

Department of Economic and Social Affairs

Division for Public Economics  
and Public Administration

# **Governance in Africa: Consolidating the Institutional Foundations**



United Nations • New York, 1999

## Notes

The designations employed and the presentation of the material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Secretariat of the United Nations concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area, or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

The designations “developed” and “developing” economies are intended for statistical convenience and do not necessarily imply a judgement about the stage reached by a particular country or area in the development process.

The term “country” as used in the text of this publication also refers, as appropriate, to territories or areas.

The term “dollar” normally refers to the United States dollar (\$).

The views expressed are those of the individual authors and do not imply any expression of opinion on the part of the United Nations.

Enquiries concerning this publication may be directed to:

Mr. Guido Bertucci  
Director  
Division for Public Economics and Public Administration  
Department of Economic and Social Affairs  
United Nations, New York, NY 10017, USA  
Fax: (212) 963-9681

Please note that the publications on Public Administration and Development now appear under the symbol ST/ESA/PAD/SER.E/.... This is a continuation of the series of publications formerly issued under the symbol ST/TCD/SER.E/....

## FOREWORD

It is expected that efforts to consolidate governance institutions throughout Africa will be rewarded by the fruits of social stability and economic well-being. While remarkable strides have been made in some circumstances, substantial gaps persist in countries which are still grappling with the issues of civil strife, political instability and poverty. Many of these gaps can be attributed to the continued existence of fragile political, social and economic institutions. Strong and dependable institutions provide frameworks within which people can work jointly towards positive common futures. Strong institutional frameworks in social and economic governance will provide the enabling environment for development when they can ensure foresight, strategies and implementation follow-through to meet the challenges of diverse regional situations and a turbulent global economy. These frameworks extend beyond the civic society fabric and the legal basis to include institutions, such as creative think tanks, strong operational ministries, robust court and police systems and lively community and civil society processes.

Through increased capacity-building and management improvement, both the State and private sectors, as well as civil society institutions, can gain the respect and trust of the people. National institutions, such as the constitution, the parliament, the judiciary, the public service and local governments, can be strengthened and, where appropriate, their actions can be coordinated. Their products and services can be surveyed and improved. Their processes can be made more relevant, transparent and accountable. The various sectors can be linked and coordinated for maximum growth and dynamism. This strong national institutional framework represents a consolidation of the foundations for good governance in Africa.

In 1990, for example, the Addis Ababa Declaration by African Heads of State and Governments

called for an acceleration of the democratic process, for which the national institutional framework can be, at best, well grounded, catalytic and sustainable. Within the United Nations system and the global community, a series of recent activities have highlighted the importance of governance issues in Africa.

In June 1995, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) adopted the Cairo Agenda for Action, designed to relaunch Africa's economic and social development. The OAU members recognized that "democracy, good governance, peace, security, stability and justice are among the most essential factors in African socioeconomic development", and committed themselves to "ensure the speedy promotion of good governance, characterized by accountability, probity, transparency, equal application of the rule of law and a clear separation of powers, as an objective and a condition for rapid and sustainable development in African society."

In March 1996, the Secretary-General of the United Nations launched the United Nations systemwide Special Initiative for Africa, as the operational arm of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. As part of this special initiative, a focused subprogramme emerged, entitled the Special Initiative on Governance in Africa, which recognized that sound institutions and a productive interface with civil society provide a solid foundation for transparent, responsible and effective governance.

In April 1996, the resumed 50th session of the United Nations General Assembly on Public Administration and Development, the first General Assembly session in United Nations history focusing on the role of public administration and development, issued resolution 50/225, which reaffirmed that "transparent and accountable governance and administration in all sectors of

society are indispensable foundations for development.”

In July 1997, the First African Forum on Governance, held in Addis Ababa, organized by the United Nations Development Programme’s Regional Bureau for Africa and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, brought together a select number of African governments to review their national governance programmes. The Global Conference on Governance, organized by the Management Development and Governance Division of the United Nations Development Programme, in cooperation with the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, provided a valuable platform for the exchange of international experiences in improving governance practices.

Many international nongovernmental organizations have also held dialogues on governance issues. The Global Coalition for Africa provides a framework for donor and recipient countries to discuss future directions of development assistance.

Achieving sustainable human development and economic growth requires initiatives built on: (1) firm institutional foundations; (2) a commitment of all actors to principles that will facilitate the judicious exercise of power; (3) adherence to professionalism and ethical behaviour in public service; and (4) an active and responsible civil society interacting with state institutions constructively.

Contributing to this dialogue, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa jointly organized the “Conference on Governance in Africa: Consolidating the Institutional Foundations.” The Conference made recommendations on how to strengthen governing institutions and maintain a dynamic balance between them in order to create an appropriate foundation for good governance. To this end, the conference deliberations addressed the following thematic areas:

- How can the State strengthen the “rule of law” and the relationships among state powers and institutions, including legislative, executive and judiciary?
- How to nurture a functional and mutually beneficial relationship between citizens and state institutions? and
- How to enhance the public service in its role to facilitate economic and social development?

The Conference was divided into two parts. The first two days were devoted to a roundtable of eminent persons drawn from within and outside Africa with relevant experience in societal and governance transformation. An additional 75 other distinguished conference participants, representing state institutions, local governments, non-governmental organizations, academicians, women's organizations, professional associations and the press, attended the roundtable as observers, and then continued their discussion during the three-day workshop that followed, focusing on elaborating the strategies suggested by the roundtable participants. A number of multilateral and bilateral organizations also attended the workshop as observers and cosponsors.

After an initial plenary discussion, the workshop participants divided into three working groups:

- Modalities for strengthening the rule of law and interrelations between key governance institutions (legislative, executive, and judiciary); place and role of the constitution; and legal and legislative framework;
- The role of the public service; and
- Configurations of the public service/civil society interface, including building “social capital.”

This report includes the main points raised at the Conference.

*Guido Bertucci*  
*Director*  
*Division for Public Economics and Public*

## CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Foreword .....  | iii |
| Message of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan .....  | 1   |
| Keynote Address by Dr. Julius K. Nyerere, Former President of the<br>United Republic of Tanzania and Chairman of the South Centre ..... | 3   |
| Summary of the Conference Deliberations .....   | 9   |
| Introduction .....  | 11  |
| Governance and Institutional Development .....  | 12  |
| The Public Service and Development .....  | 16  |
| The Role of Civil Society in Governance .....   | 18  |
| Key Recommendations .....   | 20  |

### Annexes

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Annex I. Opening Statement by Mr. K.Y. Amoako, Executive Secretary<br>of ECA .....                   | 25 |
| Annex II. Address by Mr. Guido Bertucci, Director, DPEPA/DESA,<br>United Nations .....               | 27 |
| Annex III. Address by Mr. Yasuhiro Hamada, Ambassador of Japan to<br>Ethiopia .....                  | 30 |
| Annex IV. Address by H.E. Mr. Woredewolde Wolde, Minister of Justice<br>of Ethiopia .....            | 32 |
| Annex V. Address by Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General,<br>Organization of African Unity ..... | 34 |
| Annex VI. List of Participants .....   | 40 |

Annex VII. Working Papers ..... 53



**MESSAGE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL  
OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
MR. KOFI ANNAN**

It gives me great pleasure to convey a message to this important gathering, which brings together representatives of Governments, private sector enterprises and civil society groups to discuss an issue of critical importance for African peace and development.

I would like to thank everyone involved for their contributions: The Governments of Ethiopia and Japan; the Commonwealth Secretariat; His Excellency Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere and the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation; and my United Nations colleagues in the Department of Economic and Social Affairs and the Economic Commission for Africa.

In my address to the Organization of African Unity last year in Harare, I spoke of three waves of momentous change in modern Africa. The first, of course, was the period of decolonization and the struggle against apartheid. The second, in the immediate post-colonial period, was marked all too often by civil war, the tyranny of military rule and economic stagnation. A third wave, I said, was now in prospect: an era of democracy, human rights and sustainable development.

But for the third wave to take hold, it must be rooted in strong political, economic and social institutions with a solid foundation. African nations – individually and collectively, with the support of the United Nations and other partners – need to build the governance structures, systems and frameworks so that Governments can do what their publics expect of them: facilitate economic growth; protect individual and group rights; and balance the differing interests in a society.

We live in an era of rapid and profound transformation. One of the most positive changes of recent years has come in the relationship between government and the governed.

Governments are adapting to globalization, liberalizing their economies and integrating themselves into the global marketplace. They are pursuing political and economic reforms which can strain services and entail considerable sacrifice.

Civil society, for its part, is an increasingly robust and important force, nationally and internationally. Indeed, the growth of civil society, and expanding partnerships between Government, the business community and private investors, has helped nations boost their productivity and register gains in other basic economic indicators. Civil society groups have been instrumental in encouraging democratic transfers of power, and they have accelerated the movement towards participatory governance and organized activity by non-state actors.

These changes are both welcome and necessary. The promise of equitable, sustainable development is predicated on transparent, accountable governance. Good governance and sustainable development are indivisible; the former provides the foundation for the latter. That is why it is vital for the fundamental prerequisites of good governance to be elaborated and refined.

In the days ahead you will explore the central institutions of governance and ways of ensuring that they function effectively, efficiently and judiciously. These indispensable elements include the constitutional framework and measures needed to safeguard the rule of law; the role of civil society and how to enhance its capacity to interact with government; and, finally, the public service and the need to build sound relationships with the political leadership and civil society.

It is my sincere hope that this Roundtable and Workshop will produce a fruitful exchange of views and lessons, and lead to innovative ideas on

how to consolidate the institutional foundations for good and effective governance in Africa. The United Nations system stands ready to continue

working with you to propel the continent forward. In that spirit, please accept my best wishes for the success of your deliberations.

**KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY DR. JULIUS K. NYERERE  
FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA  
AND CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTH CENTRE**

A few years ago I attended a meeting of the Global Coalition for Africa in Harare, Zimbabwe. It was chaired by President Masire of Botswana and attended by a substantial number of African Heads of State. From outside Africa, it was attended by the two cochairmen of the GCA, Robert McNamara from the United States and Ian Pronk from the Netherlands, and a large number of officials from the donor community. At a certain point in the course of the discussion, the question of good governance in Africa came up. But it came up as a condition of giving aid to African countries. The manner of the discussion and the fact that this was an exchange between African Heads of State and officials from wealthy countries were deeply disturbing.

It reminded me of the social history of Great Britain before the advent of the welfare state. The extremes of individual or family poverty within that country were dealt with through the philanthropy of rich persons to whom such human misery was unbearable. But their charity was given only to those they regarded as the “deserving poor.” This, in practice, meant that it was given only to those people regarded by the philanthropist as having demonstrated an acceptance of the social and economic status quo – and for as long as they did so.

As the world’s powerful nations have not (as yet) accepted the principle of international welfare, they apply the same ‘deserving poor’ notion to the reality of poverty outside their own countries. “Aid” and noncommercial credit are regarded not as springing from the principles of human rights or international solidarity, regardless of national borders, but as charity extended as a matter of altruism by richer governments to the less

developed and very poor nations. However, the quantity of this “official” charity being increasingly inadequate to meet the most obvious needs, one of the criteria for a nation being classified as among the world’s “deserving poor” came to be having “good governance” as defined by the donor community.

In practice, that phrase means that those countries have multiparty systems of democracy, economies based on the principle of private ownership and international free trade, and a good record of human rights – again, as defined by the industrialized market economy countries of the North. It was in this context that we in Africa first heard about “good governance”; and this was the manner in which it was brought up at the Harare meeting to which I have referred.

It was this aid-related discussion of good governance, a matter between aid-givers and aid-seekers, and the arrogant and patronizing manner in which it was raised by the aid-givers that discredited the whole subject in the eyes of many of us in Africa and other parts of the South. When used in this manner, good governance sounded like a tool for neocolonialism. We have therefore tended to despise the concept even as, out of necessity, we try to qualify under it.

I am very far from being alone in rejecting neocolonialism, regardless of the methods adopted to bring it about, or to enforce it or to describe it! Yet we cannot avoid the fact that many of our problems in Africa arise from bad governance. I believe that we need to improve governance everywhere in Africa in order to enable our people to build real freedom and real development for themselves and their countries. I allowed myself to be persuaded to be a “convener” of this Conference

on Governance in Africa because I believe that it provides an opportunity for us to understand more about our past political and economic policy mistakes and see how we can improve the management of our affairs as we grope towards the Twenty-first Century.

We have been provided with some excellent papers to help the Conference in its work, and I would like to thank the authors and the organizers for them. Not only did they contribute to my own education, but they also make it unnecessary for me to do more than emphasize certain points which are elucidated in those papers.

Governments bear the final responsibility for the state of the nation – its internal and external peace, and the well-being of its people. It is the distinction between the words “government” and “governance” which draws attention to the reality that, despite its enforcement agencies, government (in the sense of the executive authority) is not the sole determinant of whether those responsibilities are fulfilled. For there are always other forces within a country which, in practice, can help or hinder the effectiveness of a government, and which it therefore ignores at its peril. This point is well made in a number of the papers which have been produced for this Conference.

Government is an instrument of the State. Today there is a call, emanating from the North, for the weakening of the State. In my view Africa should ignore this call. Our States are so weak and anemic already that it would almost amount to a crime to weaken them further. We have a duty to strengthen the African States in almost every possible respect; one of the objectives of improving the governance of our countries is to strengthen the African States and thus enable them to serve the people of Africa better. One result of weakening the State can be observed in Somalia. There are many potential Somalias in Africa if we heed the Northern call to weaken the State. In any case, dieting and other slimming exercises are appropriate for the opulent who overeat, but very inappropriate for the emaciated and starving! Incidentally, the world has changed indeed! The withering of the State used to

be the ultimate objective of good Marxists. Today the weakening of the State is the immediate objective of free-marketeers!

