1. Introduction

Both town and regional planning originated in a reformist and utopian tradition; but their respective development followed different routes (Klosterman, 1978, p.37). Town planning started out as a design-orientated profession, but evolved into a more scientific discipline, on the basis of the idea of the rational comprehensive model. However, it soon became apparent that science is not value-free, and neither is planning. Regional planning, according to Weaver (1984), accepted right from the beginning that different world views influence the world in which planning operates.

In the previous century, both capitalism and socialism claimed to be the best vehicle for reforming the world according to the utopian ideal. The great socialist experiment in Russia failed to deliver utopia; and now the world is left with only one significant paradigm, namely capitalism, to deliver the goods.

Just as Silicon Valley is the role model for innovation with a view to creating jobs (Castells & Hall, 1994), the European Union is the economic model for a group of smaller countries to become bigger role-players in world markets. This paper will deal with the European role model that is being followed for the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). However, this adherence to the European model is based on a misguided assumption. The motivating force in this regard is the search for an ethnic identity and a “place in the sun” for different cultural groups. The practical issues impeding the achievement of the so-called unity that is being pursued in this way, will be investigated. These issues include the lack of infrastructure, bad governance and ideological differences.

In “The Wizard of OZ”, Dorothy and all the other people who wore green spectacles in the Emerald City saw that everything in the city was green. Similarly, each of us has a metaphorical pair of glasses which filters the world around us, separating it into that which we can, and that which we cannot understand (Rapoport, 1977, p.38). For example, I am an Afrikaner from South Africa whose progenitor came from Leeuwarden in Holland and landed in Cape Town in 1668 (Steyn, 2004:193). This means that I view the world through the eyes of a middle-class white Afrikaner male with a Calvinistic education, and a blue-collar background. ¹

2. Some of the forces at work in globalization

In this global world, there are two major conflicting ideologies influencing regionalism, namely that of globalization and that of local values. The former UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, stated:

“Today we are living in the midst of a worldwide revolution. The planet is in the grip of two vast opposing forces: globalization and fragmentation” (Martin & Schuman, 1997, p. 28).

These two forces are driven by different value systems. The first is most likely driven by the objective of maximizing profits, while the latter is probably driven by the love of what is familiar and personal.

The first force, globalization, is in favor of increases in scale, whether in economic or regional terms. The latter force, fragmentation, aims to protect the local. In the world of political science, the English language does not distinguish clearly between the Afrikaans concepts, “volk” and “nasie”. English uses the same word, “nation”, for both terms. The former refers to an ethnic grouping, while the latter denotes a governmental territory. An Afrikaner is a member of a certain “volk”, but is also part of the South African nation. The term “volk”

¹ The Afrikaner community in which I was raised was originally a pre-French-revolution community, with little contact with the outside world except for conflicts with the British over a period of two hundred years. We believe that history is not written by man but by God; and thus, the future generations will continue to seek freedom for the Afrikanders among the diverse peoples of South Africa. In “A narrative of a white Afrikaner and his family: Their experience of colonialism and the so-called post-colonialism in the South African history and planning”, this point of view is spelled out in more detail (Steyn, 2004, p.191-203).
correlates with the Oxford Concise Dictionary’s definition for the word “nation”, namely a community of people of mainly common descent and a common history, language, etc., forming a state or inhabiting a territory. The term “nacie” refers to the total population in a territory or a state, jointly comprising an empire or a colony. In the German and Dutch languages, this distinction is understood. To a certain extent, it correlates with Tonne’s distinction at local level between the “gemeinschaft und gesellschaft” community (Johnson, 1981, p. 164).

Part of the new world order is the creation of bigger economic regions, such as the European Union and NEPAD. On the other hand, fragmentation, along with the search for a national identity in Britain, led to the formation of the Scottish Parliament and the National Assembly of Wales (Allmendinger, 2001; Harris & Thomas, 2001). In Eastern Europe it led to the division of the old USSR into thirteen new states, as well as the breaking up of the old Yugoslavia into different ethnic states, either in terms of ethnic division or religious division.

Although modern man professes not to discriminate on the grounds of race, culture or religion, people are still divided by these differences in practice, as Kipling pointed out in his poem. “The stranger in our midst”, in which he shows that it is those unknown nuances of “being different” which easily lead to contempt, distrust and eventually antagonism. In a situation where everything was going well in an economy, and everybody had a job, the “melting pot of philosophy” of America could work in practice, in a consumer-driven materialistic society.

Peace has been one of the driving forces behind most wars. No wonder, then, that the First World War was once known as “the Great War to End All Wars”. But the peace negotiations after World War I ultimately led to the Second World War. Even today, the unequal distribution of goods and services between people leads to envy and – ultimately – to hatred.

