

terrain has been blurred.

Whatever political institution we operate, it must be essentially of our own design, flavored, garnished, and spiced by our history, our political thoughts and the societal dynamics that made precolonial political institutions persist and exist for long. Although, modern societies need structures in governance essentially different from some needs of the past, yet, we must not move like a people without a past. Ours is a rich political past. To lose our past is to lose our memory. The nineties must serve as the period of laying foundation for our political and economic survival and sustenance in the 21st century.

#### THE CURRENT TRANSITION EXERCISE:

There is an obvious and somewhat dramatic change in the African political terrain today. The undulating structure of the political landscape contains features of a strong move towards democracy. But then, it would be trite to state that Africa is at a historical watershed. I say this because the clamour that we are witnessing in contemporary Africa, while it is one for democracy, is so in an unrestricted sense. There are two broad reasons why our people want democracy today.

In the first place, the over thirty years of political independence in Africa has been marked by serious denial of fundamental human rights, arbitrariness, absence of the basic freedoms of and for the individual.

The second and perhaps more profound reason for the

contemporary clamour for democracy has to do with the inability of most African governments to better the lot of the citizenry. Whatever may be the case or reason, the genie is out of the bottle there is not putting it back.

What have the current transition exercises shown us? Whether we take the experiences of Zambia, Benin, Central Africa Republic, Equatorial Guinea, one thing is certain, the emergence of democratic movements in Africa through national conferences patriotic forces or groupings for multi-partism is a firm indication that there could be in existence, a vigorous civil society capable of effectively nurturing and sustaining the institutions of democracy and good governance.

In each instance, the civil society appeared to have taken Ted Gurr and Locke together in bringing the polity back to order and removing the diseased part of the general will for the good of all.

Let me add, however, that the new crop of leadership must as it is being witnessed now, avoid the pitfalls and undoings of their predecessors. I say this because recently someone observed that while it took the former president in a country in Africa ten years to start to go bad. The new president took less than six months to start to go bad. Such an observation is omenous and portends serious danger for the future.

#### MOVING FORWARD:

In an era of increasing global economic and political integration, African cannot afford to remain unchanged. It is time

we pursue the goal of integration with more seriousness. Private initiative should be given a free reign in this thrust and move. I am convinced that the concretization of an African Helsinki process should be seen as part of an overall attempt at pushing for a stronger and enduring integrated Africa.

It was with this conviction, that in 1991, the Africa Leadership Forum initiated the move towards convening a conference on "Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa". The series of meeting culminated in what is now referred to as the Kampala Forum which resulted in the adoption of the Kampala Document by over 500 participants, mainly Africans from all walks of life.

We agreed that the concept of security goes beyond military considerations, it embraces all aspects of the society including economic, political and social dimensions of individual, family, community, local and national life. The security of a nation 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.

It was agreed that promoting political and social stability in individual African countries will be a key component in the CSSDCA process. The stability will have to be guided by certain important principles to be adhered to by all states. This would involve adherence to the rule of law; popular participation in governance; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; 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.

Africa must subscribe to some basic fundamental principles to fashion the common direction of development under the CSSDCA process. Development based on self-reliance is the only viable basis - in Africa's circumstances - for the internalization of a 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 horizontal 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. Domestic partnership in development. Leaders and the governed should have responsibility for various aspects of development. The Leaders should provide the vision that should guide development. The development "calabash" is the raison d'etre for the CSSDCA process. Collective continental policy measures must aim at a development process that epitomizes the African person. A maximum

harnessing of the energies and initiatives of people by unlocking and developing their capacity for imagination and developing their ability to participate in the definition and implementation of development goals. Implementation of the CSSDCA process 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.

The CSSDCA process should develop a framework for collective action and policy so as to provide impetus for cooperation on a wide range of areas. The participating states of the CSSDCA process will decide upon what those areas should be. Promotion of integration and cooperation should be guided by some basic common policy measures.

Those within and outside the continent who are still in doubt about Africa's capacity and the determination of its people - as opposed to some of their governments, to regain their position and become full partners in global affairs and in their own development, those who are making the error of writing off Africa have forgotten that there are no constant values in human existence. Emerging generations of Africans like various generations in other societies will gradually overcome the forces of oppression and dictatorship in Africa and construct the



necessary democratic values based on an orderly form of governance of our societies to trigger a sustained process of socio-economic transformation in Africa.

I am aware that it is fashionable to talk of aid-fatigue and donor-disenchantment in respect to official development assistance programmes and efforts in Africa.

