



United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and  
Cultural Organization



For tomorrow  
belongs to the people  
who prepare for it today.

*African Proverb*

28-29 SEPTEMBER 2009  
TOKYO, JAPAN

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

# Africa & Globalization: Learning from the Past, Enabling a Better Future



UNITED NATIONS  
UNIVERSITY

[www.unu.edu](http://www.unu.edu)



United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and  
Cultural Organization

[www.unesco.org](http://www.unesco.org)



28-29 SEPTEMBER 2009  
TOKYO, JAPAN

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

# **Africa & Globalization: Learning from the Past, Enabling a Better Future**



UNITED NATIONS  
UNIVERSITY

[www.unu.edu](http://www.unu.edu)

The “Globalization” series is directed by Hans d’Orville  
Assistant Director-General for Strategic Planning, UNESCO

Edited by  
the Bureau of Strategic Planning,  
UNESCO

The organization of this International Conference and production of  
this publication were generously supported with funds  
provided by the Government of Japan.



The authors are responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts  
contained in this book and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not  
necessarily those of UNESCO / the United Nations University (UNU) and  
do not commit the Organizations.

The designations employed and the presentation of material throughout this  
publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part  
of UNESCO/UNU concerning the legal status of any country, territory,  
city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its  
frontiers or boundaries.

Published in 2009  
by the United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization  
7 place de Fontenoy  
75352 Paris 07 SP France

Photographs by

Front cover photo: © Niamh Burke/UNESCO

Inside photos: © Jeremy Hedley/UNU and/or Curtis Christophersen/UNU

Back cover photos: © Jeremy Hedley/UNU and/or Curtis Christophersen/UNU

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Paris, France	<b>8-9</b>
INTRODUCTORY STATEMENTS <b>10-28</b>	Tetsuro Fukuyama, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, Japan (MoFA)	<b>12-15</b>
	Masaharu Nakagawa, Senior Vice-Minister, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Tokyo, Japan	<b>16-18</b>
	Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Paris, France	<b>20-25</b>
	Konrad Osterwalder, Rector, United Nations University (UNU) Tokyo, Japan	<b>26-28</b>
STATEMENTS BY FORMER PRESIDENTS ON CHARTING THE FUTURE OF AFRICA <b>30-65</b>	Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1976–1979 and 1999–2007)	<b>32-38</b>
	John Agyekum Kufuor, President of the Republic of Ghana (2001–2009)	<b>40-42</b>
	Alpha Oumar Konaré, President of the Republic of Mali (1992–2002), and Chairperson of the African Union Commission (2003–2008)	<b>44-49</b>
	Sam Nujoma, Founding President of the Republic of Namibia (1990-1994, 1994 -1999, 1999-2005)	<b>50-53</b>
	António Ramalho Eanes, President of the Portuguese Republic (1976–1986)	<b>54-65</b>

CHARTING THE  
FUTURE OF  
AFRICA: PUTTING  
VISION INTO  
PRACTICE

**66-115**

**AFRICA AND THE  
CHALLENGES OF  
GLOBALIZATION: THE  
NEED FOR SUBSTANTIAL  
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT**

Mongi Bousnina,  
Professor of Geopolitics,  
University of Tunis, Tunis, Tunisia;  
former Director-General,  
Arab League Educational, Cultural  
and Scientific Organization  
(ALECSO); former Minister  
of Culture, Tunisia

**68-77**

**AFRICAN RENEWAL  
THROUGH HIGHER  
EDUCATION WITH A  
PUBLIC MISSION**

N'Dri T. Assié-Lumumba,  
Professor, Africana Studies  
& Research Center, Cornell  
University, Ithaca, New York;  
Fellow, World Academy of Art  
and Science

**78-89**

**CHARTING THE FUTURE  
OF AFRICA: AVOIDING  
POLICY SYNDROMES AND  
IMPROVING GOVERNANCE**

Augustin K. Fosu, Deputy  
Director, UNU World Institute for  
Development Economics Research  
(WIDER), Helsinki, Finland

**90-107**

**AFRICAN PRACTICES OF  
GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT,  
AN ARTS AND CULTURE  
PERSPECTIVE**

Dominique Malaquais,  
Senior Researcher, Centre d'Etudes  
des Mondes Africains (CEMAf),  
Centre National de la Recherche  
Scientifique (CNRS), Paris, France

**108-112**

**GLOBALIZATION EXPLOITS  
AFRICA**

Jinichi Matsumoto,  
Freelance Journalist, Tokyo,  
Japan; Former Senior Columnist,  
Member of the Editorial Board,  
and Africa Bureau Chief,  
Asahi Shimbun

**114-115**

AFRICA AND  
GOVERNANCE:  
IMPROVING  
SOCIO-  
POLITICAL  
COHESION  
**116-152**

**THE ROLE OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL  
COMMUNITY IN  
SUSTAINING AFRICAN  
DEMOCRACIES  
THROUGH AN EFFECTIVE  
MANAGEMENT OF  
OBSERVABLE PRESSURE  
POINTS IN MOMENTS OF  
POLITICAL HICCUPS**

Clement E. Adibe,  
Associate Professor of Political  
Science, DePaul University,  
Chicago, Illinois, USA

**118-124**

**SOCIAL COHESION  
AND ECONOMIC  
DEVELOPMENT IN A  
GLOBALIZING AFRICA**

Ernest Aryeetey,  
Director, Institute of Statistical,  
Social and Economic Research  
(ISSER), University of Ghana,  
Legon, Ghana

**126-127**

**GLOBAL HEALTH  
GOVERNANCE:  
INFECTIOUS DISEASES  
AS A THREAT TO HUMAN  
SECURITY IN AFRICA**

Yasushi Katsuma,  
Director and Professor,  
International Studies Program,  
Graduate School of Asia-Pacific  
Studies, Waseda University,  
Tokyo, Japan

**128-138**

**AFRICA AND  
GLOBALIZATION:  
PERSPECTIVES ON  
GOVERNANCE, PUBLIC  
HEALTH DIPLOMACY, AND  
RESOURCE CONFLICTS**

Obijiofor Aginam,  
Academic Programme Officer,  
UNU Institute for Sustainability  
and Peace (UNU-ISP),  
Tokyo, Japan

**140-148**

**COMMENTS ON  
THE AFRICA AND  
GOVERNANCE:  
IMPROVING  
SOCIO-POLITICAL  
COHESION SESSION**

John Agyekum Kufuor,  
President of the Republic of  
Ghana, (2001–2009) and  
Alpha Oumar Konaré,  
President of the Republic of Mali  
(1992–2002) and Chairperson  
of the African Union Commission  
(2003–2008)

**149-152**

AFRICA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT  <b>154-180</b>	<b>AFRICA AT CROSSROADS, AND EDUCATION AND STI AS PREMISES FOR DEVELOPMENT</b>	Lidia R. Arthur Brito, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Agronomy and Forest Engineering, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, Mozambique	<b>156-162</b>
	<b>NURTURING A PROSPEROUS AFRICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY</b>	George Hara, Group Chairman, DEFTA Partners/Alliance Forum Foundation; Special Commissioner on Tax Panel, Office of the Prime Minister; Tokyo, Japan	<b>164-174</b>
	<b>WORKING HAND IN HAND FOR A JUST WORLD</b>	Tatsuo Hayashi, Representative, Africa-Japan Forum; Special Visiting Professor, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan	<b>176-178</b>
	<b>COMMENTS ON THE AFRICA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT SESSION</b>	Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1976-1979 and 1999-2007)	<b>179-180</b>
CONCLUDING SESSION: A VISION FOR AFRICA  <b>182-192</b>	<b>SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS</b>	Hans d'Orville, Assistant Director-General for Strategic Planning, UNESCO, Paris, France	<b>184-187</b>
		Walid Mahmoud Abdelnasser, Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to Japan	<b>188-192</b>
ANNEXES  <b>194-213</b>	<b>RESOLUTION TABLED BY PRESIDENT NUJOMA &amp; ENDORSED BY THE CONFERENCE</b>		<b>197</b>
	<b>PHOTO GALLERY</b>		<b>199-207</b>
	<b>CONFERENCE PROGRAMME</b>		<b>209-213</b>



# FOREWORD

The 2009 International Conference on Africa and Globalization: Learning from the Past, Enabling a Better Future was organized by UNESCO and the United Nations University from 28-29 September 2009. It provided an opportunity for some 30 leading personalities — governmental decision-makers, including several former heads of state, world-renowned experts and civil society representatives — to share their visions of Africa's role and position in the future global system, while looking back on the lessons learned during the past 50 years since decolonization.

Attention was focused on charting the future of Africa based on its development experiences and accomplishments, and the impact of the recent financial crisis through a dedicated leadership forum with several former Presidents: Alpha Konaré, former Chair of the Commission for the African Union and former President of Mali; John Kufuor, former President of Ghana; Sam Nujoma, former President of Namibia; Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria; and Antonio Eanes, former President of Portugal. Eminent speakers from academia, the business community, government and civil society elaborated upon the vision espoused by the leaders, drawing on their own experience and expertise. The present publication presents the proceedings of this important Conference.

The global economic crisis poses a serious threat to the achievement of Africa's development goals. It is compounded by the food, energy, climate change and environmental crises. The effects of these multiples crises threaten to derail progress across the continent.

International financial institutions, such as the IMF and the World Bank, have estimated that as a result of the financial and economic crisis, Africa's expected growth rate for 2009 and 2010 needs to be revised downwards. There are also concerns that official development assistance (ODA) will be reduced, which could further exacerbate poverty and deprivation on the continent and hamper development as a whole. The likely consequences may include higher unemployment and poverty, increases in infant mortality, fewer children going to school, reductions in health care and even a rise in violence.

The crisis could have negative ramifications on public spending, thereby reducing the ability of governments to protect the poor and vulnerable from the economic downturn and other global shocks. Those that have risen out of poverty over the past decades, the near poor, will be at greater risk of falling back into poverty.

The steps we take to address these challenges will have profound implications for Africa's future. A strategic vision — one that focuses on how to better integrate Africa more fully into the global economy, and the multilateral system — is needed if we are to ensure that recovery scenarios that focus on "investing out of the crisis" are effective in the short-term and lay the foundation for achieving the Internationally Agreed Development Goals (IADGs), including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Education for All (EFA) goals, by 2015.

This vision should focus on how to protect and increase funding for global public goods such as quality education at all levels; the role of science, technology and innovation; the environment; the quest for a green economy and green jobs; the contribution of culture to development; and the promotion of human rights and gender equality. Good African leadership is key to this endeavor because it provides the gateway for Africans to become the architects of their own future.

It gives me great pleasure to present the results of the in-depth discussions and debates during the Conference on the types of responses needed at the global, regional and national levels to ensure that Africa can weather the impact of the global financial crisis in the short and long term. The summary of the Conference synthesizes the issues, views and perspectives of Conference participants and focuses on the five main precepts, the key drivers of development, and the strategies needed to realize Africa's renaissance and ensure its future prosperity.

Further to this summary, I would also draw your attention to the resolution that was submitted by Sam Nujoma, the former President of Namibia, and endorsed by the Conference.

It calls on UNESCO to provide assistance in the form of educational materials, including information technology, to children going to pre-school and school in areas affected by wars and armed conflicts – in Somalia, Sudan, Darfur, Iraq and Afghanistan – to enable them to realize their full potential. While UNESCO has been working to provide educational assistance to these countries, much more must be done to reach those in greatest need. I have already advised the Heads and Directors of UNESCO's field offices concerned to act swiftly on this proposal.

Together, with strong African leadership and international solidarity we can bring about a more inclusive and sustainable globalization where Africa plays its full and rightful role, and where children everywhere have equal access to quality education.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "K. Matsuura". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "K" and a long, sweeping underline.

Koïchiro Matsuura  
Director-General of UNESCO

# INTRODUCTORY STATEMENTS

**12-15**

Tetsuro Fukuyama, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Tokyo, Japan (MoFA)

**16-18**

Masaharu Nakagawa, Senior Vice-Minister, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology  
Tokyo, Japan

**20-25**

Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General  
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)  
Paris, France

**26-28**

Konrad Osterwalder, Rector, United Nations University (UNU)  
Tokyo, Japan

## TETSURO FUKUYAMA

State Secretary for Foreign Affairs  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Tokyo, Japan (MoFA)



Tetsuro Fukuyama is the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan.

He is a member of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) and was first elected to the House of Councilors in the Kyoto Prefectural Constituency in 1998. In 2005 he chaired the Committee on the Environment in the House of Councilors and has also worked on a number of committees in the DPJ. In 2008, he was Secretary-General of the Global Warming Strategy and coordinated the drafting of the Basic Bill for a Global Warming Strategy as a DPJ initiated legislation. He was also Chair of the DPJ-Shin-Ryokufukai Policy Board and Acting Chair for the Policy Research Committee (2007). In 2005, he chaired the 2nd Sub-Committee of the Constitutional Research Committee and acted as the Director for the Research Department in the DPJ.

Mr. Fukuyama also served as visiting professor of Political Science to the Kyoto University of Art and Design in 2001. In 2000, he co-authored the publication “The 21st Century: How Japan Should Develop”.

# STATEMENT BY TETSURO FUKUYAMA, STATE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MOFA) TOKYO, JAPAN

I am Tetsuro Fukuyama, and I have recently taken the post of State Secretary for Foreign Affairs under the Hatoyama Cabinet.

I first wish to extend my congratulations in marking the seventh conference in the globalization series, which was launched with the aspiration of bringing the benefits of globalization to everyone in the world. I also find it very meaningful that this international conference is held in Japan every year, and that it brings together highly knowledgeable experts from various fields and parts of the world to discuss some of today's most pressing issues.

It is my understanding that during this conference, we will reflect upon the past 50 years of development in Africa and discuss the development support that should be given to Africa in today's globalized world.

When comparing Africa and Southeast Asia 50 years ago, the dominant view was that Africa had more potential to develop than Southeast Asia, due to its rich resources and well-balanced population. Indeed, Africa's economy underwent healthy development in the 1970s, but faced stagnation after that. I believe the reasons behind this will be discussed from various angles today, but these will likely include insufficient resource distribution toward reinvestment, delays in building needed infrastructure so as to provide education for all, faltering agricultural productivity, and frequently occurring conflicts.

Since 2000, Africa has entered another stage of economic growth. A very high rate of growth, an average of 5.3%, has been recorded during the past ten years. I believe this is a result of the strong leadership exerted for political and economical reforms by the heads of the African nations, including by many of those that are here today.

Amidst this remarkable growth achieved by Africa, the 4th Tokyo International Conference on African Development was held last year in May in Yokohama. Africa is faced with many challenges such as poverty, infectious diseases, and food insecurity. However, Japan views Africa as a continent of hope and opportunity and has publicly committed to doubling Official Development Assistance (ODA) and private investment in Africa by 2012 so that true and sustainable economic growth can be achieved. In aiming for a vibrant Africa, the Yokohama Action Plan was issued with several assistance measures for boosting economic growth, for achieving the Millennium Development Goals, for consolidating peace and good governance, and for addressing environmental and climate change issues.

At the Second Aid for Trade Global Review 2009 held in Geneva last July, Japan presented the "Development Initiative for Trade 2009." We will provide 12 billion USD through bilateral assistance and technical assistance for 40,000 people over a period of three years to improve the trading capabilities of developing countries.

The business sentiment of advanced and emerging countries has worsened with the world financial and economic crisis since last autumn. Consequently, Africa's circumstances have drastically changed and it is now facing the impact of the recession on a global scale.

With the advance of globalization, changes in the external environment have a large impact on Africa today. Just how should we move forward with providing development assistance to Africa? Despite this current crisis, Japan believes that Africa continues to represent both opportunity and hope for the world. It is crucial we work together to assist Africa in achieving the MDGs as a means of working towards reviving the world economy.

Based on this awareness, development partners should not cut back on their support to Africa. Our country intends to fulfill our promises from TICAD IV and support Africa.

At the same time, it is critical to restore the health of Africa's external environment, meaning the world economy. In light of the results from the G8 L'Aquila Summit and the G20 Pittsburgh Summit, Japan intends to continue addressing global issues such as financial regulation and reform of international financial institutions, countering of protectionism, and early settlement of the WTO Doha Round.

We are greatly encouraged that UNU and UNESCO, the organizers of this conference, also place importance on their activities to support Africa. I have heard that UNU established a twin relationship between the UNU Institute for Natural Resources in Africa (UNU-INRA) in Ghana and the UNU Institute for Sustainability and Peace (UNU-ISP), which was established here in Tokyo last January. This was based on the alliance formed with higher education institutes in Africa to further promote joint research and education. UNESCO has emphasized assistance to Africa as one of their priorities and rolled out activities in a variety of fields, particularly in education, with programs focusing on providing "Education for All." It's notable that both UNU and UNESCO are agencies that contribute to the building of knowledge on how to address some of today's key globalization issues. As a major donor country for UNU and UNESCO, we anticipate that both agencies will do their utmost to support Africa's development.

The new Hatoyama administration embodies the dynamism of Japan's democracy, and we intend to dedicate all our strength to resolving the various challenges that we face. At the recent session of the UN General Assembly, Prime Minister Hatoyama noted that peacebuilding, development, and poverty are some of the challenges that Japan must work to address, so as to become a "bridge" for the world. He also announced that Japan will work in partnership with international agencies and NGOs to enhance both quality and volume of assistance for developing nations. He also stated that the new administration will reinforce the TICAD processes,

redouble efforts to achieve the MDGs, and promote human security. The Hatoyama cabinet is fully committed to assisting Africa in addressing its development issues.

I anticipate that the discussions at this conference will help to better define the desirable direction for Africa's development so that a better future for Africa can be achieved.



## MASAHARU NAKAGAWA

Senior Vice-Minister  
Ministry of Education, Culture,  
Sports, Science and Technology  
Tokyo, Japan



Masaharu Nakagawa is the Senior Vice Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology in Japan. Prior

to becoming Vice Minister, he served as the Senior Director for the Committee on Financial Affairs in the House of Representatives in 2007. He was first elected to the House of Representatives from the Mie Prefecture Constituency in 1996. Since then, he has served as Head Director of the Steering Committee (2005) and Director of the Research Commission on the Constitution in the House of Representatives (2001).

He has been a member of the Mie Prefectural Assembly for 12 years and is an active member of the Democratic Party of Japan. As a member of the party, he has worked as Chair of the Research Committee on Issues Related to Resident Foreign Laborers (2006), General Vice-Chair of the Diet Affairs Committee (2006), Chair of the Tax Research Commission (2004), and Chair of the 5<sup>th</sup> Working Group for the Research on the Constitution in the area of International Affairs & Security (2004).

# STATEMENT BY MASAHARU NAKAGAWA, SENIOR VICE-MINISTER, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, CULTURE, SPORTS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, TOKYO, JAPAN

I am here today to extend my greetings on behalf of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.

My heartfelt congratulations for the opening today of the international conference on "Africa and Globalization: Learning from the Past, Preparing for the Future" organized by the United Nations University and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Despite the advance of globalization and the increased unity of the world, African countries seem to remain a distant presence for many Japanese. However, global cooperation that includes Africa is essential if we are to resolve the numerous global issues that we face in the 21st century.

An excellent example is the Education for Sustainable Development in Africa (ESDA) program launched by UNU last year with funding by MEXT.

Compared to Japan's universities, Africa's universities remain very fragile in all aspects, including in the area of academics, management, and organization. It is our hope that UNU's brilliant accumulated research in the fields of environment, peace, and development will be effectively leveraged in the alliance network of Japanese and African universities.

MEXT has also promoted international collaborative activities utilizing the knowledge of universities and other institutions through the International Cooperation Initiative since FY2008 as part of its intellectual contribution to sustainable development for developing nations. We are especially focusing on initiatives for Africa in light of the results of the 4th Tokyo International Conference on African Development held last year in May in Yokohama. Through this program, five Japanese universities have established partnerships with African universities, working to form international cooperation models for Education for Sustainable Development (ESD).

It's needless to say that UNESCO bears a crucial role in ESD as the lead agency for the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development. There are many areas where Japan can cooperate in promoting the sustainable development of Africa, such as the spreading of elementary education and the training of personnel.

Representatives are here today from UNESCO, UNU, and the Japanese government, all of which lead international ESD programs. I hope we can take today as an opportunity to renew our commitment to the cooperative framework and warmly watch over Africa's future together.

I look forward to hearing the valuable opinions from those on the front lines here today, especially from the speakers who are playing a lead role in Africa's development.

Finally, I sincerely hope that this conference will be very productive for all. I would also like to express my appreciation to UNU and UNESCO who worked hard to make this gathering possible.

## KOÏCHIRO MATSUURA

Director-General  
United Nations Educational,  
Scientific and Cultural Organization  
(UNESCO)  
Paris, France



Koïchiro Matsuura began his diplomatic career with a posting to Ghana in 1961 covering ten West African countries, leading to a lifelong passion for the cultures and people of Africa. He worked in development cooperation throughout his career, and in political affairs with a focus on North America. In the 1970s he served as counselor at the Embassy of Japan in Washington, D.C., and later as consul general in Hong Kong. As deputy minister for foreign affairs from 1992 to 1994, he was Japan's Sherpa for the G-7 Summit. In 1999, while serving as Japan's ambassador to France and chairing UNESCO's flagship World Heritage Committee, he was elected by member states to his first term as director-general of UNESCO. After a first term marked by programme and reform accomplishments, as well as the addition of new countries, including the United States, to membership in UNESCO, he was re-elected to a second term in October 2005. He has authored books in Japanese, English and French on UNESCO, international relations, the intersection between diplomacy and development cooperation, Japan-US relations, Japan-France relations, and a history of the G-7 Summit.

# STATEMENT BY KOÏCHIRO MATSUURA, DIRECTOR-GENERAL, UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO) PARIS, FRANCE

It is my great honour and pleasure to open this 7<sup>th</sup> UNESCO/UNU International Conference on globalization.

Every year since 2003, UNESCO and UNU have brought together decision-makers and experts from across the world to discuss the implications of globalization on a wide range of subjects, from higher education and science and technology to intangible cultural heritage and linguistic diversity. This year, we adopt a regional perspective, and turn our attention to what globalization means for Africa.

This focus is timely. Half a century since decolonization, Africa confronts an unprecedented new set of challenges and opportunities, which the international community as a whole must address.

On a more personal note, I am also pleased to see Africa in the spotlight. I began my Japanese diplomatic career in Ghana in the early 1960s, covering ten West African countries. Over the following decades, I worked hard to expand Japan's development cooperation with the continent, paving the way for the tremendous increase in Japanese support to Africa in the 1980s and 90s and the launch of the TICAD process.

I carried the same resolve into UNESCO, and since 1999 committed not only to bolster the Organization's support to African Member States, but also build strong relations with the rich network of African regional and sub-regional organizations. This we have done. Today, I am proud to say that meeting Africa's needs is one of UNESCO's overarching priority.

I am therefore very happy that the last UNESCO/UNU conference I will attend as Director-General focuses on a continent whose growth and development I have worked to support throughout my career.

It is now my great honour to introduce our special guests. We are privileged to have with us many of the makers and shapers of African development over the past half century.

I wish to extend a very warm welcome to former President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, former President John Kufour of Ghana, former President of Mali and Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Mr Alpha Konaré, former President Sam Nujoma of Namibia, and former President Antonio Eanes of Portugal. Excellencies, thank you for being here and for bringing your experience and wisdom to our discussions.

Let me also welcome and thank our other distinguished participants. Taking part in this conference are policy-makers, renowned experts and civil society representatives from Africa and elsewhere across the world. Welcome to Tokyo.

I would like to thank the Japanese government for giving their support to today's meeting, as they have to every conference since 2003. My special thanks go to Mr Tetsuro Fukuyama, the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, for taking time from his busy agenda to address this opening session.

Finally, let me extend my gratitude and appreciation to our partner and host, the United Nations University, in particular my colleague Rector Konrad Osterwalder, and his predecessor, Professor Hans Ginkel, with whom I launched this series. The holding of these annual conferences has become a symbol of the growing cooperation between our two institutions. I hope this collaboration will continue to strengthen into the future.

This conference takes place at a critical moment for Africa.

The past decade has seen major advances across much of the continent in terms of rising economic growth, falling poverty rates, stronger democratic governance and enhanced regional and sub-regional cooperation.

Yet a series of crises – economic, food, energy, climate, environmental – threaten to derail this progress. We must not let this happen. We cannot allow the gains of recent years to be stalled, or worse turned back.

That is why UNESCO and UNU have convened this conference, as a platform to examine the types of policies needed to keep Africa's development on track. How can we transform this period of multiple crises into an opportunity for positive change?

There are three points I would like to make.

The first regards African leadership. Top-level political commitment to peace and democracy is vital. This is the essential prerequisite for inclusive and sustainable development.

This crisis must be an impetus for African governments to act with far greater urgency to tackle inequities and protect fundamental rights and freedoms. This includes introducing special measures to insulate the poorest and most vulnerable groups from the effects of the economic downturn and other global shocks. As women and girls are usually the first to suffer, much more must be done to prioritize gender equality in all development initiatives.

However, even the strongest political commitment and best national policies will fail without greater international support. This is my second point: now must be the time for global solidarity.

The economic crisis – like the climate change crisis – was not of Africa’s making. Yet it is the poorest countries, with the least capacity to respond, which are hardest hit. The developed world has a duty to help redress this injustice.

The G8 and the G20 have made many promises. But African countries are still waiting for these pledges to translate into fast and flexible financing on the ground. On humanitarian grounds, and for reasons of global security, rich countries must do much more – and urgently – to assist Africa’s poor.

My third point regards where we should direct our efforts and resources. Times of crisis call for making choices and setting priorities. The smartest decision for Africa’s long-term future is to focus resolutely on enhancing the knowledge and skills of African people by investing in education, science and culture. These three sectors provide the fundamental basis for inclusive and sustainable development. They also represent the drivers of growth in today’s knowledge economy, where human creativity is the most valuable resource. They are, quite simply, the wisest investments any country can make.

Over the past decade, African leaders have committed to bold initiatives to reform their education systems, boost science and technology and mobilize the continent’s rich cultural heritage as a driver of Africa’s renewal.

The African Union has played a pivotal role in leading these reforms. I would like to pay special tribute to Mr Konaré, who as Chairman of the AU commission did so much to place education, science and culture at the centre of the continent’s development agenda.

I had the privilege to attend the AU Summits as special guest when these ambitious initiatives were launched, and UNESCO is working closely with African countries to bring them to success.

Let me say a few words about our work in each of these three priority areas.

I shall begin with our collective efforts to achieve Education for All (EFA) and the education-related Millennium Development Goals.

Two-thirds of the way towards the 2015 target date, we can record real advances. The past decade has seen primary enrolment in Africa jump by 42 percent. This is the highest increase in the world and one of the continent’s great success stories. The challenge is to accelerate this progress, while improving quality and expanding access to education at higher levels.

The quality dimension is pivotal. We must ensure that education empowers learners with the skills to improve their lives. That means skills for work, but also for peace and collaborative citizenship, and for living sustainably with the natural world

At their recent meeting in Cairo in June, African finance and education ministers expressed their firm determination to sustain education progress, despite the economic downturn. However, most African countries cannot do this alone. They need external support.

