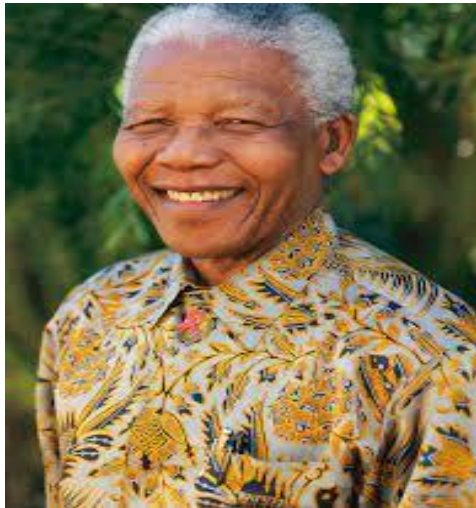# THE LEGACY OF NELSON MANDELA AND THE ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE AFRICAN UNION AGENDA 2063

NELSON MANDELA ANNUAL MEMORIAL LECTURE
MAKERERE UNIVERSITY Mak @ 100 lecture series

BY

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1. Introduction

The golden thread that runs through this Paper focuses on three aspects namely: (i) Nelson Mandela`s legacy; (ii) African Union Agenda 2063; and (iii) The role of Higher education with in the continent of Africa Agenda 2063. The Paper commences with the appreciation of how each of the three aspects of focus is conceptualized; then examines how the three aspects relate in the context of Africa`s quest for development and transformation. The paper concludes with two major assertions:

1) Nelson Mandela is a global icon, an epitome of super humanism and a reference character for political and social behavior of both state and the polity.
2) The African political elite present the greatest contradiction in Africa's growth and transformation

2. Who is Nelson Mandela?

Mandela is a global icon. He was a colossus of a man and attempting to exhaustively describe him is an uphill task. The snapshot below presents a select few descriptors to help provide the context for this Paper;

- *Full name: Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (also affectionately known as "Madiba", reflecting "endearment/respect" in his local Xhosa dialect)*
- *Life: Born in Mvezo-South Africa, July 18, 1918 & died December 5, 2013*
- *Early life career – Studied law & established the 1st law firm by a black in South Africa*
- *African National Congress (ANC)- Founder of ANC in 1940*
- *Struggle leader: Black nationalist, South African anti-apartheid struggle & Africa total liberation icon*
- *President: First Black President of South Africa (1994–1999)*
- *Nobel peace prize winner: Awarded in 1993, jointly with De Clerk, the last Apartheid President, for peaceful end to apartheid & establishing democratic path for S. Africa. In total, he received more than 250 honors.*

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[1] Graduate of London School of Economics (MSc), MBA and PhD, Makerere University; International Consultant on Economic Transformation in the African Region, Member African Regional Panel of Experts and Global Forum on Human Development; UN Consultant for Analysis of Impact of COVID-19 on manufacturing; International Consultant for mapping Ugandan Diaspora investment and for analysis of focused National Budgets for Africa. Team Leader for Analysis of Economic Management in Sub-Saharan Africa and for the Review and Design of the Strategic Plan for the East African Community Partner states; Chairman, REEV Group of Companies; Member of the World Bank Consultative Group that Developed the African Plan of Action; Winner of International Award for significant contribution to World Society, Awarded "Golden Jubilee Independence Medal" for his significant contribution to Uganda's Development; Team leader of FINSCOPE-Financial Penetration Project for the Republic of Uganda; National Consultant for spend Analysis across Ministries, Departments and Agencies for Republic of Uganda and Member, Audit Committee of the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MoFPED); Consultant for Post Legislative Scrutiny under Parliament of Uganda focusing on Public Finance Management Act 2015 and its impact on Financial Accountability. Has taught for 26 years at Makerere University; a Rotarian, and a Major Donor; Chair of Eminent Persons for United Nations and Team Leader for developing National Research Agenda.

3. Mandela`s values

The life of Nelson Mandela represents a number of critical values which are exemplary for Africa, and indeed the entire humanity. We pick out the most prominent among them, which exemplified his purposeful lived life:

i) **Patriotism, Nationalism and Pan-Africanism:** Mandela was fiercely committed to the delivery of the black race from apartheid as well as advancement of global human rights. He always put country above self and was determined to see through the total liberation of the African continent. This pushed him into the anti apartheid/independence struggle and direct confrontation with some global power blocks in United States and Europe largely arising from his alliances which the latter misconstrued as unfriendly and misplaced. For example. Mandela and the ANC were criticized by the West for receiving support from Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) under Yassar Alfat; Fidero Castro of Cuba and Col Mu'mmar Ghaddafi; well knowing that these were unfriendly to United States Interests. In his response, Mandela firmly and fiercely re-iterated that "he and ANC can not and will never accept the notion that your friend's enemy should automatically be your enemy." He further asserted that PLO, Ghaddafi and Castro were fully in support of dismantling apartheid and to Mandela, this was what was the most important.

