

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN AFRICA: EVALUATION OF
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AFRICAN UNION'S AGENDA 2063
IN ETHIOPIA

BY

DEBORAH BELAY KASSA

ADDIS ABABA

JUNE 2020

DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN AFRICA: EVALUATION OF
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AFRICAN UNION'S AGENDA 2063
IN ETHIOPIA

BY

DEBORAH BELAY KASSA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY

ADVISOR

YONAS ASHINE DEMISSE (PHD)

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

ADDIS ABABA
JUNE 2020

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN AFRICA: EVALUATION OF THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF AFRICAN UNION'S AGENDA 2063 IN ETHIOPIA

BY

DEBORAH BELAY KASSA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

APPROVED BY BOARD OF EXAMINERS

_____	_____	_____
ADVISOR	SIGNATURE	DATE
_____	_____	_____
EXAMINER	SIGNATURE	DATE
_____	_____	_____
EXAMINER	SIGNATURE	DATE

It is our duty and privilege to rouse the slumbering giant of Africa, not to the nationalism of Europe in the Nineteenth Century, not to regional consciousness, but to the vision of a single African brotherhood bending its united efforts toward the achievement of a greater and nobler goal.

**Statement of H. I. M. Haile Selassie to the 1963 African Summit,
delivered on May 23, 1963**

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude and high appreciation to my advisor Dr. Yonas Ashine Demisse for his unreserved intellectual support and encouragement. He has been an excellent mentor and supervisor and guided me at every step of the thesis research work. In fact, he instilled in me the arts of proposal development, research undertaking and scientific writing. I should also thank him for his prompt reply to my incessant queries and meticulous comments on my various drafts as well as his comprehensive feedback. Had it not been for his constructive guidance, critical review and insightful feedback, this study would not have been completed in its current form. I would also like to express my heart-felt thanks and gratitude to the management of Addis Ababa University for awarding me a scholarship to pursue my Master of Arts studies.

My Sincere thanks go to the officials of the National Planning Commission and the Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization of the African Union Commission for their incredible support and cooperation in the course of this study. My special thanks are also due to Mr. Endalkachew Sime, Deputy Commissioner of the Ethiopian National Planning Commission, Mr. Abdelkreem Y. Ezaldin (Head of Policy Analysis and Research Division at the Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization of the African Union Commission) and Mr. Solomon Tesfasilassie (Director General, Bureau of Monitoring and Evaluation at the Ethiopian National Planning Commission) for provision of relevant documents and making time out of their busy schedule to address the various questions listed on the checklists prepared for data collection. All of them were very cooperative and extremely helpful.

I am extremely grateful to my mother W/o Melat Mengistu, my father Prof. Belay Kassa, my two sisters Dr. Betelehem Belay (the Pediatrician) and Rebecca Belay (the Engineer, MSc. in Civil Engineering) and my brother Gideon Belay (the Biochemist in the making) for being always by my side. Their love, untiring support and encouragement have been a source of inspiration and energy to reach where I am now.

Lastly, yet importantly, I would like to thank my Savior for “His Word has been a lamp for my feet and a light for my path” [Psalms 119:105].

Table of Contents

Acknowledgement	i
Table of Contents	ii
List of Tables	iv
List of Figures	iv
List of Acronyms	v
Abstract	vii
Chapter One	1
1: Introduction.....	1
1.1. Introduction to the Study.....	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem.....	5
1.3. Objectives of the Study	7
1.3.1. General Objective	7
1.3.2. Specific Objectives	7
1.4. Research Questions.....	7
1.5. Significance of the Study	8
1.6. Methodology and Methods of Data Collection and Analysis	9
1.6.1. Methodology of the Study.....	9
1.6.2. Sources and Methods of Data Collection.....	9
1.7. Scope of the Study	11
1.8. Limitations of the study	11
1.9. Structure of the Study	12
Chapter Two.....	13
2: Literature Review, Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Framework.....	13
2.1. Establishment and Objectives of the Organization of African Unity.....	13
2.2. Transformation of the Organization of African Unity to the African Union	17
2.3. Theoretical Framework.....	20
2.4. Agenda 2063	24
2.4.1. Implementation Structure of Agenda 2063	29
2.4.2. Country Level Implementation of Agenda 2063	33
2.5. Conceptual Framework of the Study	36
Chapter Three.....	40

3: Africa’s Development Endeavors and the Novelty of Agenda 2063	40
3.1. Africa’s Peripheral Place in the Global Economy	40
3.2. Initiatives for Enhancing African Economic Cooperation and Integration.....	43
3.3. African Regional Economic Communities	44
3.4. Implementation Status of the Agenda 2063 Continental Flagship Projects.....	52
Chapter Four	59
4: Review of Development Planning Experience in Ethiopia.....	59
4.1. Development Planning During the Military Regime	60
4.2. Development Planning During the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Era	62
4.3. Growth and Transformation Plans	64
4.3.1. The First Growth and Transformation Plan	64
4.3.2. The Second Growth and Transformation Plan.....	65
Chapter Five.....	69
5 Alignments between the Continental Development Framework and the National Development Plan: Results of the Empirical Study	69
5.1. Integration of Continental and Global Development Goals with the National Development Plan .	69
5.2. Linkages and Working Relationships between National and Continental Levels in Implementing Agenda 2063	73
5.2.1. Awareness Creation	74
5.2.2. Domestication of Agenda 2063 and its Implementation in Ethiopia	76
5.2.3. Monitoring and Evaluation	80
Conclusions and Recommendations	82
References.....	86
Annexes	94
Annex 1: Agenda 2063 Aspirations, Goals and Priority Areas and their Corresponding SDGs Goals Selected for this Study	95
Annex 2: Checklists	96
Checklist 1: The National Planning Commission of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia ..	96
Checklist 2: The Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization (SPPMERM) of the African Union Commission.....	99
Annex 3: Integration of Ethiopia’s National Development frameworks (priorities) and the SDGs	101
Annex 4: Convergence of African Union’s Agenda 2063 and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	103

List of Tables

Table 3.1: Percentage Distribution of World Merchandise Trade by Geographic Group	41
Table 3.2: Gross Domestic Product by Geographic Region, 2019	41
Table 3.3: African Regional Economic Communities	46
Table 3.4: Membership of African Countries to Regional Economic Communities	50
Table 3.5: Implementation Status of Agenda 2063 Flagship Projects	53
Table 3.6: Champions of Key Initiatives and Flagship Projects of the African Union.....	57

List of Figures

Figure 1: Implementation Structure of Agenda 2063	32
---	----

List of Acronyms

ACB	African Central Bank
ADLI	Agriculture Development Led Industrialization
AEC	African Economic Community
AEP	African Economic Platform
AFCAC	African Civil Aviation Commission
AGA	African Governance Architecture
AIB	African Investment Bank
AMF	African Monetary Fund
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APRM	African Peer-Review Mechanism
ARFSD	Africa Regional Forum on Sustainable Development
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AUDA	African Union Development Agency
CAP	Common African Position
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CFTA	The Continental Free Trade Area
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPSC	Central Planning Supreme Council
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
EAC	East African community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary and Democratic Front
FANSPS	Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FTA	Free Trade Area
FTYIP	First Ten-Year Implementation Plan for Agenda 2063
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GMES	Global Monitoring for the Environment and Security
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
HCLA	High Council on Local Authorities
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NPC	National Planning Commission
NRDC	National Revolutionary Development Campaign
OAU	Organization of the African Unity
ONCCP	Office of the National Committee for Central Planning
PAeN	The Pan-African E-Network
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
PAVeU	The Pan-African Virtual and e-University
PASE	Pan-African Stock Exchange
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RMs	Regional Mechanisms
SAATM	Single African Air Transport Market
SADEC	Southern African Development Community
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SDRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program
SPPMERM	Strategic Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation and Resource Mobilization Directorate of the African Union Commission
STC	Specialised Technical Committee
TYPP	The Ten Year Perspective Plan
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

Abstract

The status of implementation of African Union's Agenda 2063 in Ethiopia was studied. The primary data for the study were collected by interviewing officials of the Ethiopian National Planning Commission which is the relevant government body that deals with the priority areas of the African Union's development roadmap (Agenda 2063). Moreover, interviews were held with officials of the Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization of the African Union Commission (SPPMERM), which is mandated to oversee the implementation of Agenda 2063. The primary data were complemented by secondary data extracted from official publications of the Ethiopian Government and the African Union. The findings of this study revealed that Africa as a continent is a marginal player in the global economic system and that economic cooperation and integration was believed to be a move in the right direction to enhance the negotiation power of the continent and make it an active participant in the global arena. Towards this end, various initiatives including the Lagos Plan of Action, the Treaty for the African Economic Community (AEC) were adopted and implemented. Regional Economic Communities (RECs) were to be established as building blocks of the African Economic Community, which provides the overarching framework for continental economic integration. Consequently, RECs were established across the continent and have been contributing to the various transformative programs of the continent with varying degrees of success. Drawing from the lessons learnt over the past 50 years and in a quest to bring about real transformation and economic cooperation and integration on the continent, the African Union Member States adopted Agenda 2063 in January 2015. Agenda 2063 was developed and adopted as a strategic framework for the socioeconomic transformation of the continent over the next 50 years. In fact, Member States were expected to align their development policies and strategies to it. However, this study showed that whereas the UN Sustainable Development Goals were integrated in Ethiopia's Second Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP II) which was prepared for the five years (2015/16–2019/20) after the adoption of the African strategic development framework plan (Agenda 2063), there was little or no reference to it in GTP II. In a nutshell, the findings of this study revealed that the continental integration and transformation that Agenda 2063 proposes wouldn't be materialized unless there is buy-in from Member States and the latter align their respective development plans and strategies to Agenda 2063. This study showed also that Agenda 2063 identified and implemented 14 continental flagship projects which were considered to be instrumental in accelerating Africa's economic growth and development. These projects are now at various stages of development and the progress made in their implementation was reported to be encouraging.

Key Concepts: Agenda 2063, African Integration, African Economic Community, Flagship Projects, Global Economic System, Regional Economic Communities

Chapter One

1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction to the Study

The African Union adopted its Agenda 2063, which is the continent's collective vision and roadmap for the next 50 years during the Twenty-Fourth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Heads of States and Government of the African Union (AU) held in Addis Ababa, 30-31st January 2015. The event marked the fulfilment of the 50th anniversary Summit Solemn Declaration that called for the preparation of such a plan by the AUC through a people-centred consultative process. Agenda 2063 is Africa's blueprint and master plan for transforming Africa into the global powerhouse of the future. It is the continent's strategic framework that aims to deliver on its goal for inclusive and sustainable development and is a concrete manifestation of the Pan-African drive for unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance (AU, 2019a).

As an affirmation of their commitment to support Africa's new path for attaining inclusive and sustainable economic growth and development, African heads of state and government signed the 50th Anniversary Solemn Declaration during the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in May 2013¹. The declaration marked the re-dedication of Africa towards the attainment of the Pan African Vision of An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens, representing a dynamic force in the international arena and Agenda 2063 is the concrete manifestation of how the continent intends to achieve this vision within a 50 year period from 2013 to 2063 (AU, 2019a).

Agenda 2063 heralds Africa's new revolution in all aspects of societal development: economic, social, environmental, political, governance and cultural. It envisages building a prosperous, integrated, industrialized, well governed and a global power Africa free from deprivation, disease, marginalization, insecurity and conflict based on inclusive and people

¹ The main agenda in the early 1960s was to rid the continent of colonialism and oppressive rule over the African people. The 2013 declaration is a complete shift in priority to make Africa the global powerhouse of the future.

driven growth, empowered women and youth, sustainable development and strong pan-African values.

According to AU (2015), Agenda 2063 seeks to deliver on the following Seven Aspirations each with its own set of goals which if achieved will move Africa closer to achieving its vision for the year 2063:

1. A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development;
2. An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance;
3. An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law;
4. A peaceful and secure Africa;
5. An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics;
6. An Africa, whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children; and
7. Africa as a strong, united, resilient and influential global player and partner.

Toward making Agenda 2063 a reality, the First Ten Year Implementation Plan was launched in mid-2015 anchored in three strategies: (a) fast tracking of high priority and critical projects; (b) development of robust M&E framework with a set of clearly defined set of indicators; and (c) domestication of Agenda 2063 at the member states' level.

Agenda 2063 calls on all Africans within the continent and in the Diaspora for full engagement in the detailed planning and implementation process to ultimately lead to economic, social and political development through integration. This process would consequently help in eradicating backwardness from the continent. Having raised the crucial strategic points outlined in the Agenda, the next fundamental inquiry that needs to be made is an investigation of whether or not African nations are indeed infusing the leading principles of the Agenda into their operational plans. The Agenda calls for a commitment from citizens, leadership, governments and institutions at national, regional and continental levels to act, coordinate, and cooperate for the realization of the vision. (AUC, 2015a).

A key strength of the AU since its inception is its ability to author documents that speak to the reinforcement of institutional capacity (Fagbayibo, 2017). However, putting forward documents and suggestions on the one hand and effective implementation on the other are two separate concepts. In this respect, the same author opined that the AU and its internal administration along with its agencies are seen as being defective and as lacking basic institutional capacity. Critiques of the Agenda propose the argument that the Unions internal institutions and its synergetic cooperation organs for implementation are not conducting their tasks effectively in order to attain the envisioned plan. This claim is supported by the inability of African nations to be on the right track to achieve the goals of the First Ten Year Implementation Plan envisioned by the African union in the previous consecutive five years since its issuance.

In line with the significance that needs to be put on internal institutions of the African Union, equally important are member states' government structures and their various institutional bodies that serve as a defining feature of the member states. The government as the highest form of institution in a given society, serves as a meaningful instrument to attain the implementation of Africa union's Agenda 2063. Consequently, the government's bodies and their structures/institutions are seen as tools to ensure cooperation and continental unity or Pan Africanism just like the African Union pronounces. The government through its legislative, executive, and judicial branches sets out the formal rules and enforces them through its various bodies (Kumssa and Mbech, 2004). However, the problem that is often witnessed with governance in African nations is its inability to properly enforce the rules and aspirations laid out by significant development policies such as Agenda 2063 through its institutions. Therefore, it is crucial to improve the planning and implementation capacity of the government by enhancing its capability (Kumssa, & Mbech, 2004; Tella, 2018).

The Organization of African Unity and its successor, the African Union, have been developing various development programs in view of revitalizing economic development of Member States and enhancing economic, social and political integration of the continent. The continent however has faced hindrances ranging from expropriation of human resources in the forms of slave trade, colonialism and Neo-colonialism which drew it back from attaining its visions and goals. Understanding the history and theoretical underpinnings embedded in the development discourse of African reality reveals much more about why the continent is where

it is at today. The development narratives of African history are indispensable key factors that were investigated. In line with this crucial inquiry, comes the need to understand the continent's leading organization that is the African Union and its Agenda 2063 for sustainable development. The Agenda is a framework that has been adopted by the African Union and its member states to stride towards attaining a developed continent that is based on a continental level unity just as it has been doing until today.

At national level, individual countries have been developing and implementing development plans with varying degrees of success. For instance, for over a decade now, Ethiopia has made significant strides in its economic development. More precisely, the Ethiopian government has been preparing and implementing two successive five year development plans dubbed "Growth and Transformation Plan" (GTP) aimed at steering its economic development process and bringing about structural transformation of the economy from its current heavy dependence on agriculture to a manufacturing based economic system. The first GTP was prepared and implemented for the 2010/11-2014/15 period. The second Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP II) was prepared for the 2015/16-2019/20 period and its implementation started in December 2015. This study endeavors to assess whether or not the country's development plans and strategies have been aligned to the continental long term development blue print (Agenda 2063).

The focus on Ethiopia is justified on the ground that as a founding member of the Organization of African Unity, Ethiopia has struggled faithfully and prominently for the realization of the objectives of the OAU/AU. Ethiopia's current Foreign Policy puts the African Union in center to conduct its foreign policy objectives by hosting multilaterally and bilaterally accredited missions, delegations, AU organs and Pan-African institutions serving as the diplomatic hub of Africa (Mehari, 2018). Consequently, with such intertwined history between the AU and Ethiopia (where the Headquarters of the Union are hosted), Ethiopia is expected to play an exemplary role in terms of working very closely with the African Union and its organs. In fact, as a host country and as an important member of the African Union that has had a long aspiration to see the successful realization of the objectives of the Union, this study proposed to evaluate whether or not the goals and priorities of Agenda 2063 were being properly implemented by relevant government ministries and agencies in Ethiopia. The

study was also aimed at evaluating what the African Union and the government institutions were doing for the domestication and implementation of Agenda 2063 in the country.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The Agenda 2063 Framework Document stipulates that African Union Member States will draw heavily from Agenda 2063 while preparing their strategic and operational plans. However, the reality on the ground reveals that there are variations among member states in terms of aligning their respective strategic and operational plans with Agenda 2063. Looking at the developments happening in Africa, it can be concluded that the goals of AU are not being met and Africa continues to engage at the periphery (Chirisa et al., 2014). Therefore, the domestication and execution of the Agenda in to member states' national policy framework for successful growth and development appears to be an essential focus area for the African Union. However, along with the AU and its organs, execution of the agenda would require the member states to internalize it in to their activities and long term plans through strong governance institutions.

Although the African Union sees the need for institutional arrangements for successful integration of the continent, the exact nature, structure, and composition of these "institutional arrangements" remains unclear (DeGhetto et al., 2016). Given their nature and history, African government institutions are often deemed as being extractive and ill functioning that usually fail to bring about sustainable development and change. These extractive institutions enrich a few at the expense of many driving nations to fail (Ndizerai and Muzee, 2018). Such calamities are further exasperated by the absence of strong national structures for building effective intuitions capable of balancing competing political, economic, and social interests (Onuora-Oguno et al.,2018). The core absence of properly functioning government structures, the commitment and belief in the continental Agenda of the political leaders remains to be a critical success factor for the effective implementation of the Agenda 2063 at member states' level.

Brining the focus to Ethiopia, a review of the country's current operating Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy (FANSPS) underlines the primacy the country needs to give to the African union, its development plan and its objectives. The FANSPS puts down

aims of efficiently undertaking the AU's intents as that of Ethiopia's own objectives. The strategy (FDRE, 2002) identifies the following points as being pivotal with regards to the African union:

- Ethiopia's policy direction is remaining faithful to the objectives of the African Union and playing a prominent role in the institution;
- Our time efforts are being undertaken to build the AU so that it can better fulfil its political and developmental mandate. To this end, we will staunchly support the objectives of the AU, just as we backed the OAU;
- Ethiopia has received political and diplomatic support from Africa, our country being the seat of the African Union (AU) is a reflection of this fact. This entails, we carry a special responsibility for the organization;
- We should assist the efforts of the African Union to resolve conflicts, and this should be done in a visible manner; and
- The African Union can play an important role in supporting our efforts in economic development and democratization, by contributing to the creation of favorable political conditions, including the resolution of conflicts by peaceful means.

Therefore, if the country's developmental aspirations are to be based on the African Union's principles and objectives, it is important to see if indeed the reality on the ground reveals the incorporation of the African Union's Agenda 2063 goals and priorities in to Ethiopia's operational plans. It is also proper to ask if whether or not the country's relevant institutions are appropriately aligning the country's development plans with the African Union's Agenda 2063 as stipulated in the AU's Framework Document.

In this respect, this study endeavored to explore the efforts that the AU and Ethiopia were making in properly articulating and implementing the goals, priorities and targets of Agenda 2063 in general and the First Ten Years Implementation Plan in particular.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

This study was proposed to review the various development initiatives in Africa and evaluate the level of implementation of African Union's Agenda 2063 in Ethiopia. The study had the following general and specific objectives:

1.3.1. General Objective

The general objective of this study was to review development initiatives in Africa and evaluate the level of implementation and domestication of African Union's development roadmap (Agenda 2063) by the relevant government body in Ethiopia.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study included:

- Review the various development initiatives in Africa since the foundation of the Organization of African Unity in 1963;
- To take inventory of documents, published in Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia working language, aimed at domesticating and popularizing African Union's Agenda 2063;
- To assess how far the components of Agenda 2063 have been integrated in the national development plans (long term and annual plan) of the country; And to identify the government's policy initiatives and actions that are employed for adopting (domesticating) the African Union's continental development roadmap into the country's Plans (long term and annual plan);
- To evaluate the working relationship and feedback mechanisms between the African Union Commission and the relevant government ministries with respect to the implementation of Agenda 2063; and
- To investigate how far the African Union's monitoring and evaluation and implementation mechanisms have been integrated into the country's national planning and implementation processes.

1.4. Research Questions

This study was proposed to answer the following research questions:

- Has the official document of the African Union development roadmap (the Framework Document, the First Ten Year Implementation Plan and the popular version of Agenda 2063) been translated in the working language of the country and made available to the general public and relevant government institutions?
- Has the government issued and enacted policy initiatives and guidelines that aim at domesticating Agenda 2063 into the country's development plan?
- Have the components of the Agenda 2063 been factored in the national development plan of the country? And have the African Union's monitoring and evaluation and implementation mechanisms been integrated into the country's national planning and implementation processes as set out in the Agenda 2063 Framework Document?
- Is there any link between Africa's narrative of development and the development roadmap of the Africa Union Agenda 2063? And to what extent has the development narrative of African solutions to African problems that Agenda 2063 proposes to promote been made practical in the context of Ethiopia?
- Are the institutional organs and communication channels/ mechanisms used by the African Union Commission effective in cascading the Agenda 2063 goals and priorities into the country's relevant ministries?