As global leader of the EFA movement, UNESCO will continue to advocate vigorously for donors to fill this financing gap. In particular, the G8 must meet its promise to replenish the catalytic fund of the EFA Fast-Track Initiative, so that countries with robust education plans have the resources to implement them.

UNESCO is also working to strengthen multilateral cooperation, so that governments receive coordinated support that responds to their education priorities.

The second priority for action in Africa is bolstering capacity in science and technology. Today, UNESCO is collaborating with over 20 African countries to revitalize their science policies. One of our first partners was Nigeria, following the initiative by President Obasanjo to place science at the centre of Nigeria's national economic empowerment strategy.

Such strong political commitment to science is particularly important in the current global context. A vibrant science sector is key to Africa's economic recovery and growth. It is also essential to finding solutions to major development challenges, from the food and fuel crises to environmental degradation and climate change. You will be looking tomorrow at how Africa can become a key actor in the emerging green economy. The essential first step is building robust national and regional systems for science, technology and innovation.

This leads me to the third priority for action: culture.

One strong advantage Africa has is its rich cultural heritage. Indigenous knowledge and traditions hold invaluable lessons for sustainable development and biodiversity preservation, not only in Africa but globally.

African leaders have been the first to recognize the importance to development of protecting and harnessing the continent's diverse cultural traditions. Culture figures prominently in the African Union action plan for science and technology, and is at the heart of the vision of the Second Decade of Education.

It goes without saying that UNESCO fully supports this focus. We are working hard to get culture included in UN development assistance frameworks and bilateral funding programmes. Too many development initiatives fail because they do not take this crucial dimension into account.



We come together at a particularly challenging time for Africa. However, with this period of crisis comes a unique opportunity for change. We must seize this chance, and use it to chart a new path for Africa's development.

This requires strong political will, anchored in the right policies and backed by international support. With such leadership and solidarity we can bring about a more inclusive and sustainable globalization where Africa plays its full and rightful role.

## KONRAD OSTERWALDER

Rector

United Nations University (UNU)

Tokyo, Japan

Appointed as the fifth rector on 1 September 2007, Mr Osterwalder holds a PhD in theoretical physics from ETH Zurich in 1970, where he



was rector from 1995 to 2007 and professor in mathematical physics from 1977 to 2007. Before that he was for 7 years on the faculty of Harvard University. He is a member of the Swiss Academy of Technical Sciences and he holds an honorary degree from the Technical University in Helsinki. He served as vice-president of the Conference of Rectors of Swiss Universities, as chair of the University Council of Darmstadt University and as president of the Conference of European Schools of Advanced Engineering Education and Research.

# STATEMENT BY KONRAD OSTERWALDER, RECTOR, UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY (UNU), TOKYO, JAPAN

I am very pleased to welcome all of you to the United Nations University Headquarters for this the 2009 UNU-UNESCO International Conference on Africa and Globalization – Learning from the Past, Enabling a Better Future.

Amidst the current international financial crisis, the African continent is now faced with a devastating new set of challenges, including a fall in commodities prices, a drop in levels of foreign direct investment and increased uncertainty regarding levels of overseas development aid. Policies and actions that can help mitigate the impact of the crisis have been at the core of recent high-level meetings, although the fate of the African continent and its people and measures to enhance the development prospects for the nearly one billion people of Africa have not necessarily been as high on the agenda as they deserve to be. I very much hope that public events such as the Africa day Symposium which the UNU held jointly this past May with the African Diplomatic Corps in Japan, and today's conference, being jointly organized with UNESCO, will raise awareness and enhance understanding of the importance of African development, not only for African people, but for all of us.

I am therefore particularly pleased that the UNU's active collaboration with UNESCO, led by my colleague, Director-General Matsuura, has over the past weeks and months made it possible for us jointly to bring together a very impressive list of participants. Five former heads of state, including four African and one European President, renowned scholars, practitioners, decision-makers, and civil society representatives from Africa, Europe and Asia will participate actively over the coming two days, and will share with us their insights and experience on issues core to the future of the African continent, through consideration of socio-political cohesion, governance and sustainable development.

I wish to extend my warmest welcome to each one of the conference participants for joining us on this very important occasion. Quite a number of you have already been contributing actively to UNU's activities in and on Africa, as well as to public events held at the UNU in past years and it is a great honour and pleasure to welcome you back to UNU.

I am most grateful to my colleagues on the UNU Council, Professors Lidia Brito, Goolam Mohamedbhai and Akilagpa Sawyerr, for their ideas and advice which helped to shape the programme for today's conference. I am also pleased to see among the audience a number of members of the academic and diplomatic communities in Tokyo, UNU and UN agency

colleagues, all of whom I hope will help to contribute to the depth of our deliberations over the next two days.

As you can see from the programme which was distributed to you, the first session this morning is led by the presidents, while in the afternoon, eminent academics and experts will present their own frank assessment of what have been and could be the positive and negative consequences of globalization for the African continent and its people.

Later today, we will bring the presidents and panellists together for an open exchange of views and analysis which I very much hope will contribute to identifying concrete steps which can lead the further development of the continent. Tomorrow, the conference participants will gather and focus on governance and sustainable development in two important sessions. In preparing for this two-day conference, we have aimed at enabling interactions with members of the audience in a lively, open and frank exchange of ideas.

As many of you know, the UNU carries out research and capacity development activities in Africa, with African experts, as well as with international scholars and scientists to address pressing global problems. The location of the UNU Headquarters in Japan enables us to contribute to the ongoing dialogue between Japan, its Asian neighbours and Africa and to foster creative thinking about critical international issues, such as climate change, the international financial crisis, human security issues to name just a few. I very much hope that the coming two days will enable us to come up with new ideas and approaches to promote the sustainable development and a better livelihood for those on the African continent.

Prior to concluding these brief welcoming remarks, I wish to reiterate my deepest thanks to all those who have helped to make this meeting possible: the organizers, the speakers and the sponsors, and to the Government of Japan for its strong support in helping us host all of the conference participants. I would also like to express my personal gratitude to the Ambassador of Ethiopia in Japan for the very beautiful Ethiopian roses which adorn our stage today. This is, I believe, a very positive example of a benefit which globalization has brought whereby we can enjoy the beauty of Ethiopia here in Tokyo and which can bring benefit also to the people of Ethiopia who have grown and nurtured them.

I look forward very much to joining you in what I hope will be a productive, interesting and challenging set of discussions over the next two days.

STATEMENTS BY FORMER  
PRESIDENTS ON CHARTING  
THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

**32-38**

Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1976–1979 and 1999–2007)

**40-42**

John Agyekum Kufuor, President of the Republic of Ghana (2001–2009)

**44-49**

Alpha Oumar Konaré, President of the Republic of Mali (1992–2002)  
and Chairperson of the African Union Commission (2003–2008)

**50-53**

Sam Nujoma, Founding President of the Republic of Namibia (1990-1994, 1994 -1999, 1999-2005)

**54-65**

António Ramalho Eanes, President of the Portuguese Republic (1976–1986)

## OLUSEGUN OBASANJO

President of the Federal  
Republic of Nigeria  
(1976–1979 and 1999–2007)



Olusegun Obasanjo, currently the UN Secretary-General's special envoy to the Great Lakes Region, was born on March 5, 1937 in Ibogun, Ogun State, Nigeria. He was commissioned into the Nigerian Army in 1959. He led the 3rd Marine Commando to end the Nigerian Civil War in 1970. He became deputy-head of state in 1975 and head of state in 1976 following the assassination of General Murtala Mohammed. He retired as general in 1979, becoming the first Nigerian military head of state to relinquish power voluntarily to an elected civilian administration. He thereafter went into agro-business. He was a member and co-chair of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on Apartheid in South Africa and also a candidate for the office of United Nations Secretary-General. He was a founding member of the Interaction Council where he is still very active. He was imprisoned in 1995 by General Abacha on a phantom coup plot charge. Upon his release in 1998, he contested and won the presidential election and served between 1999 and 2007 as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Among many achievements, his administration renegotiated and paid Nigeria's debt, launching Nigeria on the path of sustainable growth. As President, he also chaired the African Union for two consecutive terms. He established the Africa Leadership Forum (1988), founded Bells University of Technology (2005) and launched the Olusegun Obasanjo Presidential Library Foundation (2005). He is the author of several books on development.

# STATEMENT BY OLUSEGUN OBASANJO, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA (1976–1979 AND 1999–2007)

I thank the organizers for giving me the opportunity to speak on a matter that is close to the heart of progress for mankind, for which the last one year or so has proved instructive for literally every human being on earth. Indeed, events in the last few months have ensured that dialogues of this nature should and must be held if humanity is to understand the types of challenges that have emerged. This is particularly apt for Africa.

Nine months ago, it was anybody's guess where the world's economy was going. Related to this uncertainty was the lack of clarity on what would emerge as the new and acceptable economic or global paradigm. For awhile it seemed that the global economy was spiraling out of control; and with it the carefully developed structure and fabric of social and political spheres. Breaking news told anyone who cared to listen that the world was on a journey to a strange place. 50 years earlier, it probably would have been a single region or country that would have borne the full impact, with relatively little or hardly any serious effect on the other regions or communities around the globe. In today's world, the equations have been vastly reconfigured and every community, every home and literally everyone has been affected in one way or another by the trends. Proponents of globalization have echoed the chorus by saying that it is a sign of the times, they insist and we have seen that, indeed, globalization makes the world a smaller place by removing borders and forcing all of us to reckon with each other, whether we like it or not.

Conversely, many people have perceived that even though Africa may not have contributed directly or even indirectly to the core problems, it cannot totally escape or extricate itself from the severe implications that are attendant. The current financial crisis and its aftershocks have severely affected the continent, despite the positive changes of the past decade. The outlook for all African countries from credit rating organizations is negative. A quick look at the sources of international finance indicates that Africa could be affected by the current financial turmoil in a number of ways:

- 1) Through a reduction in investment and Official Development Assistance (ODA);
- 2) Reduction in bank lending, and more generally in the availability of credit and investment;
- 3) Reduction in investment portfolio flows and credit flight;
- 4) Reduction in remittances from emigrant populations;



- 5) Reduction in export revenues as demand in rich countries starts to shrink, which would likely cause an adverse balance of trade;
- 6) High cost of credit available, as a result of reduced credit ratings;
- 7) Lay offs and redundancies.

Accordingly, global financial institutions, i.e. the IMF, have been riling out new statistics. Africa, which expected to continue to have a growth rate of more than 5% as at October 2008 was revised to about 3.5% in January 2009 and to 1.7% in April this year. Another global institution, the World Bank, revised Africa's growth prospects to 2.4 per cent for 2009.

Directly linked to the downward spiral movement of these figures are the poverty rates, unemployment rates, infant and maternal mortality rates, a decline in quality and quantity of infrastructure, and of course an increasing risk of violent conflict and political instability.

Yet, Africa must move on and I am thankful for the several voices that have been giving vent to the expression that it may not be that bad after all. Indeed, in the last few months, scholars and development practitioners have been upbeat in listing case studies from different parts of Africa which suggest that the current global conditions may have opened a number of opportunities for Africa.

In addition to the steps that have been taken to address this glitch in globalization by the world's governments, there are certain steps that should be taken to address the past and present challenges that have held Africa back for a very long time.

For the purposes of this discussion, and taking into perspective the guidelines for this session, I shall dwell a bit on past experiences and what seems to have worked for me when I had the privilege of overseeing the affairs of my country, Nigeria. I shall state five areas which I think have been buttressed by globalization and the recent financial crisis, which is currently rocking some parts of the globe. These include and are not limited to the issues of:

- a) Debt reconsideration for Africa and other developing regions;
- b) Conscious and responsible leadership;
- c) Opportunity and job creation;
- d) Resolution of endless disputes and conflicts;
- e) Design, development and deployment of appropriate safety nets and;
- f) Debt reconsideration for Africa.

I dare say that the conditions which precipitated the financial crises and helped to cause the present glitch have been founded or predicated upon a global credit system that fails to recognize important indicators or stop valves that are needed to free up national capital and

encourage investments in a pragmatic and sustainable way. This is more so as the wisdom to hold debts against African countries at growing interests rates while giving them conditional aid completely negates the attempt to facilitate the advance of a broad range primary infrastructure and capacity that would support the growth of development pillars. Africa should continue to reconsider unsustainable debt profiles that take away important capital that otherwise could be directed at developing the necessary infrastructure that would spur development and create the opportunity for growth.

### CONSCIOUS AND RESPONSIBLE POLITICAL AND CORPORATE LEADERSHIP

Perhaps much more indicative of the challenges of globalization is the problem of conscious and responsible leadership. The present glitch has been traced, among others, to the issue of poor political and corporate leadership in both public and private sectors. In Africa, this can never be understated. My experience has demonstrated that popular leadership is not always the best form of leadership. Often times this type of leadership is indicative of a lack of will to make critical decisions because there is a fear of losing popularity and the vote. Globalization requires hard and sometimes cold and calculated decisions that, in the short-term might prove distasteful, but pay-off in the longer-term. Most African institutions are still in their formative stages. A strong and cautious leadership is needed in the short-term for such institutions. This kind of leadership must be visionary and be driven by principles.

### OPPORTUNITY AND JOB CREATION

Nothing beats the problems associated with globalization more than the capacity and the ability of any one nation to provide the enabling environment to generate and sustain opportunities for its citizens and indeed for all those who fall within its borders. In spite of the developed countries who find themselves having to deal with the brunt of the financial crisis, there has been a constant attempt to ensure that jobs are preserved, or at least maintained to lessen the impact of the recent crisis. The lesson for Africa here is obvious. In reality, it is back to economics 101, or the statutory obligation of any state to provide for its people. In spite of the capitalistic notion of having to allow the markets to decide everything, it is clearly the inputs of government that are important. It has been the sole bastion that steadied the recovery of most of the world's most industrialized countries.

### RESOLUTION OF ENDLESS DISPUTES AND CONFLICTS

Disputes and conflicts abound everywhere in the world. They do have a value in accentuating diversity and creating the minimum acceptable environment for growth within acceptable norms and relations. They also are the greatest source of instability and create conditions that impede development and growth. Africa is almost often synonymous with endless disputes and conflicts.

This is unfortunate. African lives and properties have been destroyed and opportunities have been lost. This could account for the continent's lack of participation in the global economy. The end result is that Africa has been left behind. It also means that, at all times Africa has to play catch-up with the rest of the world. Endless disputes and conflicts do not accentuate Africa's active role on the global stage and neither do they ensure that Africa reaps any of the benefits of globalization. Instead, the sale of small scale arms, violence against women and children and the attendant vulnerability of selected groups further increases the bad sides of globalization in the promotion of trafficking in people, forced labour and outright slavery of children.

### DESIGN, DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF APPROPRIATE SAFETY NETS

Globalization has come too far to be stopped, although it has been suggested that the global financial crisis slowed down globalization through the attendant protectionism adopted by some governments to save their companies from collapse. Yet, this protectionism in the developed countries served as a safety net of sorts for their citizens. It simply needs the necessary institutions to forestall a complete stagnation of society.

Safety nets and safety valves for Africa should serve to protect the most vulnerable groups of Africans who have been deprived of the basic standards of living, and of opportunities. Consider people who live in communities that have only just emerged from prolonged conflicts, particularly women and children. The common attribute is that they are vulnerable to the whims of globalization, which seek the cheapest inputs for maximum returns without adequate compensation. Inadvertently, Africa loses latent intelligence and capacity.

### IMPACT OF CURRENT GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS ON AFRICA

Africa is facing a difficult time. Prior to the current global, financial meltdown and to food price increases, many African countries had recorded steady and sometimes unprecedented economic growth averaging about 7 per cent per annum, and even more in some countries. Income levels were rising steadily and progress was made in reducing poverty and in providing basic amenities and infrastructure.

Several countries had also introduced the necessary reforms to firmly anchor African economies into the 21st century, particularly reforms in the banking and telecommunications sector. African societies were also becoming more coherent and harmonious.

Unfortunately, those remarkable successes are now under stress and under siege. According to IMF projections, global economic growth is expected to drop below zero this year. The impact of the global economic crisis is surely, slowly and steadily creeping up on us. My fear is that the consequence for us in Africa, may be perhaps more severe than its impact on highly

industrialized nations, considering the fact that they have safety nets, safety valves and shock-absorbing devices.

One of the unintended consequences of this crisis is the seemingly coordinated action of the world's most developed economies. In this, the developing nations must not be de-linked. NEPAD must now be re-energized to address the crisis.

The world needs to deal with the threat in a way that will pull each and every country out of the crisis. I hope that the many efforts that are underway will eventually have a positive impact. In the future, there may be a need to establish early warning mechanisms for the global economy, and a reform of the global banking industry and international financial institutions to ensure strict regulation of their operations within and across national boundaries.

The critical question for us in Africa is what will be the fate of Africa in this global crisis? I posed a similar question at the end of the Cold War in one of my books "*Africa Rise to the Challenge*". At that moment, I pointed out that Africa was on the verge of being delinked from the global economy if we did not act fast. It came to pass that a huge chunk of resources that was initially earmarked for Africa was diverted to Eastern Europe. Geographical contiguity and affinity played a major role in that regard. After all, self-preservation is a fundamental law of nature.

Equally, today, we must understand how the current crisis affects Africa's export and aid-dependent economies, as well as the economies of its growing number of middle-income countries. Predictably, the last Davos Conference concluded that ODA earmarked for Africa may seriously decline because donor countries have been severely affected by the financial crisis. Will it be so tough that they will no longer be able to provide aid to those countries that are most in need?

More importantly, we are already witnessing a serious decline in global trade and investment. Several industries are closing down in Asia, mines are also closing down across Africa and agricultural production is threatened.

The gains that had been made in commodity prices are being reversed. As a result, there has been a shortage of credit and a reduction in purchasing power in the industrialized countries. The capacity of those countries to invest in, and purchase commodities from Africa will drop. Consequently, a number of African countries have witnessed a considerable decline in their export earnings in recent months.

The dramatic decline in oil prices to some \$55, almost more than a two-thirds decline from the July 2008 peak of \$147 per barrel, is partially a result of the market betting on a deep and perhaps protracted global recession. A serious supply crunch is possible down the road if continued low prices lead to cutbacks or delays in investment by oil companies.

We must also guard ourselves against the possibility of increased protectionism. Already, some of the major economic powers like the USA, China, the UK, Germany, India, France and Japan have been taking measures to safeguard their economies.

Considering that most of our democracies are fledgling and fragile, we should come together to bring about concerted responses to the crisis, and its possible negative effects on the stability of our countries. Indeed, as harsher realities set in, there will be a serious outcry from our citizens. We may begin to face street protests that, if not properly handled, could spin out of control and lead us into dangerous situations.

In that context, African countries should strive to maintain stability and consolidate their hard won gains. They should also continue to remain mindful of development objectives, poverty alleviation targets and the need to attain, as rapidly as possible, the Millennium Development Goals. At the same time, they should continue to work hand in hand with the private sector to further advance structural reform agendas and the liberalisation of critical economic sectors in order to boost prospects for development and growth.

A second and perhaps more important factor is the ability to forge a consensus behind the policy responses. National consensus will give us the basis for devising and adopting regional consensus and ultimately continental consensus. The remedy does not lie with the politicians alone, but also with the private sector and civil society. Arriving at a consensus on how best to deal with the crisis, calls, more than ever before, for greater cooperation between the public and private sectors. One cardinal aspect of this is to avoid any form of protectionism, and if anything, Africa must trade more within the continent.

We must encourage a sharp increase in intra-African trade as well as South – South trade. We should strive to produce more of what we need while not ignoring what others want us to supply them with. We must add value. While the current crisis is not of Africa's making, African countries must know and understand their position as unwilling victims and we must struggle to respond appropriately.

Looking forward, we must be resourceful and be innovative. Every challenge also provides opportunities. We must seek the opportunities and seize them, no matter whether the crisis lasts one year or many years. Those who will emerge strong from it will be the pro-active and the innovative Africans.

## JOHN AGYEKUM KUFUOR

President of the Republic of Ghana  
(2001–2009)

John Agyekum Kufuor was President of Ghana from January 2001 to January 2009. He was elected on the platform of the New Patriotic Party and served two consecutive terms. He



was born on December 8, 1938 in Kumasi in the Ashanti Region of Ghana into a family with strong royal antecedents. Mr. Kufuor's period as President was characterized by unprecedented economic growth and political stability. Press freedom and individual liberties flourished and Ghana won plaudits around the world for good governance. President Kufuor served as chair of the regional grouping ECOWAS for two consecutive terms from 2003 to 2004, and as chair of the African Union in 2007. He received many awards during his presidency and has spent his time since leaving office pursuing the same goals that occupied him in public office: promotion of good governance and economic growth in Africa and conflict resolution.

# STATEMENT BY JOHN AGYEKUM KUFUOR, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA (2001-2009)

The joining of UNESCO & UNU to organize and host this conference on Africa and globalization is propitious, especially now, in face of the looming threat of climate change and also the destabilizing impact of the unregulated financial and economic excesses of the leading or advanced countries of the world.

The organizers have displayed great vision in composing participants – retired eminent statesmen from Africa, south of the Sahara and, significantly, the former Portuguese President gifted with an in-depth grasp of the combined historical, moral, economic and cultural impact of the globalization process on Africa. In addition to the fact that his country was the first European nation to have sailed down the Atlantic Ocean six hundred years ago to open the way for the stream of European nations to launch the debilitating Slave Trade and subsequently, colonialism of Africa, south of the Sahara, President Eanes, as President of Portugal, personally oversaw the granting of independence to the Portuguese colonies on the continent in the 1980s. He is therefore eminently qualified to treat the topic with due balance.

Given the general agreement on Africa's historical, psychological, political and economic handicaps which must be radically overcome, it is my belief that the continent needs the following critical tools to empower it to leap-frog into the mainstream of globalization:

- a) Leadership with a comprehensive grasp of, and knowledge of,
  - (i) Africa's history;
  - (ii) the economic dynamics of international relations;
  - (iii) the development imperatives that Africa must employ to enhance its competitive advantages, rationally deployed on whatever comparative advantages are available, and ensuring that human capital development is central to those advantages;
  - (iv) the necessity for vigorous provision of Education, Health Care, and Physical Infrastructure including Transportation, Energy, Telecommunications, Food Security, Potable Water and Environmental Balance in each and every nation;
  - (v) awareness that healthy and vigorous symbiotic development of macro and micro-economies dictates public-private partnership policies as a cornerstone of socio-economic advancement;

- (vi) good governance issuing from constitutional imperatives of institutional checks and balances; respect for human rights as the basis for democracy; respect for minority rights, property rights, cultural and religious rights; transparent and accountable government and also responsible citizenship under law and order, with due process of the rule of law;
  - (vii) appreciation of the decisive benefits of economies of scale from customs unions of regional groupings on the continent, including attracting FDI's for industrialization and job creation.
- b) NEPAD must be empowered to be a continental think-tank so as to endow Africa with a vision of strategic planning within the globalization context.
  - c) Such strategic planning should enhance adoption and development of purposeful continental and regional projects.
  - d) The strategic planning should be matched with improved NEGOTIATING SKILLS in Africa's dealings with the global community.
  - e) The advent of the science and technological era and also of the blossoming global understanding and co-operation between Africa and other nations as evidenced in mechanisms like TICAD, FOCAC and the various councils between Africa and the other regions of the world must be used to increase the self-confidence of Africa to stand shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the world.

Africa, which is described as "A SCAR ON THE CONSCIENCE OF HUMANITY" and also as the "LAST FRONTIER OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT," must accept these perceptions as the challenges to overcome in order to assume its rightful place in the "GLOBAL VILLAGE".

With the increasing spread and succession of the new breed of democratically-elected leadership throughout Africa, many of whom are appropriately informed with a global vision, Africa shall truly make the 21<sup>st</sup> century its own.



## ALPHA OUMAR KONARÉ

President of the Republic of Mali  
(1992–2002)

Chairperson of the African Union  
Commission (2003–2008)



Alpha Oumar Konaré was President of the Republic of Mali from 1992 to 2002 and chairperson of the African Union Commission from 2003 to 2008. He began his career as a teacher, and became a research fellow at the Institute of Human Science of Mali in 1974. From 1975 to 1978 he was head of the Division of Historical and Ethnographical Heritage in the Malian Ministry of Youth, Sports, Arts and Culture. From 1978 to 1979 he was Minister of Youth, Sports, Arts and Culture and from '79 to '80 he was Minister of Sports, Arts and Culture. He was subsequently research fellow at the Higher Institute of Training in Applied Research (ISFRA) and professor in the department of History and Geography at the Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENSUP), Bamako (Mali), and a consulting expert for UNESCO, the African Cultural Institute (ICA), the Cultural and Technical Cooperation Agency (ACCT), and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). He was elected first President of the 3rd Republic of Mali in 1992, and re-elected in 1997 for a second term which ended in 2002. He has chaired or served on numerous boards and professional associations, and is the recipient of numerous honors and distinctions. He holds a PhD in archaeology from the University of Warsaw.

# **STATEMENT BY ALPHA OUMAR KONARÉ, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALI (1992-2002); CHAIRPERSON OF THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION (2003-2008)**

Allow me to start by expressing my particular greetings to the Director-General of UNESCO, Mr. Matsuura, who is leaving in the coming weeks after two successful terms at the head of UNESCO.

Tributes have been paid to him for his action. For my part, I cannot but confirm his engagement on our side in all of UNESCO's areas of competence – culture, the sciences, education, and communication and information – helping us to solve the problems of Africa.

It is not by coincidence that at the end of his first term, Africa moved a resolution supporting him for a second mandate. This was done not only in recognition and appreciation of the work he has accomplished at UNESCO, but also as a signal to other UN Organizations of the main strategic orientations that should be followed to support Africa's development.

Mr. Director-General, I thank you, and through you, I wish to extend my thanks to all of your team, and in particular, to the Assistant Director-General in charge of Africa, Mr Tidjani Serpos.

I would also like to express my gratitude to African Ambassadors in Japan for their work and continued engagement in mobilizing support for Africa.

Allow me to thank also all participants and officials – African and Japanese – attending this important conference. Here I would like to underline the specific role played by Japan while recalling its engagement with Africa. At a time when Afro-pessimism was “de rigueur”, it was the TICAD process that brought back Africa on the international agenda, thereby paving the way for other partners to come on board and for partnerships to be developed.

For me the key to Africa's future can be expressed in one word: the United States of Africa.

Today, no country in Africa, irrespective of its size, large or small, or its weight, can by itself address the problems and challenges brought about by globalization. Africa needs to be united to make its voice heard. Africa needs new and pluralist partnerships. Building such partnerships requires an overall strategy in order to be able to influence the choices and orientations regarding its own development. Achieving unity, devising and applying a common

“influential” strategy at the level of the continent should be among the core goals of the United States of Africa.

