



## *African Development, African Transformation*

Africa is home to many of the world's fastest-growing economies. This powerful book traces new continental institutions for development and their capacity to affect economic growth, regional integration, and international cooperation in Africa. It also assesses Africa's ability to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals and the African Union's Agenda 2063. As the continent's most ambitious development initiative since independence, the African Union Development Agency (or AUDA, previously known as the New Partnership for Africa's Development or NEPAD) provides an excellent case study for examining how an African-based, continent-wide development institution emerged. Inspired by the ideas of Pan-Africanism and the African renaissance, NEPAD was created to bring Africa into the globalizing world, to close the gap between developing and developed countries, to enhance economic growth, and to eradicate poverty. Almost two decades after NEPAD's creation and given its transformation into AUDA, this brilliant book examines AUDA's role in achieving these goals.

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Global Leader for “finding innovative solutions to some of the world’s most pressing issues”, as an Archbishop Desmond Tutu Fellow who “drives the transformation of Africa,” and was named one of the “Top 10 Outstanding Young Persons in the World.” He has authored numerous key publications, including *Innovating Development Strategies in Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2017). His work has appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Harvard International Review*.

## *Advance Praise for African Development, African Transformation*

“Professor Signé has made an outstanding contribution to the understanding of the evolution of inter-state cooperation and regional economic integration and strategies in Africa, through the lens of studying new pan-African institutions on the continent. He provides a unique insight into the African Union Development Agency, and also covers critical initiatives such as the Sustainable Development Goals, Agenda 2063 (a shared strategic framework for inclusive growth and sustainable development), the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa, and the newly created African Continental Free Trade Area. This enlightening book is written with a deep knowledge of economics, international relations, and political science put at the service of Africa at a critical time in our history.”

— H. E. Quartey Thomas Kwesi, Deputy Chairperson of the African Union Commission

“Professor Landry Signé, a well renown global political economist, has applied fresh and thought-provoking perspectives to some of Africa’s most pressing development challenges, the emergence of regional institutions and their ability to positively shape (or not) international cooperation, intra-regional integration, and Africa’s economic transformation. His book has a remarkable richness of details, including on the African Union Development Agency, and is a must-read for global development scholars and leaders from African governments, intergovernmental organizations, and cooperation partners.”

— Dr. Vera Songwe, United Nations Under-Secretary-General and Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

“In this illuminating book, Professor Signé brings his unique and prominent African voice to enrich the debates on development, and Africa’s transformation, challenging the existing narrative. He is definitively one of the world’s most authoritative development and African voices. I commend the book to experts and practitioners interested in global development and Africa.”

— Dr. Donald Kaberuka, African Union High Representative on Financing and the Peace Fund, and former President of the African Development Bank

“Professor Landry Signé, in this strong contribution on new institutions on the African continent and their impact on economic growth, regional integration, and development, has shown why he is one of the intellectuals to watch on the continent and beyond. This book shows why it matters for Africa to build continent-wide institutions and use them to drive the development of physical and human infrastructure so needed on the continent. A welcome contribution to the discourse on how to build the new Africa.”

— Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, Chair of the Board of Gavi; former Nigerian Finance Minister; former Managing Director, World Bank Group; and Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the Center for Global Development

“This incredible book combines a deep expertise in global development with an impressive perspective on Africa’s economic development, continental integration, and interstate cooperation for development. This important analysis by Professor Landry Signé seeks to advance knowledge on Africa in the global sphere, through drawing on his close links with the continent and his understanding of the people of Africa. Professor Signé challenges and reconciles perspectives often considered contradictory, such as the ones from Dambissa Moyo, Paul Collier, Jeffrey Sachs, William Easterly, and Steven Radelet. He is one of the world’s most prominent and dedicated experts in this area, making this book a worthy read for anyone interested in Africa and its public affairs.”

— Professor Tawana Kupe, Acting Vice Chancellor, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

“Through the lens of the African Union Development Agency experience, Professor Landry Signé provides a refreshing new take on the critical role of institutions in Africa’s economic development. His very insightful analysis makes this book a must-read for anyone interested in the unique role of institutions in shaping economic development in general, and in Africa in particular.”

— Dr. Brahim S. Coulibaly, Senior Fellow and Director of the Africa Growth Initiative at the Brookings Institution; former Chief Economist and Head of the Emerging Market and Developing Economies Group, Board of Governors of the US Federal Reserve System

“In this uplifting and intellectually rich book, Professor Landry Signé, one of the seminal thinkers on Africa’s development, offers a masterly and endlessly interesting analysis of the African Union Development Agency (formerly NEPAD) and Africa’s transformation in the twenty-first century.”