1.5. Significance of the Study

As already noted, the principal aim of this study is to analyze the level of implementation and domestication of African Union's development roadmap (Agenda 2063) in Ethiopia. This is precisely because the African Union Member States are expected to align their development policies and strategies to it. Therefore, the study is the first of its kind in that to the best of the author's knowledge no other studies have been carried out to analyze how far the country level targets of Agenda 2063 have been integrated with the country's Second Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP II). Such a study would provide firsthand information to policy makers and development practitioners on whether or not African Union Member States are taking into account the continental development framework while preparing their respective development plans.

1.6. Methodology and Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

1.6.1. Methodology of the Study

This study employed a descriptive-evaluative research method to collect relevant data from key stakeholders to evaluate the level of implementation of Agenda 2063 in Ethiopia. It should be noted while descriptive research helps to obtain the nature of the situation as it exists at the time of the study, evaluative research has the advantage of providing pertinent and timely information for decision makers (policy makers) related to the strength of a program, seen from its effectiveness, cost, etc., (Dawson, 2007; Lune and Berg, 2017). In this regard, the method tallies very well with the objectives of the research at hand. More precisely, the descriptive-evaluative methodology as applied to this study involved the design of tailor-made checklists (specific checklists to each of the stakeholders) that were administered to the selected respondents. The collected data were then collated, compiled and analyzed. Furthermore, in this study an analysis of existing documents (official and empirical studies) was undertaken to evaluate and describe the continental development framework and its implementation modalities. Moreover, the level of implementation and domestication of the Agenda in Ethiopia was also critically looked at.

1.6.2. Sources and Methods of Data Collection

Data for this research were collected using checklists and key informant interviews in order to address the objectives of the study. In what follows, the sources of data, methods of data collection and analysis will be presented.

1.6.2.1. Sources of Data

This study collected both primary and secondary data. Primary data were collected from the Ethiopian National Planning Commission which is the relevant government body that deals with the priority areas of the African Union's development roadmap (Agenda 2063). Moreover, interviews were held with officials of the Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization of the African Union Commission (SPPMERM), which is mandated to oversee the implementation of Agenda 2063².

² Even though the original plan of the research consisted of holding discussions with officials of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Ministry of

The primary data were complemented by a thorough desk study (document review). The document review component of this study focused on a critical review of relevant official documents and reports of the Federal and Regional Governments, publications and reports of the different Ministries and multi-stakeholder platforms, on whether or not components of Agenda 2063 were reflected in the national development programs. Moreover, attempts were also made to check the availability of Agenda 2063 related documents published in the working language of the Federal Government.

1.6.2.2. Method of Data Collection

Structured checklists were used to collect primary data from the officials/representatives of the Ethiopian National Planning Commission and the Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization of the African Union Commission. The checklists were prepared in such a way that they include both pre-coded and open ended questions relevant to the study objectives (prepared separately for the officials of the African Union Commission and the Ethiopian Government) (see Annex 2 for the Checklists used for this study).

Secondary data were collected by reviewing all available records and documents that were collected from relevant actors and offices. As the analysis of development planning in Ethiopia is extremely important in order to see how the country has been preparing and implementing its development plans, a thorough review of the development planning experience during three successive regimes i.e. the Imperial, Military and the EPRDF was undertaken. More precisely, the review process involved an analysis of official documents and empirical studies that deal with development planning in Ethiopia.

1.6.2.3. Methods of Data Analysis

Responses from the checklists were collated, analyzed, and interpreted. Results from the document review and analysis were also summarized and interpreted.

Women, Children to evaluate how far the national development programs were in tune with Agenda 2063, as stated earlier, because of the COVID-19 pandemic at the time of the data collection and the scaling down of activities of governmental organizations, it was not possible to materialize this plan.

1.7. Scope of the Study

This study attempted to evaluate the level of implementation of the African Union's development roadmap in Ethiopia. It was therefore important to focus on the National Planning Commission of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia which is the focal government body responsible for the consolidation of the national plans as well as embedding components of Agenda 2063 into the national plans. Moreover, the study was initially supposed to collect data from those relevant ministries that are expected to implement components of Agenda 2063.

It worth noting that this research will be limited in scope in that the consolidated roadmap for development that the African Union formulated (Agenda 2063) wide in scope and diverse in nature. Therefore, as clearly elaborated in the First Ten Year Implementation Plan Document of Agenda 2063, derived from the seven aspirations are 20 goals which are further expanded into 38 priority areas and finally expressed as 168 different national-level targets (for the complete national-level results matrix and a regional-level matrix, see African Union, 2015- Agenda 2063: The First Ten Year Implementation Plan- 2014-2023).

For the purpose of this research, 3 Aspirations of Agenda 2063 (1, 3 and 6) that have a direct impact on sustainable and long term development, democratic governance and empowerment and participation of citizens in their country's affairs were selected for analysis (see Annex 1). More precisely, the analysis was based on 3 Aspirations, 6 goals, 9 priority areas and 59 national level targets³.

1.8. Limitations of the study

A comprehensive and detailed understanding of the implementation of Agenda 2063 at a Member State level requires that data be collected from those relevant ministries that are expected to implement components of Agenda 2063. However, in this particular study

³ Aspiration 1 has 7 goals and for the purpose of this study only Goals 2 (well-educated citizens and skills revolution under pinned by science, technology and innovation) and 3 (healthy and well-nourished citizens) will be considered. Aspirations 3 and 6 have two goals each and they all will be addressed in the study.

because of the COVID-19 pandemic at the time of the data collection and the scaling down of activities of governmental organizations, it was not possible to collect data from governmental ministries and government officials of those relevant ministries that are believed to be closely linked to the priorities of Agenda 2063.

1.9. Structure of the Study

The rest of this Thesis is organized in four chapters. The second chapter presents review of the relevant literature. Chapter three analyzes development endeavors carried out on the continent since 1960s and what the new continental development framework (Agenda 2063) envisages to do in order to make African political and economic integration a reality. Chapter four reviews development planning experience and lessons learnt in Ethiopia. Chapter five presents and discusses the findings of the empirical research. The last part presents conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter Two

2: Literature Review, Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Framework

This chapter deals with review of the relevant literature on the research topic. The first section looks into the establishment and objectives of the organization of African Unity. The second section focuses on the transformation of the Organization of African Unity to the African Union. The third section deals with review of African development narrative and the conditions that lead the African Union Member States to develop their continental long term development roadmap. The fourth section presents and discusses Agenda 2063: the Africa We Want (the African Union long term development framework). And the final section presents the conceptual framework of the Study.

2.1. Establishment and Objectives of the Organization of African Unity

The Pan Africanism movement that had developed from the Diaspora laid down the ideological foundation and groundwork for the emancipation of Africans from all forms of humiliation and exploitation. Its avowed aim was to protect and promote the dignity of the black race and assert their rights to self-governance. This was against the orchestrated dehumanization of Africans through the Atlantic slave trade and the subsequent colonial brutalization (Akani, 2019)⁴. In fact, many of the founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity were inspired by the ideals of self-reliance for development and political independence that the Movement had been spearheading. The Organization of the African Unity (OAU), the predecessor of the African Union (AU) was formed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 25 May 1963 (OAU, 1963). It was founded by thirty-two independent African countries and a further 23 states have joined gradually over the years.

In the run up to the formation of the Organization of African Unity, African States were polarized into three different ideological groups: The Casablanca bloc made up of Ghana, Guinea, Morocco, Egypt, Mali and Libya; the Monrovia bloc made up of Nigeria, Liberia, Tunisia, Sierra Leone and Togo; and the Brazzaville bloc which had 12 French speaking

⁴ Pan Africanism was a movement of ideas and feelings of Africans subjected to inhuman ordeal of slavery. It arose as a force to halt the brutality on people of African descent, protect the dignity; integrity and unity of the Black race. Africans were subsumed into a status-quo which equated blackness with primitive instincts, and a badge of criminality.

members, including Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Gabon Cote d'Ivoire, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Burkina Faso. These tripartite divisions were later reduced to two blocs: the Casablanca and the Monrovia blocs. The Casablanca bloc was led by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Proponents of this bloc wanted a rapid movement by independent African countries towards a politically united and economically integrated framework. The Monrovia group was often times represented by Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria and members of the block were for a much more gradualist approach by which unity and integration would be achieved through small and incremental steps (Edo and Olanrewaju, 2012; Thom-Otuya, 2014). After a series of negotiations and a key diplomatic role played by the Ethiopian Emperor, proponents of the two blocs were able to put their differences aside and signed the Organization of African Unity Charter on 25 May 1963 (Lecoutre, 2013)⁵.

The OAU started its operations on 13 September, 1963, when its Charter was adopted⁶. Article 2 of the Charter indicates clearly that the main objectives of OAU were to: promote the unity and solidarity of the African States; coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence; eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (OAU, 1963).

In this respect, it is interesting to note that the first resolutions of the OAU were about combating apartheid and about the liberation movements. Among the OAU's missions was promoting international cooperation in the framework of the United Nations (Yihdego,

⁵ In this tug of war between the two blocks, the Ethiopian ruler, Emperor Haile Selassie I, chose a pragmatic and neutral approach. In his opening speech at the Lagos (Nigeria) Heads of State Assembly in January 1962, he pointed out that "Ethiopia considered itself a member of one group only, the African one".

⁶ At the opening session of the Conference of African Heads of State, on 23 May 1963, the Emperor Haile Selassie made a very powerful speech that many believe now that it had led to the adoption of a Charter and a permanent Secretariat: "We are here to lay the basis for African unity. Let us here and now agree upon the basic instrument which will constitute the foundation for the future growth in peace and harmony and oneness of this continent. Let our meetings henceforth proceed from solid accomplishments. Let us not put off, to later consideration and study, the single act, the one decision, which must emerge from this gathering if it is to have real meaning. This conference cannot close without adopting a single African Charter. We cannot leave here without having created a single African organization possessed of the attributes we have described. If we fail in this, we will have shirked our responsibility to Africa and to the peoples we lead. If we succeed, then, and only then, will we have justified our presence here".

2011)⁷. Through its coordination committee for the liberation of Africa, the OAU supported the emancipation of African territories that were not yet independent. The aim was achieved in 1990 with Namibia securing its independence.

Despite limited capacity for action and low levels of financial resources, OAU had been striving for the peaceful settlement of inter-African conflicts (Edo and Olanrewaju, 2012; Thom-Otuya, 2014). Towards this end, mediation, conciliation and arbitration commission was set up for this purpose but as its resources were limited the organization often used Councils of Wise People or ad hoc committees to try to find solutions to disputes. An African Charter on Human and People's Rights was adopted at the 1981 summit in Nairobi and led to the creation, in 1986, of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights. Furthermore, at the Cairo summit in June 1993, OAU approved the creation of a mechanism to prevent, manage and resolve African conflicts. Its main body is made up of the heads of state of the member countries of the conference's bureau in office (Eghweree, 2014).

The OAU was also striving to enhance economic cooperation among its Member States. The Lagos action plan, which was adopted at the April 1980 summit, was designed to boost economic development and the integration of African economies by, in particular, recommending regional groupings and food self-sufficiency (Eghweree, 2014; Ndizerai and Muzee, 2018). In June 1991, it was replaced by the Abuja Treaty, setting up the African Economic Community. This treaty envisaged in particular the creation, within a period of 30 years, of an African common market, a Parliament, a Central Bank and monetary fund (AU, 2013).

Though the OAU had played a proactive role in the fight against colonialism and apartheid, its track record in the management and prevention of conflicts and fostering economic cooperation among its Member States was dismal (Edo and Olanrewaju, 2012).

⁷ The OAU had all the foundational principles in its Charter for economic, social, cultural and scientific cooperation among its members. Some of the principles enshrined in the Charter such as the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of Member States, the non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, the non-violability of colonial borders and, more importantly, the struggle for abolishing colonialism, dominated all discourse.

The OAU had its heydays during the 1960s and 1970s when many Member States were shaking off the shackles of colonialism and were busy in the nation building process. However, with the liberation of most of the African countries in the 1980s and 1990s, and the quest for rapid economic and social development to meet the ever growing demand of the population, the organization appeared to be overtaken by events⁸. Moreover, political instability and prevalence of armed conflicts all over the continent were a feature that spanned decades but to which the OAU never articulated any bold and practical solutions. In this respect, Yihdego (2011) opined that as a result of its preoccupation with the principles set out in Article 3 of its Charter, the OAU was forced to watch the many horrors and massive human right violations occurring within the borders of its Member States⁹. The OAU was also criticized for being a club of authoritarian regimes. It failed to deliver in the key areas of governance, development and associated civil wars within the continent. Nor was it visibly addressing African concerns as an effective continental organization in an increasingly global environment.

The OAU's inability to address problems of political instability, lack of democratic leadership, rampant armed conflicts, ideological differences among leaders as evident in the sharp divide between English speaking and French speaking countries, poor organization due to inadequate funding, the much vilified principle of non-interference the continental body

⁸ According to Girmachew (2018), the need for the review of the OAU Charter was high on the Agenda of the African political leaders as early as 1979 the sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU held in Monrovia, Liberia, in July 1979 established the OAU Charter Review Committee (the Committee) in a bid "to re-examine the provisions of the Charter in light of the changes and realities in Africa (liberation of much of Africa, new and emerging political, economic and social realities). The Committee was meant to make a detailed study of the OAU Charter in light of the current needs of the continent and come up with specific proposals for new norms and institutions. The Committee attempted to forward a proposal for new rules and institutions that would make the Charter more effective. Nevertheless, the activities of the Committee were very slow and highly marginalized because of the absence of active involvement of member States.

⁹ Article 3 of the Charter states clearly that the OAU Member States would adhere to the following principles: the sovereign equality of all Member States; non-interference in the internal affairs of States; respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence; peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration; unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighboring states or any other states; absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent; and affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

embraced at formation, pauperization of the vast majority of the African population as well as the rapidly changing global context had partly influenced the search for a more responsive organization by member states (Buyoya, 2006; Edo and Olanrewaju, 2012; Eghweree, 2014).

2.2. Transformation of the Organization of African Unity to the African Union

Despite the fact that OAU had limited leverage to foster economic integration among its Member States and to speak with one voice on matters that affect the social, economic and political interests of the African population, it had given its member states a forum to adopt coordinated positions on some common issues in international bodies and to defend the continent's interests. In the 1990s, there was a general agreement that the objectives of OAU needed to be redefined in view of addressing the current and emerging challenges and the need for enhancing sustainable economic and political integration among the Member States in the increasingly globalized world (Thom-Otuya, 2014). This shared understanding paved the way for the birth of the African Union (AU). On September 9, 1999, during the fourth Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of African Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Sirte (Libya), the OAU decided to transform itself to the African Union (OAU, 1999). Article 6 of the Sirte Declaration articulates succinctly the need to transform OAU to AU as follows:

In order to cope with those challenges [facing the continent] and to effectively address the new social, political and economic realities in Africa and in the world, we are determined to fulfil our peoples' aspirations for greater unity in conformity with the objectives of the OAU Charter and the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community. It is also our conviction that our Continental Organization needs to be revitalized in order to be able to play a more active role and continue to be relevant to the needs of our peoples and responsive to the demands of the prevailing circumstances. We are also determined to eliminate the scourge of conflicts, which constitutes a major impediment to the implementation of our development and integration agenda (OAU, 1999).

The African Union (AU) was established with a view to addressing the pitfalls that challenged its predecessor. The Constitutive Act and subsequent legal and political instruments have not only restored the aforementioned fundamentals of the OAU (with some omissions) but have also introduced new ones (Yihdego, 2011). For instance, there are certain important

provisions of the AU Constitutive Act that were absent in the OAU Charter and they include: Article 23(2), which legalized the imposition of sanctions on any member state that failed to comply with the decisions and policies of the Union and Article 30 which legalized the suspension of any government that comes to power through unconstitutional means.

Article 5 of the AU Constitutive Act provides for the establishment of the following institutions of the Union: the Assembly, the Executive Council, the Specialized Technical Committees, the Pan-African Parliament, the African Court of Justice, the Financial Institutions, the Commission, the Permanent Representatives Committee, and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (OAU, 2000)¹⁰.

The thirty-sixth ordinary session of the OAU Assembly of the Heads of State and Government held in Lomé, Togo on 10-12 July 2000 adopted the Constitutive Act of the African Union and urged member states of the OAU to ratify the Constitutive Act as soon as possible. The Constitutive Act entered into force on 26 May 2001 upon ratification by two thirds of member States of the OAU replacing the OAU Charter (Eghweree, 2014; Girmachew, 2018). The African Union Assembly of Heads of State and Government held its inaugural session in Durban, South Africa, on 9 July 2002 and officially launched the African Union (Girmachew, 2018)¹¹.

The Union was tasked with accelerating and deepening the process of economic and political integration, ensuring the participation of the African peoples in the activities of the Union, promotion of self-reliance and gender equality; respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance etc. Towards this end, its Constitutive Act

¹⁰Another key institution, which was not directly established by the Constitutive Act, is the AU Peace and Security Council. The Protocol on the Amendments to the Constitutive Act of the African Union established the Peace and Security Council as one of the organs of the AU in accordance with article 5 (2) of the Constitutive Act.

¹¹ Article 33(1) of the Act states: “This Act shall replace the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. However, the Charter shall remain operative for a transitional period of one year or such further period as may be determined by the Assembly, following the entry into force of the Act, for the purpose of enabling the OAU/AEC to undertake the necessary measures regarding the devolution of its assets and liabilities to the Union and all matters relating thereto”.

espoused fourteen broader objectives within the spectrum of its desired change for the African continent. More precisely, Article 3 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union (OAU, 2000) articulates that the objectives of the Union shall be to: (a) achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the peoples of Africa; (b) defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States; (c) accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent; (d) promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples; (e) encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; (f) promote peace, security, and stability on the continent; (g) promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance; (h) promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments; (i) establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations; (j) promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies; (k) promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise living standards of African peoples; (l) coordinate and harmonize the policies between the existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union; (m) advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology; and (n) work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

Article 4 of the AU Constitutive Act clearly condemns and rejects any unconstitutional and undemocratic changes of government and supports democracy, good governance and adhering strictly to the principle of rule of law while in the OAU, there was no provision made to tackle such issues. Promotion of gender equality and participation of the African peoples in the activities of the Union are also new principles that the AU espoused in its Constitutive Act. The principle of non-interference in the domestic concerns of member states under the OAU has been limited under the AU in the sense that the Union will be allowed to intervene in a Member State, pursuant to a decision of the Assembly, in cases of war crimes, genocide and

crimes against humanity. Therefore, the new Union will be non-indifferent towards such issues¹².

According to Murithi (2012), the first ten years of the AU reveal that the Pan-Africanist project remains predominantly a top-down affair with elites from across Africa crafting and molding the institutions to govern the continent, often without sufficiently consulting their publics.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

This section deals with review of theories of African development narrative and the conditions that lead the African Union Member States to develop their continental long term development roadmap.

The quest for African integration is not a contemporary issue. It began with the Pan African movement back in the 1960s. This movement championed the struggle of Africans and peoples of African descent for emancipation and the restoration of their dignity, against slavery, colonialism and all forms of racism and racial exploitation (Ndizerai and Muzee, 2018). This has led to the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. True to the ideals of Pan Africanism and African sovereignty, the OAU Charter sets out that the main objectives of organization were to: promote the unity and solidarity of the African States; coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence; eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (OAU, 1963).

In the 1970s, as the much anticipated economic independence and improvement in the standard of living of the population failed to materialize and the continent remained burdened with a myriad of development challenges, African intellectuals and development practitioners started reflecting on real causes of underdevelopment and proposed ways and means of

¹² See Article 4 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union.

enhancing socio-economic development on the continent¹³. The widely held belief among African intellectuals in the 1970s was that Africa's development trajectory was marred by the hangovers of colonialism, as well as the social, psychological, political and economic implications of external domination (Fioramonti, 2018). The blame for Africa's underdevelopment and economic malaise was thus squarely placed on external powers, which were taxed for imposing their own approach to development on African people¹⁴.

One of the leading intellectuals who championed the causes of the Third world in general and Africa in particular was the Egyptian Marxist economist, Samir Amin. In his book titled "Unequal Development" published in 1973, Amin offered a critique of how the capitalist economy contributed to creating peripheral areas of exploitation, largely dependent on the core for survival. In his other famous book (titled "Delinking") published in 1990, Amin suggested that the Third World had to break away (delinking) from the world capitalist system in order to escape from the constraints imposed by the world's economic system and ensure its social and economic development (Amin, 1987)¹⁵. His view was widely shared by prominent intellectuals including Walter Rodney who reflected at length how Africa was deliberately kept in a state of economic and social subjugation by colonial regimes in his book (How Europe Underdeveloped Africa). It should, however, be noted that Africa itself is to blame for some of the poor economic policies, lack of foresight and misplaced priorities as well as deficit in governance systems (Ngang, 2017). Moreover, breaking away from the world economic system is easier said than done for the world economy is interdependent and trade among developing nations has always represented a tiny fraction of international trade. Moreover, many developing countries export raw and unprocessed commodities whose prices

¹³ In response to the 1970 crises, OAU collaborated with (United Nations Economic Commission for African) UNECA in 1979 and mobilized to forge a vision and plan to address the crisis. This led to the Monrovia declaration which was subsequently incorporated in the Lagos Plan of Action 1980 and the Final Act of Lagos 1980. They articulated Africa's future development trajectory, provided a plan for action to foster the continent's development and were underpinned by political decision for attaining economic cooperation and integration. They however, remained partially implemented-a situation attributed to lack of capacity, lack of political will and lack of resources and external interference (Ndizerai and Muzee, 2018).

¹⁴ The same author argues that economic growth has been largely based on the same principles that underpinned the colonial and postcolonial eras, with limited emancipation throughout the continent in terms of the freedom to decide what development is and how to pursue it.