ii) **Resilience:** During the struggle, Mandela was captured by the South African apartheid regime and detained at Robben Island (off Cape Town Coast) for 27 years. He refused to compromise on injustice, even when he was promised a pardon in return. He was eventually released on his own terms in 1990, paving the way for his ascendency to the Presidency in 1994. However, he exhibited unparalleled resilience and never wavered from the ideals of the struggle until liberation was fully realized.

iii) **Reconciliation and forgiveness:** At the end of the apartheid/independence struggle, Mandela shunned the path of revenge. He instead chose the path of healing and fostering racial reconciliation with the erstwhile apartheid white supremacists for the good of the country. On the day of his release from prison, he was asked whether he was bitter with the apartheid regime and this is what he had to say; "I do not feel any bitterness. I leave bitterness behind, because if I didn't, it would mean that I am still in prison" Unbelievable heart of gold!!

iv) **Humility, modesty and selflessness:** After assuming power after the struggle as South Africa`s first black President in 1994, Mandela shunned ostentatious life which characterizes many leaders and educated elite in Africa.

Evidently, Mandela`s life values represent a very powerful example of what Africa needs from its leaders and the educated elite in general, in order to achieve the desired unity, self-determination, freedom, peace, inclusive development, collective prosperity and transformation. There is little doubt that Africa`s quest for transformation would benefit from many more Mandelas.

4. Mandela`s contribution to higher education in Africa

The contribution of Mandela to higher education in South Africa, and the African continent in general, was immense. Some of the notable ones include the following:

i) **Policy inspiration:** The life and character of Mandela made him a very inspirational leader and figure across the continent. Education was one of his key passions and he often delivered powerful messages to South Africa and the continent at large, which greatly helped to influence national policies. Mandela`s beliefs and messages on education are reflected in many of his famous quotes and below is a select few;

Selected Mandela quotes on education

- *"Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world (2003)."*
- *"No country can really develop unless its citizens are educated."*
- *"Education is the great engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor, that the son of a mine worker can become the head of the mine; that a child of farm workers can become the President of a great nation".*
- *"It is not beyond our power to create a world in which all children have access to a good education. Those who do not believe this have small imaginations."*
- *"The power of education extends beyond the development of skills we need for economic success. It can contribute to nation-building and reconciliation."*

The messages greatly helped to shape education policy and practice across the continent.

ii) **Dismantled post-apartheid education system:** The Apartheid system in South Africa created educational inequalities through overt racist policies. Under apartheid, The Bantu Education Act, 1952 ensured that blacks receive an education that would limit educational potential and remain in the working class. This was one of the very policies the Mandela post-apartheid regime reversed, leading to equitable state *education* system for all races. Mandela believed that education was the most effective tool not only for accelerating the total liberation of Africa, but also the catalyst for growth and transformation. This is consistent with both historical and empirical reality. All successful revolutions globally have been organized by educated elite and examples are:

  1) The Islamic revolution in Housa land was organized by the Fulani particularly Usman Dan Fodio who was a typical by product of educated elites. The establishment of Sokoto Kaliphate is a case in point.
  2) The French revolution of 1789 is arguably the greatest even of human history. This revolution did not start in 1789 as usually believed. It had started much earlier around 1844, but it is role of French philosophy namely: Voltane, Moutesque and Rossoue that clandestinely spread their revolutionary ideas in writing that the revolutionary spirit and momentum spread, leading to Fall of Bastille on 14, July 1789.

3) The National Resistance Movement (NRM) was clearly organized by an elite group headed by Yoweri Museveni, with a clearly written declaration the Ten Point Programme, which played a very big role in shaping the thinking and mind-set of the National Resistance Army. The Ten-Point Programme was also an effective tool in creating buy-in from the local population.

iii) **Enhanced education access for the poor:** One of his legacies is the founding of the Mandela Institute for Education and Rural Development in South Africa. The institute was set up to help provide quality education for children in impoverished rural areas where infrastructure does not support it. The institute works with communities to refurbish schools and train teachers.

