

Africa Moves to Launch A Conference on Security, Stability, Development & Co-operation in Africa

I. PREAMBLE

We, for and on behalf of the People of Africa, the participants at the Kampala Forum on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa having assembled in Kampala, Uganda from the 19th day of May to the 22nd day of May 1991;

CONSCIOUS of the political changes which are taking place in Africa and other changes which are taking place elsewhere in the world and their impact on Africa;

MINDFUL of the serious multifarious problems which are crippling Africa's economic survival and progress;

RECALLING that in July 1990 the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) adopted a Declaration on Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and advised that the fundamental changes taking place in the world should guide Africa's collective thinking about the challenges they face and options available to them;

COGNISANT of the fact that the recent geopolitical changes that have also brought about the relaxation of military tensions between the two super powers and their allies have enhanced the trend towards political pluralism which has in turn created an environment conducive to the promotion of intra- and inter-state security and stability in African countries;

CONVINCED that the transition to political pluralism in African Countries needs to be encouraged, supported and sustained;

REALISING that there is need to transform the African Charter on Human and People's Rights as well as the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development into effective instruments for promotion and protection of human rights as well as for fostering genuine involvement by the people in their governance and management of their national affairs;

AWARE of the emergence of regional economic trading blocs in various parts of the world and the rapid advances in science and technology, and alarmed at the observable shift of resources from the Western industrialised nations to Eastern Europe and for the reconstruction of the Gulf States which jeopardises resource flows to Africa;

CONCERNED that Africa cannot achieve economic and social progress at their present levels of external debt burden;

CONVINCED that the responsibility for security, stability, development and co-operation on the African continent rests not only with the people of Africa themselves but also on international co-operation, support and participation;

EMPHASISING that it is timely and imperative to launch an effective process among African countries which would create a framework for preventing, containing and eliminating pernicious intra- and inter-African conflicts and serve as an instrument, for the management and resolution of such disputes and conflicts as well as for the sustenance of regional co-operation, integration and development;

HEREBY RECOMMEND to the heads of State and Government of African countries to launch a Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA) to lead to the adoption of the following principles, policy measures and a process for its implementation after due negotiations.

II. PRINCIPLES AND POLICY MEASURES FOR CSSDCA

A. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

I.

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

II.

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

III.

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 co-operation.

IV.

The interdependence of African States and the link between their security, stability and development demand a common African agenda based on a unity of purpose and a collective political consensus derived from a firm conviction that Africa cannot make any significant progress on any other front without creating collectively a lasting solution to its problems of security and stability.

V.

A Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation 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 co-operation.

VI.

A new order embodied in the framework of CSSDCA must be created in Africa through a declaration of binding principles and a commitment to ideological independence, which will 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.

VII.

The fulfilment 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.

B. SPECIFIC PRINCIPLES AND POLICY MEASURES

SECURITY CALABASH

The concept of security goes beyond military considerations; it embraces all aspects of the society including economic, political and social dimensions of individual, family, and 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.

Lack of democracy in which people freely participate in government, denial of personal liberties, abuse of religion, precedence given to military expenditure 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. The security calabash on CSSDCA will be anchored on some specific key principles to be adhered to by all participating member states:

- i) Conflict Prevention and Containment: Greater attention should be paid to measures to prevent or contain crises before they erupt into violent confrontation;
- ii) Internal and external security for Africa must derive from a framework for common and collective continental security;
- iii) African governments must individually and collectively be guided by the principle of good neighbourliness and peaceful resolution of conflicts;
- iv) National and continental self-reliance in certain strategic areas covering both military and non-military, including popular participation in national defence is vital for Africa's security.

The security of the African people, their land and property and their status as a whole, is absolutely necessary for stability, development and co-operation in Africa and must be a sacred and a primary responsibility of all Africans and all African governments individually and collectively, which must be exercised within the basic freedoms and rights of the African people.

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 which necessitates collective responsibility and action. In order to achieve local, national and continental security, certain principles involving a wide range of policy measures with focus on conflict prevention, resolution and management process must be agreed upon, concluded and implemented under CSSDCA.

While giving due recognition to the provisions of the UN and OAU Charters with respect to the principles of good neighbourliness and non interference in the internal affairs of states, growing international concern for humanitarian causes and the experience in Africa of civil strifes and acts of wanton repression, have led to 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 co-operate in ensuring the security of Africans at all levels.