¹⁵ In an article that he published in 1987, Amin expounded that the development of countries at the periphery of the world capitalist system passes through a necessary "break" from this world capitalist system-a "delinking"-that is to say, the refusal to submit national-development strategy to the imperatives of "globalization".

fluctuate depending on the demand situation in the importing countries (Belay, 2005)¹⁶. In this respect, it is interesting to note that African countries have always been trading more with the rest of the world than among themselves. For instance, intra-African trade (defined as the average of intra-African exports and imports) was around 2% during the period 2015–2017, while comparative figures for America, Asia, Europe and Oceania were, respectively, 47%, 61%, 67% and 7% (UNCTAD, 2019). Thus, a homegrown model for development in Africa that African intellectuals have been calling for was nothing more than a wishful thinking.

In fact, in the 1980s and 1990s, the poor performance of the economy, severe shortage of hard currency, mounting debt burden, ever increasing budget deficit, collapse of commodity prices, inefficient parastatal sectors, rampant inflation and cost of living, widespread unemployment, political instability and internal conflicts etc. in many African countries paved the way for international financial institutions (the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) to introduce Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) as a recovery program and a vehicle for promoting free market capitalism in the implementing countries. According to Logan (2015), SAPs provided “conditional lending”– conditional, in that governments targeted for debt relief were obligated to adjust their economic policies in favor of trade liberalization and to privatize state-owned enterprises, to reduce public expenditures through salary cuts and retrenchments of public service functionaries, to close state marketing boards, to institute export-driven agricultural reforms, to impose currency devaluation, and to implement fiscal austerity measures.

There is mixed reaction about the effectiveness of SAPs. While the International Financial Institutions report that SAPs resulted in financial and fiscal order, reduced inflation, economic diversification and progress and reduced international dependency in the implementing countries, independent researchers and the academic community concur on the ineffectiveness of SAPs. More precisely, SAPs have been reported to have resulted in overall economic

¹⁶ It should also be noted that many African countries are individually handicapped by small markets, weak basic infrastructure, and insufficient financial and human resources. Given this state of affairs, regional integration could be the main avenue for their integration into the global economy. The benefits of regional integration include opportunities for economies of scale and streamlined production processes that will make business internationally competitive. However, over the four decades, many of the African regional economic communities have met with limited success. Some of the factors which explain their poor performances are: poor regional transport infrastructure; most of the countries in the region export the same products; mistrust of regional partners; lack of information about regional markets; high cost and low quality of regional goods, etc..

failure, destructive social consequences, marginalization of the poor in the distribution of educational and health benefits and a reduction in employment as well as failure to alleviate poverty, to improve living conditions or to promote economic growth by relieving indebtedness (Logan, 2015; Ngang, 2017; Williams, 2007). There is now an agreement in the literature that SAPs were generally ineffective and failed to achieve their intended objectives.

After the harrowing experience with the Structural Adjustment Programs, an overly optimistic and forward-looking narrative dubbed the “Africa rising” was the dominant political discourse on Africa’s development. The “Africa rising” narrative which was coined and popularized by the British magazine (The Economist) in 2011 led many to believe the dawning of a new era for the continent¹⁷. It was hoped that Africa would have a bright future that would result in economic growth, technological progress, expansion of infrastructure and communication networks, growth of manufacturing and service sectors, increased foreign investment, emergence of fast growing middle class, expansion of education and qualified human resources development etc.

The sustained high commodity prices because of the continuing demand mainly from China and India, the policy decision made by the international community including the international financial institutions to forgive, lower and reschedule Africa’s sovereign debt as well as the macroeconomic reform programs that had been implemented in the 1990s and that helped reduce inflation, government spending and budget deficits in some countries constituted the basis for optimism about Africa’s economic development (Fioramonti, 2018; Logan, 2015; Ngang, 2017; The Economist, 2011).

The “Africa rising” narrative had been embraced and widely reproduced by international institutions, regional organizations, governments and businesses, whilst others have met it with great skepticism. (Fioramonti, 2018). However, the reality on the ground in many African countries revealed widespread inequalities in income, education, and social mobility, poor state of infrastructure, wide digital divide, weak rule of law, bad governance, lack of

¹⁷ The Economist (2011), Africa Rising: The Hopeful Continent, The Economist, December 3.

strong institutions, rampant corruption etc. which lead many development practitioners to consider the “Africa rising” narrative to be simple rhetoric, disguising the magnitude of economic, social and political challenges facing African countries.

The slow pace of economic and political integration of the continent, the poor performance of the Regional Economic Communities, the mediocre economic conditions of Member States, political instability, rampant youth unemployment, pauperization and marginalization of significant proportion of the continent’s population, severe foreign exchange shortages, plummeting commodity prices etc. in the face of an increasingly globalized world economy, led African Heads of State and Government to Adopt an ambitious development plan, dubbed Agenda-2063 (also known as the “Africa we Want”) in 2015. Agenda 2063 is a 50-year vision and action plan for Africa that commits all 55 countries on the African continent to a common development trajectory. It calls for action by all segments of society to work together, build a prosperous united Africa based on shared values and a common destiny. Agenda 2063 expects the continent to become an “influential global player,” “a major social, political, security and economic force in the world,” “an active and equal participant in global affairs” and “fully capable and having the means to finance its development” (AUC, 2015b). This development agenda is proposed to be owned and implemented by African Union Member States with full and active participation of their citizens.

2.4. Agenda 2063

Agenda 2063 (The Africa we Want) is Africa’s blueprint and master plan for transforming Africa into the global powerhouse of the future. It is the continent’s strategic framework that aims to deliver on its goal for inclusive and sustainable development and is a concrete manifestation of the pan-African drive for unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance (AU, 2019a). The celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in May 2013 under the theme "African Unity and the African Renaissance" and the various events as well as discussion fora lead to serious reflections and soul searching on the part of the African political leaders and intellectuals. In fact, the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (the first pan-African organization) sounded an alarm call to African leaders that the state of development of many African

countries left a lot to be desired and that there was a need to refocus and reprioritize Africa's agenda from the struggle against apartheid and the attainment of political independence for the continent which had been the focus of the Organization of African Unity. There was therefore a shared understanding to move away from the original objectives of OAU and instead to capitalize on inclusive social and economic development, continental and regional integration, democratic governance and peace and security amongst other issues aimed at repositioning Africa to becoming a dominant player in the global arena.

Consequently, at the 21st Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the AU held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 26th May, 2013, the African political leaders, while marking the 50th Anniversary of the founding of the OAU, adopted a solemn declaration rededicating itself to the continent's development and decided on long-term national and continental development strategic planning and implementation. They further pledged to integrate these ideals and goals in the national development plans and the development of the continental agenda 2063, through a people-driven process for the realization of the vision of the AU for an integrated, people-centered, prosperous Africa, at peace with itself (Nwebo, 2018).

It should be noted that new developments on the continent and worldwide, such as the rapid globalization of the world economy and the changing political and economic conditions necessitated the development of Agenda 2063. These conditions include but not limited to:

- A changing global and African Context;
- The need for Africa to be more united and strong required a long term strategy to move forward and play a more proactive role in the highly globalized world;
- The need to build on previous development initiatives and framework for fast socio economic development and integration among African countries;
- New investment opportunities and global interest in Africa that needed to be seized; and
- The existence of regional institutions with ample and rich experience that Agenda 2063 benefit from for its implementation and domestication.

The African Union Commission was given the responsibility to develop the draft development framework. After many consultations with a broad spectrum of African stakeholders and exhaustive research work, a draft continental development blueprint called “Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want” was produced¹⁸. According to AUC (2019), the consultations were aimed at: Learning from the past through a review of the African development experience at the national, regional and continental levels; Looking into the future through a discussion of the type of Africa participants want, key goals, milestones, priority actions as well as drivers and enablers; and setting out strategies on how to make it happen through exploring and proposing a broad Agenda 2063 implementation, monitoring and evaluation framework.

The Agenda was adopted by the by the 24th African Union Assembly of Heads of State and Government, after a meticulous scrutiny, review and revision, on January 30, 2015. The First Ten Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063 (covering the period 2014 – 2023) was adopted in June 2015¹⁹. The First Ten-Year Implementation Plan for Agenda 2063 (FTYIP) seeks to accelerate Africa’s political, social, economic and technological transformation while continuing Pan-African drive for self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity. In general, Agenda 2063 consists of three main documents – the Agenda 2063 Framework Document, its popular version (a simpler version), and the first 10-Year Implementation Plan.

The focus areas for the implementation of the Agenda include but are not limited to: sustainable and inclusive economic growth; human capital development; agriculture/value addition and agro-businesses development; industrialization / manufacturing and value additions to natural resources; employment generation; social protection; gender / women’s development and youth empowerment; good governance, including capable institutions;

¹⁸ Agenda 2063 is a home grown development strategic document which was a result of series of interactions and consultative mechanisms involving the private sector, technical experts from academia and think tanks, civil society, women and youth, faith-based and cultural organizations, Africans in the diaspora, Africa’s eminent persons, former heads of state and government, technical experts from member states, ministries of planning and economic development, AU organs, Regional Economic Communities, web-based general public at the continental level.

¹⁹ The implementation of the Agenda 2063 is to be carried out in phases. The first phase covers the first ten years from the years 2014 to 2023. The First Ten Year Implementation Plan is the first in a series of five ten year plans over the fifty year horizon and serves as a basis for the preparation of medium term development plans of member states of the Union, the Regional Economic Communities and the AU Organs.

infrastructural development; science, technology and innovation; peace and security; and culture, arts and sports (AU, 2015).

The African Union agenda 2063 is thus a vision and an action plan adopted by the AU, which defines Africa's development trajectory in key areas, for the next 50 years²⁰. In fact, member states had agreed on a common vision "to build an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven and managed by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena" (AU, 2019a). More precisely, The Agenda 2063 is also expected to harmonize national, regional and continental plans and frameworks to realize the continent's objective of accelerating its political, social, economic and technological transformation while continuing the Pan African drive for self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity²¹. Agenda 2063 seeks to deliver on a set of Seven Aspirations each with its own set of goals which if achieved will move Africa closer to achieving its vision for the year 2063 (AUC, 2015a). The seven Aspirations include:

1. A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development- Africa will by 2063 be a continent of shared prosperity, which finances and manages its own growth and transformation;
2. An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance- By 2063, Africa will have emerged as a united, strong, sovereign, independent and self-reliant continent that realizes full economic and political integration;
3. An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law- By 2063, Africa will have undergone a deepening of the culture of good governance, democratic values, gender equality, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law;
4. A peaceful and secure Africa- By 2063, Africa will emerge as a peaceful and secure continent, a conflict-free continent with harmony and understanding among communities at the grassroots level;

²⁰ The choice of a 50 year time must be understood within the context of the 50th Anniversary of the establishment of the OAU; and the need for the continent to take stock of the past performance, both successes and failures and map out a long-term strategy as well as set goals and targets.

²¹ Agenda 2063 is a strategic framework for the socioeconomic transformation of the continent over the next 50 years. It builds on, and seeks to accelerate the implementation of past and existing continental initiatives for growth and sustainable development.

5. An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics- Africa, as the cradle of human civilization, is custodian of a cultural patrimony that has contributed enormously to human progress. African cultural identity, values and ethics as a critical factor in Africa's reemergence on the global stage in the decade of the 2010s, will be promoted and strengthened by 2063;
6. An Africa, whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children- By 2063, Africa will be a continent where all citizens will be actively involved in decision-making in all aspects of development, including social, economic, political and environmental. Africa will be a continent where no child, woman or man will be left behind; and
7. Africa as a strong, united, resilient and influential global player and partner- Africa will emerge as a strong, united, resilient and influential global player and partner with a bigger role in world affairs.

Derived from these seven aspirations are 20 goals which are further expanded into 38 priority areas and finally expressed as 168 different national-level targets (for the complete national-level results matrix and a regional-level matrix, see AUC, 2015b- Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want Framework Document).

Agenda 2063 has also identified twelve continental flagship projects to be given priority in order to achieve its vision (AUC, 2015b)²². These flagship projects refer to key programs and initiatives which have been identified as key to accelerating Africa's economic growth and development as well as promoting African peoples' common identity by celebrating their history and vibrant culture. The specific flagship projects include:

- The Integrated High Speed Train Network;
- The Grand Inga Dam Project;

²² The original Agenda 2063 Framework Document had identified 12 flagship projects but at a later stage two more projects, namely Cyber Security and the Great African Museum were added on the list of flagship projects. The Great African Museum is planned to be launched in 2023 as part of the First Ten-Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063. The Museum of Africa Permanent Memorial of Slave Trade will showcase, protect and promote the rich cultural heritage of the continent. The Museum will be hosted by the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria in Algiers, on behalf of the continent.

- The Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA);
- The Pan-African Virtual and e-University (PAVU);
- The African Economic Platform (AEP)²³;
- The Single African Air Transport Market (SAATM);
- The African Passport and Free Movement of People;
- The Continental Financial Institutions²⁴;
- The Pan-African E-Network (PAeN);
- The Silencing the Guns by 2020;
- The African Outer Space Policy and Strategy; and
- African Commodities Strategy.

Thus, agenda 2063 should be seen as a unique opportunity to recreate the African narrative through a process which appears to have taken care of the inherent weaknesses associated with the past plans particularly by involving the critical stakeholders, thereby addressing the issue of ownership and acceptance by the peoples of Africa (Nwebo, 2018). A closer look at the above aspirations reveals that they are well thought out and very ambitious. However, developing such a comprehensive and multifaceted agenda is only half the task and the other half which is probably the most important one is to see to it that the Agenda is properly implemented to achieve its core objectives.

2.4.1. Implementation Structure of Agenda 2063

The implementation of Agenda 2063 is not the exclusive preserve of the African Union Commission, but a combined effort and synergistic cooperation of African Union Member States, African Union organs, African Regional Economic Communities, private sector actors,

²³ This is an annual forum designed to bring together, once a year, Africa's political leadership, the private sector, academia and civil society to discuss developments and constraints as well as measures to be taken to realize the Aspirations and goals of Agenda 2063.

²⁴ The Continental Financial Institutions to be established include: African Central Bank (ACB); African Investment Bank (AIB); African Monetary Fund (AMF); and Pan-African Stock Exchange.

civil society organizations, development partners etc. (Akani, 2019; AUC, 2015a; AUC, 2019)²⁵. The eight African Regional Economic Communities, namely the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), the East African community (EAC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Southern African Development Community (SADEC) are expected to play a vital role in the implementation of Agenda 2063 through coordination of interests of Member States of individual regions in wider areas such as economic integration, conflict management and resolution, ensuring good governance etc. (AU, 2015). Moreover, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Agency, the implementing agency of the African Union, has been tasked with fast-tracking the implementation and monitoring of major continental development programs and frameworks, towards the accelerated realization of Agenda 2063²⁶. At the level of the African Union Commission, the Strategic Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation and Resource Mobilization (SPPMERM) Directorate is coordinating Agenda 2063 related activities.

According to AUC (2019), the implementation of Agenda 2063 will be executed at three layers from national to continental level. These include:

- At the national level, member states will be responsible for the implementation of key activities under Agenda 2063;
- At the regional level- the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) will serve as the fulcrum for the implementation at the member states' level. They will adapt, the Agenda 2063 results framework to regional peculiarities and facilitate / coordinate the implementation by member states and develop/implement monitoring and evaluation framework at the regional level; and

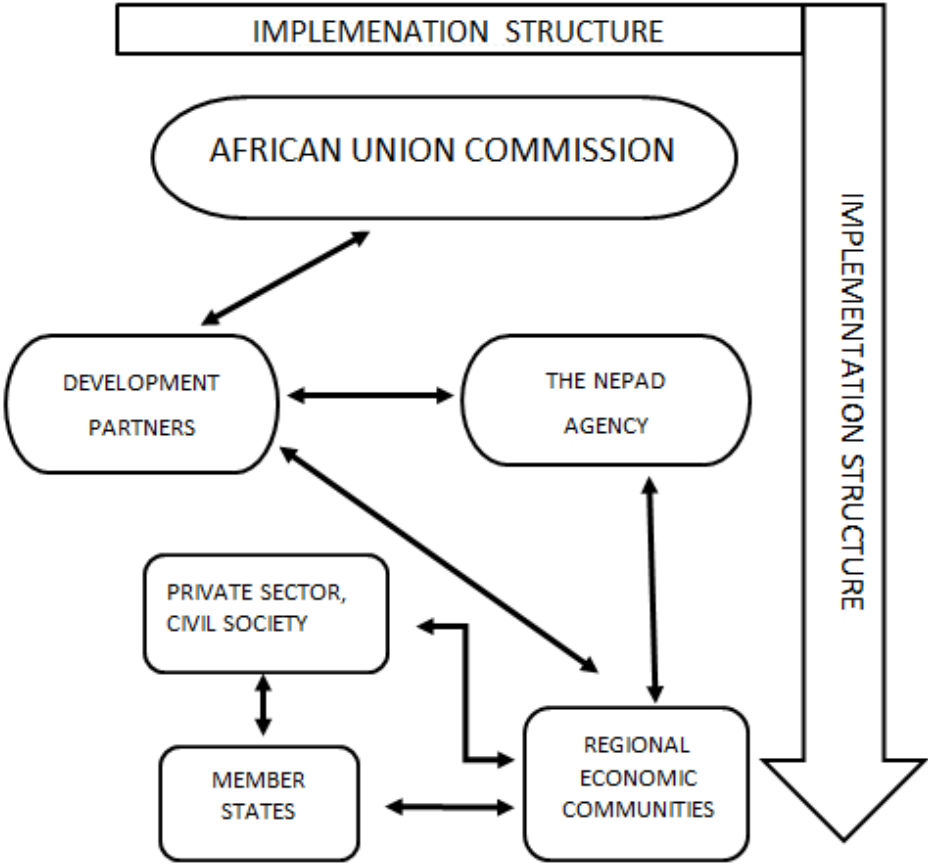
²⁵ The effective implementation of the specific goals and targets set out in Agenda 2063 requires complete buy-in, political will, commitment to allocate resources (human, financial and material), and ownership by key stakeholders.

²⁶ In July 2019, the 35th Ordinary Session of the Executive Council officially made NEPAD the first development agency of the African Union, called AUDA-NEPAD. AUDA-NEPAD is mandated “to coordinate and execute priority regional and continental projects to promote regional integration towards the accelerated realization of Agenda 2063” and thus takes a direct role in implementing the Agenda.

- At the continental level AU Organs (especially the AUC) will be responsible for setting the broad results framework and broad monitoring and evaluation based on inputs from the RECS.

The First Ten Year Implementation Plan sets out very clearly the implementation, monitoring and evaluation responsibilities of key stakeholders (AU, 2015). Accordingly, Member States are required to: Adopt/ integrate Agenda 2063 and the associated Ten Year Implementation Plans as the basis for developing their national visions and plans; Use the national planning systems- structures for implementation monitoring and evaluation, methodologies, systems and processes, rules and regulations, forms and formats in the execution of Agenda 2063; Develop policy guidelines on the design and implementation, monitoring and evaluation by various stakeholders; Ensure that the Legislature adopts Agenda 2063 as the blue print for Africa's social, economic and political development in the next 50 years; and encourage all political parties / private candidates use Agenda 2063 as a basis for preparing their political manifestos. Figure 1 below shows the Implementation Structure of Agenda 2063:

Figure 1: Implementation Structure of Agenda 2063



Source: prepared by the author on the basis of the expected roles and responsibilities of key stakeholders as provided in the Agenda 2063 Framework Document.

In order to ensure that the culture of dependency does not affect its implementation, the financing of the Agenda was internally rooted²⁷. Therefore, financing the Agenda will come through domestic mobilization, improved access to international finance markets, financial cooperation from emerging development partners, like the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and the Arab world, curbing illicit financial flows and wastages, inefficiency in revenue (Akani, 2019).

²⁷ A resource mobilization strategy to support the implementation of the First Ten Year has been prepared. It identifies the resources, the medium for channeling the funds and creation of enabling environment. According to the Popular Version of Agenda 2063 (AUC, 2015a), the breakdown of funds required to implement the First Ten Year of the Agenda by source is as follows: 75% can be collected from domestic resource; 15% from areas such as Foreign Direct Investments, Remittances etc.; and 10% from International Financial Market.

It should also be noted that The Agenda 2063 Framework Document (AUC, 2015b) recognizes the need for monitoring and evaluation systems at country, regional, economic, community, and continental level to track the implementation of the set targets (Mhangara et al., 2019)²⁸.

2.4.2. Country Level Implementation of Agenda 2063

Agenda 2063 is a normative and strategic framework that aims to put Africa on the path of growth and development to become a global force over the next 50 years (Mhangara et al., 2019; Tella, 2018).

More precisely, Agenda 2063 strives to enable Africa to remain focused and committed to the ideals it envisages in the context of a rapidly changing world. The extents to which the vision of the Agenda can be put into reality largely depend on the continuous mainstreaming of the Pan African Ideals and the commitment and determination of Member States to implement the provisions of the Agenda. In this respect, critical success factors for Agenda 2063 include participation of and ownership by multiple stakeholder groups at all stages, mobilization of financial resources from domestic sources to finance development programs, accountable leadership and responsive institutions a results-based approach with measurable objectives, and inculcating the right set of African values in line with the African Renaissance which suggests the transformation of attitudes, values, and mindsets (AUC, 2015b; DeGhetto et al., 2016; Ndizerai and Muzee, 2018).