5. The African Union Agenda 2063

i) The Agenda

The African Union Agenda 2063 refers to Africa's development strategic framework to achieve inclusive and sustainable socio-economic transformation into a global powerhouse. It is a 50-year master plan for the continent stretching from the year 2013 to 2063. The catch phrase for the blue print is *"The Africa we want"*.

ii) Genesis

The AU Agenda 2063 was conceived after the realization by African leaders for the need to refocus and reprioritize Africa's agenda from the struggle against apartheid and the attainment of political independence, which had been the focus of Organization of Africa Unity (OAU). A change of course was deemed imperative focused on prioritizing inclusive social and economic development, continental and regional integration, democratic governance, peace and security amongst other issues, all aimed at repositioning Africa to becoming a dominant player in the global arena. To this end, African heads of State and Government signed the *50th Anniversary Solemn Declaration* during the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the formation of the OAU/AU in May 2013. This marked the official birth of the AU Agenda 2063.

iii) Vision

The birth of the AU Agenda 2063 marked the re-dedication of Africa towards the attainment of the Pan African Vision of "*An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens, representing a dynamic force in the international arena".

iv) Aspirations

The strategic framework to guide implementation of the agenda comprises of key *aspirations (7),* operationalized through specific *goals (20)* and each of the goals has various *priority areas.* The 7 aspirations represent the broad pillars of the agenda, as per snapshot below;

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

v) Goals

The 20 goals define the finer details of the targets for achieving each broad aspiration (e.g., standard of living, education & innovations, health, infrastructure, a united Africa, etc). While the limited scope of this Paper does not allow for comprehensive discussion of all of them, a summary matrix of all of them as per Agenda 2063 is attached (Annex 1) in case of need for reference. Therefore, we now narrow our focus to the goal concerning education, which is the one of relevance to this Paper.

vi) Education goal

The focus of this Paper is specifically on the aspect of "higher education". This is embedded within goal No. (2) "Well Educated Citizens and Skills revolution underpinned by Science, Technology and Innovation". This goal is a component of aspiration No. (1) "A Prosperous Africa, based on Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development". The defined priority here is "Education and STI (Science, Technology & Innovation) skills driven revolution". A snapshot of the recommended interventions on education under the Agenda is presented below;

a) *Expand universal access to quality early childhood, primary and secondary education;*
b) *Expand and consolidate gender parity in education;*
c) *Strengthen technical and vocational education and training through scaled up investments, establishment of a pool of high-quality TVET centers across Africa, foster greater links with industry and alignment to labor markets, with a view to improve the skills profile, employability and entrepreneurship of especially youth and women, and closing the skills gap across the continent;*
d) *Build and expand an African knowledge society through transformation and investments in universities, science, technology, research and innovation; and through the harmonization of education standards and mutual recognition of academic and professional qualifications;*
e) *Establish an African Accreditation Agency to develop and monitor educational quality standards, with a view to expanding student and academic mobility across the continent;*
f) *Strengthen the Pan African University, build the Pan African Virtual University, and elevate Africa's role in global research, technology development and transfer, innovation and knowledge production; and*
g) *Harness universities and their networks and other options to enable high quality university education*

The proceeding section presents analysis of the AU Agenda education goal within the context of AU Agenda 2063 the strategic framework.

6. Higher education in the context of the AU Agenda

i) Higher education concept

Higher education refers to a level of education "*beyond the secondary school level*". It presumes a more rigorous and focused approach for the acquisition of professional skills and knowledge in a specialized manner, tailored toward generating a skilled labor man force. The categories of higher education institutions include: University, colleges & other professional institutions, leading to award of degrees, diplomas, certificates, among others

ii) Relevance of higher education to the AU Agenda

Education ranks very high in the strategic framework for the AU Agenda 2063, as has been well articulated in the foregoing discussion. The Agenda recognizes higher education as a key intervention, appropriate for and consistent with achieving the aspirations of the AU Agenda 2063. It is envisaged to be one of the key drivers towards the intended impacts and outcomes of a transformed Africa. However, it has become an obvious truism that for the higher education to be truly relevant to the AU Agenda, it is not just maintaining the orthodox education system across the continent as we have known it for long, but rather focus on "*well educated citizens and skills revolution underpinned by science, technology and innovation*". This calls for a paradigm shift in the sector in conformity with the AU Agenda framework, by moving away from the traditional cognitive based system that predominantly churns out "white collar" graduates towards game changing practical skills, underpinned by science, technology and innovation (STI).

iii) Achievements and key contributions of Higher Education to Africa`s growth & transformation

The analysis here focuses both what Africa has achieved in terms of higher education *(skills underpinned by STI),* as well as the expected contributions toward the transformed "Africa we want". It also includes the outcomes as well as intermediate level outputs *(e.g. policy shift, infrastructure)* which will also help to churn out more outcomes *(e.g. skilled graduates, innovations, new technologies, etc).* Table 6.1 presents summary of achievements

