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PAN-AFRICANISM AND
DEVELOPMENT IN THE
TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY:
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF
THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR
AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT
(NEPAD)

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Abstract

In this chapter, we explore the Pan-African influence in the design and implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) framework with the aim of highlighting the place of Pan-Africanism in twenty-first century regional cooperation and development of Africa. The chapter highlights the strong influence of the Pan-African ideals and thoughts of independent Africa's founding leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Sédar Senghor, Sékou Touré and Kambarage Nyerere in the NEPAD framework. The chapter argues that these ideals are as sound today as they were when they were first articulated. However, it identifies teething challenges in the framework's implementation such as the misapplication or misconstruction of the Pan-African ideals underpinning NEPAD. As a way forward, the chapter suggests practical ways of objectively auditing NEPAD's performance by revisiting and recommitting to its Pan-African founding principles. With revitalised Pan-Africanism, the chapter argues that the NEPAD framework can facilitate the rediscovery of the shared aspirations of African peoples to actively participate in the common development and prosperity of Africa.

1   Introduction

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was formed to spearhead what its architects considered the renaissance of Africa.[1] This required addressing Africa's underdevelopment through the promotion of good governance and strengthening of social, economic and political institutions as essential elements of development.[2] A discussion of Africa's attempts at collective socio-economic and political development of which NEPAD is a fundamental component would be insincere and incomplete without revisiting the founding principles of the very idea of a unified approach by the African peoples to their development.[3] The chapter argues

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1   E Maloka 'NEPAD and its critics' (2004) 34 *African Insight* 33.
2   See The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Declaration, Assembly/AHG/Decl 1(XXVII) July 2001, Assembly of African Heads of State and Government, 37th ordinary session).
3   M Muchie 'Pan-Africanism: An idea whose time has come' (2000) 27 *Politikon* 297 304.

that NEPAD's objectives are rooted in the ideals of Pan-Africanism as championed by pioneer African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah.

This chapter therefore analyses the NEPAD framework with the aim of testing it against the Pan-African ideals underpinning its formations. In so doing, the chapter identifies the Pan-African influence in NEPAD's salient features as well as some of the challenges facing NEPAD and then proposes ways through which a rejuvenation of NEPAD's Pan-African ideals can address some of these challenges and strengthen the NEPAD framework. Ultimately, the chapter's argument is that Pan-African ideals are very much relevant to Africa's development today, particularly in the implementation of this ambitious framework.

2   Pan-Africanism and the African development agenda

Pan-Africanism is a complex and multi-dimensional concept[4] that continues to elicit considerable debate. As propagated by one of its greatest proponents Kwame Nkrumah, Pan-Africanism is best understood as an objective to be achieved.[5] Discussing Nkrumah's contribution to Pan-Africanism, Poe analyses the Pan-African debate and attempts a simplified definition as the attempt by African peoples to creatively harness their cultural diversity and innovate around their common challenges for the collective empowerment and development of the African peoples.[6] For the purposes of discussing the NEPAD framework, this chapter adopts the above simplified understanding of Pan-Africanism as the collective attempt by African peoples to learn from their shared historical experiences and struggles, harness their diverse cultures and spur their development in all spheres of life.

There are indeed diverse viewpoints about the specific building blocks of Pan-Africanism.[7] Prominent among these conceptions is Nkrumah's idea of unity of the African peoples as a fundamental prerequisite to promoting development within a continental framework.[8] This is a view shared by another celebrated Pan-Africanist, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who also considered unity and the collective concern by all for the welfare of society as the basis upon which African societies are built and by which they can develop.[9] Even though Nkrumah was also an ardent proponent

4   F Viljoen *International human rights law in Africa* (2012) 152.
5   K Nkrumah *Handbook of reactionary warfare: A guide to the armed phases of African revolution* (1969).
6   DZ Poe *Kwame Nkrumah's contribution to Pan-Africanism: An Afro-centric analysis* (2003) 43-44.
7   T Murithi 'Institutionalising Pan-Africanism: Transforming African Union values and principles into policy and practice' (2007) *Institute for Security Studies Paper* 143 1.
8   GK Osei *12 key speeches of Kwame Nkrumah* (1970) 32.
9   See JK Nyerere *Ujamaa: Essays on socialism* (1968) 1-13.

of the controversial idea of Africa as a united political entity, it is his passionate call for the unity of policy and action to strengthen Africa's progress and development that is the concern of this chapter.[10]

