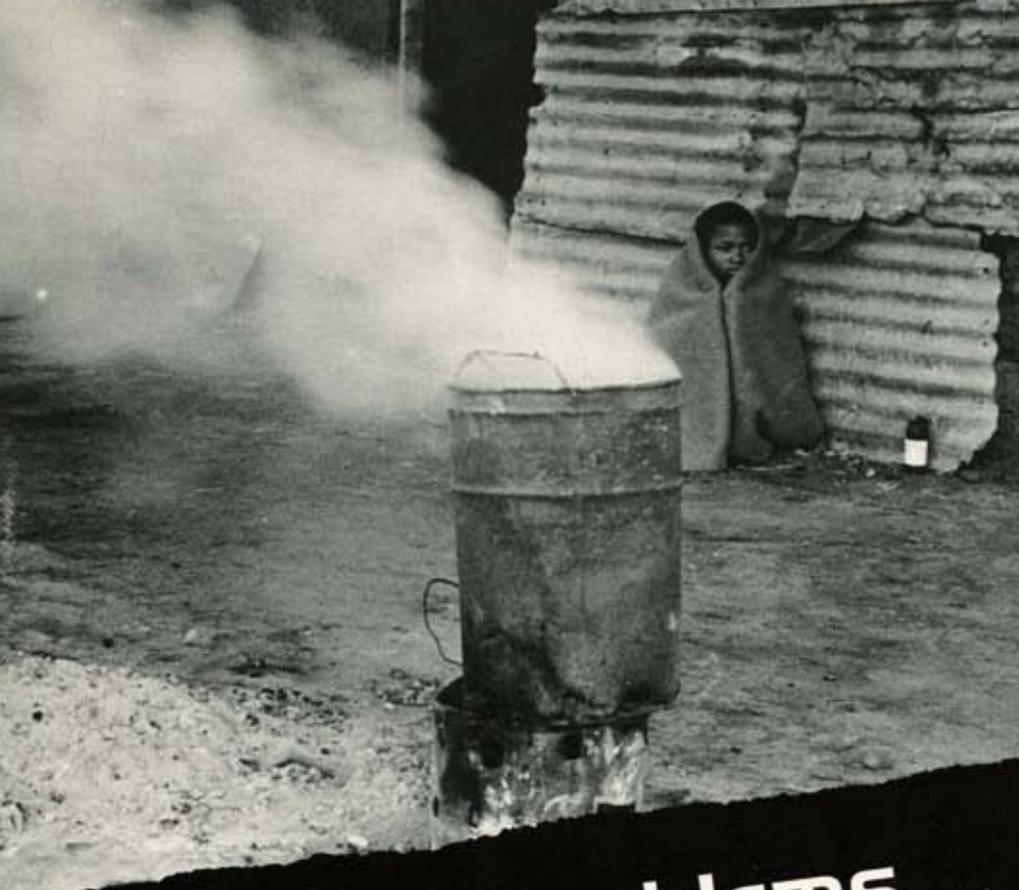
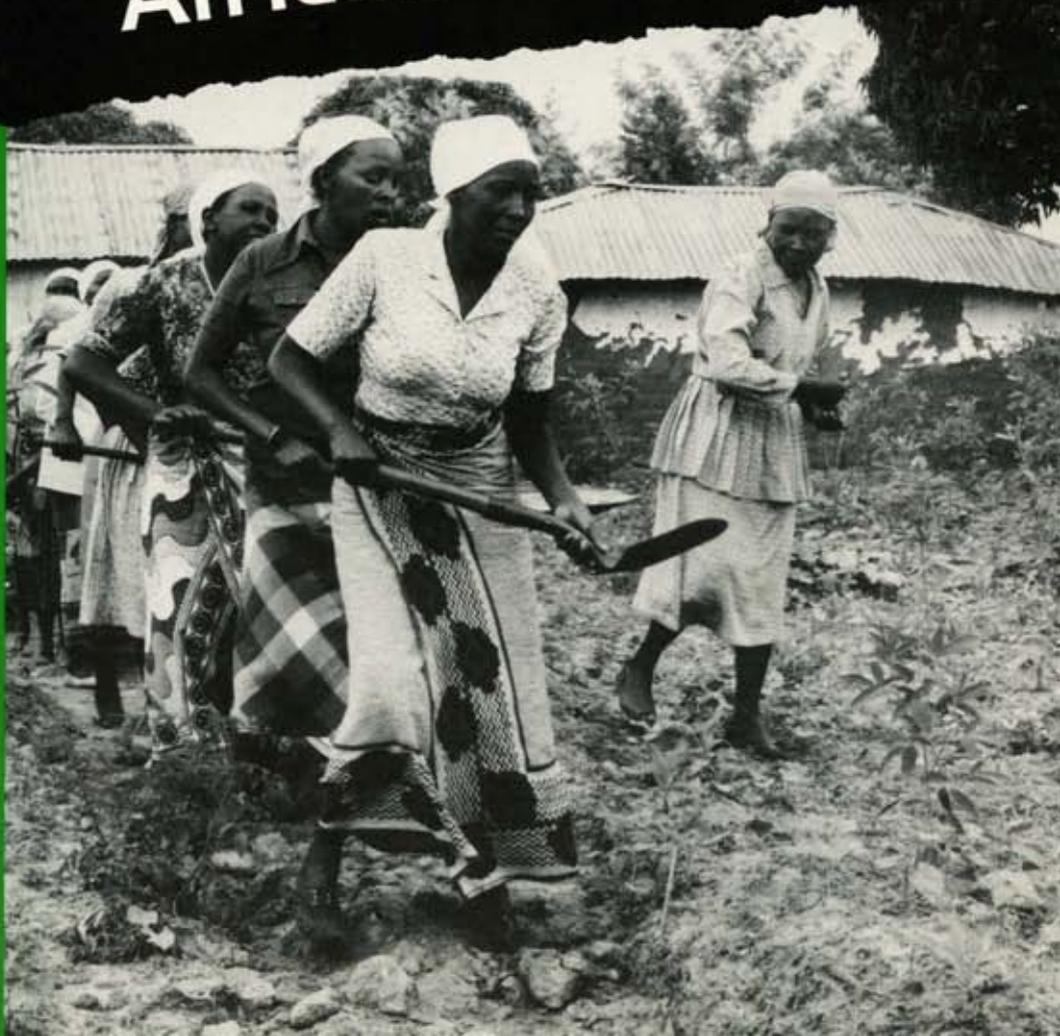


Africa Policy  
Information Center

# Africa's Problems ... African Initiatives

Edited by  
William Minter



**Africa's Problems ...**

**... African Initiatives**

**Edited by William Minter**

**Africa Policy Information Center  
110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Suite 112  
Washington, D.C. 20002**

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*"Inevitably, and irresistibly, popular participation will have a vital role to play on the continent of Africa, and play that role we will."  
Women farmers, Kenya.*

Photo: Pam Hasegawa/Impact Visuals

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## Introduction

The Africa Policy Information Center (APIC) is providing an extremely useful service by bringing together these three important documents within the covers of a single publication. Taken together, the three documents open a window on African views of the root causes of Africa's problems, and more importantly, the keys to solving them.

They speak with one voice about the central role of African people in efforts to achieve much-needed political, social and economic change on the continent. Yet each of these documents also makes its own distinctive contribution to development thinking about Africa, complementing and supporting the perspectives of the other two. Each has a somewhat different primary focus—on structural adjustment, or popular participation, or security.

The unique contribution of the *African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programs* (AAF-SAP) is its challenge to traditional thinking about structural adjustment as expressed by multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. During the 1980s, multilateral institutions and Northern donor governments pressured increasing numbers of African governments to adopt economic austerity—or structural adjustment—programs that emphasized cutting government spending and balancing exports and imports. The conventional wisdom was that such economic belt-tightening measures, though bitter medicine, were essential to economic progress.

AAF-SAP contested that view, pointing out instead that traditional structural adjustment measures—such as promotion of export crops—tend to perpetuate and exacerbate Africa's underlying development problems. It called for linking adjustment to a process of long-term structural change in which human improvement would be the central goal. Its

message: "No program of adjustment or development makes sense if it makes people indefinitely more miserable." Three years after its release, AAF-SAP is still the best articulated challenge to traditional structural adjustment programs on record.

The *African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation* had a very different genesis from the AAF-SAP, though the process which generated it also had strong support from the Economic Commission for Africa. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) played a central role in events leading up to the drafting of the Charter. The conference that produced the Charter was proposed by NGOs and jointly planned by NGOs and United Nations agencies. NGOs—including grass-roots groups—participated in the conference on an equal basis with UN agencies and African governments. The Charter itself was drafted by a committee of NGOs, UN agencies, and African government representatives.

Of the three documents, the Charter is the closest to being a document of the African people. Not surprisingly, it diagnoses the root causes of Africa's problems as the failure to put people at the center of development. It calls upon various actors—governments, UN agencies, Northern NGOs, African NGOs, and the people themselves—to take specific steps to promote popular participation. It includes a definition of popular participation frequently quoted in other UN documents, by NGOs themselves, and by governments: "Popular participation is, in essence, the empowerment of the people to effectively involve themselves in creating the structures and in designing policies and programs that serve the interests of all." The African Charter is a landmark document: an expression of the will of the African people at a moment in history when throughout the continent 'the people' are increasingly demanding a larger role in the important decisions affecting their lives.

*The Kampala Document* is, by contrast, a statement of African leaders, including former and current heads of state, that offers an African perspective on security and governance issues. It defines security broadly, linking security to development and regional cooperation. It wears proudly its African origins by grouping its key principles under four 'calabashes': security, stability, development and cooperation.

The unique contribution of *The Kampala Document* is the way in which it relates security and stability to the pursuit of people-centered development. It defines security not simply in military terms, but rather in terms of the ability of the individual citizen to live in peace, have access to basic necessities, and participate freely in governance. The document contains numerous references to popular participation, including a reference to the African Charter for

Popular Participation. It goes farther than earlier statements of African leaders toward endorsing a cooperative approach to Africa's problems of instability and political repression by laying out basic ground rules for good governance and proposing continental mediation and peace-keeping mechanisms.

Unquestionably, the primary importance of these three documents is that they are a broad-based and internally consistent expression of African perspectives on vital policy issues affecting Africans. I believe their importance extends even further, however—well beyond Africa. If we are willing to listen, these voices from the African continent could also help those of us who live outside Africa reorient our thinking toward more creative, people-centered solutions to the development problems of our own societies.

Carol Capps  
Church World Service/Lutheran World Relief  
Office on Development Policy  
August 1992

The *African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programs for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP)* originated from studies by Adebayo Adedeji and other economists at the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, in Addis Ababa, and was originally presented as a proposed framework in July 1989. Intended as an alternative to orthodox prescriptions presented by international agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the draft was welcomed as 'a basis for constructive dialogue' by the United Nations General Assembly in November that year. Only one country, the United States, voted against the resolution.

The document published here is an abridgement of a popular version of the AAF-SAP which was published by the Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa in April 1991. The wording is taken directly from the Addis Ababa edition. Omitted words or phrases are indicated in the text by ...; transitional phrases inserted by the editor for clarity are set off by brackets.

Complete versions of the AAF-SAP should be available in libraries that are depositories for documents of the United Nations. A book describing the debate around the AAF-SAP, *African Development: Adebayo Adedeji's Alternative Strategies*, by S. K. B. Asante, was published in 1991 in association with Hans Zell Publishers of Oxford, England.

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# African Alternative Framework

## to Structural Adjustment Programs for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation

### *Chapter One: A Continent in Crisis*

The whole world knows that ... the African nations and their 650 million people have suffered a bitter and persistent social and economic crisis, especially during the 1980s. ...

◆ Africa has the largest number of the poorest countries in the world. Out of the 42 nations in the world that are known as the least developed countries (LDCs) which are the poorest among the poor ... Africa has 29 countries. ...

◆ Africa is the only continent where economic production per person has declined consistently throughout the 1980s. Per capita output fell from \$752 in 1980 to \$613 in 1988 (in constant 1980 US dollars). ...

◆ Africa's agriculture depends on primitive technology and is virtually totally dependent on rainfall. When it does not rain there is drought and famine. When it rains too much there are floods and famine again.

◆ African industry is overly dependent on imports of capital, skilled labor, technology and spare parts, and entrepreneurial and management skills are scarce.

◆ Africa contains many small States that have very small populations. ...

[The question is:] **What are the underlying causes of Africa's social and economic crisis?** This question [must be answered], otherwise we will never know how Africa gets out of the crisis and gets on with the business of development for the benefit of its suffering people.