Table 6.1: Contribution of Higher Education to Growth and Transformation in Africa

Achievements of higher education	Contribution to growth and transformation
1.Policy mainstreaming	In line with the AU Agenda, African countries have embedded in their national development plans the key education issues of enhancing skilling, with more emphasis on Science, Technology & Innovation (STI). There is a discernible shift to technical/ vocational training, ICTs and other practical professional education. The challenge is the negative attitude towards technical/ vocational training among both potential leaners and parents.
2.More higher education institutions	The continent has increasingly registered new higher education/skilling universities, colleges & other educational institutions. Some of these are the creation of governments *(public institutions)* while others are private *(enabled by the adoption of liberalization policies)*. The challenge is too much focus on cognitive education as opposed to building capabilities and competitive skills.
3.More graduate/ professional numbers	Increasingly, there are more STI skilled professionals churned out of the higher education institutions hence increased capacity to impact Africa`s transformation. Many more are expected over time.
4.Enhanced knowledge, skills, innovations	This is still more of an expectation but potentially, higher education focused on STI is expected to ultimately enable Africa`s skilled graduates to be able to innovate, discover and breed new technologies to drive transformation.
5.Higher productivity & efficiency	STI skilled graduates are expected to apply their practical skills to enhance productivity and efficiency in production processes, including value addition
6.More competitiveness of labour, earning capacity/ incomes	More skilled African graduates, especially in STI, are expected to be more competitive in the job market. They will be able to find jobs more easily, and such jobs will be relatively well-paying ones hence sustainable incomes.
7.Women & youth empowerment/ emancipation	The problem of high youth unemployment in Africa is partly due to theory-based education with little emphasis on practical skills. For women/girls, the issue is further compounded by patriarchal factors including dropping out of school as well as a bias against science/technology disciplines for the girls that continue to higher education. The STI paradigm shift is expected to change all this and enhance opportunities for empowerment for the African youth in general and girls in particular.

7. Binding constraints for the efficacy of higher education in shaping Africa`s transformation

Higher education, especially through science, technology & innovation, has a very high transformative potential. This is recognized in the AU Agenda and is accorded prominent space within the overall framework. However, there are a number of binding constraints across Africa, which continues to undermine the realization of this potential. The major ones include the following: -

a) **Unfit-to-Purpose Curriculum:** In most African countries, the education curricula is theory-heavy with minimal emphasis on practical & transformational aspects. This has led to the overproduction of "white collar" graduates with limited "hands-on" skills and innovation capacity, hence little impact in the real production, productivity and individual competitiveness

b) **Gaps in Standards:** The education standards across most of Africa have been declining especially over the past three (3) decades. This can be attributed to the bulging student numbers, proliferation of private institutions (liberalization) but many of inadequate quality, limited infrastructure and resources. The declining standards have negatively impacted the quality of higher education graduates, their competitiveness in the job market, and their subsequent productivity.

c) **Unemployable schooled graduates:** Increasingly, there is widespread lack of job opportunities to absorb the increasing numbers of higher education graduates in Africa. The major drives are: education and training that is not responsive to job markets. Secondly, there is increasing negative attitude towards technical/vocational and "hands on" training. Figure 7.1 shows the Unemployment rate in Africa 2021.

Fig 7.1: Unemployment rate in Africa 2021
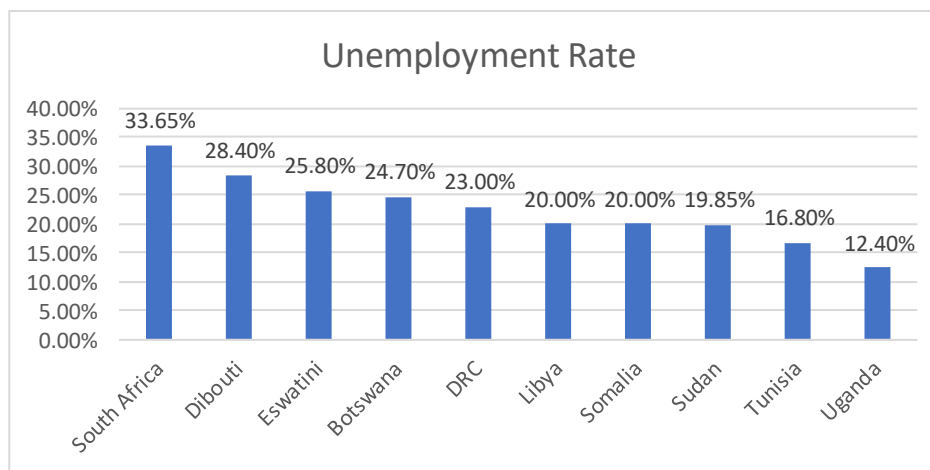
Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics, (UBOS) 2019; Annual Labor Force Survey, Kampala. World Bank; 2021, Unemployment in Africa, Washington DC