Nkrumah also considered as fundamental aspects economic and industrial development and (re)construction; entrenching democratic ideals; and resistance of any form of contemporary imperialism and foreign oppression or domination.[11] On these, Nkrumah finds support from his mentee Sékou Touré who considered the pillars of the Pan-African movement as including responsible continental level exploitation of Africa's resources for the benefit of Africa's populations; harnessing the potential of the African peoples wherever they may be; and African economic independence.[12] Léopold Sédar Senghor also considered technical and economic co-operation as fundamental to the success and prosperity of Africa and its peoples.[13]

The overall objective of Pan-Africanism can therefore be summarised, at least for the purpose of this chapter, as the endeavour by African peoples to overcome – the geographic barrier of an expansive continent and peoples spread widely across the globe; contemporary effects of historical evils such as slavery, colonialism, apartheid and neo-colonialism; arbitrarily imposed colonial borders; and other natural and social barriers by harnessing positive values rooted in the diverse African cultures in order to achieve socio-economic and political development of the collective. This endeavour is aimed at promoting unity of the African peoples, ensuring economic (and political) integration of Africa, addressing Africa's underdevelopment through a people-centric approach, enhancing the socio-economic and political status of Africans including in democratisation processes, and repositioning Africans to engage equally on the world stage as equal members of the global society.[14]

3 The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the Pan-African influence

Evidence of the influence of Pan-African ideals in post-colonial relations among African states is to be found in the preamble of the governing document of the now-defunct Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which reflected the aspiration of the African peoples to transcend ethnic and

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10   K Nkrumah *Africa must unite* (1963) xvi.
11   Nkrumah (n 10 above) 222; *See also* Nkrumah (n 5 above).
12   S Touré 'A call for revolutionary Pan-Africanism' quoted in Poe (n 6 above) 54.
13   A Ajala *Pan-Africanism: Evolution, progress and prospects* (1974) 35.
14   Murithi (n 7 above) 2; EO Ijeoma 'Re-thinking Pan-Africanism: Dilemmas and efforts towards African integration' (2007) 42 *Journal of Public Administration* 179 188; T Abdul-Raheem 'Introduction: Reclaiming Africa for Africans – Pan-Africanism: 1900 - 1994' in T Abdul-Raheem (ed) *Pan-Africanism: Politics, economy and social change in the twenty-first century* (1996) 22.

national differences and harness and consolidate their human and natural resources for the collective development of the African peoples.[15] The OAU's successor, the African Union (AU) endeavoured to uphold the people-centred approach to continental affairs by prioritising the needs of the African peoples.[16] Indeed the Constitutive Act of the African Union draws its inspiration from the Pan-African aspirations of the OAU's founders.[17] Its specific objectives include achieving continental unity, solidarity and development by harmonising and coordinating the collective effort of the African peoples.[18]

The formation of the AU was deemed by some commentators as an African renaissance and a recommitment by Africa's emerging leaders to spearhead new home-grown and innovative approaches to the continent's challenges.[19] Indeed one of the AU's flagship programmes towards achieving the above objective is the NEPAD, which was launched in 2001 as a consolidation of a number of previous uncoordinated initiatives.[20]

Considered by Hope as Africa's last stand against potential slide into irrelevance,[21] NEPAD's agenda is heavily influenced by Pan-African ideologies and is centred around three broad components: African leaders' commitment to democracy and good governance; identification of preconditions for sustainable development in Africa, priority sectors and development of resource mobilisation strategies; and a follow-up mechanism characterised by an institutional framework. NEPAD's focus according to Tandon is designed to enable Africa take ownership of its development agenda by renegotiating its terms of engagement with development partners and authoritatively positioning itself globally through a literal renaissance.[22] Indeed, the NEPAD is considered fundamental to the recovery Africa's Pan-African drive.[23]

NEPAD's agenda undeniably focuses on areas around which Africa's contemporary challenges revolve. In relation to democracy and good governance, member states are obliged to reflect principles of the rule of law, transparency, participation, accountability, socio-economic

