minerals, energy) and over a billion people, we acted as fifty-five small and fragmented individual countries. The bigger countries that should have been the locomotives of African integration, failed to play their role at that time, and that is part of the reasons it took us so long. We did not realize our power, but instead relied on donors, that we euphemistically called partners.

That was the case in 2013, but reality finally dawned and we had long debates about the form that our unity should take: confederation, a united states, a federation or a union.

As you can see, my friend, those debates are over and the Confederation of African States is now twelve years old, launched in 2051.

What was interesting was the role played by successive generations of African youth. Already in 2013 during the Golden Jubilee celebrations, it was the youth that loudly questioned the slow progress towards integration. They formed African Union Clubs in schools and universities across the continent, and linked with each other on social media. We thus saw the grand push for integration, for the free movement of people, for harmonization of education and professional qualifications, with the Pan African University and indeed the university sector and intelligentsia playing an instrumental role.

We were a youthful continent at the start of the 21st century, but as our youth bulge grew, young men and women became even more active, creative, impatient and assertive, often telling us oldies that they are the future, and that they (together with women) form the largest part of the electorates in all our countries!

Of course this was but one of the drivers towards unity. The accelerated implementation of the Abuja Treaty and the creation of the African Economic Community by 2034 saw economic integration moved to unexpected levels.

Economic integration, coupled with infrastructure development, saw intra-Africa trade mushrooming, from less than 12% in 2013 to approaching 50% by 2045. This integration was further consolidated with the growth of commodity exchanges and continental commercial giants. Starting with the African pharmaceutical company, Pan African companies now not only dominate our domestic market of over two billion people, but they have overtaken multi-nationals from the rest of the world in their own markets.

Even more significant than this, was the growth of regional manufacturing hubs, around the beneficiation of our minerals and natural resources, such as in the Eastern Congo, north-eastern Angola and Zambia's copper belt and at major Silicon valleys in Kigali, Alexandria, Brazzaville, Maseru, Lagos and Mombasa, to mention but a few such hubs.

My friend, Africa has indeed transformed herself from an exporter of raw materials with a declining manufacturing sector in 2013, to become a major food exporter, a global manufacturing hub, a knowledge centre, beneficiating our natural resources and agricultural products as drivers to industrialization.

Pan African companies, from mining to finance, food and beverages, hospitality and tourism, pharmaceuticals, fashion, fisheries and ICT are driving integration, and are amongst the global leaders in their sectors.

We are now the third largest economy in the world. As the Foreign Minister's retreat in Bahir Dar in January 2014 emphasised, we did this by finding the balance between market forces and strong and accountable developmental states and RECS to drive infrastructure, the provision of social services, industrialization and economic integration.

Let me recall what our mutual friend recently wrote:

"The (African) agrarian revolution had small beginnings. Successful business persons (and local governments) with roots in the rural areas started massive irrigation schemes to harness the waters of the continent's huge river systems. The pan-African river projects - on the Congo, the Nile, Niger, Gambia, Zambezi, Kunene, Limpopo and many others - financed by PPPs that involved African and BRIC investors, as well as the African Diaspora, released the continent's untapped agricultural potential.

By the intelligent application of centuries-old indigenous knowledge, acquired and conserved by African women who have tended crops in all

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Today Namibia and Angola exploit the Benguela current, teaming with marine life, through the joint ventures funded by sovereign funds and the African Development Bank.”

On the east coast, former island states of Seychelles, Comoros, Madagascar and Mauritius are leading lights of the Blue economy and their universities and research institutes attract marine scientists and students from all over the world.

Dear friend, you reminded me in your last e-mail how some magazine once called us ‘The hopeless continent’, citing conflicts, hunger and malnutrition, disease and poverty as if it was a permanent African condition. Few believed that our pledge in the 50th Anniversary Declaration to silence the guns by 2020 was possible. Because of our firsthand experience of the devastation of conflicts, we tackled the root causes, including diversity, inclusion and the management of our resources.

If I have to single out one issue that made peace happened, it was our commitment to invest in our people, especially the empowerment of young people and women. By 2013 we said Africa needed a skills revolution and that we must change our education systems to produce young people that are innovative and entrepreneurial and with strong Pan African values.

