

GOVERNANCE LINK

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An APRM Newsletter



A note from the CEO



As the year 2017 draws to a close, it is my pleasure to welcome readers to the maiden issue of the APRM Newsletter, The Governance Link. This year has been an exceptionally productive year for the APRM as an institution and as a platform for governance discourse on the continent. The following aspects constitute some of the major accomplishments in 2017.

Firstly, the APR Forum of Heads of State and Government received the year with a record-breaking number of peer-reviews of four APRM-participating countries in January 2017 – Djibouti, Chad, Senegal, and Kenya. It was at this Summit that Kenya broke new ground as the first APRM-participating country to undergo a second-generation peer review. The APR Panel is currently finalising the second-generation country review report for Uganda, which will make it the second country after Kenya to have submitted itself to a second review. Liberia and Sudan have also completed preparations to undergo the peer-review process at the next Summit.

Secondly, at the same Summit in January 2017, the APR Forum welcomed Namibia as its 36th Member State, thereby taking the Mechanism another step closer to the realisation of its ambition for the “universal” membership of all AU member states. Several other countries have since expressed their intention to accede to the Mechanism in the near future.

Thirdly, at its January 2017 Summit, the AU Assembly adopted a landmark decision to strengthen the APRM and expand its mandate to, inter alia, “track implementation and oversee the monitoring and evaluation process in key governance areas on the continent”. This dramatic expansion of the APRM mandate comes on top of previous decisions for the APRM to play a monitoring and evaluation role for the African Union Agenda 2063 and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals Agenda 2030. The APRM is currently busy trying to define and articulate the potential implications of these decisions for the Mechanism, for its membership structure and for its mode of operation, which are likely to be far-reaching.

Fourthly, the January 2017 Summit also appointed six new members of the APR Panel of Eminent Persons, an organ of the Mechanism with responsibility to lead the Country Review Process and ensure that it meets the fundamental requirements of technical competence and credibility, and is immune from political manipulation. The new members are Ambassador Mona Omar Attia (Egypt), Professor Ibrahim Agboola Gambari (Nigeria), Professor Fatma Zohra Karadja (Algeria), Professor Augustin Marie-Gervais Loada (Burkina Faso), Ambassador Ombeni Yohana Sefue (Tanzania) and Bishop Dinis Salomão Sengulane (Mozambique). With this impressive array of new Panel Members and three serving counterparts – Professor Mahamoud Youssuf Khayal (Chad), the current Chairperson of the Panel, Honourable Brigitte Sylvia Mabandla (South Africa), the current Vice-Chairperson of the Panel, and Professor Al-Amin Abu-Manga (Sudan) – the core mandate of the APRM, the conduct of the country review process, is certainly in very good hands.

Thanks to the revitalisation exercise that has been under way since the beginning of 2016, the APRM Secretariat is steadily enhancing its technical capacity to support member states and deliver on its mandates. It is gratifying to observe, among other positive developments, that: the political will and confidence of our member states is returning; the APR Panel is attracting some of the most prominent Africans to lead the review exercises; the number of our Strategic Partners has increased from three to five and all of them are redoubling their efforts to support the Mechanism to deliver on its expanded mandate.

It is in this context of a re-energised APRM, with an expanding mandate and membership, that The Governance Link is launched to serve as a medium of regular exchange of information, ideas, analyses and debates between the APRM and its stakeholders. Indeed, The Governance Link is being launched at a time when the Mechanism is preparing to celebrate its 15th Anniversary in March 2018.

This maiden issue of The Governance Link covers recent developments at the APRM Secretariat, highlighting topical events such as the drivers behind the transformational leadership initiative. In this regard, we want to specially thank our partners who contributed immensely to this issue of The Governance Link.

I take this opportunity to congratulate colleagues in the APRM Secretariat on playing a leadership role in this worthwhile initiative and on the quality of the articles contained in this issue.

Professor Eddy Maloka
Chief Executive Officer, APRM Secretariat

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Transformative Governance and Leadership

At the dawn of the new millennium, with the African Renaissance initiative, the African Union set a new stage where the major intention was to manage its own development agenda through the creation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and its instrument for promoting good governance in Africa, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).

The APRM is a fundamental institution of the initiative for development to take place, peace, security and stability have been recognised as key. Furthermore, for peace and security to thrive, good governance, in its political, economic and corporate dimensions is an imperative. The work of the AU, NEPAD and the APRM over the last 15 years has supported this Pan-African agenda, and its overall objective of promoting transformative socio-economic development.

In taking stock of the track record over the last fifteen years, we can state that through its work the AU and its instruments for good governance, the APRM has worked with national initiatives on good governance to make perceptible improvements to the well-being of their citizens, as corroborated by governance, developmental and economic indices. More and more African countries have respected Constitutionalism, the Rule of Law and enhanced access by their citizens to Justice. Many countries have put in place mechanisms that ensure promotion and protection of Human Rights. The AU has, in turn, created institutions and developed mechanisms that prescribe minimum acceptable governance standards that its members need to conform to. The need for transformative governance on the continent has been brought to the attention of the continent's policy makers through Goal 12 of the African Union's Agenda 2063, which underlines Transformative Leadership as a critical success factor for realisation of all other goals.