The very structure of the African economy is the primary underlying cause of its persistent crisis. It is a structure that obliges Africa to keep producing commodities it does not need because its people consume very little of such commodities while it depends on other people for the production of its own need. It is a structure of dependency rather than self-reliance. It is a structure that is more import-export oriented rather than production-oriented. The other main features of the African economy are:

◆ The predominance of subsistence activities with people producing just enough to survive on their own;

◆ A base for producing goods that is very small, that has no linkages within it, that uses backward and unscientific methods and which has no modern machinery or technology;

◆ The existence of a large informal sector;

◆ The degraded environment with large chunks of land having become desolate and unusable for cultivation of crops or rearing of livestock;

◆ Lop-sided development due to the urban bias of public policies ... thus permanently leaving the rural areas in poverty ...;

◆ The fragmentation of the African economy in small markets;

◆ The openness and excessive dependence of the economies

including dependence on external factor inputs; and,

◆ Weak institutional capabilities.

The social structures also fundamentally contribute to Africa's persistent crisis. First, Africa has very distinct and deeply rooted types of social differentiations. These relate to linguistic affinities, gender, ancestral origins or blood relations such as those that result in ethnic groups or nationalities or clans. This has many implications on social mobilization for development; on efficient and objective economic management; on the proper functioning of national institutions; and, on political stability in general.

The political environment is also a major cause of the African problems. Basic rights, individual freedom and democratic participation are often lacking in African countries. Yet, without them people feel alienated and are unable to devote their energies to development and productivity.

Indeed, in a place where injustices are the norm rather than the exceptions, it is almost impossible to expect a momentum of progress. What you often find is disillusion, lethargy, repression, civil strife and an environment where fear and man's inhumanity against man prevail. Given such circumstances, people do not work hard or produce optimally and, naturally if people do not work hard, the pace of development, if any, is at snail's speed.

The combination of the social and political weaknesses has also led to an acute crisis of skills and management in Africa. This has led to a breakdown of institutions, closure of industries and a failure of others to maintain profitability. Lack of accountability has been a major problem for Africa. ... Self-enrichment at the cost of development has become a cancer that is eating away at the resources that otherwise

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**Only a healthy, literate and secure population can engineer an economic upturn.**

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would have been invested in development.

At first glance, simple cause-and-effect governs the relation between declining economic performance and declining standards of living: the former brings about the latter. But ... causes and effects travel a two-way street. In a world economy that places a premium on technology and information processing, only a healthy, secure and literate population can engineer an economic upturn.

Desperate living conditions fuel both social unrest and the internal strife and civil wars that we identified earlier as a major cause of social and economic

crises ... These, in turn, discourage outside investment, cripple domestic productivity and erode the will of citizens to work for a better future. **In short, government initiative, private investment and assistance from overseas will be unable to establish the conditions for sustained economic growth unless there is an improvement in the standard of living of the African people.**

... The whole economic setting has been put out of gear. Let us, for example, take agriculture. **Once net exporters of food, African countries now have difficulty feeding their own people.** Harvests per capita fell by about 10 percent over the course of the 1980s. About one-third of Africa's people rely wholly or in part on imported food ... Modern agricultural techniques are now applied mostly to export crops. The tremendous contribution of African women to the raising and harvesting of crops is diminished by their meager share of land, capital, credit and technology and by social and cultural customs and taboos that marginalize their role in the economy. Low-technology economies that depend on natural resources are exhausting the land through over-grazing, cutting down trees for household fuel, and farming techniques with long-term disadvantages.

Consider also the external trade sector. With a land mass second among continents only to Asia and a 12 percent share of the world's population (a share that will grow rapidly in the years to come), Africa

accounts for a mere 3 percent of world trade. This share is also declining rapidly. Too many African countries depend on too few export items ... Most exports are minerals and agricultural commodities, and the world market prices of many of these raw and semi-processed materials fell sharply in the 1980s. Unfortunately they are also unlikely to recover significantly in the foreseeable future. ...

**Even if production of traditional export items could be increased, there will be no instant solutions for African economies.** In the first place, flooding the markets with increased exports would, under a perverse trick of supply-and-demand, lower the prices of these items. Secondly, most industrialized nations, the major customers for African raw materials, protect their own miners and farmers by putting a ceiling on imported materials or fencing them out with protective tariffs.

Clearly then emergency borrowing to fend off the economic shocks of the 1980s did not and cannot promise to solve or stabilize the problems of African countries. [Instead it] led to rapidly growing debt. Debt payments to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) ... now outstrip new loans and grants coming in. In 1986, 45 sub-Saharan African countries paid out \$895 million more to the IMF than they took in. The net outflow in 1989 was \$657 million. So, African countries are just borrowing to pay out—a situation that is obviously unsustainable.

## **Chapter Two: What Africa Really Needs**

**It is clear that simply sopping up red ink by cutting government spending and balancing imports and exports will not deal with African underlying problems.** These problems ... have to be dealt with structurally. They are not purely economic. They are political and social as well ...

But the realization that Africa has to tackle the root-causes of the underdevelopment problem is not new or recent. Even before the shock waves of the 1980s had struck, African leaders had seen the need for a long-term strategy for structural transformation. Under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), a conference of Heads of State and Government in Lagos, Nigeria in April 1980 ... adopted the **Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980-2000** ... Up to this day, this blueprint contains a valid analysis and the right prescriptions for African countries to transform their economies.

The central principle of the Lagos Plan is that **the worth of economic development is measured only by the well-being of the people. No program of adjustment or of development makes sense if it makes people indefinitely more miserable.** Africa's central objective, therefore, is the alleviation of poverty and general improvement in living standards of the people. A

second objective, essential to meeting the first, is increased production through expanded and diversified productive capacities that can be sustained over a long period of time ... The third goal is self-reliance—both national and collective...

Let us look more closely at each of these objectives ...

First, alleviating poverty and raising the welfare of the people means, in essence, that people including the poor and the vulnerable ... have access to the goods and services that are essential for their survival and well-being. ... Services such as education, health and transport must also be available and affordable. ...

But what are those critical goods and services that Africa has to focus on? ... Of course, we all know that anybody on an empty stomach cannot be happy or productive. As such, the Lagos Plan of Action had **food self-sufficiency** on top of the African development agenda. The other elements of the LPA agenda include potable water, shelter, primary health care, education and cheap transport. If the African people can have these in sufficient quantity and quality, then we could say that Africa has made a start.

[This] entails other more specific aims. The most prominent of these are:

- ◆ Access of the people, especially the presently deprived poor, to the basic factors of production, particularly land and investment capital;

- ◆ Creation of employment opportunities so that people get the means to pay for what they require;
- ◆ Improving the pattern of distribution of national wealth so that the majority of the people have a just and fair share of a growing national cake rather than for the few to run away with the whole cake;
- ◆ Changing the food consumption patterns so that the African people eat more of what they can grow on the continent (e.g., maize, millet and sorghum) and less of what cannot be easily grown on African soils (e.g., wheat, rice, barley and oats);
- ◆ Internal mass production of essential consumer manufactured goods and matching the people's consumption towards these domestically produced goods; and,
- ◆ Maintaining the natural environment so that it can feed the present and the future generations without deteriorating beyond repair. This will require that people do not cut trees without planting new ones; that people do not keep too many animals (cows, goats, sheep, etc.) on very small grazing plots of land; ...

The second objective is that of establishing a self-sustaining process of economic growth and development. As of now, Africa's growth ... depends on world events and on natural phenomena like rain or drought. Whenever there is a drought or a flood African growth stops and calamity takes over. **Whenever the**

**world economy suffers a recession with falling demand and prices for primary commodities, Africa's growth goes in reverse gear and economic crisis ensues.** So Africa has to transform its economy to make it produce what it consumes; market what people produce and need and produce what is needed to produce other industrial goods.

To achieve the second objective will not be easy. It will also not be possible in the short run. ... It must be pursued with a long-term perspective, [including]:

- ◆ Structural change in what is produced and how it is produced, especially in respect of technologies and raw material inputs;
- ◆ Mastering the industrialization process especially as regards heavy industries and indigenous entrepreneur capabilities;
- ◆ Linking the rural and urban sectors and supporting the informal sector;
- ◆ Reducing dependencies especially on the need of foreign exchange, aid, and foreign experts and advisers; ...
- ◆ Increasing the productivity and efficiency of resources, including the reversal of the brain-drain; and,
- ◆ Ensuring broad-based and democratic participation of the people in deciding on their needs and in producing them.

Africa urgently needs to integrate its economies. The

go-it-alone approach that has characterized Africa's development efforts since independence has proved a total failure. African countries must realize that only by working together will they survive and develop. ...

**It must, therefore, be emphasized in the strongest possible terms that, as envisaged in the Lagos Plan of Action, Africa should aim at the establishment of an African Economic Community by the year 2000.** This community must be based on the objective realities of a unique cultural heritage, the massive potential for product specialization and the enormous advantages that will result from a unified large African market.

[This requires]:

- ◆ Removing trade barriers and increasing the role of regional trade associations;
- ◆ Agreeing on rationalized product specialization to reduce competition among countries of the same subregion; ...
- ◆ Pooling resources for research and development and widely sharing experiences in the application of research results.

### *Chapter Three: Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and Their Impact in the 1980s*

It should be emphasized that the crisis that struck Africa in the 1980s had many causes. The drought resulted in one of the worst famines Africa has known this century. The fall in the prices of Africa's major commodities made foreign exchange very scarce and very expensive. A black market for foreign exchange became widespread.

Countries could not import enough goods and could also not produce enough essential goods domestically. So, there were queues everywhere and domestic prices rose, almost everyday. Life was expensive and national currencies were nearly valueless. ... Finding themselves in a tight and desperate situation, African countries sought financial assistance from the World Bank and the IMF mainly because they could not get any assistance elsewhere ...

So, in essence, **the World Bank and the IMF became primary lenders to most of the African countries and quite naturally they made such assistance available on their own terms.** Their objectives were less to help African countries than to 'discipline' them and, above all, reorient their economic policies to the market economy model.

In this policy reorientation which is often described as policy reforms, the World Bank and the IMF took as their

model for proper economic functioning in Africa the classical free-market system, in which prices are set by supply and demand and profitable enterprises provide the engine of economic growth. ... When they looked at Africa, they saw practices sharply at odds with this free-market model. Many of the large industries were state-owned and not private-owned and a good deal of the agricultural products were bought and sold by

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## **The World Bank and IMF sought to reorient African economies to the free-market model.**

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government-run marketing boards at government-set prices. In many countries, a high percentage of these government enterprises did not operate efficiently or operated at a loss.

The world's two most powerful financial institutions also felt that in Africa, domestic food prices were often kept artificially low to make it easier for local people, especially those who lived in the cities, to feed their families although, the institutions reasoned, the governments could not finance the difference in prices. They further argued that raising the import duties on some

imported products in the hope of giving local industries a competitive edge only made African industries less competitive ...

National currencies were, in the view of the World Bank and IMF, artificially maintained at high rates of exchange, which made imported goods much cheaper to buy and also made earnings from African exports in local currencies rather low. Lastly, budget deficits which have their origin in the dwindling earnings from exports were regarded by these institutions as wrong.

A balanced budget was regarded as a policy which must be pursued even if it results in lower expenditure on education in a continent with the largest illiteracy ratio and in slashing health expenditures in societies with the highest infant mortality ratios. Also the number of civil servants on government payrolls, in the judgement of the IMF and the World Bank, made for unnecessary bureaucracies and contributed to national budgets running in the red.

To ensure that African Governments pursued policies that the two institutions liked, **the institutions as well as donors decided that to qualify for loans—any type of loans—borrowing countries would have to adopt structural adjustment programs (SAPs).** These SAPs were mainly concerned with policies that would ensure that African countries would, first of all, reduce the deficits on external accounts and, secondly, achieve a balanced government budget.

... Although the specifics of the agreements ... varied, [they] generally, if not always, included the following:

- ◆ **Cuts in government spending** particularly expenditure on services that are crucial to the poor, the vulnerable and the aged (education, health, housing, water, etc.);
- ◆ **Removal of import controls** and removal of low prices for even essential goods and allowing the free market to determine prices;
- ◆ **Devaluation of currencies;**
- ◆ **Tight-fisted control of money supply** and credit to burn away inflation and raise interest rates to encourage savings;
- ◆ **Privatization** of government enterprises.

The overall result of these measures, it was hoped or believed, would solve the fiscal and trade imbalances and improve the capacity of the governments to service their debt obligations. The 'fat' of government spending and intervention in the economy would be cut away, leaving the 'muscle' of a re-invigorated private sector to push development forward. Government development projects and social service initiatives would be suspended until adjustment was carried out. Africa would import less and export more. ...

**Were these policies likely to work in the African context? What would be their impact on the day-to-day aspects of real life? A hard**

look at the specific IMF/World Bank policy mechanisms shows that ... their advantages are likely to be easily offset by their disadvantages.

**Cuts in government expenditure** may, in some cases, be necessary. However, what often happens is that it is the so-called soft sectors of education, health, housing, etc., which suffer from the cuts. Many governments do not reduce expenditure on the army or on other non-productive and unnecessary areas. The result is that cuts in government expenditure end up harming the welfare of the people.