While there may be some degree of fallacies and distortions in the aids fatigue assertion, there is no doubt that there has been a modicum of frustrations and disappointments on both sides of the aid divide which had led to mutual recriminations. But are we really absolutely justified on both sides to be so despondent? I wonder.

In terms of our starting point, what was the level of development in technological, physical, structural and human-resources when official development assistance was injected into our developmental programmes in Africa? The question has been asked why has ODA not succeeded in bringing about the improvement of our economies.

In ODA to Africa, there was no critical mass of structural infrastructure, institutional capacity and ability in the recipient countries and no critical mass of resource-input from donor countries and agents to justify Marshall Plan expectations out of the ODA programmes. We unwittingly led ourselves to unnecessary frustrations and mutual recriminations. In fact, we drove ourselves into a cul de sac. If Germany is transferring resources to the tune of about \$100 billion to the former Socialist East

Germany annually and will have to do that for almost ten years to make the East catch up with the West, we can appreciate the inadequacy of reliance on ODA and the need for self-reliance.

We must move ourselves from position of disenchantment, disappointment, and mutual recriminations to a new position of positive re-engagement. Let us start by learning the right lessons from the experiences and exposures of the past. Let us then develop new attitudes on either side to each other. Let us emphasize and extol the positive while we push the negative aside. For me, the first attitude that must be destroyed is the one that sees Africa only as a basket case, a continent of contradiction, conflicts, coup d'etats, conflagrations, debt, disease and death. Much as we may desire assistance in Africa, it is important that such assistance is not given on the basis of condescension. Efforts should focus on enhancing endogenous institutional capacity beginning with cooperation in ensuring communal and community efforts, peace and security within the locality, the nation, sub-region and the region, motivate and give incentive rather than disincentive for if a country resolves existing contradictions and disputes of a political nature, within its borders and maintains progressive political and social policies that should entitle the recipient to increased assistance.

Growth opportunities must be tapped and the de-industrialization process and the impoverisation process in Africa must be halted by re-energizing the African economies through African efforts and foreign investment. Urgent conclusion of



Uruguay Round of GATT agreement on the basis of the draft under negotiation will yield global growth and should enhance trading in African goods and commodities and bring about increased resources flow, political and economic stabilization. Successful and sustainable new strategy of development in Africa must embrace the battle against poverty, proper attention to environmental issues and population policies, taking into account the quality of life and the freedom and dignity of individuals and of the family life.

I believe strongly that where and when African countries give priority attention to family planning and effective population stabilization measures within their own budgetary resources, industrialized countries should provide substantial additional resources. Inadequate capacity or misapplication of available capacity is the greatest bane of African steady development and growth in every area of human endeavour. Building adequate capacity, retaining existing capacity and reversing the brain drain is an area in which Africa and the international community can cooperate. Alleviation of poverty, entronement of civil society, political and economic democratization and devolution of power to communities at the grassroots and moral re-armament are indispensable props to stable and enduring institution-building for political and economic development and growth in Africa. In Africa, probably more than anywhere else, bad economics is bad politics.

If orthodox cooperation has performed unsatisfactorily to both donors and recipients, if the UN Programme of Action for African



Economic Recovery and Development has had very little impact because it had failed to rally the expected international support for Africa's reform efforts, Africa and the international community must not now seek to face themselves with their backs. The situation in Africa calls for a new approach, a new attitude, a new model and a new agenda. Such an attitude, approach and agenda must be based on a true and genuine wish and will to assist in solving common human problems. For what we are facing in Africa is essentially a human problem, it is a human crisis.

It is therefore incumbent on us to seek a new cooperation modality on the basis of a compact that can challenge and satisfy both sides through target and objective setting and measurable and monitorable achievements involving donors and donor agencies and non-governmental commercial and non-commercial organizations.

This compact must be built and effectuated on the basis of a new approach of assistance to recipient countries drawing heavily on NGO's, the private sector and contribution by donor countries to reverse the brain drain, thereby enabling developing countries to draw on and tap their indigenous human resources and capabilities. I am convinced that this would be one way of effectively redressing the extant situation. Another element of this compact would be to remove the exclusivity of government to government relations. We must busy the private sector and NGO's along to establish new and effective partnerships. We cannot hope to achieve much in the area of joint cooperation in Africa if we do not devolve a modicum of responsibilities on the Non governmental organisations in both the

donor and receipt countries.

Thank you.