Money and profits comprise another driving force in development - but also bear the seeds of destruction. The Anglo-Boer War (1899 – 1902) was really all about the control of the gold mines in the Transvaal. In order to control and develop South Africa, more than 30 000 houses and farms were demolished by the British in terms of their “scorched-earth” policy, while nearly 27 000 women and children perished in concentration camps – four times the number of soldiers who died in battle on both sides.

The change from Russian communism to global capitalism resulted from the influence of two contradictory trends in the evolution of international trade, namely the growing liberalization of trade, on the one hand; and the development of a variety of projects by the governments of several countries in order to set up a trading block, on the other hand (Castells, 2000(a), p.68).

The most important of these trading blocks is the European Union (EU). Others include the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), MERCOSUR (formed by Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, in close collaboration with Bolivia and Chile), the Asian Pacific Economic Council (APEC) and, since 2002, the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). This study will only focus on the European Union and NEPAD.

3. The development of the European Union

The search for world peace was probably the motivation behind the formation of the League of Nations, after the “Great War to End All Wars” (1914 – 1919). However, the League of Nations did not succeed in creating this peace; and in 1943, Jean Monnet, a member of the Free French government in exile in Algiers, declared:

“There will be no peace in Europe, if the states are reconstituted on the basis of national sovereignty... The countries of Europe are too small to guarantee their peoples the necessary prosperity and social development. The European states must constitute themselves into a federation...”


On a larger scale, the United Nations was formed after World War Two. Instead of establishing world peace, this organization merely created a platform for discussion; but it failed to bridge the development gap between the rich north and the poor south.

On the economic side, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg founded the BENELUX as a custom union in 1947, in order to facilitate a free flow of goods and capital between these states (Zonneveld & D’hondt, 1994, p.34). Subsequently, in 1950, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Robert Schuman, put forward Monnet’s plan to place the production of the raw materials of war, namely coal and steel, under the control of a single common authority, in order thus to contribute to economic recovery. This led to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Company (ECSC) in 1951 by Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg (the Benelux
countries), as well as (West) Germany, France and Italy (Faludi, 2002, p.17). The aim of the ECSC was to pool the steel and coal resources of the member states, in order to prevent another European war. The same member states that through the Treaty of Rome of 1957, tried to form a European Defence Community and a French Political Community; but ultimately succeeded in forming the European Economic Community (EEC), based on freedom of movement of goods, services, capital and people. In 1958 the Benelux Economic Union treaty, which virtually abolished border checks within the Benelux area, was signed (Zonneveld & D’hondt, 1994, p.104).

Membership of the European Union is open to any European country with a stable democratic government, a good human rights record, a properly functioning market economy and sound micro-economic policies (www.eurunion.org/infmfores/euguide/Chapter1.htm). Several enlargements of the Union occurred over the course of time as the following countries obtained membership:

- 1973 - United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark
- 1981 - Greece
- 1986 - Spain and Portugal
- 1990 - East Germany (which was reunited with West Germany, thus increasing the area and population, although not the number of states)
- 1995 - Austria, Sweden and Finland
- 2004 - Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, as well as Slovakia and Slovenia jointly.

The European Union does not have a formal constitution, but was built up on the basis of a series of treaties, regarded as binding commitments by the 25 member states that signed them. Internal agreements between member states of the European Union, as well as agreements between member and non-member states, are in existence, for example the Schengen treaty and the Benelux treaty. The Maastricht treaty, signed in 1992, established the European Union (EU) as a “first pillar”. Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) was designated as a “second-pillar”, while Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) comprised the “third pillar”. The latter two pillars are operated by intergovernmental cooperation.

In 1994 the European Economic Area was founded in order to enable the European Free Trade Countries to participate in a single market without having to join the European Market. A further step towards economic unification was the agreement that was entered into by eleven countries in 1999 to abandon their own currencies. The circulation of Euro notes and coins subsequently commenced in January 2002.

The old European Economic Community was primarily a developed, urbanised and industrialised economic block, whose member states were characterized by a relatively high standard of living and a good infrastructure. The inclusion of the Eastern countries into the European Union expanded the land area by 25% and brought in an additional 75 million citizens. These new Euro-countries are in need of assistance in the upgrading of their infrastructure, as well as with regard to their average income. A large proportion of the budget will have to be spent for this purpose. A positive aspect, however, is the fact that this new larger Europe has a market population approaching 500 million and a combined economy approaching that of the United States of America (www.globalchange.com/futureeurope.htm 5/7/2005).

Furthermore, the EU started off small, as a number of different economic communities and closely allied custom unions. Only after working together for 35 years was closer unity attained in 1992, with the Maastricht treaty.