**Devaluation of currencies** is supposed to increase self-sufficiency by making imported products more expensive and African exports cheaper. [But] in the case of import-dependent African economies heavy generalized currency devaluation also makes imported spare parts, fuel and other inputs to African industries more expensive, thereby raising the cost of doing business. And since many African countries do not produce these products, it is not possible to replace them with locally produced ones.

On the other side, most of the countries that buy African products have set quotas on how much can be imported or have fixed prices in foreign currencies ... to shelter their own producers from foreign competition. Under these conditions, African products, even when they become cheaper in local currencies, do not necessarily gain new outside markets or earn more

foreign exchange. So devaluation rarely can, if ever, achieve its desired effects. But worse it leads to inflation, capital flight and bad allocation of scarce resources.

**High interest rates** may increase the incentive to save money, but they also encourage speculative investment that brings quick paper money profits to a few people while adding nothing to productive capacity. High interest rates and tight credit also make capital to start new businesses harder to come by. Therefore they result in stagnation. ...

**Privatization** of government enterprises that do not function well cannot be challenged. But wholesale privatization of everything that is government-owned cannot also be justified ... In any case, there are a few difficult issues [such as]:

- ◆ The shortage of indigenous businessmen to take over government enterprises;
- ◆ The shortage of local private capital to pay for and run such privatized enterprises;
- ◆ The greater importance of the service to the people of some enterprises as compared to their merely being profitable;
- ◆ The real danger that privatized businesses can and do fall into the hands of foreign big businesses; ...

**External trade liberalization** for underdeveloped economies can have some serious side-effects. For one, it can lead to



*African dependence on imported food rose dramatically during the 1980s.*

Photo: UN/Milton Grant

dumping of cheap products from outside such as clothes, shoes, creams, etc. This undermines the local industries that produce or those that would have started to produce these products ... So African infant industries fail to take off under extensive trade liberalization. This is also very critical with respect to imported food such as rice, wheat, milk, etc. Developed countries which have an excess of these food items reduce their price and export them to Africa to get rid of this excess at any price. If such a situation is not controlled, Africa will

never be able to produce its own food.

**What can we also summarize about the eventual impact of the policies advocated under the SAPs?** In general, we can assert that by directing the major attack of reform on global fiscal imbalances, SAPs were addressing the symptoms rather than the fundamental factors responsible for Africa's persistent socio-economic crisis. They failed to address the need for improved social and technological infrastructure and failed to

mobilize the enthusiasm, support and creative abilities of the people and grass-roots organizations.

Instead, SAPs simply led to the postponement or total abandonment of development programs ... As such no new roads, schools or hospitals could be built. Even existing ones were short of basic materials. Schools lacked chalk, writing materials and textbooks. Hospitals were perpetually short of medicines and drugs.

As the 1980s drew to a close, it became clear that economic turnaround had not occurred in almost all of the countries that had tried SAPs. ... Even the countries that followed adjustment programs with the most rigor were barely holding their ground. Most were suffering further set-backs including high inflation, lower spending on health, education, housing, sanitation and water. Also, laying off people from their jobs or the declining real wages caused suffering to reach unbearable proportions.

Four other aspects of the track record of orthodox structural adjustment programs are worth commenting upon:

◆ In several instances, the installation of structural adjustment programs was met with popular discontent, riots and political instability. Unless there are clear and concrete goals for long-term improvement to justify immediate sacrifices, governments imposing adjustment programs on the people are always in danger of losing credibility. The SAPs offered no such set of positive, tangible goals ...

◆ By imposing the terms of adjustment programs from the outside, the SAPs undercut the development of national leadership and indigenous economic management capabilities.

◆ The package of fiscal reforms spelled out a tight austerity policy bringing pain and suffering for the people and political risks for governments. **The World**

**Bank and the IMF had admitted that the 'shock effect' of SAPs would be painful, but insisted that the bitter medicine would bring economic health within a few years. The bitterness was tasted to the full but economic health was nowhere in sight.**

◆ Installing a strict free-market economy was not, as sometimes advertised, a return to normalcy, but a leap into the unknown. The principles of free-market capitalism ... have

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## Austerity policies brought pain and suffering, but no economic turnaround.

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never existed in pure form in the real world. Modern capitalism was protected in Europe by mercantilist manipulation of market prices and filled by wealth extracted from colonial empires. Also, it is a well-known fact that the startling growth of the economies of Japan and the Pacific Rim (Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea, Indonesia) in more recent times was accomplished through trade protectionism and active intervention of governments in industrial development. To expect African countries already weakened by international financial shocks to rely on naked free-market policies for development requires more

reliance on faith or miracles than on reason or precedents.

However, many African countries went along with SAPs because it was only by so doing that they had access to the badly needed foreign exchange, could have outstanding and overdue debt-servicing obligations rescheduled, and could attract additional official development assistance.

The many disappointments and deficiencies of orthodox SAPs must have affected the thinking of many people and institutions. **What did these people say and what do they suggest?** First of all, the institutions that strongly supported these programs—namely, the IMF and World Bank—have become as frustrated as the countries themselves. These institutions have made a re-examination of the policy bundles they prescribe and have, in a few cases, been more understanding of the realities of the African economic structures. They are, in a way, trying to make the new generations of SAPs wear a human face—i.e., not harm people—especially the poor and the vulnerable ...

But the evolution of these programs into more people-centered policies is slow and evasive. Most proposals seem to stick to the core of the old types of SAPs and to merely add some aspects of a human face. ...

## Chapter Four: An Alternative Framework to SAPs

The failure of African countries to bring about a process of sustainable development in spite of SAPs as well as the suffering of the people led to an outcry for an alternative. ...

It was generally agreed that any alternative to SAPs must at least have the following basic features:

- ◆ It must be a broad framework and not a standard program to be applied uniformly in all countries ...;
- ◆ The concepts of the framework must be viable, and relevant to the present African situation ...;
- ◆ The framework must be practicable meaning that it should be easy to implement ... and should not impose unbearable hardships and suffering on the people;
- ◆ The alternative should take, hand in hand, adjustment with long-term development objectives and strategies ...;
- ◆ For the framework to be effectively operational, it must, right at its conception and formulation, involve all the people at all levels.

... Any alternative to SAPs should attempt to find convincing answers to at least the following four fundamental questions ...:

**First, to what should African countries be**

**adjusting?** While most, if not all, SAPs in African countries had taken the short-term view that Africa should be adjusting to the financial crisis ... what the African economies require is to bring about structural transformation, diversification and increased productivity ...

Balancing budgets on its own can never make the African people richer and can also never bring about real development. The alternative framework was, therefore, anchored on the premise that any adjustment program ... must not compromise long-term development ...

**Second, what should African countries adjust?** ... This was one of the most difficult questions ... it touches on almost all aspects of socio-economic life: political, social, cultural, environmental and economic. ... The answer that was found was that African countries should adjust three basic elements ...:

- ◆ **The different forces** in the African society ... such as the domestic systems of government, the nature of the public sector, the learning systems, the cultural motivations and value systems, etc.;
- ◆ **The different ways and means** African countries produce what their people need. ... : the human resources in terms of know-how and imagination; natural wealth in terms of minerals, land, forests, livestock, wildlife, energy, etc.; the financial wealth in terms of what people can keep or have kept aside for the future;

◆ **The goods and services** that should be produced should, in the alternative framework, be those that are vital for the welfare of the people and for keeping the process of production running smoothly and continuously. These include vital goods and services like food, water, basic clothing, soap, energy for cooking, medicines, educational facilities and school supplies, cheap transport in rural and urban areas, sports and recreation as well as raw materials for small- and medium-scale industries.

The third question that the alternative set out to answer is that of **how to adjust?** ... Any adjustment that a country does should be done in such a way that ... human welfare is improved rather than worsened and that economic transformation will occur along with the adjustment. ...

The last, but not the least, important aspects of the alternative framework relate to the question of **Adjustment for whom and by whom?** ... Adjustment must be for the benefit of the majority of the people and as such, adjustment programs must derive from within rather than from without the people. Hence the alternative framework insists that adjustment with transformation must involve:

- ◆ Access of the poor to basic factors of production;
- ◆ Creation of employment opportunities;
- ◆ Improving the way national wealth is shared throughout the population.

Regarding the issue of who is to implement the alternative framework, it is necessary to emphasize the role of popular participation. Programs of adjustment with transformation should not be the property of only the government or the Ministry of Finance ... It should be the property of the people and the people's own grass-roots organizations. It is the people who should decide on the main thrust of such programs ... and also devise the means and actions to be taken to implement these programs.

### *Chapter Five: Policies for the Alternative*

[The African Alternative] maintains that meeting the needs of local populations and investment in basic development goals, such as those outlined in the Lagos Plan, are not luxuries to be easily dismissed or pushed aside while austerity programs stretch on into an indefinite and unknown future. Indeed the framework further maintains that solving the people's basic problems and establishing a momentum for transformation are the real solution ...

This chapter takes a close look at the broad range of policy options ... to be applied flexibly to the specific cases of individual countries. It is ... a sort of 'menu' from which each government can select a set of policy measures ... that suits its

purpose, the condition of the country and the problems to be tackled. ...

[There are] four main categories or blocs. ... It is imperative in order to pursue the path of adjustment with transformation—to have a wholesome and balanced meal as it were—to select from each and every one of the four blocs ... :

- ◆ Strengthening and diversifying Africa's production capacity;
- ◆ Improving the level of people's incomes and the pattern of its distribution;
- ◆ Adjusting the pattern of public expenditure to satisfy people's essential needs;
- ◆ Providing institutional support for adjustment with transformation.

#### *Strengthening and diversifying production*

The narrow range of goods and services that Africa presently produces either for export or to meet local needs has to be greatly widened. To do this a number of policies become very important. For example, credit should be extended on favorable terms to enterprises that manufacture essential goods as well as to food production. Investment from overseas in these sectors should also receive favorable treatment. A larger share of foreign exchange has to be accumulated and channeled for the import of spare parts, fertilizers, chemicals, machinery and other vital production inputs in selected priority sectors ...

For Africa to develop, it has to use its strengths in natural resources to build up its weak industrial sector. **A strategic starting point is to carry out processing of raw materials, agricultural and mineral, within African countries.** Processed exports will always earn more money overseas and local industrial capacity will be increased and diversified. Even employment will increase very much. Links between agriculture and industry will fortify both sectors and make both sectors dynamic. Certain agricultural products, for instance, may be employed as raw materials in new industries, and some by-products can be used as fertilizers or as sources of energy. Manufacturing for its part would supply agriculture with what the sector needs in order to produce more and more efficiently: agricultural tools and machinery, irrigation equipment, pesticides, etc. Manufacturing will also produce essential goods such as sugar, salt, soap, clothes, books, etc., to satisfy the needs of the rural farmers.

... It is the development of human resources that will, in the final analysis, determine the course and content of the transformation process. The creativity and imagination of the African people will be the real factor in what Africa will be able to achieve. Hard work, understanding of the issues, dedication to African causes and a clear vision of the people will also be essential. [Therefore] it is necessary to focus on the development, mobilization and efficient utilization of one of Africa's most abundant resources: its people. ...

Another requirement to build a broader base for production is to get scientific researchers involved directly with productive enterprises. ...

An additional area of strategic opportunity is to be found in the informal sector of Africa's economy. Cottage and small-scale businesses like car repair services, sewing, brick-making as well as light manufacture and assembly operations can effectively occupy a large proportion of overall economic activity in Africa. Already, these small enterprises in the informal sector are filling a large vacuum ... Instead of harassing this sector, it should be supported and encouraged ... through access to credit and flexible regulatory procedures ...

Food self-sufficiency is a very special category in the area of strengthening and diversifying Africa's production capacity. If it can feed its people, Africa will strengthen its human resources, reduce political instability and stem the loss of foreign exchange that has to be spent on imports of food. Therefore, AAF-SAP accordingly proposes that national governments should allocate a minimum of 20-25 percent of total public investment to agriculture and particularly to food production.

Government spending in agriculture should not only be on direct inputs such as seeds, fertilizers, or on extension services and technical assistance to farmers and farmers' cooperatives, but also on improvement of rural

infrastructures like roads and storage facilities. Creating more jobs in the countryside and making the rural area attractive to live in will reduce the exodus of rural people to cities and provide a larger domestic market for national industries.

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## Creating jobs in the countryside will reduce the rural exodus.

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Land reform—more equitable distribution of land on which to grow crops or to raise cattle and more open rules for legal ownership of land—is high on AAF-SAP's agenda for Africa. **Special emphasis is placed on granting legal recognition to the rights of African women to land.** This is very basic because more than 85 percent of the African women of working age are estimated to be involved in agricultural production.