Aside from military security, food self-sufficiency for Africa, and affordable resources to achieve self-reliance in energy, is as much a security matter, as it is an economic priority. As a matter of regional security and socio-economic necessity, existing regional efforts (in the areas of agriculture and energy research and development) should be pooled under the CSSDCA process into two separate major centres - one to be charged with the responsibility of ushering in a "green revolution" for Africa and the other with the task of achieving a major breakthrough in specific renewable sources of energy especially solar energy.

The following policy measures to give effect to the CSSDCA principles on securities are recommended:

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, within the framework of intervention. Africa under CSSDCA should revitalise the operational effectiveness of the OAU Commission on Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. 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 peacekeeping operations where necessary. In particular, the vital issues of:

- a) authorising body for mandating the establishment, extension and termination of peace-keeping operations;
- b) command and control structures;
- c) administration and logistic support for operations;
- d) funding systems; procedures for acquisition of troops; and
- e) modalities for rapid deployment in reaction to situations of aggression against participating member States should be well defined.

Confidence-Building Measures

To restore a lasting state of national and continental security, confidence building 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 manoeuvres; joint naval patrols, joint studies and seminars on sub-regional, 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 should also incorporate commitment to defend each other in the event of external military aggression.

Lowering of Military Expenditures

The undertakings involving all the preventive security measures outlined above should appreciably reduce, if not substantially eliminate, inter-African tension and dangers of open military conflicts. Such collective efforts must 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 and ceilings in manpower and reduced expenditures on military hardware. Consideration should also be given to collective understanding of the type of military equipment that could be justifiably procured or manufactured by African countries. In order to gradually build up measures of relative self-reliance in the military field as well, collective African effort should be undertaken under CSSDCA for the selective manufacturing of desirable military equipment for Africa's defence. Additionally, member States should undertake to report their arms imports and exports to the OAU Secretariat.

As an effective measure for national defence as well as strategy for reduction of military expenditure, national service schemes should be expanded to cover military training as well as encourage popular participation in defence.

Africa's Elders Council for Peace

To move Africa from the confinement of purely reacting to events, to a capacity for anticipatory and containment measures for its security, an African Peace Council should be formed and charged with the task of ensuring that peace and harmony reigned in the continent and a state of intra-African and inter-African tranquillity is created and maintained. The African Peace Council under CSSDCA should be pre-eminently 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 or 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

Promoting political and social stability in individual African countries will be a key component in the CSSDCA process. The stability calabash will have to be guided by certain important principles to be adhered to by all member states.

- i) **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 should be exempted from accounting for his conduct when a law is breached.
- ii) **Popular Participation in Governance:** Active and genuine participation of the citizens of every country in the governance of public affairs has to be fostered.
- iii) **Respect for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms:** Promoting and protecting the rights and freedoms of the citizens of member states will be deemed vital.
- iv) **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.
- v) **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.
- vi) 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.

To fulfil the CSSDCA principles on stability, African governments will have to initiate, design and implement policy measures and strengthen institutions, which adjudicate in disputes, resolve conflicts and attenuate the possibility of violence.

There has to be due recognition of the fact that a fundamental link exists between national security, stability and sustainable development and these conditions can only be brought about by democratic practice and democratic institutions encompassing full respect for human rights, official accountability and popular participation.

The following policy measures are recommended for implementation in fostering intra-country stability and cohesion consistent with the proposed principles:

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 the 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. At the same time, 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 legislative and executive branches of government unfetter the actions of the officers of the bench, but also their tenure should be guaranteed and provided for in the national constitutions. A Judicial Commission should exercise decisions relating to the removal of officers from the bench. 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 Peoples Rights (ACHPR) should be expanded for ACHPR to undertake an annual

assessment of 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 and applied to all African signatory states of the CSSDCA process. The establishment of 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.

Signing, Ratification and Implementation of 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 rights and dignity but also enables him to actualise his 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

Institutions that promote accountability in public service should be established. These include board of audits for public expenditure, code of conduct bureau 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 board, code of conduct bureaux 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. Removal of a Civil Servant must be exercised solely 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 of 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 election process and results.