In advocating a strong State I am not advocating an overburdened State, nor one with a bloated bureaucracy. To advocate a strong State is to advocate one which, among other things, has power to act on behalf of the people in accordance with their wishes. And in a market economy, with its law of the jungle, we need a State that has the capacity to intervene on behalf of the weak. No State is really strong unless its government has the full consent of at least the majority of its people; and it is difficult to envisage how that consent can be obtained outside democracy. So a call for a strong State is not a call for dictatorship either. Indeed, all dictatorships are basically weak because the means they apply in governance make them inherently unstable.

The key to a government’s effectiveness and its ability to lead the nation lies in a combination of three elements: first, its closeness to its people and its responsiveness to their needs and demands; in other words, democracy; secondly, its ability to coordinate and bring into a democratic balance the many functional and often competing sectional institutions which groups of people have created to serve their particular interests; and thirdly, the efficiency of the institutions (official and unofficial) by means of which its decisions are made known and implemented throughout the country.

It goes without saying that all of the institutions must be rooted in and appropriate to the society to which they are applied. The machinery through which a government stays close to the people and the people close to their government will differ according to the history, the demographic distribution, the traditional culture (or cultures), and the prevailing international political and economic environment in which it has to operate. Democracy means much more than voting on the basis of adult suffrage every few years. It means, among other things, attitudes of tolerance and willingness to cooperate with others on terms of equality.

An essential ingredient in democracy is that it is based on the equality of all the people within a nation's boundary, and that all the laws of the land apply to all adults without exception. The nation's constitution must provide methods by which the people can, without recourse to violence, control the government which emerges in accordance with it and even specify the means for its own amendment. In short, the constitution itself must be based on the principles of the rule of law.

It is inevitably the government which is responsible for upholding the rule of law within the State. This, together with the making of laws, is one of the most important of its responsibilities to the people. But the government itself is subject to the constitution. All heads of state swear to honour and protect the constitution. This is as it should be, for the constitution is the supreme law of the land. We cannot respect ordinary state laws if we do not respect the constitution under which they were promulgated. A scrupulous respect for the constitution is the basis of the principle of the rule of law.

It seems to me that some of us tend to forget that logic. Presidents, prime ministers and sometimes all members of a government seek to amend a constitution in their own favour, even when they come to office through and because of the provisions of a constitution which they have sworn to honour.

Too often, for example, we have seen presidents seeking to lengthen the number of terms they serve, despite the limit laid down in the constitution. This practice is wrong. It cheapens the constitution of the country concerned. If and when experience shows that the restriction laid down in the constitution is too restrictive and needs to be changed, (which in my view should be very, very rare), the change should not lengthen the term of the current officeholder, who is bound in honour to observe the restriction under which he or she was elected in the first place. More importantly, the first president to be elected under a restricted term of office must never change the constitution to lengthen that term. If he or she does it, it is

difficult to see how subsequent presidents can honour the new restriction. Furthermore, if the provision of a limited term of office irks one president or prime minister, another provision of the constitution could irk another president or prime minister. We might then expect the constitution of the country to be changed after every general election. This is a point which in my view needs much emphasis. No respect for the constitution leads to no basis for the rule of law.

About the nature of government machinery, as vitally important as that is to the maintenance (or establishment) of peace, justice and the people's well-being, I need say little. Several of the previously circulated papers provide an excellent basis for serious consideration of this topic and its manifold implications for good governance. However, I would like to emphasize one or two related points.

All the institutions and processes of democracy and democratic administration cost a great deal of money to establish, maintain and operate. That applies equally to official and spontaneous unofficial institutions and to cooperation among them. Further, to be effective, all such structures rely heavily upon the existence of a politically conscious civil society, which is active, organized and alert. Such a civil society will have a good understanding about the existence and functions of the various institutions, and about both their powers and the constitutional limits to their power. Dictators generally prefer an ignorant and passive or malleable population. It is easier to manipulate such a population and parade the result as people's participation.

Yet Africa is at present poverty-stricken. I am the first to admit that a country does not have to be rich in order to be democratic. But a minimum amount of resources is needed in order to meet some minimum requirements of good governance. In Africa today, even the high echelons of the civil service receive salaries which are inadequate to keep a family for a month, and the minimum wage is derisory. All salaries (especially of teachers and health workers) are frequently delayed. Nor have the people in general been the beneficiaries at any

time of a well-organized education system directed at enlarging public understanding of and active participation in modern democratic institutions and processes.

Poverty is an enemy of good governance, and persistent poverty is a destabilizer, especially if such poverty is shared in a grossly unequal manner or is widely regarded as being unfairly distributed, as the few who are relatively rich indulge in conspicuous consumption. Known or suspected corruption among political leaders often makes the problem worse, and corruption throughout the society more difficult to overcome. Good wages or salaries will not stop bad people from being corrupt, but miserable wages and salaries are not conducive to rectitude. Political instability, real or imagined, can be a source of, and is often used as an excuse for, bad governance.

To say this is very different from saying that because Africa is poor, Africans do not deserve good governance. This continent is not distinguished for its good governance of the peoples of Africa and their affairs. Poverty may be a problem, and I believe that it is a problem, as we try to establish the conditions for good governance throughout Africa. But without good governance, we cannot eradicate poverty, for no corrupt government is interested in the eradication of poverty. On the contrary, as we have seen in many parts of Africa and elsewhere, widespread corruption in high places breeds poverty.

Nor in saying this am I asking this conference to accept the widespread belief that Africa has more corrupt, more tyrannical and more power-hungry elites than other continents, either now or historically. While avoiding the living and naming only a few of the dead, it is surely easy to see that in the past 75 years alone, Mobutu, Bokassa and our military coup leaders can be compared to Franco, Mussolini, Hitler, and the military juntas of Europe and elsewhere. In all European countries where the term of office is not limited by the constitution, my fellow politicians there pride themselves on how long, not on how briefly, they remain in power. The trouble is that Amin,

Bokassa and Mobutu are Africans, whereas Franco, Hitler and Mussolini were Spanish, German and Italian, and Africa had nothing to do with their rise to power.

Rather than conduct a post-mortem, this conference should try to help Africa and African countries to move forward from where we are now by addressing the central issue of building and strengthening the institutional framework of our continent and its countries. In doing so, the conference has to face the realities of Africa – all of them: the internal ones, where our theoretically sovereign nations find that their freedom to act is obstructed by the depth of our poverty and technological backwardness; and those external to us and beyond our control, in relation to which we are like a collection of pygmies in a world where giants stalk, and from where modern and constantly changing technology floods outwards over the world like an irresistible tide.

Still, none of these things justify despair. As the conference analyses the problems faced by Africa and tries to work out practical solutions to all the obstacles facing our countries, I believe it can take comfort and gain strength from what has been achieved thus far, despite everything. Let me mention some of the encouraging factors.

Most African countries are now, once again, “coping” with the worst of their economic problems, and some are making good progress towards better living conditions for their people. We hear little about such difficult triumphs over adversity in the context of international recessions and violent changes in primary commodity prices, for example.

Most of our countries are now living in a state of internal peace, a peace which is deepening. We do not hear about such peace unless it is broken. Despite the artificial and often unclear national borders of Africa, our States have largely avoided violent conflict among themselves. Despite the histories of other continents, that accomplishment is ignored – even within Africa. Although this important success has been achieved largely

through the work of the Organization of African Unity (which African States themselves established), the media and the international community generally refer to the OAU with derision, if at all.

Our children's expectation of life, and all that those statistics imply, has greatly improved, except where countries became direct or indirect surrogates in cold war conflicts, or were for special reasons among the countries involved in prolonged civil strife.

Africa now has a core of highly educated and internationally recognized experts in various fields. Your presence here and the quality of the papers you have produced is proof of that. Given the number of technically and professionally educated Africans in our countries at independence, and the paucity of secondary or tertiary educational institutions at that time, the number of high calibre experts in Africa is now much larger than could reasonably have been expected after this lapse of time. Perhaps we are misusing them, but they are here now. At independence, some of our countries had no trained people at all.

Finally, for better or worse, the first generation of our leaders is fast being replaced by the second or even the third. Most of them are better educated, relatively free from the mental hangovers of colonialism, and have had the opportunity to learn from the mistakes and successes of their predecessors.

With the help of work done at this conference I am

confident that African States, individually and in cooperation with one another, can step by step and in an orderly fashion, move towards "good governance". That is the last point I wish to make to you today.

The OAU exists and assists in the maintenance or restoration of peace and cooperation within Africa, even if it is too severely weakened in action and capacity by its lack of resources. Some subregional organizations are making limited but useful contributions to stability, peace and economic progress in their respective areas. I hope that, as the conference considers how African States can improve their governance, it will also take into consideration the advantages to them of moving towards cooperation and unity of action within and across our continent.

The machinery of government and of unofficial institutions within African States can facilitate or hinder movement towards greater intra-African cooperation. In addition, all-African institutions, as well as those working on a subregional basis, may well be able to benefit from the conference's deliberations, provided the latter bears in mind the prospective importance of the role these that these intra-African institutions can play in strengthening us all.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you and the other conference participants for your patience. I wish you fruitful discussions.



**SUMMARY OF  
CONFERENCE DELIBERATIONS**



## INTRODUCTION

The Conference entitled “Governance in Africa: Consolidating the Institutional Foundations,” was convened in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from 2 to 6 March 1998. It was jointly organized by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), with the assistance of the Government of Japan.

During the opening session, conference participants heard a message from the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan; welcoming remarks by His Excellency, Mr. Woredewolde Wolde, Minister of Justice of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia; and a keynote address by the convener, former President Dr. Julius K. Nyerere. The Secretary-General’s message, which was read by the United Nations Under-Secretary-General and Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Mr. K.Y. Amoako, reaffirmed the commitment of the United Nations system to work with African countries in advancing the cause of good governance and to propel the continent forward.

The Director of the Division for Public Economics and Public Administration, Mr. Guido Bertucci, made opening remarks on behalf of Mr. Nitin Desai, Under-Secretary-General of UNDESA. As representative of the host country, H.E. Mr. Woredewolde Wolde shared with the participants the lessons of Ethiopia’s experiment in the devolution of power from the center to the local level, and wished the conference great success. In his opening remarks, the Ambassador of Japan to Ethiopia, Mr. Yasuhiro Hamada, stated that the output of the conference would be fed to the forthcoming Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD II) (see statements in annexes I-V).

The Conference brought together 66 participants

and nearly 100 observers from the international community and the United Nations. The five-day meeting was composed of two tiers: a Roundtable of a dozen eminent persons from within and outside of Africa, which took place during the first two days, followed by a three-day Workshop for distinguished practitioners from around the continent. The overall objective of the meeting was to provide a forum where participants could share views on how best to strengthen state institutions and derive implementable initiatives and strategies to facilitate the consolidation of the institutional framework for good governance in African countries (see annexes VI and VII for the list of participants and background working papers).

The conference was greatly energized by the seminal contribution of former President Nyerere to the debate on governance in Africa. From the keynote address to his interventions in later sessions, the convener set the tone for the overall discussion on strengthening the institutional foundations of good governance in Africa. Relying heavily on his past experience as a Head of State and on his vast knowledge of African politics, Dr. Nyerere showed how many of Africa’s problems arose from bad governance, and delighted the participants with memorable examples of past political and economic policy mistakes. At the same time, he felt that rather than conducting a post-mortem, the Conference should help Africa move forward with new ideas and innovative strategies for building and strengthening the institutional framework of governance. Rejecting externally imposed definitions of governance and notions of a minimalist State, he insisted on the need and the duty to strengthen the African State in order to enable it to serve the people better. Dr. Nyerere was so persuasive and his views so influential that many of them emerged as conclusions from the conference deliberations.

Conference participants were also privileged to hear from another distinguished African speaker, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim. Speaking on “Governance in Africa: Lessons Learned from the Past,” the Secretary-General of the OAU affirmed that “the fundamental principles of democracy and good governance are universal,” and that on the basis of the African experience over the past several years, “the process of democratization on the continent is irreversible.” The OAU has played and will continue to play a supportive role in this process, he indicated, so that good governance might assist efforts at addressing the critical issues of peace, security, stability and economic development in Africa. Like those of Dr. Nyerere, many of the points made by Dr. Salim can be found in the conclusions emerging from the roundtable and workshop discussions.

As expected, the conference deliberations touched on a wide range of issues relevant to the consolidation of the institutional foundations of good governance in Africa. These included the fundamental issues of the nature and objective of good

governance, the nature and role of the state, key governance institutions (the constitution, the legislature, the judiciary and the executive, including the public service) and civil society, as well as related issues of the military, elections, the opposition, women, decentralization and the media. In addition to examining these issues in detail, the conference debated the question of how to manage political transitions in a manner that facilitates the achievement of good governance. In this regard, there was a clear recognition of the need to strengthen the role of civil society organizations as integral players in the transition process. Great emphasis was placed on the need to enhance the effectiveness and legitimacy of the State as a necessary condition for economic development and the strengthening of good governance. Emerging from the roundtable and workshop discussions were a number of recommendations for possible follow-up action. The following summary of the conference deliberations presents analytical conclusions for each of the three major themes of the conference, and a summary of key recommendations.

## GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The first theme of both roundtable and workshop discussions was governance and institutional development. The debate on this theme revolved around the three traditional branches of government (legislature, judiciary, and executive), with greater emphasis on the need to strengthen the legislature (including the electoral process) and the judiciary. There was a shared view that the executive branch in most African countries was disproportionately strong and what was needed was a rerationalization of roles and responsibilities.

### *Nature and objective of good governance*

Participants were reminded of the Greek origin of the word “governance”, which relates to “steering”. While there was a recognition that the

responsibility for steering national affairs lay primarily with the public sector, it was agreed that this must be done in partnership with civil society. Where there is no partnership, there is no consultation. Experience shows that lack of effective consultation leads to poor governance.