As already noted, Agenda 2063 includes Goals, Priority Areas, Targets and Indicative Strategies (AUC, 2015b). The goals are challenging but achievable, the priority areas are relevant to Africa's emerging needs, and the targets are specific and quantified. While adopting Agenda 2063 in January 2015, African leaders pledged to align national plans with

²⁸ Monitoring and evaluation systems play a critical role in collecting, recording, storing, integrating, and evaluating and tracking performance information in the implementation of Agenda 2063. Monitoring is the continuous assessment of the Agenda in relation to the set implementation schedule that is used to provide continuous feedback on the implementation progress of the set goals and targets to enable key stakeholders to take timely decisions based on identifying successes and constraints. The evaluation uses the data and information provided by a monitoring system to facilitate the analysis of trends and impacts of the Agenda 2063.

the continental objectives and aspirations as a means to assert a fact that Africans have the same aspirations and objectives (Marzouk, 2017). More precisely, an important aspect of the implementation of Agenda 2063 is the domestication process of the Agenda which requires that commitments made at continental level are translated into national policy frameworks and programs so as to ensure that the national-level goals and targets set out in the Agenda are incorporated in national development plans (SPPMERM, 2017)²⁹. In fact, Africa's success in realization of the Agenda 2063 mainly depends on the willingness of member states to incorporate the identified national goals and targets in their national long term plans and strategies, the disbursement of required resources, creation of an enabling legal, institutional and political environment for domestication and implementation of goals and targets set out in the Agenda.

A closer look at the Agenda 2063 Framework document (AUC, 2015b) reveals very comprehensive but ambitious national-level targets that have been set, such as: a 100% literacy rate by 2025; universal high school education with 100 per cent enrolment rate by 2025; at least 70 per cent of high school graduates go on to tertiary education; universal access to quality health care and services by 2063, elimination of all communicable diseases by 2030; raising life expectancy at birth to 75 years; achieving annual GDP growth of not less than 7% during the period; attaining average per capita income of 17,000-20,000 USD by 2063; ensuring that at least 75 per cent of all households have access to housing by 2035 and all households have access by 2063; ensuring that 50% of all elected officials at local, regional, and national levels to be women by 2030; exert the required efforts to ensure that Africa's share in global GDP is 15% by 2063; making the necessary preparations to make sure that Africa's science, technology, and innovation centers will have at least 15% of world patents by 2063; ensuring that the share of renewable energy (wind, solar, hydro, bio and geothermal) in total energy production will increase to 50 per cent by 2063; cutting the proportion of aid in national development budgets to zero by 2030; reducing youth unemployment by 25 percent in 2020; by 50 percent in 2025 and by 90 percent in 2050, including in particular female youth; eliminate all forms of illegal migrations of youth by

²⁹ In the context of Agenda 2063, "domestication" can be defined in operational terms as: "The process of building awareness and strengthening citizens' engagement and appropriation of Agenda 2063, leading to the informed inclusion of its goals, priorities, and targets into legislative, policy, institutional, planning, programming and budgetary processes that drive national, sectoral and local level development".

2025 (see AUC, 2015b). These are just a select few of the more than 160 national-level targets described in the Framework Document.

There is an implicit assumption that member states have the requisite capacities to receive, understand, plan, work with, communicate and effectively implement country-specific parts of the Agenda (DeGhetto et al., 2016). The African Union Commission recognizes that Agenda 2063's implementation will require country specific actions due to different levels of development, resource endowments and priorities of the AU member states (AUC, 2015b). Moreover, the Agenda advocates for participation, inclusion and empowerment of all citizens. However, the proposed plan of action does not include clear steps on how to ensure that ordinary citizens are actively participating in the implementation of the Agenda. This is an extremely important point in that the ownership of the Agenda has significant implications for its buy-in, commitment, as well as effective and sustainable implementation.

2.5. Conceptual Framework of the Study

On the basis of the review of literature that deals with the power vested on the African Union, relationships between the African Union and its Member States as well as the Agenda 2063 framework and its implementation, the following conceptual framework was developed for this study.

Africa has been a continent beset with immense social, economic and political challenges since the advent of colonialism. Though the decolonization of the continent was accomplished in 1990 with the independence of Namibia, the issue of economic development and improvement of the standard of living of the African population is still high on the agenda of political leaders, development practitioners and continental organizations. Despite the fact that the organization of African Unity and its successor (the African Union) had endeavored to design and implement various economic development and integration programs, they all had limited success and had not brought perceptible improvement in the standard of living of the African population. This situation has lead the African Union Heads of State and Government to adopt a comprehensive, inclusive and far-sighted continental development framework, dubbed Agenda 2063.

Successful implementation of a long term development program such as Agenda 2063 depends heavily on how best key stakeholders discharge their respective responsibilities. A closer look at the Organization of African Unity and the African Union reveals that these continental bodies were norm entrepreneurs³⁰. In this respect, a clear definition of the term “norm”, in the context of intergovernmental organization, such as the African Union would be in order for subsequent discussions.

From an international relations perspective, norms are generally considered legitimate and obligatory values, standards and behavior that guide the conduct of state and non- state actors

³⁰ According to Murithi (2012), the term norm entrepreneur is understood as a normative leader who encourages others to uphold a range of norms for the improvement of the livelihood of people within their jurisdiction or authority. In terms of norms and policy this means that African countries have to agree to pool their sovereignty to enable the AU to act as the continental guarantor and protector of the security, rights, and well-being of the African people.

within a particular setting, and for which compliance elicits benefits available to the group (Axelrod 1986; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Krasner 1982). Although interactions in the international system are generally guided by international law, the complicated process of international lawmaking makes it highly unlikely for responding quickly to unforeseen and newly emerging challenges that may confront members of intergovernmental organizations. According to Darkwa and Attuquayefio (2014), norms can therefore be seen as an interface that provides a means of guaranteeing sanctity in the face of uncertainty in interstate relations. In the absence of a central government to guide the interaction of states in the international system, international relations theorists and practitioners are in agreement that the existing norms are useful to provide predictability and guide expectations.

Both the African Union and its predecessor (the Organization of the African Unity) have been considered as a framework for loose association among African state in that they lacked effective power to formulate and enforce appropriate rules and regulations that Member States have to strictly comply with. Rather, the African Union is considered as a soft power actor that sets norms without effective institutions and mechanisms to enforce them (Tella, 2018)³¹. According to Nye (2004), soft power refers to an actor's ability to determine the preferences of other actors through intangible resources such as attractive culture, political values, institutions, and policies. This implies that in lieu of deploying hard power resources, predominantly economic and military, to coerce other actors into obtaining the desired results, an actor can deploy its attractive arsenal (soft power) for this end. Tella (2018) opined that soft power actors are able to influence other actors due to the attractiveness embedded in the former's values, culture, and policies.

In fact, Africa's governance framework relies on voluntary compliance and the inability of the African Union to enforce Member States' compliance with decisions made by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government (the supreme organ of the Organization) on individual

³¹ It is also interesting to note that the AU boasts of soft power-laced instruments including the AU Constitutive Act; the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance; African Governance Architecture (AGA) Framework; African Charter of Human and People's Rights; the African Peer-Review Mechanism (APRM) Statute; Declaration on Unconstitutional Changes of Government; the Declaration Governing Democratic Elections; and the principle of non-indifference. However, effective generation of soft power through these instruments leaves much to be desired.

Member States, has been a structural problem that the organization has to live with from its early days.

The AU is seeking to move from norm-setting to implementation in its Agenda 2063 through the active participation and engagement of NEPAD Agency, Regional Economic Communities, and Member States. In this respect, critical success factors for Agenda 2063 include participation of and ownership by multiple stakeholder groups at all stages, mobilization of financial resources from domestic sources to finance development programs, accountable leadership and responsive institutions a results-based approach with measurable objectives, and inculcating the right set of African values in line with the African Renaissance which suggests the transformation of attitudes, values, and mindsets (AUC, 2015b; DeGhetto et al., 2016; Ndizerai and Muzee, 2018).

The First Ten Year Implementation Plan sets out very clearly the implementation, monitoring and evaluation responsibilities of key stakeholders (AU, 2015). Accordingly, Member States are required to: Adopt/ integrate Agenda 2063 and the associated Ten Year Implementation Plans as the basis for developing their national visions and plans; Use the national planning systems- structures for implementation monitoring and evaluation, methodologies, systems and processes, rules and regulations, forms and formats in the execution of Agenda 2063; Develop policy guidelines on the design and implementation, monitoring and evaluation by various stakeholders; Ensure that the Legislature adopts Agenda 2063 as the blue print for Africa's social, economic and political development in the next 50 years; and encourage all political parties / private candidates use Agenda 2063 as a basis for preparing their political manifestos.

Concretely, from a conceptual point of view, Agenda 2063 which was adopted by the African Union Member States is expected to serve as a guiding development framework to bring about sustained social, economic and political integration of the continent and lead to perceptible improvement of the standard of living of African population. This, however, requires a buy-in on the part of member states and their commitment to align their respective development plans to the seven aspirations of the Agenda as well as the goals, priority areas and national level-targets set out in the Agenda. In this respect, one can safely say that the

successful implementation of Agenda 2063 and the achievement of its planned targets would depend entirely on how willing Member States are to align their plan to it and commit the required resources. Lack of commitment on the part of Member States is a recipe for failure and would cost the continent dearly in that the much sought after social, political and economic integrations would not only be more than wishful thinking but it would also dent into the confidence that Member States have in their continental organization and capacity to spearhead continental integration.

Chapter Three

3: Africa's Development Endeavors and the Novelty of Agenda 2063

As clearly noted in the literature review part of this thesis, the first crop of African leaders right after independence believed strongly that political independence would not have any significant and perceptible impact on the standard of living of citizens if it was not accompanied by economic liberalization and development. This chapter presents results of review of empirical literature on the economic development endeavors carried out on the continent since 1960s and what the new continental development framework (Agenda 2063) envisages to do in order to make African political and economic integration a reality.

3.1. Africa's Peripheral Place in the Global Economy

As of mid-2019, the African population was estimated at about 1.3 billion (17 percent of the world's population). The population is growing at a rate of 2.5 percent per annum. The total population of the continent is projected to be 1.9 billion and 2.5 billion in 2035 and 2050, respectively (Population Reference Bureau, 2019).

As of 2015, sub-Saharan Africa had the highest concentration of the world's poor, with 42.3 percent of people living under the poverty line against 10 percent for the whole world³². In absolute numbers, a total of 420 million people lived in poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2015 against 737 million for the whole world (World Bank, 2020).

Africa, a vast continent, is a marginal player in the global economy. In fact, Africa's share in the global merchandise trade has not shown any significant change over the past two decades. Table 3.1 below shows clearly that the continent accounted for only 2.3 percent, 3.4 percent and 2.4 percent of the global merchandise trade in 2000, 2005 and 2019, respectively.

³² Poverty line defined as an income of less than USD 1.90 a day in 2011 purchasing power parity.

Table 3.1: Percentage Distribution of World Merchandise Trade by Geographic Group

Geographic Group	Year				
	2000	2005	2010	2015	2019
Africa	2.3	3.0	3.4	2.4	2.4
Asia	32.0	34.2	38.9	41.5	40.8
Europe	42.3	44.0	39.3	37.6	38.4
Latin America and the Caribbean	5.7	5.6	5.8	5.6	5.6
Northern America	16.4	12.0	10.9	11.6	11.1
Oceania	1.3	1.3	1.7	1.4	1.7
World	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) (2020)

Another clear indication of Africa’s peripheral place in the global economy is its insignificant contribution to the global production of goods and services as measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In this connection, it is noteworthy that its share in the global GDP was only 2.8 percent in 20019. As indicated in Table 3.2 below, Africa has the lowest per capita GDP among all regions of the world. More precisely, the average per capita of citizens in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, North America and Oceania was 1,930 USD, 7,350 USD, 8,560 USD, 29,410 USD, 49,240 USD and 53,220 USD in 2019, respectively.

Table 3.2: Gross Domestic Product by Geographic Region, 2019

Continent	Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2019		
	Total GDP		Per capita GDP in US Dollars
	In billions US Dollars	Percentage	
Africa	2,450	2.8	1,930
Asia	31,580	36.2	7,350
Europe	21,790	25.0	29,410
Latin America	3,640	4.2	8,560
North America	24,430	28.0	49,240
Oceania	1,630	1.9	53,220
World	87,270	100.0	11,570

Source: International Monetary Fund (IMF) Database

In addition to the low per capita income levels, most African countries have small populations which result in small markets. Not only are most African economies small and poor, but 15 are also landlocked, an important contributory factor to high trade transaction costs, and more

generally to the high costs of doing business in Africa (Hartzenberg, 2011). This obviously is one good reason for economic cooperation and integration among countries of the continent.

The idea of building bigger political and economic entities in Africa dates far back in African history. However, for purposes of economic integration in independent Africa, pan-Africanism started in 1900. According to Mangeni and Juma (2019), after the Second World War, the aims of pan-Africanism, which were to improve the lot of colonized Africans, turned more concretely to liberation from colonialism and achievement of political unity as the strategy for guaranteeing a dignified future for African people. This marked the complete evolution of pan-Africanism through negritude to a movement with a clear political agenda anchored by the demand for independence.

In the 1950s and the early 1960s when many of the African countries had been struggling to shake off the shackles of colonial powers, continental level efforts gave prominence to decolonization³³. With the independence of many African countries in the 1960s and 1970s, political and economic freedom were foremost priorities. More precisely, economic integration in Africa was placed top on the agenda of African political leaders and intellectuals in the 1960s and 1970s. Following the United Nations decision to establish commissions for each continent to address regional problems, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) was established, in 1958, among other things, to support economic integration in Africa. In addition, Article 20 of the 1963 OAU Charter provided for establishment of the Economic and Social Commission as a means of addressing economic development (OAU, 1963).

Under a formal agreement of cooperation signed on November 15, 1965, the ECA has worked with the organs of the OAU, especially the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, recommending programs and promoting agreements for regional economic cooperation and integration as a way of addressing economic problems in Africa.

³³ Decolonization was accomplished in 1990 with the independence of Namibia and the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990, and democratic elections in South Africa 1994.

Mangeni and Juma (2019) opined that the motives for economic integration among African countries included: creating and consolidating the conditions for the rapid socioeconomic development of the people of Africa; maintaining peaceful coexistence within and between countries; ensuring the rule of law and democratic governance within and among countries as a bedrock for economic development; and strengthen the position of African countries in international economic diplomacy, especially in multilateral organizations.

3.2. Initiatives for Enhancing African Economic Cooperation and Integration

Over the years, African leaders acting within the OAU reiterated that the economic development of the continent remained the primary responsibility of African governments and was to be attained through economic cooperation and integration. This commitment and political will provided the rationale for the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA). The LPA was adopted by the African Heads of State and Government in April 1980³⁴. A decade later on 3 June 1991 the African Heads of State and Government concluded the African Economic Community (AEC) Treaty also known as the Abuja Treaty that implemented the LPA and provided strong support for the African integration agenda³⁵. The African Economic Community Treaty came into force after the requisite number of ratifications in May 1994.

The African Economic Community was established as an integral part of the OAU with the primary aim of promoting the integration of African economies³⁶. The proposed framework for African integration and continental industrialization was the division of the continent into regional integration areas that would constitute a united African economy, the African Economic Community. The AEC further aims to promote cooperation and development in all aspects of human activity, with a view to raising the standard of life of Africa's people,

³⁴ The LPA called for sectorial policies to be adopted at the continental, regional, and national levels. It includes planned investment and production (production integration), physical and social infrastructure (structural integration), and cooperation in science and technology (research and development).

³⁵ The treaty was the embodiment of the integrated approach that provided for regional economic communities as building blocks for the AEC and called for cooperation in a number of key sectors such as agriculture, industrialization, and infrastructure.

³⁶ The principles underpinning the AEC as set out in Article 3 of the Treaty include among others 'inter-State cooperation, harmonisation of policies and integration of programmes; the promotion of harmonious development of economic activities among Member States; and accountability, economic justice and popular participation in development.' The objectives of the AEC as stated in Article 4 of the treaty include, *inter alia*, the integration of African economies and the co-ordination and harmonization of policies among existing and future economic communities in order to foster the gradual establishment of the Community.

maintaining economic stability and establishing a close and peaceful relationship among member states.

According to Mangeni and Juma (2019), the African Economic Community will be established progressively in six stages over a 34-year period from 1994 to 2028, using the regional economic communities as building blocks. The six stages include establishing regional organizations, strengthening them, forming regional free trade areas (which require free movement of goods) and customs unions by 2017, merging these customs unions into a continental customs union by 2019 (which requires a common external tariff and commercial policy as well as a common customs law), transforming that union into the continental common market by 2023 (which requires free movement of goods, services, labor, and capital as well as the right of establishment), and, finally, forming a continental economic union by 2028.

Regional Economic Communities are the building blocks of the African Economic Community, which provides the overarching framework for continental economic integration. As the building blocks and implementing arms of the African Union, the RECs have been central to various transformative programs of the continent, including the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) adopted in 2001, and the AU's Agenda 2063, and its First Ten-Year Implementation Plan. As clearly indicated in the second chapter of this thesis, RECs are essential and instrumental for the effective implementation, financing, monitoring and evaluation of Agenda 2063 and its flagship programmes, at particularly the regional levels. The next section presents and discusses the eight Regional Economic Communities of the continent.

3.3. African Regional Economic Communities

One of the mechanisms for enhancing economic and social integration on the continent was considered to be the establishment and operationalization of Regional Economic Communities (RECs). Towards this end, RECs have been established by African countries since the 1960s³⁷. In its quest to streamline and speed up continental integration, the African

³⁷ According to Mangeni and Juma (2019), in the mid-2000 there were 14 Regional Economic Organizations in Africa. However, following a report by the African Union Commission and the 2006 Report of the Economic

Union recognized eight RECs as a building bloc of the AEC. A closer look at these RECs reveals that they differ in terms of objectives, institutional strength and performance.

Even though the eight RECs have their specific missions and objectives, in general they aim at achieving sustainable economic and social progress of their Member States through increased co-operation and integration. Moreover, most of the RECs share the following common objectives:

- The removal of barriers to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital;
- The establishment and maintenance of an external common customs tariff;
- The harmonization of national policies in order to promote economic and social development; and
- Formation of a large economic and trading unit that is capable of overcoming some of the barriers that are faced by individual states.

In general, RECs work very closely with governments, civil society and the African Union Commission in raising the standard of living of the people of Africa and contributing towards the progress and development of the continent through economic growth and social development.

A closer look at the performance of RECs reveals that they are at different stages of development. Table 3.3 below presents the eight RECS, their membership, objectives and performance levels.

Commission for Africa, the African Union devised a rationalization program for the integration process. The program was based on two principles—one country, one REC and one region, one REC. In the end, the African Union Ministers responsible for economic integration at a March 30-31, 2006, meeting agreed to put a moratorium on the establishment of new RECs in Africa and to recognize eight regional economic communities as the building blocks for continental integration.

Table 3.3: African Regional Economic Communities

No.	Name of REC	Members	Foundation Year and Goal/Mission	Performance
1	Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Members include: Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia; Its headquarters is in Rabat, Morocco. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was founded on February 17, 1989 with the signing of the Treaty of Marrakech; The missions of this union are to: Strengthen the ties of brotherhood which link the member States and their peoples to one another; Achieving progress and prosperity of their societies and defending their rights; Contributing to the preservation of peace based on justice and equity; Pursuing a common policy in different domains; and Working gradually towards achieving free movement of persons and transfer of services, goods and capital among them (AMU, 1989). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> AMU has not made perceptible progress in the areas of economic and political integration. Moreover, since 1994, no AMU summit was held, leaving the Union unachieved and in a deadlock (Barth, 2019); AMU has been hobbled by political rivalry between Algeria and Morocco and by the Western Sahara crisis for years.
2	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Members include: Burundi, the Comoros, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Sudan, Seychelles, Somalia, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe; Its headquarters is in Lusaka, Zambia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was formed in December 1994 (by replacing the former Preferential Trade Area which had existed since 1981) and is the largest Regional Economic Community in African with 21 member states; Its mission is to endeavor to achieve sustainable economic and social progress in all Member States through increased co-operation and integration in all fields of development particularly in trade, customs and monetary affairs, transport, communication and information, technology, industry and energy, gender, agriculture, environment and natural resources. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> COMESA has been a functional free trade area since 2000, and it launched its customs union in 2009 on a transitional basis; It has implemented a visa relaxation program to facilitate movement of persons and has completed negotiations to liberalize trade in the transport, communication, financial, and tourism services (Mangeni and Juma, 2019)

3	Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Members include: Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Chad, the Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, the Sudan, Togo and Tunisia; Its headquarters is in Tripoli, Libya. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was established on 4 February 1998, following the Conference of Leaders and Heads of States held in Tripoli, Libya; Its goal is the establishment of a comprehensive economic union based on a strategy implemented in accordance with a developmental plan that would be integrated in the national development plans of the member states. It includes investment in the agricultural, industrial, social, cultural and energy fields. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEN-SAD's regional integration programs have been behind schedule or remain largely unimplemented mainly due to political instability and internal conflicts in member states, and the importance of this REC has diminished despite its geographical reach from North through Central to East Africa (Mangeni and Juma, 2019).
4	East African community (EAC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Members include: Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda; Its headquarters is in Arusha, Tanzania. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was originally founded in 1967, dissolved in 1977, and revived with the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community signed in 1999 by Kenya, Uganda and United Republic of Tanzania. Burundi and Rwanda became members in 2007 while South Sudan gained accession in April 2016 (UNECA, 2019a); The aim of EAC is to gradually establish among member states a Customs Union, a Common Market, a Monetary Union, and ultimately a Political Federation of the East African States. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> EAC has made significant progress in recent years. It established its customs union on schedule in 2005, adopted a single customs territory program to progressively allow free circulation of goods, and became a common market in 2010 (Mangeni and Juma, 2019).
5	Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Members include: Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda and Sao Tome and Principe. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was established in October 1983; It aims at promoting and strengthening a harmonious cooperation in order to realize a balanced and self-sustained economic development, particularly in the fields of industry, transport and communications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, trade, customs, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ECCAS was inactive for several years due to financial constraints (non-payment of membership fees), conflicts in the Great Lakes area as well as the war in Democratic

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Its headquarters is in Libreville, Gabo. 	<p>monetary and financial matters, human resources, tourism, education, culture, science and technology and the movement of persons with a view to achieving collective self-reliance, raising the standards of living, maintaining economic stability and fostering peaceful relations between the member States and contributing to the development of the African continent.</p>	<p>Republic of Congo where member States (Rwanda and Angola) were fighting on different sides. Nevertheless, in October 1999, ECCAS was formally designated into the African Economic Community as one of the eight pillars of the African Union (UNECA, 2019b);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ECCAS has now a free trade area program.
6	Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members include: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo; • Its headquarters is in Abuja, Nigeria 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Was established by the Treaty of Lagos signed by fifteen West African Heads of State and Government of in May 28, 1975; • The main goal of ECOWAS is to promote cooperation and integration, leading to the establishment of an Economic Union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its peoples, to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among member States as well as to contribute to the progress and development of the African Continent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ECOWAS has been a functional customs union since January 2015 after implementing a trade liberalization program; • It has made significant progress on movement of persons by adopting a common passport and biometric system (Mangeni and Juma, 2019); • ECOWAS has also worked to address some security issues by developing a peacekeeping force for conflicts in the region.
7	Intergovernmental Authority on Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members include: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, the Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Was established in 1996 to succeed the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development that was founded in 1986 to deal with issues related to drought and desertification in the Horn 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although IGAD's consultations on the establishment of the free trade area continue as of 2017, the

	(IGAD)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Its headquarters is in the Republic of Djibouti. 	<p>Africa;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The mission of IGAD is to assist and complement the efforts of the member States to achieve, through increased cooperation: food security and environmental protection, peace and security, and economic cooperation and integration in the region. 	<p>region has made significant advancement in road transport and energy interconnectivity, water resource management, and climate change challenge solutions for drought and desertification (Mangeni and Juma, 2019).</p>
8	Southern African Development Community (SADEC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members include: Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Eswatini, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Southern African Development Community (SADC) was established as a development coordinating conference (SADCC) in 1980 and transformed into a development community in 1992; • Its goal is to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development through efficient productive systems, deeper co-operation and integration, good governance and durable peace and security among its Member States (SADC, 2019). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SADC established a free trade area in 2008 and shelved its customs union program. It has deepened its FTA beyond the 85% trade liberalization achieved in 2008 to 97% by 2017 (Mangeni and Juma, 2019).