4. European planning

The European Community’s regional policy is the starting point for all European spatial planning. A spatial policy (with the exception of transport) was not the objective of the original treaty of Rome (Faludi, 2002, p.4). Rather, the aim was the establishment of a “common market” where a barrier-free space for goods, persons, services and capital could be ensured. In order for the European spatial policy to overcome regional disparities four structural funds, the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF), the European Agricultural Fund for Guidance (EAFG) and the Financial Instruments for Fishery Guidance (FIFG) as

---

2 A European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) was established in the early 1970s in order to lessen regional disparities by giving fixed sums to member states to distribute in their regions. The idea was that in this way, it would be possible for decisions to be taken at the lowest level. This is a realistic and feasible approach. The European Union does not have the legal authority or competence to undertake land planning. All land-use planning is conducted on the national and sub-national levels (Goldsmith, 2004, p.13).

3
well as the cohesion fund were established. The latter is “to be used mainly for infrastructure investments and environmental improvements” (Faludi & Waterhout, 2002, p.5). In the period 2000 – 2006 the EU according to Faludi and Waterhout (2000, p.5) will spend 213 billion euro as follows:

- 70% for regions that are lagging behind economically,
- And the rest for (a) social and economic renewal as well as (b) for training and employment.

To understand the development of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), it is necessary to consider European planners’ conceptualization of European space in the 1980s and 1990s. One of the first formulations of a European Planning Concept was the “Blue Banana,” developed by French planners (Sonneveld & D’Londt. 1994, p.75). In a study conducted by Kunzmann and Wagener, commissioned by the Directorate-General XVI (later D.G. Regio) in 1991, it was shown that the underlying image of the Blue Banana as a metaphor for Europe’s competitiveness should rather be replaced with the “European Bunch of Grapes”, which Kunzmann and Wagener regarded as a more cooperative model, expressing the diversity of Europe (Faludi & Waterhout, 2002, p.11). Different planning documents, such as the Europe 2000 (Williams, 1996, p. 99) and Europe 2000+, showed clearly that it was not a “European master-plan” that was needed, but a framework or policy to support the Communities’ spatial planning (Faludi & Waterhout, 2004, p. 62). The drafting of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) took more than ten years to complete. The ESDP was accepted at the Potsdam meeting in May 1999 (Goldsmith, 2004, p. 2). The aims of the ESDP are:

- To encourage sustainability and balanced development across Europe.
- To remove barriers to development created by national boundaries.
- To support the principle of subsidiarity. (Goldsmith. 2004, p.3).

According to the ESDP (European Commission, 1999, p.19-20), three spatial development guidelines for the territory should be followed:

- “Development of a polycentric and balanced urban system and strengthening of the partnership between urban and rural areas. This involves overcoming the outdated dualism between city and countryside.
- Promotion of integrated transport and communication concepts, which support the polycentric development of the EU territory and are an important pre-condition for integration into EMU (European Monetary Union). Parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge should be realized gradually. Regionally adapted solutions must be found for this.
- Development and conservation of the natural and the cultural heritage through wise management. This contributes both to the preservation and deepening of regional identities and the maintenance of the natural and cultural diversity of the regions and cities of the EU in the age of globalisation.”

The policies do not apply to the same extent to all areas in the EU but should respect the distinct cultural, political and economical differences of member states. The core of Europe, which was to be a zone of global economic competitiveness, comprised 20 percent of the territory, with 40% of the inhabitants and 50 percent of the GDP being concentrated in the cities of London, Paris, Milan, Munich and Hamburg. As the ESDP eschews policy maps, no map of this “pentagon” is officially available. However, Faludi and Waterhout (2002, p.155) are of the opinion that Schön illustration the 20-40-50 pentagon shows the policy in plan form.
5. Africa – a short history
The northern portion of Africa was known to the western world, owing to the Egyptian civilisation that began in about 4000 B.C. The Egyptians made contact with the black tribes to the south of Egypt, and influenced the cultural development of the Negro tribes to the south. When the Sahara became drier in the third millennium B.C., the part of Africa to the south of the Sahara became isolated from the Northern civilisation. According to the Greek historian Herodotus, the Phoenicians who were sent by Pharaoh Nego in 604 B.C. to explore the region to the south took three years to sail from the Red Sea around the southern point of Africa, in order to enter Egypt from the Mediterranean Sea (Kapp, P.H. et al., 1992, p. 24). Waites (1999, p.102) describes the situation in Africa before colonialism as follows: “When Europeans began trading with Western Africa, there were clear technological disparities between the communities they encountered and their own: Africans did not possess firearms, wheeled transport or ocean-going vessels, and moreover, they were not literate. But it should not thereby be concluded that the economic structures and technical competences of Europe and Africa were radically different at this time. The lack of quantitative data makes it impossible to “rank” pre-industrial societies on the basis of objective economic criteria. Nevertheless, the descriptive evidence suggests that West Africa was neither static nor particularly “backward”.”