Poor or bad governance was identified by participants as a source of many of the problems facing the African continent and the root cause of its institutional crisis. By the same token, good governance is essential to the design and implementation of economic and social development as well as to peace and security. And, in the reverse, poverty is inimical to good governance – a minimum level of economic and social well-being is necessary to sustain democracy and good governance. Poverty cannot be eradicated without good

governance, and alleviation of human misery is central to the problem of governance in Africa.

Conference participants also dealt with some of the underlying conditions of good governance. A very compelling case was made that the fundamental principles of democracy and good governance are universal, but their applicability to a specific context like Africa is a function of historical circumstances and cultural realities. The idea that democracy was not applicable to Africa, was rejected. For the ethnic, religious and other cleavages of African societies are not fundamentally different from social cleavages elsewhere. To succeed, democracy and good governance require a strong commitment to the values of equity, equality, tolerance, inclusiveness and the rule of law. The Indian Ocean island of Mauritius was singled out as an African success story with respect to inclusiveness and good governance. As a multiracial and multi-ethnic society, Mauritius has endeavored to ensure that minorities do not feel left out of the system.

### *Nature and role of the State*

The specific nature of the State as a set of governance institutions and its economic and social role in contemporary Africa were discussed in connection with good governance in Africa. There was widespread agreement that the externally driven idea of a minimalist State, or the notion of shrinking the State to the benefit of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), was not desirable. It was argued that Africa should ignore the call for weakening the State, as the continent is already beset by too many weak States. There is a need to strengthen the African State in order to make it serve the people better.

Participants, however, noted that a strong State is not necessarily an overburdened one nor one with a bloated bureaucracy. It is, on the contrary, a State that has the power or capacity to act efficiently in meeting the interests and needs of the people. In a market economy dominated by the rich, the State has to intervene on behalf of the poor. In order to

mediate between conflicting claims and interests, the State must be stronger rather than weaker. And this is essential for purposes of formulating and implementing economic policy. For some participants, a central question for African democracies is the capacity to set up viable economic systems. For a democracy without food, clean water, schools and other basic necessities of life cannot be sustained.

In addition to the NGOs, the State as a central locus for action is challenged by the international community, particularly with respect to economic policy. Are policy decisions made internally or imposed from the outside? Can African States follow the example of the Asian countries to industrialize their economies? These and related questions were discussed with reference to the role of the State in the economy and the prerequisites for sustainable economic growth like good governance and political stability.

How the State meets the challenge of economic growth will depend on several factors, including its legitimacy, effectiveness and the level of institutional development. Legitimacy and effectiveness are interrelated, where legitimacy refers to the State's acceptance by the people and effectiveness to its capacity to accomplish what it promises to do. When a government is effective, it builds legitimacy; and when it is legitimate, it can count on popular support to enhance its effectiveness. This, however, is a function of the level of institutional development, which, it was noted, remains low in most African countries.

Low institutional capacity was seen as being integrally tied to the problem of legitimacy and the manner in which the State is perceived by most people in Africa. So long as the masses see the state as a means of access to riches for rulers and their entourage, the tendency will be to distrust state institutions. For the State to overcome this lack of legitimacy and be perceived as a set of impartial institutions, a great deal of institution-building and commensurate awareness-building must take place. This is critical to creating the appropriate perception and trust.

### ***Legal foundations and key governance institutions***

Much of the conference debate revolved around the central or key institutions of governance, the linkages and relationships between them, and their interface with civil society. The crucial role of the constitution as the fundamental law and basic expression of the rule of law was affirmed. There is no democracy without the rule of law, and all the institutions of government must respect the constitution. In Africa, new and very good constitutions are being adopted. Although the population is usually consulted through the referendum, greater effort is needed to build a culture of respect for the constitution among both the general public and political leaders. This is all the more necessary in view of the fact that constitutions have not only been violated by those sworn to uphold them, but have been amended to suit incumbent regimes.

One of the constitutional requirements of good governance is the clear definition of the roles and powers of the three traditional branches of government: the legislature, the judiciary and the executive. Good governance demands that each power be called to task if it violates the rules or interferes with the work of the other two. Participants debated, among other issues, the extent to which checks and balances are respected in the real functioning of African political institutions; the need to make legislatures more answerable to their electorates than to the wishes of the ruling party, i.e., the executive; and doing away with the personality cult, nepotism, clientelism and personal rule in the executive branch. Questions were raised about the appropriateness of power sharing as a principle of governance in multiparty systems and about term limits for executive officeholders. It was felt that these and related questions deserve more scrutiny as part of Africa's search for the most appropriate and stable institutions of good governance.

Much of the discussion on the key governance institutions centered on the institutional development of the legislature, the judiciary and other law enforcement agencies. With respect to the legisla-

ture, the main issues were twofold.

First, there was the question of institutional capacity-building for Parliament and its subunits, or legislative committees, to fulfill their missions of making laws, controlling the executive and responding to the aspirations and demands of the people.

Second, there was the need for training (i.e., skills development, knowledge enhancement, and attitude change) the legislators and their assistants or technical personnel to be more productive and effective in their work. This implies developing skills for making laws, including drafting bills, improving investigative methods and techniques, and fulfilling all the other oversight functions in a competent manner. Capacity-building for parliamentarians may be achieved through national training programmes, exchange programmes with other parliaments, and participation in study missions, brainstorming workshops and major conferences.

With respect to the judicial branch, the central issue involves reinforcing the independence, integrity and competence of the judiciary. Participants agreed that the independence of the judiciary should be enhanced by its financial autonomy. Other issues discussed included the procedure for appointing judges; improving the career and working conditions of judges; and improving the quality of judges, magistrates and judicial services, through continuous training and retooling. The problem of lower courts was also debated, but it was difficult to develop a consensus on the issue, given the great variety in the experiences of these courts, including traditional or customary courts operating on bases other than written law. However, it was agreed that as law enforcement agencies, these courts and their officers should be trained to observe and respect the basic rights of the people who appear before them.

The question of the abuse of authority and violation of human rights by the courts, the police and other law enforcement agencies figured promi-

nently in the conference deliberations on capacity-building for legal framework and enforcement. Although much of the debate centered on the police and corruption, the institutional strengthening of all law-enforcement agencies, including the public prosecutors and prisons, and of the entire legal system and community, was deemed essential to the promotion of the rule of law and good governance. Participants were concerned that the existing low levels of remuneration for public servants generally, judges and other law-enforcement officers in particular, continued to undermine the effectiveness of the judiciary and create conditions conducive to corruption.

Overall, the participants emphasized the centrality of the constitution in national affairs and advocated that constitutions should be translated into indigenous languages so that the vast majority of the people can have better knowledge of their rights and responsibilities under the law.

### ***Political transitions in Africa***

The debate on the various issues related to governance in Africa pointed to the conclusion that constitutions and institutional structures in themselves are not enough to ensure good governance. In addition, active involvement of the people in local and national affairs is essential. Recognizing the tremendous developments in Africa in the last few years in creating conditions for stability and economic development, the participants generally agreed that the democratization process is now irreversible. There was recognition that snags, bottlenecks, and other interruptions may occur, but these would be short-lived.

The participants discussed extremely useful experiences on governance institutions in Asia, the Caribbean, North America, and South Africa. Much of the discussion centered on the public service and the relationship between the senior public service and political authorities. In the developing countries and regions examined, it was noted that the crisis of the State was an important dimension of the overall crisis of development. The State was no longer a place for upward mobility

for university graduates and aspiring middle classes, as public service salaries and benefits were increasingly inferior to those in the private sector.

In this context, the reform effort with respect to improving the quality of policy-making, management and service delivery calls for greater partnership between political authorities and the public service; an inclusive rather than exclusive or authoritarian leadership style; a performance-based reward system in the public service; and appropriate mechanisms of service delivery involving the strengthening of local governments and community groups, including NGOs. Other reform strategies mentioned that could be of potential benefit to the political transitions in Africa include a clearer definition of the role of government in society, together with the most appropriate and affordable programmes; reinvigorating the public service through risk-taking approaches to problem-solving; and strengthening the legislative and judicial branches of government by providing them with their own budgets.

An important dimension of the current political transitions in Africa is the role that women can and do play in the process. Participants were reminded of the need to recognize the contribution of women as central actors in governance and in the promotion of peace and conflict resolution in Africa. The gender dimension of governance should be actively promoted at all levels of decision-making and in all the institutions of the State, civil society and the private sector. It is therefore necessary to infuse public policy and strategy with gender sensitivity, as in India, where gender balance is pursued through appropriate statutory provision. There was a strong view that the contribution of women in the structure for freedom and democracy was neither adequately acknowledged nor rewarded.

Unlike the other developing regions of the world, where civilian control over the military is fairly well established, military coups d'état remain a real threat to the transition from authoritarianism to democracy in Africa. If there was widespread consensus that no military intervention against

democratically elected governments should be allowed, questions were raised about what to do should an elected government become corrupt and/or dictatorial. The political culture of the military was noted as a significant factor in the decision to intervene. The politicization of the army in Tanzania after the 1964 mutiny, and the contrast between Burundi in 1993 and South Africa in 1994 following major elections, were shown as important case studies in political culture and civil-military relations in Africa. The participants also noted the valuable role that regional groupings, such as the Economic Community of West African States, can play in forestalling the perpetuation of military regimes.

Elections and the role of the opposition in a democracy were two other issues discussed in connection with the political transitions in Africa. It was noted that voter registration remains low, and that in recent times there has been a low turnout of registered voters at the polls. Although voter apathy is not limited to Africa, it is a matter of concern in a continent where free and fair elections are still an unfulfilled demand of the democracy movement. Part of the reason for voter apathy is the fact that the vast majority of the population is still not involved in the political debate. Another reason is that the electoral process

has yet to achieve a high level of credibility. Even where independent electoral commissions do exist, people are still skeptical about the fairness of the process, and losers have yet to accept their defeat as being part of the democratic process. A third reason is the role that money plays in electoral outcomes. Dealing with electoral corruption remains a major challenge of the democratization process in Africa.

Consistent with the issues of power sharing and the fairness of the electoral process, it was suggested that there is need for Africa to rethink the role and value of political opposition. Is it necessary to have an European-type opposition? What accounts for the immaturity, the weakness and the opportunism of much of the opposition in Africa today? No consensus emerged on this subject at the conference. However, the ideal of maintaining an open dialogue between the ruling party and the opposition was emphasized. The Botswana practice, whereby all political parties are brought together at an annual conference to discuss policy options, was cited as a positive example of how hostilities between political parties can be diffused. Including members of the opposition in leadership positions in the standing committees of Parliament should also help consolidate the institutional foundations of good governance.

## THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND DEVELOPMENT

The second major area of focus for the Conference was the executive branch, with particular emphasis on the public service, its role in governance, and its contribution to development goals. Issues of particular interest included the question of how to measure the performance of the public service; the problem of corruption and how to deal with it; and the current preoccupation with public service reform through institutional development and capacity-building for economic and social development. Building capacity, together with promoting the professionalism of the service and enforcing a code of ethics for its agents, was seen as central to the whole question of consolidating

and strengthening the institutional foundations for good governance in Africa.

### *Nature of the public service and its role in governance*

The discussion on the public service began with exercises in definition. After a fruitful exchange of views, participants distinguished between the notion of civil service and public service and agreed to focus on the latter, as it was more inclusive, referring to all agencies of public administration, including parastatals and law enforcement agencies. The latter definition has the

advantage of situating the public service at the intersection of a network of relations between administrative, political and economic structures. And it is this point of convergence that helps explain the role of the public service in governance and its contribution to economic growth and development.

Since decolonization, African countries have sought to establish development administration systems to serve the people in meeting their basic needs and aspirations for economic and social development. To a large extent, this goal was not met, as the capacity built up in the wake of independence was eroded by the combined effect of institutional decay and persistent economic crisis, resulting in a diminished ability to perform both routine and developmental tasks in a satisfactory manner. How to correct this situation with a lean and yet competent and effective public service that would motivate individual agents and reward merit, figured prominently in the discussions. However, much of the debate revolved around two questions: measuring public service performance and the problem of corruption.

### ***Measuring public service performance***

The question of measuring public service performance is basic for good governance in the sense that the administration must be held accountable for its acts. Assessing what is accomplished against the objectives or operational goals of the public service, should help not only with accountability, but also with establishing a system of monitoring continuous improvement in performance. It was noted that the objectives are generally fixed with reference to the missions or policy goals of the administration. Very often, there is a marked discrepancy between the expectations of users and the actual services rendered. Moreover, some of the objectives are difficult to measure in the short term, and most administrations in Africa have not shown much interest in what their clients think of their work.

If performance evaluation consists in measuring results against the defined objectives and policy

goals, the choice of indicators, whether qualitative or quantitative, is often controversial. The norms of the evaluation, the identity of the evaluators and the manner in which the evaluation itself is carried out are also subjects on which agreement is not easy to establish. In spite of these constraints, supervision, control and monitoring of public service performance are part and parcel of the functions of the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches of government, respectively. Independent commissions such as the Office of the Ombudsman and citizen review boards or panels can also play the monitoring role so that the public service may remain faithful to its mission of serving the people.

### ***Professionalism and ethics in the public service***

Corruption is one factor that affects public service performance in an adverse manner. Participants discussed the issue and its causes at length, and noted things such as low salaries; the absence of an effective system of control; a culture of impunity in the public sector; lack of political support for anti-corruption programmes; and the lack of professionalism and ethics in the public service. To deal with the problem, a long list of remedies was proposed, the following among others: to promote the values of rigour, integrity and transparency in public affairs; fight against practices that are contrary to the general interest; simplify and publish working manuals with information on the nature of services provided by the State and what is required to benefit from them; establish public assistance and complaint services; require the wearing of name tags by public servants; improve financial management and promote financial accountability; and implement a programme of capacity-building in administrative management.