The United States of Africa is neither a dream nor a mere slogan. It is not a concept intended to gain more markets. It is a major political “engagement” that has been debated over the past years, including under the chairmanship of some of the leaders present today, President Obasanjo and President Kufuor, who chaired a Summit of African leaders specifically dedicated to the creation of the United States of Africa. The general feeling that came out of these meetings is that we are sometimes turning in circles: while some participants were calling for a progressive and gradual move towards a unified Africa, others were in favor of a rapid move in that direction. Yet, others cautioned against quick and hasty actions and adopted a “wait and see” position.

What matters today and is really important for us is to address the “real issues” and take appropriate actions, building on lessons learnt from the past. We need to recall that the quest for African unity did not start in 1999, and not even in 1963. It started a long time ago. It was pursued through the fight for the rights of our Afro-American brothers. It was amplified further in the early 60’s by President Kwame N’Krumah of Ghana. Then the question of African unity was taken up again and put on the agenda by the Libyan Guide at the 1999 Conference, with the support of the African leaders present here today.

What lessons can we learn from the past?

The first lesson is that we need to have a clear understanding that building the United States of Africa is not about race. It is not limited to Sub-Saharan countries, but encompasses all countries in Africa, both from North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa as well.

The second lesson is that building the United States of Africa requires common values. If there were erring ways and mistakes made since 1963, it is precisely because this question of values was not properly considered in the past, due to the political environment prevailing at that time. Managing pluralism, managing good governance, protecting and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms are indeed key principles that have to be observed in the construction of the United States of Africa.

Key questions have been raised on how to “handle” the sovereignty of the 53 nation states existing in Africa today. I believe the future of Africa – and the reply to this question – lies in the creation of a federal state or a federal system for Africa. I do believe that the construction of such a federal state is a historical necessity. But African unity is not an issue to be addressed from a regional perspective exclusively. It has to be considered also from a local and decentralized level, including from a “local collectivities” perspective. It implies a new distribution of power between the national and the regional level, to be discussed and agreed upon at the nation-state level, while also considering the sub-regional dimension, especially the sub-regional economic communities. Building the United States of Africa should be taken at four levels: the local, national, sub-regional and the continental levels.

Such a federal system would be articulated around a federal government, a federal judiciary system and a federal parliament. This does not mean denying existing national sovereignty. It simply means that part of it, often inherited from the colonial period, has to be gradually transferred to the federal level.

Today we need to look for new forms of sovereignty that are open, freely accepted and jointly managed. Only then will we be able eventually to reach pan- African sovereignty. There are examples that can be a source of inspiration in this endeavor. The United States of America and the European Union are some of them, but we could also learn from the former Soviet Union and its federal and autonomous republics, from India and Brazil, as well as from the African tradition and its practices of governance and management.

One of the most crucial task for Africa today is to free itself from the "colonial pact", abandon the economy "*de traite et de rente*" and excessive dependence on external powers.

Building the United States of Africa is fundamentally an act of decolonization. Fifty years have elapsed since the independence of most African countries. It is time for us to liberate ourselves, including from an ideological point of view, by raising the real questions and bringing the real answers. Intellectuals have a key role to play in leading this process.

What type of development do we need today for Africa?

We need to reflect upon the type of development that we want to achieve and look for a real change. And, this not just a theoretical question or a lip service to be paid. Indeed, positive results have been achieved globally, in the area of governance, but nobody can deny that poverty still persists in Africa. Today, many young people have lost hope and faith in the future. This is an undeniable reality. We need to find solutions to these problems through endogenous development processes and through a people-centered economy, with sufficient emphasis placed on agriculture. People living in rural areas, the middle class and the informal sector should also benefit from increased attention, particularly from intellectuals and leaders.

What type of state do we need in Africa?

Let me recall that at one point, states were considered obsolete. Now with the prevailing financial and economic crisis, the state is being rehabilitated and gaining renewed importance. It is therefore important for us Africans to participate in this re-building and integrate our own discourse in this process. We must free ourselves from all ideologies and the neo-liberal economy including this frantic race for money. We have to enrich our discussion and not stand up to any received idea or "intellectual terrorism". People and leaders have to be courageous and stand up for their ideas, ideals and principles. Integrating and building on social dimensions is essential for achieving African unity and should be part and parcel of all efforts in that regard.

Let me also add that while it is important for the United States of Africa or a Federal Africa to build multiple partnerships with major countries, it is all essential to ensure that in

so doing, national interests of these partners do not prevail over and above sub-regional and regional interests.

These issues I have raised would certainly require more time to discuss. I recognize that these are extremely challenging issues, and that we cannot expect miracles to happen. What we need in this regard is "clarity" in our discussions and in the goals pursued. Of course, there are many obstacles and hurdles. Some do insist on the need to keep the regional economic commissions. I fully recognize the need for such sub-regional groupings, but for me there is no contradiction in having both a federal state and sub-regional economic commissions. If the idea is to turn these commissions into a place of "sovereignty" ("lieu de souveraineté"), then indeed they can be seen as an obstacle. However, if they are conceived and seen as frameworks to manage issues common to neighboring countries, then they are certainly an asset. Let's not oppose a federal government because of our national or sub-regional institutions. Such types of institutions could be used to implement policies.

I recognize that there are many difficulties and obstacles in instituting such a process, including ethno-nationalism, the "nation-states" themselves and a new form of ethno-regionalism that is now emerging. The lack of leadership and even, some times, clashes of egos and self interests are also among factors that contribute to the slow down of the regional integration process.

We also have to be aware of the fact that multinational companies may see the unity of Africa mainly as an opportunity for gaining more access to the African market without any other consideration for socio-economic growth or social cohesion. I believe a united continent with a strong economic and political weight could constitute a real driving force to counterbalance other economic powers. For that we need a real political engagement. We need to involve the people. We will make no progress without a profound involvement of the African people in this process. Achieving such a global mobilization would require education and sensitization efforts, as well as important, pedagogical action, in which intellectuals have a key role to play. Progress in building democracy and integration can be achieved only by informing citizens and by having vibrant, African public opinion, coherence and cohesion. Unless we manage to build such an informed public opinion, an "avant-garde" for integration, there will no basis for building African unity.

Most of the problems Africa is facing today can be solved through African unity. Today, the failure of structural adjustment policies is unanimously recognized. But more than recognizing it, what we need to do is to analyze the reasons for this failure and draw lessons from them. We know that most African countries will not meet the Millennium Development Goals. We knew it for sometime, but obviously nothing could be done to reverse this trend. Whereas some progress has been made in the past, the fight against HIV and AIDS is now losing ground, with hundred thousands of people, especially young people, dying in Africa. HIV and AIDS, immigration and brain drain are among critical challenges that need to be addressed.

The current economic and financial crisis we are facing today is probably one of the most important crises of capitalism. Neither the G-8 nor the G-20 alone are in a position to resolve all of the issues at stake, especially the social issues. They should seek assistance from the UN, especially on issues relating to peace and security. For Africa, the impact of the crisis on societies is dramatic and could lead to chaos and violence if no action is taken to redress the situation. For Africa, the best way to address these issues is to work towards African integration.

## SAM NUJOMA

Founding President of  
the Republic of Namibia  
(1990-1994, 1994-1999, 1999-2005)

Samuel Nujoma received his primary education at the Okahao Finnish Mission School from 1937 to 1945. In 1946, he moved to the town of Walvis Bay where in 1947 at the age of 17 he began his first employment at a general store for a monthly salary of 10 shillings. In 1949, he moved to Windhoek and began working for South African Railways, attending adult night school at St. Barnabas in the Windhoek Old Location and studying for his junior certificate via correspondence. He resigned from the South African Railways in 1957 at the age of 29 to devote himself to politics. In 1959, he was elected leader of the Owambo People's Organization (OPO) that aimed to end the contract system and the South African colonial administration by placing South West Africa (Namibia) under UN trusteeship. The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was formed on 19 April 1960 and Dr. Nujoma was elected as the president of the movement in absentia. In March 1966, after six years in exile, in a bid to test South Africa's word that Namibians in exile were free to return, Nujoma, accompanied by President Hifikepunye Pohamba, chartered a plane to Windhoek. Upon return, they were arrested and deported to Zambia. Nujoma subsequently organized armed resistance, beginning the Namibian War of Independence which was to last 24 years. In February 1990, he was unanimously elected by the National Assembly as the first president of the Republic of Namibia. He was re-elected for two more terms of office in 1994 and 1999. He holds an MSc in geology from the University of Namibia and is the recipient of numerous honours and distinctions.



# **STATEMENT BY SAM NUJOMA, FOUNDING PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA (1990-1994, 1994-1999, 1999-2005)**

I wish to thank the organizers for inviting me to participate in the 2009 UNU/UNESCO International Conference on Africa and Globalization, and to be a keynote speaker on the theme "Charting the Future of Africa: A Leadership Forum".

As you all know, globalization has been one of the major topics of discussion and concern in economic circles for many years now. It is multifaceted, affecting a whole range of our lives, that is, economic, social, political, environmental as well as cultural aspects, which affect each and every one of us in some way or another.

Alassance Quattara of IMF in his speech presented at the Southern Africa Economic Summit in May 1997, defined globalization of the world economy as "the integration of economies throughout the world through trade, financial flows, the exchange of technology and information, and the movement of people". Although I agree that globalization is inevitable in our modern world, I must however stress that what we have seen in recent years has been more of the Americanization of the world, the propagation of a universal paradigm for economic and political development, and the dominance of unilateralism as a way of conducting international relations. Globalization through the liberalization of trade has benefited the developed world more than the developing countries because of unequal or lack of fair play. In the case of Africa, its position in the international system has been considerably weakened by the fact that it has been losing the race of economic and human development, particularly to other parts of the world.

Thus, economically, globalization has, on a whole, reinforced the economic marginalization of African economies and their dependence on a few primary goods for which demand and price are externally determined. The consequences of this have been the deepening of poverty and economic inequality as well as the inability of the majority of Africans to live decent social and political lives in their countries. This has also triggered enormous brain-drain from Africa, thus further weakening the ability of African countries to manage their economies efficiently and effectively.

A number of people, especially from developed countries, see globalization as being highly beneficial, creating more opportunities and improving the quality of life worldwide. I have a different view. I see globalization as a destructive force that has increased inequality within and between nations, and which disempowers the weak, threatens employment and living standards and greatly increases poverty.



Although scientific and technological forces unleashed by globalization have facilitated to some extent access by Africans to advanced technology and information, this has been at the expense of the indigenous development of technology. It has also resulted in a distortion of the patterns of production in Africa, notably by utilizing capital as opposed to labour intensive methods of production, which in turn increases unemployment and poverty. In general, we see that the negative consequences of globalization on Africa are far greater than the positive impact of globalization.

Now, what should African countries do in order to reverse the negative impact of globalization, while enhancing the positive effects of it on Africa?

1. The most important resource of any country is its citizens. African leaders should therefore concentrate their efforts on educating their people, sensitizing, and educating them on their civic, social, economic and cultural rights and responsibilities, and empowering them so that they can defend their rights and interests, while contributing fully to the overall development of their countries. This is only possible if African countries invest heavily in developing and maintaining their social capital, especially health and education facilities that cater to the broader masses rather than to a tiny elite. It is only through developing human capital that African countries will be in a position to take control over their destinies and be in a strong position to deal effectively with the outside world.
2. Globalization has made most African countries weaker today than they were at the time of independence. As a result of external pressure there has been a tendency for some African leaders to have weaker ties with the people they rule while their dependence on external support to stay in power has increased. Therefore, in international negotiations such leaders lack both the interest and domestic support needed to effectively defend the interest of their people. Africa must therefore do everything possible to ensure that it is led by competent leaders, dedicated to the welfare of their people, and whose strength emanates from the support of the people they lead.
3. As I mentioned earlier, development strategies and policies followed by most African countries are increasingly those formulated by outsiders, which are then imposed on African countries as a condition for aid, investments, trade access, and political and military support. As a result, these strategies and policies serve more the interest of external forces rather than those of the African people they claim to be assisting. Africa needs a new approach to economic development that looks holistically at the nature, ownership, management, allocation, utilization and distribution of resources, keeping in mind that Africa is very rich in natural resources. However, these resources have not contributed significantly to their social and economic empowerment. African countries must therefore design policies that maximize the potential benefits of globalization, and minimize the downside risks of destabilization and marginalization.

4. Because most African countries have weak economies and few, if any, can succeed on their own and withstand the impact of globalization, cooperation with others should therefore be a central objective of our countries. African countries should vigorously and proactively exploit modern forms of transport and communication, especially information technology, so as to strengthen the interdependence among them, and thus provide them the material base for economic, political, social and cultural cooperation and integration among them. There is thus a need to analyze, in respect to the capabilities, functions, objectives and accomplishments, the current sub-regional and regional, intergovernmental organizations on our continent, with the view to rationalizing them, so as to ensure that they make effective contributions to economic cooperation and integration for the good of the African people as a whole.
5. African countries must diversify their economies and move away from dependence on a few primary goods by ensuring a balance between agriculture and manufacturing, and by increasing the competitiveness of African goods on regional and world markets.
6. By insisting that African countries open their economies, through trade liberalization, to allow in foreign goods and entrepreneurs, globalization has thus limited African countries from taking proactive and conscious measures which can facilitate the emergence and expansion of an indigenous entrepreneurial class. The indigenous entrepreneurial class, if adequately empowered, has the ability to contribute to the development of truly integrated, national economies.

For Africa to benefit from globalization, the strategies which I have outlined above need to be fully embraced by our African leaders, otherwise the negative impact of globalization on Africa will overwhelm our people, leading to greater instability and poverty.

## ANTÓNIO RAMALHO EANES

President of the Portuguese Republic,  
(1976–1986)

António Ramalho Eanes was the first democratically elected President of Portugal after the revolution on 25 April 1974. After a long military career with service in Goa, Macao,



Mozambique, Guinea and Angola, General Ramalho Eanes ordered the military operations that brought all political forces to the reconstruction of democracy on 25 November 1975. He was President from 1976 to 1986. He is a member of the Portuguese Council of State, and he holds a doctorate in political philosophy from the University of Navarra.

# STATEMENT BY ANTÓNIO RAMALHO EANES, PRESIDENT OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC (1976-1986)

## INTRODUCTION

Some observers argue that the current globalization is entirely new in history. Others, by contrast, say that it is not different (in its distinctive essence) from the world order that prevailed under the domination of Great Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

I myself believe that the alleged “old globalization” (the English one, from 1840 to 1914) was only a broad and very important process of internationalization of the economy and science – of all sciences – and their technological fruits.

## GLOBALIZATION OF THE “FINITE WORLD”

I therefore defend the thesis that the ancient world had its own globalization. I shall call it, using the expression of Paul Valéry (in *Regards sur le monde actuel*), the globalization of the “finite world”, as opposed to the present one, which I would name the globalization of the “finite time”.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, “The world did not exist as a unit for mankind”<sup>1</sup>. The world, in the eyes of men, was not a real unit. We may say that the world did not know the world. There were then no universal phenomena, whatsoever.

In 1750 man’s velocity of displacement was still measured by his step, the step of his horse, or the speed of his sailboat. “The world is as if formed by separate humanities”<sup>2</sup>, only partly connected by merchants.

This situation starts to change with the so-called “Discoveries”, the maritime epic adventure initiated by the Portuguese people in the fifteenth century with the conquest of Ceuta in Northern Africa, where the trade flows of Eastern spices and African ivory and gold arrived. This was the start of the adventure of a small number of people; small demographically, small geographically (with 89 thousand square kilometers) and without large resources, living under the threat of Spanish unification.

---

1 RÉMOND, René – *L’Ancien Regime et la révolution. 1750-1815*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1974. 1<sup>o</sup> v.: Introduction à l’histoire de notre temps. p.9

2 RÉMOND, René – *L’Ancien Regime et la révolution*. 1st volume. p.24

And this is how Portugal challenged the seas, becoming first in the European ocean adventure, with a remarkable geostrategic intuition and reflection, which lead the Portuguese to “discover” the Atlantic Ocean, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean.

Under the leadership of Prince navigator Henrique, Portugal goes beyond the Bojador cable in West Africa in 1434; in 1487 the Portuguese people reach the Cape of Good Hope, in the extreme South of Africa; in 1498 they arrive to India; in 1511 they set up in Malacca, and in 1513, from there, they start a business connection with China, receiving the Macao Peninsula from China in 1557.

The Portuguese arrive in Japan – which is known in Europe through Marco Polo, who refers to “a large island, with white people, with good manners and beautiful”<sup>3</sup> – in 1542 or 1543<sup>4</sup>.

As a tribute to the Japanese friends here present, allow me a short digression on the mutually rewarding meeting and discovery of Portuguese and Japanese people<sup>5</sup>. From this fruitful meeting and contact, many Japanese words entered the Portuguese language, and over thirty are still currently used. Likewise, many Portuguese words were introduced into the Japanese vocabulary (religious, geographic, navigation, food and clothing terms mainly)<sup>6</sup>.

In the eighteenth century, when other European nations awakened for an overseas “adventure”, the Portuguese and Spanish empires were already declining. It is then England,

---

3 JANEIRA, Armando Martins – *O impacte português sobre a civilização japonesa*. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1970 (col. Documentário, nr. 8). p.27

4 In 1543, according to the “Chronicle on the shotgun”, “Japanese chronicle on the history of the introduction of the shotgun in Japan, Teppo-Ki, written in 1606 by Nampo Bunshi, Buddhist priest of the zen sect of Satsuma, for the lord of Tanegashima.” JANEIRA, Armando Martins – *O impacte português sobre a civilização japonesa*. p.28

5 Gratifying as shown by various writings. As an example, I shall refer:

“A letter from the ‘king’ of Kagoshima to the Provincial Superior of the Society of Jesus in India, 1562 [that] says: ‘and just because the Portuguese are good men, we are delighted that they come to our land (...) they will be favored in everything because, after the world began, we have not seen such people as the Portuguese.’” JANEIRA, Armando Martins – *O impacte português sobre a civilização japonesa*. p.32

A note written by Father Cosme de Torres in Yamaguchi on 29 September 1551 [that] refers Japanese people as follows: “They are discrete as one can be: they are guided by reason as much or even more than the Spaniards. They are curious to know more about the many people I have known, and to practice how to save their souls, and serve Him who created them. In all lands discovered there is no man like them: their conversation is so beautiful that it seems that they were all brought up in palaces of great lords: it is impossible to describe how they greet each other: they seldom talk about others and have no envy.” JANEIRA, Armando Martins – *O impacte português sobre a civilização japonesa*. p.40

6 Cf. JANEIRA, Armando Martins – *O impacte português sobre a civilização japonesa*. p.331-340. As an example the following Japanese words of Portuguese origin can be mentioned: botan from botão (button), koppu from copo (glass), pan from pão (bread) and tabako from tabaco (tobacco); and the following Portuguese words of Japanese origin: biombo from byobu (folding screen), catana from katana, **judo** from **juu dou**, and **origami** from the Japanese *ori* (to fold) and *kami* (paper)

France, United Provinces and Scandinavian countries' turn. These countries will be joined by Germany and Italy.

Around 1770-1775, English and French navigators discovered the so-called "oceanic archipelagos". A century later, the great explorers Brazza, Livingstone and Stanley discovered the headwaters of the Zambezi and explored the outside basin of the Congo.

The polar expeditions undertaken by the American, British and Norwegian peoples are the epilogue of a mundialization process initiated by the Portuguese and the Spanish. The expeditions to the North Pole (in 1909) and the South Pole (in 1911) allow humanity to know the entire globe. The first historical mundialization, the globalization of the world, the "finite world", was now complete.

I believe it will be interesting to review, even briefly, the consequences – both positive and negative – of this first globalization and to return to the history of colonization led by Europe, because it may help us understand the serious errors then repeatedly made, especially regarding African peoples: why we acted as we did, where we are today and what we can and must do in order for the humanity which the globalization of the "finite world" became, one, to live in true democracy. This requires, aims and demands, as John Keane said, "a[n active] memory oriented to the future (...) to stimulate the contemporary political democratic<sup>7</sup> imagination"<sup>8</sup> and social responsibility.

## AFRICAN COLONIZATION AND POST-COLONIAL CRISIS

A distinctive feature of the overall African colonization was the political, economic, intellectual, cultural and even religious domination<sup>9</sup>.

At the origin of this perverse condition I believe there were racial prejudices and, naturally, the advanced stage of technical, scientific and cultural development of Europe.

According to this line of thought, the colonization's intention was:

- To bring "civilization" to African populations, improving their natural conditions and raising their standards of living;

---

7 Democracy, which, as we all know, is much more than an original way of government, because "it represents the form and aim of modern society". ALVIRA, Rafael et alii., ed. – Sociedad civil. La democracia y su destino. Pamplona: EUNSA, 1999 (col. Filosófica, nº 144). p.XI. The ambition and purpose of democracy should be man as a whole and all men. Only democracy, rationally and ethically carried out throughout the world, will allow fair and shared economic modernization and pacifying social development

8 MÚGICA, Fernando – La sociedad civil en contexto. In. ALVIRA, Rafael et alii., ed. – Sociedad civil. p.5

9 We must not however forget other behaviors, much later, often truly heroic, of the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits – who the Japanese knew so well – against slavery, particularly in Brazil

- To free them from the primitive beliefs, from vicious social effects, from evil effects on the condition and life of so many Africans, including children (witchcraft, black magic, possession by spirits)<sup>10</sup>;
- To correct injustices, some of them brutally exercised by the colonizers themselves (such as black African slavery)<sup>11</sup>.

In fact, not too few well-known citizens shared that “higher purpose of teaching” and were inspired by it when writing remarkable books, as in the case of Kipling.

Influenced by the awareness of their military, cultural, intellectual and economic superiority, dominated by Eurocentric prejudices, committed to meeting different material interests<sup>12</sup>, Europe was unable to realize that all peoples – and, of course, African peoples as well – have a historical tradition, a cultural personality, which must be respected. Even when the aim is to change, transform and modernize it, psychosocial traumas must be avoided.

At the Berlin Conference, held from 15 November 1884 to 26 February 1885 – which decided the partition of Africa among the strongest military and capitalist powers of Europe, under a sheer logic of power and interests – African ethnic-territorial reality and their historical hostilities were not even minimally considered. Indeed, this fact helps is relevant to explain and understand many of the civil wars that have ravaged the African continent, such as the one between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda, a genocide which took place under international passivity, particularly that of the United Nations.

---

10 “Having undertaken a study and field investigation journey in Kinshasa from 1 to 30 April 2001, we are able to confirm this phenomenon of very small children abandoned on the streets (5 to 15 years old) due to witchcraft. The economic crisis that affects most of the population in Kinshasa and the Congo largely explains this inflation of witchcraft which becomes a pretext or a scheme used by poor parents, incapable of feeding, creating and educating their children.” KUNGUUA, Benoît Awazi Mbambi – *Le Dieu crucifié en Afrique. Esquisse d’une Christologie negro-africaine de la Libération Holistique*. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2008. p.191

11 In African societies, as indeed in many other primitive societies, slavery represented a positive step in the performance of tribal war winners because slavery replaced the habit of killing the peoples who had lost the war. This situation, historically lived during the most remote times of the Western civilization, as demonstrated by Code Hammurabi (who was king of Babylon from 1792 to 1750 B.C.): “War prisoners are slaves” (the slave was given the chance of marrying a free woman, their children being free men). FINET, André (introd.) – *Le code de Hammurabi*. Paris: Les éditions du cerf, 2004. p.14

12 To demonstrate it, the following arguments can be mentioned:

The number of African slaves transported to the USA, Canada (especially by the British) and Brazil

The abolition of slavery by Britain in 1807 with the “Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade” considered the economic interest because “the rapid development of the U.S. economy with slave work was a serious threat to the English metropolis”. MAURÍCIO, Domingos – *Escravidura*. In *Enciclopédia Luso-brasileira de Cultura*. Lisboa: Verbo, 1968. Vol. 7. p.952

Thus, by failing to understand this set of imperative reasons, the Berlin Conference made African peoples enter a culturally disfiguring adventure, which preferred "imprisonment to freedom, oppression to expansion, mistake to truth, partiality to totality"<sup>13</sup>.

This overall picture explains, I believe, the main reasons why Africa failed to meet the present and the future, in terms of economic modernization and social development.

We have all witnessed the "tragic and dramatic worsening of the post-colonial crisis through civil wars happening all over Sub-Saharan Africa"<sup>14</sup>. Bloody dictatorships have repeatedly and dramatically been installed in the African continent<sup>15</sup>, destroying the present and, negatively affecting the future of millions of Africans.

And, even more serious, this has significantly contributed to a "strong chronic instability"<sup>16</sup>, "bloody rebellions and ethnic hatreds carved in historic old rivalries"<sup>17</sup>, but also the destruction of the traditional ties of African solidarity"<sup>18</sup>.

In fact, these governments have proved incapable of changing, as promised, the situation of the African continent, which can be defined as follows:

- With 13.4% of the humanity, Africa only reaches 1% of the planet's GDP;
- It is only present in 2% of international trade;
- It receives no more than 1% from foreign direct investment;
- Despite a relatively strong growth of the African economy in 2003, a third of sub-Saharan African countries reported a decline in income per capita, while the number of people in a situation of extreme poverty in the region (with less than a dollar per day) increased to approximately 60 million since 1990.

Moreover, the democratic path that many African governments chose, after the late '80s, under the pressure and supervision of the International Monetary Fund, the European Economic Community (at the Third Convention in Lomé in 1985-1990) and France (during the Franco-African Summit in La Baule in 1990), has not led to success. Serious problems arose with the anarchic proliferation of ethnic-based political parties, which were fueled by frustration and

---

13 Cf. ANTUNES, Manuel – *Obra completa*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2005. Tome 2: *Paideia: educação e sociedade*. p.202

14 KUNGUA, Benoît Awazi Mbambi – *Le Dieu crucifié en Afrique*. p.128

15 Mugabe in Zimbabwe, Mobutu in Zaïre, Bokassa in the Central African Republic, Biya in Cameroon, Eyadema in Togo, Kérékou in Benin, Compaoré in Burkina Faso. Cf. KUNGUA, Benoît Awazi Mbambi – *Le Dieu crucifié en Afrique*. p.128

16 KUNGUA, Benoît Awazi Mbambi – *Le Dieu crucifié en Afrique*. p.190

17 KUNGUA, Benoît Awazi Mbambi – *Le Dieu crucifié en Afrique*. p.190

18 KUNGUA, Benoît Awazi Mbambi – *Le Dieu crucifié en Afrique*. p.191



correlative social protest, stimulated by the harmful effects of underdevelopment and expanded by the opportunities offered by some liberalization of the media.

The suffocating weight of foreign debt and the austerity policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund have helped destabilize the regimes that have chosen a democratic path because the reduction of the financial resources of these states has frustrated the expectations of customers which support innumerable states<sup>19</sup>. "Under these conditions, very few African States seem able to reconcile order and freedom"<sup>20</sup>, which is essential for societies to be civil. These situations of protest and social conflict have a negative impact on capital holders that might consider investing in Africa. And, obviously, without foreign investment it is not possible to maintain macroeconomic stability and accelerate structural reforms, namely in health, education and public services (public transport network, energy, water, telecommunications, etc.).