— H. E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, co-founder of NEPAD (renamed the African Union Development Agency or AUDA)

# African Development, African Transformation

How Institutions Shape  
Development Strategy

LANDRY SIGNÉ  
*Stanford University*

FOREWORD BY HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT  
OLUSEGUN OBASANJO  
*Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria,  
Co-founder of NEPAD*



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## *Foreword*

In the twenty-first century, Africa has become one of the world's fastest-growing continents economically, defying the forecasts of the best specialists, who used to consider it a “hopeless” and poorly performing continent.

In 2001, when I was President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, I cofounded the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), along with my colleagues, who were then presidents of South Africa, Senegal, Algeria, and Egypt. Our goal was to reverse the historical trend of the continent's marginalization in global affairs, to put Africa on the path to sustainable economic prosperity and development, and to make Africa a strong and influential partner in world affairs, claiming the place we deserve in the twenty-first century. NEPAD became the official development program and agency of the African Union, and NEPAD's Secretariat was transformed into the NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency. In July 2018, the African Union decided to transform NEPAD into the African Union Development Agency (AUDA).

Almost two decades after the creation of NEPAD, Africa has reversed the trend of poor economic performance, hosting some of the world's fastest-growing nations, so that it is now considered a “hopeful,” “emerging,” or “rising” continent. Although these results cannot be attributable to NEPAD alone, the partnership brought an individual and collective commitment from African leaders to accelerate growth and development, improve governance, and extricate their countries from extreme poverty.

One of the seminal thinkers on Africa's development, Professor Landry Signé, offers, in his uplifting and intellectually rich book, a masterly and endlessly interesting analysis of the African Union Development Agency (formerly NEPAD) and Africa's transformation in the twenty-first century. Professor Signé tackles a key issue in the policy and academic development communities: understanding

the complexity involved in bringing about positive structural transformation in Africa. His incisive and provocative analysis is so good, in so many ways, that I despair listing them all.

With his provocative and enormous undertaking of reviewing four decades of Africa's development, he offers a most compelling and readable book on continental development almost two decades after the creation of NEPAD, including an assessment of the origin, evolution, and impact of NEPAD as well as its transformation into the African Union Development Agency and the new international relations of Africa. Finally, the book offers sound and powerful policy advice on how to implement the African Union Development Agency and African development strategies successfully.

*His Excellency Olusegun Obasanjo*  
*Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*  
*Cofounder of NEPAD*  
*(Renamed African Union Development Agency)*

## *Preface*

How do new continental development institutions and paradigms evolve in Africa, and what do their evolution and performance mean for understanding the emergence and effects of regional organizations, interstate cooperation, and development outcomes?

### **How This Book Came About**

“Landry, you should not write your PhD dissertation on a new continental institution such as the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). NEPAD could disappear before you have the time to finish your dissertation, and this would be embarrassing.” This was the recommendation of one of my mentors in 2004, as I was exploring topics for my PhD dissertation. My mentor was not the only person who was skeptical about NEPAD’s survival. In 2002, some civil society figures announced its anticipated failure: “NEPAD will fail. (It) will have a catastrophic effect on South Africa and an equally detrimental effect on the rest of the African continent.”<sup>1</sup>

Almost two decades after its emergence, however, NEPAD (renamed the African Union Development Agency, or AUDA, in July 2018) has survived and thrived, evolving into a specialized development agency of the African Union, in charge of coordinating continent-wide implementation of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030 and the African Union’s Agenda 2063. Against all odds, AUDA has persisted and innovated by influencing the parameters of interstate cooperation and continental integration in Africa, contributing to the slow-moving harmonization of development

<sup>1</sup> This quote is attributed to Richard Pithouse, who was a spokesperson of an anti-NEPAD demonstration during the World Economic Forum on Africa in Durban, South Africa ([www.fin24.com/Economy/Protesters-Nepad-will-fail-20020605](http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Protesters-Nepad-will-fail-20020605), accessed April 27, 2018).

policies across numerous sectors. Contrary to the claims of its founders, however, its development initiatives are not entirely endogenous and innovative, as they are generally similar to the ones previously developed by international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the United Nations (UN) – largely due to the fact that AUDA relies heavily on foreign aid. Moreover, AUDA has yet to make substantial progress in implementing key elements of its initial agenda, despite some success stories and the encouraging economic performance of the continent since its creation. As a close observer of AUDA since its inception, and having written numerous pieces about it since I was recommended not to select it as my dissertation topic, I have decided that now is the right time to write a comprehensive book on it. This endeavor is particularly timely and important, as many leading development thinkers such as William Easterly, Dambissa Moyo, Paul Collier, Steve Radelet, and Nicolas van de Walle have overlooked some of the enigmas that this book seeks to demystify, the solutions to which are critical for Africa’s future development.