This core AU goal is captured as the APRM vision in the APRM Strategic Plan for 2016-2020:

Through implementing Agenda 2063, the necessary long-term vision and plan that will serve as a basis for continental regeneration

and accelerated development over the next 50 years, the continent should be able to rise to new heights. According to Joel Netshitenzhe, a struggle veteran of South Africa's ruling party, ANC, "Africa is poised for a renaissance across all indicators of human endeavour and it should develop its strategies, taking into account a variety of possibilities on the continent and further afield." This deliberative strategy is, at its core, transformative governance. Mr Netshitenzhe refers to the change in mindset required of all continental leaders when he underlines that:

"A Pan-African renaissance will not come of its own accord. It requires foresight in leadership, activism of society and a renaissance of Africa's 'think industry'. In this regard, the successor to the Organisation of African Unity, the African Union, should play a more active role particularly through bodies such as the AU Commission and the Pan-African Parliament. In partnership with the intelligentsia and the rest of civil society, these bodies can serve as critical continental thought leaders, facilitators and monitors."

Transformative governance is a term whose meaning can differ depending on the subject matter being addressed. To experts in the area of organisational behaviour the focus is almost entirely on transformative leadership. To others, it signifies a bottom up approach that implicates all members of the public in the process of governance, so as to ensure that all viewpoints are heard and a consensus is reached on necessary measures to improve governance.

In the first fourteen years of operation of the APRM as an instrument for improving governance, the APRM has consistently highlighted the need for transformative governance, through the action of transforming leaders at all levels of society, without political manipulation. APRM reports have focussed on the need for transformational leadership at different levels of governance in its reports. An example is the first Country Review Report for Kenya, published in 2006. The report observes that transformational leadership is a requirement not just at the helm of affairs, but at various governance levels including parliament, the private sector and civil society. The report also underlines the need for common values and goals and that "leaders must display conviction, emphasise trust, take a stand on difficult issues, present their most important values and emphasise the importance of purpose, commitment and the ethical consequences of decisions."

The APRM further defines transformational

leadership by stating that it "entails not simply directing change but managing it in a way that ensures broad ownership, legitimacy and self-directed sustenance and replication of change in all associated systems."

The APRM, through the years and across its reviews, has continued to underline the need for transformational leadership in Africa. For example, the Sierra Leone Report touches on the issue in its concluding paragraph, where it is observed that Sierra Leone, through its leaders, should build on its assets "to overcome the country's political, economic and socio-economic development constraints and risks. This calls for determined, unyielding and enlightened leadership at all levels of society. There is every indication that such leadership exists in Sierra Leone and the APR Panel is confident that the country will employ it both judiciously and effectively in the march towards resolving the constraints and challenges." The engagement of civil society in bringing about transformational governance is paramount. A vibrant civil society that can work with government and help address challenges in governance helps to catalyse the wider population on the desirability and the possibility for positive change. The 2006 APRM Kenya report underlined the importance of harnessing the enthusiasm of members of civil society in governance both nationally and regionally, so as to create an evolving culture of stakeholder candour, self-critiquing and engagement. This includes the need to mobilise civil society members from different constituencies including the African Diaspora, academia, youth and rural communities, among many.

The way forward lies in ensuring that Goal 12 of Agenda 2063 is realised. In 2018, the APRM and AGA Secretariats will implement a flagship programme on transformative leadership as an input to Agenda 2063's Goal 12 on capable institutions and transformative leadership. This includes utilising a framework for assessing AU States in the following components of transformative leadership:

- Institutions and leadership
- Participatory development and local governance

Through regular assessments of transformative leadership, the APRM and AGA Secretariats hope to put in place a system for progressive improvement in transformative leadership that will allow Africa to meet the challenge of implementing all of Agenda 2063, so as to take its rightful place as an important part of the new world order.



Dalmar is the Principal Strategic Planning Officer at the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) Secretariat, responsible for formulating and tracking implementation of the APRM Strategic Plan for 2016-2020, and the annual Work Plans. He is also a Country Coordinator for the review processes of five APRM Member States (Ghana, Mauritius, Namibia, Rwanda, Senegal). At the APRM, Dalmar has worked alongside small business owners, civil society, public servants and executives across Africa in confronting governance challenges that face the Continent.

WHERE NEXT for the APRM as the AU transforms?



As institutions mature, they should take stock to gear themselves for the future. Led by Rwanda's President Paul Kagame, a process is underway at the African Union (AU) to do just that. How might this reform drive affect the African Peer Review Mechanism, the continent's voluntary governance promotion and assessment instrument?

The AU has great expectations of the APRM. A main priority of the January 2017 "Kagame Report" – "The Imperative to Strengthen our Union: Report on the Proposed Recommendations for the Institutional Reform of the African Union" – is to "realign the structure of the African Union institutions to deliver on key priorities."

It recommends an extension of the current mandate of the APRM, saying the institution "could be strengthened to track implementation and oversee monitoring and evaluation in key governance areas of the continent." African heads of state chose to substitute "could" with "should" in a January 2017 declaration, envisaging a role for the APRM to monitor implementation of Agenda

2063 (the AU's 50-year development vision) and the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals, global targets for the year 2030.