It is apparent from Fig 7.1 that there is high unemployment in Africa. The implications include; dependency, crime and if it continues unabated will result in Urban terrorism. Countries that have tamed unemployment namely: South Korea under Gen Park Chung Hee; and Singapore under Lee Kuan Yew realized the importance of science and technology, which were adopted as the focus of education and training. The results have been phenomenal: Some South Korean Technology companies are among the top ten (10) in the world. As a result, the country has significantly reduced unemployment to a mere 3.7% in 2021 (World Bank 2021).

Similarly, Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew's education policies were even more aggressive and restrictive including banning of marriages between educated and non-educated.[2] The result was highly endowed off-springs and anecdotal evidence reveals that as a result of this policy, Singaporeans comprise a significant population of the brilliant staff at the World Bank.

d) **Civil Conflict and Political instability:** Several decades now after the total liberation of Africa, the continent remains a "powder keg" characterized by wide spread insecurity, civil strife & instability. This is visible across the horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia) the Great Lakes Region Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi & Rwanda, Central African Republic, Libya, Sudan and South Sudan. Even military coups which had subsided in recent years have lately made a comeback in countries like Mali, Sudan and Guinea. In such a volatile environment, it has been difficult for higher education to make an impact to socio economic transformation of the continent;

e) **Funding gaps:** There is inadequate resource allocation to the education sector under national budgeting. The average funding for education in Africa 2020, based on 14 countries was 4.8%, the highest value was in Namibia and the lowest in Mauritius. In Uganda, it has been improving and is currently estimated at 3.1% of the National Budget (MoFPED 2021). Most programmes have been introduced to enhance the education sector and have targeted Universal access at lower level (Universal Primary Education UPE). This is fundamental because having an illiterate population is the greatest hurdle to growth and transformation. There is however an urgent need to prioritize Science, Technology and Innovation (STI), which are the game changers as per Agenda 2063; As Joe Biden, the President of United States of America has counselled *"show me your budget, and I show you your interest."* The implication is that without prioritized funding of higher education, the set goals will remain a distant star. On the other hand, it is evident that in cases where funding has targeted education, there have been phenomenal results. South Korea under Gen Park Chung Hee and Singapore under Lee Kuan Yew are the case examples.

f) **Resource leakages:** Many African countries are characterized by widespread corruption, resource wastage and economic mismanagement. In many countries in Africa even the inadequate resources allocated to the education sector are either stolen or simply wasted and mismanaged. The World Bank has estimated that up to $ 60 Bn is lost every year in corrupt practices (Global Voice 2021). This could have significantly transformed education and training on the continent by lips and bonds.

g) **Brain drain:** Africa faces a great challenge in form of hemorrhage of the higher education graduates to overseas countries (e.g. Europe & North America) where career opportunities and work conditions are deemed to be better. This is a bane to Africa's potential The African Union estimates that 70,000 skilled professionals emigrate from Africa every year (African

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[2] Lee Kuan Yew introduced laws which did not allow a brilliant and highly educated person to marry a non-educated bride.

Union 2021). In 2016, IMFs World Economic outlook estimated the number of African migrants in OECD countries at 7 million and is projected at 34 million in 2050 (IMF 2016). On average, it cost each African country between $ 21,000 and $ 59,000 to train a medical doctor. Nine countries namely Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe have lost more than $ 2.0 Bn since 2010 through brain drain in health sector alone. Moreover, this is especially in the very category of the most needed skilled professionals by the continent to propel Agenda 2063 (IMF 2016).

In a nutshell, there is consensus across the continent about the potential transformative role of higher education, (especially science, technology & innovation), in driving the AU Agenda to achieve the aspirations of Africa. However, urgent attention is required to address the binding constraints which threaten to negate the implementation efforts.

