POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT: CASE STUDY OF SUCCESS STORIES IN AFRICA

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A. INTRODUCTION

Leadership has been the driver of human progress throughout the history of humankind. History is replete with reports of societies that have experienced astounding development because they were led by enlightened leaders. Conversely, examples abound of other societies that have had to endure great pain or perished altogether because of being led by fiends masquerading as leaders. This begs the questions, “Who is a leader? What is good leadership?”

Leadership, like the proverbial Elephant is easy to recognize but difficult to define. It may in a sense be defined as service for society’s benefit. As Peter Drucker correctly states: leadership is the lifting of man’s vision to higher sights, the raising of man’s performance to higher standards, the building of men’s personality beyond its normal limitations.¹

In many countries in Africa, the term leader is often used to describe anybody in a position of authority who wields power. It does not matter how he or she exercises such authority or power. In a nutshell, the mere occupation of a position that calls for leadership is equated to leadership. ‘Imprisoned’ in this narrow understanding of leadership, different societies have over the years treated charismatic ‘fiendship demagogues’ like Adolf Hitler (Germany), Benito Mussolini (Italy) Mobutu Sese Seko (Democratic Republic of Congo) Jean-Bédel Bokassa (Central African Republic), Macías Nguema Biyogo (Equatorial Guinea) Laurent Gbagbo (Cote d’Ivoire) Idi Amin (Uganda) and many others as leaders, merely because they occupied positions of leadership while in fact they were ‘mis-leaders’ who led their countries to destruction and doom.

¹ The Practice of Management (Oxford, Elsevier 2005) 155
B. **LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA**

Writing about his native Nigeria, the famous Nigerian Novelist Chinua Achebe states;

> The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenges of personal example which are the hallmarks of true leadership.

These powerful words still apply with equal force and relevance to many African countries since they attained political independence from their colonial masters. After independence, emergent African states had their halcyon days, as they rode on the crest of nationalism and patriotism in the early 1960s and 1970s. Those days were however cut short. Indeed, it may even be said that there was a dawn, but the morning has never come courtesy of corruption, ethnicity and bad governance orchestrated by mis-leaders who continue to bestride the African political arena like the fabled colossus.

It is however not true that Africa has not had good leaders. The first years after independence in the 1960’s saw the emergence of visionary leaders like Nyerere, Nasser, Senghor, Khama, Kaunda and others. Although they may have made mistakes, they had a roadmap for their people. Unfortunately, after the honeymoon period, Africa was victimized by monster leaders who resorted to negative ethnicity to remain in power. Subsequently, in a number of countries, multi-party system has thrown up ‘tribal chieftains’ masquerading as democrats in their quest to acquire power by any means necessary. Fortunately for Uganda, the no party model of democracy gives no room for tribal parties.

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C. CASE STUDY OF SUCCESS STORIES IN AFRICA.

In spite of the gloomy picture and in a continent infamous for setting bad political precedence and underdevelopment, there are success stories. A number of countries discussed in this study present a path which other African countries can follow and be equally successful politically and economically. These countries lead in global political and economic assessment, and projection; such as the United Nations Human Development Index 2015\(^3\) and the Ibrahim Index of African Governance\(^4\).

In this presentation we sample the experience of Seychelles, Mauritius Botswana, South Africa, Cape Verde and Namibia to demonstrate that sound political leadership is useful in underpinning socio-economic and political growth. Extant evidence demonstrates that all sectors are positively impacted where there is sound leadership underpinned by strong institutions.

1. SEYCHELLES
   a) Government and Governance

The Republic of Seychelles consists of a hundred and fifteen (115) islands on east coast of the Indian Ocean 94,000 inhabitants. The President of Seychelles is James Alix Michel who is the Head of the Government and the Head of State. Danny Faure is the Vice President. The cabinet consists of a Council of Ministers appointed by the President. The Legislature is the unicameral National Assembly made up of thirty four (34) seats; twenty five (25) Members directly elected in single-seat constituencies by

\(^{3}\) The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and have a decent standard of living. The HDI is the geometric mean of normalized indices for each of the three dimensions. Compiled by the United Nations Development Programme.

\(^{4}\) The Ibrahim Index of African Governance is an annual statistical assessment of the quality of governance in every African Country.
simple majority vote and nine (9) Members directly elected in single-seat constituencies by proportional representation vote.

The Judiciary’s highest court is the Seychelles Court of Appeal consisting of the Court President and four justices; Supreme Court of Seychelles (made up of the Chief Justice and nine Puisine Judges); and the Constitutional Court with three Supreme Court judges.\(^5\)

All judges are appointed by the President of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Constitutional Appointments Committee, a three (3) member body, with one (1) member appointed by the President, one (1) by the opposition leader in the National Assembly, and one (1) by the other two (2) appointees. Judges are appointed until retirement at age which is 70 years.