As already noted, there are 8 Regional Economic Communities in Africa. A detailed analysis of membership to these RECs (Table 3.4) shows that 54 of the 55 African Union Member States are members of at least one REC (only Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic does not belong to any of the RECs). Moreover, as presented in the Table below 30 African countries belong to two RECs simultaneously; 9 countries belong to three; the Sudan enjoys the distinction of belonging to four; and 14 African countries belong to one single REC.

According to Mangeni and Juma (2019), multiple and overlapping RECs are problematic for a number of reasons. They are costly because of subscriptions or mandatory monetary contributions to their budgets. Attending intergovernmental processes is time consuming for members. Implementation of obligations is extremely challenging especially where organizations have conflicting requirements. Compliance with the rules on a day-to-day basis by administrations, such as the customs authorities, can be a strain if the rules are contradictory.

Table 3.4: Membership of African Countries to Regional Economic Communities

Number of RECs that countries belong to	African Countries that are Members of Regional Economic Communities	Number of Countries
1	Algeria, Botswana, Cabo Verde, Cameroon, Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Lesotho, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Sao Tome and Principe, South Africa	14
2	Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Seychelles, South Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Zambia, Zimbabwe	30
3	Burundi, Djibouti, Eritria, Kenya, Libya, Rwanda, Somalia, Tunisia, Uganda	9
4	Sudan	1

Source: Compiled by the author from various documents

One of the indicators for economic integration is trade among member states. In this respect, it is quite clear that African countries have a long way to go to improve trade among themselves. More precisely, intra-African trade, defined as the average of intra-African exports and imports, hovered at around 15.2 per cent in the period 2015–2017, compared with 47.4 percent for America, 61.1 percent for Asia, and 67.1 percent for Europe (UNCTAD, 2019).

Even though considerable efforts have been made since the 1960 to promote regional economic integration through the establishment and operationalization of Regional Economic Communities, there have been some stumbling blocks. In general, Africa’s overall regional integration (measured in terms of trade, financial and macro-economic integration) across the regional economic communities stands very low (Lopes, 2016). This is partly attributable to lack of political commitment at the highest level, high transaction costs of doing business, poor infrastructure, non-tariff barriers³⁸, incompatible political and economic systems, poor economic and political governance, institutional incapacity, uneven distribution of the benefits of integration, lack of grassroots support, overlapping membership to RECs (duplication of requirements and conflict of interest among member states), weak enforcement of existing treaties, little value addition and diversification and production systems and similarity of products produced by member states (Barth, 2019; Hartzenberg, 2011; Koroma et al., 2008; Lopes, 2016; Mangeni and Juma, 2019; UNCTAD, 2019).

With respect to administrative and technical hurdles for regional economic integration, Lopes (2016) noted that while policymakers have designed integration frameworks, their implementation has been hampered by the absence of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. Simply put, there was until recently no means of measuring, in a precise and objective way, which countries are making the most progress in deepening regional integration, in which areas individual countries are falling behind, and which policies and institutions have proved most effective in promoting integration.

³⁸ Non-tariff barriers could take the form of: technical requirements regarding health and phytosanitary regulations; very stringent customs procedures relating to rules of origin, export and import licenses, quantitative restrictions, etc.

3.4. Implementation Status of the Agenda 2063 Continental Flagship Projects

As noted earlier, a series of initiatives dating to 1980—the Lagos Plan of Action, the Abuja Treaty, the New Partnership for Africa’s Development, and the more recent Agenda 2063—were each heralded as the economic response to Africa’s need for a new, more interconnected future. However, among all these initiatives, Agenda 2063 stands out in that it embraces a multi-faceted and comprehensive approach to achieve continental economic, political and social integration.

Agenda 2063 identified a total of fourteen continental flagship projects to be given priority in order to accelerate Africa’s economic growth and development as well as promote African peoples’ common identity by celebrating their history and vibrant culture. In what follows the implementation status of the flagship projects as at the end of December 2019 will be presented.

According to AUC and AUDA-NEPAD (2020), the continent made notable progress on implementing the 14 African Union Flagship Projects. In terms of fast tracking economic cooperation and integration on the continent, 54 of the 55 African Union Member States have now signed on to the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (CFTA) and the continent is now implementing a single continental market for goods and services and laying the foundations for the establishment of a continental customs union. Many on the continent look to the CFTA as an investment, economic diversification, and job creation blueprint that will shape the future of Africa in the years to come, help meet the SDG targets by 2030, and consolidate progress toward the African Union’s Agenda 2063. The overall performance of African Member States on advancing the AfCFTA stands at 92% of the target set for 2019 (AUC and AUDA-NEPAD, 2020).

Table 3.5: Implementation Status of Agenda 2063 Flagship Projects

No.	Flagship Project	Implementation Status
1	The African Commodities Strategy	<p>The objectives of the strategy are to find strategic measures to address price volatility and to use Africa’s wealth of natural resources and absolute advantage in the commodities market to ensure that Africa’s commodities are used for its industrialisation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A draft strategy was developed in 2016, which focuses on energy, agriculture and crosscutting strategies dealing with mining and industrialization; and • The updated draft African Union Commodity Strategy was presented to the 2nd Meeting of the Specialised Technical Committee (STC) on Trade Industry and Mining in January 2019 and will be presented to an extraordinary STC of Ministers of Trade, Industry and Minerals for adoption.
2	The African Economic Platform (AEP)	<p>The African Economic Platform is an Agenda 2063 programme that brings together African heads of state, business leaders, academics and youth to have frank discussions and deliberate on Africa’s development.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The inaugural African Economic Platform was held in Mauritius, in 2017; and • A roadmap on the implementation of the first AEP recommendations was developed and a concept note for the establishment of the African Business Council Platform and Trade Observatory was developed.
3	The African Outer Space Policy and Strategy	<p>The African Outer Space Flagship proposes to create a well-coordinated and integrated continental programme that is responsive to the social, economic, political and environmental needs of the continent, as well as being globally competitive.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The African Union convenes annual space dialogues with African space actors; • Baseline studies were carried out for developing operational programmes and missions; • The African Earth Observation (EO) System was strengthened to improve management of the environment. This was undertaken through the Global Monitoring for the Environment and Security (GMES) & Africa programme; and • The Arab Republic of Egypt is selected to host the continental African Space Agency.
4	The African Passport and Free Movement of People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Protocol to the Treaty on the Establishment of the African Economic Community relating to Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Right of Establishment was adopted in January 2018 together with a comprehensive implementation roadmap; • Popularisation of the Protocol on free movement of persons has been undertaken - involving Member States and RECs with a view to achieving the requisite 15 ratifications for the Protocol to come into force; • 32 Member States have signed the Protocol; only one Member State, Rwanda, has ratified it; and • Guidelines on the design, production and issuance of the African Passport were endorsed by the AU-STC on Migration, Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons in Nov. 2018 and subsequently adopted by the AU Assembly of February 2019.

5	The Continental Financial Institutions	<p>The Continental Financial Institutions comprise the African Central Bank (ACB), the African Monetary Fund (AMF), the African Investment Bank (AIB), and the Pan-African Stock Exchange (PASE).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 22 signatures of the legal instruments of the AIB have been registered. Among them, only six have ratified these instruments; • 112 signatures have been registered for the AMF. Only one instrument of ratification has been deposited by Chad; • A host agreement with Cameroon on the headquarters of AMF was signed in 2018; • Nigeria has availed office space to set-up the AMI. A draft statute and host agreement have been developed and are yet to be finalized; and • The ratification process has been slow and thereby impacting on project implementation.
6	The Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA)	<p>This project aims to create: a people-centred developmental Free Trade Area that goes beyond tariff liberalisation to increase choices of the African people; and a Free Trade Area that will enable Africa to address many of the continent’s most significant challenges thereby unleashing its business potential including in its service sector.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Agreement establishing the CFTA was adopted in March 2018 with protocols on trade in goods; • The Agreement entered into force on 30th May 2019; • 54 AU Member States have signed the Agreement so far; • 27 AU Member States have ratified and deposited their instruments of ratification; • The CFTA Operational Phase was launched in July 2019; • The Agreement will start trading under the CFTA Regime by July 1st, 2020; and • The CFTA Interim Secretariat has been set up at the AUC, while the Permanent Secretariat will be hosted in Ghana.
7	The Cyber Security	<p>In Africa, Issues relating to cybersecurity and cybercrime are emerging and there is a need to ensure that citizens, governments and businesses are protected.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Four Member States out of the required 15 have ratified the AU Convention on Cybersecurity and Personal Data Protection; • Data protection guidelines were developed and launched in 2018 and an African cybersecurity expert group was established; and • Many African countries are at an early stage of developing their cyber strategies and are drafting and adopting cyber laws.
8	The Grand Inga Dam Project	<p>The “Grand Inga Hydropower Project” is in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The project, purposed to have a total installed capacity of over 42,000 MW, is designed to contribute to the electricity supply for DRC and the entire continent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An agreement was signed in October 2018 between the Government of DRC and a consortium of Chinese and Spanish companies to undertake technical studies and environmental and socio-economic impact assessments

		<p>of Inga 3. The investment costs will be mobilised by the consortium; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2019, the DRC Government in collaboration with the “Agence de Développement et de Promotion du Projet Inga (ADPI)” organised promotion events of the Grand Inga project.
9	The Great African Museum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Government of the People’s Democratic Republic of Algeria has already allocated a site for the Great African Museum; • The architectural design and environmental studies have been carried out and concluded by a team of architects and experts; and • The Technical and Advisory Committee for the establishment and launching of the Great African Museum was inaugurated.
10	The Integrated High Speed Train Network	<p>The Project is designed to connect African capitals, economic and other industrial hubs as well as major tourism locations with appropriate high-speed rail technology and other complementary electricity/power, and ICT broadband infrastructure and services.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The vision of the Continental High-Speed Railway Network project within the context of the AU Agenda 2063 has been elaborated; • A detailed scoping study together with the strategy note has been completed; and • A process has been launched for contracting a firm to conduct the financial and technical, legal and institutional audit of the African Union of Railways, with a view to its revitalisation.
11	The Pan-African E-Network (PAeN)	<p>The main objective of this project is to build capacity by imparting quality education, as well as medical tele-expertise and consultations to AU Member States by some of the best Indian academic and medical institutions. As of March 2017, the e-Network was installed in 48 AU Member States.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is planned to undertake financial resource mobilization for the continued operation of the e-Network, in response to a request from the Specialized Technical Committee on Communication and Information Communication Technology.
12	The Pan-African Virtual and E-University (PAVeU)	<p>This project aims to address the need for accelerating the development of human capital, science and technology and innovation through increasing access to tertiary and continuing education in Africa by capitalising on the digital revolution and global knowledge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PAVeU was officially launched on 20th December 2019. Self-paced online classes started on 15 January 2020 by offering two courses i.e. Media and information Literacy and Cloud and Virtualization Concepts; and • Preparations are underway to offer two other courses (both self-paced and facilitated) i.e. Skills for Employment and Entrepreneurship for Development (ARPAU)
13	The Silencing the Guns by 2020	<p>AU Member States have adopted “Silencing the Guns in Africa: creating conducive conditions for development” as the theme of the year 2020.</p>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The 33rd Ordinary Session of the Assembly, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 9 to 10 February 2020 resolved to extend the timeframe for the Silencing the Gun by 2020 flagship project to give additional time for Member States and Regional Economic Communities and Regional Mechanisms (RECs/RMs), with the support of relevant stakeholders to continue implementing the various aspects in the AU Master Roadmap (Assembly/AU/Dec.755(XXXIII)); and • An Extraordinary AU Summit on Silencing the Guns (to be hosted by South Africa)is scheduled to take place in May 2020, to provide an opportunity for Heads of State and Government to review the implementation of the AU Master Roadmap, and undertake an in-depth reflection, especially on root causes of conflicts, among others (ASAU)
14	The Single African Air Transport Market (SAATM)	<p>Recognising the importance of aviation in achieving the AU vision of an integrated continent, in January 2015 the African Union Assembly adopted the Declaration on the establishment of a Single African Air Transport Market (SAATM) as well as the Solemn Commitment towards advancing concrete and unconditional implementation of the Yamoussoukro Decision.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The AU Assembly officially launched SAATM in January 2018 during its 30th Ordinary Summit Session; • 29 AU Member States covering almost 80% of intra-African air traffic have signed the Solemn Commitment to establishment the SAATM; • 18 AU Member States have signed a Memorandum of Implementation (MoI) to ensure the removal of any air service agreement restrictions that are not in compliance with the Yamoussoukro Decision; and • 10 out of the 29 SAATM States have implemented all the SAATM concrete measures required by AFCAC. Furthermore, 10 Member States have signed new bilateral air services agreements that are compliant with the Yamoussoukro Decision.

Source: Summarized from; Information provided in AUC and AUDA-NEPAD (2020); Decision of the 33rd Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union, held between 9-10 February 2020, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (ASAU); Annual Report of the Pan African University (ARPAU);

Unlike in the past, where the implementation of continental initiatives and programmes were left to the African Union Commission and its organs, the African Union introduced a novel approach to speed up the implementation of Agenda 2063 flagship projects and other key initiatives. More precisely, in order to lead the implementation of key initiatives of the African Union as well as Flagship Projects of Agenda 2063, Heads of State and Government are selected by the Assembly as Champions to create awareness about these initiatives at a continental and international level and to get the necessary support required to ensure support implementation by all Member States (Table 3.6.). There is a general agreement among stakeholders that such an approach would help garner political support from African leaders and key stakeholders and would eventually contribute positively to the successful implementation of the key initiatives and flagship projects.

Table 3.6: Champions of Key Initiatives and Flagship Projects of the African Union

Name of Champion	Key Initiative/Flagship Project
H.E. Mr. Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda	Leader on the Institutional Reform of the African Union
H.E. Mr. Alassane Dramane Ouattara, President of the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire	Leader on the Follow-Up of the Implementation of African Union Agenda 2063
H.E. Mr. Mahamadou Issoufou, President of the Republic of Niger	Leader on Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA)
H.E. Faure Ngansingbe, President of the Republic of Togo	Leader on the Single African Air Transport Market (SAATM)
H.E. Mr. Nana Akufo Addo, President of the Republic of Ghana	Leader on Gender and Development Issues in Africa
H.E. Mr. Edgar Lungu, President of the Republic of Zambia	Leader on Ending Child Marriage in Africa;
H.E. Mr. Abiy Ahmed, Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia,	Leader on the Implementation of the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP)
H.E. Mr. Ali Bongo Ondimba, President of the Gabonese Republic	Chairperson of the Committee of African Heads of State and Government on Climate Change (CAHOSCC);
His Majesty King Letsie III, King of Kingdom of Lesotho	Champion on Nutrition
H.E. Mr. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda	Leader on the Continent's Political Integration
H.E. Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria,	Leader on the Combating Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Africa

H.E. Mr. Denis Sassou Nguesso, President of the Republic of Congo,	Leader and Chairperson of the High Level Committee on Libya
H.E. Mr. Faure Essozimna Gnassingbe, President of the Togolese Republic	Leader on Maritime Security, Safety and Development in Africa
His Majesty Mohamed VI, King of Morocco	Leader on the Migration Issue
H.E. Mr. Muhammadu Bakari, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria	Leader of the Theme of the Year 2018 “Winning the Fight Against Corruption. A Sustainable Path for Africa’s Transformation”
H.E. Mr. Idriss Deby Itno, President of the Republic of Chad	Leader of the Theme of the Year 2017 “Harnessing the Demographics Dividend Through Investments in Youth”
H.E. Mr. Julius Maada Bio, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone	Leader and Chairperson of the Committee of Ten (C10) on the United Nations Security Council Reform
H.E. Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, President of the Republic of South African	Leader on African Union-United Nations Cooperation

Source: African Union, Champion Presidents. Available at: <https://au.int/en/champion-presidents>.

Chapter Four

4: Review of Development Planning Experience in Ethiopia

This chapter presents review of development planning experience in Ethiopia. Development planning has a history of about six decades in Ethiopia. Ethiopia established a National Economic Council in 1955. The Council consisted of a Planning Board and a Secretariat to the Board, specifically charged with the task of drawing up plans (Tesfaye, 1992). The First Five Year Development Plan (1957–1961) was prepared in 1956 and it sought to develop a strong infrastructure with special emphasis on transportation, construction, and communications (Ofcansky and Berry, 1993). Another goal of the plan was the establishment of an indigenous cadre of skilled and semi-skilled personnel to work in processing industries to help reduce Ethiopia's dependence on imports. Lastly, the plan aimed to accelerate agricultural development by promoting commercial agricultural ventures. The second Five Year Development Plan (1962–1967) was envisaged to change Ethiopia's primarily agricultural economy into an agro-industrial one in a space of 20 years. Projects were scheduled to include diversification of production, introduction of modern processing methods, and expansion of the economy's productive capacity to increase the country's growth rate (Adejumobi, 2007).

In 1966 the Ethiopian Government established the Ministry of Planning and Development that prepared the Third Five Year Development Plan (1968–1973). This plan also included the stated goals of increased productivity in the agricultural sector, especially for the benefits of the peasant. This development plan's objective also included the expansion of educational opportunities (Ofcansky and Berry, 1993).

In 1970 the Ministry of Planning and Development was reorganized to become the Planning Commission with more or less identical duties and responsibilities. Assessment of the performance of the successive Five Year Development Plans indicates that they were all prepared in view of mobilizing a significant proportion of investments required for their implementation from external sources (Naudé, 1998). Moreover, the plans failed to achieve their targets and bring about the much expected diversification of the economy into areas such as

manufacturing and services. In this respect, Ofcansky and Berry (1993), note that several factors hindered Ethiopia's development planning. Apart from the fact that the government lacked the administrative and technical capabilities to implement a national development plan, staffing problems plagued the Planning Commission (which prepared the first and second plans) and the Ministry of Planning and Development (which prepared the third). Many project managers failed to achieve plan objectives because they neglected to identify the resources (personnel, equipment, and funds) and to establish the organizational structures necessary to facilitate large-scale economic development.

4.1. Development Planning During the Military Regime

With the overthrow of the Imperial regime in 1974, the new military government took measures aimed at nationalizing and restructuring of the Ethiopian economy. Internal political upheaval, armed conflict, and radical institutional reform marked the 1974-78 period of the revolution. There was little economic growth; instead, the government's nationalization measures and the highly unstable political climate caused economic dislocation in sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing. The Planning Commission was renamed the Central Planning Commission in 1977. By late 1978, however, the planning machinery was reorganized to form the National Revolutionary Development Campaign (NRDC) and Central Planning Supreme Council (CPSC). In evaluating the process of national development planning after the downfall of the Imperial regime, Tesfaye (1992) noted that NRDC & CPSC prepared and executed six annual Development Campaign Programs. The campaigns were essentially designed to attain limited and immediate objectives to address urgent problems of the times. Moreover, formulated in the absence of long- and medium-term plans with the appropriate perspectives and strategies, they could not be effective for laying the foundations for the economic growth of the country. They also proved to be inadequate in solving pressing problems which result from the basic weaknesses of the economic structure itself.

The limited success registered with the annual development campaigns, the lack of strong linkages and integration among sectors of the economy and absence of coordination among the

various government agencies in setting targets and implementing them necessitated the development of a comprehensive and integrated long-term plan that was envisaged to serve as a policy tool for the realization of Ethiopia's long-term objectives. Towards this end, the planning institution underwent a restructuring process to enable it perform this task. As a result, the Office of the National Committee for Central Planning (ONCCP) was established in 1984.