Freedom from Arbitrary Arrest and Detention

No citizen should be subject to arbitrary arrest or detention without trial or subject to trial and other forms of human 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 them should be funded from public revenue. All participating African countries should remove from their statute books all laws authorising detention without trial.

The Status of Women

All the existing laws that discriminate against women should be abrogated and juridical 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, teachings 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

With respect to electoral mechanism that promotes 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 treaties on non-aggression should be concluded and ratified by each African nation separately with each of its border neighbours.

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

Africa must subscribe to some basic fundamental principles to fashion a common direction of development under the CSSDCA process.

- i) Development based on self-reliance is the only viable basis - in Africa's circumstances - for the internalisation of a self-sustaining economic growth on the continent.
- ii) 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.
- iii) 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.
- iv) Popular participation and equal opportunity and access must be promoted and sustained as a crucial basis for the realisation of Africa's development objectives and strategies.
- v) In order to foster effective domestic partnership in development, leaders and the governed should have recognisable 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 epitomises 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 must be pursued; CSSDCA should create a truly people-centred 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 process should only address limited but key development issues to ensure a realistic chance of success.

The following measures are recommended to give effect to the CSSDCA principles, under the Development calabash.

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. Priority measures by Africa under CSSDCA should highlight the relevant elements of the Khartoum Declaration on Human Centred Development and the Mauritius Declaration on education. The CSSDCA process should, in addition, embody the following major priorities on a collective continental basis in the field of human resources development:

1. The adoption of programmes aimed at eliminating illiteracy across the continent by the year 2000.
2. 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.
3. 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.
4. Introduction of science and technology at the early years of education should be encouraged.
5. 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.
6. 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 \$4 billion annually.
7. Promotion of vocational and business training and management skills.
8. Promoting the use of and support for existing and new regional and sub-regional institutions that serve as centres of excellence.
9. Establishment of Human Resource skills bank for Africa to be used in facilitating resource sharing.
10. Implementation of the Mauritius Declaration on education.
11. Harmonisation of the continent's educational policies to improve the quality and relevance of education at all levels.
12. Pooling of resources for specialised training and expansion of student exchange programmes especially for language training; countries with under-utilised universities should offer opportunities to others at a nominal cost.

Capacity Building and Development

Collective and co-ordinated continental policy measures in capacity must first target development of capabilities in the area of governance - the nurturing and development of those with leadership potential should be pursued and; measures adopted to reverse the decline and enhance the efficiency of government administration in Africa which must remain the hub for originating policies and strategies on both the process of governance and the direction of economic development. 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 co-operation among African countries.

Focus on entrepreneurial development must go hand in hand with 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, considerations must also be directed to policy restrictions at three levels in the use of certain consultancies and in the award of related contracts: national consultants; continental consultants; and others. National consultants will be included in any assignment involving the last two categories.

Major changes must be instituted to ensure accountability and the pursuit of modern systems of management. Among 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 need for complete restructuring of African economies to ensure in the long run a judicious combination of diversified agriculture together with industrialisation as basis for sound African development.

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-oriented subjects. Moreover, since technology is, in the main, within the prerogative of transnational corporations, which appear to hoard it, African countries should initiate programmes and policies for the development of indigenous technology. This calls for huge investments of resources in Research and Development (R & D).

African countries should adopt liberal economic policies that will attract capital, a factor of production in which African States are enormously deficient. While encouraging privatisation and divesting government of equity in public enterprises, the first option must be given to indigenous African entrepreneurs. If necessary they should be offered assistance in the take over of enterprises privatised. Part of this whole process is to ensure Africa's resource mobilisation without which Africa's survival and development cannot be met.

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 aimed at the repatriation Track to Africa of the continent's human and financial resources must be put in place.

These transformation measures to curb unemployment should be developed through such means as massive infusion of resources into the private and informal sector.

Finance Resource Mobilisation

The CSSDCA process must, as a top priority, seek to mobilise financial resources for Africa's socio-economic development and co-operation through, *inter alia*, advancing a collective continental position on Africa's crippling external debt.

Changing circumstances reflected in favourable debt policy shifts by major creditors towards some debtor countries provide a realistic basis for implementing better strategies within the objectives of Africa's Common Position on the External Debt reached by the Special OAU Summit in 1987.