Nearly 2000 years later, in 1498, the Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, sailed round the southernmost point of Africa to India and back (Kapp, P.H. et al., 1992, p. 316). For nearly a hundred years the Portuguese dominated the African coast, with only a refreshment station in Cape Town being founded in 1652 for the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The Portuguese wanted to spread Christianity and commerce, while the VOC was a “multi-national company”, only interested in trade, and not in colonies in Africa. Colonialism was unable to penetrate into Africa in the beginning, owing to parallel mountain ranges, strong tribes, and tropical illness in Central Africa which had a different climate, thus established mainly on the coastal area accept for South Africa. A map showing African colonization in 1870 affirms this (Chamberlain, 1974, p. 45). At the end of the 19th century the “scramble for Africa” between European countries was motivated by raw materials and markets and was an exploitative version of European imperialism (Terreblanche, 2005, p.7). In 1885 the Berlin Treaty – the first of many (Du Boahen, 1985, p. 33 – 34) - was signed by fourteen western countries. The treaty contained principles to be followed when colonising new areas; and by 1914, most of Africa had been divided between
seven countries,\(^3\) namely Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy, Spain and Belgium (Kapp, P.H. (et al.), 1984, p. 228 – 235).\(^4\)

According to Rist (1997, p. 67), the debate as to whether Africa profited from colonialism is still open. Du Boahen (1985, p.782 – 809), in Volume VII of the UNESCO General History of Africa, found that both positive and negative political and social impacts were involved, but that the economic impact comprised “a period of ruthless economic exploitation rather than economic development in Africa”. Colonialism lasted less than a hundred years for most parts of Africa. Africa was a supply region to the so called “mother countries” and no industrialisation or processing of raw materials took place. Most infrastructure that was developed was aimed at getting the minerals or cash crops to the harbours as fast as possible (Du Boahen, 1985, p. 791). No inter-African transport or communication lines were built.\(^5\) No wonder this gave rise to the dependency paradigm in the third world (Fair, 1987, p.23).

The Cold War between Eisenhower and Krushchev led to the premature decolonisation of Africa as well as a very damaging “arms race” (Terreblanche, 2005, p.7). Most African states became independent between 1957 and 1964 but were still dependent for capital, imports and finance from the old colonial powers. (Waites, 1999, p.290). The boundaries of the new African Republics were those of the old colonies. These new leaders in most cases used the old colonial official languages as it was the only “lingua franca” for the different tribes and peoples. Even today a large proportion of Africa’s inhabitants are still living in traditional rural areas.

According to Lee (2003, p.29) African regionalism was more political than economical as it originated from early efforts to liberate the continent from colonial and neo-colonial rule. A Pan-African’s had a vision of collective self-reliance and introverted strategies based on a controlled economy as well as the establishment of sub-continental economic communities (Söderbaum. 2004, p.69). In Africa south of the Sahara these include the South African Customs Union (SACU), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), East African Community (EAC), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Indian Ocean Commission (IOC). Except for Mozambique most of the SADC members belong to more than one organization.

![Figure 2. Overlapping Membership in Regional Economic Organisations](image)


\(^3\) A map of 1914 shows Africa to be totally colonized, except for Liberia and Ethiopia (Chamberlain, 1974, p. 87).

\(^4\) Only Ethiopia and Liberia would remain autonomous. Their per capita income in 2003 were the second and fourth lowest from 190 world nations, being respectively $90 and $130, both down $10 from the previous year. The EU average was $22850, and the Sub-Sahara Africa average was $490 for 2003.

\(^5\) Most maps showing infrastructure in this period tend to show the railroads going directly to the coast.
The cry for freedom, Uhuru, was in many cases not a “nationalistic” cry as most of these so-called freedom fighters used the language of the oppressor as their “lingua franca”. In Southern Africa SWAPO and the ANC are English speaking movement while those in the neighbouring Angola and Mozambique are Portuguese speaking. Most of these movements got moral and economic support from the west and military training and support from the communist countries. In the case of South Africa the movement was split up between a political arm (ANC) in London and a military arm (Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)) in Russia. However Chesterson (1965) in his book “The new unhappy lords” pointed out that neo-colonial forces in the form of mining companies were in some cases the forces behind the thrones of these new leaders.6

In Africa the new leaders of independent states wanted to negotiate for better economic terms and to be more effectively against the developed world. (Lee. 2003, p.29). This was discussed in 1958 during a ALL-AFRICAN People’s Conference in Accra, Ghana and in subsequent African meetings. On 25th May 1963 the organization for African Unity (OAU) was created. The organization for African Union (OAU) had a rule that “there would be no forceful changing of post-colonial boundaries. (Buzan & Weaver. 2003, p.222). This was a recipe for conflict as old colonies did not take control, ethnic or religious boundaries into consideration at their formation.