It was noted that corruption and the decline of professional ethics in the public service took a turn for the worse at the end of the 1970s, when the economic and political situation began to deteriorate in most African countries. In many instances, programmes such as structural adjustment and the exigencies of the globalization

process have had negative economic impacts on large segments of society. This, in turn, has adversely affected the motivation of many public servants. Improving the national political climate and the economic conditions of public sector employees is an important requirement for raising the level of professionalism and ethics in the public service. In addition, for there to be a truly professional public service, meritocracy must be established and adequately rewarded.

### ***Capacity-building in the public service***

On the basis of the preceding discussion, public service reform must imply the creation of linkages between capacity-building and institutional development as a means of reinforcing the role of the public service in governance and in economic and social development. The thrust of this effort is human resources development, including in-service training of public servants for a more effective performance of their tasks. The training itself should correspond to institutional needs and

priorities, and involve all categories of public servants. The skills that need to be developed and reinforced should include collaborative leadership, teamwork, and better information management through the electronic media.

Participants agreed that in addition to training, the reform effort must deal with the restructuring of the public service and better remuneration and working conditions for its employees. They further felt that the public service of the future, at both local and national levels, should be lean, competent and flexible in its operation. It ought to make itself accessible to the general public, seek to satisfy the needs of its clients and strive for a higher quality of performance in its work. Public servants should be retained, promoted and rewarded on the basis of performance, rather than simply because of length of service. Restructuring was also seen as potentially useful in improving salaries and benefits, as it would result in removing from the payroll large numbers of ghost employees.

## **THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN GOVERNANCE**

The third and last major theme of the Conference was the role of civil society in governance. As a partner in governance alongside the State and the private sector, civil society is actively involved in expanding the political space and in making state institutions more responsive to the people in Africa. After attempting to define what civil society is and describing how civil society organizations (CSOs) build their capacity, participants discussed at length a number of key issues pertaining to their increasing role in governance, with particular emphasis on the relationship between civil society and the public service and on strengthening the role of CSOs in the current political transitions.

### ***Civil society***

The definition of civil society proved elusive. What was common to nearly all the proposed definitions was the affirmation that civil society refers to that

sphere of human activity involving organizations outside of the state sector which, nonetheless, interact with the State to serve the needs of the people. CSOs include human rights groups, media groups, NGOs, professional associations, student associations, trade unions and women's groups.

### ***Capacity-building of civil society organizations (CSOs)***

Participants were challenged to examine the process of capacity-building in CSOs by developing a consensus on two interrelated issues: (1) what is meant by capacity-building; and (2) the role of domestic and international organizations, both public and private, in building the CSOs' capacity. Taken together with a third issue on classifying CSOs according to their principal area of activity, the discussion on this question did bring out a number of helpful conclusions on how CSOs build their capacity.

Most CSOs are voluntary associations created to achieve stated objectives. As autonomous entities that do not owe their existence to an act of Parliament, an executive decree, or any other external agency, their approach to institutional capacity-building must be unique or different from organizations that are part or creations of either the State or business enterprises. They thus take responsibility for building and strengthening their own capacity, and they do so through actual involvement in the activities for which they exist. It is therefore in doing the work for which they were created that CSOs develop their expertise and their ability to grow and improve their performance. Although human and financial resources are indispensable to the success of CSO activities, they are no substitute for practical involvement in the promotion of their cause as a necessary condition of institutional capacity-building.

It was agreed that the mobilization of resources to strengthen capacity can create problems for CSOs and their credibility in Africa. The fact that many CSOs rely on external funding from foreign governments, foundations and international organizations raises questions as to what extent their activities might be driven by externally defined agendas rather than their own. Competition for funds from a single donor or limited sources may also create an unfavorable climate as groups and individuals may fight each other to win the prize. At the same time, it was noted that rurally based CSOs like cooperative societies seem to rely more on their own resources. This helps them focus more on issues that are important to them and not on those that the donor community deems important.

### ***Key issues in the increasing role of civil society in governance***

Consistent with the definition of civil society and its organizations, participants underscored the fact that CSOs are not created as a result of government charity. They are established as part of the inherent right of people to organize themselves in order to promote their interests within a legal framework. It was agreed that civil society is playing an increased role in governance in Africa, through an increased ability to influence policy and in strengthening a partnership with the State through the democratization process.

Although participants acknowledged that a key objective of the partnership between the State and civil society in governance is the devolution of power to regional and local authorities, there was a general agreement that within the African context, such devolution of power was not, at this time in the development of the continent, a key priority. Emphasis, they argued, should be on the strengthening of the central government with a view to making it more efficient, effective and accountable in the exercise of its power. There was a strong view that decentralization and devolution of power and authority to subnational entities should be carried out with care and as part of a long-term strategic plan, taking into consideration the availability of human and financial resources and overall national concerns.

In advocating the strengthening of the central government, participants argued that this should be done with the involvement of civil society through NGOs, professional organizations and other special interest groups. They expressed the view that the establishment of good governance was not an exclusive task of the government. On the other hand, they warned against the simplistic view of regarding NGOs as “good” and the state as “bad”, as this could lead to a permanent rupture in the relationship between the State and NGOs. The concern, it was argued, should be on how best to build an effective and mutually beneficial partnership between the State and civil society. In this regard emphasis was put on the need to establish

appropriate mechanisms for effective communication between civil society and the central government. Such regular communication would, on the one hand, help in reducing tensions and antagonisms by providing ways of airing grievances and concerns before they explode while, on the other hand, it would encourage and facilitate transparency and accountability in the management of state affairs.

The particular role of professional associations such as law societies, women's organizations, human rights groups and the media in promoting the rule of law and equal rights was discussed. The media as an institution was singled out as a major factor in the creation of an enabling environment for increasing civil society role in governance. For civil society is strong when it is well informed. The emergence of an independent press that, in spite of its excesses and limitations, plays a positive role in the democratization process, was also noted. Given the poor quality of the information provided, strengthening the capacity of the media is indispensable. The need to train media specialists in a way conducive to fair treatment of issues and a more responsible role, was underlined. Participants were informed that the OAU has put this issue on its priority agenda.

### ***Civil society and the public service***

Three dimensions of the relationship between civil society and the public service were discussed at the conference. Partnership, the first dimension, has already been mentioned. This involves all aspects of collaboration between the State and civil society, including the subcontracting of social services for delivery by NGOs. The second and third dimensions are interrelated. They involve the role of CSOs as watchdogs of public service performance generally, on the one hand, and the involvement of civil society in establishing and operating various official mechanisms for transparency, accountability and participation, on the other. Independent electoral commissions, the Office of the Ombudsman, public media commissions, and citizens monitoring panels such as civilian police boards, were among those

frequently mentioned in the discussions.

### ***Strengthening the role of civil society organizations in the political transitions***

Finally, a key issue in the increasing role of civil society in governance is the role of CSOs in on-going political transitions in Africa. What exact role has civil society played in these transitions, and how can it be strengthened in a manner consistent with the promotion of good governance and the consolidation of its institutional foundations in Africa today? Participants debated these questions with a view to understanding what is at stake in the current transition and the role of CSOs in promoting the culture of democracy and the rule of law.

The current transition was defined as involving a fundamental political change from authoritarianism to democracy. In this narrow sense, the transition would be deemed complete once the change took place, although temporary reverses such as military coups d'état against democratically elected governments cannot be ruled out everywhere. At the same time, a major and more fundamental aspect of the transition involves a paradigm shift from a vision of the State as the property of rulers and their entourage, to one in which the State is perceived as a set of impartial institutions before which all persons are equal and entitled to equal protection of the law.

Civil society organizations have played a major role in educating the public to make this paradigm shift. They have been involved in major campaigns for political change such as the mass democratic movement in apartheid South Africa and the national conferences of Central and West Africa. Having built their capacity through their involvement in social, political and economic activities, CSOs are now in a position to strengthen their role in the political transitions in Africa through alliances with other democratic forces. A major objective of the democracy movement is to defend the right of people to rise up against dictatorship and authoritarian rule in order to establish governments that reflect their aspirations and serve

their interests. Should the current transition produce such governments, civil society will have played a historic role in strengthening the

institutional foundations of good governance in Africa.

## KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

Following are the key recommendations that emerged from the Conference deliberations:

1. A consensus needs to be developed on the definition of good governance as a starting point for appropriate strategies for strengthening the institutional foundations of good governance of respective countries in Africa.
2. Institution-building is essential to the consolidation of good governance. Although the process must begin with state institutions, the centrality of the State should not exclude other actors. Both the state and civil society need institutional development, and local governments, NGOs and other civil society actors must be included in the strategies for strengthening good governance.
3. Good governance and sustainable economic development are interrelated. Governments must create an enabling environment for economic growth and development, and this should include:  
(a) a well-educated and trained work force;  
(b) a strong private sector; (c) political stability;  
(d) the right investment environment with respect to legislation and the infrastructure; and  
(e) people's involvement in the developmental process.
4. Constitutions must not only reflect the wishes of the people, but also be made through a process of wide consultation with them. It is only through such involvement and/or through education that people can learn and retain respect for the constitution. To familiarize ordinary people with their constitutions, financial resources are needed to translate them into indigenous languages.
5. Constitutionalism and the rule of law also require a politically aware, tolerant and involved citizenry, one that can ensure the effective func-

tioning and legitimacy of state institutions. To achieve this goal, financial resources are also needed for nationwide campaigns of education for democracy, including the culture of peace, tolerance and respect for diversity.

6. Governments must make sure that minorities are not excluded from the political process nor discriminated against with respect to access to state resources and services.
7. Training programmes are needed to strengthen the institutional capacity of parliament and its legislative committees, enabling them to play their checks and balances role effectively, and to enhance the skills of legislators and their technical staff in legislating, investigating wrongful behavior by public officials, and controlling government spending. Strong and well-equipped research units are also needed to provide parliamentarians with adequate, timely and current information necessary for decision-making.
8. Parliamentarians should work in close consultation with their constituents. This should include regular meetings within their communities to listen to people's concerns and policy recommendations.
9. The independence of the judiciary should be enhanced by its financial autonomy. The judiciary should have its own budget, independently of the executive branch.
10. To ensure the independence of the judiciary, the executive should not have the power to remove judges from office. The most appropriate system of appointment is a three-tier system in which a judicial service commission recommends names of prospective judges to the executive, which submits them for parliamentary approval before appointment.

11. Judges and all the staff in the judiciary need continuous training and a good work environment in terms of equipment, logistics, and a secure information storage and retrieval system.

12. Institutional development and capacity-building in the judiciary is most needed at the lower level, where the credentials, remuneration and working conditions of magistrates must be improved. District and other lower-court clerks also need training to enhance their skills.

13. Better linkages are needed between modern courts of law and traditional/customary courts, whose judges must be trained to respect human rights and to abandon arbitrary decisions. The latter courts should be fully integrated into the judicial system to allow people to have access to higher courts when they are not satisfied with the judgments of the traditional/customary courts.

14. Creating a lean, competent and effective public service implies the institutionalization of meritocracy, the end of impunity, the establishment of anti-corruption mechanisms, greater promotion of professionalism, and the enforcement of a rigorous code of ethics. These control measures should be complemented with better salaries and working conditions, and this may be easier to attain once ghost or fictitious employees are removed from the payroll.

15. Financial management should be improved in order to enhance accountability in the executive branch of governance. Improved financial management is also essential for combating corruption in the public service.

16. The international community should refrain from recognizing military governments established by soldiers who overthrow democratically elected governments.

17. The role of women in governance should be actively promoted at all levels of decision-making and in all institutions of the State, civil society and the private sector. Although constitutions and other

legal instruments are now gender-sensitive, there is a strong need for policy to implement gender recognition in decision-making bodies.

18. Capacity-building for electoral systems to enhance their ability to organize free, fair and transparent elections, is essential for consolidating the institutional foundations of good governance in Africa.

19. Building Parliament and its committees as effective organs of legislative oversight, as well as independent regulatory bodies, such as electoral commissions, the Office of the Auditor General, the Office of the Ombudsman and others, also requires the kind of financial resources that most African States cannot mobilize on their own. The contribution of the international community is indispensable in this respect.

20. The ruling and opposition parties should stop regarding each other as enemies. Workshops and meetings designed to narrow differences between them, and other collaborative mechanisms designed to enhance the national interest should be actively promoted.

21. To enhance the media's educational role and its contribution to democratic values, training programmes with emphasis on fairness, responsibility and objectivity are needed.

22. Governments should be pro-active in removing obstacles to collaboration with civil society by taking measures to create a genuine partnership between state institutions, including the public service, with civil society organizations. Regularly held meetings and consultations between the State, civil society and the private sector should be encouraged for a frank and open discussion of all issues of concern to all parties.

23. Mechanisms should be created for measuring the performance of the public service and involving civil society organizations in monitoring this performance, and that of other state institutions.

## **ANNEXES**



**OPENING STATEMENT  
BY MR. K. Y. AMOAKO  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF ECA**

Your Excellency Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Convener of this important Conference, Your Excellency Mr. Worede Wolde, Minister of Justice of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, my dear friend and colleague Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Seigi Hinatu, Deputy Director-General, Middle Eastern and African Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

Welcome to Addis Ababa, to the Economic Commission for Africa and to the United Nations Conference Center.

We at ECA firmly believe that good governance is an essential ingredient for democracy and for sustainable economic development in the continent. The Commission therefore considers it a privilege to extend a special welcome to the eminent personalities and distinguished participants who are here today because of their deep commitment to the development of democratic, peaceful and just societies on our continent. Most particularly, I would like to wholeheartedly thank His Excellency President Julius Nyerere for agreeing to convene the Roundtable of eminent personalities.