This will be a formidable challenge for the APRM system as currently constituted. The review process is glacial: in 14 years, the APRM has attracted 36 members and conducted 20 base reviews, plus one second review in Kenya. Member States need to encourage their recalcitrant peers to ready themselves for reviews. Going forward, reporting on National Programmes of Action must be prioritised, their programmes funded and

carefully think through what this new mandate entails, in the context of the changes the Kagame reforms might bring. The APRM will have to coordinate its Monitoring and Evaluation efforts with other continental and global organisations and APRM bodies at national level, and figure out how to track compliance in members and non-members alike. It needs a baseline against which to measure progress, which is difficult as some review reports are a decade old now. Meeting the mandate may require major reforms – including reformulating the questionnaire APRM Member

States work off, examining the relevance of the APRM's management structures, and equipping itself with the ability to turn reviews around more rapidly. And its 2017-2020 Strategy Plan may need to be updated to include raising resources and building capacity to meet new needs.

"REALIGN THE STRUCTURE OF THE AFRICAN UNION INSTITUTIONS TO DELIVER ON KEY PRIORITIES."

capacity and peer learning increased.

The APRM has initiated dialogue with its strategic and civil society partners on the scale and scope of its new mandate, to ensure complementarity with existing reporting by national ministries and statistical bodies, the UN organs and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

The task ahead for the APRM is therefore to

Ultimately, the APRM needs to clearly articulate where it adds value, to proceed with its expanded mandate in an effective and efficient manner.



Steven Gruzd first joined SAIIA in April 2003 as the Research Manager on the NEPAD and Governance Programme, and became Head of the successor programme on Governance and the APRM, in May 2008. He rejoined SAIIA in this capacity in October 2013, having spent two years as Senior Researcher and Diplomatic Liaison at the SA Jewish Board of Deputies. From 1999-2003 he worked as a researcher and research coordinator at the Centre for Development and Enterprise. He has published widely on governance and the African Peer Review Mechanism, and keenly follows African political developments and South African foreign policy.

THE ROLE OF YOUTH

in
APRM's quest for
good governance,
development and
democracy

The revitalisation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is evidence of African governments' renewed commitment to strengthening good governance, development and democracy in Africa. The APRM will be celebrating its 15th Anniversary on 9 March 2018, after a vibrant revival in 2016-2017, marked by Country Review missions in Chad, Djibouti, Kenya, Senegal, Sudan, Liberia, and the recent Uganda Review Mission in 2017.

At this juncture, it is obvious that sustainable good governance, development and democracy cannot materialise at the continental level without the active participation of the Youth, who make the bulk of the African population. According to the African Union (AU), about 60% of the total population of Africa is below the age of 24 years, and more than 35% of them fall within the 15-35 years bracket, thus making Africa the continent with highest youth population in the world. This demographic dividend constitutes an opportunity for the APRM to bring young people into Africa's democratisation prospects.

The 28th Summit of Heads of State and Government of the African Union held on 30 January 2017 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, mandated the APRM to track and monitor UN Agenda 2030 and AU Agenda 2063. This extended mandate has come to heighten the young people's interest in the APRM. Indeed, APRM has responded positively to the AU's theme and focus - "Harnessing the Demographic Dividend through Investments in Youth" - by involving a large pool of the youth actively in its daily activities and this trend will further safeguard the Mechanism's continuity and institutional memory.

It is also noteworthy that the African youth innovation in information technology will secure Africa's place in the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

The involvement of young people in ICT will place Africa at the forefront of new technologies such as artificial intelligence, which could play an unprecedented role in moving our societies forward.

More than one-third of the 169 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) targets highlight the role of young people and the importance of their empowerment, participation, and well-being. On the other hand, AU Agenda 2063: 'The Africa We Want' further emphasises the role of the youth in Aspiration 6, which stipulates 'An Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth'.

The projected lifespan of AU Agenda 2063 automatically makes young people the custodians of this development plan. It is, therefore, against this backdrop that the APRM, as Africa's leading tool for the advancement and promotion of good governance, should consider upscaling its youth engagement.

Leveraging the synergies between Agenda 2063 and the United Nations SDGs could then be the first step to be taken by the APRM in implementing AU's theme of harnessing the demographic dividend through investments in the African youth.

It is worth recalling that, following the recommendation of President Paul Kagame's Report on the SDGs, the AU Summit made a key Assembly Decision to give APRM an Expanded Mandate. This provides a golden opportunity and a platform for young people to participate in the APRM processes.

The young people of Africa no longer have to be docile observers of APRM processes. The Expanded Mandate provides them with an opportunity to get involved in and influence the Mechanism's footprint in civil society and to be part of research organisations and academic institutions.

More importantly, the Strategic Partners of the APRM, such as the African Development Bank (AfDB), United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Mo Ibrahim Foundation and the African Union Commission, can join forces with the APRM to develop flagship programmes aimed at empowering young people and promoting their networks and constructive volunteerism at national and continental levels.

To bring young people on board and ensure that they participate effectively in its processes, APRM should collaborate with organisations such as the Pan-African Youth Union (PYU), AU University institutions and Pan-African Civil

Society Organisations working with young people on the ground.

One slot of the APRM Strategy for 2016 - 2020 is aimed at developing new tools and knowledge products to enable the APRM to serve as a think tank on African governance. In this regard, the APRM should consider involving the youth more actively in the post-review outreach activities. In this regard, it is imperative that the APRM adopt the use of digital platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Snap Chat, etc. This is because the young people of today are very digitally savvy and can use quick and efficient technological innovations. Indeed, such simple ways of engaging and mobilising young people in the governance sphere will encourage them to go beyond protests and riots to express their frustrations and rather contribute more positively to the national, regional and continental development processes.