The Magistrates’ Courts of Seychelles are the subordinate courts. These are Family Tribunal for issues such as domestic violence, and child custody and maintenance; Employment Tribunal for labour related disputes.

The current Government of the Republic of Seychelles is ranked second after Mauritius in the Ibrahim Index of African Governance covering all sub-Saharan nations. The Index depicts on the excellence of Government operations as it pertains to the delivery of essential goods, services and basic rights to its citizens.\(^6\) The Country’s political stability and good governance has majorly contributed to its success.

Seychelles enjoys a stable political environment and since adopting multiparty pluralism in 1992, democratic elections have been held regularly every 5 years. It has seven (7) political parties. Seychelles was ranked 5\(^{th}\) /52 in the 2014 Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance (after Mauritius, South Africa, Cape Verde


and Botswana), with particularly high scores in areas such as ‘human
development’ and ‘participation and human rights’.
The World Bank’s ‘Worldwide Governance Indicators’ show that in most
dimensions of political governance such as political stability, rule of law and voice
and accountability, the Country is above the 50 percentile rank among the sub-
Saharan countries surveyed in 2013.

The Country as well ranked 43rd /175 on Transparency International’s Corruption
Perceptions Index (CPI)\textsuperscript{7} in 2014, reaching the 3rd place in sub- Saharan Africa,
after Botswana and Cape Verde.

\textbf{b) Socio-Economic Development}
Progressively since independence in 1976, the Island’s per capita output
is in the upper-middle-income group of countries. Growth has been led
by the tourist sector, which employs about 30\% of the labour force and
provides more than 70\% of hard currency earnings, and by tuna fishing.

The Government has encouraged foreign investment to upgrade hotels
and other services. At one fell swoop, the Government has moved to
reduce the dependence on tourism by promoting the development of
farming, fishing, and small-scale manufacturing.

In July 2015 Seychelles reached high-income status, its gross national income
(GNI) per capita was USD 2,080 by 2014 it had attained USD 13,990, ranking the
Country 2nd continent-wide (after Equatorial Guinea). Seychelles ranks 2nd highest
in the Human Development Index ranking in Africa, has met 7 out of 8 goals of the

\textsuperscript{7} A ranking of countries according to the extent to which corruption is believed to exist. The corruption
perception index was created in 1995 by Transparency International. It ranks almost 200 countries on a scale
of zero to 10, with zero indicating high levels of corruption and 10 indicating low levels. Developed countries
typically rank higher than developing nations due to stronger regulations
Millennium Development Goals and poverty is virtually inexistent according to the African Development Bank’s Strategy Paper (CSP) 2016-2020 for Seychelles. \(^8\)

To promote the socio-economic development of the Country, the Government adopted the National Development Strategy (NDS) 2015-19 in November 2015, with the concept of the ‘Blue Economy’ as its centerpiece. The concept emphasizes the economic potential of Seychelles’ vast Exclusive Economic Zone, a marine area of 1,374,000 km\(^2\) (the 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) largest in Africa), for inclusive growth. This innovative concept integrates conservation and sustainable use of ocean resources, oil and mineral wealth extraction, bio-prospecting, sustainable energy production and marine transport, as well as branding Seychelles a ‘blue’ tourism destination.\(^9\)

By July 2015 Seychelles had reached high-income status, following an average GNI per capita of USD 13,710 in 2013-14. Seychelles’ medium-term growth outlook is positive, with GDP projected to grow at an average 3.5% from 2015 through 2020, with the traditional tourism and fisheries sectors expected to remain the main drivers of growth.\(^10\)

c) Infrastructure and Technology

Seychelles' infrastructure is well developed on the main group of islands that have the major population centers. However, investments to modernize and up-grade the existing energy, transport and water infrastructure are necessary to meet future demand and enable GDP\(^11\) growth.

On the main islands, 99% of the population has access to utilities and a good transport infrastructure. Specifically, as regards the energy sector, Seychelles


\(^{9}\) Ibid

\(^{10}\) Ibid

\(^{11}\) Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the broadest quantitative measure of a nation’s total economic activity. More specifically, GDP represents the monetary value of all goods and services produced within a nation’s geographic borders over a specified period of time.
Energy Policy 2010-30 is articulated around five pillars, aiming to reduce oil dependency, increase energy efficiency, and reduce Seychelles’ carbon footprint.  

Notably Seychelles overwhelmingly uses diesel fuel to generate electricity. For this reason the Government acknowledges the need to transition to a low-carbon economy and is implementing a strategy to increase the use of renewable energy from 4% in 2014 to 15% by 2030.

According to the African Development Bank’s (Country strategy paper 2016-2020 on Seychelles)14; Seychelles’ Public Utility Corporation (PUC) produces the vast majority of electricity in the Country. However, there are also private operators on the smaller islands that produce power using diesel engines. Seychelles current generation capacity is 79.3 Megawatts (MW), but the Country’s safe generation capacity (i.e., without exceeding design thermal limits) is only 52.4 MW. This is below total peak demand of 53.4 MW, although the power deficit occurs for now only on the island of Praslin.