The objective of the Conference is to provide participants a forum for reflecting on issues of good governance as they relate to Africa's political and economic transformation. Specifically, the Conference agenda is designed to:

- Facilitate dialogue on how best to strengthen state institutions as a critical condition for good governance;
- Identify obstacles constraining the consolidation

of good governance; and

- Propose implementable strategies that will assist Africa to overcome these constraints and consolidate the gains achieved to date.

We all know too well that weak professional and institutional capacity is at the heart of Africa's development challenge. And poor governance, in turn, is the root cause of Africa's capacity problems. Yet, what is exciting today is that the wave of democratization, as well as the opening of political systems to greater citizen participation, now offer us an opportunity to rethink the role of the capable state, the importance of accountable and transparent systems of economic management, the inviolability of the rule of law and fundamental human rights, and the urgency to institute lasting democratic structures.

These opportunities and the accompanying efforts are critical to ensure that enduring sound governance practices are in place to underpin the success of the economic transformation and political liberalization underway in the continent. But, as I pointed out in this very Conference hall on the occasion of the May 1997 ECA and UNDP co-sponsored NGO Consultation on Governance in Africa, these opportunities should not be taken for granted. Indeed, they can easily slip by unless we are ready to exert vigorous and dedicated efforts to ensure that the process of change would be irreversible. That, I believe, is what this meeting is all about.

Before calling on the distinguished speakers, I might add that the issues for this Conference were also brought out by the findings of the many country reports presented at the First African

Governance Forum co-sponsored by ECA and UNDP in July 1997. These reports reaffirmed that to sustain good governance, the entire range of institutions of governance – the economic and administrative capability of the State, the legislature, the judiciary, political parties, human rights commissions and other monitoring organs within civil society – must be improved. The agenda of this Conference and the background papers prepared for it, are rightly focused on how this can be achieved, drawing on country experiences in and outside Africa.

I am confident that the Roundtable discussions, today and tomorrow, will yield useful insights as to how we can strengthen the institutional foundations for good governance in Africa. The three-day Workshop that will follow with the expected participation of about 75 participants is designed

to synthesize and discuss in depth the Roundtable deliberations and develop concrete recommendations.

I would like to express my appreciation to the Government of Japan for its partnership and generous support, without which the convening of this Conference and the follow-up Workshop would not have been possible. I would also like to thank the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs for its active role in co-sponsoring this event with ECA.

It is now my pleasure to call upon Mr. Guido Bertucci, representing Mr. Nitin Desai, United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs, who unfortunately could not be here with us today, to deliver his statement.

**ADDRESS BY  
MR. GUIDO BERTUCCI, DIRECTOR  
DIVISION FOR PUBLIC ECONOMICS  
AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION  
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS,  
UNITED NATIONS**

Mr. Chairman, your excellencies, distinguished participants,

It is a privilege for me to welcome you to this very important gathering, which is going to address an issue of critical importance to the future development of Africa. I am gratified to note that the participants to this Conference have been drawn from a cross-section of government, the private, sector and civil society. Such a mixture will undoubtedly bring tremendous value to the discussions, as the issues will be considered from multiple perspectives based on real-life experiences.

I am particularly delighted to welcome the former President of Tanzania, H.E. Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who in his role as Convener, will be steering the deliberations of the Conference. I know that Mwalimu Nyerere will enrich this Conference, not only because of his long experience as Head of State, but also because of his extensive involvement in global issues as Chairman of the South-South Commission and most recently as the regional Mediator in Burundi and in the Great Lakes region generally.

I am most grateful to Mr. Amoako, Executive Secretary of ECA, for the support he has personally offered for the holding of this meeting, and for the cooperation provided by his staff. It is under Mr. Amoako's leadership that the United Nations is carrying out a number of initiatives focused on African development in general and on governance in particular. It is therefore quite

befitting that he also be leading this meeting, which forms part of a series of gatherings organized cooperatively by ECA, DESA and UNDP in the area of governance.

I also want to express my gratitude to the Government of Japan for providing support to the Conference; to the Government of Ethiopia for having us in this beautiful country with a long and rich history; and to our collaborating partners, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation.

Many societies, governments and institutions in Africa and throughout the world are in the midst of rapid and profound transformation. It is rapid on account of the process of globalization, which has an irreversible momentum of its own. It is profound because it touches the core of the State's *raison d'être*, as well as its traditions, modes and forms of operation. This has contributed to positive political and economic change in most cases. However, in some cases, it has also caused some dislocation, due to unintended and complex outcomes involved in global change.

One area of positive transformation has been in the relationship between government and the governed. The growth of civil society during the past decade has generated some very promising results in terms of productivity and basic economic indicators. It has also accelerated a proliferation of democratic transfers of power and overall movement toward participatory governance and organized activity by

non-state actors. These changes are most welcome and necessary. The promise of equitable, sustainable development is predicated on transparent, accountable governance. However, to achieve it will test every available resource, every structure and all the skills that government policy-makers and practitioners can muster. Thus, it is keenly important that the fundamental prerequisites for governance be elaborated and refined.

The objectives of this conference are to explore the central institutions of governance and how to ensure that they function effectively, efficiently and judiciously. These key elements include: the constitutional framework and the related measures to safeguard it and adhere to the rule of law; the role of civil society and how to enhance its capacity to interface with government responsibly and effectively; and finally, the public service and the need to build constructive, productive relationships with the political leadership and civil society.

When we see children listen attentively and ask questions in a rural classroom; women attend functional literacy classes in an urban neighborhood; men and women launch small businesses; mothers take their babies for well-baby clinics; villagers and slum-dwellers, who have been trained in entrepreneurial skills and granted low-interest loans, attend counselling sessions with local advisers; community residents engage in strategic planning for social and economic advancement; businesspersons, who are receiving loans and creating jobs, compete to lower prices for national consumers and increase revenues from export products, thereby contributing to national development, we see images of activities and outcomes in a State where “governance” institutions are stable and civil servants focus on providing services and positive outcomes for their clients.

When we see environmental advocacy groups petitioning the State to hold hearings on the site of new landfills and power plants, or we see residents planning improvements in their housing and petitioning landlords and government agencies for action and funding, we see the images of civil

society interacting with the State and its public servants to bring equity, justice, fairness and social and economic development.

Throughout the world today, there is an urgent need to reaffirm the principle of democratic governance and to restore not only the State, but also civil society to their rightful places. However, this pressing task of raising the prestige and credibility of government cannot be accomplished overnight. It cannot be done without concerted efforts to enhance both the capacity and overall performance of government institutions. Last, but not least, strengthening civil society is a necessary process that entails institution-building and training.

Experience demonstrates that raising the performance of the institutions of government, a process so important for democratization and socio-economic development, is largely predicated on a strong, well-informed and proactive civil society. Only effective non-state actors can ensure that government policies respond to the expectations and needs of private citizens. Only effective non-state actors can prevent the abuse of power and protect the individual against the risks of an overbearing, insensitive and inefficient bureaucracy.

A key feature of these particular meetings is the emphasis being placed on linkages and relationships in the governance arena. Most commonly, technical assistance programmes have focused on specific institutions, which have been the target of activities, funded both by government budgets and other donors. But, realistically speaking, few governance successes rest on the capacity of one institution alone. Rather, linkage concepts, such as coordination, transparency and accountability, can ensure that efforts are focused on results rather than on bureaucratic imperatives. Thus, transparency reminds us that decisions taken in the open, in the sight of all stakeholders, are more likely to be fair and credible. *Coordination* and *accountability* remind us of the need for cooperation and a balance of power among institutions of the State and civil society.

Just as governments and their citizens should join together in partnership, let us, the participants in this United Nations workshop, join together to learn from each other and to develop innovative mechanisms for governance in African societies.

I look forward to your fruitful discussions during the coming days and to a successful conclusion to your deliberations.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

**ADDRESS BY  
MR. YASUHIRO HAMADA  
AMBASSADOR OF JAPAN TO ETHIOPIA**

Dr. Amoako, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

It is a great honour and pleasure for me to be given this opportunity to speak on behalf of the Government of Japan at the opening ceremony of this Conference on Governance in Africa, co-organized by ECA and DESA. The Government of Japan welcomes the convening of this Conference and finds it particularly timely. Promoting “good governance” is one of the most important agenda items for Japan as a country strongly committed to making every effort to support African development, along with our African and other partners.

Let me start by emphasizing that it is truly encouraging to see that in the nineties a new wind of promise, based on the spirit of “ownership”, is gaining strength in Africa, which, like other parts of the world, has gone through dramatic changes of environment. Although this wind may still be described as only a “breeze”, we feel that every day this breeze brings in fresh air and brightness. In this encouraging environment, “good governance” has been attracting more attention than ever as a very important guiding principle and an indispensable driving force for implementing “ownership”.

Despite this hopeful trend, we should also recognize that there remains a lot to be done to achieve development, as well as stability, which is a prerequisite for the former. Looking ahead to the 21st century, we have to accelerate our efforts to realize stability and development in Africa and thereby include this continent in the process of globalization, which is becoming prominent in every aspect of our society.

Mr. Keizo Obuchi, Japan’s Foreign Minister,

stressed at the Ministerial-level Meeting of the United Nations Security Council on the Situation in Africa, last November, that “peace and development are two sides of the same coin. Without development, the cause of conflict will not be eliminated and without peace, the conditions for development will not be met.”

“Good governance” is indeed a key guiding principle that can encompass and bridge these two sides of the coin, as it provides transparency, efficiency, accountability and participatory development, on which we can build solid and accountable institutions, which are indispensable for both stability and development.

So much has already been said, and a lot of commitments, advice and suggestions have been made about “good governance”. As governance is a notion that can be extremely extensive and multi-faceted, the argument can sometimes become very abstract or theoretical. In this connection, I am particularly happy that one clear and tangible key word, “institution”, has been set at this Conference to enable us to analyze more objectively and discuss more constructively this difficult theme.

I would like to commend the organizers of this Conference for two more reasons. First, this Conference is being organized in a manner that will give legitimate attention to the diverse situations of African countries. Second, the organization of this meeting will allow participants to have frank and in-depth debates by combining “roundtable discussions” and “workshops”, which will make it possible to share and learn from mutual experiences and generate common basic denominators of “good governance”.

Regarding the first point, I would like to stress that

we cannot emphasize too much that in order to respect the spirit of “ownership”, “good governance” should be promoted through initiatives taken by individual countries on the basis of their unique political and economic circumstances. As for the second point, we should not forget that “good governance” needs continuous efforts to ensure openness in listening to the comments from outside and flexibility in learning from the experiences of others. It is from this viewpoint that Japan thinks highly of the initiative of ECA and DESA in providing this meaningful forum.

Mr. Chairman,

I am convinced that with your able guidance and the participation of prominent figures, including H.E. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, this Conference will be a great success with good results, to be followed up by every actor interested in moving

African development forward. In this context, I am pleased to say that the outcome of this Conference will be a significant input to the discussions at the Second Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD II) to be held in October by the Government of Japan, the GCA and the United Nations. At its Preparatory Conference last November, governance was identified as one of the major areas to be included in the Agenda for Action towards African Development to be discussed at the Plenary, this October, with African representatives and international partners.

With these remarks on the importance of continuous efforts and longer-term perspectives for promoting “good governance”, let me conclude by wishing for very successful and fruitful discussions.

Thank you.

**ADDRESS BY  
H.E. MR. WOREDEWOLDE WOLDE  
MINISTER OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA**

Your Excellency Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania and Convener of the Conference, Your Excellency Dr. Salim, Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Your Excellency Dr. K.Y. Amoako, UN Under-Secretary-General and Executive Secretary of ECA, Your Excellency Mr. Guido Bertucci, distinguished participants,

I am very pleased and honoured to participate at the opening session of this important Conference. I would like to join His Excellency Dr. Amoako in welcoming you all to Addis Ababa to take part in this Conference, which I have no doubt will be an exceedingly valuable exchange of views on a subject which is critical for Africa and our people. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Amoako and the ECA for having taken the initiative to organize the Conference and to Mwalimu Julius Nyerere for having agreed to convene the meeting.

It would, of course, be remiss of me if I failed, at the opening session of a Conference on a subject such as this one, to pay tribute to Mwalimu Nyerere for the example he has been, and continues to be, for integrity, honesty and for commitment to principles which, no doubt, makes all of us proud. It is indeed very fitting that he is the Convener of this Conference because there are few in our continent who are as deserving as he to speak on the challenges of governance in our continent with the requisite credibility and conviction.

There is virtually no aspect of public life which is

not affected by the quality of governance that a society enjoys. It should not therefore be a source of surprise that this Conference is being organized by ECA, whose mandate is strictly speaking economic. But whether it is economic challenges we face, or social, security or other public and civil challenges, the fact that the quality of governance we have and enjoy has a vital bearing on all these is absolutely undeniable.

Without good governance and the institutional framework that underpins it, it is impossible to talk about economic progress, social harmony, political stability and peace.

We all recognize the fact that here in our continent, most particularly within the framework of the OAU, it has been since 1990 that we have begun to talk with the required level of transparency and openness about the challenges of governance that African faces. I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to H.E. Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim for having taken the initiative in 1990 to prod the OAU to focus on this issue.

No doubt, the situation has changed in Africa over the past few years and the noticeable improvement in the economic area since 1994 must be attributable partly to the progress we have been making in the quality of governance in a growing number of African countries.

But this is not the time for self-congratulation and undoubtedly we have a long way to go before we can claim to have in place in Africa the kind of governance in all areas that would ensure economic progress, social harmony and security.

Most of all, the serious constraints that we have with regard to the institutional foundations that should underpin quality governance based on grass-roots participation are challenges that can hardly be addressed in a day. Commitment by leaders to democratic principles and to good governance, although critical to progress in this sphere, is obviously far from being sufficient to ensure that African societies are provided with good governance. Accordingly, it appears to me that the focus of this Conference, which is the institutional foundation for consolidating governance in Africa, is most fitting and most appropriate.