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15   Charter of the Organisation of African Unity (1963) (entered into force 13 September 1963) preamble.
16   SM Makinda & FW Okumu *The African Union: Challenges of globalisation, security and governance* (2008) 36.
17   Constitutive Act of the African Union, OAU Doc CAB/LEG/23.15 (2001) (entered into force 26 May 2001) preamble.
18   Constitutive Act of the AU art 3.
19   O Chukwumerije 'Peer review and the promotion of good governance in Africa' (2006-2007) 32 *North Carolina Journal of International Law and Commercial Regulation* 49 51.
20   The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Declaration, Assembly/ AHG/Decl 1(XXVII) July 2001, Assembly of African Heads of State and Government, 37th ordinary session).
21   KR Hope 'From crisis to renewal: Towards a successful implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development' (2002) 101 *African Affairs* 387 401.
22   Quoted in Maloka (n 1 above) 4.
23   Maloka (n 1 above) 7.

development and human rights in government processes. Governance here entails its traditional political understanding as well as in terms of economic responsiveness and corporate accountability.[24] Proper management of Africa's resources and adherence to proper standards of accountability in investment are therefore also elevated to the same level of importance as political governance. The aim here is to ensure that all government processes are responsive to and have the people as the central focus. This is an affirmation of the Pan-African ideal that considers the people as the main architects, drivers and beneficiaries of their destiny. Further, it is recognition of the complementarity and indivisibility of good governance and economic and social development.

NEPAD appreciates the fact that democracy and good governance can only thrive in an environment of peace and security and vice versa. Instability and insecurity have been linked to other cross-border social challenges such as transnational crimes, forced migration and the proliferation of arms.[25] All these serve to not only threaten the physical survival and development of the African peoples, but also their harmonious co-existence and cooperation. As discussed in the preceding section, the survival and prosperity of the African peoples is a fundamental objective of the Pan-African movement and any threats to it is therefore a threat to the very ideals of Pan-Africanism. Towards this end, NEPAD advocates a Pan-African approach by demanding a collective response through regional mechanisms for early warning, conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. In response, the AU has since designed the umbrella African Peace and Security Architecture platform bringing together various continental and regional mechanisms as well as the African civil society.[26]

NEPAD demands a rethink of Africa's economic policies and partnerships in order to promote efficient use of Africa's natural and human resources for the development of its peoples. This is in reaction to the unfortunate fact that while Africa is richly endowed with natural and human resources, the continent is still characterised by a low human development index[27] partly due to misuse of resources and imbalanced economic engagement with global partners. In response, NEPAD calls upon Africa to redefine its relationship with global partners, turn the tables on exploitative economic partnerships, set its own terms of engagement and liberate itself from dependence on foreign assistance and imbalanced exploitation. The aim is an Africa setting itself as a major global economic

24   Hope (n 21 above) 390-391.
25   As above, 390-393.
26   African Union Peace and Security Council 'African Peace and Security Architecture: African Union's blue print' http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/african-peace-and-security-architecture-apsa-final.pdf (accessed 11 November 2016).
27   See for example United Nations Development Programme 'Human development report 2015: Work for human development' http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2015_human_development_report.pdf (accessed 17 November 2016).

player on its own terms and for the benefit of its peoples without either isolating itself or entrenching its exploitation by other global players.

NEPAD also insists quite strongly on African leadership and ownership of its development agenda in order to holistically address its challenges. This calls for home-grown African solutions derived through a consultative process[28] which places the development agenda in the hands of Africans with their leaders providing the necessary leadership and the vast African human resource providing the intellectual capacity and manpower. This hopes to disabuse the notion of Africa as a recipient of ideas, rather viewing it as peoples and a continent able to innovate and successfully implement its own workable solutions to its problems. Indeed such collective leadership under the NEPAD framework is envisioned in the form of the Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee as well as the Steering Committee. It is a demonstration that Africa can take charge of and responsibility for its destiny in a manner that appreciates the African context while also striving for harmony with the global community of which it is inevitably part.[29]

The responsibility of identifying challenges, formulating and implementing responses is entirely the duty of AU member states which fact makes the framework attractively Pan-African in nature as it advocates for Africa to take the lead in addressing its challenges.[30] Ultimately, the development plans and projects conceived under the NEPAD framework must strive for harmony and synchrony with others not entirely within the framework in order to ensure an integrated and coherent approach to Africa's development.[31] Harmony and leadership are fundamental to the Pan-African ideal of collective response which also forms the bedrock of NEPAD.