As regards transport, Seychelles has approximately 508 km of roads that are over 96% surfaced. Port Victoria is the only port that can handle the import and export of goods for Seychelles.

In August 2012 the Seychelles East Africa Submarine (SEAS) cable project, co-financed by the African Development Bank, connected Seychelles directly to mainland Africa via an international submarine cable total international internet bandwidth capacity increased to 2.8 Gigabytes per second by the end- 2014, tripling bandwidth capacity.

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12 Supra 8
13 Supra 8
15 Ibid
d) Challenges

Despite these positive developments, Seychelles continues to face a number of challenges. Above all, the Country suffers from insufficient economic diversification and vulnerability to external shocks, given the dualistic structure of its economy that depends on tourism and fisheries.

Seychelles has a fragile natural environment prone to adverse impacts of climate change.

Seychelles further has a small domestic economy, geographical remoteness, high transportation costs, and shortness of skilled labor.16

The Country has a limited area for cultivation. Nonetheless, potential exists for horticulture and small livestock husbandry. The main production units are registered commercial farmers and household gardens.

The Government’s strategy is to strengthen the agricultural value chain under the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP), signed in September 2011. Food security and nutrition are part of Seychelles National Agriculture Investment Plan (SNAIP), currently under preparation. 17

2. MAURITIUS

a) Government and Governance

Mauritius, an island state, lies in the middle of the Indian Ocean, some 1,100 kilometers away from Madagascar and 2,300 kilometers from mainland Africa, has instituted a viable democracy and market economy since its independence from Britain in 1968. The Chief of State is President Ameenah Gurib-Fakim and the

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17 Supra
Head of Government is Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth. The State’s President has only limited power both in constitutional terms, as well as in political reality.\footnote{The CIA The World Factbook \url{https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/se.html} accessed on 19th August, 2016} According to the Central Intelligence of America’s World Factbook, the Cabinet’s Council of Ministers is appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. The Legislative’s unicameral National Assembly also known as Assemblee Nationale has a 70 seats; 62 members are directly elected in single- and multi-seat constituencies by simple majority vote and up to 8 seats allocated to non-elected party candidates by the Electoral Commissioner’s Office to ensure fair and adequate representation of each community and party in the Assembly, as outlined in the Constitution. Members serve 5-year terms.

The Judiciary made up of the Supreme Court of Mauritius, which comprises the Chief Justice, a senior Puisne Judge, and seventeen (17) Puisne Judges. Conspicuously the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London serves as the final Court of Appeal.

The Chief Justice is appointed by the President after consultation with the Prime Minister; the senior Puisne Judge is appointed by the President with the advice of the Chief Justice. Other Puisne Judges are appointed by the President with the advice of the Judicial and Legal Commission which is a four member body of judicial officials including the Chief Justice. All retire from service at the age of 67.\footnote{Supra 11}

The subordinate courts are the Court of Civil Appeal; Court of Criminal Appeal and the Public Bodies Appeal Tribunal formed by a 2008 constitutional amendment.

Disparate from other countries in the World, Mauritius has no standing military. All security-related activities are carried out by the National Police Force, as well as
by a Special Mobile Force and the National Coast Guard. The Special Mobile Force includes some 1,500 members and the National Coast Guard comprises some 500 men. Both also serve as paramilitary units in Mauritius. The police and paramilitary forces are considered well trained and disciplined.  

b) Socio-Economic Development

In the 1960s and 1970s, Mauritius had been dependent on sugar cane production until the post-independence Government diversified the economy and built a strong secondary sector with a quickly flourishing textiles industry. Moreover, tourism began to expand. In addition, financial services turned into another component of the service sector. In the 1990s, the fourth pillar of Mauritius’s economy, the IT sector, was developed.

Mauritius has achieved steady growth over the last several decades, resulting in more equitable income distribution, increased life expectancy, lowered infant mortality, and a much-improved infrastructure.

The island’s economy currently rests on sugar, tourism, textiles and apparel, and financial services, but is expanding into fish processing, information and communications technology, and hospitality and property development. Sugarcane is grown on about 90% of the cultivated land area and accounts for 15% of export earnings.  

The Government's development strategy majors on creating vertical and horizontal clusters of development in these sectors. Mauritius has attracted more than 32,000 offshore entities, many aimed at commerce in India, South Africa, and China. Investment in the banking sector alone has reached over $1 billion.

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21 Information Technology
22 Supra 11
Mauritius’ textile sector has taken advantage of the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, a preferential trade program that allows duty free access to the US market, with Mauritian exports to the US growing by 40% from 2000 to 2014.