We here in Ethiopia are of the firm conviction that along with genuine devolution of power from the center to the local level, grass-roots participation by the people in economic, political and social decisions that affect them directly, the existence of appropriate and effective institutions of governance and their strengthening is critical for the objectives that we have set for ourselves to ensure economic progress, democracy and durable peace for our

people. In this regard, we are indeed encouraged by the progress we have made over the past six years in all these areas. But we have a long way to go, particularly in the area of institution-building and consolidation.

Progress in achieving good governance is not the responsibility only of leaders and of those in positions of authority. Those in civil society have the responsibility to play a critical role in assisting the development of a culture of tolerance and constructive debate and of a healthy dialogue as well as in contributing to the building, strengthening and consolidation of institutions of good governance and structures for effective and meaningful democracy, relevant to the vast majority.

I would like to conclude by saying how happy I am to take part in the opening session of this Conference, whose outcome will be awaited with keen interest by all those who are committed to the regeneration of our continent and who long for an Africa which will make its people proud.

I thank you.

**ADDRESS BY  
DR. SALIM AHMED SALIM  
SECRETARY-GENERAL  
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY**

Your excellencies, distinguished participants, ladies and gentlemen,

I should like, at the outset, to express my appreciation to the organizers for the kind invitation extended to me to participate in this important Conference. I am particularly grateful that this Conference is devoted to an issue which is crucial to our continent and which constitutes one of the priority concerns of our organization. Indeed, reflecting on the state of governance in Africa at a time when we are preparing to usher the continent into the next millennium is a very timely exercise.

Occasions like this give us an opportunity to draw lessons from the past, to take stock of our past achievements and failures and to prepare Africa to assume its rightful place within the community of nations. Indeed, democracy, governance, the promotion and protection of human rights, as well as respect for the rule of law, conflict management and resolution are increasingly becoming the labels that sum up the political context of the current preoccupations of the people on this continent.

We, at the OAU, have since the adoption in 1990 of the Declaration on Fundamental Changes in the World and Their Impact on Africa taken these issues more forcefully and have increasingly deployed efforts aimed at ensuring that they are kept at the center stage of our overall agenda for peace, security, stability and development. We have done so with the full knowledge and conviction that the process of democratization that is taking place on the continent will contribute to the continental efforts directed at strengthening the institutions of democracy and good governance.

We are convinced that without adopting this approach we may not be able to effectively address the critical issues of socio-economic development on the continent.

Indeed, good governance in Africa plays a catalytic role in the design and implementation of a viable strategy for economic recovery and development and for addressing peace, security and stability on the continent. Such governance must be at the center of Africa's development policies and strategies. This is particularly so because good governance is and must remain an integral part of our agenda for peace and development in Africa. It provides the enabling environment for economic transformation and development as it also gives Africa the necessary latitude and possibility for addressing the scourge of conflict prevailing on the continent and building peace.

We, at the OAU, have and will continue to deploy efforts aimed at providing the democratization process throughout the continent. We have taken this as one of the major challenges for our continental organization in the years ahead. We are more than convinced that the challenge facing Africa at the end of the twentieth century is to forge ahead with the democratization process, strengthening the institutions of good governance, the building of peace and the promotion of socio-economic development. Needless to say, all these issues are interrelated.

I have been requested to speak on the subject "Governance in Africa: Lessons Learned from the Past". I would like to preface my remarks by asserting that based on the experience of most of

our countries over the past several years, it is manifestly clear that the process of democratization on the continent is irreversible. Indeed, the concepts of democracy and good governance are gradually but steadily gaining root on the continent. The OAU has been a witness of this trend and was invited to observe over sixty elections in Member States. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that our leaders and our peoples are determined to give democracy a chance to succeed. To do so, they need the support of our partners and friends in the international community. However, these friends and partners should have the humility not to prescribe recipes for democracy in Africa. Their role should be one of supporting Africa's efforts at democratization based on local realities and circumstances.

This is why we, at the OAU, have been working on the assumption that while the fundamental principles of democracy and good governance are universal, their application varies from country to country. On this understanding, African countries are entitled to determine the application of democratic government on the basis of their socio-cultural values, taking into account their specific realities. Indeed, the dimensions of cultural values and historical experiences are relevant in the application and consideration of democracy in our societies. Africans as much as other people aspire for liberty, human dignity, equity and socio-economic progress. But, while these are universal values, which are a common heritage of humanity, there are no ready-made recipes for democracy and governance. Each society should generate its home-grown modalities for forging ahead in democracy and good governance on the basis of these universally recognized principles.

Let me now attempt to reflect on the lessons learned from the past. To us, the issues of democracy and governance in Africa are inseparable. We are cognizant of the fact that the "new wind" of democracy blowing across the continent both feeds our hope for the future and presents us with formidable challenges. It is my strong conviction that the on-going democratization process on the

continent will lead to good governance and good governance will ensure the sustainability of democracy in Africa. In this regard, good governance must be seen as a generally accepted process that recognizes the centrality of the people in decision-making at all levels. Good governance must allow for the full participation of the people in national development endeavors.

There are clear lessons in Africa to demonstrate that the people must be allowed to lead and manage the process of development. In this regard, it is important that the government and the people share common values and aspirations and collectively address their common challenges. Indeed, governance in Africa must entail a process within which the people are empowered and have sufficient latitude to set out priorities for their socio-economic, political and other developmental needs.

Experience has also shown that governance in Africa must be addressed in the context of state power and authority. This is essentially because the manner and style in which the authority is exercised and managed defines the nature and scope of state power in relation to the governed. In this regard, the executive branch is key in building democracy and good governance. That is why it is important to recognize that, in the context of the executive as an institution of democracy, governance in Africa must be seen within the framework of the totality of the exercise of power in the management of a country's affairs. This must comprise the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interest, exercise their legal rights and mediate their differences.

In this regard, any rational debate on governance in Africa should be predicated upon the basic value of the need for the executive and other political factors to recognize the limits of power. In a democratic State, there cannot be life Presidents or leaders who hold power forever. In a true democratic State there is no one with absolute power. This is in line with the old saying that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts

absolutely. In a democratic State, it is recognized and accepted that moderation and compromise provide room for a culture of tolerance to evolve among the people. This, in fact, is a fundamental basis of a political bargaining. There are, indeed, lessons that Africa has learnt over the last thirty-five years of independence, especially on the need to promote a culture of peace and tolerance as well as politics of inclusion rather than exclusion.

Beyond these lessons of the past, for democracy and good governance to flourish, there must be a commitment to live with and support plurality in social and political life. Moreover, the notion of democracy has always contained the notion of equality. Equality, not in the sense of statistics of income or wealth, but equality of opportunity to all without consideration of ethnic, religion or political affiliation, to realize one's human capacities through generally acceptable means. Therefore, as we discuss governance in Africa, let us explore how best to promote these values and norms among our governments and people, for it is clear that democracy is here to stay.

In Africa the struggle for democracy was a struggle for freedom from colonialism and freedom to independence and national sovereignty. It was also a struggle for freedom for the people of Africa to decide their own destiny. But as Africa moved from colonial rule to self-government, the post-independence struggles changed both in form and content. In some parts of Africa, the institutions designed to promote and strengthen democracy and good governance became by and large integral instruments of the state power, legitimizing what the State wanted legitimized and constraining people's legitimate concerns about the nature of their State and government. The governors separated themselves from the governed and by so doing they alienated the people. In other words, the governors lost their moral authority to govern as they failed to respond to the demands and aspirations of the people. But they never accepted to relinquish power. These institutions, supposedly of democracy, sometimes proclaimed right what the State wanted and wrong what was not

acceptable to the State.

During this period the legislature in some parts of Africa had little latitude for action, precisely because of the nature of the electoral process and the manner in which members of the house of legislature were selected. This does not necessarily suggest that the one-party-state democracies which were predominant during this period were wrong. I am not trying to pass a verdict on the experience of the one-party system in Africa. Significantly they provided the opportunity to the newly emerging African governments to experiment with a new system different from the colonial one. In fact, the requirements for the struggle for independence generally favored the emergence of a dominant single party or mass movement. This was in most cases carried into the post-independence structures as a one-party system, or at least as what is called a system of single-party dominance, where one party has an overwhelming legislative majority and uses its legal, political and coercive power to restrict the competition of other parties.

Over the last years the legislature in African countries has undergone fundamental changes, especially with the shift from dominant single-party or mass movement to multi-party politics. It has been recognized that if democracy is the rule or power of the people, then the legislature must reflect and defend the will of the people. It therefore deprives itself of its moral authority if it does not recognize the indivisible will of the people.

We cannot wish away certain historical facts of our continent. In Africa there were, and still are, tribal, religious or ethnic divisions which have stood in the way of an overriding sense of national community, thereby complicating the process of multi-party politics and with this, the functioning of the legislature. Indeed, these divisions have given rise to the proliferation of conflicts in Africa as they have given rise to opposing political parties based on tribal, ethnic or religious differences. The notion that a system of competing national parties is the sensible and most beneficial way of choosing and authorizing governments is something Africa

must pursue.

Democracy has often been described as the consumers' sovereignty. The voters buy what they want with their votes. Democracy in the broad sense requires not just equality, but also freedom from starvation and ignorance. A strong democracy should not create antagonism and hatred between winners and losers. Indeed, in a democracy winners must accept losers and losers must respect winners. One must ensure that political institutions are sufficiently strong and they can generate the participation and power necessary to hold the various institutions accountable.

At this stage, let me try to draw lessons from Africa's experiences in the electoral process. Politics in Africa and elsewhere ultimately hinges on the relationship between governors and the governed. Often, the governors and the governed cannot be mingled. But, if we proceed from the premise that in order to have democracy we must have, to some degree, a government of the people, the question we might want to ask is when and how do we know that the people are governing? We can only know that the people are governing when they speak with their votes. Indeed, the democratic process in Africa and elsewhere is encapsulated in elections and electing.

It is generally accepted that elections verify consensus and do away with presumed or fraudulent consensus. However, we must remember that elections are a discontinuous performance and are not an end in themselves. Between elections the people's power remains largely quiescent, and there is also a wide margin of discretion, let alone discrepancy, between broad electoral choices and concrete governmental decisions. Further, elections register the voter's decisions, but how are these decisions arrived at? Elections compute opinions, but where do these opinions come from and how are they formed? What is the genesis of the will and opinion that elections limit themselves to recording? Indeed, voting has a pre-voting background. While we must not downgrade the importance of elections, we cannot isolate the electoral event from the

whole circuit of the opinion-forming process.

It is often said that electoral power *per se* is the mechanical guarantee of democracy, but the substantive guarantee is given by the conditions under which the citizen gets the information and is exposed to the pressure of opinion-makers. Ultimately, the opinion of the governed is the real foundation of all government. If this is so, elections are the means to an end, the end being a government that is responsive to and responsible toward public opinion. We often say that elections must be free. This is true, but it is not enough, for opinion too must be in some basic sense free. Free elections with unfree opinion is an exercise in vain. We say that the people must be sovereign. But an empty sovereign who has nothing to say, without opinions of his or her own, is a mere ratifier, a sovereign in pro-forma.

Experience on this continent has clearly demonstrated that while elections constitute a crucial stage in the democratic process, they do not by themselves provide sufficient conditions for building democracy and good governance. Elections *per se* are not the panacea for democracy and good governance. In other words, the existence of political parties, the conduct of free and fair elections and the performance of the legislature under the leadership of an elected government do not always turn governance into a democratic system. Beyond the electoral process, which is crucial, we need to build institutions to sustain democracy and promote good governance.

We must accept that our legislative systems are still fragile and weak. They need to be strengthened, especially through capacity-building. We need to ensure that our members of the legislative branch are properly represented on the basis of constituencies that have a national character and are not based on ethnicity or religion. Legislature can only be strong if the members of the legislature are elected from strong parties with a sense of commitment to the nation. We need to strengthen the quality of our political parties, especially those of the opposition, so as to strengthen the qualities of the members of the legislature. We also need to

provide support to the work of the legislature. Our representatives must be people of impeccable integrity. They should vigorously pursue a national agenda and not an agenda that works after their own narrow and selfish interests.

The various committees of the legislature must also be strong with the necessary technical back-stopping to address national issues. In the African context, the question is whether members of the legislature have the requisite resources to vigorously engage in a debate on the national issues, ranging from politics, to economics, security and national defense. The question we might ask is whether it is not possible for the members of the legislature to rely more on the knowledge base of the institutions of higher learning and research. Otherwise, resources must be provided for members of the legislature to seek the information which is necessary to make national decision and policies. How often do members of the legislature make their presentations on the basis of well-researched facts? Our representatives must have a certain level of education in order to digest the issues before the legislature.

The independence of the judiciary is crucial in building good governance. Most judicial systems, especially those in the areas of conflict, have been destroyed almost beyond redemption. We need to rebuild our judicial system and strengthen its capacity to effectively discharge its responsibilities. We must ensure that the judicial system is efficient, for justice delayed is justice denied. The relationship between police, security and judiciary must be properly scrutinized. Arbitrary arrests and extra-judicial killings must stop. We should avoid politicizing the judiciary, for this is the only way we can guarantee its independence. Again, experience has shown that a strong judicial system clearly provides the necessary framework and strong foundation for good governance. Such a system, representing one of the major democratic institutions, needs to be strengthened to function more directly and effectively towards promoting good governance. We need to build in our countries independent, efficient and strong judicial

systems which can guarantee the respect of the law and render justice in accordance with the law. Clearly, one of the fundamental prerequisites for such a reliable and dependable judiciary is its incorruptibility.