8. Emerging contradictions

The foregoing section has focused on the constraints, in general terms, to the efficacy of higher education in Africa`s quest for transformation. Here, we narrow down to specific contradictions between the noble Agenda 2063 as on paper and actual higher education sector realities in Africa. The main ones include the following;

i) **Integration versus silo mentality:** The overarching aspiration is to achieve the transformation together as one people *(e.g. through free movement of tertiary students to institutions across the continent, education exchange programmes, harmonized fees structures at tertiary level, free movement of graduates for employment, etc)* BUT instead, the process is impeded by the various countries/leaders seeming to prefer to work in silos, despite contrary public posturing. Even at regional levels like the EAC, SADC and ECOWAS, bickering between Member States is rampant and the experiment towards the continental level appears to be a pipe dream;

ii) **Limited political will:** While there is some political recognition across most African countries for the AU Agenda position on higher education (especially the emphasis on science, technology & innovations - STI), there appears to be little evidence for decisive support for policy shifts to decisively propel STI to another level. It is only in a few of the relatively more developed African countries like South Africa and Egypt where some reasonable attention has been stepped up for STI. In many other African countries, the budget allocations to Education, Science and Technology remain minimal (IMF 2016).

iii) **Good plans versus poor implementation:** The AU Agenda is a 50-year blue print (2013-2063) and the expectation is that all the African Countries would mainstream it into their national plans. To a large extent, this has been done as can be confirmed by a close assessment of most of the national plans and priorities. Specifically for higher education, the promotion of STI is indeed a continental catch phrase now which is a positive step. However, the issue is that impacts and outcomes are constrained by *implementation paralysis* as shown in Fig 8.1. **Fig:** 8.1

Fig 8.1: Illustration of Implementation Paralysis of plans and Programmes in Africa
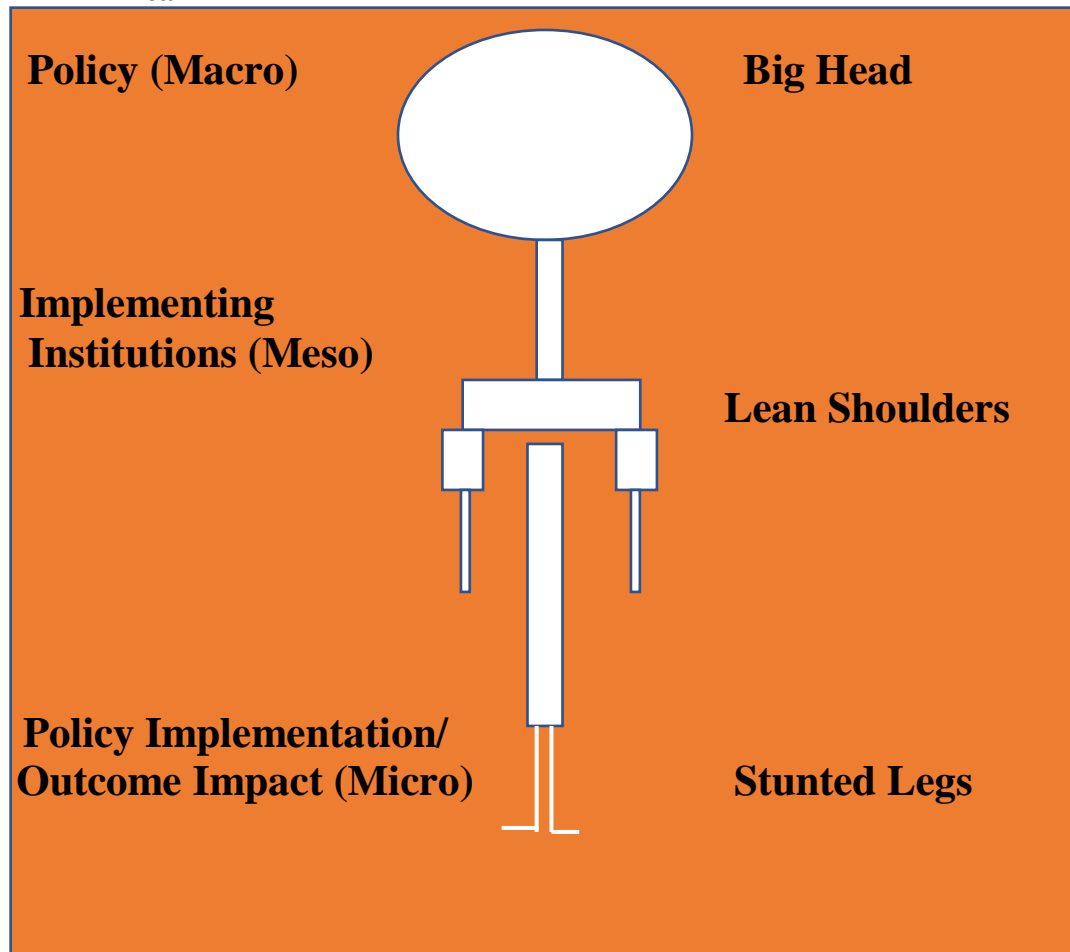
Note: Model built by Augustus Nuwagaba 2019.