Mauritius’ sound economic policies and prudent banking practices are responsible for the GDP growth at 3-4% per year range between 2010-2014, and the Country continues to expand its trade and investment outreach around the globe.

Within the sub-Saharan region, Mauritius tops the U.N.’s Human Development Index of 2013 with a score of 0.737 but ranked 80th Worldwide.

The Country’s GINI stands at 35.9 which is below the global average of 39.8, thus indicating that equal distribution of the Country’s wealth can still be improved, yet that it is still better in Mauritius than in other parts of the World.

Notwithstanding these figures, some 1.9% of the people in Mauritius live below the poverty line (on $2 a day) according to World Bank data. The unemployment rate stood at 7.8% in the second quarter of 2014. The higher life expectancy, coupled with a low fertility rate estimated at 1.77 children born per woman in 2014, give Mauritius a rank of 160th in the World.

There is a Welfare Regime Mauritius that maintains a well-developed and well-functioning social welfare regime. As such, 2.4% of the Country’s GDP is spent on health care. Life expectancy has risen steadily over the past years and was 73.6 years in 2012, compared to 72.1 years in 2003.

23 The Gini index is a measurement of the income distribution of a Country’s residents. This number, which ranges between 0 and 1 and is based on residents’ net income, helps define the gap between the rich and the poor, with 0 representing perfect equality and 1 representing perfect inequality. It is typically expressed as a percentage, referred to as the Gini coefficient. < Gini_Index_Definition | Investopedia http://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/gini-index.asp#ixzz4HkI4kJqN accessed on 19th August, 2016 >
Education from pre-primary to tertiary levels is free in Mauritius. The poor are not only helped through the free education system, but also by the provision of pre-paid electric meters and subsidized water tanks. A system of pre-vocational schooling also exists for children who do not fare well in the classical education system, with free meals provided. Transport is free for students (primary to tertiary) traveling to and from school, as well as for senior citizens. Subsidized housing schemes have also been put in place for those at the lower rung of the social ladder.

c) Infrastructure and Technology
The Country’s communication system is generally small system with good service and has a landing point for the SAFE submarine cable that provides links to Asia and South Africa where it connects to the SAT-3/WASC submarine cable that provides further links to parts of East Africa, and Europe. The Country had 5 Airports and a total of 2,149 km of paved roads including 75km of expressways by 2012.24

d) Challenges
Despite all the welfare policies, including the social security safety nets, poverty remains a matter of concern – although extreme poverty is marginal, as outlined above.

There exists a social tension between the various ethnic groups. The ethnic divisions remain a concern, it has stoked and continue to course civil strife in other parts of the African continent.

Mauritius economy largely depends on sugar as the biggest earner of foreign exchange which makes it prone to windfalls and external price shocks.

24 Supra 12
3. BOTSWANA

a) Government and Governance

President Seretse Khama Ian Khama is both the Chief of State and Head of Government of the Republic of Botswana while Ponatshego Kedikilwe is the Vice President. The Cabinet is appointed by the President. 25

The Legislature consists of a unicameral Parliament that has a National Assembly made up of sixty three (63) seats of which fifty seven (57) Members are directly elected in single-seat constituencies by simple majority vote, four (4) are nominated by the President and indirectly elected by simple majority vote by the rest of the National Assembly. The President and Attorney General are the two (2) ex-officio Members.26

Remarkably Botswana has a House of Chiefs also known as Ntlo ya Dikgosi. It serves as an advisory body to the National Assembly to consult on issues including powers of chiefs, customary courts, customary law, tribal property, and constitutional amendments. It consists of thirty five (35) Members eight (8) of whom are hereditary chiefs from Botswana's principal tribes, twenty two (22) are indirectly elected by the chiefs, and five (5) are appointed by the President.27

The Judiciary’s most superior courts are the Court of Appeal and High Court and each consists of a Chief Justice and a number of other judges as prescribed by the Parliament. The Court of Appeal and High Court chief justices are appointed by the President whereas other judges are appointed by the president upon the advice of the Judicial Service Commission. All judges retire at the age of 70.28

26 Ibid
27 Ibid
28 Ibid
The Country’s subordinate courts are the Industrial Court, Magistrates Courts, Customary Court of Appeal, Paramount Chief’s Court/Urban Customary Court, Senior Chief’s Representative Court, Chief’s Representative’s Court and the Headman’s Court.29

Botswana is set apart from other African countries by the fact that the political leadership and emergent national elites at and post-independence avoided pursuing narrow self-interest at the expense of the public good (Armah, Richard, 2015). Tsie (1998:13), states that the emergent national elites30; “..became conscious of the fact that its interest would be better served by private capitalist accumulation rather than state capitalism because....the state itself was in dire financial problems at independence and could not therefore be the sole means of accumulation. Consequently, this class did not necessarily see the state as a source of self-enrichment”.

