#### Africa at Crossroads: Africa 2063 Assessing the Development Vision of Africa Governance & Leadership

Carleton U. Institute of African Studies African Ambassadors to Canada March 12, 2015

« If you want to be relevant, now is the time to be in Africa »

Dominic Barton

Global Directing Manager

McInsey & Cie

Ottawa, February 6, 2014



- \* Raise awareness among Canadians and Canadian policy decision makers on the importance of the African continent, its opportunities and challenges, and influence policies.
- \* Offers a space for discussion among members, over 130.
- \* Affiliated to CIC-NCB
- \* Website: www.africastudygroup.ca
- \* Twitter: @AfricStudyGroup

#### Content

- 1. Governance in Agenda 2063
- 2. Governance improvements since NEPAD
- 3. Looking ahead how to achieve this vision from an African perspective.
- 4. ... from a so-called international community & Canadian perspective.

# 1.1 An integrated, prosperous, peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens & representing a dynamic force in the global arena, by 2063

- 1. Prosperous inclusive growth, sustainable development
- 2. Integrated united
- 3. Good governance, democracy, rule-of-law, human rights
- 4. Peaceful & secure: all guns to be silent by 2020
- 5. Strong cultural identity, ethics & values
- 6. People driven, unleashing the potential of women & youth
- 7. Strong, united & influential global player

## 1.2 Critical enablers for Africa Transformation

- a) The People's ownership and mobilization African resources to finance its development
- b) Accountable leadership and responsive institutions
- c) Capable and democratic developmental states and institutions
- d) Changed attitudes and mindsets
- e) A Panafrican perspective
- f) Ownership of the African narrative and brand
- g) African approach to development and transformation

### 1.3 What can good governance deliver?

To reach its 2063 goal, "Africa will need to have institutions capable of delivering, on a sustained basis, individual and property rights security to all citizens, assuring that successful people are able to reap the fruits of their efforts rather than have them appropriated by politically well-connected groups; access to quality education, health, and infrastructure services; and a business environment that fosters competition and supports innovation" <sup>1)</sup>

And I add: governance should also bring Peace & Security

<sup>1)</sup> Africa 2050 Realizing the Continent's Full Potential, Ahlers, Kato, Kohli, Madavo, Sood, 2014 Oxford University Press

# 1.4 Characteristics of a well-functioning state capable of delivering public goods

- \* Strong rule of law
- \* Capable merit-base bureaucracies/<u>clear boundaries and responsibilities between elected officials-executive and public administrations</u>.
- \* Capable police and army forces
- \* Well-functioning public expenditure and financial management systems
- \* Limited corruption
- \* Accountability culture of citizenship
- \* Acceptance and legitimacy of governance arrangements.
- \* Values ethics
- \* Human rights gender equality
- \* Unleashing innovation and creativity
- \* Leadership

# 2. Is Governance improving? Has the APRM worked?

- \* 2014 Mo Ibrahim Index: 13/52 countries improved in all 4 categories in the last five years. Since 2001: from 47,6 to 51,7, an 8% improvement.
- \* More democratic governments, but elections are not always free and fair.
- \* Outflow of illicit finance has increased by 35% between 2000 and 2009 (UNECA)– Corruption Perception Index remains well under 50.
- \* In 2013-14, SSA made more regulatory improvements than any other region. Doing Business 2014
- \* Fewer conflicts, but insecurity is increasing
- \* 34/54 countries registered to the APRM.

#### FREEDOM IN THE WORLD 2015

freedomhouse.org



Freedom in the World 2015 Findings

The Map of Freedom reflects the findings of Freedom in the World 2015, which rates the level of political rights and civil liberties in 210 countries and territories during 2014. Based on these retings, each country or territory is designated as Free, Partly Free, or

A Free country has broad scope for open political competition and a climate of respect for civil liberties. Partly Free countries have some restrictions on political rights and civil liberties. In a Not Free courty, basic political rights and civil liberties are absent or systematically violated.

Freedom Status	Country Breakdown		Population Breakdown		
FREE	88	(45%)	2,826,850,000	(40%)	FREE
PARTLY FREE	59	(30%)	1,822,000,000	(25%)	PARTLY FREE
NOT FREE	48	(25%)	2,467,900,000	(35%)	NOT FREE
Total	195		7,116,750,000		

Territories, as opposed to independent countries intelleged in itself when rated separately.