As the Mechanism approaches its 15th Anniversary commemoration in 2018, Africa's Heads of State and Government are encouraged to ratify and fully domesticate the AU Youth Charter. So far, forty-two (42) Member States have signed the AU Youth Charter, thirty-eight (38) Member States have ratified the Charter and three (3) Member States are yet to sign and ratify the instrument. This trend is very encouraging and it proves that the African leaders are committed to developing young people to serve as future custodians of the development of the African continent.

Young people are currently represented in the APRM National Governing Councils (NGCs). However, there is still room for improvement in terms of their engagement. Moreover, as youth issues feature prominently in APRM Country Review Reports, African leaders should prioritise youth-related issues such as access to quality education, health and employment.

African Peer Review Mechanism, the Pan-African tool for promoting good governance, development and democracy, is a vehicle ensuring that the youth constitute an integral component of the processes of constitutionalism, rule of law and democratic governance in Africa. This means that the youth can no longer be excluded from key decisions taken by African leaders, because the young people have a crucial role to play in building and developing the African continent. Frantz Fanon famously wrote, "Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it". Young people should therefore seize the opportunity to participate in Africa's governance mandate, through the APRM.

The struggle continues, victory is certain!



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SILENCING THE GUNS BY 2020: HOW REALISTIC IS THIS TIMELINE?



Mr. David Omozuafoh has been working in the field of Democracy and Governance since 1994. As Programme Advisor, APRM and Governance Assessment, Mr. Omozuafoh provides and oversight UNDP's support to country reviews of APRM currently in 36 member states. In addition, he leads the RSCA support for Governance and Peace and security states which supports National Statistics Offices (NSOs) to implement a survey which enables them understand the status of governance, peace and security in their respective countries and put plans in place to make improvement.

It is common knowledge that sustainable development cannot happen in an environment of uncertainty, instability and of course,

violent conflict. The devastating effects of violent conflicts on Africa's development since independence of most African countries about 50 years ago, is huge. Continuing violent conflicts have the potential to reverse development achieved in the past two decades and the potential to deny the realisation of the Sustainable Development Goals. Not counting the colossal human cost, Oxfam estimates that compared to peaceful countries, African countries in conflict between 1990 and 2005, have, on average, 50 percent more infant deaths; 15 percent more undernourished people; a reduced life expectancy by five years; 20 percent more adult illiteracy; 2.5 times fewer doctors per patient; and 12.4 percent less food per person.

In terms of financial cost, Oxfam also estimates that cost of conflict to 23 countries to be \$284 billion from 1990 to 2005, representing an average annual loss of 15 percent of GDP. This amounts to an average of \$18 billion per year lost by Africa due to armed conflict. At the global level, the economic impact of violence containment to the world economy in 2012 was estimated to be \$9.46 trillion or 11 percent of Gross World Product (GWP). The financial cost

could be counted as an economic activity – profit for those manufacturing and selling arms but loss to those using the arms. It is pertinent to underscore the fact that the arms are used outside the shores of the countries that manufacture and sell them, hence, they smile to the bank at the expense of destruction of lives and property of their clients. In other word, the client groans to the grave! And for those who claim that war is good for the economy, please be reminded that it is only for the economy of the arms dealers.

The African Union acknowledges that "most crises and violent conflicts in Africa are being driven by poverty, economic hardships, violation or manipulation of constitutions, violation of human rights, exclusion, inequalities, marginalisation and mismanagement of Africa's rich ethnic diversity, as well as relapses into the cycle of violence in some post-conflict settings and external interference in African affairs".

It is implicit in this acknowledgement that governance being central to the redress of these challenges, is a core aspect of the problem of violent conflict. In recognition of the centrality of governance as a key aspect of violent conflict management, the African Union established the APRM in 2003 and the African Governance Architecture (AGA) in 2011. Within the framework of Agenda 2063 and the AU's 50 Anniversary Solemn Declaration (2013), the African Union



intended to put an end to all wars in Africa by 2020; hence 'silencing the guns' by 2020. In making the declaration, the Heads of States and government of the AU maintained, categorically that "...determination to achieve the goal of a conflict-free Africa, to make peace a reality for all our people and to rid the continent of wars, civil conflicts, human rights violations, humanitarian disasters and violent conflicts, and to prevent genocide. We pledge not to bequeath the burden of conflicts to the next generation of Africans and undertake to end all wars in Africa by 2020". This is a solid expression of commitment by those who order the guns to be bought and used legitimately, in position to use the instrumentality of the state to prevent and stop those who will acquire the guns illegitimately. The initiative noble as it is, was clearly overambitious in terms of timelines and implementation of expected actions to achieve the stated objective. A cursory assessment of some of the causes of conflicts identified by the AU such as manipulation of constitutions, poverty and economic hardship and mismanagement of African resources would reveal that Africa is nowhere near silencing the guns.

VIOLATION OR MANIPULATION OF CONSTITUTIONS in terms of democratic consolidation, Africa is at the crossroad. Decades

after independence, Africans have become more desperate and despondent. Peacelessness pervades the horizon as democracy has not delivered the desired dividends. Agitations to address inequality and poor service delivery are increasing. Those who cannot withstand it migrate to the unknown – take to the dangerous high sea or desert journey as the known has failed them. And the political class? Instead of popular empowerment, participation, competition and legitimacy, the democratisation process in some African countries seems to have engendered a feeling of dispossession and growing alienation among the people.