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

Africa's financial mobilisation process should also aim at the collective measures toward an operational common ground between IMF/IBRD supported SAPs 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 the 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 mobilisation. 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 mobilisation 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 agriculture 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 is one that 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 Programme for Economic Recovery. We therefore call for their full and effective implementation.

In addition, we recommend the following:

1. Africa should pool together some existing agriculture research centres and mobilise the best available talents for such centres in a collective co-ordinated research for a "green revolution" on the continent.
2. Other policy measures should include removal of all domestic non-sanitary restrictions to internal food marketing.
3. Consider removal of all duties on some priority food items for intra- African trade under proper rules of origin.
4. Discourage importation from non-African countries of food items available in Africa.
5. 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 per cent a year.
6. Governments should establish food and nutrition policy to ensure that food and nutrition considerations are made explicit objectives in agriculture and rural development projects.
7. Adopt the food basket concept of using traditional foods in local communities to formulate balanced diets.
8. Establish systems of production, processing, distribution and marketing of traditional foods.
9. Embark on land reform (where this is not yet in place) to ensure that land is within the reach of the ordinary person, especially farmers in rural areas as opposed to land speculators.
10. Mobilise women especially in the rural areas and ensure that at least one-third of the State's technical assistance to small farmers goes to women. Mobilisation should also take into consideration the role of NGOs, who in collaboration with small farmers, could design, implement and concretise literacy programmes that are production-oriented.
11. 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 mechanised farming should be undertaken for export purposes, it should not be at the expense of rural farming.

To achieve our agricultural objectives, arrest environmental degradation and ensure increased production for sustainable development Africa 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 considering that in some respects, the economic crisis in Africa is traceable to shortages and high cost of energy. Collective continental effort under CSSDCA must be concentrated on pooling human talents and material resources for research on alternative sources of energy, especially solar energy. Africa must also encourage and be involved in international research on solar energy.

Priority in alternative energy policies must be directed towards sources to 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) inter-state co-ordination and implementation of hydro schemes in recognition of their spin-off effects towards other sectors 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 on-going de-industrialisation in Africa, particularly under orthodox Structural Adjustment Programmes. 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 sub-regional and regional co-operation. All these require the pooling of limited national capital, technologies and technical expertise as well as the pragmatic use of planning at national, sub-regional 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. Further policy focus should be targeted to collective approach to Generalised System of Trade Preferences (GSTP) and multilateral trade negotiations taking into account the impact of Trade Related Investment Measures and Services (TRIMS) and Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS).

Transport and Communication

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-model 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 harmonised laws on minimum age of 18 for female and 21 for male before marriage; putting a ceiling on number of children per mother; and authorising property ownership for women and long term national schemes for old age support.

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 co-ordinated with UNEP to deal with Africa's environmental problems.

Science and Technology

Science and technology must be promoted to facilitate full exploitation of resources by optimising the use of existing institutions (both sub-regional 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 kills African entrepreneurship and initiative, which are important vehicles for the enhancement of science and technology. 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, labour, capital). This calls for appropriate policies and implementation of strategies at the national, institutional and regional levels. Specifically, we call for the early implementation of African Declaration on the Advancement of African Women, notably the Abuja Declaration, and the Arusha and Nairobi Forward looking Strategies.

In order to assure collaborative efforts in advancing the role of women in all countries and organisations, there is need for Governments to enunciate policies on these matters.

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 workload 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.

CO-OPERATION CALABASH

Africa should proceed along the three tiers of co-operation:

1. Among African countries - using bilateral and multilateral agreements and the existing sub-regional economic groupings as building blocks towards the achievement of an African Economic Community;
2. South-South Co-operation which Africa should pursue to achieve more fruitful results; and
3. North-South Co-operation.

Co-operation as a key component of the CSSDCA process should be guided by certain vital principles to be adhered to by all member states:

- (i) **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 exits by Africans from and to any other African country.
- (ii) **Joint Development of Common Natural Resources:** African countries will need to collectively act in utilising such resources as waterways, forests, coastal zones and the management of environment.
- (iii) **Interdependence:** African countries must seek to explore opportunities for beneficial co-operative relations with other developing and industrialised nations. There is no contradiction between the need for intensified co-operation between African and non-African countries and the principle for self-reliant and self-sustained development.
- (iv) **Supranationality:** As African countries foster co-operation and integration, the need for devolving certain key responsibilities to continental institutions would be imperative.