To all this, too problematic already, we can add other negative situations:

- Explosive demographic situation, characterized by a low number of working-age adults, and persistence of a high birth rate.
- Excessive child death due to malnutrition.
- AIDS (particularly violent in Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Zaire), which aggravates the economic, financial and social situation (26 million Africans are infected, which accounts for the location in the African continent of 7% of the victims of the HIV pandemic).

International organizations (such as International Monetary Fund, World Bank, United Nations, and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) as well as numerous NGOs have been sensitized to this situation, and have set up a program aimed at halving extreme poverty by 2015, under the name "Millennium Development Goals", which, in my opinion, seems too ambitious. In fact, public aid to development is still inadequate, despite the additional effort made in 2002, which only attempted to make up for the accumulated insufficient aid since 1990. Simultaneously, in 2001 the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) launched, together with the G8, a development aid program, linking its concession to liberal and democratic reforms. The balance of results achieved in 2005 is not too positive, although institutional aid has contributed to reducing the burden of African foreign debt, which, after 1995, still stood in 205 billion dollars.

In this situation, it is difficult for Africa to resort to external debt, especially after the second world financial crisis. And foreign capital is essential to help Africa get out of its dire financial situation.

---

19 Cf. BERSTEIN, Serge; MILZA, Pierre (dir.) – Histoire du XXe siècle. De 1973 à nos jours: vers la mondialisation et le XXIe siècle. Vol. 3. Paris: Hatier, 2005. p. 407

20 BERSTEIN, Serge; MILZA, Pierre (dir.) – Histoire du XXe siècle. Vol. 3. p. 407

## GLOBALIZATION OF THE “FINITE TIME”

The so-called “New Economy”, with its liberal management of modern information and communication techniques, has become the carrier of a promise for stable and sustainable economic growth. From internationalization (the intensification of relations between national economies) neo-capitalism jumps to globalization, which turns the planet into a single global market.

But globalization has a drawback, which, according to experts, is due to the fact that none of the existing international organizations holds sufficient authority to regulate and so prevent dysfunctions, and impose operation rules to global economy players, rules that are accepted and controllably respected by all.

In this situation, it becomes clear that the major challenge for policy in the twenty-first century is to build, together, a new global regulatory model, with new international institutions or with the existing ones adequately reformed. It has thus become necessary and urgent to restore ethical, political, legal and institutional control over world capitalism.

## GLOBALIZATION AND AFRICA: PROMISES AND CONSEQUENCES

In Africa globalization was also naturally received with hope. Flows of capital in developing countries would grow promisingly: they were multiplied by six, in six years (from 1990 to 1996). People thought that all – all men and all countries – would benefit from globalization, which was supposed to help developing countries “create better economic environments”<sup>21</sup>, jump into the information age, accelerate development and enhance global harmony.

However, African scholars see globalization with skepticism and even great concern. Churches working in Africa, including the Catholic church, have also been worried. The Holy See published a note on finance and development, immediately before the United Nations Conference in Doha, which states: “We need to pay particular attention to Africa, where the development map shows strong inequalities. In Africa, the situation is different from country to country; there is a trend towards polarization between situations of success in obtaining resources and making them fruitful, and situations of total marginalization.”<sup>22</sup>

---

21 AKINDELE, S. T. et ali. – “Globalisation, its implications and consequences for Africa” (2002). In. [http://globalization.icaap.org/content/v2.1/01\\_akindele\\_etal.html](http://globalization.icaap.org/content/v2.1/01_akindele_etal.html)

22 Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace – Note of the Holy See on finance and development on the eve of the United Nations General Assembly Conference in Doha (18 November 2008). Reprinted with permission. pp.19-20

Globalization has therefore become a phenomenon with disastrous consequences for governments and the peoples of Africa, such as:

1. The integration of African economies into the capitalist economy has made "colonialism" provide a legal tool for the dependence of African economy on western economies.
2. Privatization has intensified the integration of African countries in production and finance global systems, encouraging the flow of capital investment and attracting the ownership by foreign capital of former public-held companies.
3. Africa became the dump place of a series of products (at literature, cinema or music) that have little to do with African people, obliterating African culture and leading to a Eurocentric vision of reality.
4. Globalization subverts the autonomy and self-determination of African peoples. The burden of external debt of the developing countries in 1994 had already reached 2 trillion dollars, according to the World Bank. Mass poverty caused citizens to be deprived of a meaningful existence.
5. The lack of governmental incentives to local production, the subversion of local production by high imports, the exchange rate devaluation and the depletion of foreign reserves are some of the effects of marginalization and underdevelopment caused by development agents.
6. Due to globalization, it has not been easy for governments to ensure social protection, one of their core functions and the one that has helped many developed nations maintain social cohesion and domestic political support.
7. Furthermore, globalization also damaged the natural environment of Africa. We can mention the Niger Delta and the Ogoni people in particular, affected by oil exploration in the region, which has ravaged marine life and environment, has affected the supply of drinking water and caused a number of diseases<sup>23</sup>.

---

23 In this region, as elsewhere, the traditional economy based on agriculture, fishing and hunting was replaced by an economy based on petrodollars, without basic infrastructures being improved while governments closed their eyes to a series of violations of human rights

## THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

How, then, can Africa free itself from such an intolerable situation?

For many people, mainly religious men and scholars, such as Engelbert Mveng<sup>24</sup>, "the reconstruction of Africa must first start with regaining the spirituality empirically rooted in African cultural values"<sup>25</sup>.

When Africa is able to meet those ancient cultural values again, modernized by education and sublimated by religion, it is reasonable to expect that corruption – that has "invaded" Africa primarily due to the perverse association between economy and politics – will be reduced and economy will be directed by law, which will be defined by politics, and politics itself will be led by ethics. Then, and only then, will African societies be civil and civilized.

But, how can a dynamics of confident sustainable growth of African economies be operationalized, a dynamics strong enough to eradicate the evident injustices that devastate the continent at this time of irreversible globalization?

Widely recognized is the need for a set of articulated policies able to ensure peace and security, achieve and maintain macroeconomic stability, ensure international trade and the liberalization of exchange rates, attract foreign capital, and establish the necessary economic and social infrastructures.

In order to achieve these goals it is necessary, among other measures, to:

- Develop competent and serious governance;
- Modernize public administration with technical competence and legislative safety;
- Ensure security, namely of investment, through appropriate legislation to ensure transparency, predictability and reliability in public decisions and policy;

Promote the competent independence of courts, enabling them to become a modern organization, supported by technically competent staff;

Establish independent central banks in the States to ensure price stability and transparency in monetary policy;

- Promote an effective connection between the government and civil society through a democratic organization of political power; democratic both in its origin and way of functioning, respecting cultural realities;

---

24 Engelbert Mveng was murdered at home near Yaoundé (Cameroon). He was a Jesuit priest and left a considerable work as historian, theologian, poet and sculptor

25 KUNGUA, Benoît Awazi Mbambi – *Le Dieu crucifié en Afrique*. p.133

- Promote educational ability and merit, with free access to higher education in national or foreign universities, with the student's promise to provide services to the State for a given number of years after graduation;
- Promote agriculture and cattle raising education by establishing "land banks" to provide land for young farmers, who should also be supported financially and technically by domestic and foreign experts;
- Commit to the training of a specialized workforce (especially in towns), in arts and crafts schools, and whenever possible, in religious congregations, who have extensive experience in such activities;
- Promote a flexible system for providing health services to the entire population, using the facilities and expertise of the armed forces, NGOs and volunteers, including foreigners;
- Reform international institutions, namely African, giving them the means and power to effectively respond to inter-African conflicts.

This is obviously a huge undertaking, but necessary and possible, as demonstrated to a large extent by the example of Cape Verde, which illustrates effective, competent and democratic governance, worthy of confidence, even in the utilization of international financial aid. We should try to succeed in achieving the dreams and utopias imagined by some of the great philosophers of the eighteenth century, as Emmerich de Vattel and Kant, regarding the construction of a universal State.

The obvious inability of the United Nations, the emergence of conflicts that destroy the States and bring back humanity to its "state of nature" (as in Somalia) would be enough to justify the change. Another justification may also be found and in the current world financial and economic crisis and the need for a virtuous answer, and in the imperative need to respond to an ever-lasting globalization, to climate change, biodiversity, rationally interested management of water and underwater resources, energy challenges<sup>26</sup>, terrorism, inter-religious dialogue, etc.

In his new encyclical *Caritas in Veritate*<sup>27</sup>, Pope Benedict XVI stated that in the name of man – of his happiness – we must end global society's excesses. And he adds that "we should not be victims but leading actors"<sup>28</sup>. Naming the failure of the United Nations, he defends a new political and economic order, a "real authority"<sup>29</sup>, recognized by all, with the ability to consistently help economies in crisis, promote full disarmament, ensure food security and peace, protect the

---

26 Which the horizon outlines with increasing accuracy considering the nearing depletion of fossil fuels

27 Charity in truth

28 Benedict XVI, Encyclical *Caritas in Veritate*. In [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/benedict\\_xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_ben-xvi\\_enc\\_20090629\\_caritas-in-veritate\\_po.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xvi_enc_20090629_caritas-in-veritate_po.html)

29 Benedict XVI, Encyclical *Caritas in Veritate*. In [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/benedict\\_xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_ben-xvi\\_enc\\_20090629\\_caritas-in-veritate\\_po.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xvi_enc_20090629_caritas-in-veritate_po.html)

environment, and render the relations between financial capital, economy and work virtuous. The aim would be to create a planetary lawful State that could bring the benefits of globalization to all of humanity.

# CHARTING THE FUTURE OF AFRICA: PUTTING VISION INTO PRACTICE

**68-77**

Mongi Bousnina, Professor of Geopolitics, University of Tunis, Tunis, Tunisia; Former Director-General Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO); Former Minister of Culture, Tunisia

**AFRICA AND THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION: THE NEED FOR SUBSTANTIAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT****78-89**

N'Dri T. Assié-Lumumba, Professor, Africana Studies & Research Center  
Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; Fellow, World Academy of Art and Science

**AFRICAN RENEWAL THROUGH HIGHER EDUCATION WITH A PUBLIC MISSION****90-107**

Augustin K. Fosu, Deputy Director, UNU World Institute for Development Economics Research  
Helsinki, Finland

**CHARTING THE FUTURE OF AFRICA: AVOIDING POLICY SYNDROMES AND IMPROVING GOVERNANCE****108-112**

Dominique Malaquais, Senior Researcher, Centre d'Etudes des Mondes Africains (CEMAF)  
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Paris, France

**AFRICAN PRACTICES OF GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT, AN ARTS AND CULTURE PERSPECTIVE****114-115**

Jinichi Matsumoto, Freelance Journalist, Tokyo, Japan; Former Senior Columnist, Member of the Editorial Board, and Africa Bureau Chief, the Asahi Shimbun

**GLOBALIZATION EXPLOITS AFRICA**



## MONGI BOUSNINA

Professor of Geopolitics,  
University of Tunis, Tunis, Tunisia  
Former Director-General, Arab  
League Educational, Cultural and  
Scientific Organization (ALECSO)  
Former Minister of Culture, Tunisia



Mongi Bousnina holds a PhD in literature and human sciences and a third cycle doctorate degree in human geography from the Sorbonne, Paris. He served as minister of state for education in 1990 and 1991, and minister of culture from 1992 to 1995. In 1995 and 1996 he was ambassador to Morocco. He was ambassador to France from 1996 to 2001. He was elected director-general of ALECSO in 2001 and reelected in 2005 to a second four-year term. He has served as an expert in the fields of education, training and youth to the World Bank, the United Nations, UNESCO and the Arab League. He has published widely on a variety of subjects, most recently “A Window onto the Future” (2005) and “Enjeux du Siècle nouveau” (2008).

# AFRICA AND THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION: THE NEED FOR SUBSTANTIAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The new wave of globalization is marked by the globalization of markets and finance, the unipolar domination of a single liberal development model, cultural standardization, the internationalization of education systems and global networking through communications and information systems, raising great expectations as ideas, products, unique values and thoughts of progress and emancipation flow back and forth while, at the same time presaging great danger, serious threats, inequalities, oppression, exclusion and marginalization of many regions worldwide, leaving conflict, civil war, exacerbated idiosyncrasies and destructive identities in their trail. Globalization holds out hopes for the expression of diversity, essential to humanity, but also threatens to destroy diversity through worldwide totalitarianism that it is likely to impose at any moment.

## I. AFRICA AND THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION

In this context, the African continent, once accused of “making a false start” (René Dumont) in the 1960s, is being wooed by the twenty-first century giants, in particular the United States of America, China and India, not to mention its longstanding France/Africa and Commonwealth friends. Africa is waking up, courted by the heavyweights.

Indeed, during the past half-century, Africa has generally undergone genuine change. Despite a measure of economic marginality and geopolitical downgrading that left it on the sidelines of globalization for a long time, it seems at the beginning of the twenty-first century, to be growing again at an annual average rate of more than 5% in the last few years. Many factors underlie Africa’s gradual integration into the “global village”. Owing to greater interest shown by some major countries, there is now a genuine African El Dorado. Its oil accounts for one third of the total imports of China, which is now the continent’s second largest bilateral trading partner ahead of France and after the United States of America. South Africa, the “African giant”, is one of the world’s leading exporters of coal and has gold and platinum reserves, among other minerals (it has become Africa’s major economic player with 45 million inhabitants and a GNP of approximately US \$130 billion, that is, a quarter of the entire continent’s GDP). Nigeria and Angola, the second and third largest oil producers in sub-Saharan Africa respectively, accounted for two thirds of Chinese imports from Africa in 2007 (Algeria, in the north of the continent, was on par with Nigeria in terms of oil production).

China has also found a promising market for its businesses (it is already the main trading partner of Egypt and South Africa), with products tailored to the purchasing power of many African

inhabitants. In 2007, bilateral trade amounted to \$73.3 billion and China had an \$8 billion trade surplus with Africa. This example also applies to India which, following a recent breakthrough in Africa, experienced steady growth in bilateral trade to \$25 billion in 2007. Close ties have been established with most of the African continent, in particular, West Africa. In addition to expanding its commercial impact, India's goal is still to ensure secure hydrocarbon supplies.

More recently, with half of its population (90 million) identifying itself with its African origins, Brazil has shifted towards this reservoir of raw materials and wishes to promote its biofuel technology and tropical agriculture, *inter alia*, in Africa. Brazil and, in particular, Nigeria have promoted this new promising opportunity for cooperation with the group of Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa, established to define new lines of cooperation.

Despite this great dynamism referred to as "African exceptionalism", the growing interest of political powers in African raw materials in the new strategic world order, remarkable macroeconomic figures (6.7% GDP growth in 2007) and the rise in ore and oil prices, soaring food prices and record population growth (an average of 5.5 births per woman) have wiped out capitalized benefits. This has compounded the effects of the world crisis, which has hit poor countries hardest (drop in foreign investment and in migrant remittances, capital flight, sharp decline in commodity export earnings, and so forth). In the 1990s, capital flight from Africa was higher than total foreign debt which stood at, \$300 billion and \$215 billion, respectively. Some of the 200,000 Africans living in the United States of America hold between \$700 and \$800 billion in the world's leading financial centres. Money laundering flows thus exceeded \$1,000 billion in 2007. The multidimensional nature of Africa is thus apparent, displaying particularly significant gaps in income at purchasing power parity per capita above \$19,000 in Equatorial Guinea and above \$6,000 in South Africa, Botswana, Gabon, Mauritius, of \$8,000 to \$9,000 in Libya and the Seychelles, but only of \$200 in Guinea-Bissau, \$250 in Malawi and less than \$150 in Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi. Africa, the "continent on the move", has 35 of the 50 least developed countries in the world, characterized by the extreme poverty of their population, the proliferation of food crises, conflict and health disasters, in addition to delayed human development. Income per capita has more than trebled in only five countries, between 1960 and 2005 (Botswana, Lesotho, Mauritius, Morocco and Tunisia). Conversely, nine countries had a lower income in 2005 than in 1960 (Central African Republic, Liberia, Madagascar, Niger, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Chad and Zimbabwe). It should also be noted that 23 out of 53 countries experienced a GDP growth rate of more than 5% in 2006, compared with only 14 countries in 1990.

Two related trends are noteworthy:

- a drop in official development aid as donors – particularly after the fall of the Berlin Wall – turned to other, more strategically significant parts of the world;
- The announcement of G20 support measures totalling \$50 billion for low-income countries. The International Monetary Fund, too, has taken similar measures (\$17

billion in aid until 2014, including \$8 billion in the next two years) to support poor countries hit by the financial crisis.

Evidence shows that Africa's gradual integration into the world economy has heightened its vulnerability to sudden swings in investment flows and declining remittances. For example, GDP in Africa is expected to drop by 50% in 2009, compared to 2008 (2.8% only). The situation will worsen more directly and seriously in oil- and ore-exporting countries than in countries with diversified economies. Four African countries will register negative GDP growth (Seychelles, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Chad and, and above all, Angola the continent's primary oil exporter who GDP growth may decline by as much as 23 points: from +15% in 2008, growth fell to -7.2% in 2009). Overall, southern Africa is likely to be the worst hit by the crisis (+0.2% compared to +5.5% in East Africa). Even South Africa's GDP growth will fall (+1.1% down from 3.1% in 2008).

The African continent will therefore remain the poorest in the world, and will suffer the consequences, namely conflict, political crises, increased migratory flows, social conflict, middle class impoverishment, greater social instability, unemployment (youth unemployment, in particular), and urban sprawl without formal planning, financing policies or investment programmes in housing, infrastructure or basic services. All this is accompanied by the "threatening impatience" of a population increasingly thirsty for modernity, progress and consumerism. As a result, States destabilized by the triumph of globalization are reviled and stripped of their status as social protectors and providers of wealth and services.

The urbanization rate, still modest at around 35%, is expected to rise to 40% by 2015 and 50% by mid-century. This unequally distributed trend (10% in Rwanda and Burundi, for example, but 80% in Gabon) continues to rise, fuelled by a population explosion and the migration of rural people from country to city, thus adding to an urban melting pot characterized by harsh living conditions in shantytowns. Although urban growth does free individuals socially and sociologically from the bonds of tradition, the question is whether it does actually afford worthwhile employment or, conversely, worsen an already difficult daily struggle. Conditions in Africa, in which 60% of the population is under 20, are now the worst in its history, and it is difficult for the continent's numerous regional and subregional economic institutions and organizations to promote its development. There are no less than 12 organizations, that is, the African Union and the New Partnership for African Development, the main two institutions, and the Ecosap Small Arms Control Programme (ECOSAP), the Communauté économique des Etats de l'Afrique centrale (CEEAC), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Southern African Development Community (SACD), the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAS) and the Southern African Customs Union (SACU). These institutions should indubitably all be reorganized and be mobilized afresh to attain specific goals linked to the new global economic and political situation.

This continent of paradoxes, with its enormous needs and where Maghreb and South Africa alone account for 36% and 40% of Africa's GDP or three quarters of the total, is both globalized and on the sidelines. The great African historian Joseph Ki-Zerbo has defined the situation by saying: "I think it is very difficult for us to take our place in the globalized world because we have been destructured and no longer count as a collective body. If you compare Africa's role with that of the United States of America, you see the two diametrically opposed features of globalization, with the globalizing Americans at one end and, at the other, the globalized Africans stating ironically that they barely produce ballpoint pens ... every imported product epitomises cultural alienation".

Politics still predominate in this paradoxical continent of over 800 million people, holding back good governance and economic progress (there were 24 coups d'état in the 1960s, 20 in the 1980s and 6 or 7 since 2000). According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), more than half of Africa's inhabitants have no access to clean water and nearly a third of African children suffer from malnutrition. Primary school enrolment rates stagnate at around 60% and more than 40% of people over the age of 15 are illiterate. The average life expectancy is 60 years. Poverty in Africa connotes not only material deprivation but also "lack of potential and of capacity", despite occasionally positive economic indicators.

The gap is thus widening between the rest of the world and Africa, which now accounts for only 1.8% of world trade (compared to 3% in 1990) and only 3% to 4% of world industrial growth (8% in the 1960s), while 7% growth is necessary to achieve Millennium Development Goals. The percentage of direct foreign investment in Africa's developing countries slumped from 25% in the early 1970s to only 5% in the 2000s, and whatever progress achieved has been wiped out by population growth and inflation, not to mention the aggravating effect of the health situation owing to the malaria and HIV pandemics. Although Africa produces 10% of the world's oil and holds 10% of the world's reserves, it is afflicted by a chronic lack of access to water, which is concentrated in Central Africa and to a lesser extent in West Africa. Accordingly, 300 million people lack access to adequate water supplies and more than 310 million live in unsanitary conditions. Currently, 14 African countries are affected by water shortages (less than 1,000 cubic metres per person per year). The number of countries is expected to double by 2025, and in 20 years' time, 40% of the population is likely to be affected.

Environmental degradation, together with extensive farming and deforestation, will increase soil erosion and water shortages will also reduce agricultural yields, leading to greater dependence on grain imports and malnutrition, which currently afflicts 33% of the population – 50% in some countries. Desertification, which blights 46% of the continent, combined with rising temperatures will encourage many infectious diseases such as malaria, sub-Saharan Africa being the focus of 90% of malaria cases.

With 2% of world growth, 2% of direct foreign investment, high poverty rates and the highest birth rate in the world, African economies must crucially be diversified. Although situations vary considerably from one country to another, Africa needs money and investment, most of which could be provided by three potential sources:

- (1) repatriation of Diaspora-sourced capital and commodity export earnings (Africa receives only 5% – a total of \$8 billion – of all income transferred to developing countries, while the true value of such transfers is estimated to be at least twice that amount);
- (2) an estimated \$150 billion – 40% of all private wealth in Africa – is located outside the continent as a result of capital flight due to corruption;
- (3) increased export resources for economic growth and reinvestment of profits.

This means the continent's political and economic policies must be revised and that a new model must be designed for the production and distribution of wealth as part of a more patriotic vision of development, in a move from Afro-pessimism to Afro-optimism. The above shortfalls are not irremediable.

In any event, whatever the approach taken in gauging the effects of globalization on Africa, the worldwide revolution is admittedly primarily the result of a cultural revolution – or development – fundamentally based on successive scientific and technological discoveries about the history of humanity. It is not merely a matter of economic and financial change, as implied by the term "globalization", but rather a phenomenon involving physical and human factors. Globalization therefore does not entail a static state of affairs but an evolutionary process.

## II. KEYS TO A NEW IMPETUS FOR BUILDING THE "KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY" AND ENSURING "HUMAN SECURITY"

A critical review of Africa's situation starts with the desire to redress matters, give hope to the rising generations and ensure a genuine takeoff in the context of integration at the world level. Self-criticism is a necessity for achieving a non-violent global modernization of African countries on the basis of democratic and humanistic values. The modern State and a holistic vision of "human security" constitute a categorical imperative. Africa, which currently has little tangible and intellectual potential, is in a cultural crisis. Although Africa today is not slipping backwards, it is changing rather painfully. Has the President of the Russian Federation not unhesitatingly told the Russian people recently some unpleasant truths about themselves, using such terms as "weak civil society", "poor level of organization and self-management", "the country's serious economic backwardness", "its habit of living off its hydrocarbon exports" and "its legendary corruption"?

The goal therefore is to base the new drive for Africa on a new core of values and activities. This means that culture, in its broadest sense, must be central to development, to change and to integration into globalization. In other words, how can Africans be at the centre of modernity without losing their soul?

1. Deeply rooted in the national personality, the aim is to find ways and means of being oneself before going towards Others. This implies retrieving their historic legacy,

making young Africans proud of their uniqueness, of their “negritude”, according to Aimé Césaire, of being “basically negro” according to André Breton who, for more than half a century had unstintingly championed linguistic and cultural diversity, combated colonialism and promoted the Universal. He imbued many generations with his humanism and his openness to Others. That “lyric monument” according to André Breton, argued “that all hope is not too much to look boldly to the century”. African civilizations, neglected, even scorned, for far too long in Eurocentric intellectual educational policies, must now cast off the ethnographic and exotic straitjacket in which they had been confined. This is their first act towards constructive dialogue with other cultures. A history and relations with the Other must therefore be appraised anew both in textbooks and by civil society. The “truths that vex” must be discussed, the issues of slavery and colonialism alike must be addressed objectively and the historic symbols of those struggles must be honoured. This “live memory” must be studied and transmitted to the young generations. At the same time, textbooks must contribute to the development of a pluralist and tolerant approach to the teaching of history in order to meet young people’s new expectations. Owing to the exacerbation of identities that is evident today, both internationally and nationally, appropriate wording must be used in order to address and at the same time transcend the “war of memories” (to quote Benjamin Stora). Such action will not only entail emancipation from history and acknowledge the aberrations of history, but will lead to the reinstatement of true history without engaging in Messianic lyricism or cynical idealism and without viewing history merely from the angle of predatory imperialism. Fresh appraisal of historical facts and decolonization also implies adopting the legacy, intellectual contribution and emancipating values of the “Enlightenment”. The same holds true for the rehabilitation of national languages that are being blighted by destructive globalization. These identity benchmarks must all be central to the rehabilitation of the national personality, a pre-condition for dialogue with the Other.

2. Education for interculturality and “living together”, and introduction to religious knowledge must be taught in African education systems as subjects designed to improve communication with the Other. The same holds true for the learning of foreign languages and the knowledge of cultures thus conveyed.
3. Ability to change is now crucial to the survival of all societies and, particularly in times of crisis, is evinced in such qualities as resilience, adaptability and pragmatism. In the threshold years of this new century, strong cardinal benchmarks must be established for youth and for society. The twentieth century was a century of renewed mobilization on many fronts and continual change. The twenty-first century will be built on aptitude and ability to change and to adapt, which will be crucial to the survival of nations, businesses and persons. The time of unwavering convictions, traditionalism and conservatism has passed, the era of globalization is unfolding before our eyes. Learning to think critically, to innovate and to be creative must be

the central planks of the education process. Progress today is no longer linked only to science and technology but rather to actual use and organization. Accordingly an invention may not entail any innovation, which is true of 36% of all inventions patented in Europe, while another may entail numerous innovations. Information technology, telephony, video games and the information highway are all innovations that have changed practices and have even changed consumer habits and behaviour. It is this feature which must be integrated into education by transcending simple, positivist views that prevailed in the past.