Studying AUDA is particularly important to enrich the development debate, as it suggests that some of the key arguments against aid from Moyo’s *Dead Aid* (2009)<sup>2</sup> or Easterly’s *White Man Burden*’s (2006)<sup>3</sup> are partially wrong, while Collier’s *Bottom Billion* (2007), Sachs’s *End of Poverty* (2005), van de Walle’s *Overcoming Stagnation in Aid Dependent Countries* (2005), and Radelet’s *Primer on Foreign Aid* (2006) critical but favorable perspectives about aid are mostly right.

Don’t get me wrong; indigenous and entrepreneurial solutions with “searchers” (Easterly 2007), private investment, trade, and entrepreneurship (Moyo 2009) are of critical importance and should not be substituted by foreign interventions. However, despite many failures and “horror stories about aid bureaucracy” (Collier 2007, 101), AUDA’s case illustrates that if aid is appropriately structured with

<sup>2</sup> Rejecting aid as suggested by Moyo, if systematic, would lead to the deaths of millions of the most vulnerable people in the poorest countries, including newborns, children, women, the disabled, and people suffering from hunger and malnutrition, who depend on aid.

<sup>3</sup> Although the “planners” are far from being perfect, rejecting them as suggested by Easterly, if systematic, would leave many poor countries that lack policy and macroeconomic management competencies, as well as the ability to negotiate with some of the searchers taking advantage of the weak and sometimes inappropriate rule of law and state capacity, in trouble.

better policies and accountability (Radelet 2006; van de Walle 2005, 79–101), the world's poor require more aid, not less (Sachs 2005). Rightly done, “aid makes private investment more attractive and so helps to keep capital in the countries.” Aid is therefore “part of the solution rather than part of the problem. The challenge is to complement it with other actions” (Collier 2007, 123). A well-targeted, tailored, and structured aid program is good both for the poorest and for business, especially when integrated in a broader pro-growth, pro-business, pro-poor agenda with accountable and effective governance with responsible and competent political leadership. AUDA aims at achieving such goals, and Chapter 6 evaluates its achievements.

## What This Book Is About

This book is about the emergence and persistence of new continental development institutions and paradigms in Africa and their capacity to affect development outcomes and interstate cooperation under conditions of near-anarchy.<sup>4</sup> I explore questions related to these themes through a detailed study of AUDA. The subject of intra-African state relations has been largely neglected in the discipline of international relations, and many of the region's potential contributions to the field remain underexplored. AUDA, formerly NEPAD, provides an excellent case study for examining how a continent-wide, African-based development institution emerges and can affect international relations and development outcomes.

This book has two main goals. First, I examine whether AUDA does, in fact, represent an innovation as claimed by its founders, or whether, instead, it is merely a continuation of the development initiatives created by the IMF and the WB. This book helps understand how and to what extent new regional development institutions, ideas, discourses, and norms evolve in a context dominated by entrenched and persistent development paradigms and, further, shape actors' behaviors and substantive development policies and outcomes. Second, I analyze the emergence of AUDA and its evolution to the present,

<sup>4</sup> In international relations, anarchy means a lack of supreme and sovereign authority with overarching and coercive power and legitimacy in the international system – here at the continental level.

including its contribution to Africa's transformation and positive economic performance. This book provides insights about cooperation among African states when near-anarchy reigns and the ways in which this cooperation has evolved since AUDA's emergence. Thus, I propose a selective assessment of some of AUDA's key programs and analyze the major challenges the institution faces in terms of political and economic governance, agriculture and food security, regional integration, infrastructure, and resource mobilization. I also discuss academically informed policy options for using AUDA in the future to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals and the Agenda 2063, explore the newly created Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) and Single African Air Transport Market (SAATM), and conclude the book with a discussion of theoretical, methodological, empirical, and practical implications.