Ahead of the declaration to silence the guns, the AU Charter on Democracy and Good Governance and Election had come into force in 2012. The Charter in its objectives clearly "prohibit, reject and condemn unconstitutional change of government in any Member State as a serious threat to stability, peace, security and development;" It went further to define what constitute an unconstitutional change of government to include the following: "(4) Any refusal by an incumbent government to relinquish power to the winning party or candidate after free, fair and regular elections; or (5) Any amendment or revision of the constitution or legal instruments, which is an infringement on the principles of

democratic change of government". The African Governance Architecture (AGA) reveals that of the 55 Member States, 30 have ratified the Charter, 18 signed but yet to ratify while 7 Member States are yet to even sign the Charter. It is on record that prior to and after the Charter came into force in 2012 and the declaration to silence the guns, Member States continue to attempt to interfere with their constitutions with the view to changing them and prolonging their stay in power. We know quite well that members of the opposition have not taken this lightly in such countries. It has been successful in some countries such as Cameroon (Paul Biya 2008), Chad (Idriss Derby 2008) and Uganda (under Yoweri Museveni 2002 and ongoing), rejected in Nigeria (under Olusegun Obasanjo 2006), and Burkina Faso and currently being pursued in Rwanda. Attempt to tamper with the constitution has serious implication for political stability, peace and unity of the country. It shuts down or narrows political space and popular participation in decision-making processes. Will tampering with the constitution in 2017 silence the guns by 2020? Time will tell.

POVERTY AND ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS – It is on record that Africa has made progress in reducing poverty. Since 2000, GDP growth rose steadily. Africa experienced robust economic growth over the past two decades, growing at an average annual rate of 4.5 percent. Did this growth lead to substantial improvements in well-being? Did household income rise and poverty fall? Did other dimensions of well-being, including education, health, physical security, and self-determination, improve? Did all countries and population groups benefit equally, or did progress come at the expense of rising inequality?

The answers to these questions are mixed. It is however obvious that countries with high economic growth in Africa have been unable to translate the steady growth into sustainable development. Despite the decline in population of poor Africans—from 57 percent in 1990 to 43 percent in 2012, poverty is on the rise. The fear is that as the population grows, the number of poor Africans will also grow. With the adoption of the sustainable development goals which specifically target eradication of poverty and hunger, only doing business not as usual will rescue Africa from poverty and hunger being factors for picking up guns. If the guns must be silenced, hunger, poverty and inequality must be arrested. Is this doable by the year 2020? Miracles do happen!

MISMANAGEMENT OF AFRICA'S RESOURCES

- Corruption is a development challenge any day. Of the 176 countries Transparency International surveyed in 2016, the best performing African country was Botswana which occupied 35th position, then Cape Verde (38), Mauritius and Rwanda (50) and Namibia (53). Mo Ibrahim Index report : A decade of African Governance (2005 – 2016) - also reveals that "at the Overall Governance level, the three highest scoring countries in 2015 are Mauritius, Botswana and Cabo Verde, justifying a correlation between good governance and reduction of corruption.

Corruption is a governance deficit, a result of malfunctioning state institutions due to poor governance. The Commission on Human Rights Resolution 2000/64 recognises that the characteristics of good governance such as participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus, equity, inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, and accountability are vital for promoting growth and sustainable development. Corruption diverts resources away from investments in infrastructure, institutions and social services; undermines democracy and the rule of law, leads to violations of human rights, distorts markets, erodes quality of life and allows organised crime, terrorism and other threats to human security to flourish. Corruption is a serious issue in Africa as it denies benefits of development to the larger population, it widens the gap between the rich and the poor, it increases the cost of doing business, it affects quality and timeliness of service delivery, and impacts on

human rights especially in the judiciary and education. The World Bank Group President Jim Yong Kim, describes corruption as "public enemy number one," According to him, every dollar that a corrupt official or a corrupt business person puts in their pocket is a dollar stolen from a pregnant woman who needs health care; or from a girl or a boy who deserves an education; or from communities that need water, roads, and schools. Every dollar is critical if we are to reach our goals to end extreme poverty by 2030 and to boost shared prosperity. It is pertinent to also emphasise that every dollar stolen puts more potholes on our roads, increases darkness as electricity becomes more epileptic, weakens institutions like the police, damages the image of a country and ability to compete globally. The report of the High-Level Panel on illicit financial flows from Africa in 2016 revealed that about USD50 Billion leaves Africa yearly. This money is not available for Africa's development. Can you imagine how much of the SDGs can be achieved with USD50 Billion in Africa and how it can contribute to silencing the guns? Are the AU Member States committed to blocking these illicit flows by 2020? In my view, corruption in Africa is not endemic.

The larger population is in support of eradicating corruption, therefore, any candidate and party that come up with fighting corruption as their cardinal objective get the votes. Paradoxically, as soon as the new government begins to implement the plan for eradicating corruption the people begin to complain – money is not moving around as it used to. What it requires however, is that those who assume power on the anti-corruption ticket must stick to their pledges; must evolve mechanism for delivering service corruption-free, must build institutions and must allow voice. The process of ascending power should be corruption-free to enable qualified and capable individuals to contest, win and manage resources of the country. Election must not be "declaration of war" which is what it is now. All these are provided for in the ACDEG which only 30 countries have ratified. Are the remaining 25 ready to ratify before the year 2020? Can the Member States eradicate corruption and enthrone the reign of transparency and accountability by the year 2020? When this happens, citizens benefit from the dividends of democracy and taking up guns will no longer be an option.