4. It is therefore vital to make sufficient investments in research. Africa lags far behind in this field since its share of total gross domestic expenditure in world research and development amounts to only 0.65% against 35% for the United States of America, 31.5% for Asia and 27.3% for Europe. The entire African continent allocates only 0.2% to 0.3% of its GDP for scientific research compared with 2.2% for OECD countries (4% in Sweden), 0.6% for Latin America and 1.7% for the entire world.
5. A quantitatively and qualitatively more effective education system must be promoted. Illiteracy is still an enduring challenge for Africa. A scattered population and early school drop-out keep sub-Saharan Africa practically at the bottom of the literate adult population (+15 years) table, with 61% for both genders overall and 53% for women. The world average is 82% for both genders and 77% for women and the average for the developed countries is 99%. More modern media (satellites, information technology, etc.) must be used to combat illiteracy and thus close the gap within a reasonable timeframe. The same applies to extending school-life expectancy which is now merely about 7.5 years of studies in sub-Saharan Africa, the lowest in the world against 10.7 years for the world overall and approximately 16 years for the developed countries. Education generally requires achievement of equality and quality assurance, to use UNESCO's terminology. Emphasis must be placed on an ongoing quality evaluation and, to that end, on establishment of observatories that will continuously appraise trends in reforms continually introduced as a result of repeated learning assessment surveys, thereby improving the quality of teaching staff and becoming an integral part of the world quality assessment networks, in particular the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). Experiential exchange with the developed countries is highly desirable for the exchange of experience and for the exchange of pupils, students (ERASMUS MUNDUS) and teachers. The universities themselves should introduce similar evaluation systems and enable larger numbers of young people in the same age brackets to be admitted. Total expenditure on education must of course be determined accordingly. It is understood that links between education and the world of work and society must be strengthened, as must e-learning, opportunities to alternate study and work and lifelong learning, which must be set as permanent goals. Use of information and communication technologies must play a role in quickening the pace of change in African societies, required on



a much larger scale than forecast. The most recent statistics available show that in 2006, the strongest growth rate in mobile telephony hardware in the world occurred in Africa but, as only 21% of its inhabitants have such telephones, it nevertheless is far behind the rates of 90% and 100% prevailing in most developed countries. In regard to the Internet, the gap is even wider. In 2005, the equipment rate was 26/1000 against more than 500/1000 in OECD countries. This is a real digital divide despite the progress achieved. In the century of networks, it is necessary for young Africans, in the same way as young people in the developed world, to be linked to global change, universal knowledge and the knowledge society so that the four pillars on which education systems rest, as noted in the report by Jacques Delors (*Learning: The Treasure Within*), namely learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be, can thus be incorporated.

6. Education for universal values. As one of the necessary building blocks of a knowledge society, education, the cornerstone and the means of promoting human security, is precedential to human rights, democracy and citizenship education. These are universal values that should be taught increasingly early in schools and society. Such education, based on open-mindedness towards others and on the development of a sense of belonging to a land, a history, a culture and a language, permits integration into an active citizenship of universal scope. The great French philosopher Jean Lacroix used to define human relationship to the environment by saying that "A cultivated conscience is a conscience that has established its bearings." Bearing must be established first of all in relation to the space of the land on which we, our neighbours, friends and adversaries were born, then in relation to the long time line of the history of countries, nations, regions and the world, and lastly, in relation to the confluence of space and time in human, national, intellectual, religious and cultural communities. Nonetheless, the concepts suggested represent new social and political mediation (through local, professional, political and associative bodies) in the era of globalization. However universal the concepts of democracy and human rights may be, they should be adapted to the countries concerned, in time and space, and be free from the controversies generated by Eurocentrism or any other ethnocentrism. Democracy is always an unfinished good of which there are often many representations reflecting the form of society concerned. The form of society, necessary for democratic construction, requires, in Africa's case, that there be a State which ensures that redistributive mechanisms and public services function properly. According to the French analyst Pierre Rosonvallon, many think that Westerners are somewhat arrogant to believe that they understand democracy completely and have already achieved it. Rosonvallon also considers that things would be different if Westerners realized that they too were learning about democracy. Nonetheless, the positive view is democracy is a common good and indispensable for the emancipation of individuals and for the construction of a positive communal life, which thus made democracy a good in the public interest. It is needed for self-construction as part of building a genuine political community. Democracy, a form of society, must be

reinvented to spare African countries blunders such as the one that followed the La Baule speech, which triggered civil wars and, in particular, massacres in Rwanda. No democratic regime is safe from serious political drifts or dictatorial upsurges, not even in countries where democracy was born. The real fact of present-day clans in Africa should not be drowned in lecturing about democracy. Western human rights dictates should be avoided in Africa on the move. According to Claude Imbert, Africa is still racked by its memory of slavery and colonial alienation. These peoples still live in countries carved up 150 years ago by imperialist Europe, with no regard for ethnic groups, languages, religions and vanquished ancient kingdoms. This Africa is still racked by tribal violence, and in Libreville, Montesquieu is not read by candlelight ... The entire continent is not aware of Ghana's exemplary march towards democracy, nor has the entire continent sunk into the loathsome regression of certain regimes. Africa, marked by great diversity, should be seen for what it is and what it is becoming. It used to be "on the wrong track"; it is taking off – and that is a great accomplishment. Mr Philippe Séguin also states that there is no democracy without citizenship and there can be no citizenship where there is extreme poverty.

We have been motivated here primarily by the need to ensure coherence within States by enabling all active sectors of society, especially young people and women to participate. It is by learning to live together in this way in each territory that political regimes can create States and that States of nations and nation-States can establish interactive democratic processes.

## N'DRI T. ASSIÉ-LUMUMBA

Professor  
Africana Studies & Research Center  
Cornell University  
Ithaca, New York  
Fellow, World Academy of Art  
and Science



N'Dri Thérèse Assié-Lumumba is a professor in the Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell University and a fellow of the World Academy of Art and Science. She is chercheur associé at Centre de Recherches Architecturales et Urbaines (CRAU) at Université de Cocody, Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire), and a research affiliate of the Institute for Higher Education Law and Governance of the University of Houston, Texas. She is co-founder and associate director of Pan-African Studies, Research Center in International Relations and Education for Development (CEPARRED), Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire). In 2003, she was a visiting professor at the Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE) at Hiroshima University, Japan. She has worked for many African institutions, development agencies, and international organizations. She has published extensively, most recently, *Women and Higher Education in Africa: Reconceptualizing Gender-Based Human Capabilities and Upgrading Human Rights to Knowledge* (2007) which is being translated for publication in French, Spanish, Arabic, and Chinese.

# AFRICAN RENEWAL THROUGH HIGHER EDUCATION WITH A PUBLIC MISSION

It is my greatest honor to have been invited by the Director-General and the Rector to participate in this meeting of prominent personalities of the political, academic, business, and wider global community, filling this room with the wisdom of experience and a sense of duty to pursue the struggle against the multitude of challenges that our beloved African continent and our people face. I would also like to specifically acknowledge the young men and women, just like the ones I interact with in my daily environment who bring their passion, idealism, individual experiences, and energetic resolve to creating a better world by working to make Africa a place of well deserved dignified consideration and positive progress.

Allow me to start with the usual Baoulé clause of “Kaflè” to implore forgiveness in advance, before this illustrious audience in case, while expressing my ideas, I unintentionally offend anyone.

We are all here motivated by our common commitment, sharing our thoughts and practical proposals toward “Charting the Future of Africa by Putting Vision into Practice.”

From the first few years in the 1950s to the bulk of the 1960s and through the 1990s, African countries that acquired their independence invariably declared formal education a priority and a means for achieving their respective national projects of socio-economic and human development, thereby collectively uplifting Africa and her people. African governments and people have consistently considered higher education central in achieving these goals, even during the episode of ill-advised policies on structural adjustment programs (SAPs) that claimed legitimacy in supporting solely basic education and downplaying the importance of higher education. In the current context of increasing globalization, Africa faces the daunting task of struggling out of poverty and setting the stage for sustainable development. In part, learning from the ongoing financial and economic crises and the public solutions adopted by the most advanced economies, Africans are challenged to revitalize the credible and caring state and mobilize national resources, while seeking external contributions, for invigorated higher education with a public mission towards social progress.

My presentation is organized under four sections. In the first section, I recall the public mission of higher education and the need to renew public support. The second section focuses on the creation of the Global Higher Education Trust Resource for Africa’s Advancement (GHETRAA). The third section covers the financial flows and asset building for investment in education. The fourth section concerns the circulation of human capabilities and resources as a primary asset.

## 1. PUBLIC MISSION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The thrust of the argument is that, regardless of the type, legal status and mode of delivery, higher education in the contemporary world embodies an intrinsically public mission. If this mission is critically and clearly articulated and harnessed African higher education systems can be renewed and re-focused. There are different types of higher education institutions that ought to be taken into consideration as important complementary parts of the whole system.

In Africa, there are sub-regional specificities, cross-national differences, intra-national variations, and distinctive characteristics of the education systems and higher learning institutions. However, it is a fact that by and large, in terms of enrollment, the context for teaching, research, learning, and living, the performance in academic output and social outcome, African higher education in general and the universities in particular, exhibit a considerable gap between the current state and the potential.

Universities have historically played, and will continue to play, the largest and most central role in higher education covering the scope of higher learning, research, and production and dissemination of knowledge. In the African context of prolonged crisis since the 1980s, Trevor Coombs rightly emphasized that:

The universities have shown resilience. Despite the brains that have drained out of them over the years, and the compromises they have been compelled to make with their own standards, the universities remain great national storehouses of trained, informed, inquiring and critical intellects, and the indispensable means of replenishing national talent. They have considerable reserves of leadership and commitment on which to draw. Impoverished, frustrated, dilapidated and overcrowded as they may be, they have no substitutes.<sup>1</sup>

There is a wide range of current and potential higher education institutions that ought to be considered important, and even indispensable components of the system, that can provide quality education for cutting edge research and relevant knowledge production, excellence in teaching and the production of highly qualified and competent labor force, and provision of needed service to the wider community.

Filling the aforementioned gap and fulfilling the demands of the 21st Century require renovating existing infrastructures—laboratories, classrooms, auditoriums, residence halls, broad campus outlook— and constructing new universities and other types of higher education institutions necessary for the provision and acquisition of quality education. Renewed and strengthened higher education can help kindle the innovative impulse across generations. This requires a comprehensive approach to higher education conceptualization and organization focusing on the public mission.

---

1 Coombe, T., 1991. *A Consultation on Higher Education in Africa: A Report to the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation*, New York: The Ford Foundation, p. 1

During the episode of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) in the late 1980s and through the 1990s, before the 2000 UNESCO/World Bank Task Force report entitled “*Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril or Promise?*” from the perspectives, expectations and prescriptions of the lending international financial institutions, determined that African governments whose decisions were guided by economic and financial rationality would not contemplate, let alone carry out decisions, to build new higher education institutions, ignoring the obvious and legitimate needs in Africa.

In the literature, misused notions such as “massification” have given the impression that college-aged Africans have registered en masse in huge numbers of higher learning institutions. In reality, the phenomenon referred to as “massification” is the overcrowding of classrooms and auditoriums, which is commonly observed in numerous institutions in different African countries. Clearly, there was lack of new infrastructures to accommodate even only a slightly increased number of students. As a matter of fact:

Enrollment rates in higher education in sub-Saharan Africa are by far the lowest in the world. Although the gross enrollment ratio (GER) has increased in the past 40 years – it was just 1 per cent in 1965 – it still stands at only 5 per cent. [Statistical evidence] shows that the absolute gap by which it lags behind other regions has increased rapidly. The region’s present enrollment ratio is in the same range as that of other developing regions 40 years ago. Moreover, gender disparities have traditionally been wide and remain so.<sup>2</sup>

At a United Nations meeting in Havana (Cuba) in 2002<sup>3</sup>, the Egyptian scholar Saad Nagi argued that, while individuals and families legitimately aim for employment at the end of the formal educational process, the supply of education should not be dictated by availability of jobs. He articulated that promoting development education should be made to a large number, even in a time of job scarcity, and that basic and secondary education should not be considered terminal. Indeed, he contended, highly educated people who do not have jobs will ask the right questions and contribute to finding solutions.

Certainly, in the African real world, one cannot ignore the knowledge and creativity of the people. The ingenious capacity of those who have not gone through the process of European-inherited systems of formal education should be appropriately valued. The indigenous knowledge systems constitute a critical and unavoidable component of a more realistic and comprehensive system of education.

---

2 D. Bloom, D. Canning, and K. Chan, 2006. “Higher Education and Economic Development in Africa,” Research Commissioned by the World Bank (AFTHD), [http://www.worldbank.org/afr/teia/Higher\\_Education\\_Economic\\_Growth\\_in\\_Africa.pdf](http://www.worldbank.org/afr/teia/Higher_Education_Economic_Growth_in_Africa.pdf)

3 Expert group meeting on “Sharing of Experiences and Practices in Social Development” organized by the United Nations Division for Social Policy and Development, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), Havana (Cuba).

My argument is that higher education can precisely constitute a powerful catalyst guiding the process towards the necessary fusion of the various education types and formats in the African social reality of this century. To return to Professor Nagi's arguments in making the case for expanding higher education, highly educated people, especially in the perspective of transforming thinking, are more likely to be active participants in the decision-making process in the context of a knowledge-based society, with increased search for ownership.

At the 2008 General Assembly of the World Academy of Art and Science on the theme of "The Anthropocene Crisis: Perils and Promises of the 21st Century" that was held in Hyderabad, India, I presented a paper in the Panel on "Ethics and Policies for Sustainable Futures," entitled "Higher Knowledge and Global Good: Reconceptualizing and Envisioning Higher Education in Africa for Shared and Enhanced Humanity." I define higher knowledge as the sum of collective wisdom acquired throughout history and enriched with new information and which serves as societal compass. The idea of higher knowledge reflects the development of capabilities for the advancement of human development and social progress within socio-historical and socio-spatial contexts that include the social community and its global ecology as a whole.

The idea of expanded higher education that I am suggesting requires going beyond new buildings, be they brick-and-mortar, virtual or just an increase in enrollment. Rather, it refers to expanding of our thinking and approach to knowledge. It is not just higher education in terms of technical competence.

Furthermore, in very practical ways, higher education ought to be dynamically linked to the other levels—starting from early childhood to secondary education—and include the various types—from the classical universities to technical institutions with a lifelong perspective—instead of being articulated as the highest and terminal level of an essentially hierarchical system. My proposal calls for simultaneously transforming an expanding system. How do we fund this massive renewal of African higher education institutions?

My focus is the African Diaspora working/living in the industrial countries that constitute current or potential agents for the flow of financial resources and the circulation of human capabilities.

## 2. GLOBAL HIGHER EDUCATION TRUST RESOURCE FOR AFRICA'S ADVANCEMENT (GHETRAA)

Since the colonial era, the economy and formal education have constituted powerful triggers of migration further away from home. Indeed, The colonial economy that became increasingly monetized was also characterized by the phenomenon of massive and forced or indirectly induced movement of populations from their living space to newly created locations. Besides the economy and the relocation of workers within and/or across the borders of the newly created states, given the nature of formal education introduced by the Europeans, it constituted the single most powerful trigger of migration. In essence, European formal education socialized

the Africans to move further and further away from the communities. For instance, in the French education system, figuratively and literally, school children migrate, figuratively and literally, on a daily basis between two sociological realities, and eventually would move from the village schools to the regional schools, then on to the urban school in their respective countries and for the few highest achievers, onward to the federal schools in West Africa or Central Africa. From the time of decolonization to date, going to further to pursue higher education in the metropolis conferred the badge of success with the highest honor.

In one episode of his acclaimed television series with companion book entitled "The Africans," Ali Mazrui stated:

The African family is the most authentic social institution in the post-colonial era. In a continent steeped in artificiality, the African family is more real than many of our countries which were colonially made; more real than tribalism, manipulated by opportunistic politicians; more real than our economies most of which are mere shadows. ... You see, the family in Africa is vibrant in its emotions, compelling in its loyalties. It is alive and well, living right across the continent.<sup>4</sup>

He further remarked that the connections of the African family have turned every village into a place of pilgrimage for the sons and daughters scattered in many places within countries. This same sentiment of powerful connection has change transformed every African country a village for the sons and daughters across the globe.

Numerous factors have led to increased numbers of Africans abroad. Whether they left their respective African countries to study and decided to stay abroad, or were recruited while they had not initially thought of living, or fled literally for their physical security and stayed, the Africans in industrial countries, especially in Western Europe, North America, Australia, and emerging destinations, have kept strong connections with their nuclear and extended families back in the continent.

In search for paradigms for social progress, the family provides a framework for development rooted in African most positive and emulating cultural heritage. The family links from near and far away locations have nurtured human resources that have not been tapped in for Africa's advancement.

The term African Diaspora has historically referred almost exclusively to the Africans who were forced out of Africa in the context of the transatlantic enslavement. In fact, African Diaspora includes populations that went out of Africa before the Transatlantic Enslavement. For instance, Africans from the Senegambian area all the way to part of current Mali had undertaken

---

4 Ali A. Mazrui, (1986). *The Africans, a triple heritage. Program 2, A legacy of lifestyles [videorecording]* / a co-production of WETA-TV and BBC-TV; produced by David Harrison; a commentary written and presented by Ali A. Mazrui. Santa Barbara, CA: Distributor, Intellimation.



voyages across the Atlantic at least a hundred year before Columbus<sup>5</sup>. Besides the historical composition, the African Diaspora now includes also those who left the continent recently.

In this paper the Diaspora refers to the Africans who live outside the continent and who have current or potential functional ties with the African continent in terms of transfer of monetary funds, business enterprises, professional visits and personal journeys. Among the Diaspora of historical and contemporary origins, they have the most immediate responsibility<sup>6</sup> to contribute to the efforts of promoting social progress in Africa, although the others may partake.

Indeed, they make systematic efforts to maintain family ties, meet their social obligations back home, and return home periodically to replenish their own energies. Although their financial transfers constitute real assets for the national economies, as even recognized by the World Bank, these contributions rarely constitute inputs in the planning and accounting for national factors of development. Even if these practices are common and consistent, they are nevertheless dispersed, individualized, or existing only within small communities, not at the level of states.

There are two major categories of considerable assets that the Diaspora can generate even greater values that can be transformed into factors of development in significantly contributing to build Africa in general or by focusing on such targeted sectors as higher education. The financial and human resources are the two complementary components these assets.

My suggestion is to create **Global Higher Education Trust Resource for Africa's Advancement (GHETRAA)**. This proposal is to explore utilizing, to a full extent, the hitherto untapped African resources outside Africa toward the renewal and expansion of Africa's higher education. This consists of organizing and maximizing the actual and potential assets at the global level, specifically between African governments and those of industrial countries where Africans reside and are the agent of financial transfer and human capability circulation.

### 3. FINANCIAL FLOWS AND ASSET BUILDING FOR INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION

In the current decades, there has been an increase, albeit still modest, interest studying, quantifying and analyzing the cross-border financial flows that result from migrants' connections to different parts of the world. Data show that remittances have been higher than the total ODA to Africa. In a document rightly entitled "Remittances to Africa Overtakes Foreign Direct Investment," it is stated that: "Remittances from Africans working abroad in the period 2000-2003 averaged about US\$17 billion per annum virtually overtaking Foreign Direct Investment

---

5 Ivan van Sertima, 1976, *They Came Before Columbus*, New York: Random House.

6 There are outstanding issues such as Africa's legitimate claim for overdue reparations from Western powers that reduced Africans to commodities that they plundered human along with material resources for centuries and robbed them off their humanity. However, my proposal here is to focus on areas where immediate actions can be taken by the Africans in collaboration with external the international partners.

flows which averaged about \$15 billion per annum during the same period.”<sup>7</sup> If, in addition, the amounts transferred through informal channels were counted, remittances would be several times the net ODA.

The main financial asset consists of the income transfer in the form of remittance. Whether they are regular or ad hoc, and regardless of their volume, these transfers generally incur at least three charges that diminish the actual amount of money that the sender transfers and the recipient acquires:

1. **Income tax:** The money transferred to Africa is taxed in the countries where the senders reside, earn their money, and send the remittance from;
2. **Transfer fee:** To make the transfer, the sender must pay a fee to the bank or any other channel and the informal ones;
3. **Withdrawal fee:** At the final destination, to withdraw the money the recipient in Africa must pay a fee, which is usually withheld from the amount received.

These three amounts consecutively withheld are legitimate parts of the modern economic organization and legal requirements for all members of any contemporary nation-state. However, they reveal several problems involved in the transfer and which limit the actual positive impact on Africa:

1. Income tax policies vary considerably in countries for residence of the Diasporic Africans. Whatever the amount of income retained in the form of tax, it constitutes a considerable proportion;
2. The reduction in the actual amount received;
3. The money received by the families and/or invested in business contributes to the economies, but the redistributive capacity at the community and national levels is limited.

Taking into account the countries of residence in the global African Diaspora, there are variations in the mechanisms and means through which remittances are transferred, even if the recent spread of the global financial services such as Western Unions, MoneyGram and others have tended to create some commonalities. There are global mobile banking systems and some local innovative initiatives such as Safaricom in Kenya, Cellpay in several countries, Glomoney in Nigeria that can cut the cost of transfer and withdrawal fees. However, these systems are not yet widely available on a large scale. Even if they were widely used, the issue taxing the money transferred remains an important one. Furthermore, the individualized actions that are imbedded in the current modalities of remittance flows do not offer possibilities to address issues

---

7 <http://www.un.org/africa/osaa/press/Promoting%20International%20support%20for%20peace%20and%20development%20%85.pdf>

at national levels. This proposal focuses on gathering a public fund to contribute to renewing the caring state with a specific goal of helping fund higher education with a public mission.

The cost of educating the majority of the Africans in the Diapsora, including those who send money to their families or for their own business, was borne by public fund. Yet, practically, they have no public obligation in their countries of origin (through taxation, for instance) since their income is earned outside an African country. Therefore, while the private return to education is guaranteed, even if they contribute to the economy, social return to the African countries is not systematically organized.

How can we make the contributions go beyond families and provide systematically direct development support for public services that represent public good such as education?

The proposal is to initiate global negotiation to grant Africans tax exemptions on the portion of their income that will be sent to contribute to the global fund geared toward designated projects. The same way private foundations in industrial countries benefit from tax exemption when they send money for development assistance, global agreements could be reached to allow Africans to send money that would be tax and fee exempt all the way.

A secure trust fund will receive the money. The fund collected will serve solely for renovating and expanding old higher education facilities and creating new ones that would carefully be mapped to serve equitably communities in each country. It will be secured and strictly monitored to ensure management with integrity. This is essential to motivate the Diaspora to participate in the fund.

The loss of revenues industrial countries would experience due to the tax exemption for Africans in the Diaspora would not be considerable, but on the African side the money gathered could have significant impact. The tax exemption would be supplemental to, but not a substitute of, ODA from the industrial countries. The ODA and this contribution are not mutually exclusive. Also, the African Diaspora will be free to continue to send private fund to families without tax exemption.

#### 4. TAPPING IN HUMAN CAPABILITIES AND RESOURCES

African labor and genius constitute a major part in building the first world economic power. In the contemporary world, Africans who migrate further away from the continent are highly educated and acquire additional competences. Those who have less formal education but manage to travel far and make it have special skills too that are sharpened through their experiences. Thus, all the Africans gain knowledge and skills that can constitute direct input for Africa's project for social progress.

The direct loss for Africa through migration is also, and often more acute in human resources. Taking into account the considerable fluidity of the Africans and their continued

strong ties to families, what steps can be taken to channel their knowledge as a regular source of in-kind contribution for sustainable development in Africa?

Brain drain suggests one final direct path, away from Africa. It is in part this sense of finality that has linked migration to the idea drainage. Aspects of the drainage are real: when medical doctors leave; when the departure of one professor leads to sudden increase in the teacher/student ratios, overwhelming responsibility on the remaining professors translating into fewer examinations to avoid intensive grading time, hence declining quality. However, migration does not mean cutting the ties.

Human resource circulation is real and factual. This is not to encourage migration as a solution to Africa's predicaments. On the contrary, the financial and human resources toward the new, improved and expanded higher education is to improve the learning conditions.

The current Diasporic population that constitutes the focus of my reflection has grown very complex in recent decades. For instance, in the 1960s most African women who went abroad were spouses of diplomats and did not have professional careers. Now, many women abroad are highly educated and work in their own rights.

More generally, older generations of migrants include those who arrived from Africa with partial or complete formal education to the highest levels, and even as professionals. Some have retired or are approaching retirement. There is another category composed of those who are mature but likely to work for longer times ahead. They constitute a real powerhouse in all the educational and professional fields. By and large, they have worked hard, achieved excellence, and are recognized authorities in their respective fields.

The younger generations include those who were born of recent African migrant parents and were even born in Africa and migrated with one or both parents when they were children. Some have citizenship of the countries where they were born and/or live outside Africa. They are also represented in the entire disciplinary spectrum in their academic and technical studies, including the new areas of sciences and technologies. They are bright, capable, daring, full of energy and passion, resolved to play their roles in ensuring that Africa's performance and image improve.

As adviser to many individual students and student organizations<sup>8</sup>, in the case of Cornell University where I have been teaching for almost 20 years, I see them every day poised to return to Africa as interns, volunteers in various capacities including to help set up computer systems, or work for pay. Sometimes, they surprise their own parents by their determination to return to Africa and play their part, ironically while so many young people of their age in Africa dream of

---

8 Global and umbrella organizations such as Black Students United (BSU) and Coalition of Pan-African Scholars (COAS), and more specific ones such as Black Innovators, Nigerian Student Association, Scholars to Leaders with a focus on Kenya, Cornellians for the Congo, and many more such as Ghanaians at Cornell, and other student organizations that are more focused on single topics such as fighting malaria.

leaving to study abroad because of the deteriorating conditions that are depriving them of quality education.

How we utilize these students and young professionals who are ready to serve? How to connect the youth from the Diaspora and those in the continent who have their own solid assets including their familiarity with the African social contexts and their experiences with coping mechanisms in difficult living and learning conditions?

Various programs, across the continent, are working to utilize the monetary and human resources associated with the Africans abroad. My proposal is to organize systematically and forge ways to use these human resources in all the countries to boost higher education, for instance, with professors providing regular courses in the African higher education institutions. The same way tax exemption can be worked out, agreements can be reached with institutions in industrial countries for, release time to devote to African institutions. African students can be training by participating in research projects. These are ideas that can help conceptualize further, design and implement the Global Higher Education Trust Resource for Africa's Advancement (GHETRAA) for long-term financial and immense human resources boost to African higher education.

There are various social sectors that can be the focus for such a boost (i.e. healthcare, agriculture). My focus is higher education because of the reasons I gave above as a catalyst for regenerating the lower levels of education, improved capacity of the higher education systems to form capable human resource, and enhancement of service to the community through pertinent research and other ground for community outreach.

There is a need for a global commitment starting with the Africans in the continent and the Diaspora. Higher education must be given increased and necessary roles. Through proposals such as this one, for instance the Millennium Development Goals could reconnect with the fundamental missing link: Higher Education as a central tool for permanent corrective mechanism for social progress. A full proposal can be made with all the data, diagrams, and the technical and substantive articulation. The goal in this paper is the share the basic ideas.

In the context of globalization, migration is likely to continue. The speed of Africa's renewal can be accelerated through the convergences of contributions including that of Africans in the Diaspora. This renewal requires vibrant institutions of higher learning, opening of possibilities for the innovative impulse of the mature and young minds that can curve the drive to migrate in large numbers. With the proposed project as a permanent mechanism for support to Africa's educational institutions, those who leave will continue contributing to sustaining social progress in the continent.