The CSSDCA process should develop a framework for collective action and policy so as to provide impetus for co-operation 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 co-operation should be guided by some basic common policy measures.

Trade and Production: Improvement of a variety of trade-related facilities such as transport, communications, 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. The process of seeking trade opportunities should be complemented by joint production, as discussed under joint ventures.

Joint Ventures: The main focus of joint ventures should be increased production, even though such efforts should be directed to other areas as well. African countries should co-operatively stress the production of key components of medium and high technology goods, while taking into account economics of scale. Such joint ventures should build on comparative endowment of African countries. Thus, the CSSDCA process should promote co-operation 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 Co-operation Programmes: The policy on financing co-operation and integration should be given special attention. Innovative ways of raising resources for co-operation and integration programmes and projects have to be found, given the very many difficulties associated with financial resource mobilisation: in particular, the paucity of intra-African savings and investments and donor preference for bilateral co-operation. African countries should set up a fund financed by a certain percent of surcharges from the imports of individual countries. This approach will need to be implemented alongside arrangement for resources from multilateral financial institutions.

Selecting Lead Countries to Promote Co-operation Projects: An important element in accelerating co-operation process is the identification, development and management of co-operation projects. Pending the time that co-operation projects are fully established and independent management installed, a lead country should be designated for promoting the project. That way, the other member states can have recognised 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, while the process of sustenance of the project becomes the responsibility of the management of the project.

Focal points should be established in various African countries to promote co-operation and integration. In particular, priority consideration should be given to establishing ministries of co-operation and integration. The participation of non-governmental organisations in promoting co-operation should also be encouraged.

Joint Development of Infrastructures: To accelerate co-operation and economic integration among African countries, there should be intensified efforts at common development among African countries, of such infrastructural facilities as railways, roads and 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 sub-regional economic groupings as the building blocs. Presently, all the sub-regional economic groupings 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 African wide co-operation.

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. The locus of policy and development initiatives must therefore be directed to collective measures for a rapid economic and physical integration of the continent. A structuralist model of continental integration should be adopted based on a minimum timetable for an African Economic Community. Continental Integration through strictly sub-regional 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 co-operation, in standards, in training and research and civil liberties, as well as in other areas. National borders must not restrict the operations of professional associations, entrepreneurs and research scientists. Free movement of persons must be encouraged bilaterally, sub-regionally and continentally. More importantly, the selection of personnel of the secretariat of African Economic Communities should be based on merit to ensure the highest calibre of such personnel.

Rationalisation of Existing Inter-governmental Organisations: Given the multiplicity of intergovernmental organisations in the field of co-operation 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 re-designed to render more effective services to member States.

South-South (African and other developing countries) Co-operation: There is considerable scope for promoting co-operation 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 emphasise technology transfer arrangements and may be organised through licensing arrangements, franchising and joint ventures. Investments should be targeted at producing not only consumer goods but also intermediate and capital goods.

Co-operation between Africa and the Industrialised Countries: Co-operation between Africa and the industrialised 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 co-operation arrangements should be to remove the basic structural weaknesses of the African economics. Seeking to elevate Africa from its status of exporters of raw materials to producer of manufactured and other processed products should be the key consideration in any co-operation arrangements with the industrialised nations. Very importantly, there is need to promote co-operative 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 co-operation should include significant African participation in decision-making and management; just as they must produce substantial results leading to increased resources and capacity building in the areas of food and agriculture, science and technology and industrial development.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROCESS

This section embodies recommendations for implementing the process of the CSSDCA in order to realise its objectives. Thus, it describes what African governments could do from the time that the Kampala Document on the CSSDCA is submitted to and considered by the Assembly of Heads of State and Governments of the Organization of African Unity.

A. LAUNCHING OF NEGOTIATIONS OF THE CSSDCA PROCESS

On submission of the Kampala Document to the OAU Summit, a decision would have to be taken to launch the negotiation process. The purpose of the negotiations will be to adopt a convention that is politically binding under the CSSDCA. Such negotiations could begin at the level of plenipotentiaries and conclude at the Foreign Ministers level with the final adoption of a convention by participating States at the summit level.

The chairman of the OAU could set the dates as well as venue for launching the negotiations after consultations with his colleagues.