In the 1980’s the West adopted neo-liberalism as the solution to guide the world economy (Taylor, 1998, p.130). This was spearheaded by organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The fall of communism and the opening up of the former East Block Countries had a negative effect on Africa. Development aid was halved between 1989 and 1990 (from US $ 24.4 billion to $ 12.2 billion) while Africa received only one per cent of global investments (Olivier. 2003, p.821). According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTD) (2004, p.2) the number of least developed countries have increased from 24 in 1971 to 50 in 2004. They accounted in 2002 for 11% of the world’s population and had an average gross national income per capita of $ 438 per year and only 0.6% of the world’s GDP. Africa has 32 of the current 50 least developed countries,7 with their per capita gross national product GDP at only $ 297 (UNCTD, 2004, p.2 & 18).

Two fields of planning are growing namely planning for the environment and planning for the poor. The United Nations set a target that 0.7% of the annual GDP of each economically advanced country should be allocated for Official Development Assistance (ODA) (Hancock. 1989, p.44). Hancock (1989, p.188) found that “aid” according to the dictionary is synonym for “help” but in Africa it had the opposite effect. Africa lost its self-sufficiency in food production and became a continent-sized beggar as its per-capita food production fell in every single year since 1962 (Hancock, 1989, p.191).

Van Niekerk (1996, p.72) describes the document prepared by African members for the 1965 “World Summit for Social Development” in Denmark as an analyses of the bad conditions in Africa. Their only hope was to show how bad the situations are in Africa and hoped that the West will pity them and write of their debts. For sub-Saharan countries the total foreign debt rose between 1980-2000 from $ 60 billion to $206 billion and the ratio of debt to the GDP rose from 23% to 66% (Bond. 2003, p.2).

6 NEPAD – a new plan
At the end of the 1990s when the cold war was something of the past and the West’s guild complex was nearly used up, Africa issued fresh demands. At the UN conference against racism in Durban 2001 Africa’s new demands to the West included explicit apologies for the slave trade and colonialism and reparations such as debt cancellation and health care funding (McGeal. 2001, p.1). At the 2000 Okaiva (Japan) meeting the G8 leaders demanded from the three African president Bouteflika, Obasanjo and Mbeke that “a workable plan as a basis of the compact” must be drawn up (Adésiná, 2004, p.133). Mbeki follow this up with his vision of an “African Renaissance” as an intellectual and cultural project (Oliver, 2003 p.79) and the Millennium African Recovery Programme (MAP) as the economic approach (Adésiná, 2004 p133). The OMEGA Plan of Senegal’s president Wade was used to focus on regional infra-structure and education (De Waal. 2002, p.466). According to Bond (2003, p.1) the IMF and the World Bank influenced the formation of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD).

In a book by an E.R. Investigative Team, 1993, “Tiny Rowland – the ugly face of neo-colonialism in Africa” shows the role that the Lonrho-company played in the politics of several African states. According to Dan Roode (2004) the South African mining groups Anglo American and De Beers made an arrangement with the ANC in South Africa that the mining groups will help them to get control of South Africa if they were allowed to relocate in London. That was one of their first moves after the ANC got into power.

7 Two of these are Liberia and Ethiopia which were never colonies.

Unraveling the relation between NEPAD and the African Union (AU) is not that easy as the NEPAD website do not provide all the answers to the power play. De Waal (2002, p.463) came to the same conclusion. The following are from the NEPAD WEB-site (www.nepad.org/2005/files/inbrief.php) namely:

- NEPAD is a VISION and STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK FOR AFRICA’S RENEWAL.
- The objective of NEPAD are:
  (a) to eradicate poverty
  (b) to place African countries on a path of sustainable growth and development
  (c) to halt marginalisation of Africa and to integrate it into the global economy
  (d) to accelerate the empowerment of woman (NEPAD, 2005, p.1)
- That NEPAD is a programme of the African Union with the following structure:
  (a) a steering committee (meets once a month) that oversees projects and programme development and reports to
  (b) the Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) who
  (c) are responsible to the Assembly of the Africa Union

The official governance structure could be seen in Figure 3.