From early childhood education, to primary, secondary, technical, vocational and higher education - we experienced a true renaissance, through the investments we made, as governments and the private sector in education and in technology, science, research and innovation.

Coupled with our concerted campaigns to eradicate the major diseases, to provide access to health services, good nutrition, energy and shelter, our people indeed became and are our most important resource. Can you believe it my friend, even the dreaded malaria is a thing of the past.

Of course this shift could not happen without Africa taking charge of its transformation, including the financing of our development. As one esteemed Foreign minister said in 2014: Africa is rich, but Africans are poor.

With concerted political determination and solidarity, and sometimes one step back and two steps forward, we made financing our development and

taking charge of our resources a priority, starting with financing the African Union, our democratic elections and our peacekeeping missions.

The Golden Jubilee celebrations were the start of a major paradigm shift, about taking charge of our narrative.

Agenda 2063, its implementation and the milestones it set, was part of what brought about this shift. We developed Agenda 2063 to galvanize and unite in action all Africans and the Diaspora around the common vision of a peaceful, integrated and prosperous Africa. As an overarching framework, Agenda 2063 provided internal coherence to our various sectoral frameworks and plans adopted under the OAU and AU. It linked and coordinated our many national and regional frameworks into a common continental transformation drive.

Planning fifty years ahead, allowed us to dream, think creatively, and sometimes crazy as one of the Ministers who hosted the 2014 Ministerial retreat said, to see us leapfrog beyond the immediate challenges.

Anchored in Pan Africanism and the African renaissance, Agenda 2063 promoted the values of solidarity, self-belief, non-sexism, self-reliance and celebration of our diversity.

As our societies developed, as our working and middle classes grew, as women took their rightful place in our societies, our recreational, heritage and leisure industries grew: arts and culture, literature, media, languages, music and film. WEB du Bois grand project of Encyclopedia Africana finally saw the light and Kinshasha is now the fashion capital of the world.

From the onset, the Diaspora in the traditions of Pan Africanism, played its part, through investments, returning to the continent with their skills and contributing not only to their place of origin, but where the opportunities and needs were found.

Let me conclude this e-mail, with some family news. The twins, after completing their space studies at Bahir Dar university, decided to take the month before they start work at the African Space Agency to travel the continent. My old friend, in our days, trying to do that in one month would have been impossible!

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But, the African Express Rail now connects all the capitals of our former states, and indeed they will be able to crisscross and see the beauty, culture and diversity of this cradle of humankind. The marvel of the African Express Rail is that it is not only a high speed-train, with adjacent highways, but also contains pipelines for gas, oil and water, as well as ICT broadband cables: African ownership, integrated planning and execution at its best!

The continental rail and road network that now crisscross Africa, along with our vibrant airlines, our spectacular landscapes and seductive sunsets, the cultural vibes of our cities, make tourism one of our largest economic sectors.

Our eldest daughter, the linguist, still lectures in KiSwahili in Cabo Verde, at the headquarters of the Pan African Virtual University. KiSwahili is now a major African working language, and a global language taught at most faculties across the world. Our grand children still find it very funny how we used to struggle at AU meetings with English, French and Portuguese interpretations, how we used to fight the English version not in line with the French or Arabic. Now we have a lingua franca, and multi-lingualism is the order of the day.

Remember how we used to complain about our voice not being heard in trade negotiations and the Security Council, how disorganized, sometimes divided and nationalistic we used to be in those forums, how we used to be summoned by various countries to their capitals to discuss their policies on Africa?

How things have changed. The Confederation last year celebrated twenty years since we took our seat as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, and we are a major force for global stability, peace, human rights, progress, tolerance and justice.

My dear friend, I hope to see you next month in Haiti, for the second round of unity talks between the Confederation of African States and the Caribbean states. This is a logical step, since Pan Africanism had its roots amongst those early generations, as a movement of Africans from the mother continent and the Diaspora for liberation, self-determination and our common progress.

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I end this e-mail, and look forward to seeing you in February. I will bring along some of the chocolates from Accra that you so love, which our children can now afford.

Till we meet again, Nkosazana.

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