The big head represents the good interventions and grand ideas espoused at Macro level. The lean shoulders however indicate the weak institutions and underfunded activities that are expected to actualize the plans. The stunted legs represent the failures in public sector management and implementation gaps. It is reflected in poor support supervision of various players, inadequate monitoring and coordination of government investments, inefficient bureaucratic systems and reported corruption[3].

The implementation paralysis is characterized by discrepancies between what was planned and what is actually funded. Other observed gaps are manifested in weak institutions with capacity deficiencies in skills, information system management and attitude to work by the employed workforce.

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[3] Transparency International Report show Uganda as No 142nd out of 180 countries in 2021

iv) **Heavy reliance on imported technologies:** Africa continues to rely heavily on technologies from outside Africa. While it is appreciated that given the level of development, some advanced technologies (e.g. heavy machinery, advanced systems, etc) have to be imported, the promotion of STI requires deliberate support for home grown research and innovations. There is lack of tangible support for local artisans *(jua kali),* researchers, innovators and other scientists to produce, refine and sustain local technologies;

v) **Lip service to industrialization and value addition:** This contradiction is akin to the chicken and egg paradox. While the AU Agenda prescribes STI (under higher education), as the way to drive transformation through industrialization and value addition, there is a case for arguing that Africa needs to shift from the present reliance on producing and exporting raw materials to industry/value addition. Once this sis in place, then the conditions for STI will be created under which students will aspire to science, technology and innovation, supported by an enabling industry/value -addition environment. This will mean that jobs for scientists are available, funding for research & innovation is adequate, and markets for the industry products are available.

Therefore, it is instructive to note that contradictions are a common occurrence in the policy and planning space. They are not necessarily fatal. What is critical is to proactively appreciate their existence, identify them and then put in place measures to address them to achieve harmony.

9. The "gatekeepers" of the African awakening

The AU Agenda 2063 represents the *renaissance* of the African Continent after the end of the liberation struggle. It represents a major paradigm shift from the struggle for self rule to the *"Africa we want"*, as enshrined in the pan African vision of "*An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens, representing a dynamic force in the international* arena. The champions or "gate keepers" for the envisaged renaissance may be categorized into 3 "historical" groups as follows: -

a) **The frontline African Independence leaders/pan Africanists:** these ones were critical in sowing the "pan africanist" seed. They funded the OAU which was succeeded by the present AU. They vowed not to rest until the entire continent is liberated *(e.g. Nkrumah of Ghana, Nyerere of Tanzania, Senghour of Senegal, Obote of Uganda and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.*

b) **Anti apartheid & late independence** – These represent countries which were at the tail end of gaining independence in Africa *(e.g., Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Sam Nujoma of Namibia.* They engaged in protracted and resilient struggles for independence which brought Africans together and their eventual success further galvanized pan Africanism. They laid the foundation and created the conditions for the AU Agenda 2063, as a new chapter for the continent;

c) **"New breed" of progressive African leaders:** These included among others the post-independence leaders who mooted, actualized and signed the Agenda 2063 declaration (*e.g.*

Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Paul *Kagame of Rwanda, and Isaias Afwerki of Eritrea).* It is this category, and their successors, that have been responsible for the implementation of the AU Agenda so far. The results have been mixed and there is need to up the game.

From the foregoing analysis there is need for our current leaders in Africa to re-discover the pan African spirit and passion of the African independence and liberation leaders like Mandela, Lumumba and Nkrumah. It is critical that the present leaders re-affirm their commitment to the ideals of the AU Agenda signatories in 2013. However, the "gate keeping" and implementation of Agenda cannot be left to the leaders alone. To ensure success by 2063, it will be necessary to be embraced by the educated elite that are responsible for implementation as well as the communities and individuals across the continent.

10. Key messages from the legacy of Mandela
This section attempts to provide answers to the intruiging question below;

> *What would be Nelson Mandela`s most likely advice to the contemporary African leaders and educated elite about the AU Agenda 2063 in the context of the current global economy?*

While Mandela is no longer with us to ask him the question directly, his powerful legacy lives on. The legacy provides a rich reference bank for identifying key messages for the contemporary African leaders and the educated elite, who are responsible for the successful implementation and actualization of the AU Agenda 2063. The foremost messages include the following: -
1. **Vision:** Remain focused on the long-term transformation vision for Africa, and your country within the continent;
2. **Transparency:** Avoid corruption and self gratification;
3. **Peace -** Promote good neighborliness, peace & stability within and between your countries;
4. **Nationalism/Patriotism:** Put the interest of your country, and indeed continent, above self;
5. **Pan Africanism:** Work together as a continent and cooperate to grow and transform together rather than concentrating on narrow national interests.