The negotiations on the CSSDCA process should centre on the principles and policy measures proposed in part II of this document as well as this part of the document, particularly, sections C to G. These negotiations among African countries should not exceed two years, culminating in the signing of the convention. The implementation of the provisions of the convention of the CSSDCA is for limitless duration, hence the CSSDCA is described as a process, subject to periodic review as proposed in section E below.

B. SUPPORT MECHANISMS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS

For the duration of the negotiations of the convention, a two-tier support mechanism is suggested. A Consultative Secretariat for backstopping the negotiations should be established. There shall also be a Consultative Committee, whose functions will be to assist African governments during difficult times of the negotiations. The Consultative Committee will also organise an annual Forum, on an NGO framework, to assess progress in the implementation of the CSSDCA process with a view to sensitising and sustaining public awareness about the process. The Committee shall be co-chaired by two African eminent Statesmen.

Funding for the support mechanisms and other measures envisaged under the process shall be sought from voluntary contributions of participating States, international organizations and other donors.

C. PERMANENT SECRETARIAT FOR CSSDCA

A Permanent Secretariat for the CSSDCA process may be established at the end of the negotiations. The proposed Consultative Secretariat to backstop the negotiations on CSSDCA could form the nucleus of the Permanent Secretariat of CSSDCA. In this regard, the participating States will have to decide on the size, structure, responsibilities and location of such a permanent secretariat.

D. REVIEW CONFERENCES

The CSSDCA is a process. As such, there shall be periodic review conferences to collectively review the progress made in the implementation of the Convention and in particular to examine the performance of each member country in regard to compliance with the principles and policy measures in the CSSDCA convention. The frequency and the level of these review conferences shall be embodied in the convention. A period of two years at the level of Heads of State and Governments is recommended for consideration.

E. MONITORING OF AND COMPLIANCE WITH PROVISIONS OF CSSDCA PROCESS

Strict compliance with the provisions of the CSSDCA process is expected of all participating States. For this reason, while non-African participating States may simply accede to the convention, all African members will incorporate provisions of CSSDCA in their national legislation. Monitoring for compliance will require a mutual interchange of national and collective arrangements. Each participating State will be required to designate one or a few existing national institutions to undertake, on an annual basis, monitoring of the country's compliance with the CSSDCA process.

The process of collective evaluation of each Member State's compliance at the review Conferences will be based on reports of various continental organisations assigned the role of assessing the performance of each country in specific areas. Such reports will be publicly rendered.

It is envisaged that the implementation of the agreed measures stipulated in the convention could be accomplished at three levels:

- **unilateral:** relating to policy and other measures or requiring action on the part of individual international participating member States within its territory;
- **bilateral or regional:** relating to policy and other measures requiring action by two or more participating States;
- **multilateral or international:** relating to policy and other measures requiring action by participating States and international organisation(s).

The task of monitoring full compliance with the provisions of the convention shall be carried out by the Permanent Secretariat of the CSSDCA proposed in Section C. In carrying out this task, the Permanent Secretariat shall coordinate with regional and international bodies in the context of the relevant Calabash: security issues (OAU), development and co-operation (ECA and ADB). Support and assistance from other relevant international organisations or institutions especially the UNDP, IMF and IBRD should be utilised to promote realisation of the objectives of the CSSDCA process. The area of stability, in particular governance, democratisation and popular participation will be directly monitored by the Permanent Secretariat of CSSDCA and the involvement of ACHPR will be sought. An instrument will have to be developed to monitor these elements. Such instrument will include NGOs in these fields.

F. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

After the signing of the convention by African countries, many non-African countries whose actions impact an Africa's security, stability, development and co-operation, should be invited to jointly explore with Africa the possibilities for co-operation in implementation of the convention.

G. FINANCING OF CSSDCA

The CSSDCA process would require financing at two levels. Firstly, there should be financing of the meetings for negotiations of the CSSDCA convention. This has two components: funding of participation at the meetings and funding of the Conference services and facilities. Participating states would be expected to pay for the cost of their representatives participating in such meetings. In addition, they will meet an assessed share of the common costs of conference services and facilities.

The second level of financial requirements pertains to the permanent secretariat of the CSSDCA that will be established on the completion of negotiations. This will be funded as common costs of conference services and facilities.