Botswana’s commendable performance since independence is attributed to the discovery of diamonds. The Country maintains one of the highest economic growth rates in the World. The diamond industry has been the cornerstone of the Botswana economy. The Government has maintained control of this resource by creating Debswana, the national diamond company, which it owns in equal partnership with global diamond giant De Beers. Without the discovery of diamonds, it is unlikely that Botswana would have been able to prosper to such an extent. (Armah, Richard, 2015)

Botswana is landlocked with only 0.65 percent arable land and thus has high transportation costs. To address its developmental challenges and the lack of investors, the Country had to rely more on foreign aid and the goodwill of the

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29 Supra 25
international community. The Country’s leadership became the driving force in its attempts to secure more aid and to woo foreign investment.31

Traditional Batswana society is noted for its open discourse on public issues, which takes place in the communities through the kgotla, an institution of the chieftaincy system in which the chief and community leaders discuss issues of concern in a neutral setting.


b) Socio-Economic Development
Botswana has managed to maintain one of the highest GDP32 growth rates. From 1970 to 1999, Botswana's GDP growth rate has averaged 8.3 percent. Even though the Country's economic prosperity is based primarily on wealth from diamond mining, it also arises from the beef exports and a growing tourism industry that revolves around Botswana's many game reserves, open landscape, and the biodiversity of its crown jewel, the Okavango Delta. (Armah, Richard, 2015)

Subsequent to the discovery of significant diamond reserves, the Government of Botswana pursued sound fiscal policies that ensured the Country’s diamond wealth was not squandered. The Government has increased investment through responsibly handled dealings with foreign corporations and management of state enterprises Botswana’s leadership has ensured that it has utilized the wealth afforded by its natural resources wisely and accomplished great economic feats.33

31 Supra 30
32 Supra 11
c) Infrastructure and Technology

Government of Botswana has utilized its financial resources to construct and maintain a solid infrastructure, including roads, telecommunication systems, hospitals, hotels, and schools. As a result the presence of a well-maintained infrastructure, harmonized with its unswerving political stability, has inveigled foreign investment furthering economic progress.\(^{34}\)

Information and communication technologies (ICT’s) infrastructure are readily available in the central Government in Botswana unfortunately the technology has not been fully utilized.

The CIA World Fact Book on Botswana conveys that the Country is participating in regional development efforts and has been expanding to a fully digital system with fiber-optic cables linking the major population centres in the east as well as a system of open-wire lines; microwave radio relays links, and radiotelephone communication stations. International calls in Botswana are made via satellite, using international direct dialing. There are 2 international exchanges and digital microwave radio relay links to Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa.\(^{35}\)

d) Challenges

Notwithstanding the remarkable achievements of Botswana on the African continent, especially in the natural resource sector, the Country struggles internal political upheavals.

The other challenge is the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the Country as it ranks is second highest in the World, and threatens the Country's striking economic gains.

\(^{34}\) Supra 30

4. SOUTH AFRICA

a) Government and Governance

South Africa is a constitutional multiparty democracy characterized by free and fair elections. President Jacob Zuma is the Chief of State and Head of Government. Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa is the Deputy President. The Country’s cabinet is appointed by the President.

The Legislature has a bicameral Parliament consisting of the National Council of Provinces and the National Assembly. The Council consists of ninety (90) seats. Out of the ninety (90) seats ten (10) member delegations are appointed by each of the nine (9) provincial legislatures to serve for a term of 5 years. Of note is that the Council has special powers to protect regional interests, including safeguarding cultural and linguistic traditions among ethnic minorities. The National Assembly has 400 seats whose members are directly elected in multi-seat constituencies by proportional representation.36

The Judiciary’s highest court are the Supreme Court of Appeals which comprises a Court President, Deputy President, and twenty one (21) Judges, and the Constitutional Court comprising of a Chief Justice, Deputy Chief Justices and nine (9) Judges. Supreme Court of Appeals President and Vice-President are appointed by the national President after consultation with the Judicial Services Commission (JSC), a twenty three (23) member body chaired by the Chief Justice and includes other judges and judicial executives, members of parliament, practicing lawyers and advocates, a teacher of law, and several members designated by the national President.37

Other Supreme Court Judges appointed by the national President on the advice of the JSC and hold office until discharged from active service by terms of an Act of Parliament. The Constitutional Court Chief and Deputy Chief Justices are

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appointed by the national President after consultation with the JSC and with heads of the National Assembly while other Constitutional Court judges appointed by the national President after consultation with the Chief Justice and leaders of the National Assembly. Constitutional Court judges are appointed for 12-year non-renewable terms or until the attainment of 70 years.\textsuperscript{38}