11. Conclusion

There is widespread consensus that the Agenda 2063 is a visionary framework for actualizing the potential of Africa within the competitive global space. For the sheer excellence of the blue print alone, the signatory African leaders who originated it deserve commendation. The key challenge now is sustained implementation.

The critical importance of *higher education* for the Agenda*,* especially through Science, Technology and Innovation (STI), has been extensively articulated. Despite some commendable milestones registered under the higher education goal since the launch of the AU Agenda in 2013 however, there are also numerous binding constraints, contradictions and implementation gaps which continue to impede the full potential impact of higher education towards a transformed Africa. Unfortunately, many of the above impediments appear to be due to the *actions and/or inactions* of the contemporary African leaders and the educated elite that run public services in stark contrast to the requirements of transformative leadership.

Therefore, there is a strong case for the need to invoke the legacy of transformative leaders and true sons of Africa like Nelson Mandela. It is imperative for the leaders, and indeed the entire political and technical elite, who dominate the policy implementation and service delivery space in African countries, to re-examine and rededicate themselves to good governance. Going forward, there is urgent need to develop national and continental political ethos, premised on value systems that espouse the urgency for growth and transformation. The values include: interalia; humility, selflessness benevolence and competitiveness across the continent. The aim is to ensure that the AU Agenda is brought back and sustained on the right track towards the *"The Africa we want"*.

Annex 1: Goals & Priority Areas of Agenda 2063

Aspiration	Goals	Priority Areas
1) A Prosperous Africa, based on Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development	(1) A High Standard of Living, Quality of Life and Well Being for All Citizens	• Incomes, Jobs and decent work • Poverty, Inequality and Hunger • Social security and protection Including Persons with Disabilities • Modern and Livable Habitats and Basic Quality Services
	(2) Well Educated Citizens and Skills revolution underpinned by Science, Technology and Innovation	• Education and STI skills driven revolution
	(3) Healthy and well-nourished citizens	• Health and Nutrition
	(4) Transformed Economies	• Sustainable and inclusive economic growth • STI driven Manufacturing / Industrialization and Value Addition • Economic diversification and resilience • Hospitality/Tourism
	(5) Modern Agriculture for increased productivity and production	• Agricultural Productivity and Production
	(6) Blue/ ocean economy for accelerated economic growth	• Marine resources and Energy • Ports Operations and Marine Transport
	(7) Environmentally sustainable and climate resilient economies and communities	• Sustainable natural resource management and Biodiversity conservation • Sustainable consumption and production patterns • Water security • Climate resilience and natural disasters preparedness and prevention • Renewable energy
2) An Integrated Continent Politically united and based on the ideals of Pan Africanism and the vision of African	(8) United Africa (Federal or Confederate)	• Framework and Institutions for a United Africa
	(9) Continental Financial and Monetary Institutions are established and functional	• Financial and Monetary Institutions

Renaissance		
	(10) World Class Infrastructure crisscrosses Africa	• Communications and Infrastructure Connectivity
3) An Africa of Good Governance, Democracy, Respect for Human Rights, Justice and the Rule of Law	(11) Democratic values, practices, universal principles of human rights, justice and the rule of law entrenched	• Democracy and Good Governance • Human Rights, Justice and The Rule of Law
	(12) Capable institutions and transformative leadership in place	• Institutions and Leadership • Participatory Development and Local Governance
4) A Peaceful and Secure Africa	(13) Peace Security and Stability is preserved	• Maintenance and Preservation of Peace and Security
	(14) A Stable and Peaceful Africa	• Institutional structure for AU Instruments on Peace and Security
	(15) A Fully functional and operational APSA	• Fully operational and functional APSA Pillars
5) Africa with a Strong Cultural Identity Common Heritage, Values and Ethics	16) African Cultural Renaissance is pre- eminent	• Values and Ideals of Pan Africanism • Cultural Values and African Renaissance • Cultural Heritage, Creative Arts and Businesses
6) An Africa Whose Development is people driven, relying on the potential offered by African People, especially its Women and Youth, and caring for Children	(17) Full Gender Equality in All Spheres of Life	• Women and Girls Empowerment • Violence & Discrimination against Women and Girls
	(18) Engaged and Empowered Youth and Children	• Youth Empowerment and Children
7) An Africa as A Strong, United, Resilient and Influential Global Player and Partner	(19) Africa as a major partner in global affairs and peaceful co-existence	• Africa's place in global affairs. • Partnership
	(20) Africa takes full responsibility for financing her development	• African Capital market • Fiscal system and Public Sector Revenues • Development Assistance

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