Since freedom of expression is a major factor in a democratic State, an independent and responsible media should emerge as a strong institution and assume the function of a watch-dog interfacing between the government and the people. The media should be on the forefront and make a special effort to champion the cause of popular participation and, indeed, provide access to information and educational programmes on democracy and governance. We need an independent but responsible media whose task is not only to inform as accurately as possible and to serve as a critic to the government but also to educate the population on their rights.

Good governance also requires high standards of integrity and efficiency in the civil service. A civil service that is over-staffed, underpaid, corrupt or ethnically composed will not be able to optimally play the role of promoting democracy and good governance. The civil service must be professional, competent, neutral and nationally committed.

Building good governance on the continent requires also that we focus on the areas of education and public awareness. Our people must be informed of their constitutional rights. They should be helped to understand the constitution as a major institution of democracy. The time has come when we must consider translating the constitution into the various languages to help the people understand their rights.

We need to develop teaching manuals for civic education. Our people must be informed and understand the major institutions of democracy and how they can influence the working of these institutions. I am convinced that education and public awareness are crucial in ensuring popular participation of the people in decision-making as a major ingredient in democracy and good governance.

Finally, I wish to submit that the challenge of good governance is one of implementing the laws and regulations of a nation and translating them into concrete and practical acts. In all our countries, we have wonderful constitutions. These constitutions provide for the equality of the citizens before the law, and yet this is not always the case. They provide for equal opportunity for employment regardless of the ethnic, religious or political background of an individual. Yet the reality is often different. The constitutions do not allow for domination by any group of national institutions. Yet the reality on the ground might be different and we have a lot of examples on our continent.

Our constitutions are as good as any other constitutions in the world. Our laws are equally sound. The judiciary is supposed to be independent and the police fair and accountable. In most of our countries, the laws and regulations provide for equal access to land and resources. Yet we know that in some cases, groups and individual affinities prevail over the general interest. We do have institutions for control, such as constitutional courts, ombudsmen and other appeal courts and commissions. Yet the situation in the field is quite

disturbing, as the rights of the citizens are often violated and undermined.

I sincerely believe that the challenge of good governance is one of reconciling the laws and regulations as they exist and their application in the field. This has to do with the attitude of office-holders and other leaders. It has also to do with the habits inherited from the past which have proved difficult to get rid of. This requires that committed Africans both from state institutions and the public at large assume their responsibilities. I have always considered fora like this one as important opportunities to promote the cause of good governance among the largest groups in the continent. But the challenge of good governance also requires the active involvement of the people and their organizations within the civil society, for no right can be taken for granted. Our people must fight for their rights and the application of these rights. The challenge of good governance is therefore one of building partnerships between committed Africans and the ordinary people of the continent in forging a strong constituency for democracy and good governance.

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Convener

H.E. Dr. Julius Nyerere  
 Former President of the United Republic of Tanzania  
 c/o Mission of the United Republic of Tanzania  
 to the United Nations  
 205 East 42nd Street, 13th floor  
 New York, N.Y. 10017  
 Tel. 255-51-113-431  
 Fax 255-51-112-790

### ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANTS

Dr. Amedou Ould Abdallah  
 Executive Secretary  
 Global Coalition for Africa  
 1750 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Suite 1204  
 Washington, D.C. 20006  
 Tel. 202-458-4338/4272  
 Fax 202-522-3259

Congressman Washington Abdala  
 Palacio Legislativo  
 Montevideo, Uruguay  
 Tel. 598-2-709-0860  
 Fax 598-2-924-172

Dr. Mazlan Ahmad  
 Director General  
 Public Service Department  
 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia  
 Tel. 603-293-8573  
 Fax 603-292-8609

M. Abdoulaye Bathily  
 Ministre de l'environnement et  
 de la protection de la nature  
 Building Administratif  
 B.P. 4055  
 Dakar, Sénégal  
 Tel. 221-821-12-40  
 221-276-937 home  
 Fax 221-822.21.80  
 221-274-300

Mr. Gordon Draper  
 Member of Parliament  
 Block B3, Flagstaff Hill  
 Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago  
 Tel. c/o UNDP

Dr. Peter Harrison  
 Privy Council of Canada  
 80 Wellington Street  
 Ottawa, Ontario  
 K1A OA3 Canada  
 Tel. 613-837-9040  
 Fax 613-837-8287

Sir Ramesh Jeewoolall  
Speaker of the National Assembly  
Government House  
Port Louis, Mauritius  
Tel. 230-464-5371  
Fax 230-212-8364

Prof. Walter J. Kamba  
University of Namibia  
Dean, Faculty of Law  
Private Bag 13301  
Windhoek, Namibia  
Tel. 264-61-206-36220  
Fax 264-61-206-37030  
e-mail: lawfac@unam.na

Mr. Yazew Assefa Liben  
Former President of the Supreme Court  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-122-347  
c/o Fax 251-1-51-95-48

M. William A. Eteki Mboumoua  
Chairman of Red Cross  
Yaounde, Cameroon  
Tel. 237-20-25-92  
Fax 237-23-15-96/22-41-77

Ms. Florence Mugasha  
Member of Parliament  
Parliamentarian Ave.  
P.O. Box 7178  
Kampala, Uganda  
Tel. 256-41-234-340/6  
Fax 256-41-231296/245889

Prof. Rwekaza Symphoriani Mukandala  
University of Dar es Salaam  
Department of Political Science and  
Public Administration  
P.O. Box 35042  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania  
Tel. 255-51-410-395  
Mobile. 255-0812-780-694  
Fax 255-51-43-078/43-395

E-mail: rwekaza@udsm.ac.tz

Hon Vernon Johnson Mwaanga  
National Assembly  
P.O. Box 31299  
Lusaka, Zambia  
Tel. 260-1-223133/222664/222118  
Fax 260-1-220529/238397

Mr. Cyril Ndebele  
Speaker of Parliament  
Harare, Zimbabwe  
Tel. 263-4-700-181  
Fax 263-4-795-548

Ms. Ruth Perry  
Former President of Liberia  
Perry's Drive  
Monrovia, Liberia  
Tel. 231-227-082  
(USA) 1-614-265-4696  
Fax 1-614-265-4825

Mme. Elisabeth Pognon  
Présidente de la Cour Constitutionnelle  
Cotonou, Bénin  
Fax 229-30-06-36 or  
229-30-33-15  
Tel. 229-315-992/873-8287

Mr. Nallepilly Ramakrishnan Ranganathan  
9th Street, Dr. Radhakrishnan Road  
Mylapore, Madras 4, India  
Tel. (91-22) 854 9212  
Fax (91-22) 204 1772

Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim  
Secretary General  
Organization of African Unity  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

## WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

### **Benin**

Mr. Robert S. M. Dossou  
Honorary Dean of Faculty of Law  
University of Benin  
P.O. Box 1204  
Cotonou, Benin  
Tel. 229-31-44-11  
Fax 229-31-42-09

Mr. Amadou Ousmane Diallo  
Permanent Secretary  
Observatoire des Fonctions Publiques  
Africaines  
04 B.P. 0595  
Cotonou, Bénin  
Tel. 229-30-33-68  
Fax 229-30-31-99

### **Botswana**

Dr. Margaret Nasha  
Minister of Local Government  
Private Bag 0060  
Gaborone, Botswana  
Tel. 267-354-182  
Fax 267-352-82/352-384

Mr. Stephen Tariro Kokerai  
Legal Office (Adviser)  
Southern African Development  
Community (SADC) Secretariat  
Gaborone, Botswana  
Tel. 267-351-863  
Fax 267-272-848

### **Burkina Faso**

Mme Françoise Ouedrago  
Directrice Générale de la Modernisation  
de l'Administration  
B.P. 7006  
Ouagadougou 03, Burkina Faso  
Tel. 226-301-958; fax 226-314-155

### **Cameroon**

Mme Pauline Biyong  
Président  
Réseau Africain pour la réduction  
de la pauvreté  
B.P. 12166  
Yaoundé, Cameroun  
Tel. 237-22-40-01/30-81-93  
Fax 237-22-40-01/23-14-53

### **Cape Verde**

Mr. Onésimo Silveira  
Mayor of St. Vincent  
St. Vincent, Cape Verde  
Tel. 238-324-088  
Fax 238-313-783

### **Ethiopia**

Mr. Berhanu Kebede  
Director General  
International Organizations  
and Economic Cooperation  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
P.O.Box 393  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-51 32 01  
Fax 251-1-51 43 00

Mr. Gabriel Negatu  
Forum of African Voluntary  
Development Organization  
1511 K. Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20005, U.S.A.  
Tel. 1-202-387-7275  
Fax 1-202-393-7070

Mr. Tameru Wondm Agegnehu  
Former Vice President of the  
Supreme Court of Ethiopia  
Consultant and Attorney-at-Law  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel./Fax 251-1-51-95-48

Ms. Kelly Seifu Yohanes  
Executive Director  
Hope for Women  
P.O.Box 1509  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-16 26 40  
Fax 251-1-51 00 64

**The Gambia**

Ms. Zahra M. Nuru  
Resident Representative  
United Nations Development Programme  
Banjul, The Gambia

Mr. Tamsier Demba M'Bye  
Secretary-General  
Office of the President and Head of Civil Service  
Banjul, The Gambia  
Tel. 220-228-339  
Fax 220-227-034

**Kenya**

Mr. Ludeki Chweya  
University of Nairobi  
P.O. Box 30197  
Nairobi, Kenya  
Tel. 254-2-334-244  
Fax 254-2-336-885

Mr. Peter Wanyande  
University of Nairobi  
Nairobi, Kenya  
Tel. 254-2-334-244 Ext.28171

**Lesotho**

Dr. A. M. Maruping  
Governor  
Central Bank of Lesotho  
Maseru, Lesotho  
Tel. 266-314-281  
Fax 266-30051/30557

**Liberia**

Ms. Gloria Scott  
Chief Justice  
Supreme Court

Monrovia, Liberia  
Tel. 226071/227604

**Malawi**

Dr. Vera Mlangazna Chirwa  
Member of Parliament  
c/o Malawi Centre for Advice, Research  
And Education on Rights (CARER)  
Blantyre 3, Malawi  
Fax 265-636-007

**Mali**

M. Ousmane Sy  
Conseiller spécial du président  
de la République  
Chef de la mission de décentralisation et  
des réformes institutionnelles  
B.P. E 1420  
Bamako, Mali  
Tel. 223-240-680  
Fax 223-240-700

**Mauritania**

M. Ahmed Salem Ould Bouboutt  
Professeur  
Université de Nouakchott  
Nouakchott, Mauritanie  
Tel. 222-254-994  
222-251-300  
Fax 222-253-146

**Mozambique**

Justice Luis A. Mondlane  
Justice of the Supreme Court  
Supreme Court of Mozambique  
P.O. Box 278  
Maputo, Mozambique  
Tel. 258-1-43-10-02/423-306  
Fax 258-1-42-06-97

Dr. Brazão Mazula  
Rector of the University  
Universidade Eduardo Mondlane  
Praça 25 de Junho  
Maputo, Mozambique  
Tel. 258-1-427-851

Fax 258-1-426-426  
Email: bmazula@rei.uem.mz

### **Nigeria**

Prof. L. Adele Jinadu  
Lagos State University  
262B Corporation Drive  
LSDPC Dolphin Estate  
Osborne Road, 1 Koyi  
Lagos, Nigeria  
Tel/Fax 234-1-2694413  
Tel. 234-1-688-296

### **Rwanda**

Mme Jacqueline Muhongayire  
Vice-Présidente de l'Assemblée Nationale  
Assemblée Nationale de la République Rwandaise  
B.P. 352  
Kigali, Rwanda  
Tel. 250-849-20 /839-80  
Fax 250-839-75/862-75

### **Sao Tome and Principe**

Mme. Angela de Barros Lima  
Directrice du Cabinet du Ministre de la  
Justice, du Travail et de l'Administration Publique  
Sao Tomé, Sao Tomé et Principe  
Tel. 239-12-22-055/22-318  
Fax 239-12-22-256

### **Senegal**

M. Babacar Sine  
Directeur  
Institut africain pour la démocratie  
B.P. 1780  
Dakar, Sénégal  
Fax 221-8235-721

Mr. Souleymane Nasser Niane  
Directeur de la fonction publique  
Ministère de la Modernisation de l'État  
Dakar, Sénégal  
Tel. 221-823-5841

### **South Africa**

Ms. Mohau Pheko

NGO Secretariat for Beijing  
Women's National Coalition  
P.O. Box 3977  
Johannesburg, South Africa  
Tel. 27-11-331-5959 Direct  
Tel. 27-11-426-5440  
Fax 27-11-331-5957 Direct  
Fax 27-11-426-3690

Mrs. Nomonde Keswa  
Chief Director  
Corporate Services  
Eastern Cape Provincial Government  
South Africa  
Tel. 27-401-99-25-25  
Fax 27-401-99-25-66  
Cellular. 27-82-574-3582

### **Swaziland**

Ms. Fikile Dlamini  
P. O. Box 578  
Mbabane, Swaziland  
Tel. 268-44301/2 (Off.); 20764 (Res.)