In terms of governance, South Africa has well-functioning democratic institutions, independent and vibrant media and respect for the rule of law, which have ensured peace and stability. The Judiciary is independent and accountability and transparency norms are generally adhered to. The Country has consistently scored well in all the categories of Bank Group’s County Policy and Institutional Assessment, with the exception of equity of public resource use and human resource development. South Africa is ranked 5\textsuperscript{th} out of 53 African countries with an overall score of 71 /100, in the 2011 Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance.\textsuperscript{39}

b) Socio-Economic Development

The African Development Bank (Country strategy paper 2013-2017) on South Africa depicts the Country as a middle-income emerging market with an abundant supply of natural resources; well-developed financial, legal, communications, energy, and transport sectors; and a stock exchange that is Africa’s largest and among the top 20 in the World.\textsuperscript{40}

Economic growth has decelerate in recent years, slowing to just 1.5% in 2014. Even though the Country’s modern infrastructure supports a relatively efficient distribution of goods to major urban centers throughout the region, unstable electricity supplies retard growth. \textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid
South Africa's economic policy has focused on controlling inflation. The current Government faces growing pressure from urban constituencies to improve the delivery of basic services to low-income areas and to increase job growth.

c) Infrastructure and Technology
The Country has a modern infrastructure that supports a moderately efficient distribution of goods to major urban centers throughout the region. According to the CIA World Factbook, the Country has the best developed and most modern communication system in Africa. It consists of domestic: combined fixed-line and mobile-cellular teledensity is roughly 150 telephones per 100 persons; consists of carrier-equipped open-wire lines, coaxial cables, microwave radio relay links, fiber-optic cable, radiotelephone communication stations, and wireless local loops; key centers are Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Pretoria.\(^4\)

d) Challenges
Unemployment, poverty, and inequality principally among young black youth rank among the highest in the World and remain a challenge.

Even though the Country’s modern infrastructure supports a relatively efficient distribution of goods to major urban centers throughout the region, unstable electricity supplies retard growth. \(^5\)

The Country further faces structural constraints that limit economic growth, such as skills shortages, declining global competitiveness, and frequent work stoppages due to strike action.


5. **CAPE VERDE**

a) Government and Governance

The Chief of State in Cape Verde is President Jorge Carlos Fonseca while the Head of Government is Prime Minister Jose Maria Pereira Neves. The Country’s Cabinet is made up of Council of Ministers appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

The Legislature is a unicameral National Assembly made up of 72 seats and members directly elected in multi-seat constituencies by proportional representation vote.  

The Judiciary’s highest court is the Supreme Court of Justice consisting of the Chief Justice and at least five (5) Judges. The Chief Justice is appointed by the President, he is appointed from among peers of the Supreme Court and in consultation with the Supreme Council of Magistrates. Of the five Judges, one (1) is elected by the National Assembly, and the remainder by the Supreme Council of Magistrates. The Council is a nine (9) member independent body presided over by the Chief Justice and includes the High Judicial Inspector, two (2) presidential appointees, three (3) elected by the National Assembly, and two (2) by their court peers. The subordinate courts include; first instance (Municipal) Courts; Audit, Military, and Fiscal and Customs Courts.

Cape Verde is one of the Small Island Developing States (SIDS), characterized by isolation, vulnerability to natural disasters, scarce soil and subsoil resources, recurrence of drought, fairly small market size and a huge opening to the outside World. Another peculiarity of Cape Verde is its marked territorial discontinuity. Despite these natural constraints, Cape Verde is a noteworthy economic, social and political success story.

46 African Development Bank, Africa Development Fund, Cape Verde a success story,( Regional–West 2 Department (ORWB) November 2012)
At independence in 1975, Cape Verde was faced with huge challenges. Infrastructure was limited, and educational opportunities were scarce. There were two high schools in the Country and only one hotel with 12 rooms in the capital city. Complicating the situation, the Country had no money in the Treasury at independence. It was due to personal relationships with the Government in Portugal at the time that Cape Verde was able to secure a line of credit of US$300,000.  

During its first 15 years after independence the Country effectively built the political, social, and economic foundations of a democratic constitutional state. From an early stage, Cape Verde’s characteristic pragmatic approach to development policy was evident. Even during this interventionist period, leaders emphasized prudent fiscal management, relatively low inflation, and stable monetary and exchange rate policies. 

In 1975 the Government relied on exhortation and severe sanctions against corruption, which seems to have worked better in Cape Verde than in other Sub Saharan countries as the Country is still highly ranked among their peers in terms of absence of fraud and corruption. 

The Country ranks 10th out of 53 on the Human Development Index 2015. Cape Verde became the first Country in the region to make the transition during the wave of democratization that swept across the continent in the early 1990s. 

In the early 1990s, a free press and media environment emerged and has remained the norm. Adherence to the rule of law and respect for human rights in Cape Verde are widely recognized. According to an annual report from Freedom House, Cape Verde is considered the freest Country in sub-Saharan 

47 Supra 46
48 Supra 46
49 Supra 46
Africa in terms of political rights and civil liberties and participation, including representation from each of the islands, in major policy decisions, and ensuring the population shares the rewards of growth. The Government had to ensure a credible constitution existed, that the people are united, and that exclusionary policies which could create divisions were minimized. (African Development Bank, African Development Fund, 2012).

