ETHICS AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN AFRICAN PUBLIC SERVICES

Senior Policy Seminar Jointly Organized by ECA's Public Administration, Human Resources and Social Development Division, within the framework of the Special Action Programme for Administration and Management in Africa Regional Project (SAPAM), and the African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM)

26 October - 1 November 1991

Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania
I. BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

ECA's Public Administration Human Resources and Social Development Division, within the framework of the Special Action Programme in Administration and Management in Africa, Regional Project (SAPAM) and The African Association of Public Administration and Management (AAPAM) jointly organized a senior policy seminar on the theme: "Ethics and Accountability in African Public Services" from October 28 to 1 November 1991 in Arusha, Tanzania.

The seminar was held at the Arusha International Conference Centre. It was attended by senior African public servants, academics as well as representatives from Norway and other international organizations. A list of participants is attached in the annex.

The decision to organize this seminar stemmed from the overall concern over the increasing trend in ethical violations in general and the manifestation of corrupt behaviour in many African public services in particular. The weakening of accountability has aggravated the violation of ethical behaviour. Africa's attempt to overcome the current economic crisis gripping it, is being hampered by an "ethical atmosphere" totally unconducive to such recovery efforts. The lack of accountability and the existence of unethical behaviour and corrupt practices have become so entrenched and even institutionalized. In spite of repeated calls for maintaining high standards of ethical behaviour in the public service and a myriad of rules and regulations enacted to enforce it, in practice it is more honoured in its breach than observance. As a result, public demand and pressure for strict accountability and more acceptable ethical behaviour is increasing. These developments have made it necessary to urgently address the theme of accountability and ethics in African public services and search for ways of effectively dealing with the problems of violation of ethical values. It is the recognition of the
seriousness and urgency of the problem that prompted ECA/SAPAM and AAPAM to organize this senior policy seminar.

The objectives of the seminar were:

1 To review the state of accountability and public service ethics in Africa.
2 To identify the factors inhibiting ethical performance and weakening accountability in the public services and to recommend innovative ways of dealing with them.
3 To examine the impact of ethics on economic recovery and development.
4 To identify the sources and types of ethical obligations to which African public administrators should respond.
5 To identify the cultural norms supportive of corrupt behaviour and chart out strategies for dealing with them as well as identify the positive aspects of culture that can be tapped for strengthening ethical values.
6 To suggest ways and means in which education and training can be used to develop commitment to ethical behaviour appropriate in the context of the African social environment.
7 To review mechanisms for arresting and preventing corruption and other unethical practices in the public services and draw lessons from them; and
8 To recommend concrete and implementable measures to deal with the declining standards of ethical behaviour in African public services.

The Senior Policy Seminar was officially opened by Ambassador Amon Nsekela, member of the National...
Executive Committee of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and Chairman and Managing Director of the National Bank of Commerce of the Republic of Tanzania

Opening statements were made by Dr. Sadig Rasheed, Chief, Public Administration, Human Resources and Social Development Division of the UN Economic Commission for Africa on behalf of ECA, and Mr. W N Wamalwa, President of AAPAM, on behalf of AAPAM, respectively.

Dr. Rasheed welcomed the seminar participants on behalf of Mr. Issa B Y Diallo, United Nations Assistant Secretary-General and Acting Executive Secretary of ECA, and himself. In his opening remarks he dwelt at length on the importance and relevance of the theme. He told the participants that the severe economic crisis that gripped African countries since the beginning of the 1980s has impelled African governments to adopt various policy reforms to promote economic recovery and development. A key element in the reform measures has been the attempt to improve the institutional capacities and performance of African public services so that they can manage development more effectively as well as cope with the emerging challenges and changes. One measure of importance is the need for promoting accountability and maintaining high ethical standards in Africa’s public services. He argued that the increased emphasis on popular participation in development and governance and the recent movement towards political democratization in Africa, has increased the pressure for accountability and high transparency in the conduct of public business. The recognition that pervasive unethical practices have been a contributing element to the economic difficulty in several African countries, have also contributed to the urgency of dealing with the problem.

Dr. Rasheed informed the participants that ECA’s concern with the emerging trends in ethics in the African public services led ECA to table the issue and its implications for discussion at the 17th meeting of the Conference of Ministers of ECA in May 1991. He regarded this seminar as a
continuation of the efforts to probe the problem and strengthen the effectiveness of African public services by seeking ways and measures to enhance their moral integrity. He challenged the participants to review the state of public service ethics and accountability in Africa, examine the impact of or lack thereof on economic recovery and development, seek objective explanations for unethical behaviour, examine institutional mechanisms for compliance and enforcement of ethical behaviour and assess the degree of success or otherwise in addressing the problem.

Mr. W N. Wamalwa, the President of AAPAM, expressed his gratitude to the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for hosting this important seminar and expressed special thanks to the Office of the President, Civil Service Department, who have hosted AAPAM activities twice this year. The President also commended ECA for its cooperation with and support for AAPAM since its inauguration in 1971. The President observed that the disturbing rise in the breach of ethical behaviour in African public services and the need to check it before it goes out of control were among the primary considerations that led AAPAM to join hands with ECA in organizing the seminar.

In his opening speech to the seminar, Ambassador Amos M Nsekela emphasized the topicality and relevance of the theme of the seminar particularly at this time when everyone is beginning to question the type of governance prevailing in most African countries. Unethical conduct is a major contributing factor to the slow growth, or even the negative growth, and sometimes the total disintegration of their economies. He observed that in spite of efforts to maintain and, at times, to improve and raise the standard of ethical behaviour and accountability of different public services in different African countries, the results have been disheartening. He identified two factors inhibiting ethical performance that call for immediate and serious attention by all concerned. These are the low level of education of the people and closely interlinked to it is the general poverty levels of the members of the society.
He argued that the above factors tend to erode the efforts to raise ethical standards in the services. He emphasized that ethics and accountability in the public service evolve from and revolve around the material well being of the people. He suggested that the alleviation of poverty can go a long way in creating an environment where unethical behaviour can be minimised.

Ambassador Nsekela challenged the participants to come up with suggestions as to what policies and practices should be put in place in African countries to enable them to educate their people to an extent where they effectively participate in the democratic processes which are in place or which are being introduced. It is only with an educated populace that it is possible to effectively provide checks and balances against abuse of power. He challenged the participants to propose policies and practices which need to be adopted by African countries to bring about the eradication of general poverty from the African continent. Since these issues impinge on resource investment and allocation, he emphasized the need to re-examine the present resource allocation and resource investment practices in the different African countries so that they are directed to the eradication of the two ills alluded to above.