Finally, NEPAD called for the creation of an institutional mechanism of follow-up, which was operationalised in the form of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) initiated in 2002 and launched in 2003.[32] This is a voluntary self-monitoring mechanism aimed at enhancing performance of member states and which has since proven to be the most

28   KY Amoako 'Fulfilling Africa's promises: Millennium lecture by KY Amoako' *allAfrica* 17 December 2011 http://allafrica.com/stories/200112180001.html (accessed 20 November 2011).
29   Hope (n 21 above) 397.
30   Chukwumerije (n 19 above) 59.
31   E Baimu 'Human rights in NEPAD and its implications for the African human rights system' (2002) 2 *African Human Rights Law Journal* 301 319.
32   African Union Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance (2002); APRM Base Document AHG/235 (XXXVIII) annex II, July 2002. After eleven years of operating directly under NEPAD structures, the AU Assembly resolved to make APRM an autonomous entity of the African Union (see African Union Assembly of Heads of State and Government decision on the integration of the APRM into the African Union, Assembly/AU/Draft/Dec 527 (XXIII), 26 - 27 June 2014, 23rd ordinary session).

unambiguous, innovative and arguably successful NEPAD initiative.[33] Thabo Mbeki, one of NEPAD's chief architects, summarised the objective of APRM as foreseeing problems and either preventing their occurrence or arresting their spread[34] through a multi-pronged non-adversarial regime of self-monitoring designed to encourage governments to improve their governance score and also provide an avenue for citizens and other stakeholders to judge this performance.[35] Indeed, the APRM design provides a forum for stakeholders such as citizens and civil society to engage in monitoring and follow-up of government actions aimed at addressing challenges identified in the self-evaluation.[36] Significantly, APRM also provides a platform for countries to share experiences on their challenges and to learn from each other on workable solutions[37] through a quasi-interventionist process where leaders through the Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee give and receive positive criticism from one another. This is affirmation that all African states ought to be held to the same Pan-African standards.[38] This design is intended to facilitate brainstorming on common issues and promote intra-African learning and innovation for the betterment of the African peoples through constructive dialogue by way of self-criticism, constructive criticism and collective vigilance and responsibility.

4   A Pan-African critique of NEPAD

The formation of NEPAD was indeed met with significant enthusiasm on the continent and beyond. However, like any other inter-governmental initiative, it also faced and continues to face significant criticism. The criticisms include calling into question the ability of NEPAD to deal with any of the 'unending economic, political, security and cultural crises' facing this continent such as conflict, inequality and the need for 'the general upliftment of the people of Africa', questions central to the achievements of Pan-Africanism.[39] This dim view is supported by a number of separate but interlinked critiques.

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33   Baimu (n 31 above).
34   T Mbeki 'Africa's new realism' *New York Times* 24 June 2002.
35   KR Hope 'Towards good governance and sustainable development: The African Peer Review Mechanism (2005) 18 *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institution* 283 291.
36   Chukwumerije (n 19 above) 53 quotation from a speech by Chris Stals.
37   F Pagani 'Peer review as a tool for co-operation and change: An analysis of an OECD working method' (2002) 11 *African Security Review* 15 21.
38   Ijeoma (n 14 above) 187.
39   E Neuland & D Venter 'NEPAD and the African renaissance: Book review' (2005) 21 *Management Today* 38; Muchie (n 3 above) 301.

In the first place, some commentators consider the initiative as too foreign-influenced or foreign-oriented.[40] Concerns have been raised that the final product reflects the development ideals of the Bretton Woods foundations, with 'neo-liberalism, and classical economics' being the 'framework that informs the NEPAD' instead of the 'more structural continental vision'.[41] One reason for this is the extent to which the Group of Eight most industrialised nations (G8), the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the African Development Bank (ADB) were consulted in the process of setting up NEPAD.[42] Secondly, there is a concern that the West has 'high-jacked' the APRM process, in that it has made participation in the APRM process a precondition for 'development assistance, aid, debt reduction or cancellation', thus impacting on the independence of African states in taking responsibility and deciding freely that they want to participate.[43] This is while the 'rationale for a peer review mechanism in Africa should be that Africa should move away from donor-imposed conditionalities'.[44] Finally, there is the view that because NEPAD insists on political and economic governance, it is just restating the structural adjustment conditionalities of the IMF and World Bank.[45] To the extent to which this criticism is true, the NEPAD framework is not in line with the Pan-African ideals aimed at eradicating this dependency on external, paternalistic assistance and calls for Africans to 'take their destiny into their own hands'.[46]