The ONCCP prepared a very ambitious long term plan (The Ten Year Perspective Plan or TYPP) covering the period 1984/85-1993/94. The plan consisted of sectoral orientation of development as well as production and investment targets, financial and manpower requirements and policy and organizational measures needed to attain the targets. The TYPP took the agricultural sector as the foundation of the economy, but envisaged to obtain the sectoral transformation from an agricultural economy towards an industrial economy. Furthermore, the TYPP envisaged an average annual growth rate in GDP of 6.5 percent (ONCCP, 1984). The implementation of the Ten Year Perspective Plan was undertaken through the elaboration of short and medium term plans. However, with the change in Government in 1991, the Ten Year Perspective Plan became obsolete and its implementation was suspended³⁹. It is worth noting that like the successive Five Year Development Plans of the Imperial era, the TYPP relied heavily on foreign financial resources inflows for its implementation.

Scrutiny of the development planning process during the military regime reveals that both the annual development campaigns and the TYPP failed to enhance economic growth and bring about structural transformation of the national economy. In this respect, Mekonnen and Admasu, (2019) noted that the nationalization of private enterprises and the proliferation of government restrictions on the private sector (such as investment caps, credit constraints, price controls, and shortage of imported intermediated inputs) constituted major disincentives for entrepreneurship, productivity growth, and introduction of new products. Dire conditions in the quantity and quality of infrastructure also contributed to high production and marketing costs across sectors but particularly for transaction-intensive activities like manufacturing. Diversion of resources

³⁹ With the change in government in 1991, the Office of the National Committee for Central Planning was renamed the Ministry of Planning.

from productive use to finance the military and the civil war, external shocks resulting from unfavorable terms of trade, the external debt burden, severe weather fluctuations, natural calamities and drought etc., had also contributed to the mediocre performance of the economy during this period (Aaron, 2017; IDS, 1994).

4.2. Development Planning During the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Era

After the defeat of the military regime in May 1991, the Transitional Government that assumed political power under the leadership of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (1991-1994) declared its commitment to steer the economy away from state control towards private sector control in a competitive market environment⁴⁰. In light of its policy declaration, it developed a "New Economic Policy" for the transition period. According to Naudé (1998), the "New Economic Policy" is in essence contained in two documents, namely "Ethiopia's Economic Policy During the Transitional Period" published in November 1991 and the unpublished "Policy Framework Paper" of September 1992 (updated in March and October 1994), the latter being formulated in collaboration with the IMF and World Bank. According to Aaron (2017), the stabilization-cum-liberalization program package adopted with the assistance of the IMF and the World Bank included: devaluation of the currency; initial moves to restructure public enterprises with increased autonomy for management or privatization; promulgation of a new investment and labor law intended to attract domestic and foreign capital; trimming of the public sector; and elimination of subsidies on fuels and other products to reflect market conditions. In fact, encouraging steps were taken in the form of legal reforms which opened the way for private participation in the economy in general and financial sector in particular.

⁴⁰ After the end of the transition period (1991–1994), and the adoption of a new constitution in 1995, Ethiopia became a Federal Republic composed of nine ethnically based and politically autonomous regional states and the two chartered cities of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. The regions are subdivided into zones, and zones are further divided into *Woredas* (districts).

With increased development aid support from the international community, the government launched a series of sector development programs in the second half of the 1990s that aimed at expanding education, health, and economic infrastructure. Public investment in infrastructure intensified in the late 1990s with substantial expenditure on hydro-electric power plants, roads, and airports (Mekonnen and Admasu, 2019). Since 1992 Ethiopia has implemented a series of medium to long term plans and focused policies. More precisely, the government declared its intent to implement Agriculture Development Led Industrialization (ADLI) strategy in the mid-1990s as an overall development strategy for the country. Concomitant with the ADLI, a series of poverty reduction strategies such as the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDRP), which covered the years 2002/2003-2004/2005, and a Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) that ran from 2005/6 to 2009/10 were implemented (Aaron, 2017; FDRE, 2010). The main objectives of these programs were achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

The Ministry of Finance and Economic Development was responsible for the preparation and implementation of national development plans in cooperation with the concerned organs. Accordingly, the Ministry had coordinated the design and implementation of the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP), which covered the 2002/2003-2004/2005 and a Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) that ran from 2005/2006-2009/2010 (FDRE, 2010).

On the basis of the experiences gained thus far and the national vision, the Ethiopian Government adopted a more visionary, comprehensive, and long term approach to development planning. This had resulted in the first Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP-1) which was prepared with clear objectives and targets and through the participation of both the federal and regional government institutions.

4.3. Growth and Transformation Plans

Since 2010, the Ethiopian Government has been endeavoring to steer the country's development process through the implementation of ambitious five-year national development plans dubbed "Growth and Transformation Plans"⁴¹.

4.3.1. The First Growth and Transformation Plan

The first Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP I) was developed for the 2010/11-2014/15 period and was aimed at achieving sustained and broad-based economic growth and reducing poverty. According to FDRE (2010), the four overarching objectives of GTP I were:

- i. Maintain at least an average annual real GDP growth rate of 11% and attaining the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2014/15;
- ii. Expanding access and ensuring the qualities of education and health services thereby achieving the MDGs in the social sectors;
- iii. Establishing favorable conditions for sustainable nation building through the creation of a stable democratic and developmental state; and
- iv. Ensuring the sustainability of economic growth by realizing all the above objectives within stable macroeconomic framework.

Special emphasis during the GTP period is given to agricultural and rural development, industry, infrastructure, social and human development, good governance, and democratization. The document outlines the main objectives, strategies, and targets for the five-year period, as well as providing details on specific sectors; costs and financing; risks, opportunities, and challenges; and monitoring and evaluation⁴². The First Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP-I) was

⁴¹ The GTP builds on the success registered and lessons learnt from the previous development policies and carries forward the progress made under the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP). The GTP was also meant to lay the ground for Ethiopia's longer-term vision of being a middle-income country by 2025.

⁴² According to FDRE (2010), Ethiopia's development efforts under GTP I were to be pursued through the following seven strategic pillars: sustain rapid and equitable economic growth; preserve agriculture as a major source of economic growth; create favorable conditions for industry to play a key role in the economy;

formally approved by the Ethiopian Parliament in November 2010 and went immediately into effect.

According to NPC and UNE (2015), Ethiopia has successfully achieved six of the eight MDGs⁴³. Even for the other two lagging MDGs—MDG 3 on ensuring gender equality and empowering women, and MDG 5 on improving maternal health—significant progress has been observed.

According to FDRE (2010), in order to meet the GTP objectives, a total of 690.90 billion Birr was required, out of which, 406.90 billion Birr was to be used to finance capital outlays and the remaining 284.0 billion Birr was to be allocated to finance recurrent expenditures. As to the sources of funding, 499 billion Birr was expected to come from domestic revenue (tax and non-tax revenue) and 116.6 billion Birr was to come from grants from development partners. During the plan period, a total of 75.4 billion Birr budget deficit was to be financed from domestic (50.6 billion Birr) and external (24.4 billion Birr) borrowing.

4.3.2. The Second Growth and Transformation Plan

The Government of Ethiopia is implementing the second phase of its five-year (2015/16–2019/20) Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP II) to transform the economy and achieve lower-middle-income status by 2025. Under GTP II, which started in 2015–16, the government aims to continue investing in physical infrastructure through public investment projects and transform the country into a manufacturing hub. The government has also embarked on the development of industrial parks to enhance the transformation process (FDRE, 2016).

infrastructure development; expand provision and quality of social services; build public institutional capacities and deepen good governance; and promote women, ensure youth empowerment and broaden social inclusion.

⁴³ The six MDG goals that were reported to have been achieved by Ethiopia include: Goal 1- Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; Goal 2- Achieve universal primary education; Goal 4- Reduce child mortality; Goal 6- Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases; Goal 7- Ensure environmental sustainability; and Goal 8- Develop a global partnership for development.

According to FDRE (2016), progress under the first GTP (GTP-I) period was remarkable in that real GDP growth averaged 10.1% per annum during GTP I, a one percentage point shortfall from the base case scenario of 11 percent annual real GDP growth target for the plan period. This growth had contributed to significant poverty reduction where the proportion of the population living below the national poverty line fell from 29.6% in 2010/11 to 23.4 percent by the end of 2014/15. The implementation of GTP I resulted also into significant achievements in infrastructure development, domestic saving and investment, as well as social development and capacity building at all levels. On the other hand, the performance of GTP I reveals that the planned target of structural economic transformation had not been achieved. More precisely, the low share of the manufacturing sector in the economy and the lack of change in the structure of exports stand out as major hurdles of transformation.

The Ethiopian Government emphasized that the national vision, existing national and sectoral policies, strategies and programs, lesson drawn from its implementation of GTP-I, commitment to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and regional and international economic collaboration initiatives were the basis for the formulation the Second Growth and Transformation Plan (FDRE, 2016)⁴⁴.

The overarching objective of GTP II is to sustain the accelerated growth and establish a spring board for economic structural transformation and thereby realizing the national vision of becoming a lower middle-income country by 2025 (FDRE, 2016). To this end, GTP II has set out the following specific objectives:

⁴⁴ The nine strategic pillars of GTP II include: continuing with the accelerated growth of the economic development; aiming at the attainment of the full economic production capacity, fostering the productive forces, increasing efficiency, productivity, quality and competitiveness to sustain growth; transforming the domestic investors into competent actors of development; fostering the development of the construction sector; administering and managing rapid urbanization in the country in order to harness its contribution to the accelerated growth of the economy; expediting the development of human resources and the building of its technologic capacity; building the implementation capacity of the government and increasing the participation of the people in order to create democratic good governance; bringing about the participation and competence of women and youth and ensuring they benefit from the economy; and building climate-resilient green-economy.

- i) Achieve an annual average real GDP growth rate of 11 percent within a stable macroeconomic environment and thereby contribute towards the realization of Ethiopia's vision of becoming a lower middle income country by 2025, while pursuing comprehensive measures towards narrowing the saving-investment gap and bridging the widening trade deficit;
- ii) Develop the domestic engineering and fabrication capacity and improve productivity, quality, and competitiveness of the domestic productive sectors (agriculture and manufacturing industries) to speed up structural transformation;
- iii) Further solidify the on-going public mobilization and organized participation to ensure the public become both owners and beneficiaries from development outcomes; and
- iv) Deepen the hegemony of developmental political economy by strengthening a stable democratic developmental state.

Ethiopia has accepted with strong government commitments and endorsed the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development by the House of People Representatives with full sense of national ownership to implement the 2030 Agenda and its sustainable development goals (SDGs) as an integral part of its national development framework, the second Five Year Growth and Transformation Plan (NPC, 2017). The Ethiopian Parliament approved the SDG-integrated Second Growth & Transformation Plan (GTP II), on 25 December 2015 whose implementation commenced immediately.

The Ethiopian Government identified ten national development priority areas in its second Growth and Transformation Plan. These priority areas of the GTP II are integrated with the SDGs as shown in Annex 3. According to UN (2017), the following factors constitute concrete evidence for national ownership and strong commitment of the Ethiopian Government to effectively implement SDGs: mainstreaming SDGs into GTP II and getting approved by the Council of Ministers and endorsed and ratified by the House of Peoples Representatives (the parliament); inclusive engagement and participation of all actors and stakeholders in the preparation, implementation, follow up and annual progress review of the SDGs-Integrated GTP

II; additional allocation of financial resource to increase the poverty-oriented sectors spending for accelerating the achievement of SDGs through effective mobilization of domestic resources; and effective coordination of SDGs-integrated GTP II implementation both at the federal and regional levels.

According to the FDRE (2016), total government expenditure for GTP II is projected to reach 2.2998 trillion Birr (1.313 trillion Birr for capital expenditure and 0.986 trillion Birr for recurrent expenditure) during the plan period. As to the sources of funding, 1,934 trillion Birr was expected to come from domestic revenue (tax and non-tax revenue) and 76.6 billion Birr was to come from grants from development partners. During the plan period, a total of 324.3 billion Birr budget deficit was to be financed from domestic (198.5 billion Birr) and external (125.8 billion Birr) borrowing.

Chapter Five

5: Alignments between the Continental Development Framework and the National Development Plan: Results of the Empirical Study

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the study. The first section of this chapter analyzes the integration of continental and global development goals with the Ethiopian Second Growth and Transformation Plan development plan, which was developed for the 2015/16–2019/20 period. The second section examines linkages and working relationships between the continental and national levels in implementing Agenda 2063 in Ethiopia and popularization of the Agenda in the country. The third section probes into the monitoring and evaluation process.

5.1. Integration of Continental and Global Development Goals with the National Development Plan

In response to a question about the development narrative of providing African solutions to African problems, officials of the National Planning Commission indicated that Ethiopia has been steering its economic development process through the preparation and implementation of development plans since the mid-1950s. They further noted that under both the Imperial Government and the military regime, development planning followed a top-down approach in that the plans were prepared and implemented without the participation of concerned line ministries and key stakeholders of the major economic sectors. It is also worth noting that though there have been encouraging signs in recent years in terms of involving Regional States, line Ministries and key stakeholders in the preparation of the country's development plans, this process can't be qualified as a real bottom-up approach to development planning. This is precisely because due to limited resources (mainly finance and highly qualified and experienced manpower), the Federal Government plays a primordial role in terms of prioritizing projects and allocating scarce resources.

One key question this research proposed to answer was whether or not the components of the Agenda 2063 have been factored in the national development plan of the country. Though the planning horizons of the African Union's Agenda 2063 First Ten Year Implementation Plan (2014-2023) and Ethiopia's Second Growth and Transformation Plan (2015/16–2019/20) do not

match, the base years for the two plans are back to back in that 2013 was the base year for the FTYIP and 2014/2015 was the base year for GTP II. However, this study revealed that the components of Agenda 2063 were not directly considered in the preparation of Ethiopia's Second Growth and Transformation Plan⁴⁵.

It is important to note that the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted by world leaders at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit held in New York on 25 September 2015⁴⁶. Discussions held with the officials of the National Planning Commission and review of relevant documents revealed that the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia accepted and approved the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda during this summit and integrated the SDGs with the second Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP II).

On the other hand, the African Union's Agenda 2063 was adopted by the by the 24th African Union Assembly of Heads of State and Government on January 30, 2015 and the First Ten Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063 (covering the period 2014 – 2023) was adopted in June 2015. However, the second Growth and Transformation Plan document does not make reference to it. Nor does it indicate clearly that Agendas 2063 aspirations, goals, priority areas and national-level development targets were integrated with GTP II.

One possible explanation for the integration of SDGs in the second Growth and Transformation Plan could be the fact that Ethiopia was involved in the process of preparing the SDGs. As already noted, Ethiopia achieved successfully six of the eight MDG goals. Moreover, the results registered for the remaining two MDGs were also encouraging. On account of its appreciable

⁴⁵ The term component as used here is a generic term and is meant to include the seven aspirations, the 20 goals, 38 priority areas and the 168 different national-level targets of Agenda 2063.

⁴⁶ The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development covers 17 Goals known as the Sustainable Development Goals and 169 targets, designed to instigate action on issues of “critical importance for humanity and the planet”. It encompasses the three core dimensions of sustainable development: economic, social and environmental, and includes areas such as poverty, education, healthcare, sustainable energy, human rights, equality and sustainable consumption patterns.

performances in the MDGs, Ethiopia was selected by the UN as one of the 50 countries tasked with providing data for the preparation of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda. In response, Ethiopia managed to provide the required data having had several review workshops at the federal and regional levels on the performance evaluation of the MDGs in Ethiopia (NPC, 2017). Moreover, Ethiopia was one of the ten African countries selected to form the High Level Committee for the preparation of the ‘Common African Position (CAP) on Post 2015 Development Agenda’⁴⁷.

However, this is not a sufficient reason for not integrating directly the national level targets of Agenda 2063 with GTP II. What is worth noting at this juncture is the fact that in the course of preparing the Ethiopian Second Growth and Transformation Plan, the national planning authorities had knowledge about the Continental Strategic Framework Plan (Agenda 2063) and the First Ten Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063 (covering the period 2014 – 2023) which were adopted by the African Union Assembly of Heads of State and Government in January 2015 and June 2015, respectively. It should also be underlined that it was only on 25 December 2015 that the Ethiopian Parliament approved the Second Growth & Transformation Plan whose implementation commenced immediately. Given this state of affairs, one can safely say that the planning authorities had information about Agenda 2063 to factor it in the national development plan if they so wished. However, this was not done and the final plan approved by the Parliament had integrated only the SDG goals.

An analysis of official documents showed clearly that the national level targets of Agenda 2063 had not been directly integrated in the country’s Second Growth and Transformation Plan. This should call for an explanation as the continental strategic development plan was approved by unanimity by the African Union Member States. This observation is further supported by the fact

⁴⁷ The CAP states that the Post-2015 Development Agenda should “enhance Member States’ ownership of development; generate the required political will to address the unfinished business of the MDGs; and respond to the emerging issues and gaps in implementation, particularly with regard to data collection and monitoring”. It also outlines six key pillars of Africa’s development priorities, which for the most part were reflected in the SDGs and the final version of Agenda 2030.

that while lots of discussions were held and desk research was done to map linkages/commonalities between the GTP II and SDG goals (see Annex 3), no such efforts have been made to outline convergence between GTP II and AU Agenda 2063 goals.

Furthermore, a closer look at the African Union Agenda 2063 First Ten Year Implementation Plan reveals that it consist of elaborate, specific and measureable national level targets (that Member States are expected to achieve) on democracy, good governance, human rights, justice and rule of law, institutions, leadership, participatory development, local Governance, youth empowerment and children’s rights. However, GTP II does not address these important aspects.

It is also important to note that the linkages/commonalities between the AU Agenda 2063 and the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda were identified and presented succinctly in the First Ten Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063 (see Annex 4). The main dimensions where the two Agendas overlap are economic, social and environmental. The Goals, Targets and Priority Areas of Agenda 2063 and the Goals and Targets of Agenda 2030 overlap in broad areas of convergence such as: human development (poverty eradication, education and health), sustainable economic opportunity (transforming economies, infrastructure and rural sector), gender equality and youth empowerment, peaceful and inclusive societies, accountable institutions, justice and environmental sustainability (MIF, 2019)⁴⁸.

A recent MIF (2019) report notes that the 17 SDGs fit neatly into the 20 goals of Agenda 2063. Hence by implementing Agenda 2063 African countries should ipso facto be meeting global obligations under the SDGs⁴⁹. However, a closer look at Agenda 2063 shows that it extends beyond the overlapping goals to include African specific objectives related to cultural identity or

⁴⁸ The degree of convergence between the two Agendas depends on the level of disaggregation (goals, targets, indicators), and of course the nature of their focus. A mapping exercise by the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) has shown that convergence is 100.0% at goal level. Convergence reaches 69.8% at target level and 67.2% at indicator level.

⁴⁹ This view of shared both by the officials of the African Union Commission and the Ethiopian National Planning Commission who underlined that by integrating SDGs in GTP II, Ethiopia is indirectly aligning its plan with Agenda 2063 for there is high degree of convergence between the AU Agenda 2063 and the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda .

continental integration process. More precisely, Agenda 2063 features the following four African specific goals: A United Africa, Federal or Confederate (Goal 8); Continental financial and monetary institutions established and functional (Goal 9); A fully functional and operational African Peace and Security Architecture (Goal 15); and African cultural renaissance is pre-eminent (Goal 16).

It is extremely important to note that discussions held with officials of the Ethiopian National Planning Commission (the focal body responsible for domesticating Agenda 2063 in Ethiopia) and the Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization of the African Union Commission (which is mandated to oversee the implementation of Agenda 2063) revealed that their working relationships and coordination of efforts were very limited while GTP was prepared. This explains partly the reason why the national level targets of Agenda 2063 were not directly incorporated into GTP II. It should, however, be noted that officials of both institutions confirmed that since almost three years they have been working very closely to domesticate the Agenda and ensure that the national level plans and strategies are aligned with it.

5.2. Linkages and Working Relationships between National and Continental Levels in Implementing Agenda 2063

The section draws heavily from the interviews held with the officials of the National Planning Commission and the African Union Commission. It delves into analyzing Ethiopia's efforts towards domesticating and popularizing Africa Union's Agenda 2063 through focal bodies that are responsible for such a task.

As noted earlier, though the national level targets of Agenda 2063 were not directly considered during the preparation and adoption of GTP II, through time, the Ethiopian National Planning Commission, established strong working relationships and close contacts with the Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization of the African Union Commission. Officials of the National Planning Commission underlined that Ethiopia

considered the continental level development agenda (Agenda 2063) as a comprehensive and extremely useful policy document to bring about and speed up the much sought after economic, social and political integration of the continent. They further noted that the harmonious and strong working relationships between the two focal bodies (the National Planning Commission and the SPPMERM) helped to streamline national level targets of Agenda 2063 in the course of implementation of GTP II⁵⁰. Of course, discussions held with officials of the two focal bodies show clearly that there is full buy-in to the Agenda 2063 by the Ethiopian Government and that lots of joint activities have been undertaken to domesticate the Agenda and popularize it in the country.

5.2.1. Awareness Creation

The Agenda 2063 Framework Document underlines that it is to be implemented at the national level, by the proactive involvement of key stakeholders, such as public and private sectors, civil society organizations, the media, think tank groups, professional associations etc. The actions taken to popularize the development roadmap of the continent in the country include the form of awareness creation through media (print and electronic) and organization of workshops. In the popularization process of Agenda 2063, there have been some setbacks that have been observed. One of the major setbacks was the non-translation of the Agenda into the official working language of the country. The Agenda remains to be unavailable in the country's official working language for the wider public which ultimately limits its dissemination and availability to the general public in the country.