**The common tendency to favor production of crops for export (the so-called cash-crops) over production of food for local consumption needs to be corrected.** ... AAF-SAP strongly advocates price support policies for food production.

Trade and currency exchange rates are also very important in the process of strengthening and diversifying Africa's production base. Thus,

a central feature of AAF-SAP is ... the use of **multiple exchange rates** ... Under this policy, the rate at which the currency of an African country is exchanged for foreign currency will vary in the cases of different imports and exports and other financial transactions. African Governments can promote industries of strategic national importance by assigning favorable terms of exchange to designated products ... Conversely, vital imports can be encouraged.

Unfavorable rates of exchange on non-essential imports and luxury items and on capital flight (wealth amassed in African countries but taken outside of Africa) will help the balance of payments ... Specially assigned currency exchange rates can also be applied to earnings of Africans working abroad, if they wish to send some of the earnings to their families or to transfer their savings to the home countries ...

Careful use of multiple exchange rates ... is an alternative to the problems associated with highly over-valued currencies ... It also avoids some of the drawbacks that have emerged from across-the-board and massive currency devaluations especially those of very high price rises, falling purchasing power and blockage of necessary imports such as medicines, spare parts, industrial inputs and petrol. ...

### *Improving the level of income and its pattern of distribution*

In undertaking adjustment with transformation, AAF-SAP calls for aiming at increasing the level of income. ... It is very costly and perhaps even counter-productive to undertake programs of adjustment that deflate the economy like one deflates a balloon. When an economy does not grow or goes into a recession, more people become unemployed, real wages decline and poverty increases. AAF-SAP strongly advises against such policies.

What it recommends are those policies that will increase the dynamism of the economy and increase incomes of the people. In this respect, **resource mobilization** and their efficient utilization is a necessary first step.

Governments are urged to find innovative ways to get more revenue. It also urges on governments the reduction of defense expenditure and of other non-productive public expenditure ... In contrast to Latin America, where average expenditures on education are twice those for defense, developing Africa spends less on education and health put together than on the military. As of now, only in cases where countries face outside aggression and destabilization are there legitimate reasons for maintaining current levels of military spending. ...

Decisive government action is needed to **plug financial leakages**, such as payments for unnecessary imports or overpriced imports

or underpriced exports, flight of capital to foreign banks by foreigners and Africans alike, government inefficiency, and untaxable profits made through criminal activity.

Also, an unacceptably high share of Africa's scarce foreign exchange is tied up in payments on foreign debt. To free financial resources for productive investment, debt relief on the part of international creditors is called for as is improved debt management by African Governments. Only a small proportion of the massive amount of debt that exists worldwide is owed by African countries. Relinquishing a portion of the African debt will not threaten the international credit system, but will make a tremendous difference to national economies which are presently making debt payments which are nearly as large as their export earnings.

... Because the people of Africa must be equipped to lead a new generation of development programs, and because human well-being is the central goal of economic development, AAF-SAP recommends that **at least 30 percent of total government spending be allocated to health, education and other vital social services**. Cutbacks in spending achieved at the expense of investment in Africa's human capital are unproductive in the long run ...

Privatization of government enterprises is not neglected by AAF-SAP ... The framework recognizes that governments ... must give up ownership of certain

unprofitable operations, by selling them off preferably to national private businessmen and business women. But ... under current African conditions, governments cannot completely abandon their role in ensuring development. Essential social services must be provided. Protecting the environment, building ports and roads, modernizing communication networks, establishing a system of primary, secondary and technical schools and colleges that will promote mastery of modern technology, to mention but a few, are all functions that must be carried out even if they rarely will produce high visible financial profits. In other cases, it is better to concentrate efforts on improving the quality of management of important state-run enterprises than to sell off valuable public property at a loss ...

Therefore, AAF-SAP suggests that African countries should strike a pragmatic balance between the public and private sectors by eliminating subsidies to enterprises that do not provide social services or promote strategic development needs; adopting investment codes to encourage new businesses; making loans available at low interest rates; and, maintaining government involvement as and when necessary especially in the crucial sectors of the economy.

Concerned about the need to improve the way national wealth is shared among the population, AAF-SAP proposes a strong policy of guaranteed minimum prices for food crops managed through strategic food

reserves. This policy is seen as being crucial in assuring income to farmers. ... It should always be stressed to government that the majority of the African people are in rural areas mainly as farmers. According to AAF-SAP, policies must favor and protect this majority rather than the urban elites as most plans and programs have tended to do up to now.

*Adjusting the pattern of expenditure for the satisfaction of vital needs*

Old-styled types of SAPs put a lot of emphasis on the adoption of policies that would reduce expenditures of government and peoples to bring them to the level of incomes, [such as] cuts in expenditure on wages, elimination of subsidies on consumer goods and essential services and to government enterprises, reductions in the number of public employees, and other budgetary reduction. Normally, governments found it easier to slash expenditures of the 'soft' sectors like education and health. The governments would also quite easily, if not readily, postpone expenditures on development projects ...

AAF-SAP flatly refuses to accept this very narrow view of adjustment. ... It is possible and better to deal with well-studied government expenditure switching. Such switching can bring about significant changes in the delivery of services and effectiveness of government without increasing spending. For example ... resources can be switched from the military to social services and

development projects. In this way social services and development itself need not suffer ...

AAF-SAP sees nothing wrong at all with the use of selective trade policies. Unlike traditional SAPs, AAF-SAP

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## Rail and highway links should be extended to connect African countries.

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sees clear advantages in using import controls including even the banning of non-essential goods. In this way, the essential goods for the people and the machines and equipment for development projects can be imported. The banning of certain imports can also help the growth of domestic substitutes and protect infant industries that would otherwise be swallowed up by cheap imports ...

A special feature of AAF-SAP policy alternatives that deserves special mention here is the aspect of regional cooperation in the design, choice and implementation of programs ... Many improvements in Africa's development pattern will involve projects that stretch across national boundaries. ... The exploitation of African rivers to produce hydro-electric power is one example.

Rail and highway links that run in a straight line from the interior to the ports—a legacy of colonial times—need to be extended into a spider-web network connecting the African countries. Improved transportation and communication links will encourage intra-African trade and ease dependence on overseas markets. Trade taking place within the continent will also be facilitated by taking down barriers between African countries, coordinating exchange rates between countries to make it easier to exchange goods and, when appropriate, bartering commodities of equivalent values without the medium of national currencies. ...

Research, especially agricultural research, that might be too expensive for any one country can be mounted by multinational efforts that pool resources. [Examples include] regionally sponsored research into improved seeds for staples like maize or millet, applying modern agricultural techniques to tropical and arid soils, contending with drought and stemming the spread of deserts, and preventing and curing disease ...

Similarly, Africa's productive capacity would be enhanced if countries could develop regional production schemes. National industries can be developed to complement those of neighboring countries instead of competing with them. Areas of high priority are iron and steel, machine tools, fertilizers, farm machinery and transportation and construction equipment. ...

Marketing is another area of cooperation that needs to be investigated. AAF-SAP calls for agreements between African countries and overseas purchasers to stabilize the prices of primary export commodities. It also envisions the possibility of assigning export specializations, so that competition between African countries for export markets is reduced and downward pressure on prices of basic commodities is eased. It is

clearly self-defeating for all countries to struggle to produce more of the same primary commodity (e.g., coffee or cocoa) as this will, in the long run, lower the price of the commodity in question.

*Providing institutional support for adjustment with transformation*

For all the above policies to work effectively there is need to support them with

institutional arrangements. This could involve the setting up of new institutions in rural areas and strengthening old ones. Examples of such institutional support include clear legislation of property ownership; financial institutions for self-help programs or for small farmers or cottage industries; supervised food production credit; indigenous non-government organizations, etc.



*This newly resettled Mozambican woman displays the work of her pottery cooperative.*

Photo: Ernst Schade/Impact Visuals

## *Chapter Six: Implementing the Alternative*

It is certainly not enough to have an African Alternative on paper. It must be put into action. [This] requires the active support and participation of the entire population and their grass-roots organizations; the full dedication and commitment of the government ... as well as the support of the international community.

At the national level the activities of government will have to be closely coordinated within it and between it and people's organizations like trade unions, employer's associations as well as non-government organizations. Governments must find ways to yield a measure of authority to localities and community self-management ...

At the subregional level, [there must be] close cooperation between the countries of the region: specialization of industries and specialized production of commodities for foreign markets; pooling of resources for research and industrial development; environmental protection; and, channels for increased intra-African trade. Coordination of consumption as well as production should be high on the agenda. ... It should be stressed that lack of regional cooperation was one factor that bedeviled conventional SAPs. More often than not, exchange rates, interest rates and pricing policies were adjusted at different times and to differing

degrees among countries in the same region or subregion, with contradictory impact and, in many cases, with policies in one country nullifying the effect of other policies in a neighboring country.

At the international level, multilateral development and financial institutions as well as bilateral donor agencies will have a useful role in implementing the policies of AAF-SAP. First, the international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF should encourage and support programs designed by African Governments to solve specific national problems of economic recovery and transformation. Second, donors should do all they can to respect the development priorities that African countries set themselves. Third, donors should give their assistance at the most favorable terms.

To adjust the ongoing selection of policy mechanisms and get early warning signals of deviations from objectives, programs need to be closely monitored. National, subregional and regional data systems will have to be in place to assess the success or failure of new policies.

Statistical indicators of economic growth and financial flows need to be studied, but so do qualitative factors such as the extent to which basic needs are satisfied, political and social vitality and progress in transforming production structures and consumption patterns. National agencies need to become more sensitive to the plight of ordinary citizens, whether this plight is

of hunger, disease, ignorance or the inability to educate their children.

Gaining the support of the population, however, will require more than an extensive public relations campaign. There needs to be genuine participation of the people in rebuilding African political economies. This will require that decision-making is democratized at the national, local and grass-roots levels.

People will have to be convinced that their leaders are accountable to them and that genuine ... consultations take place at every stage of policy formulation, planning and implementation with local authorities, non-governmental organizations and village and neighborhood associations. ... AAF-SAP offers an opportunity for the leadership of African countries to regain the initiative in getting national development going ahead with the people. ... Its implementation will require perseverance, responsible decision-making, alertness to changing economic conditions and full commitment to genuine democratization. ♦

The *African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation* was adopted in Arusha, Tanzania, in February 1990, at the end of the International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa. The conference was a collaborative effort between African people's organizations, African governments and United Nations agencies. It emerged from suggestions by non-governmental organizations to the 1988 mid-term review of the United Nations Program of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990 (UN-PAAERD).

The document published here is an abridgement of the official text of the Charter, distributed by the United Nations as document A/45/427 of 22 August 1990. The wording is taken directly from the official text. Omitted words or phrases are indicated in the text by ...; transitional phrases inserted by the editor for clarity are set off by brackets.

The complete text should be available in libraries that are depositories for documents of the United Nations.

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# African Charter

## for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation

### *I. Asserting the Role of Popular Participation*

We are united in our conviction that the crisis currently engulfing Africa is not only an economic crisis but also a human, legal, political and social crisis. It is a crisis of unprecedented and unacceptable proportions manifested not only in abysmal declines in economic indicators and trends, but more tragically and glaringly in the suffering, hardship and impoverishment of the vast majority of African people. ...

*The International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa was held in Arusha, the United Republic of Tanzania from 12 to 16 February 1990, as a rare collaborative effort between African people's organizations, African Governments, non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies, in the search for a collective understanding of the role of popular participation in the development and transformation of the region. ...*

*The Conference was attended by over 500 participants from a wide range of African people's organizations—including, in particular, non-governmental, grass-roots, peasant, women and youth organizations and associations, trade unions and others as well as representatives of African Governments, agencies of the United Nations system, non-African non-governmental organizations, regional, subregional and intergovernmental organizations,*

*bilateral donors, multilateral organizations as well as specialists, both from within and outside Africa. ...*

*The Conference was organized out of concern for the serious deterioration in the human and economic conditions in Africa in the decade of the 1980s, the recognition of the lack of progress in achieving popular participation and the lack of full appreciation of the role popular participation plays in the process of recovery and development. ...*

*We, the people, engaged in debate and dialogue on the issues involved over the span of five plenary sessions and 15 workshops during the five-day-long International Conference. In the light of our deliberations, we have decided to place on record our collective analysis, conclusions, policy recommendations and action proposals for the consideration of the people, the African Governments and the international community.*

The political context of socio-economic development has been characterized, in many instances, by an over-centralization of power and impediments to the effective participation of the overwhelming majority of the people in social, political and economic development. As a result, the motivation of the majority of African people and their organizations to contribute their best to the development process ... has been severely constrained and curtailed and their collective and individual creativity has been undervalued and underutilized.

We affirm that nations cannot be built without the popular support and full participation of the people, nor can the economic crisis be resolved and the human and economic conditions improved without the full and effective contribution, creativity and popular enthusiasm of the vast majority of the people. After

all, it is to the people that the very benefits of development should and must accrue. ...