### Tackling Africa's Developmental Challenge

In 2000, the *Economist* considered Africa a “hopeless” continent, listing several reasons to despair for the future of the continent, including war, disease, famine, and poor economic performance (Economist 2000). By 2011, the *Economist* adopted a new tone, presenting Africa as a “hopeful” continent and the world's second fastest-growing region (Economist 2011b). Between 2001 and 2010, six of the ten fastest-growing markets in the world were located in Africa (Economist 2011a, using IMF data), and from 2018 to 2022, five out of twelve of the world's fastest-growing economies are projected to be in Africa (International Monetary Fund, 2017).

NEPAD, known as AUDA as of July 2018, was created in 2001 and was envisioned to be an ambitious development initiative that would propel the region to greater heights of economic development in the twenty-first century. An important objective of NEPAD was to bring Africa into the globalizing world, to close the existing gap between developing and developed countries, to contribute to economic growth, and to eradicate poverty. The creators of NEPAD considered the project to be completely different from previous development policies and from strategies implemented in Africa by international financial institutions (IFIs).

In 2010, NEPAD was integrated into the African Union and became its technical development body – the NEPAD Planning and



Coordinating Agency (NEPAD Agency or NPCA).<sup>5</sup> In 2016, NEPAD celebrated its fifteenth anniversary, one year after the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (2000–2015) were replaced by the Sustainable Development Goals, to be implemented by 2030. NEPAD is also the lead development agency of the African Union, in charge of implementing its newly adopted (in 2015) Agenda 2063, a “strategic framework for the socio-economic transformation of the continent over the next 50 years” (African Union). On July 1, 2018, the AU announced it would be renaming NEPAD the African Union Development Agency, or AUDA.

In this book, I seek to answer the following questions: How and why did AUDA emerge and evolve, and what does it teach us about the creation and evolution of new continental development institutions and paradigms in Africa? Almost two decades after its adoption, what critical assessment can be made of its institutional development and the implementation of certain key programs, and what changes, if any, have manifested in interstate relations? In other words, why do African states cooperate for development through AUDA when near-anarchy reigns? To what extent does AUDA constitute an innovation or a continuation of earlier IMF and WB initiatives, and what are its functions and effects? By answering these questions, this book also offers a critical assessment of the ability of African states and the continent as a whole to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals, as well as the African Union’s Agenda 2063, and discusses the newly created Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) and Single African Air Transport Market (SAATM).

## Why Study AUDA Instead of Other Regional Institutions

The reader might ask why I have chosen to focus on AUDA. I have done so for four reasons.

First, AUDA is the only continental organization that specializes in planning and coordinating Africa’s development at the continental level. Other continental institutions have broader political missions;

<sup>5</sup> The term NEPAD in this book refers to the NEPAD Secretariat during the period 2001–2010 and to the NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency (NEPAD Agency or NPCA) from 2010 to the present.

the African Union, for example, aims to ensure regional integration, peace, and security. Some institutions have broader financial missions, such as the African Development Bank, which is a regional multilateral bank and financial institution. Additionally, some continental organizations have been established but are not yet operational, namely the African Central Bank, the African Investment Bank, and the African Monetary Fund.

Second, what was then known as NEPAD became an official specialized agency of the African Union in 2010 and officially renamed the NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency (NEPAD Agency). This change in itself is worth examining in order to track the evolution of interstate cooperation in Africa. AUDA is also the main African Union continental development agency and is in charge of the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals and the African Union Agenda 2063. Thus, by studying AUDA, I am in fact studying the specialized development agency of the African Union and, by extension, the African Union itself. In 2018, the African Union officially decided to transform NEPAD and name it the African Union Development Agency (AUDA).

Third, one could ask why I have not focused on one of the sub-regional institutions: the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Southern African Development Community (SADC), or Arab Maghreb Union (AMU). I answer, not only have these organizations already been extensively studied in the past, but as they are sub-regional organizations, they do not have continental jurisdiction as AUDA does.

Fourth, AUDA evolved within a unique context: after the mixed results of endogenous initiatives, such as the Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa (1980–2000), and exogenous ones, such as structural adjustment plans, the reorientation of IFIs in Africa began to allow more room for endogenous participation. NEPAD (now AUDA) itself was established only a year before the Organization of African Unity (1963–2002) transformed into the African Union (2002). Moreover, since AUDA's creation, African countries have experienced their best economic performance in more than four

decades. Whether this growth is expressly related to AUDA can be determined only upon actual examination of the claim.