**Figure 3. NEPAD governance structure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OAU / AFRICAN UNION (AU)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEADS OF STATE IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Heads of State of 15 Countries)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meets once every four months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairman: Pres. Obasanjo (Nigeria)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice-chairmen: Pres. Bouteflika (Algeria), Pres. Wade (Senegal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Africa: Cameroon, Gabon, São Tome and Príncipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Africa: Ethiopia, Mauritius, Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Africa: Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Africa: Botswana, Mozambique, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Africa: Mali, Nigeria, Senegal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEERING COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5 Founding Countries)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meets once every month)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairman: Prof. Wiseman Nkuhlu (South Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECRETARIAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5 people based in Pretoria, South Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy head: Prof. Wiseman Nkuhlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three work streams: Project / programme and policy coordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration and secretarial services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications and Marketing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hokwana (2004 p.32) describe the situation as follows: “The ‘new partnership’ presumes to be a common commitment by African countries and donors to a set of development outcomes defined by Africa (De Waal, 2002, p.466). The aim is to achieve an overall annual growth of 7% in order to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) of halving poverty by 2015. How exactly NEPAD will slot in with the structures and procedures of the African Union is to a certain extend unclear (Schlemmer, 2004, p.78; Longwe, 2002, p.3; De Waal, 2002, p.468). Hokwana described the situation as follows: “The AU foresees that NEPAD will become the economic arm of the AU and that the AU’s structures will be devised in such a manner that they complement NEPAD’s long-term objectives. Thus it is envisaged that the autonomous NEPAD secretariat in close co-operation with the economic communities will become the main driving force and implementing agency of the AU’s economic system (African Central Bank, African Monetary Fund, African Economic Union).”

The African Union consists of 53 members out of a possible 58 countries. In 1999 the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation on African Unity (OAU) issued the first of four declarations which would eventually led to the formation of the African Union (DFA, 2005, p.2). It is dedicated amongst others to promote economic, social and political integration in Africa, and a strong commitment to democracy. It has a political correct vision and a series of objectives that is worthy to follow (DFA, 2005, p.2-3). Unfortunately Africa disregards its own rules (Schlemmer, 2004, p.78). Although 53 members signed the protocol only 24 agreed to be part of the peer review process by a panel of Eminent Persons (Hokwana, 2004, p.40) which is a “voluntary appraisal of governments’ economic and political management performance by fellow Africans” (Kajee, 2005, p.1). The African Union has an executive council and a commission with staff to run its working as well as the Pan-African Parliament (DFA, 2005, p.3).

The Pan-African Parliament is an organ within the African Union to “ensure the full participation of African peoples in governance, development and economic integration of the continent” (DFA, 2005, p.3). For the first five years it will only have consultative advisory powers and all resolutions have to be confirmed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Africa Union (SABC News, 2004, p.1). Each member state picks five representatives from its own parliament but this leads to the first problem as Libya has no national assembly while Uganda has a one-party state (Kajee, 2005).

Once again it is necessary to stress that the African Unions assembly’s and the NEPAD summit are both headed by Heads of State and Government.

7. The difference between the EU and NEPAD

On the surface the two bodies might look alike and their objectives and principles might not be too different. Both are following a neo-liberal economic policy which is market dominated. But this is as far as the comparisons go.

7.1. The effect of Globalization

In the European Union the drive to open up markets and take away borders is to stimulate growth and development. Europe even with the new East Block enlargement is a developed region, with a high level of technology and human resources, with mostly good infra-structure, good economic and political governance with a aging population and negative population growth. You cannot become a member if you do not meet the standards. The per capita GDP for 2003 in the European Union was $22 580 while the same figure for Sub-Saharan Africa was $490. The dependency rate in Africa is much higher where nearly 50% of the population is under the age of 15, compared tot that of 20% in developed countries (Van Niekerk, 2004, p.10).

The European Union has profited through globalization as it was industrialized long ago and exported high value goods to the rest of the world. Africa on the other hand had to export raw materials of which the prices are constantly going down. Between 1975 and 1980 the price for copper per ton went down from $17 800 to $9 500, that of cocoa from $23 400 to $10 200 and coffee from $22 800 to $13 300 (Hokwane, 2004 pp.56). Africa’s share in world export went down from 8 per cent fifty years ago to just 2 per cent, leaving millions of Africans and their families worse than in the 1960’s (Olivier, 2002 p.826).

---

8 Some sources talk about 54 and others about 58 countries and territories.
South Africa constitute 29 per cent of All-Africa’s GDP and 85 per cent of Sub-Saharan GDP with South Africa excluded (Thomas and Coetzees [s.a.] p.17). Between 1994 and 1999 South African Companies invested $1.6 billion more abroad than what came into the country (Carmody, 2002 p.264). South African’s only large trans national companies who ever appeared on the Fortune 500 listing namely Anglo American Corporation, Liberty Life, S.A.Breweries and Old Mutual secured primary listing on the London Stock Exchange (Lesufi, 2004, p.818).

In Europe there is not a single country dominating the rest but in Africa South Africa is in an economic dominating position. During the period 1996 -1998 South Africa’s total investment in the Southern African Development Community has increased from 11 per cent to 40 per cent of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (Millar, 2004 p.14). According to Lefusi, (2004, p.822) South Africa capital takes the soft options where “the bulk of new activity in Africa has been through mergers, take-overs and joint ventures.”

Globalisation thus had a very negative impact on the economy of Africa as playing fields are not equal. African countries needs entrance to the markets of the developed world but they have protectionist barriers particularly in agriculture. Accordingly to Owusu (2003 p.1688) the European Union, the United States and Japan spend $1Billion a day to protect their farmers. This is crippling Africa from exporting itself out of poverty.