THE WAY OUT?

The AU Master Roadmap of practical steps to silence the guns in Africa by 2020 clearly outlines the way out which include addressing the root causes of conflicts, put an end to impunity by strengthening national and continental judicial institutions, and ensure accountability in line with our collective responsibility to the principle of non-indifference; address all forms of extremism, armed rebellions, terrorism, transnational crime. These are not necessarily time bound interventions to be achieved in 2020. They should remain ongoing. Topnotch leadership will be required to make any meaningful progress by and beyond 2020. In other words, 2020 thus become a movable target. BUT honest and transparent efforts must be made to silence the guns.

CONCLUSION

To silence the guns, governance and respect for the rule of law matter. Democratic governance is work in progress and requires consistency and continuity. It is pertinent therefore to pay attention to Koffi Annan's statement that for Africa to prosper, "good governance, the rule of law, and systems of accountability are essential to ensure that resources are subject to public scrutiny and used effectively and efficiently". For this, the continent needs "determined political leadership to set and drive plans for equitable growth and poverty reduction Good, even visionary agendas have been formulated by African leaders and policy-makers in every field [But] technical management and institutional capacity are vital if policies are to be implemented [However, the lack of] political will ... is the issue ..." --- former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan on Africa Day, 25 May 2010.

It is also important to highlight that the primary agency for addressing the challenge of conflict and violence on the African Continent, lies with the Continental Institutions and initiatives, namely: The African Governance Architecture membership, which include the APRM. It may be necessary to consider revisiting the APRM Governance Assessment Framework, for inclusion of parameters that concern political stability, elimination of conflict and violence. Integrating such aspects within the APRM process ensures that the question of conflict and violence; silencing the guns, is part of the governance conversation at all levels of society.

"in too many countries, people are deprived of the most basic needs and go to bed hungry every night because of corruption, while powerful and corrupt enjoy lavish lifestyles with impunity" - Jose Ugaz, Chair of Transparency International

APRM AND GENDER EQUALITY: TOWARDS SHATTERING CEILING

Women hold up half the sky! Few would dispute the legitimacy of Mao Zedong's famous proclamation six decades after it was made. Numerically, it is undisputed that women constitute at least half of Africa's estimated 1,200 000 000 people. Nonetheless, African women continue to realise less value returns for their intrinsic worth and for their contributions in the public and private sphere.

At the African Union level, there is no shortage of policy statements, action plans, standards and strategies that reiterate the need for gender equality and empowerment of African women. Major continental milestones from the Dakar Platform for Action 1994, the Constitutive Act of the African Union 2000, the Maputo Protocol on the Rights of women in Africa 2003 and the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality 2004, underscore the imperative of recognising women's rights, equality and non-discrimination and access to equal opportunities. The African Women's Decade 2010-2020 launched by the African Union seeks to cast focus on the required interventions for advancing gender equality through implementing relevant African Union General Assembly decisions on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment.

The Maputo Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa in particular, stands out as



an instrument that responds to the specific needs of African women, without abandoning the minimum standards set out in the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. It uniquely directs States to; condemn and prohibit harmful practices; strengthen access to justice response for women; ensure the right to peace; and undertake the protection of women in armed conflict, these not being contained in any other international treaty. It calls for the realisation of women's reproductive rights and the protection of the rights of specific categories of vulnerable women including widows, elderly, disabled and distressed women. The Maputo Protocol positions a wide array of African women to claim and realise their rights, with Member States consequentially being charged to develop multidimensional frameworks, strategies and approaches. These include legislative, administrative, penal, educational, and budgetary measures, as well as effective monitoring systems. However, the implementation of the Maputo Protocol has been uneven across the continent, resulting in significant country disparities in women's enjoyment of rights.

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) from the outset in 2003 integrated a gender agenda in its mainframe, establishing gender equality as both a stand-alone and cross-cutting issue within its analytical frameworks and tools. Within the governance structure at the continental level, gender equity considerations were integrated in the establishment of the Panel of Eminent Persons. However, the APRM Guidelines for Countries to Prepare for and to Participate in the APRM do not have sufficient provisions for the participation of women in the operations of country level structures, such as the national APRM Commissions or Governing Councils. As such, the representation of women at this level has been insufficient, with various countries laying emphasis on different considerations

for participating in these structures, but often, omitting to involve women based on parity. One country that stands out however is Algeria, where the membership of the National Governing Council at the time of review reflected gender parity.

This begs the question whether the participation of women in governance mechanisms and processes makes a difference in the outcomes. As a review of 17 APRM reports shows, setting and implementation of gender objectives may be affected if the affected populations of women do not articulate their concerns adequately during governance discourses, resulting in limited gender analyses, outcomes and impact. This is aggravated when there is limited monitoring in general and from a gender perspective at the national, regional and continental level. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) commissioned a study titled Gender Equality and the APRM based on a review of 17 countries that underwent the APRM process at the time. This involved a gender analysis of the responsiveness of the APRM processes and structures to address the overarching gender issues that constrain the attainment of gender equality and women's empowerment in Africa.