## CONCLUSION:

There have been always many issues that have not systematically created consensus among Africans and between Africans and their partners, some of whom have complicated relations with Africa marked by the colonial experience and unequal global system. However, in the 1960s, there were shared euphoria, high hopes, expectations, and confidence in a brighter future for Africa that characterized the independence movements and the United Nations Development Decade. It has been a long time since there was such global convergence of enthusiasm accompanied by internal and external commitment to contribute to the means for Africa's advancement.

It is appropriate to acknowledge the welcome renewed and increased commitment of countries such as Japan and its institutions. It is worth noting examples such as the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), Japan Education Forum, and the Africa-Asia University Dialogue for Basic Education Development.

Nevertheless, in recent years, we have been exposed to the Afro-pessimists' message that aimed at putting doubt in the mind of the still perpetual and most unabashed optimists. There was the terrible period where the African-engineered Lagos Plan of Action was rejected and replaced arrogantly by the Structural Adjustment Programs. Even the recent calls for global engagements, such as the Millennium Development Goals were articulated in the heavy atmosphere of "donor fatigue," despite the fact that a few countries have stepped up their contribution to Africa's advancement.

When the world economy and finance were threatened with collapse, the world capitalist system resorted to state to bail out the private sector. Thus, they proved right the African scholars, activists, and students who challenged the structural adjustment programs and the assumed essentially good nature of their liberal economic foundation which led to their policies geared toward weakening the African state, especially the caring state supporting social services such as education. In the education sector, these policies led to scandalous neglect of higher education.

As a world community, we ought to have become more humble and wiser as we realize our acute interdependence. The impact of climate change on the world irrespective of borders or those who have accelerated it, global health pandemics spreading at an astonishing speed, and the vulnerable links of the world economy, should lead us to increased sensibility and sensitivity in commitment to build a better world by addressing the needs of all the communities. This is why we are here. With good will and solid commitment of the global partners, the mobilization of Africa's daughters and sons abroad and at home will step up the pace of a new positive convergence towards realizing of the beautiful project of social progress in Africa. This will be essentially good for Africa and the global community, given our shared humanity.

## AUGUSTIN K. FOSU

Deputy Director  
UNU World Institute for  
Development Economics Research  
Helsinki, Finland



Augustin K. Fosu, a native of Ghana, is deputy director of the United Nations University World Institute of Development Economics, Helsinki, Finland. He is an honorary research fellow at the Rural Development Research Consortium, University of California-Berkeley, USA, and an honorary research associate at the Brooks World Poverty Institute, University of Manchester, UK. Previous positions include senior policy advisor/chief economist at the UN Economic Commission for Africa, and director of research at the African Economic Research Consortium. He is co-editor of the *Journal of African Economies* (Oxford) and serves on the editorial boards of several other journals, including the *Journal of Development Studies*, *Oxford Development Studies*, the *World Bank Economic Review*, and *World Development*. He holds a PhD in economics from Northwestern University, USA.

# CHARTING THE FUTURE OF AFRICA: AVOIDING POLICY SYNDROMES AND IMPROVING GOVERNANCE<sup>1</sup>

## 1. INTRODUCTION

By the mid-1960s, most countries in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) had achieved political independence from colonial rule.<sup>2</sup> Although economic performance of the sub-continent has, in general, considerably lagged behind that of other regions of the world over the post-independence period, growth has been rather episodic. African<sup>3</sup> countries grew fairly strongly until about the late 1970s; then the region's GDP growth began to decline substantially, falling short of population growth by the early 1980s and again in the early 1990s. Since the mid-1990s, however, Africa has once again experienced strong growth generally, with some signs of growth acceleration at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In 2007, for example, GDP growth averaged 6.2 percent in SSA, nearly double the rate in 2002 (World Bank, 2009) and comparable to those in other regions of the world (Arbache et al, 2008). Since 1995, some 26 African countries, representing 70 percent of the SSA population and 78 percent of the GDP, have grown their GDPs by an average of 6.9 percent annually (*ibid.*), a rate that is comparable to the 6.7 percent rate over the same period for the emerging South Asian giant, India, for instance.

## THE POVERTY PICTURE

The weak growth since the late 1970s until recently is reflected in the dismal poverty picture in SSA over the last two and one-half decades. The proportion of the population earning less than \$1 decreased only slightly from 42.3 percent in 1981 to 41.1 percent in 2004 (Fosu, 2009a, table 1). Over the same period, this measure of poverty fell substantially for South Asia

---

1 Views expressed herein are not necessarily attributable to any institution of affiliation.

2 Although the majority of SSA countries had not yet achieved independence by 1960, it is the conventional starting date for the post-independence period. By 1965, however, most of the countries had. Those attaining independence after 1965 are: Botswana, Lesotho, Equatorial Guinea, Mauritius, Swaziland, Guinea Bissau, Angola, Cape Verde, Comoros, Mozambique, Sao Tome, Seychelles, Djibouti, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa, in chronological order.

3 'Africa' and 'SSA' are used interchangeably in the paper.



(SAS), as a reference region, from 49.6 percent in 1981 to 30.8 percent in 2004, so that the relative SSA/SAS poverty rate gap increased steadily by nearly 50 percentage points (*ibid.*).<sup>4</sup>

Recent growth resurgence has brightened Africa's poverty picture over the last decade, however. During 1993-2004, the poverty rates at the \$1 and \$2 standards fell by 4.4 and 4.1 percentage points for SSA, respectively, comparable to the 6.1 and 5.1 percentage points for SAS (*ibid.*).<sup>5</sup>

The current paper, first, briefly discusses the African growth record. Second, it presents evidence on the historical sources of growth. Third, the paper employs the taxonomy of "policy syndromes" to explain the observed growth patterns.<sup>6</sup> Fourth, it discusses how governance might help decrease the likelihood of these syndromes.

## 2. THE AFRICAN GROWTH RECORD

GDP of the SSA region grew fairly strongly at an average yearly rate of approximately 5.0 percent (per-capita rate of about 2.0 percent) for about a decade and a half from 1960, with significant positive contributions from a substantial number of countries (table 1).<sup>7</sup> This growth could not be sustained in subsequent years, however, falling below population growth in the early 1980s and early 1990s. It was not until the latter 1990s that SSA began to grow sufficiently to overcome population increases. Thus, the issue of the overall African growth record is not necessarily a case of consistently dismal performance, but rather one of episodic growth (Figure 1).

---

4 However, the differences in performance between SSA and SAS at the \$2 poverty standard since 1981 have been much less dramatic. The SSA rate decreased slightly from 74 percent in 1981 to 72 percent in 2004, while the SAS rate declined from 88 percent in 1981 to 77 percent in 2004, which remains greater than the SSA poverty rate. Hence, the SSA/SAS difference in the poverty rate increased by less than 10 percentage points, as compared with nearly 50 percentage points in the case of the \$1 standard (*ibid.*).

5 The lack of poverty data for the earlier periods prevents extending the analysis backward to the 1970s or 1960s.

6 By 'policy syndromes' it is meant *ex-ante* anti-growth policies, classified as: 'state controls', 'adverse redistribution', 'suboptimal inter-temporal resource allocation,' and 'state breakdown'. The absence of any of these syndromes is referred to as a 'syndrome-free' regime. Details of this taxonomy are presented subsequently in section 4.

7 These numbers are the GDP-weighted growth rates presented in the tables, consistent with the usual World Bank statistics.

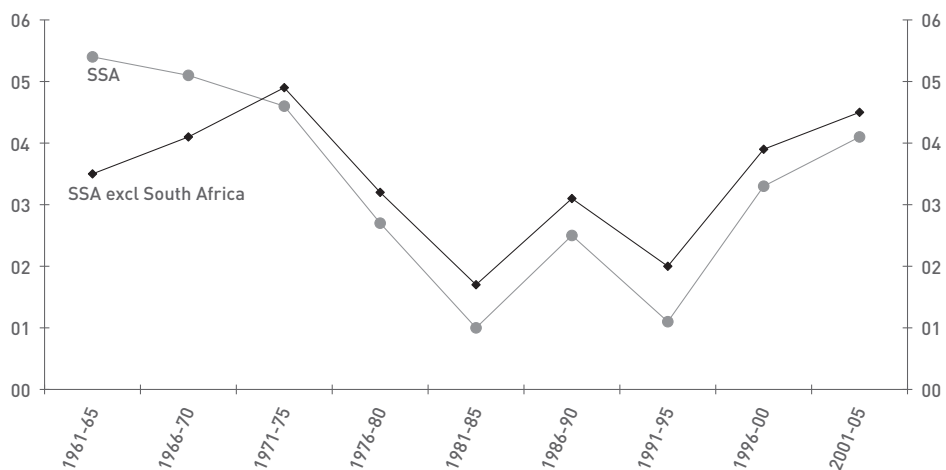
TABLE 1. GDP PER CAPITA GROWTH (ANNUAL %), 5 YEAR AVERAGES

Country Name	Code	61-65	66-70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-90	91-95	96-00	01-05	2006	Avg
Angola	AGO						0,69	-6,73	3,84	7,40	15,26	1,96
Benin	BEN	1,44	0,46	-1,13	1,13	1,17	-2,38	0,53	2,19	0,59	0,90	0,46
Botswana	BWA	3,64	7,75	14,33	8,12	6,45	8,51	1,27	6,23	4,17	0,93	6,59
Burkina Faso	BFA	1,40	0,89	0,80	1,28	1,68	0,16	0,96	3,71	2,89	3,24	1,57
Burundi	BDI	0,15	5,70	-0,29	1,87	1,88	0,60	-4,20	-2,63	-1,10	1,08	0,24
Cameroon	CMR	0,44	-0,86	3,86	3,73	6,23	-5,15	-4,54	2,25	1,30	1,59	0,82
Cape Verde	CPV					6,40	1,30	2,71	3,95	2,71	3,69	3,43
Central African Rep.	CAF	-1,21	1,08	0,02	-1,74	-0,53	-2,26	-1,64	0,09	-2,49	2,30	-0,89
Chad	TCD	-1,51	-0,71	-1,50	-6,52	6,47	-1,20	-0,72	-0,75	11,19	-2,62	0,46
Comoros	COM					1,60	-1,00	-1,31	-0,65	0,64	-1,64	-0,20
Congo, Dem. Rep.	ZAR	0,11	0,70	-0,58	-4,51	-1,04	-3,07	-10,35	-6,01	1,02	1,79	-2,54
Congo, Rep.	COG	0,74	1,99	4,76	1,95	7,28	-3,10	-2,33	-0,29	1,86	4,11	1,49
Cote d'Ivoire	CIV	4,06	5,15	1,94	-0,29	-4,20	-2,71	-1,67	0,58	-1,72	-0,91	0,10
Equatorial Guinea	GNQ						-0,86	4,56	32,23	24,06	-7,76	13,91
Eritrea	ERI							12,19	-1,51	-0,51	-4,47	2,90
Ethiopia	ETH					-3,93	1,84	-0,50	1,81	2,98	6,19	0,66
Gabon	GAB	7,54	4,45	15,27	-2,23	-0,35	-1,34	0,28	-1,84	-0,03	-0,37	2,35
Gambia, The	GMB		1,55	2,04	1,06	-0,21	0,19	-1,62	0,87	0,74	1,61	0,60
Ghana	GHA	0,28	0,92	-2,57	-0,93	-3,56	1,82	1,44	1,87	2,71	4,01	0,30
Guinea	GIN				-0,19	-0,50	1,10	-0,05	1,91	1,18	0,82	0,58
Guinea-Bissau	GNB			0,96	-4,48	3,95	1,10	-0,04	-1,74	-3,13	1,12	-0,44
Kenya	KEN	0,22	2,37	6,11	2,45	-1,28	2,00	-1,49	-0,51	0,95	3,34	1,25
Lesotho	LSO	5,68	0,71	3,52	7,66	0,49	4,10	2,49	1,38	1,85	6,42	3,17
Liberia	LBR	0,47	3,65	-1,32	-0,88	-4,78	-16,32	-21,86	29,50	-5,60	3,67	-1,78
Madagascar	MDG	-1,14	2,02	-1,96	-1,27	-4,30	-0,13	-3,18	0,79	-0,26	2,06	-0,98
Malawi	MWI	2,18	2,34	4,32	1,51	-0,98	-2,90	2,14	1,03	-1,52	4,69	0,99
Mali	MLI		1,29	1,10	2,67	-4,43	1,38	0,34	2,38	3,27	2,16	1,03
Mauritania	MRT	8,85	2,76	-1,94	0,15	-1,71	-0,08	0,52	-0,27	1,09	8,74	1,21
Mauritius	MUS					3,29	6,55	3,87	4,21	3,18	2,70	4,16
Mozambique	MOZ					-6,38	5,30	-0,62	4,71	6,01	5,71	1,95
Namibia	NAM					-2,75	-1,85	1,73	0,94	3,28	1,55	0,32
Niger	NER	2,88	-3,62	-5,17	2,10	-5,18	-0,50	-2,59	-0,73	0,62	1,20	-1,30
Nigeria	NGA	2,12	3,05	3,10	0,98	-5,41	2,38	-0,40	0,33	3,10	2,75	1,07
Rwanda	RWA	-3,67	4,10	-2,24	6,73	-0,68	-1,96	0,75	2,00	2,85	2,74	0,92

Senegal	SEN	-0,87	-1,09	-0,56	-1,54	-0,04	-0,64	-0,67	1,40	1,99	-0,26	-0,23
Seychelles	SYC	1,04	1,33	4,88	6,88	0,01	4,77	1,41	4,71	-2,16	3,18	2,56
Sierra Leone	SLE	2,60	2,27	0,58	0,36	-1,16	-1,53	-5,30	-5,23	9,19	4,45	0,29
Somalia	SOM	-3,38	1,38	1,55	-5,17	2,57	0,49					-0,41
South Africa	ZAF	4,05	2,91	1,35	0,89	-1,14	-0,68	-1,22	0,41	2,58	3,88	1,08
Sudan	SDN	-0,36	-1,02	1,96	-0,49	-2,36	2,12	2,46	3,88	4,35	9,41	1,35
Swaziland	SWZ			6,54	-0,07	-0,50	6,88	-0,28	0,27	0,77	1,46	1,93
Tanzania	TZA						2,13	-1,39	1,53	3,84	3,31	1,61
Togo	TGO	8,16	2,10	1,00	2,38	-3,89	-0,84	-2,01	0,84	-0,72	1,31	0,79
Uganda	UGA					-2,48	1,24	3,38	3,39	2,33	2,08	1,59
Zambia	ZMB	3,06	-1,55	-0,93	-2,79	-2,65	-1,39	-3,84	0,38	2,83	4,22	-0,66
Zimbabwe	ZWE	0,22	5,86	1,40	-1,62	0,37	1,11	-0,95	-0,55	-6,00		-0,02
n = 46												
SSA simple average		1,64	1,87	1,80	0,55	-0,39	0,13	-0,86	2,29	2,10	2,54	1,05
WB SSA weighted average		2,63	2,02	1,52	0,07	-1,76	-0,34	-1,45	0,70	1,97	3,04	0,65

Source: World Bank, 2008.

FIGURE 1. HALF-DECADAL MEAN ANNUAL SSA GDP GROWTH RATES (%), 1961-2005



Notes: Growth rates are based on 46 SSA countries and are GDP-weighted, so that South Africa's value would substantially affect the overall SSA average.

The aggregate evidence masks the considerable disparities in growth among SSA countries, however. During 1981-85, for example, when per capita growth was appreciably negative in SSA as a whole, many African countries actually registered growth rates of at least 1 percentage point above population growth.<sup>8</sup>

Another salient observation is the heterogeneity in growth patterns across countries. Many economies that started as growth leaders in the 1960s had by 2000 become growth laggards (e.g., Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Kenya, South Africa, Togo, and Zambia) (table 1). Conversely, several laggards in the earlier period became growth leaders as of the 1990s (e.g., Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Senegal and Sudan). In contrast, one African country that has exhibited consistently high economic growth is Botswana. Its GDP growth averaged about 10 percent annually over the entire period, and at least 5 percent every decadal period, though the record since the 1990s has been less than spectacular.

Furthermore, African countries have exhibited highly variable growth rates over the last four decades. The standard deviation of the per-worker GDP growth for a sample of 19 SSA countries with consistent data averaged 3.2 percent over 1960-2000, which was the highest among all regions of the world (table 2).<sup>9</sup>

Indeed, SSA's coefficient of variation (CV) is nearly four times the world average, so that the region exhibited a lower mean growth with higher variance as compared to the rest of the world.

**TABLE 2: ANNUAL GROWTH OF REAL GDP PER WORKER, SSA VERSUS OTHER REGIONS: MEAN AND VARIABILITY MEASURES, 1960-2000 (PERCENT)**

	SSA	LAC	SAS	EAP	MENA	IC	Total
Mean (m)	0.51	0.76	2.18	3.89	2.37	2.23	1.63
S. Dev (s)	3.24	2.79	1.47	2.46	3.13	1.77	2.87
CV (s/m)	635	367	67	63	132	79	176

Notes: SSA=Sub-Saharan Africa (19), LAC=Latin America and Caribbean (22), SAS=South Asia (4), EAP=East Asia and Pacific (8), MENA=Middle-East & North Africa (11), IC=Industrial Countries (20); figures in parentheses are the numbers of countries for the respective regions. Selected countries are those with consistent data over 1960-2000 and seem sufficiently representative of the respective regions. The 19 SSA countries are: Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe (source: Ndulu and O'Connell, 2003).

8 This point is further discussed below.

9 See the notes of table 2 for details. The 19 countries represent all sub-regions of SSA and constitute 72 percent of the SSA population, as well as the lion's share of the region's GDP. Nonetheless, they still represent less than one-half of the number of SSA countries, and this caveat should be noted in interpreting the present results.

### 3. SOURCES OF GROWTH IN AFRICA

Table 3 reports data on the sources of GDP growth for SSA over 1960-2000. These statistics show that when SSA grew fairly strongly in the 1960s through the mid-1970s, that growth was supported about equally by both investment and growth of total factor productivity (TFP). When economic growth fell substantially in the early 1980s and again in the early 1990s, however, it was mainly due to the deterioration in TFP. Moreover, the primary source of the growth recovery in the late 1990s was TFP improvement.

TABLE 3: GROWTH DECOMPOSITION FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Year	Growth of Real GDP per worker	Contribution of Growth in		Estimated Residual*
		Physical Capital per worker	Education per worker	
1960-64	1.33	0.53	0.12	0.68
1965-69	1.74	0.80	0.20	0.75
1970-74	2.33	1.05	0.22	1.06
1975-79	0.19	0.74	0.24	-0.79
1980-84	-1.70	0.16	0.29	-2.16
1985-89	0.45	-0.22	0.34	0.33
1990-94	-1.74	-0.08	0.30	-1.95
1995-00	1.51	-0.12	0.26	1.37
Total	0.51	0.36	0.25	-0.09

\* Used as a measure of growth of total factor productivity (TFP)

Notes: This is the Collins-Bosworth decomposition and is based on the production function:  $q=Ak^{.35}h^{.65}$ , where q, k and h are GDP per worker, physical capital per worker and human capital (average years of schooling) per worker, respectively, with respective capital and labor shares of 0.35 and 0.65. The exercise is conducted on per-country basis for the 19 countries with consistent data for 1960-2000 (see notes for table 2), and then aggregated (Ndulu and O'Connell, 2003).

The overall per-worker growth in SSA during the forty-year period was positive but modest (table 3). Furthermore, both physical capital and human capital (education) contributed favourably to this growth. In contrast, TFP's contribution was negative, though small. More importantly, there were considerable sub-period differences in the overall performance of African countries, in terms of growth as well as its sources, a subject to which I now turn.

#### 1960 TO MID-1970S

This early period is characterised by relatively high growth, explained primarily by physical capital accumulation and TFP growth, at approximately 45 percent shares each (table 3). Growth performance was, however, uneven across countries (table 1). Although other country-specific factors explain the differences, it is observable that nearly all the high-growth countries during this sub-period had relatively liberal economic regimes nurtured by conservative political

governments, while the reverse was the case for most of the low-performing countries. For example, Botswana, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, and Malawi were countries with both high growth and market-oriented policies, supported by politically conservative governments during this period. In contrast, weak-growth performers such as Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, CAR, Chad, Ghana, Guinea, Senegal, and Zambia had market-interventionist policies.<sup>10</sup>

Beyond the control nature of the regime, the relatively weak growth in several countries, despite the overall good SSA record, could also be attributed to external factors, political instability, and weak institutions: e.g., Burundi, Mauritius, Rwanda, and Sudan.

### MID-1970S TO EARLY 1990S

The 1980s may be characterized as 'Africa's lost decade'; per-capita income of Africans at the end of the 1980s had fallen below the level prevailing at the beginning of the decade. The source of the contraction is primarily the deterioration in TFP (table 3), likely attributable mainly to idle capacity, which became a major impediment to the industrialization process of African economies (Mytelka, 1989). The supply shocks of the 1970s and early 1980s, both negative and positive, are observed to have engendered policy syndromes that resulted in weak growth performance (Fosu, 2008a).

Negative terms of trade provide only a partial explanation for the dismal performance. For example, among the countries registering negative growths in GDP, while Ghana, Mozambique, Niger, Namibia, and Nigeria experienced substantial losses in terms of trade in the early 1980s, Togo, Mali and Madagascar did not. What appears to be a relatively common feature is that most of these poor-performing economies were saddled with control regimes inherent in the socialistic strategy of development: e.g., Ethiopia, Ghana, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria and Togo.

Although SSA countries generally experienced poor economic growth during this sub-period, there were notable exceptions. For instance, many countries bucked the trend in the early 1980s (at least 1.0 percent p.c. growth): Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Comoros, Congo Republic, Guinea Bissau, Mauritius, and Somalia (table 1). Furthermore, in most of these countries, it was a continuation of the fairly strong growth in the 1970s. While the explanation of such relatively high growth is likely to differ across countries, one

---

10 For regime classification, see Collier and O'Connell (2008, table 2.A2). Politically conservative governments tended to have liberal market-oriented economic policies, while the socialist-leaning ones would generally resort to (soft or hard) controls on economic activities. As "policy syndromes", control regimes are expected to inhibit growth. However, as the classifications were conducted independently of growth outcomes, as they should be, several cases do not conform to these expectations. For instance, Gabon and the Republic of Congo were classified as control regimes but exhibited relatively high growth during this period, while countries like Madagascar, Mauritania and Rwanda were viewed as syndrome-free regimes for most of the sub-period but experienced low growth. Similarly, Malawi was classified as syndrome-free throughout despite its growth record being checkered. Obviously, factors other than regime classification contributed to growth performance as well.

common feature was that nearly all these countries experienced considerable appreciations in their terms of trade during this period.

In spite of the slight growth recovery for SSA generally in the latter part of the 1980s, the early 1990s were simply calamitous, with similar abysmal growth as in the early 1980s. Much of this underperformance could be attributed to severe political instabilities, as in Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone, as well as to negative terms of trade shocks.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the overall dismal growth performance of SSA in the early 1990s, however, there were a number of exceptions. The following countries registered decent growth (at least 1.0 percent per-capita GDP growth): Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, Seychelles, Sudan, and Uganda (table 1). What is interesting about this list of countries is that only a small number of them experienced any appreciable terms-of-trade improvements during the late 1980s or early 1990s. Instead, most of them were 'syndrome-free' and many had adopted structural adjustment programs (SAPs), such as Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Namibia and Uganda, suggesting that for such countries reforms may have aided growth.

## SINCE MID-1990S

Considerable recovery of African economies generally has occurred since the mid-1990s (table 1). Annual GDP growth has averaged approximately 4.0 percent (3.6 percent when South Africa is included and 4.1 percent when it is excluded: Figure 1). Indeed, growth has accelerated to 4.5 percent for non-South-African SSA economies since the beginning of the millennium, while South Africa's GDP growth has averaged slightly less at 4.1 percent. This growth can be accounted for by TFP improvements (table 3).<sup>12</sup> Bucking the trend during this period are mostly countries experiencing severe political instability, such as Burundi, CAR, Congo DR, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Seychelles, Togo and Zimbabwe.

One plausible explanation for the growth resurgence is the terms-of-trade (TOT) improvements.<sup>13</sup> However, despite their general unpopularity,<sup>14</sup> the SAPs appear to have been

---

11 Indeed, for 1989-1993, SSA net barter terms of trade declined at an average of 2.5 percent per year.

12 Note that table 3 provides no evidence for the more recent post-2000 period.

13 TOT grew strongly for SSA overall in 1994 and 1995 at rates of 2.9 percent and 6.9 percent, respectively, and averaged 0.6 percent and 1.5 percent annually in 1996-2000 and 20001-05, respectively, for a yearly mean of 1.0 percent since 1996 (computed by author using data from World Bank, 2007).

14 Many studies have, indeed, argued that SAPs have been detrimental to African development, including de-industrialization and diminution of the social sector (e.g., Cogan, 2002; Lall, 1995; Mkandawire and Soludo, 1999; Mytelka, 1989; Sender, 1999). While such arguments have some merit, they tend to ignore the fact that the deindustrialization process had already begun in many African countries before SAPs, due primarily to industrial operation inefficiencies and adverse terms of trade shocks. Regarding the social sector, Fosu (2007, 2008c) find that on average public spending on health and education in SSA actually trended upward in the latter 1980s and early 1990s, despite SAPs, an observation that corroborates an earlier finding by Sahn, 1992.

beneficial to growth in several cases. Countries like Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Rwanda, and Sudan undertook credible SAPs, leading to improvements of their respective macroeconomic environments for growth. Coupled with better macroeconomic environments, TOT improvements have apparently been translated to sustained economic growth.

Actually, many countries have grown well since the mid-1990s despite weak TOT performance (negative or near-zero growth during 1996-2005): e.g., Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Mali, Mauritius, and Uganda. With the exception of Botswana, which apparently did not need SAP, all these countries had undertaken credible reforms, or were considered syndrome-free during the period.<sup>15</sup>

#### 4. POLICY SYNDROMES AND THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC GROWTH RECORD

Numerous explanations have been offered for the African growth record. Receiving much attention have been initial conditions, including: colonial origins (Acemoglu et al., 2001), ethnicity (Easterly and Levine, 1997), geography (Bloom and Sachs, 1998), natural resources (Sachs and Warner, 2001), and the slave trade (Nunn, 2008).

A recent comprehensive study, the "Growth Project" of the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC), combines both cross-sectional analysis and at least 26 country cases to explain the African growth record since 1960.<sup>16</sup> The main thesis is that policies matter for growth in Africa, despite the initial conditions. The project characterizes the following 'policy syndromes' as detrimental to growth: 'state controls', 'adverse redistribution', 'suboptimal inter-temporal resource allocation' and 'state breakdown'; their absence is referred to as 'syndrome-free' (SF).<sup>17</sup>

---

15 A considerable portion of the TFP improvements, leading to stronger growth performance, is likely attributable to reductions in idle capacity following the reforms. Gross domestic capital formation as share of GDP in SSA has also risen, from 16.8 percent in 2000 to 19.5 percent in 2006 (World Bank, 2007). As early reformers among SSA economies, Ghana and Uganda stand out as possibly shining examples of how reforms may have worked. However, there were also countries, such as Malawi, which undertook credible SAPs but did not fare as well perhaps due to substantial TOT deterioration (-2.3 percent annual average in 1996-2005). However, even Malawi's per capita GDP growth rebounded strongly to nearly 5.0 percent in 2006 following a mean annual decline of 1.5 percent during 1996-2005 (table 1).