7.2. The effect of fragmentation
The structure of the European Union makes it possible for smaller ethnic groups which are located in more than one country to have a voice and work together in a European Parliament. The African Union and it’s structures are not directly voted for and of the 53 members states are represented only ten held free and democratic elections between 1990 and 1998 (Hokwane, 2004 pp.91-92). No civil society input was asked or have been consulted by the politicians or technocrats constructing NEPAD (Bond, 2001 p.1).

The old colonial boundaries did not take the numerous ethnic groupings into consideration. This led to numerous civil wars, military coup d’etats and authoritarian states (Hokwane, 2004 pp.50-51). As an example Tanzania alone has more than 150 ethnic communities or tribes (Terreblanche, 2005 p.5).

The only way this fragmentation has been dealt with is in the Constitutive Act of the AU in Article 3(b) which states that the AU will defend the sovereignty of its member states, in Article 4(g) that it shall not intervene in the affairs of another but in Article 4(h) that it shall intervene in cases of human rights abuses (Hokwane, 2004 p.79).

7.3. Governance
In the European Union sound governance is not an issue as a country can not become a member if it does not comply with the standards set for a democracy. Africa has a history of bad governance and NEPAD’s recognition that it has to be addressed is noteworthy. Three dimensions of governance is emphasized namely economic and corporative; political; and peace and security (De Waal, 2002 p.471). The African Peer Review mechanism holds the potential to help Africa solve its problems (Hokwane, 2004 p.39), Bond (2003 p.2) think it is a naive hope that governance will come from the document while nothing is done to election abuses in Nigeria and Zimbabwe. Furthermore only 24 of the 53 members have signed the peer review agreement. Unfortunately you can become a member of the African Union and be in the Pan-African Parliament without agreeing to those peer reviews. This Peer Review mechanism might also be the Achilles heel of the African Union. The conduct of NEPAD in this regard could influence its future credibility.

On economic governance Terreblanche (2005, p.15) states that “roughly 80 cents of every dollar that borrowed by African countries flowed back as capital flight in the same year” and that it is “estimated that Africa’s ruling elite have private assets equivalent to 145 % of the public debt these countries owed”. Klingaard (1994: 492) in an article named “Bribes, tribes and markets that fail” comes to the conclusion that “you can have both growth and redistribution, both efficiency and justice, by making government freer from corruption, reducing institutionalised discrimination that is born of ignorance and imperfect information, and improving the many markets that impinge upon the poor”. Schlemmer (2004, pp.86-87) also refers to Africa and specifically South Africa handling of the HIV/AIDS question as well the promise of delivery and a better life for all that it will backfire if it never becomes a reality. After 50 years of self-governance the situation in Africa has deteriorated and NEPAD will have to prove that “underdevelopment” is not per se associated to “corruption, ethnic discrimination and exploitation”.

7.4. Barriers to be crossed
The scale of the African continent and its diversity is mind boggling. From its most southern point to the north is more than 8000 km and from east to west nearly 7500 km.

Africa can be dissected in different ways but for planning purposes we can stick to main categories, namely:

Physical barriers for planning

The biggest obstacle dividing Africa is the Sahara dessert stretching right across Africa from east to west and is approximately 1000km deep. Very few people are located on the adjacent low rainfall areas. The next physical obstacle would be the Zaire-delta with the tropical swamp forest and the network of rivers and floodplains. To cross it would be expensive and maintenance cost for roads would be very high.

Africa has a degree of infrastructure that started in colonial times with the building of railroads. These were mostly building between 1890 and 1950. Good roads and other infrastructure are also scarce and without good and reliable infrastructure there could be no trade.

“Africa’s roads and railway lines, ports and power grids are neither adequate nor reliable. Outside of Southern Africa and Mauritius, much of the continent’s infrastructure is crumbling or nonexistent. Consider the Democratic Republic of the Congo. You could fit France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Spain and Britain inside it, and the country is packed with timber and minerals, yet it has only a few thousand kilometres of paved road and 10,000 fixed telephone lines, and produces about the same amount of power as Albania. In other war torn countries, such as Somalia and Sierra Leone, public buildings have been destroyed by years of fighting. Corruption and mismanagement have left public utilities in places such as Cameroon and Nigeria run down and inefficient.” (Robinson, 2005:24)

The idea of trans-African highways consisting of 9 corridors with a total length of 59100km was formulated in the early 1970’s (SWECO, 2003: p.7). To get the money to build these roads might be the easier part. The maintenance and the bureaucracy administrating them might be far more costly. Going from Bloemfontein to Zimbabwe you might wait seven hours at a border post to get clearance to bribe your way past corrupt traffic cops and other officials. The World Bank estimates a container from Baltimore to Tanzania cost about $1000, but from Tanzania to the neighbouring Baltimore it might cost $10 000

Language barriers

Over 750 languages are spoken on this continent but for planning purposes we can assume that English, French, Portuguese and Arabic will be used. Languages differences give rise to ethnic differences and in Africa where tribes has been suppressed it gives rise to civil wars and struggle for freedom. Wars give rise to famine destruction of infrastructure. In several states minority tribes grabbed the power and rule as dictators. A good example is Kabil in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) who with his Tutsi-tribe dominate the official state positions although they constitute only one million of the total population of 43 million.