Freedom House is an independent nongovernmental organization that supports the expansion of freedom worldwid

# 3.1 Good Governance, leadership and capable institutions

- \* Where to start? Where is the leadership?
- \* From individual, to local, department, province, country, region and continent.
- \* Clear principles, strategies and action plans required.
- \* Address the credibility & accountability gaps.
- \* Dialogue and action.
- \* Bold and quick short-term actions with a plan to support sustainable transformations.

# 3.2 A few samples of potential bold actions

- \* Change the rules of the games to select key AU positions: based on principles AU want to push and regional representation to come in last.
- \* Rationalize RECs, like folding UEMOA into ECOWAS, single currency, integrated markets.
- \* Selection of public servants at all levels be merit-based.
- \* Launch platforms to engage citizens and SCOs in ensuring public goods are delivered.

### 3.3 A few samples of bold decisions

- \* Limit the number of political parties in each country and ban political parties based on regionalism and religion.
- \* Impose a 15 year limit to Heads of State.
- \* When elections are not free and fair, declare it.
- \* Design and introduce report cards applicable to villages, cities, districts, provinces, countries, sub-regions, etc., involving stakeholders. Or results-based budgets with public forums and communications to discuss choices when planning budgets and report-back on expenses.
- \* Publish court decisions.

### 3. Pragmatic Leadership

- 1. "Ability of its leaders to persevere during the inevitable ups and downs to maintain a sharp focus on the long-term, and to make continuous adjustments in strategy and policies to respond to changing circumstances within and outside the continent despite relentless pressures of day-to-day..."
- 2. The willingness to adopt and pursue pragmatic rather than ideological or geopolitical approaches to policymaking and thus keep a strict focus on results.
- 3. Building much greater mutual trust and confidence between major economies of the region as the basis for effective regional cooperation and collaboration
- 4. Commitment and ability of Africa's leadership to modernize governance and institutions on a continuous basis, while enhancing transparency & accountability throughout.

### 4. 1What could the international community do differently?

- \* When elections are not free and fair, declare it.
- \* Fair trade and private investment rules and prosecute offenders: change the rules of the game.
- \* Provide financial and technical support to African-led peace keeping missions, AU and the new RECs.
- \* Increase transparency of banking system and help the repatriation of illicit funds.
- \* Increase ODA & make it more predictable & transparent.
- \* Use country systems.

### 4.2 What Should Canada Do Differently?

- 1. Engage in a full review of Canadian foreign policy, in consultation with Canadians (citizens, private sector and CSOs) to develop a coherent foreign policy with an Africa specific strategy, drawing on all foreign policy tools. Ensure that diplomacy, trade, immigration and security policies are congruent with the overall objective of achieving prosperity and security for all.
- 2. Recognize the geopolitical importance of Africa and initiate a paradigm shift from top-down relationships to **equal partnerships based on mutual respect and benefits**. Ban the imposed priority sectors that shift every couple of years.
- 3. No one size fits all: pull together a differentiated approach on the basis of country needs and level of fragility, development. Develop a specific approach for fragile states.

#### 4.3 What Should Canada Do Differently?

- 4. Invest in governance and security: state building, management of natural resources, fiscal management, transborder management, police & army training, and support regional integration through capacity development and infrastructure projects.
- 5. Introduce mandatory compliance to international CSR standards with prosecution in Canada.
- 6. Apply the 2008 ODAA Act.
- 7. Redefine effectiveness for the long-run, instead of short term delivery of public goods in lieu of African governments.
- 8. Evaluate the focus countries policy do we have more influence? Impact? Reduced delivery costs? Selection criteria?

#### 4.4 What Should Canada Do Differently

- 9. Work with the African diaspora to leverage their influence and impact.
- 10. Work with multilateral organizations, African organizations and like-minded countries to improve partnerships, and exercise more influence.
- 11. Give Canadian public servants the capacity to implement development programs, once approved by the political level.
- 12. Reinvest in diplomacy: presence & influence is important.
- 13. Reimagine financing for development: African countries, remittances, increased ODA, why not a global tax?

### Key concluding messages

- \* Africa is at crossroads today, it enjoys strong economic growth, which facilitates transformation towards a more inclusive society, sustainable economic growth, and better democratic governments.
- \* To succeed, bold actions are required first by African countries themselves, their citizens, but also by the international community.
- \* Canada should engage in a full review of its foreign policy, strive to regain its influence in the world and reinvent its relationship with Africa to build multi-stakeholder partnerships, involving not just the government, but also the private sector, CSOs, and international organizations.
- \* Move from aid effectiveness to development effectiveness.
- \* Together, it is possible!