Awareness creation on Agenda 2063 remains to be an indispensable factor that needs to be catered to in order for the Agenda to be incorporated into national strategic and action plans, programmes and budgets. According to the National Planning Commission, awareness creation about Agenda 2063 amongst government agencies, private sector actors, the media and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) is still a work in progress and there is still a lot that needs to be

⁵⁰ This remark should be considered with caution in that the original GTP II document did not directly integrate the national level targets of Agenda 2063. Of course, GTP II integrated SDGs which have lots of commonalities and significant level of convergence with Agenda 2063 goals.

done. The officials of the National Planning and Development Commission underlined that although the CSOs are already familiar with Agenda 2063, the private sectors and relevant government agencies still need a more prominent push. Different channels like the media (both print and electronic), conferences, and discussion forums were employed to raise awareness about the Agenda. However, it is difficult to conclude that this was being done to a sufficient degree.

The views expressed by the officials of the National Planning Commission are in complete agreement with that of the African Union's Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization (SPPMERM). More precisely, a senior official at the SPPMERM indicated that the African Union works to popularize the agenda through the National Planning Commission to reach sectorial ministries, representatives of CSOs and other stakeholders. However, the senior official emphasized that the Civil Society Organizations' engagement is not up to the desired standard for his Directorate was not able to conduct its tasks of popularization of the Agenda to CSOs in the country for the forum was not created as and when requested.

With regards to the awareness of Ethiopian government officials about Agenda 2063, the National Planning Commission outlined that government officials do have an appropriate level of understanding about Agenda 2063. In fact, they often attend different orientations and consultation meetings at the national and regional levels about the country's one plan policy framework, the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP II), before preparing their sector's plans and sending it to the National Planning Commission. The National Planning Commission views Agenda 2063 in fusion with GTP II, emphasizing that Agenda 2063 was indirectly integrated into the country's one plan policy framework GTP II (partly because GTP II integrated SDGs which have commonalities with Agenda 2063). Hence, the NPC underlined that Agenda 2063 was still relevant to the government officials. However, this assertion does not square with the reality in that the Second Growth and Transformation Plan (2015/16–2019/20) had not integrated the national level targets set out in Agenda 2063.

Officials of the National Planning Commission further stated that in general relevant government bodies, private sector actors, civil society organizations and other key stakeholders had a fairly good understanding of Agenda 2063. However, the senior officials reported that they had observed that the Agenda seemed to be overshadowed by the United Nation’s Sustainable Development Agenda. Therefore, they opined that unless the African Union works to bring Agenda 2063 to the forefront by an aggressive communication strategy, well-consolidated progress reports, strong enforcement mechanisms (financial aspects) and political support, Agenda 2063 will continue to be overshadowed by the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda.

5.2.2. Domestication of Agenda 2063 and its Implementation in Ethiopia

Efforts to domesticate Agenda 2063 in to the country’s development plan are made through the National Planning Commission that primarily is responsible for national development planning and domestication of continental and international development frameworks such as Agenda 2063 and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in the country. Consequently, pertinent ministries in the country are said to be means of domesticating the Agenda for accelerating the implementation process. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia takes on the lead with its African Union division under its structure which is set up for the purposes of providing support in the implementation of Agenda 2063. The Ministry of Trade also has a prominent role in the domestication process in Ethiopia. With respect to the legal framework for domestication of Agenda 2063, officials of the National Planning Commission reported that the country had not issued specific legislative guidelines to domesticate Agenda 2063.

A senior African Union official’s view on the domestication of Agenda 2063 in Ethiopia is that the Agenda 2063 and its First Ten Year Implementation Plan have been indirectly incorporated into the country’s National Growth and Transformation plan GTP II for the plan integrated the 17 SDGs that fit neatly into the 20 goals of Agenda 2063. The official further noted that the commitment of the Ethiopian Government to facilitate the incorporation of commitments made

at continental level into national policy frameworks and programs was high. He underlined that the various periodic meetings held between the African Union Commission representatives and officials of the National Planning Commission, joint activities carried out to popularize the Agenda and efforts made by the NPC to streamline national level targets of Agenda 2063 in the country's national plan are clear testimonies about the commitment of the Ethiopian Government.

The National Planning Commission's overall take about the progress made so far in domesticating national level targets and implementing Agenda 2063 in Ethiopia was that domestication and alignment of GTP II and Agenda 2063 had not been on a one to one basis (not complete and perfect alignment) and couldn't be expected to be achieved 100%⁵¹. The Commission underlined that this was so because the country has its own national priorities, which were set way ahead of the adoption of Agenda 2063 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in January 2015 and some of these priorities are quite different from the continental level priorities. However, the officials of the National Planning Commission further noted that Ethiopia was in a better position of trying to balance both the country's national priority areas and also the Africa Union's national level targets when compared with other African countries.

The process of cascading Agenda 2063 to Member States by the African Union Commission was evaluated by the NPC as being slow in that individual Member States have their respective priorities that they have to address and they seem to be reluctant to integrate all or most of the national level targets of Agenda 2063. As availability of resources (finance, human resources etc.) is a major constraint for most of the AU Member States, whenever there are competing priorities (national and continental levels), political decision makers would invariably opt for the national level ones for they will have wider and lasting political ramifications.

⁵¹ With regards to the alignment of GTP II with African Union's FTYIP, the National Planning Commission noted though the national level targets of the FTYIP were not factored in the originally approved version of GTP II, in the course of its implementation practical measures have been taken to consider national level targets set out in the FTYIP.

Although Agenda 2063 was proposed to be owned and implemented by African Union Member States with full and active participation of their citizens, the senior official at the National Planning Commission reported that this was far from true in that apart from the various popularization workshops jointly organized with the African Union Commission, the involvement of CSOs, private sector actors and other key stakeholders in the domestication and implementation of the national level targets of Agenda 2063 was quasi-absent.

In this respect, the National Planning Commission noted that the Ethiopian government has been endeavoring to strengthen the engagement of Civil Society Organizations and the private sector actors in the development and implementation of national development plans, through advisory groups and formal consultations. These engagements are rather ad-hoc in nature and non-inclusive in that not all relevant stakeholders have been co-opted in the course of preparing GTP II. It should be stressed that given the fact that CSOs, private sector actors, think tanks, and professional organizations are key stakeholders for the successful implementation of the national development plan, there is a strong need to institutionalize and coordinate their engagement.

According to Agenda 2063 framework document, the Regional Economic Communities will serve as the fulcrum for the implementation at the member states' level. They will adapt the Agenda 2063 results framework to regional peculiarities and facilitate / coordinate the implementation by member states and develop/implement monitoring and evaluation framework at the regional level. Given this situation, the senior official of the NPC was asked whether or not Ethiopia had been receiving the required support from Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in implanting Agenda 2063. The NPC official pointed out that the fact that Ethiopia holds membership in these two RECs proves to be an obstacle as it resulted in divided attention as well as many and conflicting demands coming in from different directions. Therefore, the country has not been receiving the required technical support from the RECs as the latter have not been playing their roles up to standard. This overlapping memberships to RECs has proven to be

inefficient in that it is difficult to figure out who should do what in terms of domesticating and implementing Agenda 2063.

In response to a question about the performance of Ethiopia in implementing Agenda 2063 and streamlining the national level targets, the senior official at the SPPMERM directorate was extremely positive. He emphasized that Ethiopia made immense progress and demonstrated its commitment by working very closely with the African Union Commission, creating an appropriate structure for the domesticating the Agenda and complying with the reporting, monitoring and evaluation requirements.

In fact, the senior official made reference to the First Continental Report on the Implementation of Agenda 2063 (AUC and AUDA-NEPAD, 2020) which came out in January 2020 where Ethiopia was reported to have made notable progress in implementing Agenda 2063 country level goals. The report indicated that the overall performance of Ethiopia on implementation of Agenda 2063 stood at 60 % of the target set for 2019. This score placed Ethiopia third on the list of 31 African Union Member States (next to Rwanda with 73 % and Senegal with 65 % performance score) whose implementation performance scores were provided in the report.

Some of the challenges that the country has been facing in implementing country level targets of Agenda 2063 process as summarized by the SPPMERM included data gap between the African Union's indicators and the Ethiopian government and the Planning Commission's indicators, excessive focus on SDGS rather than giving more focus to Agenda 2063, lack of finance to address some key targets set out in Agenda 2063 and high turnover of senior staff at the National Planning Commission which makes continuity of engagements and work (new rapports need to be established and newly assigned experts need to be briefed and brought on board whenever people with whom they had been working in the past are replaced).

5.2.3. Monitoring and Evaluation

The monitoring and evaluation system plays a critical role in collecting, recording, storing, integrating, and evaluating and tracking performance information in the implementation of Agenda 2063. The NPC reported that it had designed a well-structured and detailed monitoring and evaluation framework for GTP II. Accordingly, detailed annual monitoring and evaluation reports on the implementation of GTP II were prepared and submitted to the National Parliament. It was also reported that there was not a separate monitoring and evaluation report on the implementation of national level targets of Agenda 2063. Rather monitoring and evaluation was done based the policy matrix of GTP II which includes Sustainable Development Goals (and Agenda 2063 indicators indirectly).

However, since almost three years, the African Union Commission and the NPC have been working very closely and the latter has been producing annual progress reports on the implementation of national level targets of Agenda 2063 which were extracted from the GTP II. Towards this end, the AUC and NPC convene two regular meetings per year (in October to evaluate progress and challenges and in April to plan jointly). In fact, the Ethiopian Central Statistical Agency is responsible for the actual monitoring and evaluation process. The NPC reported that the findings of the monitoring and evaluation study have been used to identify bottlenecks, track progress and assess performance of the various ministries and organizations. It was also noted that based on the findings of the study appropriate corrective measures have been taken to ensure that steady progress was made in the implementation of the plan. The senior official of the African Union Commission noted that the annual progress report that the Ethiopian Government submits to the African Union Commission is comprehensive and of a very good quality in that it provides clear, verifiable and timely information on the implementation status of country level targets of Agenda 2063.

A careful analysis of the responses obtained from the focal persons of AUC and NPC indicates that there is still a room for improvement on monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the Agenda in Ethiopia. Though the Agenda 2063 Framework Document and the First Ten Year Implementation Plan have stipulated the establishment of clear structure and mechanisms for

monitoring and evaluation (M & E), such a structure had not been put in place. It is extremely important that M & E activities be strengthened and members of the team meet on more regular basis to monitor progress and take appropriate actions in time.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in collaboration with the RECs and the UN convene annually the Africa Regional Forum on Sustainable Development (ARFSD), which is a high level political forum for following-up and reviewing the implementation progress on both the SDGs and Agenda 2063. The first meeting for 2020 was held in February in Victoria Falls. Moreover, every September a high level political forum, dubbed Africa Week, is organized on the margins of the UN General Assembly in New York. In addition to reviewing and analyzing the progress made by the continent in implementing Agenda 2063 and SDGs, this annual event discusses on new and emerging challenges confronting the continent. Africa Week is organized by the UN Headquarters based Office of the Special Adviser on Africa in close collaboration with its strategic partners: the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, the African Union, the African Union Development Agency-NEPAD and the African Regional Economic Communities.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study attempted primarily to evaluate the level of implementation of the African Union's development roadmap (Agenda 2063) in Ethiopia. It is worth noting that the empirical study was proposed to collect data from governmental ministries and government officials of those relevant ministries that are believed to be closely linked to the priorities of Agenda 2063. However, because of the COVID-19 pandemic at the time of the data collection and the scaling down of activities of governmental organizations, it was not possible to collect data from these organizations. Thus the primary data were collected by interviewing officials of the Ethiopian National Planning Commission and the Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization of the African Union Commission. The primary data were complemented by secondary data extracted from official publications of the Ethiopian Government and the African Union.

The findings of this study revealed that the post-independence African leaders had been striving to attain economic integration and political convergence among the independent nations. Towards this end, they had implemented various initiatives including the Lagos Plan of Action and the Treaty for the African Economic Community (AEC). However, these initiatives had only limited success and failed to bring about the much sought after continental integration. Consequently, based on the lessons learnt over the past 50 years and in a quest to bring about real transformation and economic cooperation and integration on the continent, the African Union Member States adopted Agenda 2063 in January 2015. Agenda 2063 was developed and adopted as a strategic framework for the socioeconomic transformation of the continent over the next 50 years. In fact, Member States were expected to align their development policies and strategies to it. This study also revealed that in addition to the country-level targets that Member States were expected to achieve, Agenda 2063 had identified fourteen continental flagship projects to be given priority to bring about a more robust, structured and lasting economic growth and development as well as promoting African peoples' common identity by celebrating their history and vibrant culture. As at the end of December 2019 the progress made in implementing these flagship projects was reported to be encouraging.

The Agenda 2063 Framework Document stipulates that African Union Member States will draw heavily from Agenda 2063 while preparing their strategic and operational plans. However, the findings of this study show that this is not always true. More precisely, Ethiopia's Second Growth and Transformation Plan (2015/16–2019/20) had not directly integrated the national level targets though the plan was prepared after the official adoption of Agenda 2063 by the Assembly of African Heads of State and Government. Moreover, a closer examination of Ethiopia's GTP II and Africa Union's Agenda 2063 revealed that while the FTYIP has set clear and verifiable targets on democracy, good governance, human rights, justice and rule of law, institutions, leadership, participatory development, local Governance, youth empowerment and children's rights that GTP II does not address at all. The fact that key elements of democratization and empowerment of citizens, that the FTYIP capitalized on are quasi absent in the GTP II, show that Ethiopia as a Member State has not been aligning its plan to the continental strategic development framework as expected. It is important to note that if the continental development framework is to bring about the much sought after social, economic and political integration and serve the interests of the African population, African Union Member States will have to domesticate Agenda 2063, create awareness among key stakeholders about it and align their respective development plans to the country level targets set out in the Agenda,

The study also revealed that though the national level targets of Agenda 2063 were not directly considered during the preparation and adoption of GTP II, through time, the Ethiopian National Planning Commission, established strong working relationships and close contacts with the Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization of the African Union Commission. This was reported to be extremely helpful streamlining national level targets of Agenda 2063 in the course of implementation of GTP II. Available evidence shows that there is now full buy-in to the Agenda 2063 by the Ethiopian Government and that lots of joint activities have been undertaken to domesticate the Agenda and popularize it in the country.

Another interesting finding of this study is the African Union's decision to appoint Heads of State and Government as Champions of key initiatives of the African Union and flagship projects of Agenda 2063. This is in fact an innovative approach and a move in the right direction in that they have taken their responsibilities seriously and demonstrated their unwavering commitment to garner political support from other leaders and increase the visibility of the initiatives and flagship projects.

Based on the findings of this research the following recommendations are proposed for further action:

Agenda 2063 is a very ambitious blue print that the continent developed in view of addressing structural problems of underdevelopment, poverty, political instability, bad governance etc. It is however important to keep focus on few, selected and impactful projects and try to do them well. This is precisely because the achievement of all the goals set out in the Agenda is a logistical nightmare that the continent is not in a position to address at least in the near and medium term;

The plan underlines what AU Member states should do so as to attain its stated goals. However, such an ambitious plan must not be left to Governments alone. In fact, it is extremely important that enabling environment be created and conducive policies be developed to incentivize the participation of private sector actors and other key stakeholders in order to garner their full commitment and contribution to the continent's development;

In order to ensure full ownership of the Agenda and its domestication, it is necessary that awareness on every aspect of the Agenda be raised. Such aspects include awareness on the seven Aspirations, Goals of the Agenda, the Flag Ship Projects, the Ten Year Implementation Plan etc. In this respect, it is imperative that the African Union Commission, African Union Member States, the African Union Development Agency (AUDA-NEPAD), the Regional Economic Communities coordinate their communication strategy and messages to convey well throughout, targeted and timely messages to citizens, civil society organizations, development partners, governmental entities, community and non-governmental organizations, private sector actors and other key stakeholders; and

This study made it clear that there is a need for mapping linkages/commonalities between the AU Agenda 2063 and the national plans of Member States so as to see clearly how far the national level targets of Agenda 2063 are integrated. Moreover, Member States should see to it that the Agenda 2063 Goals are not overshadowed by the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda for there is no complete convergence between them. This is extremely important in that integrating SDGs in national plans does not necessary mean that the national level targets of Agenda 2063 are also incorporated.

References

- Aaron, T. (2017), *State and Economic Development in Africa: The Case of Ethiopia*, Wayne: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Adejumobi, S. A. (2007), *The History of Ethiopia*, The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Akani, E.C. (2019), Mainstreaming the Pan African Ideals in the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063: the Africa We Want, *International Journal of Social Science and Economic Research* 4(2): 1367-1383.
- Amin, S. (1987), A Note on the Concept of Delinking, *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 10(3), 435-444.
- AMU (Arab Maghreb Union) (1989), *Treaty instituting the Arab Maghreb Union (with declaration). Concluded at Marrakesh on 17 February 1989*. Available at: https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/treaties/en/amu/trt_amu.pdf (Accessed on 23 February 2020).
- AU (African Union) (2013), *From the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU): the 50-year Path Towards African Unity*. Available at: <https://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/en/stay-informed/news/organisation-african-unity-oau-african-union-au-50-year-path-towards-african> (Accessed on 18 October 2019).
- AU (African Union) (2015), *Agenda 2063: First Ten Year Implementation, 2014-2023*, African Union Commission, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- AU (African Union) (2019a), *Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want*. Available at: <https://au.int/en/agenda2063/overview> (Accessed on 20 October 2019).
- AU (African Union) (2019b), *50th OAU/AU Anniversary: AUC Deputy Chairperson Erastus Mwencha Commends Organizing Committee*. Available at: <https://au.int/sw/node/26681>, (Accessed on 30 September 2019).
- AUC (African Union Commission) (2015a). *Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want* (popular version). Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

- AUC (African Union Commission) (2015b), *Agenda 2063. The Africa We Want, Framework Document*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- AUC (African Union Commission) (2019), *The Africa We Want: African Agenda 2063, General Briefing Kit*, Presented by the Directorate of Strategic Policy Planning – AUC. Available at: <https://smackslide.com/slide/1-background-the-african-union-xhtdz0>, (Accessed on 30 December 2019).
- AUC and AUDA-NEPAD (The African Union Commission and the African Union Development Agency) (2020), *First Continental Report on the Implementation of Agenda 2063*, Midrand, South Africa.
- Axelrod, R. (1986), An Evolutionary Approach to Norms, *American Political Science Review*, 80(4), 1095–1111.
- Barth, M. (2019), *Regionalism in North Africa: the Arab Maghreb Union in 2019*, Brussels International Center, Policy Report June 2019, Democratic Development Series.
- Belay, K. (2005), *Challenges Facing Agricultural Commodity-dependent African Countries and Suggested Policy Actions*, report prepared for the African Union Commission, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, December 2005.
- Buyoya, P. (2006), Toward a Stronger African Union, *the Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 12(2): 165-175.
- Chirisa, I. E., Mumba, A., & Dirwai, S. O. (2014), A Review of the Evolution and Trajectory of the African Union as an Instrument of Regional Integration, *SpringerPlus*, 3(1), 101-114.
- Darkwa, L. and Attuquayefio, P. (2014), Analysis of Norm Diffusion in the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States , *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 4(2): 11-37.
- Dawson, C. (2007), *A Practical Guide to Research Methods: A User-Friendly Manual for Mastering Research Techniques and Projects*, 3rd Edition, How To Books, Begbroke, Oxford, UK.

- DeGhetto, K., Gray, J.R. and Kiggundu, M.N. (2016), The African Union's Agenda 2063: Aspirations, Challenges, and Opportunities for Management Research, *Africa Journal of Management*, 2(1), 93-116.
- Edo, V.O. and Olanrewaju, M.A. (2012), An Assessment of the Transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU), 1963 - 2007 , *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 12: 41-69.
- Eghweree, C.O. (2014), From O.A.U to A.U: The Politics, Problems, and Prospects of a Continental Union, *Developing Country Studies*, 4(24): 218-228.
- Fagbayibo, B. (2017), Nkrumahism, Agenda 2063, and the Role of Intergovernmental Institutions in Fast-tracking Continental Unity, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 53(4), 629–642.
- FDRE (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia) (2002), *The Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy*. Available at: <https://chilot.me/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/national-security-policy-and-strategy.pdf> (accessed on 11 January 2020).
- FDRE (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia) (2010), *Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP): 2010/2011-2014/2015, (Volume I: Main Text)*, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- FDRE (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia) (2016), *Growth and Transformation plan II (GTP II): 2015/16–2019/20 (Vol. 1: Main Text)*, National Planning Commission, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Finnemore, M. and Sikkink, K. (1998), International Norm Dynamics and Political Change, *International Organization*, 52(4): 887- 917.
- Fioramonti L. (2018), Africa's Development Narratives: From Growth to Wellbeing. In: Oloruntoba S., Falola T. (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of African Politics, Governance and Development*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp: 737-749.
- Girmachew, A. A. (2018), *Introduction to the Norms and Institutions of the African Union* (updated by Ufuoma Lamikanra). Available at:

- https://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/African_Union1.html (Accessed on 20 December 2019).
- Haile Selassie (1963), *Statement of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie to the 1963 African Summit*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Hartzenberg, T. (2011), *Regional Integration in Africa*, Staff Working Paper ERSD-2011-14, World Trade Organization Economic Research and Statistics Division.
- IDS (Institute of Development Studies) (1994), Transitional Period Economic Reform Programme in Ethiopia: 1991-93, *IDS Bulletin*, 25(3), 67–72.
- Koroma, S. , Mosoti, V., Mutai, H., Coulibaly, A. and Iafrate, M. (2008), *Towards an African Common Market for Agricultural Products*, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Trade and Markets Division, Rome, Italy.
- Krasner, S.D. (1982), Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables, *International Organization*, 36(2):185-205.
- Kumssa, A., & Mbeche, I. M. (2004), The Role of Institutions in the Development Process of African Countries, *International Journal of Social Economics*, 31(9), 840–854.
- Lecoutre, D. (2013), Ethiopia and the Creation of the Organization of African Unity. In: Boavida, I. and João Ramos (Eds.), *Ethiopia and the Creation of OAU: a Portuguese Interlude (1959)*, *Exhibition Catalogue*, Centro de Estudos Africanos, CEA-IUL, Lisbon, P.P: 52–58.
- Logan, F. (2015), *Did Structural Adjustment Programmes Assist African Development?* Available at: <https://www.e-ir.info/2015/01/13/did-structural-adjustment-programmes-assist-african-development/> (Accessed on 18 January 2020).
- Lopes, C. (2016), Inching Toward Integration, *Finance & Development*, 53 (2): 18–21.
- Lune, H. and Berg, B. L. (2017), *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*, 9th Edition, Pearson Education Limited, Essex, England.
- Mangeni, F. and Juma, C. (2019), *Emergent Africa: Evolution of Regional Economic Integration*, Terra Alta, Headline Books, Inc.