Ambassador Nsekela concluded by welcoming the participants again to Tanzania and wishing them a pleasant stay and fruitful deliberation.

Following the official opening, the participants devoted the remaining four days to deliberations on various aspects of the theme. The deliberations were facilitated by a number of background papers on the subject of ethics and accountability in African public services. The list of papers are found in Annex IV.

On the whole, the deliberations were frank, stimulating, highly spirited and constructive. The summary of the various aspects of the discussions as well as recommendations are presented in the ensuing chapters.
II. ETHICS AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN AFRICAN PUBLIC SERVICES: AN OVERVIEW

The following were some of the salient points that emerged from the various papers presented at the seminar.

• Initial emphasis on training and administrative reform in post-independent Africa seemed to have taken administrative ethics (integrity, honesty, and political neutrality) for granted and hence focused on transforming the structure, and competence of the public service without regard to inculcating proper attitudes in public service personnel.

• Ethics and accountability are critical for administrative systems because they underline the legitimacy of the government itself. Corruption represents a departure from administrative ethical norms.

• Economic factors explain corrupt behaviour only to a limited extent - in the sense that poverty makes officials desperate to improve their economic condition. However, poverty itself should not lead to corrupt behaviour. For instance, if corruption is motivated by simple economic considerations, its first manifestations will not always come from the top.

• The root of corruption is political because "politics in most African states are based on patron-client relationships". It is also sometimes called "Bossman" politics. The system consists of factions each under a leader who dishes out favours including money or other resources to individuals in return for support. In such a situation, naturally, the "boss" or "patron" requires resources. Leaders further enhance their opportunity for benefiting themselves and their clients by destroying all forms of opposition (parliaments, judiciaries, civil services, public opinion, etc.).
• Generally, in situations where the politician's ethical behaviour is not beyond reproach, it would be hard to expect the bureaucrats to act otherwise. Politicians should set the tone of moral conduct of the nations. When they manifest correct behaviour and are ethically upright, they are likely to be emulated by their subordinates.

• Corruption creates a situation of potential political instability by destroying trust and confidence which are the foundations of political stability. The leader's preoccupation with serving sectional interests magnifies divisions within the society and thus leads to a loss of respect for authority and law, to a further enhancement of executive power making peaceful change of leadership impossible.

• Unethical practices in public services are a universal phenomenon. The bending of ethics and rules of conduct in public office is not peculiar to Africa. One of the most important sources for the persistence of unethical behaviour in Africa, however, is the deteriorating economic and social conditions. It is thus not accidental that, it is in those African countries where economic conditions are worst that unethical practices are most endemic. The impact of unethical behaviour is thus variable between African countries.

• The problem of ethics and accountability in African public services is more of an illusion. We must in particular be wary of the tendency to cast Africa in the worst possible light, especially by our colonial and post-colonial mentors. African institutions, societies, and behaviours are regarded as imperfections. The judgements on the African public services is influenced by this negative conception of Africa. However, this conception has grown out of the misunderstanding of the context and historical reality of Africa.
Historically, the Western form of political domination did not succeed in Africa. The State as an institution existed parallel to other traditional structures. The situation did not change with independence. The State has thus remained alien. The alienation of the State from society led to a crop of informal politics parallel to and competitive with the State.

• The State does not operate as a *res publica* in many African countries. It is a privatized institution which relies on force and is very different from the conception of the state in Europe and North-America. Hence, the indications of unethical performance often viewed as abnormal are nothing more than a conflict between the legitimacy of salient values of indigenous African cultures and the value system of the modern state, its bureaucracy and market.

Following the presentations, participants posed a number of questions at the beginning of the ensuing discussions. Among these were: What constitutes the public service? What are the rights and obligations of civil servants? Do we have the same norms of morality in all African public services? What is it that has changed in Africa that makes us believe that the recommendations that emanate from this seminar would be implemented by African governments? How do we create public awareness among a population that is not literate or well informed about the rights and duties of public servants? Should there be different ethical requirements for politicians and civil servants? And, how do you motivate civil servants in the face of declining real wages?

Participants observed that though there were several ways of defining the public service, the seminar adopted a definition which included civil service (both central and regional, state or provincial), public enterprises and local governments, as components of the public service. Public officials, therefore, include both the elected and appointed officials who serve in these institutions of government.
It was noted that the rights and obligations of public servants are spelt out in various documents of government — such as the civil service rules, financial instructions and certain decrees or acts of parliament. Often times, the lack of rigorous adherence by public servants to these prescribed codes of behaviour stemmed as much from lack of sufficient publicity of these norms, thus depriving the general public the opportunity to relate conduct of public officials to prescribed official norms, and the deliberate effort by public officials to muzzle criticisms of their action or inaction. Deterioration of accountability arising from weak institutions of enforcement and compliance has fuelled corruption in many African countries.

The problem of ethics in African public services was also magnified by the misallocation or misuse of resources, for example, the excessive use of national resources for the security of the leaders. "Privatization" of public resources, that is the illegitimate use of public resources for private purposes by leaders and officials, is unethical behaviour to the extent that it reduces the capacity of the public service to provide goods and services. Participants also pointed out that external economic assistance can lead to lack of accountability, if donors who make such resources available to African governments do not show sufficient concern for the way the resources are used.

In some countries, the existence of dual political authorities (one formal, the other non-formal) have severely constrained accountability in that sanctions for unethical behaviour in the formal structure are sometimes mediated and overturned by non-formal political authorities. This is particularly the case where traditional political authority co-exist with formal, modern institutions of governments.

The need to reward observance of ethical conduct in the public service was emphasized. The rewards need not take material or money form, it could be symbolic e.g. titles, awards etc. Conversely, unethical conduct should be penalized to serve as deterrents to other public officials with similar inclinations.

The trend towards political pluralism in many African
countries, the shift in emphasis towards popular participation in development and governance, the privatization and commercialization of public enterprises, and deregulation of many economic activities in African countries, were cited as some of the changes that have occurred which make many hopeful about upholding ethics and accountability in African public services. In the context of these changes, participants stressed that democracy, with its implied emphasis on open systems of governance, was an essential prerequisite for fostering a climate of accountability.