We, therefore, have no doubt that at the heart of Africa's development objectives must lie the ultimate and overriding goal of human-centered development ... We are convinced that to achieve the above objective will require a redirection of resources to satisfy, in the first place, the critical needs of the people, to achieve economic and social justice and ... to empower the people to determine the direction and content of development ...

Bearing this in mind and having carefully analyzed the structure of the African economies, the root causes of the repeated economic crisis and the strategies and programs that have hitherto been applied ... , we are convinced that Africa has no alternative but to urgently and immediately embark upon the task of transforming the structure of its economies to achieve long-term self-sustained growth and development that is both human-centered and participatory in nature.

Furthermore, Africa's grave environmental and ecological crisis cannot be solved in the absence of a process of sustainable development which commands the full support and participation of the people. We believe in this context that the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programs for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP) ... offers the best framework for

such an approach. We also wish in this regard to put on record our disapproval of all economic programs, such as orthodox Structural Adjustment Programs, which undermine the human condition and disregard the potential and role of popular participation in self-sustaining development.

In our sincere view, popular participation is both a means and an end. As an instrument of development, popular participation provides the driving force for collective commitment for the determination of people-based development processes and willingness by the people to undertake sacrifices and expend their social energies for its execution. As an end in itself, popular participation is the fundamental right of the people to fully and effectively participate in the determination of the decisions which affect their lives at all levels and at all times.

## *II. Promoting Popular Participation*

We believe strongly that popular participation is, in essence, the empowerment of the people to effectively involve themselves in creating the structures and in designing policies and programs that serve the interests of all ...

Therefore, there must be an opening up of the political process to accommodate

freedom of opinions, tolerate differences, accept consensus on issues as well as ensure the effective participation of the people and their organizations and associations. This requires action on the part of all, first and foremost of the people themselves. But equally important are the actions of the State and the international community, to create the necessary conditions for such an empowerment ... This requires that the political system evolve to allow for democracy and full participation by all sections of our societies.

In view of the critical contribution made by women to African societies and economies and the extreme subordination and discrimination suffered by women in Africa, it is the consensus of the participants that the attainment of equal rights by women in social, economic and political spheres must become a central feature of a democratic and participatory pattern of development.

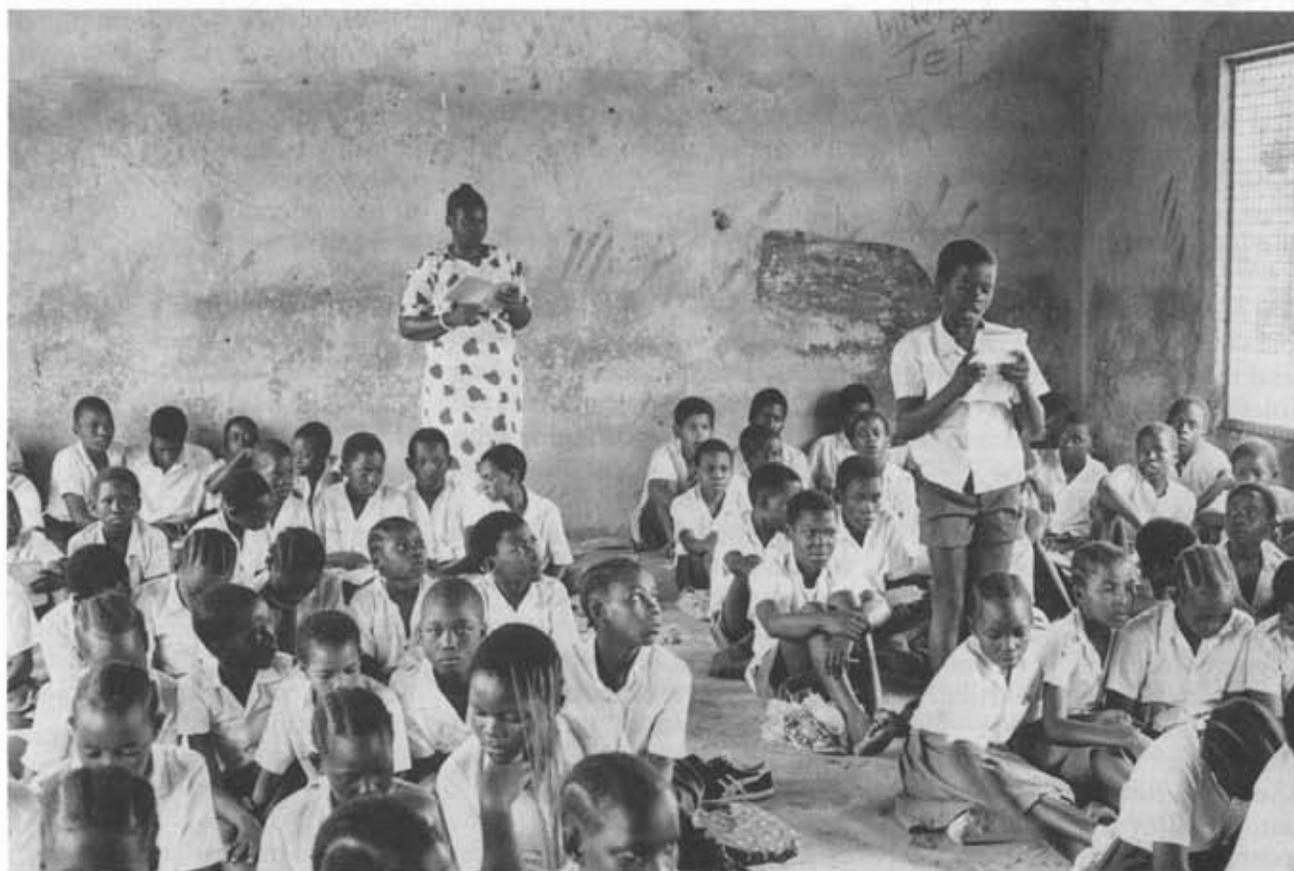
Further, it is the consensus of this conference that the attainment of women's full participation must be given highest priority by society as a whole and African Governments in particular. This right should be fought for and defended by society, African non-governmental organizations and voluntary development organizations as well as by non-African non-governmental organizations and voluntary development organizations, governments and the United Nations system ...

### *People's role*

We want to emphasize the basic fact that the role of the people and their popular organizations is central to the realization of popular participation. They have to be fully involved, committed and indeed, seize the initiative. In this regard, it is essential that they establish independent people's organizations at various levels that are genuinely grass-roots, voluntary, democratically administered and self-reliant and that are rooted in the tradition and culture of the society ...

Consultative machinery at various levels should be established with governments on various aspects of democratic participation. It is crucial that the people and their popular organizations should develop links across national borders to promote cooperation and interrelationships on subregional, regional, South-South and South-North bases. This is necessary for sharing lessons of experience, developing people's solidarity and raising political consciousness on democratic participation.

In view of the vital and central role played by women in family well-being and maintenance, their special commitment to the survival, protection and development of children, as well as survival of society and their important role in the process of African recovery and reconstruction, special emphasis should be put by all the people in terms of eliminating biases ... and taking positive action to ensure their full equality and effective participation in the development process.



*Africa's future depends on investment in its human resources.  
A classroom outside Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.*

Photo: UN Africa Recovery/Betty Press

Having said this, we must underscore that popular participation begins and must be earnestly practiced at the family level, because home is the base for development. It must also be practiced at the work place, and in all organizations, and in all walks of life.

### *Role of African Governments*

We strongly believe that popular participation is dependent on the nature of the State itself and ability of Government to respond to popular demand. [African Governments] have to yield space to the people, without which popular participation will be difficult to achieve. Too often, the social base of power and decision-making are too narrow. Hence the urgent need to broaden these; to galvanize and tap the people's energy and commitment; and to promote political accountability by the State to the people. ...

A new partnership between African Governments and the people in the common interest of societal and accelerated socio-economic development should be established without delay. This new partnership must not only recognize the importance of gender issues but must take action to ensure women's involvement at all levels of decision-making. In particular Governments should set themselves specific targets for the appointment of women in senior policy and management posts in all sectors of government.

We believe that for people to participate meaningfully in

their self-development, their freedom to express themselves and their freedom from fear must be guaranteed. This can only be assured through the extension and protection of people's basic human rights and we urge all Governments to vigorously implement the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the ILO Convention No. 87

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## The social base of power is too often narrow.

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concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize; and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

We also believe that one of the key conditions for ensuring people's participation throughout the continent is the bringing to an end of all wars and armed conflicts. The millions of African refugees and displaced persons are those with least opportunity to participate in the determination of their future. We urge Governments and all parties to Africa's conflicts, domestic and external, to seek peaceful means of resolving their differences and of establishing peace throughout Africa.

In situations of armed conflicts, we uphold the right

of civilians to food and other basic necessities and emphasize that the international community must exercise its moral authority to ensure that this right is protected.

We cannot overemphasize the benefits that can be reaped if, with the elimination of internal strife or inter-country conflicts, the resources spent on defense were to be redirected to productive activities and social services to the people. ... We believe that our Governments can make such savings and we call upon them to do so urgently. ...

### *Role of the international community*

We call on the international community to examine its own record on popular participation, and hereafter to support indigenous efforts which promote the emergence of a democratic environment and facilitate the people's effective participation and empowerment in the political life of their countries.

We also call on the United Nations system to intensify its effort to promote the application of justice in international economic relations, the defense of human rights, the maintenance of peace and the achievement of disarmament and to assist African countries and people's organizations with the development of human and economic resources. We also call on the United Nations system to implement its own decision to have at least 30 percent of senior positions held by women.

Special efforts are needed to ensure that African women are adequately represented at senior levels in United Nations agencies, particularly those operating in Africa.

### *III. Popular Participation in Development*

On the basis of the foregoing, we lay down the following basic strategies, modalities and actions for effective participation in development.

#### *African Governments*

African Governments must adopt development strategies, approaches and programs ... in line with the interests and aspirations of the people and which incorporate, rather than alienate, African values and economic, social, cultural, political and environmental realities.

We strongly urge African Governments to promote ... national development programs within the framework of the aforesaid aspirations, interests and realities, which develop as a result of a popular participatory process, and which aim at the transformation of the African economies to achieve self-reliant and self-sustaining people-centered development ...

In implementing these endogenous and people-centered development strategies, an enabling environment must be created to facilitate broad-based participation, on a decentralized basis, in the development process. [This] is an essential prerequisite for ... actions such as:

- ◆ extending more economic power to the people through the equitable distribution of income, support for their productive capacity through enhanced access to productive inputs, such as land, credit, technology, etc., and in such a manner as to reflect the central role played by women in the economy;
- ◆ promoting mass literacy and skills training in particular and development of human resources in general;
- ◆ greater participation and consensus-building in the formulation and implementation of economic and social policies at all levels, including the identification and elimination of laws and bureaucratic procedures that pose obstacles to people's participation;
- ◆ increasing employment opportunities for the rural and urban poor, expanding opportunities for them to contribute to the generation of output and enhanced productivity levels and creating better marketing conditions for the benefit of the producers; and,
- ◆ strengthening communication capacities for rural development, mass literacy, etc.

Small-scale indigenous entrepreneurship and producers' cooperatives, as forms of productive participatory development, should be promoted and actions should be taken to increase their productivity.

Intensifying the efforts to achieve subregional and regional economic cooperation and integration and increased intra-African trade.

#### *People's organizations*

To foster participation and democratic development, the people and their organizations should:

Establish autonomous grass-roots organizations to promote participatory self-reliant development and increase the output and productivity of the masses.

Develop their capacity to participate effectively in debates on economic policy and development issues. This requires building people's capacity to formulate and analyze development programs and approaches.

Promote education, literacy skill training and human resource development as a means of enhancing popular participation.

Shake off lethargy and traditional beliefs that are impediments to development, especially the customs and cultural practices that undermine the status of women in society, while recognizing and valuing those beliefs and practices that contribute to development. ...

[Make] concerted efforts to change prevailing attitudes towards the disabled so as to integrate them and bring them into the mainstream of development.

Create and enhance networks and collaborative relationships among people's organizations. ...

Support strongly and participate in the efforts to promote effective subregional and regional economic cooperation and integration and intra-African trade.

### *The international community*

We also call on the international community to support popular participation in Africa by:

Supporting African countries in their drive to internalize the development and transformation process. The IMF, World Bank and other bilateral and multilateral donors are urged to accept and support African initiatives to conceptualize, formulate and implement endogenously designed development and transformation programs.

Directing technical assistance programs, first and foremost, to the strengthening of national capabilities for policy analysis and the design and implementation of economic reform and development programs.

Fostering the democratization of development in African countries by supporting the decentralization of development processes, the active participation of the

people and their organizations in the formulation of development strategies and economic reform programs and open debate and consensus-building processes on development and reform issues.