However, some of this critique is based on a misunderstanding of how NEPAD seeks to realise its commitment to African development. While the emphasis of NEPAD is on finding African solutions to Africa's problems, its success depends on complementary support of all stakeholders, including non-African stakeholders considering that Africa does not exist in a vacuum, but rather as part of an international community.[47] The Pan-African agenda in fact encourages such interaction and partnership between Africa and the rest of the world, emphasising that Africa should set the terms of engagement to be favourable to its peoples instead of subordinating itself to the interests of these partners. This is the approach that NEPAD has taken. However, this vision may to some

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40 I Taylor 'NEPAD and the global political economy: Towards the African century or another false start?' in JO Adésínà *et al* (eds) *Africa and development challenges in the new millennium: The NEPAD debate* (2006) 83; D Olowu 'Regional integration, development, and the African Union agenda: Challenges, gaps and opportunities' (2003) 13 *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems* 211 228.

41 Maloka (n 1 above) 4; *See* Ijeoma (n 14 above) 190; see also SKB Asante 'A partnership of unequal partners' *New African* June 2003.

42 See FT Abioye 'Africa's drive towards self-monitoring: NEPAD's peer review mechanism: Notes and comments' (2005) 30 *South African Yearbook of International Law* 193 194.

43 Abioye (n 42 above) 200.

44 Abioye (n 42 above) 199.

45 Maloka (n 1 above) 5.

46 Murithi (n 7 above)1.

47 A Adedeji 'NEPAD: A view from the African trenches' (2002) quoted in Chukwumerije (n 19 above) 60.

extent have gotten lost in the eagerness to gain support from external partners. There is thus a need for Africa to 'declare its economic independence anew and identify programmes that will bring genuine development to the people who need it the most'.[48]

A second related critique is that NEPAD lacks a proper grassroots history. This is because ordinary African citizens were not adequately consulted, if at all, in the formulation of the framework and even today many ordinary Africans are not aware of the existence of NEPAD.[49] This lack of knowledge potentially impacts on the legitimacy of the NEPAD framework, leading to expounded critique and 'negativity about the NEPAD strategy', but more importantly, it impacts on the success or failure of NEPAD's Pan-Africanist aims.[50] Central to Pan-Africanism and the NEPAD framework is the aspiration of universal freedom from oppression. By not consulting with the people and following a laissez-faire approach, the NEPAD framework is largely oblivious to the needs of the poorest on the continent.[51] This is in contradiction to an idea at the core of Pan-Africanism, namely that of enduring universal freedom from oppression and equality for all people, leaving those that are most vulnerable at the mercy of market factors and multinational corporations through encouraging foreign direct investments. A second Pan-African aspiration is regional integration. By not catering for the needs of 'local private and informal sector entrepreneurs' in the project of regional integration, the African leaders and elite are missing out on the opportunity of increased regional economic integration that their 'demands for better market opportunities across the region' would stimulate.[52]

A third critique is that the NEPAD framework does not draw sufficiently on lessons that can be learnt from the European integration experience and previous African development plans.[53] The European Union would not have been able to exist had there not been sufficient national integration and national level participation.[54] Thus, 'national anchoring is crucial for African unity for the simple reason that quite a number of things that Africans wish Pan-Africanism had achieved – democratisation, social equality and development – are quintessentially national projects or premised on the nation-state'.[55] With regard to lessons to be learnt from previous African development plans, the Lagos Plan of Action was excellently geared towards addressing poverty, self-reliance,

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48   Murithi (n 7 above) 6.
49   Neuland & Venter (n 39 above)38; Taylor (n 40 above) 83; Olowu (n 40 above) 228; Murithi (n 7 above) 6.
50   Neuland & Venter (n 39 above) 38.
51   Maloka (n 1 above) 4.
52   Olowu (n 40 above) 231.
53   As above.
54   Muchie (n 3 above) 232.
55   Ijeoma (n 14 above) 185.

and continental cooperation, good governance, ending wars and eradicating poverty, but at the time was sidelined in favour of the World Bank's Berg Report on Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa which advocated individual state qualification for multilateral loans.[56] The one lesson NEPAD did learn from this is that without international support, African development programmes are set to fail.[57] However, the price Africa paid for this complete reliance on international support may have negative repercussions in terms of the Pan-Africanist ideals.