While different mechanisms are needed for enforcing ethical conduct and accountability among elected leaders and appointed officials, emphasis was placed on the need for both categories of public officials to be held to the same standards of integrity. This was deemed important such that the cyclic shuffling - transfers between the two categories in some African countries - does not allow any public official from escaping penalties for his misdeeds simply because such an official has crossed from one category to another.

Though corruption and other forms of unethical behaviour have intensified with the onset of the economic crisis, various forms of corrupt behaviour, however, preceded the onset of the economic crisis. Indeed, some participants described the relationship between economic crisis and increased unethical behaviour as one of "circularity." This means that unethical behaviour in the public service triggered certain components of economic crisis, which in turn intensified unethical behaviour. Thus, the economic crisis that has gripped Africa, is in some respect, both a cause and consequence of increased unethical practices.

Nonetheless, the current pervasiveness of unethical behaviour among public officials can be traced directly to their increasing immiserization, which itself is attributed to the steep decline in real wages mostly as a result of devaluation of currencies in the framework of economic recovery programmes. To cope with the immiserization, public officials
have resorted either to "moonlighting" or "looting" from the public treasury. While the latter usually attracted great public condemnation, both practices had the same effect on public service performance in that while "moonlighting" involves stealing time from public service, "looting" reduces financial resources available to the public sector to supply goods and services.
III. FACTORS ACCOUNTING FOR WEAK ACCOUNTABILITY AND UNETHICAL BEHAVIOUR IN AFRICAN PUBLIC SERVICES

Even though corruption attracts the utmost attention of all ethical violations, the participants underscored the need for viewing the term unethical behaviour broadly. A problem of ethics in the public service may be said to exist whenever public servants, individually or collectively use positions (or give the appearance of doing so) in a way which compromises public confidence and trust because of conflicts of loyalties or values, or as a result of attempts to achieve some form of private gain at the expense of public welfare or common good. Unethical behaviour should, therefore, include, in addition to the common wrong doings such as bribery and corruption, other activities like patronage, nepotism, conflict of interest, influence peddling, seeking pleasure by using one’s official position, favours to relatives and friends, moonlighting, divided loyalty, slowness, late coming, partiality, partisanship, absenteeism, insubordination, improper handling of government property, leaking or misusing government information and engaging in unauthorized activities.

In reviewing the various factors accounting for weak accountability and unethical behaviour in African public services, the participants identified four broad categories, namely economic, political, socio-cultural, as well as institutional weaknesses.

The economic factors included:

1. The high incidence of poverty which has lured many public office holders to seek bribes.

2. The emergence of the economic crisis which has intensified the efforts for personal survival at the expense of upholding official norms and the decline
in real wage arising mostly from certain economic reform measures

3 High incidence of unemployment

It was noted that unethical behaviour and practices tend to be prevalent when there is queuing by citizens for certain categories of public services. These include customs, tax offices, passport offices, licensing authorities (for driving, market stalls, business permit). In these areas, queuing is not necessarily physical but organizational, that is where lengthy approval procedures are involved. In such situations, the tendency is for citizens to offer and for public officials to receive "rewards" in exchange for expediting action on pending cases or applications.

Political factors accentuating unethical practices were identified as including:

1 Lack of exemplary political leadership
2 Pervasive and enlarged bureaucratic power (excessive bureaucratization)
3 Over centralization and politicization of the public service and other forms of interferences
4 The abolition, suspension or undermining of democratic institutions such as the legislative and the judiciary

Certain socio-cultural considerations cited as potentially detrimental to ethical conduct in public services include tribalism/ethnic tendencies which compete with loyalty to the nation. For instance, there are cases where pressures from members of immediate or extended families force administrators to give preference to relatives in contravention of existing rules and regulations.

Ineffective mechanisms for administrative control and monitoring of daily performance and behaviour accentuate unethical practices to the extent they induce weak
accountability. Moreover, the increase in size of the public sector can lead to unethical behaviour, if the expansion is not complemented by corresponding institutional mechanisms and resources for monitoring performance and control.

Other factors responsible for increased unethical practices include:

1. Lack of training in ethical behaviour and practice - external influences and interferences in public service management

2. The lack of strategies to manage, change and incorporate desirable consequence of change
IV. MECHANISMS FOR ENFORCING AND MONITORING ETHICS AND ACCOUNTABILITY: REVIEW OF COUNTRY EXPERIENCES

Several presentations were made in the course of the seminar highlighting the specific country experiences relating to organizations and practices that have been established or adopted in some African countries for monitoring and enforcing ethical conduct and accountability in their public services. The countries covered were Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Tanzania. These countries were selected to reflect a variety of political and economic systems.

The mechanisms developed by Cote d'Ivoire to combat and monitor unethical practices in public services include:

1. Clearance certificate against corruption established by a decree in 1977 as a supplement to the regulation governing use of public funds. This mechanism consists of two key provisions:
   a. Any payment to be made from public funds to a beneficiary of a contract concluded with the State should be effected only on the presentation or delivery of a written statement made under oath indicating that the beneficiary has concluded the work for which the payment is effected.
   b. The second component provides that a statement must mention that a beneficiary of the state contract has paid no compensation either directly or indirectly and in any form whatsoever, to any person in the service of the State or company with the aim of seeking a public official's cooperation in obtaining the contract.

2. There is an anti-corruption campaign system aimed at appealing to the people, workers, judges and law
enforcement agencies to fight corruption in the public services.

In Ethiopia, the now defunct socialist regime had established a number of watch dog organizations to combat unethical conduct in the public services. These consisted of the Peoples Control Committee, the Special Court, the Procuracy and the Office of Auditor-General.

The Peoples Control Committee was set up to protect the administration of national resources, guard against abuse of authority, neglect and disregard of public property and self-aggrandizement as well as combat fraud and corrupt practices. The Special Court was established in 1981 to provide, among other things, for an efficient judicial machinery, to try offenses such as exploitation, wastefulness, improper official influence, abuse of authority, judicial misfeasance, corrupt practices and favouritism. The Procuracy was established in 1987 to supervise the observance and the correct application of the constitution, other laws, regulations and directives by ministries and other organs of government, production, distribution and service rendering enterprises, etc. The Auditor General's office, the oldest of the watch dog organizations, was set up to ensure financial propriety in governments, corporations and peasants associations.