Allowing for the release of resources for development on a participatory basis which will require the reversal of the net outflow of financial resources from Africa to the multilateral financial institutions and donor countries ...

Reducing drastically the stock of Africa's debt and debt-servicing obligations and providing a long-term period of moratorium on remaining debt-servicing obligations ...

Ensuring that the human dimension is central to adjustment programs ...

Supporting African NGOs, grass-roots organizations, women's and youth organizations and trade unions in activities such as training, networking and other program activities, as well as the documentation and wide dissemination of their experiences.

### *Development organizations*

The African and non-African voluntary development organizations ... are urged to take the following actions:

African NGOs and voluntary development organizations and their partners should be fully participatory, democratic and accountable.

African NGOs, voluntary development organizations and grass-roots organizations should develop and/or strengthen institutional structures at the regional, subregional and national levels ...

African NGOs and voluntary development organizations should broaden the dissemination of successful African popular participation and grass-roots experiences throughout the continent ... to create a multiplier effect and sensitize policy-makers.

The International Conference on Popular Participation ... recommends that national fora be established to enable honest and open dialogue between African Governments, grass-roots organizations and NGOs in order that the experience of grass-roots participatory development informs national policy-making.

Non-African NGOs and voluntary development organizations should give increased support and target their operations within the framework of national economic strategies ... aimed at transforming the structures of the African economies ... and ensuring sustainability with a particular focus on the human dimension and people's participation.

Non-African NGOs and voluntary development organizations should give due recognition to African NGOs and participatory, self-reliant development initiatives launched by African grass-roots organizations.

Non-African NGOs and voluntary development organizations should utilize African expertise to the maximum extent possible with regard to their development work in Africa and advocacy and campaigning work at the international level.

Non-African NGOs should strengthen their advocacy work internationally and in their home countries and with regard to bilateral donors and the multilateral system, closely monitoring their response to the African crisis and holding donor governments and agencies accountable for their policies and actions. ...

Cooperation and dialogue between African and non-African NGOs and voluntary development organizations should be strengthened to increase the effectiveness of their interventions at the community level and the building of greater understanding on the part of international public opinion of the real causes of the African socio-economic crisis and the actions that are needed ...

Non-African NGOs acknowledge that their influence as donors is often detrimental to ensuring genuine partnership with African NGOs, voluntary development organizations and grass-roots organizations and affects the enabling environment for popular participation. In that context cooperation in all its forms must be transparent and reflect African priorities.

African and non-African NGOs and voluntary development organizations

should, in addition to their traditional humanitarian activities, increasingly provide support for the productive capacities of the African poor and for promoting environmentally sound patterns of local development.

#### *The media*

The national and regional media should make every effort to fight for and defend their freedom at all cost, and make special effort to champion the cause of popular

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## **Non-African NGOs should utilize African expertise.**

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participation and publicize activities and programs thereof and generally provide access for the dissemination of information and education programs on popular participation.

Combining their indigenous communication systems with appropriate use of modern low-cost communications technology, African communities and NGOs, voluntary development organizations and trade unions and other mass organizations must strengthen their communication capacities for development. ...

#### *Women's organizations*

In ensuring that the participation of women in the development process is advanced and strengthened, popular women's organizations should:

Continue to strengthen their capacity as builders of confidence among women.

Strive for the attainment of policies and programs that reflect and recognize women's roles as producers, mothers, active community mobilizers and custodians of culture.

Work to ensure the full understanding of men, in particular, and the society, in general, of women's role in the recovery and transformation of Africa so that men and women together might articulate and pursue appropriate courses of action.

Implement measures to reduce the burden carried by women through: (a) advocating to the society at large, including central and local government levels, the importance of task sharing in the home and community, especially in the areas of water and wood fetching, child rearing, etc.; (b) promoting the establishment and proper functioning of community-based day care centers in all communities; and, (c) striving to attain economic equality by advocating the rights of women to land and greater access to credit.

Women's organizations should be democratic, autonomous and accountable organizations.

### *Trade unions*

Trade unions should:

Be democratic, voluntary, autonomous and accountable organizations.

Initiate, animate and promote mass literacy and training programs.

Organize and mobilize rural workers in accordance with ILO Convention 141, which African Governments are strongly urged to ratify.

Defend trade union rights, in particular the right to strike.

Assist in the formation of workers' cooperatives.

Assist in organizing the unemployed for productive activities, such as the establishment of small- and medium-scale enterprises.

Give special attention to effective and democratic participation of women members at all levels of trade unions.

Promote work place democracy through the call for the protection of workers' rights to freedom of association, collective bargaining and participatory management.

### *Youth and students*

Considering the centrality of the youth and students in Africa's population and the recovery and development process, the following actions should be taken:

Preparation and adoption of an African Charter on Youth

and Student Rights to include the right to organize, education, employment and free and public expression.

The full democratic participation of youth and students in African society requires immediate steps by

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## **Trade unions must give special attention to the participation of women.**

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Government, popular organizations, parents and the youth themselves to eliminate the major impediments to youth participation, such as frequent bans on youth and student organizations, police brutality against unarmed protesting students, detention and harassment on campuses, dismissal from studies and the frequent and arbitrary closure of educational institutions.

Youth, students, Governments and the international community must join forces urgently to combat growing drug trafficking and drug abuse. We also urge Governments to sign and ratify the International Convention on the Illicit Trafficking of Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

The advancement of youth participation in development also requires the protection of Africa's minors against forced

military service, whether in national or insurgent/rebel groups.

African youth and students should organize national autonomous associations to participate in and contribute to development activities and programs such as literacy, reforestation, agriculture and environmental protection.

Student and youth organizations must also strive to be democratic, accountable, voluntary and autonomous and should coordinate their activities with workers', women's and peasant organizations.

National youth and student organizations should take urgent steps to strengthen and further democratize existing pan-African youth and student organizations to make them play their roles more effectively in Africa's development process.

## ***IV. Monitoring Popular Participation***

We proclaim the urgent necessity to involve the people in monitoring popular participation in Africa on the basis of agreed indicators, [such as the following:]

The literacy rate, which is an index of the capacity for mass participation in public debate, decision-making and general development processes.

Freedom of association, especially political association, and presence of democratic institutions, such as political parties, trade unions, people's grass-roots organizations and professional associations, and the guarantee of constitutional rights.

Representation of the people and their organizations in national bodies.

The rule of law and social and economic justice, including equitable distribution of income and the creation of full employment opportunities.

Protection of the ecological, human and legal environment.

Press and media freedom to facilitate public debate on major issues.

Number and scope of grass-roots organizations with effective participation in development activities, producers' and consumers' cooperatives and community projects.

Extent of implementation of the Abuja Declaration on Women (1989) in each country.

Political accountability of leadership at all levels measured by the use of checks and balances.

Decentralization of decision-making processes and institutions.

We are convinced of the imperative necessity to follow-up and monitor the implementation of this Charter and to report periodically on progress achieved as well as

problems encountered. We accordingly recommend at the national level a follow-up mechanism on which representatives at high level of Government, trade unions, women's organizations, NGOs, voluntary development organizations, grass-roots and youth and student organizations will be members.

At the regional level, we propose a joint OAU/ECA Regional Monitoring Machinery. ...

### *Conclusion*

This Conference has taken place during a period when the world continues to witness tumultuous changes in Eastern Europe. Even more dramatically, this Conference has taken place during the very week when Nelson Mandela's release has exhilarated all of Africa, and galvanized the international community.

There is an inescapable thread of continuity between those events and our Conference; it is the power of people to effect momentous change. At no other time in the post-war period has popular participation had so astonishing and profound an impact.

History and experience both teach that this world never works in compartments. The forces of freedom and democracy are contagious. Inevitably, and irresistibly, popular participation will have

a vital role to play on the continent of Africa, and play that role we will.

It is manifestly unacceptable that development and transformation in Africa can proceed without the full participation of its people. It is manifestly unacceptable that the people and their organizations be excluded from the decision-making process. It is manifestly unacceptable that popular participation be seen as anything less than the centerpiece in the struggle to achieve economic and social justice for all.

In promoting popular participation, it is necessary to recognize that a new partnership and compact must be forged among all the actors in the process of social, political and economic change. Without this collective commitment, popular participation is neither possible nor capable of producing results. We, therefore, pledge to work together in this new partnership to promote full and effective participation by the masses together with Governments in the recovery and development process in Africa.

We, the people here assembled, have no illusion that the Charter will be embraced overnight by all of those to whom it is directed. But we are confident that this document is an indispensable step on the road to everything we would wish for the people of Africa. ❖

*The Kampala Document: Towards a Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa* emerged from a gathering in 1991 that was convened at the initiative of the Africa Leadership Forum. The Forum, a non-governmental organization involving former heads of state and prominent Africans from many countries, is headed by Olusegun Obasanjo. The Kampala Forum, in May 1991, was also co-sponsored by the secretariats of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

The document published here is an abridgement of the report published by the Africa Leadership Forum. The wording is taken directly from the original. Omitted words or phrases are indicated in the text by ...; transitional phrases inserted by the editor for clarity are set off by brackets.

The full version of *The Kampala Document* was published by the Africa Leadership Forum, P.O. Box 2286, Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria or 821 U.N. Plaza, 7th floor, New York, NY 10017.

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# The Kampala Document

## Towards a Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa

*In Kampala, Uganda on May 19-22, 1991, over 500 African leaders, including a number of former and current heads of state, gathered for discussion on the continent's problems. Initiated by the independent African Leadership Forum, the conference was co-sponsored by the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. The Kampala Document was issued at the end of the conference.*

### *General Principles*

Every African state is sovereign. Every state respects the rights inherent in the territorial integrity and political independence of all other African states.

The security, stability and development of every African country is inseparably linked with those of other African countries. Consequently, instability in one African country reduces the stability of all other African countries.

The erosion of security and stability in Africa is one of the major causes of its continuing crises and one of the principal impediments to the creation of a sound economy and effective intra- and inter-African cooperation.

The interdependence of African states and the link between their security, stability

and development demand a common African agenda ... Africa cannot make any significant progress on any other front without creating collectively a lasting solution to its problems of security and stability.

A Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) should be launched to provide a comprehensive framework for Africa's security and stability and measures for accelerated continental economic integration for socio-economic transformation. CSSDCA shall encompass four major areas henceforth called calabashes: security, stability, development and cooperation.

A new order embodied in the framework of CSSDCA must be created [to] guide the conduct of governance in individual African states as well as the imperatives of intra-African and inter-African relations. The implementation of the new order should seek an active partnership and positive involvement of the rest of the world.

The fulfillment in good faith of all the CSSDCA principles must be adhered to by all participating states within the context of any other obligations each participating member may have under international law.

## Security Calabash

The concept of security goes beyond military considerations. [It] must be construed in terms of the security of the individual citizen to live in peace with access to basic necessities of life while fully participating in the affairs of his/her society in freedom and enjoying all fundamental human rights.

Lack of democracy in which people freely participate in government, denial of personal liberties, abuse of religion, precedence given to military expenditures over other sectors of national life and the lack of proper administrative machinery for the control and management of public funds are some of the deep-rooted causes of insecurity.

[Key principles]:

- ◆ Conflict prevention and containment: greater attention should be paid to measures to prevent or contain crisis before an eruption into violent confrontation;
- ◆ Internal and external security for Africa must derive from a framework of common and collective continental security;
- ◆ African governments must individually and collectively be guided by the principle of good neighborliness and a peaceful resolution of conflicts;
- ◆ National and continental self-reliance in certain strategic areas covering both military and non-military including popular participation in

national defense, is vital for Africa's security. The security of the African people, their land and property and their states as a whole is an absolute necessity for stability, development and cooperation in Africa. ...

Security must be the first pillar of the CSSDCA process because of the organic links between the security of all African states as a whole and the security of each of them, arising from their common history, culture, geography and destiny ...

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## Africa should institute a continental peace-keeping machinery.

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While giving due recognition to the provisions of the United Nations and Organization of African Unity charters with respect to the principles of good neighborliness and non-interference in the internal affairs of states, [there is] an increasing concern over domestic conditions pertaining to threat to personal and collective security and gross violation of basic human rights. The CSSDCA must aim at promoting and strengthening this welcome development to enable African countries to cooperate in ensuring the security of Africans at all levels. ...

[Policy measures:]

*Mechanisms for mediation, conciliation and arbitration:* There is, indeed, the urgent requirement to prevent conflicts and disputes from escalating into armed hostilities. This calls for the strengthening of conflict resolution mechanisms for negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration at the governmental, political and diplomatic levels ... In conformity with African tradition, the emphasis should be put on timely mediation and reconciliation.