16 The project output appears in two volumes: Ndulu et al (2008a, 2008b). An epitomized version of the study is provided in Fosu and O'Connell (2006).

17 Much of the present section derives from Fosu (2008a), which presents a number of case studies to illustrate each syndrome and SF. The definitions of the regimes, provided below, form the basis for the classification of each country-year into one or more of the categories by the editorial committee of the Growth Project (for details see Collier and O'Connell, 2007; Fosu, 2008a; Fosu and O'Connell, 2006). Note that "classification is based on policies, not growth outcomes" (Fosu and O'Connell, 2006; p. 37). For example, though Sudan grew rather rapidly in the late 1990s it was not categorized during this period as 'syndrome-free' but instead as 'state breakdown'. Conversely, Malawi was designated 'syndrome-free' throughout the post-independence period, yet it stagnated in the 1980s, and so did Cote d'Ivoire in the early 1980s despite its syndrome-free classification during that period.



Discussed below briefly are these policy syndromes (for details see Collier and O’Connell, 2008; Fosu, 2008a; Fosu and O’Connell, 2006), with their frequency data presented in table 4.

**TABLE 4: EVOLUTION OF POLICY SYNDROMES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA (HALF-DECADAL RELATIVE FREQUENCIES)**

Period	Syndrome-free	Controls	Redistribution	Inter-temporal	State Breakdown	Soft Control	Hard Control
1960-65	0.465	0.334	0.128	0.000	0.073	0.775	0.225
1966-70	0.373	0.323	0.194	0.009	0.100	0.707	0.293
1971-75	0.193	0.408	0.237	0.120	0.042	0.730	0.270
1976-80	0.106	0.432	0.245	0.149	0.068	0.633	0.367
1981-85	0.097	0.442	0.255	0.145	0.061	0.630	0.370
1986-90	0.149	0.381	0.276	0.118	0.076	0.708	0.292
1991-95	0.357	0.216	0.191	0.056	0.181	0.935	0.065
1996-00	0.435	0.147	0.176	0.039	0.203	0.956	0.044
1960-00	0.272	0.335	0.213	0.080	0.101	0.759	0.241

Notes: These figures are for 47 countries. All syndrome/syndrome-free classifications are defined in the text. The frequencies in the first five columns have been adjusted here to sum to 1.0 for each period, as multiple syndromes for a given country-year could occur. The frequencies of the last two columns have also been adjusted here to sum to 1.0. (Source: See Fosu and O’Connell (2006) and Collier and O’Connell (2008) for raw data.)

## STATE CONTROLS

A country was judged as having ‘state controls’ if the government “heavily distorted major economic markets (labor, finance, domestic and international trade, and production) in service of state-led and inward-looking development strategies” (Fosu and O’Connell, 2006, p.38). The relative frequency of state controls exceeded 30 percent in the early 1960s, reached a half-decadal peak in excess of 40 percent during the early 1980s, but decreased thereafter, representing only about 15 percent by the late 1990s, perhaps in response to the SAPs.

## ADVERSE REDISTRIBUTION

‘Adverse redistribution’ occurs when redistributive policies are determined as favouring the constituencies of respective government leaders, usually regional in nature and with ethnic undertones, likely resulting in polarization.<sup>18</sup> Also classified under this syndrome is the case of downright looting, such as the regimes of Mobutu in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (1973-97), Idi Amin in Uganda (1971-79), and Sani Abacha in Nigeria (1993-98) [Collier and O’Connell, 2008, table 2.A.2]. The relative frequency of this syndrome increased steadily right

<sup>18</sup> It is important to stress, though, that redistribution need not be adverse, that is, if it promotes harmony. As Azam (1995) for instance argues, governments could use redistribution to buy peace, especially between the north and south in many West African countries (e.g., Chad, Cote d’Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria).

from the immediate post-independence period, until the early 1990s when it began to reverse course.

### **SUBOPTIMAL INTER-TEMPORAL RESOURCE ALLOCATION**

'Suboptimal inter-temporal resource allocation' represents revenue misallocation over time: overspending during commodity booms and expenditure under-allocation during the subsequent busts. The incidence of this syndrome was relatively small, though, representing only about 10 percent of the country-years during 1960-2000. It was quite minimal in the immediate post-independence period, but then began increasing in the early 1970s, achieving a relatively high plateau beginning in the mid-1970s amidst commodity booms in many African countries, and then declined as of the latter-1980s.

### **STATE BREAKDOWN/FAILURE**

'State breakdown/failure' refers mainly to open warfare, such as civil wars, but also to acute elite political instability involving coups d'état that result in a breakdown of law and order.<sup>19</sup> It constituted about 10 percent of the country-years during 1960-2000. Despite widespread belief, open warfare has historically been rather rare in Africa, that is, until more recently in the 1990s when its relative frequency doubled to 20 percent of the country-years, from about 5 percent in the 1970s. Despite this syndrome's historically low frequency, however, its impact can be quite large.<sup>20</sup>

### **THE SYNDROME-FREE REGIME**

'Syndrome-free' (SF) results if none of the above syndromes is present, that is, when there is political stability with reasonably market-friendly policies (Fosu and O'Connell, 2006). Interestingly, at more than one-quarter of the country-years, the frequency of SF was rather large in 1960-2000, and higher than that of any syndrome except the regulatory. Indeed, in the immediate 1960-65 post-independence period, the relative frequency of SF was about 50 percent. Its prevalence, however, began to wane during the latter-1960s; the downward trend continued until roughly the mid-1980s when it reversed course. The upward trend actually accelerated in the 1990s, most likely as a result of the SAPs.

Fosu and O'Connell (2006) find for 1960-2000 that SF was a necessary condition for sustaining growth and a near-sufficient condition for preventing a growth collapse. Attributable

---

19 Most of the classifications into state breakdowns involved civil wars, which are growth-inhibiting (Collier, 1999; Gyimah-Brempong and Corley, 2005). However, many studies have also uncovered adverse effects of the incidence of coups d'état on growth (e.g., Fosu (2002, 1992); Gyimah-Brempong and Traynor, 1999), which may not necessarily be classified under this syndrome.

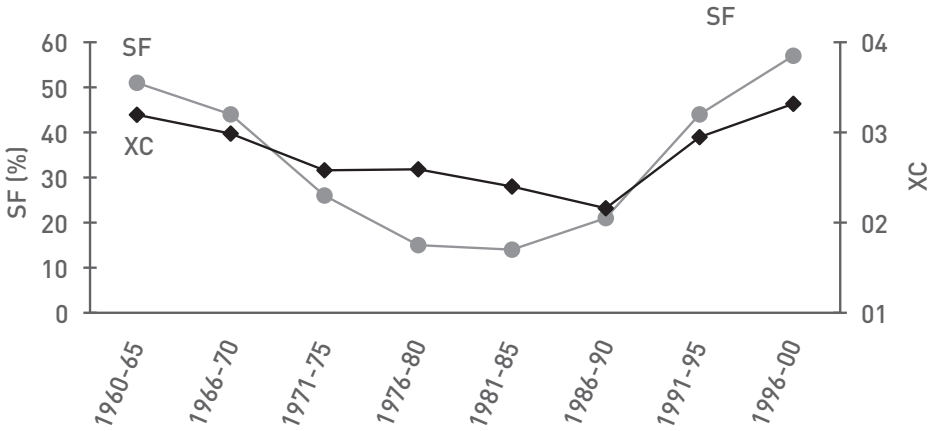
20 The impact of state breakdown on Africa's per capita annual GDP growth is estimated to be as much as 2.6 percentage points (Fosu and O'Connell, 2006, table 7), the largest among all the syndromes, and slightly larger than the 2.2 percentage points obtained for civil wars by Collier (1999).

to SF is 2 or higher percentage-point increase in per-capita annual growth (ibid, table 6; Collier and O'Connell, 2008; Fosu, 2009b). Such an estimate represents about twice Africa's growth gap with the rest of the world during 1960-2000, a third of its gap with East Asia and Pacific, and more than the gap with South Asia (see table 2).

### 5. THE ROLE OF GOVERNANCE

Based on five-year panel country data over 1960-2000, Fosu (2009b) finds that governance, measured by the degree of constraint on the executive branch of government, XCONST, tends to increase growth in African economies; however, too much constraint could also hurt growth. More importantly, XCONST is positively correlated with SF. Indeed, it is better correlated with SF than with growth per se. As Figure 2 shows for the aggregate level, XCONST and SF track rather well inter-temporally.

FIGURE 2: EVOLUTIONS OF SYNDROME-FREE (SF) AND EXECUTIVE CONSTRAINTS (XC), 1960-2004



Notes: See table 4 for SF data; XC = XCONST, degree of constraint on the executive (source: Fosu, 2009b).

In a follow-up study, Fosu (2009c) finds that the deleterious effect of ethnic fractionalization on growth could be attenuated by XCONST. Consistent with Collier (2000), then, 'good governance' may help reduce the incidence of policy syndromes.

Furthermore, Alence (2004) observes that democratic institutions in Africa greatly improve 'developmental governance', which he defines as 'economic policy coherence (free-market policies), public-service effectiveness, and limited corruption'. He additionally finds that while 'restricted political contestation' (with limited executive constraints) has little direct impact

on developmental governance, executive restraints improve developmental governance even if there is little political contestation. These results imply the critical role of XCONST.

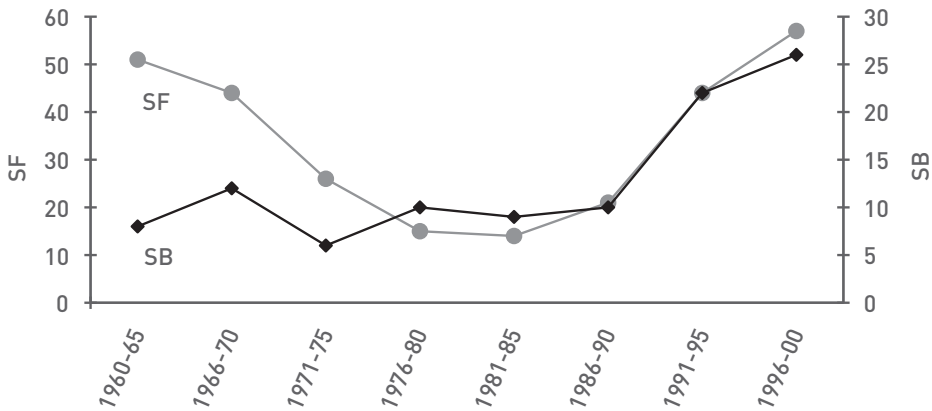
But how is the optimal XCONST level achieved for development governance purposes? One way is via a disciplined executive that constrains itself, as perhaps in the case of China; however, this strategy seems not to have worked well in Africa. Another is via a democratic process. Unfortunately, an entrenched executive may block attempts to restrict its power. One way to reduce this likelihood is to impose office-term limitations on the executive, as many African countries currently have.

Furthermore, Fosu (2008b) finds that electoral competitiveness can enhance growth in African countries, but only in 'advanced-level' democracies. Apparently, certain countries are susceptible to political disorder that may occur at the early stages of democratization (negative 'intermediate-level' effects). An appropriate solution would entail identifying such countries ex ante and finding means of forestalling these potential adverse effects.

As indicated above, state breakdown has been the most potent detractor of growth among the various policy syndromes. Unfortunately, many African countries degenerated into political disorder and open conflicts in the 1990s, resulting in part from the political reforms that ensued in support of economic reforms. As previously authoritarian governments began to lose their grip on authority, a power vacuum was created, which tended to undermine the cohesion of the state. In other cases, distributive politics replaced authoritarian rule that had previously succeeded in preserving the nation-state, opening up wounds of divisionism and accentuating polarization with ethnic undertones. By the 1990s, countries like Burundi, CAR, Comoros, DRC, Djibouti, Liberia, Niger, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Togo had all descended into severe political instability, most in the form of open conflicts.

While political reforms may be blamed for many of these adverse political outcomes, it is also true that the new international political order that saw the diminution of the Cold War increased the tendency for insurrection, for the likelihood of their success increased. Thus, as SF has increased in the 1990s, so has the incidence of state breakdown (Figure 3), implying the need for increased attention toward post-conflict economies (Fosu and Collier, 2005).

FIGURE 3. EVOLUTIONS OF SYNDROME-FREE (SF) AND STATE BREAKDOWN (SB) REGIMES, 1960-2000 (%)



Source: Table 4.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The present paper, first, presented the growth record of African economies. It observed that the overall post-independence GDP growth of sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries has been quite paltry, especially when compared with the rest of the world. On average, output growth was barely enough to cover population increases. The growth record has, however, been quite episodic. From 1960 until the mid-1970s, African countries generally grew reasonably well, with GDP growth rates of nearly 2 percentage points annually above population growth, though this performance was still below that of other regions. Growth declined substantially in the 1980s and early 1990s, however, resulting in decreases in per capita income. Fortunately, growth has resurged in many African economies since the mid-1990s, with per-capita SSA GDP increasing on average by about 2 percent annually once again.

The aggregate picture fails to properly reflect the heterogeneity in African country performance, though. For example, Botswana and Mauritius have performed spectacularly well during the overall period. Moreover, even when growth declined substantially in the early 1980s and early 1990s, many African countries bucked the trend. Country-level growth has also been episodic, with many of those starting out with relatively strong growth faltering subsequently, and conversely.

Second, the paper has presented evidence on the decomposition of economic growth. It finds that changes in total factor productivity (TFP) were strongly associated with economic growth performance in Africa generally. When growth was relatively strong in the 1960s and

1970s, TFP was a major contributing factor, which also explained the substantial deterioration in growth in the early 1980s and early 1990s. Similarly, the recent resurgence in growth has been associated with major TFP improvements.

Third, the 'policy syndrome' taxonomy explains the growth record reasonably well. The absence of syndromes, a syndrome-free regime (SF), could raise annual per- capita GDP growth by at least 2 percentage points, a rather large amount, given that SSA's growth has averaged less than 1.0 percent over the post-independence period. Much of this positive effect of SF is attributed to its favourable influence on TFP.

Fourth, 'good governance', represented by appropriate constraints on the government executive (XCONST), appears promising for augmenting SF and, hence, for increasing growth. Unfortunately, the recent rise in SF is also accompanied by an increase in the incidence of state breakdown. With the additional evidence suggesting that electoral competitiveness can enhance growth in relatively advanced-level democracies in Africa, it appears that the real challenge is to explore the path toward meaningful democratization that is capable of both augmenting SF and attenuating state breakdown. Meanwhile, as several African countries have already experienced conflicts, it is imperative that we accord special attention to post-conflict economies.

## References

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James Robinson (2001). "Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation," *American Economic Review*, December, 91(5): 1369-1401.
- Alence, Rod (2004). "Political Institutions and Developmental Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 42(2), 163-187.
- Arbache, Jorge, Delfin Go and John Page (2008). "Is Africa's Economy at a Turning Point?" Policy Research Working Paper 4519, Africa Region, World Bank.
- Azam, Jean-Paul (1995). "How to Pay for the Peace? A Theoretical Framework with Reference to African Countries," *Public Choice* 83: 173-84.
- Bloom, D. and J. Sachs (1998). "Geography, Demography and Economic Growth in Africa", *Brookings Papers in Economic Activity*, 2: 207-273.
- Bosworth, Barry P. and Susan M. Collins (2003). "The Empirics of Growth: An Update," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 0(2), 113-179.
- Cogan, Ann-Louise (2002). "Hazardous to Health: the World Bank and IMF in Africa," Africa Action Position Paper, April.
- Collier, Paul (2000), "Ethnicity, Politics and Economic Performance," *Economics and Politics*, 12(3): 229-272.
- Collier, Paul (1999). "On the Economics of the Consequences of Civil War", *Oxford Economic Papers*, Vol. 51, 168-183
- Collier, Paul and Stephen O'Connell (2008). "Opportunities and Choices," in Ndulu, B., S. O'Connell, R. Bates, P. Collier and C. Soludo, *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa 1960-2000*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 76-136.

- Easterly, William and Ross Levine (1997). "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, CXII: 1203-1250.
- Fosu, Augustin K. (2009a), "Inequality and the Impact of Growth on Poverty: Comparative Evidence for Sub-Saharan Africa," *Journal of Development Studies*, 45(5), May, 726-745.
- Fosu, Augustin K. (2009b). "Understanding the African Growth Record: the Importance of Policy Syndromes and Governance," UNU-WIDER Discussion paper No. 2009/02.
- Fosu, Augustin K. (2009c). "Impacts of Policy Syndromes and Governance on Productivity and Growth of African Economies," a paper presented at the CSAE Conference, Oxford University (March 2009).
- Fosu, Augustin K. (2008a). "Anti-Growth Syndromes in Africa: A Synthesis of the Case Studies," in Ndulu, B., S. O'Connell, R. Bates, P. Collier and C. Soludo, *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa 1960-2000*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 137-172.
- Fosu, Augustin K. (2008b). "Democracy and Growth in Africa: Implications of Increasing Electoral Competitiveness," *Economics Letters*, September, 100 (3), 442-444.
- Fosu, Augustin K. (2008c). "Implications of External Debt-Servicing Constraint for Public Health Expenditure in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Oxford Development Studies*, 36(4), December 2008, 363-377.
- Fosu, Augustin K. (2007). "Fiscal Allocation for Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications of the External Debt Service Constraint," *World Development*, 35(4), pp. 702-713.
- Fosu, Augustin K. (2002). "Political Instability and Economic Growth: Implications of Coup Events in Sub-Saharan Africa," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 61(1): 329-348.
- Fosu, Augustin K. (1992). "Political Instability and Economic Growth: Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 40(4), 829-841.
- Fosu, Augustin K. and Paul Collier (2005). *Post-conflict Economies in Africa*, eds., International Economic Association Conference Volume No. 140, New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, pp. i-272.
- Fosu, Augustin K. and Stephen A. O'Connell (2006). "Explaining African Economic Growth: The Role of Anti-growth Syndromes," in Francois Bourguignon and Boris Pleskovic, editors, *Annual Bank Conference on Development Economics (ABCDE)*, Washington, DC: World Bank, 2006, pp. 31-66.
- Gyimah-Brempong, Kwabena and Marva E. Corley (2005), "Civil Wars and Economic Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Journal of African Economies*, 14(2), 270-311.
- Gyimah-Brempong, Kwabena and Thomas Traynor (1999). "Political Instability, Investment and Economic Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Journal of African Economies* 8(1), 52-86.
- Lall, Sanjaya (1995). "Structural Adjustment and African Industries," *World Development*, Vol. 23, No. 12 (December), pp. 2019-2031.
- Mkandawire, Thandika and Charles Soludo (1999). *Our Continent Our Future: African perspectives on Structural Adjustment*, Dakar: CODESRIA, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Mytelka, Lynn (1989). "The Unfulfilled Promise of African Industrialization," *African Studies Review*, 32(3), 77-137.
- Ndulu, Benno and Stephen O'Connell (2003). "Revised Collins/Bosworth Growth Accounting Decompositions," March, AERC Growth Project.
- Ndulu, B., S. O'Connell, R. Bates, P. Collier and C. Soludo (2008). *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa 1960-2000*, Vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- Ndulu, B., S. O'Connell, J-P Azam, R. H. Bates, A. K. Fosu, J. W. Gunning, D. Njinkeu (2008). *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa 1960-2000, Vol. 2, Country Case Studies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Nunn, Nathan (2008). "The Long-Term Effects of Africa's Slave Trades," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 123, No. 1, pages 139-176.
- Sachs, Jeffrey and Andrew Warner (2001). "The Curse of Natural Resources," *European Economic Review* 45(4-6): 827-838.
- Sahn, D. E. (1992). 'Public Expenditures in Sub-Saharan Africa during a Period of Economic Reform,' *World Development*, 20(5), 673-693.
- Sender, John (1999). "Africa's Economic Performance: Limitations of the Current Consensus," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 13(3), 89-114.
- World Bank (2009). *World Development Indicators Online 2009*.
- World Bank (2008). *World Development Indicators Online 2008*.
- World Bank (2007). *World Development Indicators Online 2007*.
- World Bank (2004). *World Development Indicators CDROM*.



## DOMINIQUE MALAQUAIS

Senior Researcher  
Centre d'Etudes des Mondes Africains  
(CEMAF)  
Centre National de la Recherche  
Scientifique (CNRS)  
Paris, France



Dominique Malaquais (PhD, Columbia University) is a scholar and writer. Her work focuses on intersections between emergent urban cultures, global market forces and political and economic violence in African cities. She has taught extensively in the United States (Columbia and Princeton Universities, Vassar, Trinity and Sarah Lawrence Colleges) and is currently based in France, where she holds the position of senior researcher at CNRS, the National Science Research Centre, Paris. She is the author of two books and of numerous scholarly articles, essays, poems and short stories in English, French and Spanish. She is director of SPARCK (Space for Pan-African Research, Creation and Knowledge, The Africa Centre, Cape Town, South Africa), a multi-disciplinary, multi-sited programme of residencies, performances, exhibitions, conferences and publications dedicated to emergent and experimental arts of the African world. She has curated several international exhibitions, is associate editor of Chimurenga magazine (South Africa) and sits on the editorial board of the journal *Politique africaine* (France).

# AFRICAN PRACTICES OF GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT: AN ARTS AND CULTURE PERSPECTIVE

Throughout the world and throughout history, urbanisation and long-distance trade have acted as motors for social and economic development. This has long been the case in Africa and it so today. Across the continent, Africans are putting cities to highly effective use as means of renovating economies, cultures and selves and, across the world, through intersections of migration and transnational commerce, they are positioning themselves as integral members of a global urban community.

Such positioning comes at a price. Illegal immigration and urban growth associated with key forms of transnational commerce cost tens of thousands of lives yearly. As accounts of violence, desperation and acute poverty dominate the news, however, other, parallel (and intertwined) stories are being neglected. While attention in the media is focused on desperate migrants seeking to reach Europe on broken boats, groups of traders from provincial markets across Africa are buying into apparel factories in China. As tales of pathos define Africa coverage on CNN and BBC, Nollywood booms, Mouride importexport businesses make inroads across the globe, and Congolese fashionistas turn heads from Tokyo to New York.

How do these realities coexist? What enables cities across Africa to act as dynamic machines in the midst of infrastructural collapse? How, in the face of highly unstable conditions, do they function as platforms for prolific, innovative moves by Africans into the global economy?

One way of approaching these questions holds promise: a focus on what I will call “the art of the deal.” In the realm of the deal, objects, people, and places that on the surface seem to have nothing in common come together momentarily to produce new opportunities and resources. Things get done because the time and the place are right for a particular collaboration. The moment and the possibilities are fleeting: there is no telling whether what is feasible today will be so tomorrow.

Such approaches to making things happen belong to what social scientists commonly describe as “informal” or “parallel” economies. The terms “informal” and “parallel,” however, are deeply misleading. They identify as marginal, different and exceptional ways of doing and thinking that are, in fact, common to an overwhelming majority of the planet’s inhabitants. It is not reasonable to define as “parallel” phenomena that affect such significant numbers of people. These phenomena, moreover, are quite commonly highly *formal*: what most typifies them is not informality, but flexibility. It is this ubiquity and this flexibility that I reference when I speak of the “art of the deal.”

Admittedly, deal-making of this kind is not a nation-building tool in the classical sense of the term. It is, however, highly effective. Deals work: money is made, people are fed, go places and create rich lives for themselves. In the process, multiple, cross-border and trans-disciplinary nations are born – nations of a kind that often prove significantly more flexible, and as a result better adapted to the everyday existence of millions of people, than those born of colonization's violent cutting apart of the continent.

These flexible spaces and practices are integral to the globalization process. It is not useful to think of them as problems needing resolution. They must be taken seriously as strategies in the articulation of global futures. Further, they must be understood as important not only in an African, or even in a "Southern" context, but also as potential templates for a planet-wide tomorrow.

For an understanding of such phenomena, we turn, usually, to political science and sociology. Other approaches, however, are available that can shed radically new light on them. Key among these are tools that belong to the realm of arts and culture: ways of doing and thinking that are at the core of UNESCO's mission, yet are given little attention by scholars or decision-makers as means of understanding complex economic and social states of affair.

A programme founded in 2007 underscores the effectiveness of such tools. This programme is called SPARCK: Space for Pan-African Research, Creation and Knowledge. It is a project of the Africa Centre, a non-profit arts and culture organization located in Cape Town. Its directors are an artist and educator based in Cape Town, Kadiatou Diallo, and a scholar based in Paris whose work focuses on contemporary urban cultures in central and southern Africa (myself).

As its name suggests, SPARCK is a Pan-African entity. Although, as a legal matter, it is based in South Africa, it operates across the African world. Its mission is to engage with networks already in existence. It does not claim to bring solutions from the outside. Instead, it seeks to identify, understand and, where possible, lend its support to spaces where solutions are already being elaborated. Its activities include creators' residencies, performances, exhibitions, conferences, workshops, publications and web-based interventions. These activities are structured in terms of three-year thematic cycles.

SPARCK's current three-year cycle is entitled "Net/Works: Translocal Cultures in the Making of African Worlds." Its focus is the art of the deal. Through media such as photography, video, collage, installation and performance art, literature, web and spoken word art, and through scholarship about these media, SPARCK proposes alternative, hands-on ways of understanding practices of deal-making that stand at the heart of contemporary globalization. The approach is twofold. In all SPARCK endeavours, Africa is both focus and vantage point. The goal is to look at what is happening in Africa and her diasporas and to look to Africa as a staging ground: a platform for thinking about our worldwide condition and future as global subjects.

A brief overview of two SPARCK projects will give a sense of how the programme functions. The first of these projects is entitled "Photographic Journeys." It focuses on the art of the deal in six cities – three in Africa and three in the diaspora – each of which is known for its complex, highly effective and historically textured practices of deal-making. The cities addressed are not those toward which people typically look to understand how global economies work. On the continent, the project centres on mid-sized cities that often prove more flexible than their megacity sisters and, as a result, have developed highly original and effective ways of inserting themselves into the global economy. The cities are Aba (Nigeria), Lubumbashi (DRC) and Touba (Senegal).

To give just one example: in Aba, a city of some 4 million people in Eastern Nigeria, the focus is on Ariaria Market, a city within the city, where impeccable copies of famous brand goods are hand-made for massive distribution across Africa and Europe, with materials, machines and designs imported from across Asia. By IMF and World Bank standards, this is the stuff of "informal" economy and, indeed, exact statistics, taxation and other indicators of formal economic activity are absent. Attention paid to the micro level, however, shows that activities on the ground (from labour recruitment to training, acquisition of raw materials, production, sales techniques, transportation and security) are all highly formalized. They also prove highly innovative and flexible, in ways deserving considerable attention in an age where the ability to compete is a function of precisely these characteristics. It is on these features of the market that the Aba leg of the project focuses, through the lens of an artist known himself for innovative "takes" and techniques: Nigerian photographer Emeka Okereke. In the diaspora, the project looks at unexpected cities as well. The focus is not (as is typically the case when the word "diaspora" is used) on the West or the North, but on the East. The project centres on African diasporic communities in Guangzhou, Moscow and Dubai. In Aba, Lubumbashi and Touba, three photographers are involved – one for each city. In the diaspora, two artists travel to each city. Among them are photographers, filmmakers, writers and sound engineers. Here again, innovation is the focus and the goal sought is to open up novel ways of thinking about globalization, deploying Africa as a platform for such reflection.