In Nigeria, there exist the Public Complaints Commission, the Code of Conduct Bureau, the Code of Conduct Commission and the Public Accounts Committee.

Established in 1975, the Public Complaints Commission is charged with investigation of all complaints in respect of all administrative actions by officers of public agencies considered by citizens as contrary to law or regulation, arbitrary, unfair or oppressive, or improper.

The Code of Conduct Bureau is empowered to scrutinize the declaration of assets by public officials and receive complaints against public officials as it pertains to their conduct in public office. The Code of Conduct Commission is
responsible for adjudicating on issues emanating from the Code of Conduct Bureau with possibility of appeal to federal high courts. Both elected and appointed officers of the federal, state and local governments, their agencies and members of the armed forces are covered by this code.

The Public Accounts Committee (PAC) was given broad power under the 1979 and 1989 constitutions to prevent and expose corruption, inefficiency or waste in the execution or administration of laws or in the disbursement or administration of funds approved by the legislature. The PAC is assisted in its work by the auditor general who is expected to render annual reports and comments on the annual accounts of the Government.

Besides these, there have been a number of media campaigns against corruption launched over a period of time. These include ethical revolution campaign (1973-1983), war against indiscipline (1984-mid 1985), social mobilization for economic recovery and justice (1986 to present).

In Tanzania, there are three organizations established either under the constitution or by special legislation. These are the Anti-corruption Squad of the President’s office, the Commission for Enforcement of the Leadership Code, and the Permanent Commission of Inquiry. In addition, there is the institution of the Controller and Auditor General as well as the Public Accounts Committee.

The Anti-corruption Squad formed in 1975 has three functions:

1. To take specific measures for preventing corruption in the public and parastatal sectors
2. To investigate offenses involving corrupt practices
3. To advise the Government and parastatal organizations in ways and means of preventing corruption

The Commission for the Enforcement of the Leadership
Code is empowered to promote, guide, and supervise the compliance of policy of socialism and self-reliance with regard to leadership, qualifications and prohibitions. The Permanent Committee of Inquiry was established in 1966 to safeguard against the abuse of power by public officials whose decisions can have serious consequences for the individual citizens.

Like similar organizations elsewhere, the Auditor General’s office is an autonomous watch dog organization for ensuring financial accountability in public services. The public accounts committee of the national assembly considers the audit report prepared by the Auditor General.

The following are some of the common problems observed among the watch dog organizations operating in various countries covered by the presentations

1. Multiplicity of control mechanisms with the resultant overlap of functions
2. Inadequate funding to effectively discharge their responsibilities.
3. Lack of sufficient autonomy from the executive organ of the government to be able to independently carry out their duties
4. Vulnerability to changes in political regimes often resulting in a cycle of creation, dissolution and re-establishment
5. Lack of cooperation from government agencies and officials that are expected to provide information in the conduct of investigation
6. Lack of competent professional staff capable of carrying out the responsibilities envisaged for the agencies.
7. Lack of political commitment to sustain the institutions created for monitoring and enforcement.
V. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

• Participants urge African governments to match the reduction in public sector workforce with increased pay and commensurate incentives for those who remain in the service. This will reduce the temptation by public officials to resort to corrupt practices in the face of the severe economic hardship aggravated by economic reform and structural adjustment programmes.

• The participants, having noted the usefulness of codes as statements of the standard of conduct normally required of public servants, encourage African governments to formulate codes of ethics and accountability. Such codes should not only be a list of the expected norms of behaviour but should also include the sanctions that will be applied if the officer is found in breach of the code.

• The participants urge African countries to revise their codes of conduct with a view to updating them, make them more relevant and realistic and accommodate the existence of other ethical codes adoptable at individual, group and organizational levels. Generally, ethical codes should neither be too lenient nor too harsh.

• The participants having reviewed the AAPAM code of conduct issued in 1979, in light of developments that have taken place since, call on AAPAM to revisit the code in its 13th Roundtable in Swaziland and consider the necessary modifications. The participants call on AAPAM to widely disseminate and popularize the code of conduct among African public servants.

• There is a need for a systematic socialization process.
aimed at inculcating ethical values. Agents of socialization in this regard will include institutions such as the family, schools, religious institutions, political parties, the media, professional associations, youth clubs etc. Innovative approaches in popularizing appropriate ethical values through the use of television, drama, music etc. should be explored or enhanced.

- Public and private sector institutions and regional/international organizations should assist the various educational and training institutions in developing comprehensive and relevant curriculum on ethics on a sustained basis. In this regard, the participants call on ECA, AAPAM and other regional organizations to assist in developing specific training modules and packages appropriate for use in schools, training institutions and universities in the teaching of ethics. The participants also encourage ECA and AAPAM to undertake an inventory of courses that have a bearing on ethics being taught at the university level. In designing the training programs, care should be taken to reflect the different requirements of employees at different levels.

- The participants recommend that the training packages and modules should, in as much as possible, focus on
  - Analysing implicit and explicit personal ethical practices as well as those of the public service
  - Learning how to identify and analyse the ethical issues and concerns in specific decision and action areas, specific problem areas and in the challenges and demands they face in their work places.
  - Developing appropriately responsive frameworks for making ethical and morally sound decisions and for
acting impartially and in the interest of the public at large

- Designing and developing strategic and practical processes and instruments for creating an ethical and morally acceptable work environment in the public service.

- Specifically, training in ethics should be mandatory on first appointment, as well as on periodic basis and should precede all forms of mobility in the public service, vertical or lateral. Some specified period of a civil servant's career should be spent in the countryside. Moreover, departments, ministries and professional groups in government should have their own newsletters and should exchange ideas on matters of government. Overall, senior civil servants should cultivate a culture of discussion and tolerance in the face of opposing ideas.

- Traditional values of honesty, probity and accountability should be extolled constantly in the media.

- Institutions for monitoring and enforcement of accountability within the executive branch of the government should be strengthened, that is, given adequate operational resources and ample remuneration.

- Loyalties to primordial groupings can be reconciled to the peculiar demands of efficient bureaucratic organizations such as the public service, through the sensitization of public officials to the need to sustain both sets of institutions (the formal and informal) without undermining either of these institutions.

- African countries should be encouraged to decentralize resources and responsibilities to the primary community units thus promoting a strategy
of unity in diversity and reducing the propensity for officials to benefit their own particular communities at the expense of the state.