In the last ten years the Government has been implementing an ambitious state modernization reform process, which has resulted in improved service delivery, greater transparency, good governance, and enhanced credibility of state institutions from the standpoint of citizens and donors.

A second key element was education. The successive Governments have focused on the idea of ‘democratizing education and learning’. The belief since independence was that no society will develop without the minimum basis of education, and a culture of learning.

b) Socio-Economic Development

Despite the problems posed by its geography, its initial conditions and significant economic vulnerability, following independence the Country has had many remarkable achievements in its economic and social development.

According to the African Development Bank, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 59/209 in December 2004 on Cape Verde’s elevation from the group of Least Developed Countries (LDCs) to Middle-Income Country (MICs). Cape Verde became the first Country in the World whose upgrade is an outcome of efficient economic and social policies and strategies. The Country is fast becoming a development showcase and a source of hope for the continent. 50

50 Supra 46
Since 1994 Cape Verde has maintained an average annual GDP growth rate of some 5.7%. Between 2004 and 2007, GDP growth averaged 7%, with inflation (6.8% in 2008), the budget deficit (1.2% of GDP in 2008) and debt (41.5% of GDP for external debt, and 15.8% for domestic debt in 2008) brought under control\textsuperscript{51}.

The first Government invested in human capital development, particularly education at the primary and secondary levels to boost labor productivity. Approximately 87% and 22.8% of the population completed primary and secondary education respectively by 1990. (African Development Bank, African Development Fund, 2012).

In 1991 after the introduction of a multi-party system the succeeding Government implemented major structural reforms of the economy. Economic reform programs that followed were aimed at macroeconomic stability, privatization of state-controlled companies, trade liberalization and renewed focus on export-oriented production as the engines of economic growth. The Government had made a pragmatic shift from Government-led growth, management of public assets and delivery of public goods to a more regulatory role in this liberalized environment.\textsuperscript{52}

The privatization of several state enterprises (telecommunications, water, energy, and banking) and the broader opening up to the private sector led to significant growth, with an outward orientation. While public investment was still dominant during the first half of the 1990s, from 1996 onwards as private capital inflows grew, private investment exceeded half of total investment. A mixed economy had taken shape. (African Development Bank, African Development Fund, 2012).

\textsuperscript{51} Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth figures based on data from the Central Bank of Cape Verde (Banco de Cabo Verde, BCV).

\textsuperscript{52} African Development Bank, Africa Development Fund, Cape Verde a success story, (Regional–West 2 Department (ORWB) November 2012)
The Government further deepened reforms, focused on modernization of society and public administration, introduced e-governance tools to ensure fast and efficient service delivery, and built a conducive business environment to promote innovation and entrepreneurial development. (African Development Bank, African Development Fund, 2012).

The Cape Verdean Government also put in place a prudent fiscal policy to reduce domestic public debt and build reserves. Cape Verde has attained four of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG) targets. Indeed, universal primary education with gender parity, and female empowerment targets have been achieved, along with almost full literacy rates among youth. (African Development Bank, African Development Fund, 2012).

c) Infrastructure and Technology

The construction of infrastructure such as roads, ports and airports have also been key priorities since independence and so was water resources mobilization due to the Country’s scarce precipitation levels and struggles with drought. Infrastructure was used as an instrument to integrate the Country, by ensuring that it was easy to move people and goods around, and to create one national market. Infrastructure is also crucial to ensuring that Cape Verde is able to convert its location to a competitive advantage. (African Development Bank, African Development Fund, 2012).

The Government also introduced e-governance tools to ensure fast and efficient service delivery, and built a conducive business environment to promote innovation and entrepreneurial development.

The Country has an effective communication system; extensively modernized partial privatization in 1995. The major service provider is Cabo Verde Telecom. A fiber-optic ring, completed in 2001, links all islands providing Internet access and
ISDN services; cellular service introduced in 1998; broadband services launched in 2004\textsuperscript{53}

d) Challenges
Cape Verde is as transshipment point for Latin American cocaine destined for Western Europe, predominantly because of Lusophone links to Brazil, Portugal, and Guinea-Bissau. The Country has taken steps to deter drug money laundering, including a 2002 anti-money laundering reform that criminalizes laundering the proceeds of narcotics trafficking and other crimes and the establishment in 2008 of a Financial Intelligence Unit (2008)\textsuperscript{54}

6. NAMIBIA
a) Government and Governance
The President of Namibia is President Hage Geingob and is both Chief of State and Head of Government. The President appoints the Cabinet from among members of the National Assembly.