Finally, I have been monitoring African regional institutions since the early 2000s, and AUDA has proven itself to be the most enigmatic of all. AUDA puzzling history provides researchers the opportunity to demystify and explain its function, to further understand the emergence and evolution of a continental development organization in Africa, and to determine the extent to which it affects economic development outcomes and interstate cooperation in Africa.

### **An Eclectic and Heuristic Perspective**

In answering the research questions raised earlier here, I favor an eclectic approach. AUDA encompasses both ideational and material components: ideology, shared vision, strategy, programs, and institutions, some of which appear contradictory. AUDA emerged through competition among actors and nations with different strategies, interests, and plans, and it has evolved into a complex institution exhibiting asymmetric implementation of its programs. The factors explaining its ideational components may not be those explaining the material ones, and the factors explaining its origins may also differ from those explaining its institutional evolution, its effect on interstate cooperation, and its variation in implementation across its member states. Instead of trying to explain everything dogmatically with a single theory, I explore the best perspectives from various approaches to better explain specific aspects of AUDA.

Eclectic theorizing (Katzenstein and Sil 2008), or the “assemblage approach” (Abrahamsen 2017), allows the researcher to combine relevant perspectives and analytical tools – in this case from international relations, comparative politics, and African studies – that are analytically suited to the specific object of study. This approach follows the footsteps of Keohane (2008, 714), who considers, for example, that ideational and material approaches are “complementary rather than alternative.” This method allows researchers to maneuver with flexibility and in a timely fashion, outside the usual dogmatic approach. As Abrahamsen (2017, 1) points out, the eclectic perspective “offers a productive way of negotiating this encounter between IR [International Relations] and African Studies, making it possible to study Africa simultaneously as a place in the world and of the world,

capturing the continent's politics and societies as both unique and global.”

My own eclectic analysis takes place at the intersection of international relations, comparative politics, and Africa studies, although my dominant approach proceeds within the framework of neo-institutionalism, following in the tradition of works by Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor (1996) and Paul Pierson (2004), who have all proposed using the three branches of the neo-institutional approach – historical institutionalism, rational choice institutionalism, and sociological institutionalism – to strengthen one another. Thus, the overall theoretical framework fits within the school of historical neo-institutionalism, although I also draw on the concepts of interest, strategy, and power taken from both realist schools, as well as those of ideas and paradigms from constructivism and sociological institutionalism. This eclectic approach makes it possible both to increase the explanatory strength of the neo-institutional approach and to better understand AUDA, its origins, and effects. The variables to be studied include the visions and strategies of actors, programs, and institutions. The method I have chosen is qualitative, inductive, and interpretative, using the past to better understand the present, and focusing in particular on the “critical junctures” and “bifurcations” that have contributed to AUDA's emergence, as well as on the “path dependence” that explains its evolution. My method is also comparative, for it is only by analyzing similarities and differences that phenomena of continuation or change can be explained.

### **Findings in Brief**

The use of the above-noted theoretical and methodological framework to meet the two main research goals makes it possible to bring to light the historical phenomena that comprised the “critical juncture” at the origin of AUDA: the adoption and contested results of structural adjustment programs, paradigm changes among IFIs and African leaders, and favorable national and international dynamics. It would initially appear that AUDA's political will, its idea of partnership, and its mechanism for implementation are all indicative of substantive regional innovation. However, AUDA's development policies and strategies are, in fact, consistent with those established by the IMF and the WB, as shown through an examination of the discourses,

strategies, and programs it has adopted. AUDA's "bifurcation" – its new institutional trajectory – depends on an earlier institutional path, and the solutions it proposes are similar to those prescribed by IFIs following a modification of their discourses during the 1990s.

Almost two decades after its creation, AUDA has yet to make substantial progress in implementing other key elements of its initial agenda, despite some success stories and Africa's encouraging economic performance. Although recognized by its international partners and accepted in Africa, AUDA struggles to ensure the effective implementation of its programs by member states and subregional organizations and to mobilize adequate international financial resources. The current CEO since 2009, Ibrahim Mayiki, has reinvigorated the organization, but much more remains to be done by national, regional, and international actors. In terms of institutional evolution and development, AUDA underwent a significant transformation in February 2010, when it was further integrated into the African Union and what was then called the NEPAD Secretariat was replaced by the NEPAD Agency, a technical body of the AU. In July 2018, then, the African Union decided to transform NEPAD into the African Union Development Agency (AUDA), straightening its role on the continent. AUDA is now in charge of the continental implementation of the SDGs in Africa and the African Union Agenda 2063, with the support of its strategic partners.<sup>6</sup> AUDA faces many challenges, including the fact that some African states and the public sphere have little stake in it. Despite some notable success stories, many of its programs still exhibit limited implementation by state actors and others. Thus, AUDA should strengthen its mobilization, coordination, and delivery mechanisms and its institutional capacities to realize its visions, missions, and programs and deliver on its promise. AUDA's integration into the AU as its lead development agency is a step in the right direction.