- There is a need to revitalize the other external agencies for ensuring accountable government, viz. the legislature, the judiciary, free press, independent political parties, independent civil service commission, ombudsman or public-complaints bodies, while the formation of voluntary non-governmental watch-dog organizations should be encouraged. In particular, the office of the auditor-general should be guaranteed complete independence, be adequately funded, and made to report directly to the legislature.

- African citizens should be encouraged to set non-government anti-corruption leagues (watchdogs) to promote and monitor the observance of ethical behaviour on the part of public officials. This will minimise the degree to which the entire public service will fall under corruptive influence. This should be followed by the setting up of an African anti-corruption or watchdog organization whose mandate with regard to corruption will be similar to the "Amnesty International" or "Africa Watch" in the area of human rights.

- Every country should develop procedures for recovering ill-gotten wealth, stigmatizing corrupt officials and their families for life, while recognizing and rewarding honest officers.

- To improve the observance of ethics and establish productivity in African public services, both short-term and long-term measures must be adopted. The long-term measures will include: increased overall economic productivity coupled with equitable distribution of economic wealth, the reduction of government involvement in social and economic activities, the democratization of African
governments, and the adoption of programmes of mass education so that an enlightened public can wage war against corruption. Among the short-term strategies are instituting more effective systems of manpower auditing, personnel information management, performance appraisal and the adoption of cut-back management strategies, and a creative use of an unfettered press.

- At the international level, there is a need to adopt an international moral convention on multinational business practices which can be imposed on all states. The United Nations and its various agencies should also be involved. A UN declaration against corruption to alert member-states on the common nature of corruption and the launching of an “international anti-corruption year” will be a move in the right direction.
ANNEX I

RESOLUTION

The participants of the Senior Policy Seminar on Ethics and Accountability in African Public Services held in Arusha, Tanzania from 28 October - 1 November 1991

- **Having reviewed** the state of ethics and accountability in African public services,

- **Noting** that the 13th Roundtable Conference of AAPAM to be held in Mbabane, Swaziland in December, 1991 will be devoted to the theme of ethics and accountability,

- Decide to transmit the report of the Senior Policy Seminar on Ethics and Accountability to the 13th Roundtable Conference of AAPAM as a main working document for discussion at the Roundtable and to other African regional organizations

- **Commend** ECA and AAPAM for organizing a seminar on this important and topical issue
ANNEX II

Programme of the Senior Policy Seminar on Ethics and Accountability in the African Public Services Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania 26 October - 1 November 1991

Monday, 28 October 1991

1730 - 1830  Opening/Registration
1830 - 2030  Reception/Cocktail

Tuesday, 29 October 1991

0930 - 1030  Presentations by Messrs Ake, Prah and Wamalwa
1030 - 1100  Coffee Break
1100 - 1300  Discussions
1300 - 1500  Lunch Break
1500 - 1600  Presentations by Messrs Olowu, Andvg and Aboud
1600 - 1630  Coffee Break
1630 - 1800  Discussions

Wednesday, 30 October 1991

0930 - 1000  Presentations by Messrs Barlow, Balogun, Nyong’o and Ngage-Riwato
1000 - 1030  Coffee Break
1030 - 1300  Discussions
1300 - 1500  Lunch Break
1500 - 1600  Presentations of papers by Messrs Saras-soro and Girma
1600 - 1630 Coffee Break
1630 - 1800 Discussions

Thursday, 31 October 1991

0900 - 1030 Group Discussions
1030 - 1100 Coffee Break
1100 - 1300 Group Discussions
1300 - 1500 Lunch Break
1500 - 1600 Group Discussions
1600 - 1630 Coffee Break
1630 - 1800 Group Discussions

Friday, 1 November 1991

0900 - 1700 Excursion - Free
1700 - 1830 Adoption of Report
1830 - 1900 Closure of Session
ANNEX III

Opening Ceremony Speeches

Dr. Sadig Rasheed Chief of Public Administration, Human Resources and Social Development Division (PHSD) UN Economic Commission for Africa

Mr. W.N. Wamalwa President, African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM)

Ambassador Amon J. Nsekela Member of the National Executive Committee of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and Chairman and Managing Director of the National Bank of Commerce of the United Republic of Tanzania

Closing Statement

Mr. M. Aboud Controller and Auditor-General of the United Republic of Tanzania
Statement by Dr. Sadig Rasheed

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you, on behalf of Mr Issa B Y Diallo, United Nations Assistant Secretary-General and Acting Executive Secretary of ECA, on behalf of ECA and on my own behalf to this Senior Policy Seminar on the theme “Ethics and Accountability in the African Public Service”, which is being jointly organized by the UN Economic Commission for Africa’s Public Administration, Human Resources and Social Development Division and the African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM). This seminar marks the third event that ECA and AAPAM have co-sponsored within the framework of activities being implemented under the Special Action Programme for Administration and Management in Africa Regional Project (SAPAM)

I would like to convey the deep appreciation of the co-sponsors to the Ambassador Amon Nsekala, Chairman and Managing Director of the National Bank of Commerce of the United Republic of Tanzania, who in spite of his very busy schedule, has agreed to open this seminar.

The severe socio-economic crisis that has gripped African countries since the beginning of the 1980s has impelled African governments to adopt various policy reforms to promote economic recovery, and development. A key element of these reform measures has been an attempt to improve the institutional capacities and performance of African public services, to enable them to manage development more effectively, as well as, to cope with the emerging changes and challenges.

The range of measures for improving and strengthening public services is broad. However, one measure, to which importance has increasingly been attached, has been the need for promoting accountability and maintaining high ethical standards in public services. Aside from outright bribery and corruption, unethical behaviour includes practices such as, patronage, nepotism; embezzlement, influence peddling, use of
one's positions for self-enrichment, bestowing of favours to relatives and friends, moonlighting, partiality, partisanship, absenteeism, late coming for work, abuse of public property, leaking and/or misuse of government information and the like.

The lack of accountability, unethical behaviour and corrupt practices have become entrenched, and even institutionalized norms of behaviour in their own right, in the public services across Africa, to the extent that the issue has now become a matter of major and general concern. The increased emphasis on popular participation in development and governance, the recent movement towards political democratization in Africa, which increased the pressure for accountability and high transparency in the conduct of public business, as well as, the recognition that pervasive unethical practices have been a contributory element to the economic difficulty in several African countries have contributed to the urgency for dealing with the problem. Let me develop the last point a little further. The link between unethical behaviour among public officials and economic difficulties can be found in inflated prices for contract award, fraudulent foreign exchange transactions and, in some cases capital flight, to mention but a few examples. Overall, the negative impact of such practices on productivity, performance and efforts to bring about recovery and development have been so pronounced to the extent that the issue can no longer be ignored or shelved aside.