The Legislature consists of a bicameral Parliament consists of the National Assembly with 104 seats; 96 members are directly elected in multi-seat constituencies by proportional representation vote to serve 5-year terms and 8 non-voting members appointed by the President), and the National Council, which primarily reviews legislation passed and referred by the National Assembly members indirectly elected 2 each by the 13 Regional Councils to serve 5-year terms.\textsuperscript{55}

The Judiciary highest court is the Supreme Court consisting of the Chief Justice and at least 3 Judges in quorate sessions. Judges are appointed by the President upon the recommendation of the Judicial Service Commission. They serve until

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid
\textsuperscript{55} Supra 53
age 65 but can be extended by the President until age 70. The subordinate courts are the High Court, Labour Court; Regional and District Magistrates’ Courts and the Community Courts.56

Namibia is an independent and is a democratically governed republic situated in the South-western coast of Africa. The Namibian Government in the year 2008 launched a medium term economic plan called the Third Development Plan (NDP3). The plan covers a period of 4 years (2008 – 2012) and aims to transform Namibia into an industrialized nation by 2030. Namibia is a member of Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Southern African Customs Union and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). 57

According to the (BTI 2016, Namibia Country Report) politically, Namibia is a secular presidential representative democracy with a multi-party system. Democracy can only be a reality if there are strong and functional political parties. Political parties play a vital role in the democratic politics that drive the Country. To this end, the Namibian Government funds political parties that are represented in parliament, according to the share of votes each party receives in the elections.

What is significant in the Namibian setting is the willingness by political parties to work together in the national interest despite differences. 58

Namibia has a conventional separation of powers between the Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary bodies. The Government exercises executive power. Legislative power is vested in both the Government and the two chambers of

58 Ibid
Parliament. The Judiciary is independent of the Executive and the Legislature. These are important ingredients for democratic governance.\textsuperscript{59}

\textbf{b) Socio-Economic Development}

The Country’s economy is heavily dependent on the extraction and processing of minerals for export. Mining accounts for 11.5\% of GDP, but provides more than 50\% of foreign exchange earnings. Rich alluvial diamond deposits make Namibia a primary source for gem-quality diamonds. Marine diamond mining is increasingly important as the terrestrial diamond supply has dwindled. The rising cost of mining diamonds, increasingly from the sea, combined with increased diamond production in Russia and China, has reduced profit margins.\textsuperscript{60}

Namibia is the World’s fifth-largest producer of uranium. The Chinese owned Husab uranium mine is expected to start producing uranium ore in 2017. Once the Husab mine reaches full production, Namibia is expected to become the World’s second-largest producer of uranium. Namibia also produces large quantities of zinc and is a smaller producer of gold and copper. The mining and quarrying sectors employ 2\% of the population. (CIA World Factbook)

Namibia on average imports about 50\% of its cereal requirements; in drought years food shortages can be a problem in rural areas. A high per capita GDP, relative to the region, hides. A five-year, Millennium Challenge Corporation compact ended in September 2014. The Namibian economy is closely linked to South Africa with the Namibian dollar pegged one-to-one to the South African rand. Namibia receives 30\%-40\% of its revenues from the Southern African Customs

\textsuperscript{59} Supra 55
\textsuperscript{60} Supra 55
Union (SACU). Volatility in the size of Namibia's annual SACU allotment complicates budget planning. (CIA World Factbook)\textsuperscript{61}

c) Infrastructure and Technology
Namibia generally has a good system with core fiber-optic network links that centres with digital connections and a fiber-optic cable to South Africa, microwave radio relay link to Botswana, direct links to other neighbouring countries. It is connected to the South African Far East (SAFE) submarine cable through South Africa; connected to the West Africa Cable System (WACS), an ultra-high capacity fiber optic submarine cable linking southern and western African countries to Europe and satellite earth stations. (CIA World Factbook)\textsuperscript{62}

The Country also has good infrastructure inclusive of 112 airports ranking number 52 Worldwide, 2,628 km railways of and 44,138 km roadways ranking 62 and 52 respectively, globally.

d) Challenges
The Country has high levels of poverty and has one of the World's most unequal income distributions.

Namibia's economy remains vulnerable to World commodity price fluctuations, and drought.

D. CONCLUSION.
Although this brief presentation has restricted itself to a few African countries in an attempt to demonstrate the relationship between political leadership and

\textsuperscript{61} Supra 55
\textsuperscript{62} Supra 55
development, it is instructive that in different parts of the World the difference between underdevelopment and development has always been the quality of leadership. In his book WHY AFRICA IS POOR, Greg Mills correctly observes that Africa is poor because leaders have made that choice and the population have supported them. He captured it aptly through Robert Calderisi’s words:

‘Africa’s problems have been largely of its own making: dictatorial, kleptocratic governments, venal corruption, and poor economic policies and practices that strangled entrepreneurship, combined with cultural fatalism.’

63 Greg Mills, Why Africa is Poor; and what Africans can do about it (Penguin Books 2010) 258