*Peace-keeping operations:* Building on the limited experiences of Africa and cumulative lessons of the United Nations' operations, and taking measures that would avoid the mistakes which have been committed in such instances, Africa under CSSDCA should institute a continental peace-keeping machinery as an important instrument for the preservation of peace in instances which potentially or actually threaten the security of African state(s) or the continent as a whole. Such arrangements, however, should not preclude United Nations peace-keeping operations where necessary. ...

*Confidence building measures:* ... Measures between African countries are called for under the CSSDCA process to cover, inter alia, exchange of information on troop locations and movements; joint military training; joint military maneuvers; joint naval patrols; joint studies and seminars on subregional, regional and continental security issues.

*Non-aggression pacts:* A more enhanced policy measure for continental security requires a non-aggression treaty among all African countries under the CSSDCA process, along the model of a similar treaty that already exists between the member states of ECOWAS. The non-aggression treaty among African countries should also incorporate a commitment to defend each other in the event of external military aggression.

*Lowering of military expenditures:* The undertakings involving all the security preventive measures outlined above should ... pave the way for a collective process of lowering military expenditures in Africa under the CSSDCA process. Overall reduction of military expenditures by participating member states should involve actual reductions in ceilings of manpower and reduced expenditures on military hardware. Consideration should also be given to collective understanding of the type of military equipment justifiable for procurement or manufacture by African countries. ...

*Africa's Elders Council for Peace:* To move Africa from the confinement of purely reacting to events, ... an African Peace Council should be formed ... The African Peace Council under CSSDCA, should be preeminently comprised of the most distinguished personalities and African elder statesmen. The Council must be empowered under the CSSDCA and given discretion to effect a measure of intervention in national security problems of

participating member states and determine appropriate actions which may involve reconciliation and mediation or recommendation of deployment of African peace-keeping operations or both. The Council should operate under the OAU framework.

### *Stability Calabash*

[Key principles:]

- ◆ Adherence to the rule of law: Governments will have to vigorously follow the provisions of laws or codes legislated by an assembly of freely elected representatives. No one can be exempt from accounting for his conduct when a law is breached.
- ◆ Popular participation in governance: Active and genuine participation of the citizens of every country in the governance of public affairs has to be fostered.
- ◆ Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms: Promoting and protecting the rights and freedoms of the citizens of member states will be deemed vital.
- ◆ The establishment of political bodies: Political organizations should not be created on religious, ethnic, regional or racial basis and considerations and these should not be exploited by leaders.
- ◆ Transparency in public policy-making: Decisions

relating to governance of public affairs should be freely discussed and choices assessed so that the public will be mindful of the risks and rewards associated with any action of government.

- ◆ Religious fundamentalism, no matter from whatever religion, fosters instability. Governments must encourage the principle of separation of State and religion. Religion must remain a personal affair.

[Policy measures:]

*Freely promulgated constitution with Bill of Rights provisions:* Every state should have a constitution that is promulgated after thorough national debate and adopted by an assembly of freely elected representatives of the people. Such a constitution should contain a Bill of Rights.

*Existence of plural political structures:* Every country would ensure that there is no hindrance to alternative ideas, institutions and leaders competing for public support. In this case of multiparty pluralism, this principle requires that every participating member should ensure the separation of party from the state.

*Limitation to the tenures of elected political leaders:* There should be periodic renewal of the mandate of political leaders. ... The tenure of elected leaders in various branches of government should be constitutionally limited to a given number of years.

*Security of tenure for officers in the judiciary:* Not only should

the actions of the officers of the bench be unfettered by the legislative and executive branches of government, but their tenure should be guaranteed and provided for in the national constitutions. Decisions relating to the removal of officers from the bench should be exercised by a Judicial Commission. Independence of the judiciary must be effected through an inviolate tenure of offices, and through stable emoluments guaranteed by an act of parliament.

*Annual publication of records of compliance with human rights instruments:* To promote vigorous observance by African Governments of the various international legal instruments to which they would subscribe or have subscribed, it would be essential that the performance of governments be monitored. In addition to whatever organs individual governments may establish for this purpose, the charter and mandate of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) should be expanded for ACHPR to undertake an annual assessment of the human rights record of each African country and publish its findings. The monitoring role prescribed for the ACHPR is not intended to be exercised only in situations of human rights violations but as an annual routine ... The establishment of an African Court of Justice on Human Rights within the framework of ACHPR is recommended. The court will adjudicate between governments and people's rights. ACHPR should be funded separately drawing upon the funds of

international organizations and other independent sources.

*Legal instruments for protection and promotion of human rights:* An important element in fostering stability is to protect and promote human rights of individual citizens. This not only assures the individual of his/her rights and dignity but also enables him to actualize his/her full potential which itself is necessary for socio-economic development. Therefore, every participating state would be required to sign, ratify and implement African and other relevant international legal instruments in the field of human rights.

*Establishment and protection of organs for monitoring accountability:* ... These may include boards of audits for public expenditure, code of conduct bureaus for public officials and ombudsmen. Once established, these institutions should be given adequate protection through measures that enable independent financing and guarantee tenures for the officers of the institutions.

*Independence of financing for national institutions of adjudication and accountability:* The financing of organs of adjudication and accountability (courts, audit boards, code of conduct bureaus or ombudsman) should be paid from consolidated revenue funds not subject to arbitrary interference by executive fiat.

*Independence of the Civil Service:* An independent Civil Service having a guaranteed security of tenure, salary and pension with members nominated on professional grounds by an

independent Civil Service Commission. ...

*Right to own property:* A constitution approved by a freely elected legislature must guarantee the individual right to own property and the right to enjoy societies' socio-economic and cultural benefits.

*Free and fair elections:* The national constitution should stipulate inter alia that the citizens of participating members have the right to participate in free and fair elections in their countries through an election based on a secret ballot and universal adult suffrage. By the same token, every citizen of a participating member state has the right to stand for election to public office and participate in the affairs of the state. The presence of international observers in national elections is desirable as it will enhance the credibility of the election process and results.

*Freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention:* No citizen should be subject to arbitrary arrest or detention without trial or other forms of inhuman or cruel treatment. Provisions for *habeas mandamus* and *habeas corpus* should be made in national codes or laws. Legal aid services for those who cannot provide legal services for themselves should be funded from public revenue. All participating African countries should remove from their statute books all laws authorizing detention without trial.

*The status of women:* All the existing laws that discriminate against women should be abrogated and juridical



*Africans around the continent are demanding effective democratic participation. Nationalist rally in Namibia before independence.*

Photo: The Namibian

instruments and mechanisms that will guarantee and preserve the rights of women should be adopted. The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women should be ratified by and applied in all African countries.

*Youth and education:* The future of Africa will be in the hands of the youth of today. Educational systems should incorporate in their curricula teaching in African values, cultures, history, philosophy, etc. Research in African humanities should be given no less attention than the pursuit of science and technology. In the face of escalating education costs, strategies should be devised to ensure the acquisition of basic education by all youth. Education is a prerequisite to the full and effective participation of people in the democratic process and all efforts should be made to eliminate illiteracy.

*Proportional representation:* [To promote] maximum participation of all groups in their Government, the principle of proportional representation should be adopted, taking into consideration the peculiar situation of each country. The principle of proportional representation should be applied for legislative elections. To foster stability in governance of national affairs, governments should ensure that in making appointments, due regard is given to equitable representation at the central, regional and local levels.

*National borders:* To restore and maintain stability along national borders, bilateral non-aggression treaties should be concluded and ratified by each African nation separately with each of its border neighbors.

*Trade union rights:* In order to ensure industrial peace and harmony which is a prerequisite for economic growth and development all governments should respect trade union rights in accordance with ILO conventions and recommendations.

### *Development Calabash*

[Key principles:]

- ◆ Development based on self-reliance is the only viable basis—in Africa's circumstances—for the internalization of self-sustaining economic growth on the continent.
- ◆ Rapid physical and economic integration of the African continent is a *sine qua non* to Africa's economic survival in the 21st century and prospects for socio-economic transformation and competitiveness with the rest of the world.
- ◆ Reliance on commodity production solely for export has been one of the major causes of Africa's economic crisis. Effective diversification both horizontally in terms of broadening the production base and vertically with respect to processing and

marketing is imperative for the socio-economic transformation of the African economies.

- ◆ Popular participation and equal opportunity and access must be promoted and sustained as a crucial basis for the realization of Africa's development objectives and strategies.
- ◆ In order to foster effective domestic partnership in development, leaders and the governed should have recognizable responsibility for various aspects of development. The leaders should provide the vision that should guide development.

The development calabash is the *raison d'être* for the CSSDCA process. Collective continental policy measures must aim at a development process that epitomizes the African person. ... CSSDCA should create a truly people-centered development.

Africa's development policy measures must be based in the short term on Africa's immediate struggle for survival in order to address the more excruciating long-term imperatives of socio-economic transformation. Out of pragmatic necessity, the CSSDCA process should only address limited but key development issues to ensure a realistic chance of success.

[Policy measures:]

*Human resources development:* People are both the means and the desired end of the benefits of development. Africa's development is principally hampered by inadequate human capabilities. ... The

CSSDCA process should ... embody the following major priorities on a collective continental basis ...

- ◆ The adoption of programs aimed at eliminating illiteracy across the continent by the year 2000.
- ◆ Increase in the allocation of financial resources to education and training by diverting a significant proportion of such resources now devoted to military expenditures to education.
- ◆ Adoption of national systems of meritocracy. In addition, appropriate levels of incentive and compensation for professionals and African civil servants must be introduced, to assist in curbing the brain-drain from Africa.
- ◆ Introduction of science and technology in the early years of education should be encouraged.
- ◆ Measures to achieve an overall improvement in the quality of education should be implemented and monitoring systems to ensure continuity in the enhanced quality of education must be developed.
- ◆ The adoption of clear policies of preference for using African talent thereby promoting the development of a critical mass of professionals to replace the expatriate technical skills that currently cost Africa in excess of US\$4 billion annually.
- ◆ Promotion of vocational and business training and management skills.

◆ Promoting the use of and support for existing and new regional and subregional institutions that serve as centers of excellence.

- ◆ Establishment of a human resources skills bank for Africa for use in facilitating resource sharing. ...
- ◆ Harmonization of the continent's educational policies to improve the quality and relevance of education at all levels.
- ◆ Pool of resources for specialized training and expansion of student exchange programs especially for language training; countries with under-utilized universities should offer opportunities to nationals of other countries at a nominal cost.

*Capacity building and development:* Collective and coordinated continental policy measures in capacity-building must first target development of capabilities in the area of governance; the nurturing and development of those with leadership potential; measures to reverse the decline and enhance the efficiency of government administration in Africa ...

Special policy measures under CSSDCA must be targeted towards a comprehensive development of African entrepreneurial capabilities. The strategy on entrepreneurial development should be buttressed by active government encouragement and support covering extensive exchange of visits by entrepreneurs and some form

of technical cooperation among African countries.

Focus on entrepreneurial development must go hand in hand with deliberate policy measures for the development of endogenous institutional capabilities, especially technical and other forms of private consultancies. Relevant continental professional associations must be strengthened. In this regard, ... national consultants should be included in any assignment involving [continental or other consultants].

Major changes must be instituted to ensure accountability and the pursuit of modern systems of management. Other measures to be instituted should include a system of orienting leaders at ministerial and senior levels and adoption of the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development.

*Economic transformation of Africa:* There is a need for a complete restructuring of African economies to ensure in the long run a judicious combination of diversified agriculture together with industrialization ...

Viable development in the long run must depend increasingly on the application of science and technology. Schools and institutions of learning should be made to place more emphasis on science-related subjects. Moreover ... African countries should initiate programs and policies for the development of indigenous technology. ...

African countries should adopt liberal economic policies that will attract capital, a factor of production in which African states are enormously deficient. While encouraging privatization and divesting government of equity in public enterprises, the first option must be given to indigenous African entrepreneurs. ...

If Africa is to achieve a rate of growth that fosters economic transformation, it will be necessary to adopt those policies and measures that, firstly, harness the continent's own resources, and, secondly, provide incentive to attract investment both local and external. Specific policies such as an international reporting system on capital flight ... must be put in place. ...

*Finance resource mobilization:* The CSSDCA process must, as a top priority, seek to mobilize financial resources for Africa's socio-economic development and cooperation through, inter alia, advancing a collective continental position on Africa's crippling external debt. ...

Increased efforts at mobilization of domestic resources should involve control of excessive consumption and adoption of measures to promote domestic savings.

Africa's financial mobilization process should also seek collective measures toward an operational common ground between IMF/IBRD supported Structural Adjustment Programs in Africa and AAF-SAP as adopted by African leaders. These policy measures

must seek changes in IMF's lending conditionalities (to Africa) that must both achieve large net balance of payments support and a measure of greater independent policy by African governments.

Appropriate strategies must be adopted for collective comprehensive policy measures to reverse the net outflow of financial resources from Africa based on a moratorium that must be secured on external debt and improved arrangements with multinational lending agencies.