As interest in promoting accountability and ethics in African public services has intensified, ECA and AAPAM, the co-sponsors of this seminar have, in their respective work programmes, devoted considerable attention to this issue. Most recently, the ECA brought-up the issue of the emerging trends in public service ethics in Africa and their implications for discussion at the 17th meeting of the Conference of Ministers of the ECA. In this sense, this seminar represents a continuation of the efforts to probe the problem and strengthen the effectiveness of the African public services by seeking ways and means to enhance their moral integrity.
Of course, the governments themselves have been grappling with the problem, over the years including taking measures such as the establishment of their own codes of conduct for public officials. Indeed, in some African countries, there exist such institutions as the Code of Conduct Bureau; the Public Complaints Commission (or Ombudsman) and Public Accounts Committee or their equivalent, for monitoring and enforcement.

The question that arises, then, is why, in spite of all these efforts, non-ethical behaviour remained and, in some instances, became more prevalent in African public services. A number of factors, which are well known to you and you are the experts, are responsible for this. They have also been mentioned in the Aide-Mémoire of the seminar and analysed in detail in some of the papers, so I do not need as such to dwell on them. A major contributory, or inflammatory, factor if you like, has been the serious deterioration of economic conditions in African countries which has compelled public office holders, both political and administrators, to seek and obtain rewards in exchange for their services. In other words, the imperative need to survive the difficult times has resulted in breaching ethical norms of conduct and behaviour. The economic collapse has brought in the wake of it a social collapse, including an intensification of the breakdown of the ethical order. This has led many observers to ask the question whether it is realistic to otherwise or, at all, hope for a reversal of the situation. The challenge, then, for you experts and practitioners at this seminar in the context of the overall objectives of the seminar is four fold.

First, to share the experiences of your countries and/or findings of research with a view to review the state of public service ethics and accountability in Africa and examining the impact on the lack thereof on economic recovery and development.

The second task is to seek objective explanations for unethical behaviour.
The third task for you is to examine institutional mechanisms for compliance and enforcement or ethical behaviour and assess the degree of success or otherwise in addressing the problem.

The fourth main task is to put forward practical and innovative recommendations for improving public service ethics and accountability, taking into account the prevailing socio-economic conditions in Africa. The economic situation being what it is at the moment, the issues of motivation, conditions of service and adequate remuneration are certainly important aspects of the problem and the solutions to it, and I expect that you would give these adequate attention. Such recommendations should include the identification of cultural norms that can be tapped for strengthening ethical values and to inculcate such value through education and emulation.

The mix of participants at this seminar encourages my belief that we would be able to grapple with these challenges competently. Indeed, I expect no less from this distinguished group, which consists of senior academics, high ranking public officials and representatives of regional and international organizations.

I thank you for your kind attention and I wish you every success in your deliberations.
Statement by Mr. W.N. Wamalwa

First of all, I want to express our gratitude to the Government and People of the United Republic of Tanzania who have, as usual, agreed to host this important seminar. For us in AAPAM, and I can dare to speak for the ECA on this matter, we have come to regard this country as our home. Whenever we have approached the Government concerning their hosting of our activities, we have always received a positive response. That goes to underscore the importance which the people and government of this country attach to matters of improved governance as well as to regional and international cooperation. In this regard, our special thanks should go to the Office of the President, Civil Service Department, who have hosted AAPAM activities twice this year, and who are always ready to lend a hand in ensuring the success of these activities.

Second, I want to use this opportunity to commend the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa for agreeing to cooperate with us in carrying out this activity. The cooperation between AAPAM and the ECA is, of course, long standing, spanning over a period of about twenty years. During AAPAM's infancy, in the period soon after its inauguration in 1971, we received considerable support from the Executive Secretary and the Division of Public Administration. Since 1976, ECA has provided a home for AAPAM's operations and whatever little achievements we may have made, there is a lot which these achievements owe to that support. During the past six years, as AAPAM became an adult, our cooperation with the ECA has intensified and gone beyond ECA's provision of logistical and infrastructural support to AAPAM. We, thus, have run over six senior policy seminars jointly between 1988-91 including last year's Roundtable Conference. This happened because of the realization on the part of both parties, that there is always something to be gained in cooperating, however small that gain might be. We in AAPAM pledge to continue doing so.

Our interest in running this seminar is, of course, part of
our broad interest in improved public administration performance in Africa. Over the past thirty years, we in AAPAM have continued to sing the song on the Need for Improvements in Public Service Performance. We pursued our missions through seminars, workshops, roundtables and publications. We have reminded our governments, public enterprises and private enterprises that improved performance requires, trained personnel, motivated personnel, rationalized structures, efficacious systems, processes and procedures. At seminars for senior public personnel, the private sector and researchers on the above topics, we have reiterated the song.

The last ten years or so have seen our continent experience a downturn in the performance of the economies and many of the gains that may have been made in improved public administration performance are threatened. You now have malfunctioning everywhere and the quality of personnel, levels of compensation, as well as morale and motivation is increasingly becoming poor. While efforts are being directed at reversing the economic downturn, we and others point out that public administration systems will need serious fine-tuning if they are to be in a position to make a contribution to that recovery.

These efforts, however, will be hampered by an increasing softness on the part of the state and ethical performance of its officers. In spite of repeated calls for maintaining high standards of ethical behaviour in the public service, and a myriad of rules and regulations enacted to enforce them, in practice the concept is becoming to be more honored in its breach than its observance. We in AAPAM, therefore, thought that it was time to pay attention to that issue and make a little noise and our colleagues in the ECA agreed. This seminar, therefore, is intended to be our modest contribution to the reversal of the trend.

Mr Guest of Honour, I want to conclude my short statement by expressing the hope that our discussions will generate serious recommendations which in turn will be
considered by our governments. I also want to invite you to visit us at our new headquarters in Nairobi, near the United Nations Environment Programme headquarters. We shall of course continue to be reached through the ECA, because, even when a young man gets married and finds his own home; the "Family Home" remains always his home.