The major findings in the study point to limited implementation of the Maputo Protocol, which many countries have ratified and some domesticated. Focus on the Millennium Development Goals by the APRM brought to light the constraints women face around health-including reproductive health, education and equality in the public sphere. Women's representation in the legislature for most countries falls below the 30% threshold recommended in the Beijing Platform for Action. The APRM widely recommended the use of affirmative action measures for women in the political and public sphere. Some of the highest numbers of women in parliament are reflected where affirmative action exists by law or political party practice, as seen in

Rwanda, Mozambique, South Africa, Uganda and Tanzania. Algeria at the time of review in 2007 had only 7.7% female representation but in 2012 after a law on quotas was passed, boasted the highest representation of women in the Arab world at 31.6%, although in May 2017 the numbers dropped to 25.8%.

The UNECA study shows that women's representation in other fields such as executive appointments, in the judiciary and in the formal private sector is dismal. This is attributed to the severe constraints women face that are posed by unequal power relations, systemic discrimination, gender based violence, harmful practices and patriarchal patterns of subordination, exclusion and stereotyping that disempower and marginalise them. There were good practices that were documented arising from government interventions in some countries that were reviewed. These mostly related to legislating against gender based violence, and affirmative action in a few countries. However, challenges persist in resourcing gender machineries and effectively empowering women through equitable representation in decision making fora and targeted service delivery to improve their access to education, health services, employment and economic livelihood.

The APRM provides valuable governance assessments and platforms for peer learning, from a gender perspective. The APRM reports are received by various organs including the Pan African Parliament and the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women in Africa and the Regional Economic Communities, the latter of which have Gender Units. More focus needs to be made by APRM members states to ensure that the country reports are debated at national level and the action plans are implemented in meaningful partnerships with civil society. The ability of all APRM actors and institutions to work in a collaborative manner towards the objective of gender equality holds the most promise for rewarding Africa's women who hold up half the sky.



Laura Nyirinkindi is a human rights lawyer working in the field of gender and governance. She holds a Masters of Studies degree from Oxford University in International Human Rights Law and a Bachelor of Laws Degree from Makerere University, Kampala. She was a Chairperson of FIDA Uganda (Uganda Association of Women Lawyers) Uganda's premier legal aid organisation that promotes the rights of women and children using the law as a tool for social change. Laura has been an expert on six missions of the Africa Peer Review Mechanism in Mozambique.

TIMELINES 2017

ANOTHER SUCCESSFUL SUMMIT FOR THE APRM, 28 JANUARY 2017

The APRM held an eventful 26th Summit of Heads of State and Government Participating in the African Peer Review Mechanism (APR Forum) on 28 January 2017 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The Forum witnessed (four) 4 Peer Reviews and the accession of its 36th Member Country, the Republic of Namibia.

COURTESY VISIT OF THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM (APRM) SECRETARIAT, 10-12 JANUARY 2017 - DJIBOUTI.

APRM delegation visited Djibouti from 10 to 12 January 2017 to meet with the National Authorities of Djibouti, beginning with His Excellency Ismaël Omar Guelleh, President of the Republic of Djibouti, as part of the preparations for the country's participation in the APRM Forum Meeting scheduled for January 2017 in Addis Ababa.

NATURAL RESOURCES NOT A CURSE FOR AFRICA RATHER A CONDUIT FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE, 7-8 FEBRUARY 2017.

APRM partnered with International IDEA (The Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) and ACBF (The Africa Capacity Building Foundation) on the High Level Dialogue On "Political Parties and Natural Resource Governance: Building Capacity for a Development Approach". The two-day high level dialogue took place on the margins of the Investing in African Mining Indaba which is hosted yearly in Cape Town, South Africa.

THE APRM CELEBRATING ANOTHER CRITICAL MILESTONE: 14TH ANNIVERSARY, 9 MARCH 2017.

The APRM 14th Anniversary Commemorative event in Johannesburg, South Africa was dedicated to celebrate APRM's 14 years of shaping good governance, promoting and maintaining sustainable development as well as advancing transformative leadership in the Continent.

The celebratory event which was attended by APRM Focal Points, Members of the National Governing Council, the Diplomatic Corps, business people and students, was accompanied by panel discussions on "APRM's Founding Ideas and their Relevance Today".

APRM ON THE VERGE OF TRANSFORMATION: THE AU ASSEMBLY DECISION TO EXPAND THE APRM MANDATE, 30-31 JANUARY 2017.

At its 28th Summit held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 30 - 31 January 2017, the African Union Assembly of Heads of State and Government decided to extend the mandate of the APRM to include tracking of the implementation and oversee monitoring and evaluation of the continent's key governance areas.

APRM AND MO IBRAHIM STRENGTHEN PARTNERSHIP, 17 JANUARY 2017.

Following the designation of Mo Ibrahim Foundation as the APRM Strategic Partner by the 25th APR Forum, Mr. Abdoullie Janneh, Executive Director, Liaison with Governments and Institutions in Africa and Mrs. Nathalie Delapalme, Executive Director, Research and Policy of Mo Ibrahim, paid a two-day working visit to the APRM Continental Secretariat in Johannesburg, South Africa. The Mission, which was from 16-17 January 2017 discussed and agreed on the areas of collaboration between the two organisations and to inform the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)

THE GAMBIA TO JOIN THE APRM FAMILY, 24 FEBRUARY 2017.