### **Uganda**

Dr. John Mary Kauzya  
Deputy Director  
Uganda Management Institute  
P.O. Box 20131  
Kampala, Uganda  
Tel. 256-41-256-176/259-722  
Fax 256-41-259-581

### **United Republic of Tanzania**

Mrs. Venus B. Kimei  
Tanzania Non-governmental Organization  
(TANGO)  
P.O. Box 31147  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania  
Tel. 255-51-114-014

Mrs. Rhoda Lugano Kahatano  
Box 31655  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Mr. Joseph W. Butiku

Executive Director  
The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation  
P.O. Box 71000  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania  
Tel. 255-51-119-216  
Fax 255-51-112-790

Ms. Lucie Andrew Luguga  
Assistant Resident Representative  
United Nations Development Programme  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania  
Tel. 255-51-112-799/112-801  
Fax 255-51-113-272

Mr. Emmanuel Shayo  
Conseiller  
P.O.Box 9000  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Mr. Noyce Tnrewa  
Conseiller  
P.O.Box 9000

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Mr. Simon Mohamed B.  
Conseiller  
P.O.Box 9000  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Mr. Jacky Mugendi Zoka  
P.O.Box 9000  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Mr. Kingunge Ngomeale Mwiru  
Prime Minister's Office  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania  
Tel. 255-51-117269

**Zambia**  
Justice Lombe Chibesakunda  
Human Rights Commission  
P.O. Box 33812  
Lusaka, Zambia

## RESOURCE PERSONS

Dr. Ahmed Sakr Ashour  
Director-General  
Arab Administrative Development  
Organization (ARADO)  
Cairo, Egypt  
Tel. 202-417-5410  
Fax 202-417-5407

Dr. Meheret Ayenew  
Addis Ababa University  
Faculty of Business and Economics  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 55-3900/11-72-78

Mr. Peter Burgess (UK)  
VP COFINA/Change Institute  
1173A Second Av. #221  
New York, N.Y. 10021, U.S.A.  
Tel. 1-212-772-6918

Fax 1-212-832-1586

Ms. Rameline Kamga  
President, COFINA  
10101 Grosvenor Place  
North Bethesda, MD. 20852, U.S.A.  
Tel. 1-301-493-5042  
Fax 1-301-493-2562

Mr. Tebogo Job Mokgoro  
P.O. Box 188  
Rooigrond 2743  
South Africa  
Tel. 0140-873040  
Fax 0140-873293

Dr. Bruno Mukendi  
Washington International Management Institute  
1050 17th Street

N.W. Suite 600  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
Tel. 1-202-776-0647; fax 1-202-463-0909

Dr. Fasil Nahum  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Prof. Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja  
Howard University  
13702 Colgate Way, #1044  
Silver Spring, MD 20904, U.S.A.

Tel. 1-301-847-3477  
Fax 1-301-847-7497

Mr. Peter Quennell (New Zealand)  
President  
The Change Institute  
7004 Boulevard East #33  
Guttenburg, New Jersey 07093, U.S.A.  
Tel. 1-201-869-2931  
Fax 1-201-869-0813

## OBSERVERS

### Government Officials

#### **Angola**

Ambassador Toko D. Serao  
Embassy of Angola  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

#### **Cameroon**

Ambassador Jean-Ailaire Mbea Mbea  
Embassy of Cameroon  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Dr. Churchill Ewumbue-Monono  
Second Counsellor  
Embassy of Cameroon  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Mr. Samuel Roger Zang  
Embassy of Cameroon  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Fax 251-1-518-434

#### **Congo**

Mr. Casimir Mpiere  
Chargé d'affaires  
Embassy of the Republic of Congo  
P.O. Box 5639  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Ms. Marie Mboundzi  
First Counsellor

Embassy of the Republic of Congo  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-51-41-8857

#### **Egypt**

Mr. Khaled Elbakly  
Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-55-30-77

#### **Eritrea**

H.E. Ambassador Girma Asmeron  
Embassy of Eritrea  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Mr. Salih Omer  
First Secretary  
Embassy of Eritrea  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-51-28-44  
Fax 251-1-51 28 44

#### **Ethiopia**

Mr. Assefa Damtew  
First Secretary  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
P.O. Box 393  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-15-06-45/51-73-45

Dr. Zewdineh Beyene  
First Secretary  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
P.O.Box 393  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-15 89 29  
Fax 251-1-51 43 00

**Gabon**

Mr. Emmanuel Mendoume-Nze  
Ambassador of the Gabonese Republic  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Mr. Gnangon Miembet  
Counsellor  
Embassy of the Gabonese Republic  
P.O. Box 1256  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-61-10-75

**Guinea**

Mme. Kadiatou Diallo  
Embassy of the Republic of Guinea  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-65-13-08

**Iran**

Mr. Doutaghy  
Secretary  
Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

**Japan**

Mr. Yasuhiro Hamada  
Ambassador of Japan to Ethiopia  
Embassy of Japan  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Mr. Masakazu Toshikage  
Regional Coordinator, First Africa Division  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Tokyo, Japan  
Tel. 81-3-3581-2924

Mr. Naohiro Hayakawa  
Head, Political Section

Embassy of Japan  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-51-10-88

Mr. Akio Odani  
Third Secretary  
Embassy of Japan  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-51-10-88

Ms. Minako Ishihara  
Embassy of Japan  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Prof. Kazuyoshi Aoki  
Nihon University  
c/o Japan Embassy  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Fax 251-1-51-13-50

Prof. Hideo Oda  
Keiai University  
Japan  
Tel. 81-43-486-6210; 81-43-486-2200

**Kenya**

Mr. James Kiboi  
Second Secretary  
Embassy of the Republic of Kenya  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-61-00-33

**Liberia**

Ambassador Marcus M. Kofa  
Embassy of the Republic of Liberia  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

**Mali**

Mr. Acherif Agmohamed  
Embassy of the Republic of Mali  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-71-26-01

Mr. Souleymane Sidibe  
Ambassador to OAU from Mali  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Tel. 251-1-20-15-28

**Morocco**

Mr. Lehousing Rabinouni  
Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

**Namibia**

Ambassador Eddie S. Amkorgo  
Embassy of the Republic of Namibia  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

**Nigeria**

Ambassador Brownson N. Dede  
Embassy of Nigeria  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

**Russian Federation**

Mr. Alexander Korsakov  
First Secretary  
Embassy of the Russian Federation  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

**Rwanda**

M. Eustache Nkerinka  
Député National  
Assemblée Nationale du Rwanda  
B.P. 352  
Kigali, Rwanda  
Tel. 250-83180  
250-83-980  
250-86-275

Mr. Vincent Ntambabazi  
Second Counsellor  
Embassy of the Rwandese Republic  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Dr. Joseph W. Mutaroba  
Embassy of the Rwandese Republic  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-61-03-00

**Senegal**

Mr. Abdou Salam Diallo  
Conseiller  
Embassy of the Republic of Senegal  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

**South Africa**

Dr. Sandy Shaw  
Embassy of the Republic of South Africa  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-71-30-34

**Sudan**

Mr. Rahamtalla Osman  
Minister Plenipotentiary  
Embassy of the Republic of the Sudan  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

**Tunisia**

Mr. Mohamed Ali Ben Abid  
First Secretary  
Embassy of Tunisia  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-65-38-18  
Tel. 251-1-51-84-34

**United Republic of Tanzania**

H.E. Charles Kileo  
Ambassador  
Embassy of the United Republic of Tanzania  
P.O. Box 1077  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Mr. George Mwanjabala  
Minister Plenipotentiary  
Embassy of the United Republic of Tanzania  
P.O. Box 1077  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

**Zambia**

Mr. Mwenya Lwatula  
Embassy of the Republic of Zambia  
P.O. Box 1709  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

**Zimbabwe**

Mr. Alex Masumba  
Parliament  
2221 33rd Cres, G.V.I.  
Harare, Zimbabwe

### Non-Governmental Organizations

Mr. Ahmed Mohiddin  
Director  
Africa Foundation  
P.O.Box. 1639  
Accra, Ghana  
Fax 233-21-776-055

Dr. M. A. Wali  
Director General  
African Training and Research Centre  
in Administration for Development (CAFRAD)  
Tangier, Morocco  
Fax 212-9-941-415

Mme. Christine Desouches  
Agence de la Francophonie  
13 Quai André Citroën  
75015 Paris, France  
Tel. 33-1-44373317  
Fax 33-1-44373345

Dr. Abdalla Burja  
Director  
Development Policy Management Forum  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Fax 251-1-515-410

Mr. Tadesse Belay  
Ethiopian Investment Authority  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Dr. Meera Sethi  
International Organization for Migration  
UNECA BLDG.  
P.O. Box 3005  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Mr. John Mdoe  
Organization of African Unity  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Prof. Kwame Frimpong  
Secretary General  
Southern African Universities  
Social Science Conference (SAUSSC)  
c/o Faculty of Social Sciences  
University of Botswana  
Private Bag 0022  
Gaborone, Botswana  
Tel. 267-355-2339  
Fax 267-356-591

Mr. Amadou Ly  
TACT  
P.O. Box 60069  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-61-05-94  
Fax 251-1-51-46-82

### Media

Mr. Takele Alemayehu  
Reporter

Ethiopian News Agency (ENA)  
Woreda 15, Kebele 30, House No. 321

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Mr. Berhanu Dawit  
Reporter  
ENA  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Mr. Shewareged Bruck

Ethiopian Radio  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-71-11-11

Mr. Sisay Haile-Selassie  
Journalist (External Service of Radio Ethiopia)  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

### **Others**

Mr. Steve Tettey  
P.O.Box 15705  
Accra-North, Ghana

Mr. Codjovi Cyroaque Dogue  
B.P. 2050  
Cotonou, Benin  
Tel. 229-31 52 32  
Fax 229-31 37 12

Dr. Alan F. Fowler  
P.O.Box 1261  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-15 25 41  
Fax 251-1-53 17 93

Mr. Sem Tekle  
Ethiopia  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-51-47-86

Engineer Techeste Ahderom  
866 United Nations Plaza, Suite 120  
New York, N.Y. 10017  
U.S.A.

## **UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATIONS**

### **Department of Political Affairs**

Mr. Taye-Brook Zerihoun  
Deputy Director, Africa 1 Division

### **United Nations High Commission for Refugees**

Ms. Kathrine Staru  
UNHCR Regional Liaison Officer  
P.O. Box 1076  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Tel. 251-1-61-28-22

## **United Nations Development Programme**

Ms. Carina Perelli  
Deputy Director  
Management Development and Governance  
Division  
Bureau for Policy and Programme Support

Dr. Soule Funna  
Regional Bureau for Africa

Mr. Aamir Matin  
UNDP Governance Facility  
Islamabad, Pakistan  
Tel. 925-1821816  
Fax 925-1279080

Ms. Joyce Mendi-Cole  
Field Office, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

## **United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization**

Mr. Mamady Lamine Conde  
UNESCO Representative in Addis Ababa  
P.O. Box 1177  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

## **World Health Organization**

Mr. A. Nunes Correua  
Director  
WHO Office for OAU/ECA  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
Fax 251-1-515178

## **ORGANIZERS**

### **Economic Commission for Africa**

Mr. K. Y. Amoako  
Executive Secretary

Mr. James Nxumalo  
Chief  
Development Management Division (DMD)

Mr. Ismail Ali Ismail  
Senior Public Administration Officer  
DMD

Mr. Joseph Simelane  
Public Sector Management  
DMD

Dr. Getachew Demeke  
Coordinator of the Civil Society  
Participation and Development in Governance  
DMD

Mr. Pierre Demba

Mr. Mamadi Kourouma

Mr. B. Mapango

Mr. Ibrahima Barry

Mr. Sylvain Maliko

Mr. Kaba Camara

Mr. Birane Cisse

Ms. Awa Fall

Mr. V. Bobrov

Mr. M.K. Mwangi

Mr. Wondimu Alemayehu

Mr. Christophe Bandaogo

Mr. Taye Said

Mr. Mpekesa Bongoy

## Department of Economic and Social Affairs

Mr. Guido Bertucci  
Director  
Division for Public Economics  
and Public Administration (DPEPA)  
Tel. 1-212-963-5761  
Fax 1-212-963-9681

Ms. Itoko Suzuki  
Chief  
Governance and Public Administration Branch  
(GPAB)/DPEPA  
Tel. 1-212-963-8418  
Fax 1-212-963-2916

Ms. Jeanne-Marie Col  
Special Technical Adviser  
GPAB/DPEPA  
Tel. 1-212-963-8377

Mr. Rukudzo Murapa  
Interregional Adviser  
GPAB/DPEPA

Mr. Mohamed Sall Sao  
Interregional Adviser  
GPAB/DPEPA  
Tel. 1-212-963-4503

Ms. Atnafu Almaz  
Economic Affairs Officer  
GPAB/DPEPA  
Tel. 1-212-963-8378  
Fax 1-212-963-2916

Ms. Yolande Jemiai  
Public Administration Officer  
GPAB/DPEPA

Mr. Abraham Joseph  
Senior Adviser on UN-NADAF/UNSIA  
Office of the Special Coordinator  
for Africa and the LDCs  
Tel. 1-212-963-4839



**WORKING PAPERS**

1. “Governance: The Africa Experience” by Prof. Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja.
2. “Building a Capacity for Governance: Some Lessons Learned” by Prof. B. Guy Peters.
3. “The Public Service and Development” by Mr. T. J. Makgoro.
4. “The Rule of Law and Political Liberalization in Africa” by Mr. Amedou Ould-Abdallah.
5. “Judicial and Quasi-Judicial Review of Administrative Decisions” by Dr. Fasil Nahum.
6. “Enhancing the Responsiveness of the Public Services to the People through Parliamentary Control of Administration” by Dr. Meheret Ayenew.
7. “How African Government May Create Fast Economic Growth” by Mr. Peter M. Quennell.
8. “Promoting Investment in People and Communities” by Ms. Rameline Kamga.
9. “Developing New Capacities for Improved Management of the Public Sector in Africa” by Dr. T. Bruno Mukendi.
10. “Performance Measurement in Government Organizations” by Dr. Ahmed Sakr Ashour.
11. “High Performance Government Financial Management in Africa” by Mr. T. Peter Burgess.
12. “Inter-Active Governance: A Social-Political Perspective” by Dr. Jan Kooiman.
13. “State and Civil Society in Africa: Nurturing a Functional Relationship between Citizens and State Institutions” prepared by the Economic Commission for Africa