I want to reiterate may thanks to the Government of this Republic for agreeing to host this joint seminar.
Opening address by Ambassador Amon J. Nsekela

I feel very honoured today to be with you to officiate, on behalf of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, at the opening occasion of this Senior Policy Seminar which will be discussing a very important subject to the entire governance of our countries in Africa. Indeed, it is a very timely period when everyone now begins to question the type of governance prevailing in most African countries which is a major contributing factor to the slow growth, or even the negative growth and sometimes total disintegration of our economies.

Let me, at the outset, candidly share with you how intrigued I felt when I was asked by the Government to come and officiate at the opening of this Seminar. Intrigued, because having myself been a public servant in many varying positions within Government and Quasi-Government bodies for quite a long time now, I am just about to retire from active public service. I have been a teacher, clerk to the Cabinet, a Permanent Secretary, in a number of Ministries which included Foreign Affairs and Defence, Industries, Mineral Resources and Power, and finally the Treasury. After that I was appointed the Chairman and Managing Director of the Tanzania National Bank of Commerce (NBC) which was the only Commercial Bank in the country allowed to operate after nationalizing all commercial banks. Then, I was made the High Commissioner to the Court of St James's (the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland). Thereafter, I was brought back again to resume, for the second time, the same position of a Chairman and Managing Director of the National Bank of Commerce. Besides, I have been a Member or Chairman, to different Boards and or Councils and Review Commissions of one type or another, all of importance to the Nations's governing system, including being a Member of Parliament at one point in time. Now I am ready, and in fact if not overdue, to retire from which has been a hectic and very challenging Public Service life.

I have taken liberty of going through this long and may
be boring narration of my life in the public service not to impress the audience but to show how there is a reason for me to become intrigued when I was asked to come and officiate here.

Now, why be intrigued at all? First, because I thought having served for so long and in different capacities in the Public Service, and now just about to exit wouldn't the Government spare me my last few public service days so that I can spend them in a more leisurely fashion. Secondly, wouldn't a topic like this be handled by those who are likely to remain in Public Service for a long foreseeable future? But then, on second thought, I felt that this was an opportunity to reflect on my personal experiences and, based on these, my perceptions of a future Public Service and share these with those likely to remain as public servants presumably for a long foreseeable future.

I think the reason why we all seem to be worried is that nearly all African countries inherited very intact and accountable Public Services charged with moral and ethical principles. Indeed, we invariably made efforts to make them more responsive to the needs of the society instead of the old set up where the allegiance and accountability were to the colonial masters.

In many countries institutions to check on the accountability of public servants were not only retained but measures were taken to strengthen them. These included offices like that of the Exchequer and Auditor General which was independent of the rest of government departments. We retained the parliamentary or peoples' representative bodies which were able to quiz the government on several aspects of governance, including the expenditure of public funds. Many countries retained an independent judiciary system.

There were several sets of regulations which were retained such as the Civil Service Regulations, Finance Regulations or the Standing Orders for the Public Service. These institutions and instruments were necessarily reviewed and modified from time to time in order to make them march.
with the changing conditions of our societies. Where it was seen necessary, new institutions to enforce ethical behaviour and accountability were established. This was the case in Tanzania particularly where we have seen a growth of such institutions. Thus we had the Permanent Commission of Enquiry which came immediately after independence and acted as the ombudsman for peoples rights. Second, we had the Commission for the Enforcement of Leadership code which was instituted in the wake of the Arusha Declaration which prevented public office holders to acquire and amass wealth at the expense of the masses. Lately, we had the Anti-Corruption Squad to prevent public officers from engaging in corrupt practices and to bring to justice those who engaged in it. These are only examples in the Tanzania’s case which could similarly be applicable in other African countries.

On a more general level, we find different manifestations of such efforts. The retention of constitutions, electoral system, representative parliaments, independent judiciaries etc. This is for those countries which avoided political upheavals. But even for those which were undergoing political upheavals, the story was always the same. The government or those in power were removed because they were corrupt, insensitive, immoral and unethical etc. Every incoming government or power group explained or justified their coming to power by claiming to be more capable of raising efficiency, ethics, morals and accountability of the government and make it responsive and sensitive to the needs of the society than the previous one.

It is obvious that both cases, and in spite of the manifestations and apparent efforts to retain and sustain and, at times, to improve and raise the ethical behaviour and accountability of the different public services in our different countries. In fact what has happened is a total erosion of the same. That is why we are presently worried and that is why we begin to question ourselves. What went wrong, and what can be done about it?

I see from your programme that among the topics and
issues which your seminar will be discussing include the need to identify the factors inhibiting ethical performance in the public service and to recommend how to deal with them.

I earlier promised to share my own reflections and perceptions on this subject with you. To my mind two inhibiting factors can be identified which call for immediate and serious attention by all of us and all our governments.

First, in the general low level of the educational life of our people. Second, and closely interlinked with the first, is the general poverty level of the members of our society.

In the first case, the generally low education for life of our people erodes the efforts to raise the ethics in the services because such measures are not backed up by a knowledgeable middle school education. Therefore, the efforts in the present setting is an impossible task. Secondly, because of the few people who are sufficiently educated to meet the demands of life, there are inadequate people to man the various public institutions which are meant to provide the intended functions. In the same context, the few people who are available and have the necessary education for life cannot provide adequate policy analysis and policy management which is required to address this problem sufficiently.

It could be argued, that we inherited intact Public services from the colonial masters even with fewer trained personnel and even with a more lowly educated populace. The difference here is that whereas the colonial rule could enforce ethics with the rule of fear, independent governments had to change this and apply it through individual self-will and individual self-determination. Otherwise, there is no rationale for the countries to be independent.

Indeed, I think we still have some countries where fear is still used and still prevails to instil ethical behavior and accountability in Public Services. I am told that in those countries the problem is not of ethics and accountability in the service but that of simply human freedom of the general
populace if you wish to call it that I am sure that is not what we need in African countries to-day

I strongly feel and believe that ethics and accountability in the public service evolve from and revolve around the material well-being of the people. Therefore, for these to hold within a society, that society needs to rise from that level of poverty where even questioning those in power becomes a major source of suffering if not treasonable altogether.

Even more, when the economy does not appear to promise much for the future generation, each individual tends to use unethical means to provide first for those who closely depend on him as well as providing for a future economic insurance for the offshoots. Because this applies to many people regardless of position there comes a question of back-scratching where even those entrusted with checking the abuses are likely to succumb to temptations.