The no-vote in French and the Netherlands in referendums on a new constitution for the European Union shows that countries and people will not so easily give away their sovereignty. The European Union in its structure leave tolerance for a Europe of regions as the Basque – people in both France and Spain could get representatives in the European Union and could there work together. But the future of these small nations is not secure even in Europe. Western Europe is presently experiencing an English insurgence brought with globalization in to the academic world. Every University wants to be an international player; thus graduate courses are offered in English. This will help you to keep your number of students high as the birth rate 20 years ago dropped so much that universities either had to globalize or reduce size.

If the first world is so overtaken by English, what about the third world? In Africa, South of the Sahara Afrikaans

is one of the few languages who developed a University level vocabulary and anything from Nuclear physics to philosophy could be taught at University level. We might end up in South Africa where most state run schools had become English medium schools with 50% of Afrikaans schools being changed into English medium schools. In urban areas most of the other nine official languages is not used as a teaching medium and we might end up with the next generation speaking poor English.

Will the poor people in Africa tolerate it to loose their natural resources t the first world, and their children to the Anglo-American world? The Afrikaners were the first nation in Africa to throw of the yoke of colonialism in

---

9 The language developed by the present three million Afrikaners.
Africa. They might also be the first to people to fight for the local rights. This might be the beginning of a free Africa on cultural rights, not on the boundaries of the old colonial powers.

Religious Barriers
All along the southern edges of the Sahara where the Muslims and non-Muslims meet there is conflict. Some of the governments in North Africa like Egypt are opposed by Islamic Fundamentalist and this leads to political friction and conflict.

Religion could also be used by politics as a tool to get foreign help. In 1977 Bokassa from Nieu-Guinneu declared himself an emperor and spent 20 million dollar on the crowning ceremony given to him by the French. Afterwards he was twice converted to Islam to get money from people like Mohammed Gaddafi, only to get back to Christianity again (Van Niekerk, 1996: p.93). Being an anti-communist at that stage helped that the west ignored what happened in that state.

In South Africa you have the conflict between the traditionalists and the modernists. This is not only a matter of politics or democracy. The traditional leaders were “elected” by the ancestors and chiefs and king are thus tribe leaders but in a sense religious leaders as well. Control over tribal land or which is the power of the chiefs is even in South Africa a part of conflict. The democratic elected government wants to do away with tribal land and tribal control over it. Land is not an economical commodity which you can buy and sell – it is something that belongs to the spirits of your ancestors but also to the generations to come. No one person could ever possess it and the western world of economic thinking does not fit into this hypothesis.

8. Conclusion
The African continent might look like one big unit but it is not. Several formal and functional regions could be delineated within the African continent. Furthermore using Glasson’s (1978 p.39) definition for a planning region several planning regions each “an area which is large enough to enable substantial changes in distribution of population and employment to take place within its boundaries, yet which is small enough for its planning problems to be seen as a whole” could also be delineated in Africa. As a globalistic dream Africa as one big planning unit fits in with Doxiades’s (1968: p.377) big dreams of a world settlement, Ecumenopolis, but this is ignoring the realities of Africa.

Trying to fit the European model into Africa is like fitting a Ford V8 engine into an old Volkswagen Beetle. There is just to many things that do not fit, leave alone the size of the problem.

The European Union grew from a series of small economic unions into a larger body. It was economically driven to expand the own market but also to be competitive in terms of world markets. The African Union is politically driven and is still has to proof that it can be economical viable in a larger world. Most of the countries and companies will most probably be interested in this venture as far as they can benefit. A large proportion of the money spend on foreign aid just returns to the giver country.

Africa will have to develop its own model and will have to make it work. In the western world development is seen as a linear process forward and upwards. In Africa the cosmos and development is a circle which connects the past with the present, the present with the future and the living world with the dead. (Van Niekerk 1996: pp. 8-10) This belief that things will change, just as seasons come and go, helps the African to tolerate hardship, as a better life will come but it could also work as a fatalistic accept ion of the present without doing anything to change it.
References


Doxiades, C.A. 1968 Ekistics, Oxford University Press, New York


Fair, T. J. D. South Africa: spatial frameworks for development. Juta & Co. Ltd., Cape Town.