<sup>6</sup> The most important partners of AUDA have been the United Nations System (especially the Economic Commission for Africa and the Office of the Special Adviser on Africa), the African Development Bank, the German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ), the Spanish Agency for International Development, the Department for International Development (DFID) of the United Kingdom, and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF), the European Union, and the World Bank-managed funds, among others.

This analysis of AUDA shows the importance of integrating ideational and material perspectives in order to understand the complexity of interstate cooperation in Africa, and it helps explain the origin and effect of African development organizations. It also sheds light on the complexity of policy coordination, planning, and delivery at the continental level, and in a context where it lacks overarching continental and sovereign authority enforcing and coercive power. Under these circumstances, the contrast between the countries that hold themselves accountable to their regional commitments and the ones that do not, without fearing penalties, is quite intriguing.

Finally, the analysis better links African studies, international relations, and comparative politics in a context of mutual learning. The goals are to avoid the extremes of both exaggerated ethnocentric particularism and excessively decontextualized generalizations, and, rather, focus on the most heuristic tools available, whether disciplinary, interdisciplinary, or pluridisciplinary – in other words, theoretical and methodological perspectives are not chosen dogmatically. The unique and global contributions of Africa then have the potential to be heuristically highlighted. Although using a predominantly neo-institutional approach, the theoretical perspective is enriched by realist, liberal, and idealist/social constructivism in international relations. I have shown that each of the perspectives complements the others, possibly mutually reinforcing one another. For example, there is no systematic antagonism between rationalism and idealism regarding African countries' desire to end their marginalization and underdevelopment and to achieve their destiny as independent, respected partners in the global sphere – in fact, these ideas and interests are mutually constitutive (Wendt 1999).

### **Who Should Read This Book**

As an African, I wrote this book bearing in mind Africanists, African policy makers, and friends of Africa from all over the world, in order to offer a unique, although potentially controversial perspective, on the emergence, evolution, and effects of AUDA. This book is therefore, first and foremost, analytically grounded. Yet, as AUDA's goals are now aligned with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals to be achieved by 2030 and with the African Union Agenda 2063, the book offers academically informed policy options for national,

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continental, and international leaders. Bearing in mind the goals of transforming Africa by 2030/2063, it examines avenues for resource mobilization, financing, and capacity-building strategies for effectively achieving the SDGs and Agenda 2063, and further explores the newly created African Continental Free Trade Area. Thus, this book should prove enlightening for a broader audience interested in the future of Africa and developing countries.

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## *Abbreviations*

AAP	African Action Plan of the AU/NEPAD
ACP	African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AfDB	African Development Bank
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	African Union
AUDA	African Union Development Agency
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program
CFI	Capital Flows Initiative
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern & Southern Africa
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ESAF	Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
G7	Germany, Canada, United States, France, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom
G8	Germany, Canada, United States, France, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, Russia G-77 a coalition of developing nations, founded by seventy-seven developing countries and designed to promote its members' collective

	economic interests and create an enhanced joint negotiating capacity in the United Nations
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
HSGIC	Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee
HSGOC	Heads of State and Government Orientation Committee
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFI	International Financial Institution
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IO	International Organization
IPPF	Infrastructure Project Preparation Facility
ISAP	Infrastructure Strategic Action Plan
MAI	Market Access Initiative
MAP	Millennium Action Plan
NAFSIP	National Agriculture and Food Security Investment Plan
NAI	New African Initiative
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NICT	New Information and Communications Technology
NPCA	NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency
NPoA	National Program of Action
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSAA	Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (UN)
PAP	Priority Action Plan
PIDA	Program for Infrastructure Development in Africa
PPP	Public–Private Partnership
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

*List of Abbreviations*

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REC	Regional Economic Community
SAATM	Single African Air Transport Market
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SPD	Spatial Development Program (of NEPAD)
STAP	Short-Term Action Plan (of NEPAD)
UN	United Nations
UN-	United Nations New Agenda for the
NADAF	Development of Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children’ s Fund
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

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