The low capacity of government to pay adequate salaries to its officials, including those entrusted with checking the abuse of power and public office means that there are few people available to check on abuses. My argument here is that the alleviation of general poverty can go a long way first to raise Government’s capacity to pay its officials an adequate pay. It can ensure that public service officials have an alternative to their positions and are not necessarily subjected to the general poverty which they presently would be. Thirdly, and possibly more important is that when the economic future is promising for a majority of the future generation, the temptation for unethical behaviour is minimized.

The challenge which I am throwing here, is what policies and practices are required to be put in place for the countries in Africa to be able to educate their people to an extent where they effectively participate in the democratic processes which are in place or which are being introduced? For, it is only an educated populace that can effectively provide checks and balances for the abuse of public positions and public power. Even more so, what policies and practices need to be put in
place which address the eradication of general poverty for our people. I believe that raising economic activity and improving standards of living can guarantee that public officials will refrain from abuse of position and thus perform ethically, responsibly and in an accountable manner.

As we all are aware, these are questions which impinge on resource investment and resource allocation. There is a need therefore to re-examine the present resource allocation and resource investment practices in our countries so that they are directed towards the right areas of investment towards the eradication of the two ills. Whereas we feel presently most of the investible resources in our countries go to waste, it is also true that a good proportion goes to marginal activities which cannot bring meaningful development to the people.

I am certain that it is not difficult to save some of this waste which goes on in public services and use it to eradicate poverty and improve the education systems if there is a commitment, a vision and boldness to approach the problem squarely. This seminar must come up with an answer. These perceptions and reflections are not the only solutions at hand. There are many which your Seminar may wish to suggest. It is only because I feel without our leadership, without the policies, addressing themselves to these two, other efforts and measures to regain the lost ground may prove fruitless.

Let me say that you have an opportunity over the week to examine and discuss these and other options. It remains my duty, on behalf of the Government of Tanzania and on my own behalf, to welcome you all to Tanzania and to Arusha in particular, especially those of you who come from other countries. As you will recall Arusha has been the home town of many important policies and blue prints which have had significant influences on internal and international processes for social change. I hope in this case too, who knows, Arusha could be the birth town of change towards more positive, ethically run, accountable and responsive Public Services in Africa.
I wish you all a pleasant stay in Arusha and in Tanzania and that you will avail yourselves of the opportunity to venture out of the Seminar room and out of Arusha town if possible.

I wish you all a happy stay in Arusha and fruitful deliberations and conclusions on this very important subject of the seminar.

I thank you all for listening to me. It is now my pleasure and my duty, to declare your seminar officially opened.
Closing statement by Mr. M. Aboud

It gives me great pleasure to learn that this important seminar is coming to a fruitful end. I am saying this well aware of the many hours of serious work that have been put into the work. My awareness is a result of the fact that I had the privilege of being one of the participants.

There are so many seminars taking place in Africa today. This seminar is one of those seminars. However, unlike those other seminars this seminar has special importance for the whole of Africa. Africa is undergoing an economic crisis. This crisis has to a great extent been attributed to poor management, lack of accountability on the part of public servants, inappropriate political systems and so on. Nevertheless, we all agree that, whereas some of the claims are exaggerated, it is time that ethics and accountability in the public services of our countries have declined. Many governments agree that something has to be done.

What this seminar has attempted to do is identify factors responsible for the decline of ethics including factors supportive of corrupt behaviour. A lot of avenues have been opened in this area, even if they still have to be cleared further for greater success. You have examined the different measures which have been taken by the different countries to curb unethical behaviour and lack of accountability. The similarities and differences in these measures have been inspirational in recommending appropriate action, furthering the cause for which those measures were designed.

Corruption and other unethical behaviours have been called the cancer that eats into the very heart of our societies. One writer has equated corruption to a disease more serious than aids. People in all these countries know pretty well how they are failed by their public services. In places where the masses are hard pressed by the corrupt practices they do not know how to rid themselves of those problems. Here is where the deliberations of this seminar become important. Any practical results from your recommendations will be a positive
I am confident that these recommendations will fall on fertile ground because most, if not all, participants here are senior officials in government or influential personalities in matters of governance who are more than likely to get these recommendations to implementation levels. This is even more likely since they will be tabled at the AAPAM Roundtable which is attended by top executives from Governments.

I do not like to be over-opportunistic. Some measures will take a long time to create an impact on our public services and societies in general. The masses of Africa have to be mobilized against corruption and other unethical behaviour in their midst. The masses should be a source of fear to corrupt public servants. Corrupt elements do not live in a vacuum. They live in society. Therefore, if society came down hard on them they would be less inclined to continue with their practices than if they were regarded as heroes. This is an area which has been discussed at length under democratization, liberalization and so on. The empowerment of African masses is a potentially important tool for eradicating our public services of the cancer on unaccountability and unethical practices.

Many deliberations have been made before and on very important subjects. What is more important is the translation of the emergent recommendations into practice. I would like to ask the organizers of this seminar (i.e., UNECA and AAPAM) to distribute the report widely with the aim of getting it adopted and implemented. They have done so successfully in the past and will not fail to do so this time.
ANNEX IV

LIST OF PAPERS

1. Deeper into Original Sin: Ethics of Public Service in Africa by C. Ake
2. Ethics and Accountability in African Public Services by W N Wamalwa
3. Economic Analysis of Corruption by Jens Christopher Andvig
4. The Problems of Ethics and Accountability in African Public Services by K K Prah
5. The Ethical Dimension in Africa’s Economic Recovery and Development by M J Balogun
6. Education and Training in Ethical Values for African Public Services by P Anyang’ Nyong’o
7. Education and Training in Ethical Values and Practices for African Public Services by Jackson Njage-Rwinto
8. Ethical Codes for African Administration. Nature, Content and Limitations by C H M Barlow
9. Watch Dog Organizations for Upholding Administrative Ethics in Africa. The Case of Tanzania by Muhammad Aboud
10. Organizations for Upholding Ethics in Africa. The Case of Ethiopia by Girma W Selassie
11. Civil Service Ethics and Corruption in Cote D’Ivore by H Cobago Sarassoro
12. Corruption in Nigeria. Causes, Consequences and Remedies by Dele Olowu
13. Country papers submitted, by Mr. M Chondoro (Zimbabwe) and Mrs N Hlope (Swaziland) were made available to participants.
ANNEX V

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