A fourth critique is the lack of substantial commitment by African leaders to Pan-Africanism and its manifestation in NEPAD. Despite the introduction of the APRM mechanism, NEPAD still only has very weak enforcement mechanisms. There is thus no way to ensure that heads of states are in fact committed to regional integration and without their support, regional integration remains a pipe dream.[58] Thus, while NEPAD in its founding document proclaims to be built on Pan-African ideals and African leaders have an 'emotional commitment to African Unity',[59] the lack of fiscal commitment and participation in the APRM by heads of states paint a different picture. It has even been postulated that 'most of Africa's problems can be resolved by mobilising the political will to address the internal social and political exclusion, authoritarianism, economic mismanagement and the misappropriation of state resources'.[60] The idea of good governance, although provided for in NEPAD, has not yet taken root in most African countries.[61]

It is clear that, to date, 'NEPAD has not been able to achieve many of the strategies mapped out for achieving African integration'.[62] It is only through uniting and presenting a common front that Africa can effectively defend its 'action for progress and development' when faced with foreign powers.[63] NEPAD 'seeks genuine partnership between Africa and its external partners based on mutual accountability and responsibility'.[64] As evident above, it is arguable whether NEPAD has succeeded in this or has just managed to make African counties more vulnerable to exploitation through the imposition of laissez-faire economics. NEPAD thus, has to give more attention to the Pan-African ideals that underlies it. For example, there is a need for NEPAD to become the property of all Africans, and not just African leaders. NEPAD and its implementers should reaffirm its commitments to its Pan-Africanist goals of regional integration, empowering Africans to formulate their own solutions and

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56   Muchie (n 3 above) 302.
57   Abioye (n 42 above) 193.
58   Olowu (n 40 above) 243.
59   Ijeoma (n 14 above) 185.
60   Murithi (n 7 above) 1.
61   Murithi (n 7 above) 7.
62   Ijeoma (n 14 above) 192.
63   Muchie (n 3 above) 298.
64   Abioye (n 42 above) 194.

addressing the marginalisation of Africans on their own continent. Measures should also be put in place to ensure that foreign interests are not allowed to dominate regional interests. The APRM is central in this regard in that it is 'meant to provide higher levels of trust amongst African countries' thereby stimulating regional trade leading to development, as well as 'common positions for negotiation with other regions'.[65]

5   Conclusion

As Hope argues, NEPAD signals the resolve of twenty-first century African leaders to lead the African peoples in claiming their rightful place on the global stage.[66] As aptly articulated by Thabo Mbeki, it was the hope of NEPAD's architects that history would judge NEPAD as having delivered a new reality where Africa is defined by peace, prosperity, democracy and development and not by its past experiences with the cruelty of slavery, colonialism, racism, apartheid and neo-colonialism.[67]

As evidenced by the discussion above, NEPAD's fifteen year existence has been characterised by chequered results. The framework has its successes. Likewise, it has been wounded a few of times, but it is certainly not dead.[68] Consequently, if this ambitious initiative is to be realised, it is incumbent upon African leaders and indeed all Africans to objectively audit NEPAD's performance since its inauguration by revisiting its Pan-African founding principles. This chapter has argued that NEPAD was founded on sound Pan-African principles, which are as noble today as they were when they were advanced by pioneer Pan-African thinkers. The shortcomings and challenges of NEPAD, some of which have been highlighted above, should not be considered as incurable imperfections, but rather as opportunities for learning. This chapter has argued for a revival of the Pan-African spirit that forms the foundation of NEPAD. This is only possible if Africa takes bold and innovative steps to overcome these challenges through a united collective intra-African approach.[69] The revitalisation of Pan-Africanism as advanced by Kwame Nkrumah and his contemporaries is essential for the development of the African continent. The NEPAD framework presents an auspicious opportunity for such

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65   Abioye (n 42 above) 197.
66   Hope (n 21 above) 387.
67   T Mbeki 'New Partnership for Africa's Development and African Union' address to the joint session of both houses of the South African parliament on 31 October 2001 quoted in Hope (n 21 above) 388.
68   The statement is an adaptation from the 28 October 2016 address of the Deputy Chairperson of the South Sudan Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission Augostino Njoroge to the African Union Peace and Security Council where he stated that 'The Peace Agreement may be wounded, but it is still alive' in reference to the August 2015 South Sudan Peace Agreement (see M Birungi 'JMEC advises AU Peace and Security Council to support efforts to implement peace agreement' 29 October 2016 https://unmiss.unmissions.org/jmec-advises-au-peace-and-security-council-support-efforts-implement-peace-agreement (accessed 10 November 2016).
69   Muchie (n 3 above) 303.

revitalisation to enable Africa to rediscover the shared aspirations of its peoples and translate these aspirations to actions geared towards Africa's development.