Promotion of joint projects by two participating members or more for funding from external/internal sources is a more practical measure in resource mobilization. The lending policies of the African Development Bank for joint projects by different sovereign states should be reviewed to devise a mechanism for substantial lending to such projects.

The combined effect of the various policy measures on financial mobilization should be geared to the restoration of Africa's import capacity for the necessary short-term recovery and development of domestic factor input for long-term socio-economic transformation.

*Agricultural development for food self-sufficiency:* The transformation of the agricultural sector by increasing food productivity and food self-sufficiency with a view to turning Africa into a food exporter is key to Africa's socio-economic development. The strategy for the attainment of this goal ... should make it possible for Africa to be self-

sustaining on food requirements in both the short term and the long run.

This strategy is in keeping with the Lagos Plan of Action and the African Priority Program for Economic Recovery. We therefore call for their full and effective implementation.

In addition, we recommend the following:

- ◆ Africa should pool together some existing agriculture research centers and mobilize the best available talents for such centers in a collective coordinated research for a 'green revolution' in the continent.
- ◆ Other policy measures should include removal of all domestic non-sanitary restrictions to internal food marketing.
- ◆ Consider removal of all duties on some priority food items for intra-African trade under proper rules of origin.
- ◆ Discourage imports from non-African countries of food items available in Africa.
- ◆ Launch an African commodity exchange with emphasis on food items. All these measures should aim at expanding agriculture output to a minimum target of 4 percent a year.
- ◆ Governments should establish a food and nutrition policy to ensure that food and nutrition considerations are made explicit objectives in agriculture and rural development projects;

- ◆ Adopt the food basket concept of using traditional foods in local communities to formulate balanced diets;
- ◆ Establish systems of production, processing, distribution and marketing of traditional foods;
- ◆ Embark on land reform (where this is not yet in place) to ensure that land is within the reach of the ordinary person ... ;
- ◆ Mobilize women especially in the rural areas and ensure that at least one-third of a country's technical assistance to small farmers goes to women. Mobilization should also take into consideration the role of NGOs who in collaboration with small farmers could design, implement and concretize literacy programs that are production-oriented;
- ◆ Private investment in agriculture should be encouraged. This should be aimed at providing profitable opportunities in farming and incentives in the production of local agricultural inputs to satisfy domestic consumption as well as export needs;
- ◆ While mechanized farming should be undertaken for export purposes, it should not be at the expense of rural farming.

To achieve these agricultural objectives, arrest environmental degradation and ensure increased production for sustainable development, African Governments should formulate sound policies for

water resources planning and development.

*Energy development:* Next to agriculture and food self-sufficiency, implementation of policies by Africa on energy self-reliance are essential ... Collective continental efforts under CSSDCA must concentrate on pooling human talents and material resources for research on alternative sources of energy, especially solar energy. ...

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## Energy policies must address the serious shortage of firewood.

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Priority in alternative energy policies must be directed towards sources that address the serious shortage of firewood for an estimated 55 million people in Africa in order to alleviate worsening environment problems. Effective policy measures to address this problem should include rural electrification. Major areas to power Africa's socio-economic transformation will remain hydropower and hydrocarbons.

Under CSSDCA, joint development initiatives should be undertaken to cover (a) interstate coordination and implementation of hydro schemes ... and (b) expansion of explorations and development operations for hydrocarbons through joint ownership, bearing in mind

that large-scale development of hydrocarbons in other developing regions has largely been brought about by state supported efforts.

*Industrial development:* The CSSDCA process should urgently arrest the ongoing de-industrialization in Africa, particularly under orthodox Structural Adjustment Programs. Intermediate and capital goods industries should be encouraged through multinational projects, and small to medium-scale industrial enterprises should be promoted vigorously with the provision of credit and technical support.

The current excessive import dependence of African industries must be eliminated through a shift of industrial strategy to domestic resource-based manufacturing in order to enhance industrial value-added in Africa. There should also be a shift in the focus of African industries to processing of raw material for exports and manufacturing to meet basic domestic needs for food, drugs, educational materials, housing, transport and water treatment chemicals. Mineral industries should be encouraged through subregional and regional cooperation. All these require the pooling of limited national capital, technologies and technical expertise as well as the pragmatic use of planning at national, subregional and regional levels.

*Trade development:* Intra-African trade is the most important component in the necessary structuralist integration of African economies.

Collective policy measures should target expanded intra-African trade in food and agricultural commodities including raw materials, through an accelerated implementation of special trade preferences. A second set of collective policy measures should create special arrangements for intra-African trade expansion linked to the establishment of some specific core and strategic industries. ...

*Transport and communications:* The CSSDCA process should serve as a vehicle for accelerating within specifically stipulated targets the implementation of the Second

Transport and Communication Decade for Africa. A long-term policy strategy under CSSDCA should aim at the development of multi-modal transportation capable of sustaining the movement of a large volume of intra-African economic activities. The viability of this effort aimed largely at railroad development must be based on its direct linkage with the establishment or expansion of core industries and the use of Africa's technical capabilities. Joint coastal shipping operations should be established. Air transportation should regroup carriers in Africa and expanded traffic rights should be negotiated

and implemented within the CSSDCA.

*Population and environment:* In recognition of the link between population expansion and the environment, a set of policy measures must simultaneously target both and proceed on other environmental problems: consideration of harmonized law on minimum age of 18 for female and 21 for male before marriage; putting a ceiling on number of children per mother; law authorizing property ownership for women and long-term national schemes for old age support.



*The international community should support African grass-roots organizations. Member of a women's association in Benin signs grant agreement with the African Development Foundation.*

Photo: African Development Foundation

A second set of policy measures under CSSDCA should set targets for reforestation, diversified sources of energy, regulation of all activities in logging in Africa; measures for safe disposal of waste and non-disposal of toxic waste from outside the continent; a development pattern that is environmentally sensitive; and, a long-term strategy coordinated with United Nations Environmental Program to deal with Africa's environmental problems.

*Science and technology:* Science and technology must be promoted to facilitate full exploitation of resources by optimizing on the use of existing institutions (both subregional and national). Financial support for this worthy cause should be increased. Access to the exploitation of resources should be open to both the public and African private sector with the Government playing a regulatory and not a restrictive role that stifles African entrepreneurship and initiative ... Views of the business community should be solicited on how obstacles could be overcome for every country.

*Women in development:* Africa's development in all aspects cannot be assured without the full involvement of women in decision-making processes at all levels and their full access to all factors of production (land, labor, capital). This calls for appropriate policies and implementation of strategies at the national, institutional and regional levels. ... Given the central role of women in food and agriculture all practical

measures should be taken to ensure their equal access to technologies that can alleviate their work load and enhance their productivity.

In addition to access to land, women should be given land rights by law so as to improve their access to credit and other services.

### *Cooperation Calabash*

Africa should proceed along the three tiers of cooperation:

1. Among African countries—using bilateral and multilateral agreements and the existing subregional economic groupings as building blocks towards the achievement of an African Economic Community;
2. South-South cooperation ...; and
3. North-South cooperation.

[Key principles:]

◆ Economic integration: African countries cannot expect to compete or develop individually, in the evolving international economic system dominated by regional economic blocs. Economic integration should be intensified and a shortened timetable for the African Economic Community should be agreed upon. Economic integration should be fostered by encouragement of increased interaction by people through removal of restrictions for temporary entrance and exit by

Africans from and to any other African country.

◆ Joint development of common natural resources: African countries will need to collectively act in utilizing such resources as waterways, forests, coastal zones and the management of environment.

◆ Interdependence: African countries must seek to explore opportunities for beneficial cooperative relations with other developing and industrialized nations. There is no contradiction between the need for intensified cooperation between African and non-African countries and the principle for self-reliant and self-sustained development.

◆ Supranationality: As African countries foster cooperation and integration, the need for devolving certain key responsibilities to continental institutions would be imperative. ...

[Policy measures:]

*Trade and production:*

Improvement of a variety of trade-related facilities such as transport, communications and payments arrangements are keys to enhanced intra-African trade. At the same time, there is need for African countries to deliberately seek and promote trade opportunities among themselves. ...

*Joint ventures:* The main focus of joint ventures should be increased production ... African countries should cooperatively stress the production of key components of medium and high technology goods, taking into

account economies of scale. Such joint ventures should build on comparative endowment of African countries. Thus, the CSSDCA process should promote cooperation in joint production by matching countries that have natural resource endowments with those that have financial capital or other inputs. The private sector should assume the lead role in promoting joint ventures while the public sector assumes the role of facilitator.

*Financing regional cooperation programs:* Development of policies on financing cooperation and integration should be given special attention. Innovative ways of raising resources for cooperation and integration programs and projects have to be found, given ... the paucity of intra-African savings and investments and donor preference for bilateral cooperation. African countries should set up a fund financed by a certain percentage of surcharges from the imports of individual countries. This approach will need to be implemented alongside arrangements for resources from multilateral financial institutions.

*Selecting lead countries to promote cooperation projects:* An important element in accelerating the cooperation process is the identification, development and management of cooperation projects. Given the time that cooperation projects are fully established and independent management installed, a lead country should be designated for promoting the project. That way, other member states can

have recognized focal points to which all issues pertaining to the project are directed. The lead country, then, becomes a catalyst for bringing a project to fruition ...

Focal points should be established in various African

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## Prospects for development depend on progress toward continental integration.

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countries to promote cooperation and integration. In particular priority consideration should be given to establishing ministries of cooperation and integration. The participation of non-governmental organizations in promoting cooperation should also be encouraged.

*Joint development of infrastructures:* To accelerate cooperation and economic integration among African countries, there should be intensified efforts at common development among African countries, of such infrastructural facilities as railways, roads, air and river transport as well as energy resources.

*Accelerating integration among African countries:* The Final Act of Lagos endorsed the approach of phased

continental economic integration, with the subregional economic groupings as the building blocs. Presently, all the subregional groups in Africa now have an economic group, though some countries do not, as yet, belong to any of these groups. The signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community would be a watershed event. But more important would be the policy mechanisms which are designed to give effect to the treaty as a framework for Africa-wide cooperation.

The prospects for all the development policy measures in every sector in Africa and the whole CSSDCA process will critically be determined by the degree of collective effort towards continental integration. ... A structuralist model of continental integration should be adopted based on a minimum timetable for an African Economic Community. Continental integration through strictly subregional models should be reviewed to allow for more innovative measures and strategy.

Promoting and accelerating integration among African countries would depend crucially on the support and commitment of African countries. Equally important, however, is the need to encourage and promote active involvement in the integration process of various socio-economic factors such as trade unions, chambers of commerce, women, youth associations as well as other professional associations.

These professional associations should be a vanguard force in cooperation, in standards, in training and research and civil liberties, as well as in other areas. The operations of professional associations, entrepreneurs and research scientists must not be restricted by national borders. Free movement of persons must be encouraged bilaterally, subregionally and continentally. More importantly, the selection of personnel of the secretariat of African Economic Communities should be based on merit to ensure the highest caliber of such personnel.

*Rationalization of existing intergovernmental organizations:* Given the multiplicity of intergovernmental organizations in the field of cooperation and integration in Africa, it is vital that their numbers be reduced. Such a step would not only reduce the expenditures of member states for such organizations, but would also enable governments to devote more attention to the IGOs that would remain. The few IGOs

should then be redesigned to render more effective services to member States.

*South-South (African and other developing countries) cooperation:* There is considerable scope for promoting cooperation between African and other developing countries. The Global System of Trade Preferences (GSTP) already serves as a framework for accelerating South-South trade. African countries should identify specific areas of benefit in the GSTP in the context of the continent's structural weaknesses.

African countries should encourage foreign investments from other developing countries which can contribute to enhancing their production and exports. Such investments should emphasize technology transfer arrangements and may be organized through licensing arrangements, franchising and joint ventures. Investments should be targeted at producing not only consumer goods but also intermediate and capital goods.

*Cooperation between Africa and the industrialized countries:* Cooperation between Africa and the industrialized countries would continue to be an important source of acquiring financial and industrial capital for the socio-economic development of Africa. The objective of these cooperation arrangements should be to remove the basic structural weaknesses of the African economies. Seeking to elevate Africa from its status of exporter of raw materials to producer of manufactured and other processed products should be the key consideration in any cooperation arrangements with the industrialized nations. Very importantly, there is need to promote cooperative arrangements in the areas of science and technology, food and agriculture, environment and energy.

International policy initiatives, such as the Global Coalition for Africa and others, designed to promote development and cooperation should include significant African participation in decision-making and management. ❖

NOTE: The Africa Policy Information Center (APIC) which is the publisher of this book is located in Washington and affiliated with the Washington Office on Africa. It is not the same as the identically named program of the African-American Institute (AAI) in New York. That program, which is administered by *Africa Report* magazine, is a unique resource library of clippings from over 200 African, American and European sources dating back to 1974. It is open to researchers by appointment.