The Gambia has expressed interest to accede to the APRM. President of the Gambia, H.E Adama Barrow, made the announcement that his country is ready to join the Mechanism during a meeting with the APRM Delegation to the country.

APRM LIBERIA COUNTRY REVIEW MISSION KICK OFF MEETING, 6 APRIL 2017.

The Liberia Country Review Process officially kicked off with a two-day in-country planning and induction meeting, held in the Liberian Capital Town, Monrovia.



PRESIDENT ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF, OFFICIALLY LAUNCH LIBERIA COUNTRY REVIEW, 11 APRIL 2017.

President of the Republic of Liberia, Her Excellency Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, officially launched the APRM Country Review in Liberia in an address to the Country Review Mission team. The Country Review Mission led by the Vice-Chairperson of the APR panel and Lead Panelist for Liberia, Hon. Brigitte Mabandla, at the Minister of Foreign Affairs

UGANDA LAUNCHES SECOND-ROUND APRM COUNTRY REVIEW PROCESS, 16 JUNE 2017.

The Government of Uganda successfully launched the second-round Country Review Process within the framework of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), only the second country to do so after Kenya.

BENIN POISED FOR SECOND CYCLE REVIEW IN 2018, 21 JUNE 2017.

The APRM Secretariat CEO, Prof. Edward Maloka, paid a courtesy visit to the Focal Point of Benin and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Excellence Aurelien Agbenonci. Professor Maloka stressed further that his aim in Benin was not only to introduce himself and engage with the national authorities and the APRM structures on the review process in the country but also to discuss the programming of Benin's National Programme of Action (NPOA) Implementation Progress Report for the next Forum of Heads of State and Government in January 2018.

NIGER COUNTRY ENGAGEMENT MISSION REPORT, 10 MAY 2017.

APRM delegation comprising of Prof Eddy Maloka, Ms Mary Agbebaku-Izobo and the Permanent Secretary of APRM National Secretariat in Senegal, Mr Abdou-Karim Lo paid a courtesy visit to the Office of the Focal Point in Niger, Mme Hadizatou Ousseini to discuss Niger's Country Review Process and the advance support mission.

PARTNERSHIP MEETING WITH AFRICA INSIGHT ON THE AFRICA GOVERNANCE DIALOGUE, 11 MAY 2017

APRM and Africa Insights, a regional Think Tank, held discussions on advancing the agenda agreed upon, under the recently signed Memorandum of Agreement.

APRM AT THE 60TH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE AFRICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS, 8 MAY 2017.

The 60th Ordinary Session of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights commenced on the 8th of May 2017 in Niamey, Niger. The session took place from the 8th to 22nd May, 2017. The APRM at the Session was represented by the Vice-Chairperson of the APRM Panel of Eminent Persons, Hon Brigitte Mabandla, the CEO of the APRM Continental Secretariat, Prof Eddy Maloka, and the APRM Legal Officer, Ms Mary Agbebaku-Izobo.

LESOTHO TO BE BACK ON BOARD: REVITALISATION MEETING BETWEEN APRM AND LESOTHO DELEGATION, 19 JUNE 2017.

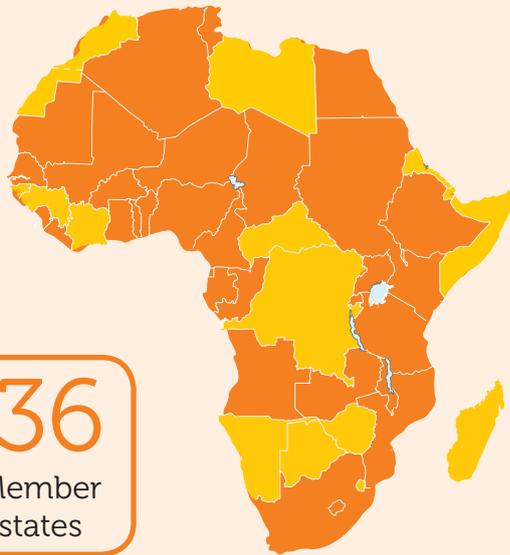
APRM held a meeting with a delegation from the Kingdom of Lesotho led by Mr. Thabang Polycarp Lekhela – Acting Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Relations. The discussions centred on revitalising the APRM Process in the Kingdom of Lesotho, re-establishing and re-energising the APRM National structures.

APRM CEO SIGNS MOU WITH THE MO IBRAHIM FOUNDATION, 4 JULY 2017.

Prof. Eddy Maloka, CEO of APRM Continental Secretariat and Abdoulie Janneh, Executive Director of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation (MIF), sign Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the two organisations, in presence of APRM Chief of Staff, Mr Ferdinand Katendeko; thereby making the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the third Strategic Partner to sign the MOU. It is to be recalled that the APRM has already signed MoUs with two of its other Strategic Partners, namely the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA).



THE APRM



36
Member states



9 APR PANEL MEMBERS

Chairperson of the APR Forum: Uhuru Kenyatta, President of Kenya



NUMBER OF COUNTRY REVIEW MISSION: 22

6 STRATEGIC PARTNERS:

AfDB | UNDP | UNECA | ACFB | UNOSAA | MO IBRAHIM

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