- Marzouk, B.R. A. (2017), African Union Agenda 2063: Dimensions, Goals, the Ideological Framework and Strategies, *Revue des Sciences Humaines*, 8(1): 6-17.
- Mehari, T. M. (2018), *Ethiopia and the AU: Special Responsibilities of a Host Country*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Ethiopia Office, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
- Mekonnen, M. and Admasu, S. (2019). Economic Policy and Structural Transformation in Ethiopia. In: Fantu, C., Cramer, C. and Arkebe, O. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*, Oxford University Press, P.P: 136–158.
- Mhangara, P., Lamba, A., Mapurisa, W. and Mudau, N. (2019), Towards the Development of Agenda 2063 Geo-Portal to Support Sustainable Development in Africa, *ISPRS International Journal of Geo-Information*, 8(9): Available at: <https://www.mdpi.com/2220-9964/8/9/399/htm> ((Accessed on 2 January 2020).
- MIF (Mo Ibrahim Foundation) (2019), *African Governance Report: Agendas 2063 and 2030: Is Africa on Track?* Available at: https://mo.ibrahim.foundation/sites/default/files/2019-10/African_Governance_Report_2019.pdf (Accessed on 3 February 2020).
- Muigua, K. (2019), Africa's Agenda 2063: What is in it for Kenya? Available at: <http://kmco.co.ke/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Africa's-Agenda-2063-What-is-in-it-for-Kenya-Kariuki-Muigua-28th-June-2019.pdf> (Accessed on 2 December 2019).
- Murithi, T. (2012), Briefing: The African Union at Ten: An appraisal, *African Affairs*, 111(445), 662–669.
- Naudé, W. (1998), On Ethiopia's Economic Transition and Beyond, *African Development Review*, 10(2): 121–142.
- Ndizerai, V. and Muzee, H. (2018), A Critical review of Agenda 2063: Business as usual? *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 12(8): 142-154.
- Ngang, C. C. (2017), Towards a Right-to-development Governance in Africa, *Journal of Human Rights*, 17(1), 107–122.

- NPC (National Planning Commission) (2017), *The 2017 Voluntary National Reviews on SDGs of Ethiopia: Government Commitments, National Ownership and Performance Trends*, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, National Planning Commission, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- NPC & UNE (National Planning Commission and the United Nations in Ethiopia) (2015), *Assessment of Ethiopia's Progress towards the MDGs: Millennium Development Goals Report 2014, Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Nwebo, O. E. (2018), The African Union Agenda 2063 and the Imperative of Democratic Governance, *Law and Development Review*, 11(2), 259–276.
- Nye, J. (2004), *Soft power: The means to success in world politics*, New York, NY: Public Affairs.
- OAU (Organization of African Unity) (1963), *Charter of the Organization of African Unity*. Available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36024.html> (Accessed on 24 November 2019).
- OAU (Organization of African Unity) (1991), *Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community (AEC Treaty)*, 3 June 1991, Abuja, Nigeria.
- OAU (Organization of African Unity) (1999), *The Sirte Declaration*, Adopted during the Fourth Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held in the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, from 8 - 9 September 1999.
- OAU (Organization of African Unity) (2000), *Constitutive Act of the African Union*, Adopted in Lome, Togo, 11 July 2000.
- Ofcansky, T.P. and Berry, L. (Eds.) (1993), *Ethiopia: A Country Study*, Washington, D.C., Federal Research Division, Library of Congress.
- ONCCP (Office of the National Committee for Central Planning) (1984), *Ten-year Perspective Plan: 1984/85-1993/94*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Government.
- Onuora-Oguno, A., Egbewole, W. O., & Kleven, T. E. (Eds.). (2018). *Education Law, Strategic Policy and Sustainable Development in Africa*.

- Population Reference Bureau (2019), 2019 World Population Data Sheet. Available at: <https://www.prb.org/international/geography/africa> (Accessed on 10 April 2020).
- SADEC (Southern African Development Community) (2019), *Southern African Development Community (SADC): Facts & Figures*, Available at: <https://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-facts-figures/> (Accessed on 27 February 2020).
- SPPMERM (Strategic Policy Planning, Monitoring & Evaluation and Resource Mobilization Directorate) (2017), *Progress Report on the Implementation of Agenda 2063 First Ten-Year Implementation Plan, Report Submitted to the Ministerial Committee on the Implementation of Agenda 2063*, African Union Commission, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Tella, O. (2018), *Agenda 2063 and Its Implications for Africa's Soft Power*. *Journal of Black Studies, Journal of Black Studies*, 49(10): 1-17.
- Tesfaye, A. (1992), *An Overview of Ethiopia's Planning Experience*. In: Mekonen, T. (Ed.), *The Ethiopian Economy: Structure, Problems and Policy Issues*, Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, P.P: 251-262.
- The Economist (2011), *Africa Rising: The Hopeful Continent*, The Economist, December 3.
- Thom-Otuya, B.E.N (2014), *Strengthening African Union for African Integration: An African Scholars Perspective*, *African Research Review*, 8(2), 353-365.
- UN (United Nations) (2017), *Ethiopia: Voluntary National Review*, Sustainability Development Goals Knowledge Platform. Available at: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/memberstates/ethiopia> (Accessed on 26 January 2020).
- UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) (2019), *Economic Development in Africa Report 2019: Made in Africa – Rules of Origin for Enhanced Intra-African Trade*, Geneva, United Nations.
- UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) (2020), *UNCTAD STAT*. Available at: <https://unctadstat.unctad.org/wds/TableViewer/tableView.aspx> (Accessed on 15 May 2020).

UNECA (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa) (2019a), *East African community (EAC)*. Available at: <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/eac---east-african-community> (Accessed on 23 February 2020).

UNECA (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa) (2019b), *Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)*, Available at: <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/eccas-economic-community-central-african-states> (Accessed on 25 February 2020).

Williams, G. (2007), Why Structural Adjustment Is Necessary & Why It Doesn't Work, *Review of African Political Economy*, 21 (60), pp.214-225.

World Bank (2020), *PovcalNet (Online Analysis Tool)*, World Bank. Available at: <http://iresearch.worldbank.org/PovcalNet/povDuplicateWB.aspx> (Accessed on 10 May 2020)

Yihdego, Z. (2011), The African Union: Founding Principles, Frameworks and Prospects, *European Law Journal*, 17(5), 568–594.

Personal Interviews

Abdelkreem Y. Ezaldin, Head of Policy Analysis and Research Division at the Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization of the African Union Commission. Date: March 3, 2020, 9:30 AM-11:45 AM. And March 5, 2020, 2:30 PM-4:15 PM.

Endalkachew Sime, Deputy Commissioner, Ethiopian National Planning Commission. Date March 17, 2020, 9:30 AM-10:15 AM.

Solomon Tesfasilassie, Director General, Bureau of Monitoring and Evaluation at the Ethiopian National Planning Commission. Date: March 17, 2020, 10:30 AM-12:35 PM.

Annexes

Annex 1: Agenda 2063 Aspirations, Goals and Priority Areas and their Corresponding SDGs Goals Selected for this Study

No.	Agenda 2063			Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
	Aspiration	Agenda 2063 Goals	Priority Areas	
1	1: A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development	2. Well educated citizens and skills revolution underpinned by science, technology and innovation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and science, technology and innovation (STI) driven skills revolution 	4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
		3. Healthy and well-nourished citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health and nutrition 	3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
2	3: An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law	11. Democratic values, practices, universal principles of human rights, justice and the rule of law entrenched	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democracy and good governance • Human rights, justice and the rule of law 	16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
		12. Capable institutions and transformative leadership in place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutions and leadership • Participatory development and local governance. 	16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
3	6: An Africa, whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children	17. Full gender equality in all spheres of life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women and girls empowerment • Violence and discrimination against women and girls 	5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
		18. Engaged and empowered youth and children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth empowerment and children's rights 	4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

Source: Compiled by the Author based on the information from AU (African Union) (2015), *Agenda 2063: First Ten Year Implementation Plan (2014-2023)*.

Annex 2: Checklists

Checklist 1: The National Planning Commission of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

1. In January 2015, the African Union adopted Agenda 2063 which it says is an endogenous transformation plan that seeks to strategically and competitively reposition the African continent to ensure poverty eradication and equitable people-centric socio-economic and technological transformation.
 - i. Are you familiar with the Agenda 2063 Framework Document?
 - ii. Has the document been translated in the official working language of the country?
 - iii. Have there been efforts made to create awareness among government agencies, private sector actors, the media and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) about Agenda 2063?
 - iv. What is your assessment of the level of understanding by government officials about the Agenda 2063 and the national level targets?
2. Agenda 2063 framework document states that it was prepared through a participatory process. Key groups- the private sector, Think Tanks, Faith Based, the Youth, Women, the Media, the Planners, CSOs, the Diaspora, the RECs had been consulted. Did the Ethiopian Government organize such a participatory process to elicit comments from its citizens during the preparation of Agenda 2063? If yes, explain about the process and participants.
3. The Ten Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063 (which runs 2014-2023) states that each Member State of the African Union shall ensure that the Legislator adopt Agenda 2063 as the blueprint for Africa's development in the next 50 years. Has the Ethiopian Parliament adopted Agenda 2063 as the continental development blueprint? If yes, when?
4. According to the Agenda 2063 Framework Document, African Union Member States are required to integrate Agenda 2063 and the 10 year Implementation Plan into their long, medium and short term plans. Has this been done in Ethiopia? Explain
5. African Union Member States are also expected to align their national vision/plans to Agenda 2063/long/10 year plan perspectives. Has this been done in Ethiopia? If yes, explain how it was done.

6. What are the major policy directives (regional, continental, and global) that you had to consider while preparing your plans?
7. The second Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP II) integrated the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and the linkages/commonalities between the GTP II and SDG goals have been clearly mapped. Has a similar work been done to articulate the convergence between GTP II and AU's Agenda 2063 goals?
8. Has the government issued and enacted policy initiatives and guidelines that aim at domesticating Agenda 2063 into the country's development plan?
9. What practical measures have been taken to factor in national level targets set out in Agenda 2063 Framework Document in the development of the second Growth and Transformation Plan of Ethiopia?
10. The designation of a specific ministry as a focal point for Agenda 2063 implementation is a responsibility vested on individual Member States. Which Ministry has the Ethiopian Government designated as a focal point?
11. Are there periodic fora that bring together the African Union Commission and the national focal point for Agenda 2063? What is the frequency of meetings?
12. Is there any formal forum that brings together your organization and other national stakeholders such as line ministries, Civil Society Organizations, private sector actors etc. to discuss on the implementation of plans and track progress? Does this forum assess the progress made in implementing Agenda 2063?
13. In your opinion, how do you evaluate the process of cascading of Agenda 2063 to Member States by the African Union Commission?
14. In your own opinion, how far has the AU gone in cascading Agenda 2063 to Ethiopia? What has it done so far?
15. The Agenda 2063 Framework Document recognizes the need for monitoring and evaluation systems at country, regional, economic, community, and continental level to track the implementation of the set targets. In this respect, as all other AU Member States, Ethiopia is required to develop policy guidelines on the monitoring and evaluation of Agenda 2063 for use by all national stakeholders. Has this been done? If yes, when and to whom have the guidelines been distributed?

16. Agenda 2063 emphasizes the indispensable role played by Civil Society Organizations and private sector actors in its implementation. As a result, it recommends to strengthen the capacity of institutions entrusted with the task of coordinating and supporting activities of CSOs and private sector actors. Have efforts been made so far in this direction? Explain
17. How do you see the progress made so far in terms of putting in place a monitoring and evaluation system to track the implementation of Agenda 2063 in Ethiopia?
18. Are there periodic fora that bring together the African Union Commission and the national focal point for Agenda 2063 for monitoring and evaluation purposes?
19. African Union Member States are also expected to prepare annual monitoring reports on Agenda 2063 and present them to the national Legislative Organ. Has this been done so far? If yes, how many times and when?
20. The African Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are expected to play a vital role in the implementation of Agenda 2063 through coordination of interests of Member States of individual regions in wider areas such as economic integration, conflict management and resolution, ensuring good governance etc. How do you assess the level of engagement of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Agency in terms of helping Ethiopia domesticate and implement national level targets?
21. The implementation of Agenda 2063 is not the exclusive preserve of the African Union Commission, but a combined effort and synergistic cooperation of African Union Member States, African Union organs, African Regional Economic Communities, private sector actors, civil society organizations, development partners etc. In your opinion, how do you judge the level of awareness of relevant government bodies, private sector actors and civil society organizations about agenda 2063?
22. Agenda 2063 is proposed to be owned and implemented by African Union Member States with full and active participation of their citizens. In your views has that idea been achieved in Ethiopia under this AU framework?
23. One of the rationales behind the development and adoption of Agenda 2063 is the idea of proffering African solutions to African problems. In your views, has that idea been achieved under this AU framework?

24. What is your overall take about the progress made so far in domesticating national level targets and implementing Agenda 2063 in Ethiopia?

Checklist 2: The Directorate of Strategic Planning, Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation and Resource Mobilization (SPPMERM) of the African Union Commission

1. Has the Ethiopian Government organized awareness creation workshop for stakeholders (such as the government, its agencies, Private Sector, the Media and CSOs on Agenda 2063) to popularize Agenda 2063? When? What role have you played in this workshop? What is your evaluation of the success of the workshop?
2. Who do you work with in the Ethiopian Government on Agenda 2063? (Who is the focal body for Agenda 2063 related issues)?
3. Has Agenda 2063 (the national level targets) been domesticated in Ethiopia? Provide details of the process and its outcomes.
4. What is your opinion about the commitment of the Ethiopian Government to facilitate the incorporation of commitments made at continental level into national policy frameworks and programs? Provide details of your assessment.
5. How do you see the capacity of the Ethiopian Government (manpower, financial resources etc.) to implement the national level targets set out in Agenda 2063 Framework Document?
6. Do you hold periodic meetings with the Ethiopian Government focal body to evaluate the progress made in domesticating Agenda 2063 and implementing national level targets? (monitoring and evaluation processes)
7. At the level of the African Union Commission, the Strategic Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation and Resource Mobilization (SPPMERM) Directorate is coordinating Agenda 2063 related activities. What are your specific terms of reference? What have you been doing so far?
8. The eight African Regional Economic Communities are expected to play a vital role in the implementation of Agenda 2063 through coordination of interests of Member States of individual regions in wider areas such as economic integration, conflict management

and resolution, ensuring good governance etc. What is your judgement of the level of engagement and commitment of RECs in the implementation of Agenda 2063 so far?

9. Regional Economic Communities are required to issue regional specific Agenda 2063 implementation guidelines to Member States. Has this been done by the concerned REC and distributed to Member States in the East African Region? Explain
10. Is there a periodic meeting among relevant RECs, Member States and the appropriate African Union body to discuss on the Agenda 2063 implementation progress and challenges in the East African Region? Explain
11. The First Ten Year Implementation Plan envisaged that a study would be conducted on the division of labour between the AUC and the RECs with respect to the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the First Ten Year Plan. Has this study been done? If yes, when? If not, why not?
12. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Agency, the implementing agency of the African Union, has been tasked with fast-tracking the implementation and monitoring of major continental development programs and frameworks, towards the accelerated realization of Agenda 2063. Do you believe that NEPAD has been discharging its responsibilities up to standard? Why or Why not?
13. There is an agreement that the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) in collaboration with the RECs and the UN annually convenes the Africa Regional Forum on Sustainable Development (ARFSD), a multi-stakeholder platform for following-up and reviewing the implementation progress on both the SDGs and Agenda 2063. Has this been done so far? If yes, how many times and when?
14. What is your overall assessment of the implementation of Agenda 2063 in Ethiopia? What do you think are the major successes stories or challenges related to the implementation of Agenda 2063 in Ethiopia?

Annex 3: Integration of Ethiopia’s National Development frameworks (priorities) and the SDGs

No.	Ethiopia’s National Development Priorities	Sustainable Development Goals
1	Agricultural sector development continues to be the major source of an accelerated economic growth and development.	1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12,13, 14, 15,17
2	Bringing about concrete structural transformation in the economy through the development of the manufacturing industry.	1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 17
3	Increasing efficiency and focusing on the productivity, quality and competitiveness of the productive sectors to achieve high economic productivity.	1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17
4	Focusing on the imbalance of demand and supply by accelerating growth and correcting the imbalance in the macro economy.	8,10, 12, 17
5	Implementing the construction industry policy and strategy framework in order to be able to achieve developmental and successful project management.	8, 9, 11, 12, 17
6	Prioritizing urban administration and management to bring about accelerated urbanization and structural change in a manner coping with the accelerated industrialization.	6, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17
7	Prioritizing the transformation of domestic investors.	8, 9, 12, 17
8	Prioritizing the development of human resources supported	3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 17
9	Giving priority to building climate resilient green economy.	2, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17
10	Eliminating rent-seeking behaviors and ensuring the pre	1, 5, 10, 16, 17

Source: NPC (National Planning Commission) (2017), *The 2017 Voluntary National Reviews on SDGs of Ethiopia: Government Commitments, National Ownership and Performance Trends*, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, National Planning Commission, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that were adopted by the world leaders at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit in New York on 25 September 2015⁵²

SDG No.	Description	SDG No.	Description
1	End poverty in all its forms everywhere	10	Reduce inequality within and among countries
2	End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture	11	Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
3	Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	12	Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
4	Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all	13	Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts
5	Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	14	Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development
6	Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all	15	Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss
7	Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all	16	Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
8	Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all	17	Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development
9	Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation		

⁵² The 17 Sustainable Development Goals are defined in a list of 169 SDG Targets. Progress towards these Targets will be tracked by 232 unique Indicators

Annex 4: Convergence of African Union’s Agenda 2063 and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

No.	Agenda 2063		Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
	Agenda 2063 Goals	Priority Areas	
1	A high standard of living, quality of life and well-being for all citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incomes, jobs and decent work • Poverty, inequality and hunger • Social security and protection, including persons with disabilities • Modern, affordable and livable habitats and quality basic services 	1, 2, 8 and 11
2	Well educated citizens and skills revolution underpinned by science, technology and innovation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and science, technology and innovation (STI) driven skills revolution 	4
3	Healthy and well-nourished citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health and nutrition 	3
4	Transformed economies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable and inclusive economic growth • STI driven manufacturing, industrialization and value addition • Economic diversification and resilience 	8 and 9
5	Modern agriculture for increased productivity and production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural productivity and production 	2
6	Blue/ocean economy for accelerated economic growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marine resources and energy • Port operations and marine transport 	14
7	Environmentally sustainable and climate resilient economies and communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biodiversity, conservation and Sustainable natural resource management. • Water security • Climate resilience and natural disasters preparedness 	6,7,13 and 15
8	A United Africa (Federal or Confederate)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frameworks and institutions for a United Africa 	
9	Continental financial and monetary institutions established and functional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial and monetary institution 	
10	World class infrastructure crisscrosses Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communications and infrastructure connectivity 	9

No.	Agenda 2063		Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
	Agenda 2063 Goals	Priority Areas	
11	Democratic values, practices, universal principles of human rights, justice and the rule of law entrenched	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democracy and good governance • Human rights, justice and the rule of law 	16
12	Capable institutions and transformative leadership in place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutions and leadership • Participatory development and local governance. 	16
13	Peace, security and stability is preserved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance and preservation of peace and security 	16
14	A stable and peaceful Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional structure for AU instruments on peace and security • Defense, security and peace 	
15	A fully functional and operational African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fully operational and functional APSA all pillars • Values and ideals of Pan Africanism 	
16	African cultural renaissance is pre-eminent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Values and ideals of Pan Africanism • Cultural values and African Renaissance • Cultural heritage, creative arts and businesses 	
17	Full gender equality in all spheres of life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women and girls empowerment • Violence and discrimination against women and girls 	5
18	Engaged and empowered youth and children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth empowerment and children's rights 	4 and 5
19	Africa as a major partner in global affairs and peaceful coexistence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Africa's place in global affairs • Partnerships 	17
20	Africa takes full responsibility for financing her development Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African capital markets • Fiscal systems and public sector revenue • Development assistance 	10 and 17

Source: AU (African Union) (2019), *Linking Agenda 2063 and the SDGs*, available at: <https://au.int/en/agenda2063/sdgs>

It is important to know that Agenda 2063 extends beyond the overlapping goals, to include the following African-specific goals related to cultural identity or continental integration processes: Goal 8-United Africa (federal or confederate); Goal 9-Continental Financial and Monetary Institutions ; Goal 15- Fully Functional and Operational African Peace and Security Architecture; and Goal 16- African Cultural Renaissance is pre-eminent.