A second project takes up this same goal in a very different way. Here, the medium is scholarly discourse on practices of deal-making. The context is an international colloquium on globalization entitled "Africa-Asia: Networks, Exchanges, Transversalities." Again, the lenses used are not the usual ones. At the heart of the project are studies of cultural phenomena. The colloquium looks at the production, acquisition and transfer of artworks, the elaboration of syncretic religious beliefs, the development of architectural practices, literary texts, languages and imaginaries, and at ways in which these have been used to build bridges between the two continents. Through analysis of these phenomena, light is cast on trade networks, migration patterns, business strategies and political tactics.

The focus, in this project, is on comprehension of the present through analysis of historical and contemporary states of affair. Thus, for instance, one panel, which will include discussions of: trade in Japanese pottery on the African continent in the 17<sup>th</sup> century; intellectual

and diplomatic relations between the Swahili coast and southwest Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries; the construction of social and class identities by emergent bourgeoisies in early colonial East Africa through the display of goods hailing from China and architectural forms imported from India; the role of Korean petite entrepreneurship in democratizing uses of photography in 20th century West Africa; contemporary perceptions of Hong Kong by African expatriates as articulated in fiction by Nigerian and Kenyan novelists; reception of Japanese soap operas in present-day urban Egypt; and visions of India articulated in two very different African urban settings – Vodun religious practice in cities of Benin and Togo today and the fashion for Hindu dance in cosmopolitan Dakar.

The colloquium will count over 30 presentations by scholars in a wide range of fields, from Africa, Asia, Europe and North America. As is the case with most SPARCK projects, it will be a collaboration. The scholarly core of the project lies with CNRS, France's National Science Research Centre, at which I am a Senior Researcher. Close ties have also been established with a key research centre at the University of Cape Town, the African Centre for Cities. Where the colloquium will be held remains to be established. Ideally, it will take place on one of the two continents concerned rather than (as is still too often the case with scholarly meetings) in Europe or North America. This is a question, I hope, that can be addressed later in the context of this Asia-situated conference.

This brief overview of SPARCK has been intended shown how it is possible, and why it is crucial, to think about emergent economic and social practices developed in the African world through the complex, refined lenses of artistic and cultural phenomena. The goal here, as in SPARCK generally, is to open up new and productive ways of thinking about globalization, with *Africa as a point of departure for engaged and proactive reflection on a global scale.*

## JINICHI MATSUMOTO

Freelance Journalist  
Former Senior Columnist  
Member of the Editorial Board  
Africa Bureau Chief  
The Asahi Shimbun  
Tokyo, Japan



Jinichi Matsumoto began working at the Asahi Shimbun Newspaper in 1968 after graduating from Tokyo University's Judicial Course. He was Africa Bureau chief in Nairobi from 1982 to 1986, Cairo General Office chief for the Middle East and Africa from 1990 to 1993, and a senior columnist from 1994 to 2007. He has worked as a freelance journalist since his retirement in 2008. He was awarded the Vaughn-Uyeda Prize in 1994, the Best Essayist of the Year in 1998, the Japan Newspapers Association Prize in 2004 for his reporting on 9/11, and the Japan Press Club Prize in 2007.

# GLOBALIZATION EXPLOITS AFRICA

In South Africa, almost 300,000 Chinese people work mainly in the wholesale business. They have set up eight wholesale centers in Johannesburg, which contain more than 2,000 shops. One of them, the China City at Elis Park, reported selling more than one billion USD in merchandise only in two weeks during the 2007 Christmas season.

Those businesses do not contribute to the South African economy, as all those goods are brought in from China and the profits are sent back to China, so the capital does not rotate in South Africa. In spite of this, the South African Government does not take any measures to limit Chinese business activities. There is no protection for South African small businesses. Many small-scale businesspeople lose their jobs because of this phenomenon.

Nigeria produced 52 billion USD of oil in 2005, which covers 95% of its trade income, but the Nigerian people cannot enjoy the wealth properly. In the oil-producing southern area of Nigeria, people suffer from devastating environmental pollution, and the government does not maintain the infrastructure of the area. There is no water supply nor is there a sewage system. There is also poor electricity and bad roads. There is no investment in the area because of a lack of infrastructure, which hinders the development of the area. Globalization takes oil out of the country without any reward for the people.

It is so difficult for the young to find jobs in the area that they have to go abroad to seek jobs. They go first to London, then to Johannesburg, and finally to Tokyo. Now almost 10,000 Africans are registered at the Immigration Authority in Japan, one fourth of them are Nigerian. Most of them work in illegal night clubs and sex businesses at Kabuki-cho, the busiest night club area of Tokyo.

Such problems are caused mainly by corrupt governments who are connected to international capitals. Mr. Obasanjo fought against those problems, and though he is a great leader, one person's efforts are not enough to improve the situation. Many such cases are found in Africa, particularly in Angola, Sudan, and so on. Africa is deprived of its own wealth by globalization.

The best way to emerge out of the situation is to establish incentives for people to find work in their homeland. We can cooperate with people in this process, but not with the government. I would like to cite the example of a small oyster bar in Cape Verde, the westernmost point of the African continent. Before the JOCV project began (JOCV is the Japanese version of the Peace Corps), 2000 dried oysters were sold at only 3 dollars. Because of this low price local fishermen were not eager to fish and raise oysters. Then one JOCV volunteer decided to set up an oyster bar at the westernmost point of Cape Verde in 1983 where there were a number of tourists. They sold a dozen raw oysters for 2 dollars. The bar now sells 18,000 dozens a year. The fishermen organized an oyster union and the members are increasing.

Journalists play a very important role in curbing government corruption in South Africa, Kenya, and Angola and in other African countries. I believe that providing incentives for sound journalism can help chart the future of Africa.

AFRICA AND  
GOVERNANCE:  
IMPROVING  
SOCIO-POLITICAL  
COHESION



**118-124**

Clement E. Adibe, Associate Professor of Political Science, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois, USA

**THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN SUSTAINING AFRICAN DEMOCRACIES THROUGH AN EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF OBSERVABLE PRESSURE POINTS IN MOMENTS OF POLITICAL HICCUPS**

**126-127**

Ernest Aryeetey, Director, Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER)  
University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

**SOCIAL COHESION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN A GLOBALIZING AFRICA**

**128-138**

Yasushi Katsuma, Director & Professor, International Studies Program  
Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan

**GLOBAL HEALTH GOVERNANCE: INFECTIOUS DISEASES AS A THREAT TO HUMAN SECURITY IN AFRICA**

**140-148**

Obijiofor Aginam, Academic Programme Officer  
UNU Institute for Sustainability and Peace (UNU-ISP), Tokyo, Japan

**AFRICA AND GLOBALIZATION: PERSPECTIVES ON GOVERNANCE, PUBLIC HEALTH DIPLOMACY, AND RESOURCE CONFLICTS**

**149-152**

John Agyekum Kufuor, President of the Republic of Ghana (2001–2009) and  
Alpha Oumar Konaré, President of the Republic of Mali (1992-2002)  
and Chairperson of the African Union Commission (2003-2008)

**COMMENTS ON THE AFRICA AND GOVERNANCE: IMPROVING SOCIO-POLITICAL COHESION SESSION**

## CLEMENT E. ADIBE

Associate Professor of Political Science  
DePaul University  
Chicago, Illinois, USA



Clement Eme Adibe is an associate professor of political science at DePaul University, Chicago. He obtained his PhD in political studies from Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, in 1995 and was the Killam post-doctoral fellow at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada, in 1995 and 1996. He served as a researcher at the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research in Geneva, Switzerland in 1995. He was a research fellow at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (1992–1993); Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University (1993–1994); Legon Center for International Affairs, University of Ghana, Legon (1993); Queen's Center for International Relations, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada (1994); and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo, Norway (2001–2002). Dr. Adibe served as a member of the board of directors of the Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS) from 1997 to 2000, and was on the executive board of ACUNS in 1999. He has published widely on Africa, most recently *The Evolution of U.S. Foreign Policy towards the Darfur Conflicts in the Sudan* (2009) and *Nigeria: The Domestic Roots of a Proactivist Non-nuclear Policy* (forthcoming). Dr. Adibe served as a member of the editorial board of *Global Governance* and is a member of the editorial board of *ANNUAL EDITIONS: American Foreign Policy*, McGraw-Hill Publishers (USA). His current research is on the international dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict in Nigeria.

# THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN SUSTAINING AFRICAN DEMOCRACIES THROUGH AN EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF OBSERVABLE PRESSURE POINTS IN MOMENTS OF POLITICAL HICCUPS

## MANAGING PRESSURE POINTS IN MOMENTS OF POLITICAL HICCUPS: THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

*CLEMENT EME ADIBE, Ph.D.  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
DEPAUL UNIVERSITY  
CHICAGO, IL 60614 USA*

*UNU/UNESCO, TOKYO, 28-29 SEPTEMBER, 2009*

## I: INTRODUCTION

- **THE PROBLEM**

**WHAT ACCOUNTS FOR THE  
OCCURRENCE OF THE WARS AND  
SOCIO-POLITICAL STRIFE THAT  
DOT THE AFRICAN LANDSCAPE?**

## I: INTRODUCTION (Cont'd)

- ***MY THESIS: THE MYRIAD CAUSES OF INSTABILITY IN AFRICA ARE ROOTED IN 'NATION-BUILDING', BUT CENTRAL TO THEM IS THAT ORDINARILY OCCURRING POLITICAL HICCUPS ARE ALLOWED TO FESTER AND SNOWBALL INTO PROTRACTED CONFLICTS***

## I: INTRODUCTION (Cont'd)

- ***THE SOLUTION: SUSTAIN AND DEEPEN AFRICAN DEMOCRACIES BY EARLY IDENTIFICATION AND ALLEVIATION OF POLITICAL PRESSURE POINTS***
- ***COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE***
- ***1). Missed Opportunities: Congo, Nigeria in 1960s and Rwanda in 1990s***
- ***2). Teachable Moments: Apartheid South Africa, MDGs, Taylor's Liberia and Abacha's Nigeria***

## II: DEMOCRACY AND NATION-BUILDING IN AFRICA

- ***'DEMOCRACY' AND 'NATION-BUILDING': THE AFRICAN CONTEXT***
- ***'A MAN OF THE PEOPLE': CULTURE OR ECONOMICS IN DETERMINING THE SURVIVAL OF DEMOCRACY***
- ***DEMOCRACY AS A SOCIAL COMMITMENT AND INVESTMENT--***  
***Winston Churchill got it right!***

## II: DEMOCRACY AND NATION-BUILDING (Cont'd)

- **THE CONSTITUTIVE FACTOR: 'E Pluribus Unum' Max Weber, Anthony Marx and the challenge of nation-building**
- **HIGH TRANSACTION COSTS**
- **TELEFISHBOWL: Making sausage in the age of 'international society' and media!**

## III: EXPLAINING CONFLICTS IN AFRICA

- **1. ENDOGENOUS FACTORS**
- **a). Ethno-Religious Cleavages: The Berlin Map and the Burden of *Uti Possidetis***
- **b). The 'Economy of Affection' and its Political Correlates (PwA)**
- **c). The Primacy of Politics over Efficiency of Government**

## III: EXPLAINING CONFLICTS IN AFRICA (Cont'd)

- **d). Generalized Disrespect for Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law**
- **e). Profiteering and other Negative Incentives**
- **f). Pervasive absence of a Social Safety Net**
- **g). Administrative over-centralization**

### III: EXPLAINING CONFLICTS IN AFRICA (Cont'd)

- **2. EXOGENOUS FACTORS**
- **a). Predatory Geo-politics**
- **b). Benign Neglect by Major Powers**
- **c). Condescending Paternalism**
- **d). Inconsistent and half-hearted International Interventions**
- **e). Lopsided Global economic system**

### IV: TOWARDS A SOLUTION

- **1. IDENTIFYING POLITICAL HICCUPS IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:**
- **i). Electoral Arrangements and Disputes**
- **ii). Unconstitutional Change of Power**
- **iii). Suppression of the media, civil society groups and political opponents**

### IV: TOWARDS A SOLUTION (Cont'd)

- **iv). Outbreak of 'Low Intensity Conflicts'**
- **v). Dispute among key political actors, even when they are 'personal'**
- **vi). Dispute over the interpretation and implementation of negotiated (peace) agreements**

IV: TOWARDS A SOLUTION  
(Cont'd)

- **vii). Sudden drop in government revenue and the resulting observable scarcity of essential commodities**
- **viii). Sudden loss of civility in the public discourses of political actors and their allies**

IV: TOWARDS A SOLUTION  
(Cont'd)

- **2. QUICK INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES TO MITIGATE THE EFFECTS OF OBSERVABLE POLITICAL HICCUPS THROUGH:**
- **i). Deterrent Presence**
- **ii). Empathy**
- **iii). Mediation**
- **iv). Conciliation**

IV: TOWARDS A SOLUTION  
(Cont'd)

- **2. QUICK INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES TO MITIGATE THE EFFECTS OF OBSERVABLE POLITICAL HICCUPS THROUGH:**
- **i). Deterrent Presence**
- **ii). Empathy**
- **iii). Mediation**
- **iv). Conciliation**



## V: LESSONS FROM HISTORY

- **1. MISSED OPPORTUNITIES**
- ***A). International Complicity in Lumumba's Congo and its aftermath***
- ***B). The Domino Effect of International Non-response to the collapse of Nigeria's First Republic and the 'Pogrom' that followed***
- ***C). Watching the Rwandan Genocide***

## V: LESSONS FROM HISTORY (Cont'd)

- **2. TEACHABLE MOMENTS**
- ***A). The global coalition against apartheid South Africa and the movement for the Global Compact***
- ***B). International action against General Abacha's impunity in Nigeria, and the 'forceful' removal of Charles Taylor from Liberia***

## VI: CONCLUSIONS

- ***DEMOCRACY IS AN ANTIDOTE TO 'FAILED STATES' IN AFRICA***
- ***SUSTAINING DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA REQUIRES MORE THAN INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL***
- ***NATION-BUILDING IS A CONTINUOUS (AND NOT ALWAYS A PLEASANT) SOCIAL EXPERIMENT***



## ERNEST ARYEETEEY

Director,  
Institute of Statistical, Social  
and Economic Research (ISSER),  
University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana



Ernest Aryeetey is the Director of the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) of the University of Ghana, Legon. He will join the US Brookings Institution full-time from January 2010 as senior fellow and director of the Africa Growth Initiative. He is a member of the Program Committee of the African Economic Research Consortium. His research has focused on economic development in Africa, regional integration, economic reforms and financial systems in support of development and small enterprise development. He has served as a member of or expert advisor to a number of major international commissions and working groups, including the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals Task Force on Growth and Poverty Reduction. He has held numerous research and teaching positions, including at the University of London, Yale University, Ohio State University and Swarthmore College and has published widely including, most recently, *Testing Global Interdependence* (Edward Elgar 2007). He is a board member of the Global Development Network and also of the United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER). He holds a PhD from the University of Dortmund, Germany.

# SOCIAL COHESION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

There is debate about the extent to which economic development in Africa in the last two decades has been influenced by the nature and scope of its engagement with the rest of the world. There are those who would argue that Africa has gained far less from globalization than other parts of the world, only as a result of the nature of its social, political and economic institutions. Others may argue that economic development in Africa has been slower than in other regions on account of the negative influences on its institutions from outside over a long period. In this latter argument, the point is made that traditional institutions have been undermined through strong external pressures that have not permitted the gradual evolution of local institutions and their adaptation in order to foster steady economic development, as has happened elsewhere.

The source of the challenges to economic development may be found somewhere between these two arguments. Modern African institutions for managing economic development are, to a very large extent, viewed as almost alien to local cultures and social organization. Many traditional arrangements for managing exchanges have, in the past, been driven mainly by social networks that operate on the basis of trust and the use of information that is generally localized. The arrival of modern institutions and globalization has meant that the information base for conducting transactions is larger and well beyond the control of networks and groups. As groups lose control over their membership, as a result of the absence of control over information, new challenges arise for the networks and groups, and may lead to threats to social cohesion.

Threats to social cohesion affect the functioning of economic agents that depend on the networks and groups. Examples of these can be found in agriculture where farmers no longer depend solely on self-help groups or networks but on larger, more expensive agricultural systems where information flow is driven largely by the market for individuals and the state. Knowledge sharing among farmers is far less organized than before as states have shown little capacity to manage this and markets had been poorly organized. The tensions between the programmes of institutions of the modern state and the information handling capabilities of a society that is still organized around poorly functioning social networks, manifests itself in an ever-growing informal economy. The informal economy allows economic agents to straddle the traditional and the modern, benefiting as much from globalization to see limited changes in production relations, and yet not deriving enough knowledge to make the necessary impact on the wider economy in terms of competitiveness.

African countries have not developed the appropriate institutions that help to maximize the gains from new opportunities from globalization while minimizing the losses through the new risks faced in a globalizing world. Groups and networks have become weaker in relation to both governments and markets, and this affects their individual members in their capacity to be part of collective action for a wider good. The problem is not simply globalization but limited action for dealing with its processes and outcomes.

## YASUSHI KATSUMA

Director & Professor,  
International Studies Program  
Graduate School of Asia-Pacific  
Studies, Waseda University  
Tokyo, Japan



Yasushi Katsuma is assistant dean of the Faculty of International Research

& Education, director of the International Studies Program at the Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, and director of the Waseda Institute for Global Health. He also serves at the Japan Association for United Nations Studies as the secretary-general, at the Japan Society for International Development as executive director, at the Peace Studies Association of Japan as the editor-in-chief of its journal, and at the Japan Association for International Health as counselor. Prior to joining the faculty of Waseda University, he worked for UNICEF in Mexico, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Tokyo. Previously he was a consultant for Japanese ODA, conducting research in Asia and Latin America. He received his PhD from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, his LLM & LLB from Osaka University, and a BA from International Christian University, after working as a volunteer for a British project in Honduras and studying at the University of California, San Diego. His research interests include human rights-based approaches to development, the public-private partnerships for global health, and life skills-based health education. His publications in English include, most recently, *Global health governance and Japan's contributions* (2008) and *Human security approach for global health* (2008).

# GLOBAL HEALTH GOVERNANCE: INFECTIOUS DISEASES AS A THREAT TO HUMAN SECURITY IN AFRICA

## ***Global Health Governance: Infectious Diseases as a Threat to Human Security in Africa***

*UNU-UNESCO Conference on Africa & Globalization  
29 September, 2009*

**Yasushi KATSUMA**, *Ph.D., LL.M.*  
**Waseda University**

*Assistant Dean & Professor, Faculty of International Research & Education;  
Director, International Studies Program, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies;  
Director, Waseda Institute for Global Health*



## ***Unacceptable Rates of Under-5 and Maternal Mortality***

- u In many developing countries, including those of sub-Saharan Africa, basic life-saving prevention and treatment are not readily available to large segments of the population, leading to unacceptable rates of preventable death, particularly among children under 5 and pregnant women.***
- u The Under-5 Mortality Rate in sub-Saharan Africa is 148 per 1,000 live births, while its average in industrialized countries is 6.***
- u The Maternal Mortality Ratio in sub-Saharan Africa is 920 per 100,000 live births, while its average in industrialized countries is 8.***

## **Health as a Shared Global Challenge**

- u *First, the proliferation of information allows us to see the suffering of people in Africa, which has instilled in many of us a moral determination to respond to this challenge for humanity.*
- u *Second, it has become increasingly clear that the health of one community now has serious implications for that of other communities around the world.*
  - u *For example, the outbreak of the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in 2003 offers a vivid illustration of the way in which infectious diseases can travel rapidly, ignoring national borders and socio-economic differences.*
  - u *We are reminded that health threats to people on the other side of the world are our business, not only for moral reasons but also because it has the potential to affect us physically.*

## **Health as a Shared Global Challenge**

- u *First, the proliferation of information allows us to see the suffering of people in Africa, which has instilled in many of us a moral determination to respond to this challenge for humanity.*
- u *Second, it has become increasingly clear that the health of one community now has serious implications for that of other communities around the world.*
  - u *For example, the outbreak of the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in 2003 offers a vivid illustration of the way in which infectious diseases can travel rapidly, ignoring national borders and socio-economic differences.*
  - u *We are reminded that health threats to people on the other side of the world are our business, not only for moral reasons but also because it has the potential to affect us physically.*

## **Health as a Shared Global Challenge**

- u *Third, health threats can also have significant economic impacts.*
  - u *The impact of HIV/AIDS on development is attributable to its ability to undermine three main determinants of economic growth, namely physical, human and social capital.*
  - u *Current estimates suggest that HIV/AIDS has reduced the rate of growth of Africa's per capita income by 0.7 percentage points a year.*
  - u *In addition, for those African countries affected by malaria, the growth rate was further lowered by 0.3 percentage points per year.*



## **Health as a Shared Global Challenge**

- u *Fourth, the antiretroviral (ARV) treatment that can extend the lives of HIV-infected people is often prohibitively expensive, so that few developing countries are able to provide these life-saving drugs to this vulnerable group without external assistance.*
  - u *Once people living with HIV start taking ARV drugs, they have to continue doing so for the rest of their lives.*
  - u *If they lose their access to these drugs, not only does it mean certain death for them, but it also means the emergence of drug-resistant strains of HIV, which in turn leads to a collective cost for the rest of the world in terms of research and development searching for new drugs.*

## **Health as a Shared Global Challenge**

- u *Fifth, many of the private companies that depend on workforces and markets throughout Africa have found that their economic interests are greatly compromised, as a result of rapidly rising disease burdens.*
  - u *In some parts of Africa, for example, employers have to hire and train three people for every job due to the devastation caused by HIV/AIDS, such as high death rates among employees and growing absenteeism: Employees are too ill to work, have to stay home to take care of sick family members, or have to take time off to attend funerals.*
  - u *Furthermore, private companies, carrying out large-scale building and extraction projects in areas where malaria is endemic, have found that the cumulative effect of individual employees having to take time off when they or their family members suffer from malaria can have staggering costs because of delayed production.*

## **Health as a Shared Global Challenge**

- u *As these examples illustrate, improving people's health has become a major global challenge, and we need to engage in collective action to combat infectious diseases.*

## Human Security

- u **A strong international commitment to taking a human security approach to dealing with global health has the potential to contribute to improved health for all.**
- u **First, as a “human-centered approach,” the focal point of human security is individuals and communities.**
  - u It is important that people recognize their right to health and ask for health services that they deserve.
  - u People's proactive participation as the rights-holders will help strengthen the health systems that will respond more effectively to their health needs.
- u **Second, the human security approach highlights people's vulnerability and tries to help them build resilience to current and future threats.**
  - u Those who face violent conflicts or natural disasters find themselves even more vulnerable to health challenges, as their already-limited access to basic social services further deteriorates.
  - u Therefore, it is important to look beyond the health sector and take a multi-sectoral, comprehensive approach, in which health is seen within the context of various threats affecting people's

## Human Security

- u **Third, the human security approach allows us to strengthen the interface between “protection” and “empowerment.”**
  - u The “protection” strategy, through which basic social services are provided, is of course crucial.
  - u Nevertheless, at the same time, the “empowerment” strategy is equally critical, so that people can take care of their own health and build their own resilience to cope with various threats.
  - u It is also important to look at the interface between these two strategies.
  - u Examples include strengthening people's ability to act on their own to secure access to services; relying on community healthcare workers who are more embedded in the local context and more aware of the various threats to the community members; and educating and mobilizing people to focus more on the health of the community.
- u **In other words, it is imperative for those who have political and economic power not only to create a protective environment by providing vital services, but also to empower individuals and communities so that they can have more control over their own health, allowing them to live in dignity.**

## Okinawa Infectious Disease Initiative (2000)

- u **The Okinawa Infectious Disease Initiative, launched at the G8 Summit in Kyushu & Okinawa in 2000, led to strengthened global efforts to combat several diseases, including especially HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria, but also polio, parasitic and other neglected tropical diseases.**
  - u These efforts at the Kyushu/Okinawa G8 Summit prompted the establishment of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM), as well as corresponding disease-specific programs, which is directly linked to the Goal 6 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).
  - u The disease-specific programs have attracted substantial financial support in recent years, and have produced significant results.

## Roll Back Malaria (RBM) Initiative



- u **The Roll Back Malaria (RBM) initiative, launched by WHO, UNICEF, UNDP and the World Bank in 1998, has been helping strengthen public-private partnerships to reduce malaria episodes in Africa.**
  - u **The goal of the RBM partnership is to halve the burden of malaria by 2010, by forming an alliance of a wide range of partners, including malaria-endemic African countries, multilateral organizations, bilateral development agencies, NGOs, foundations and private businesses, organizations of affected communities, and research & academic institutions.**
  - u **In response, in 2000, African heads of state convened a RBM Summit in Abuja in order to express their personal commitments to fight malaria.**
  - u **At the 3<sup>rd</sup> Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) in September 2003, malaria was discussed, not only as a threat to African children and women but also as an obstacle to economic development in Africa.**

## Roll Back Malaria (RBM) Initiative



- u **It became clear that the private sector played an important role in reducing the malaria burden.**
  - u **For example, the Olyset bednet, the first long-lasting insecticidal nets (LLINs) approved by WHO, was identified as an effective tool to prevent malaria.**
  - u **As a follow-up to TICAD III, the Government of Japan made a commitment to donate 10 million LLINs to Africa in five years.**
  - u **In addition, Sumitomo Chemical, the producer of the Olyset, was encouraged to transfer the technology and support the local production in Tanzania, through various public-private partnerships.**
  - u **In 2005, the United Nations Millennium Project released a report, prescribing a strategy to fight malaria. In this report, the distribution of LLINs, cutting child deaths by 20% when properly used, was highlighted as one of the Quick-Win measures.**
  - u **However, of course, the distribution of LLINs alone would not reduce the malaria burden unless there are strong health systems effectively utilizing such inputs.**





## **Toyako G8 Summit (2008)**

- u Eight years after the Kyushu/Okinawa Summit, Japan again hosted the G8 Summit in 2008, this time in Toyako, Hokkaido, and global health was identified as one of the priorities on the summit agenda.*
- u Japan demonstrated its commitment not only to support global health, but to do so by taking a human security approach: empowering individuals to become more resilient and creating a protective environment for them through health system strengthening.*

## **Health System Strengthening**

- u Second, in 2008, as we celebrated the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1978 Alma Ata Declaration, the concept of **primary health care (PHC)** has been revisited and re-interpreted in the current context.*
- u WHO has proposed that countries should make health systems and health development decisions guided by four inter-linked policy directions: universal coverage, people-centered services, healthy public policies and leadership.*

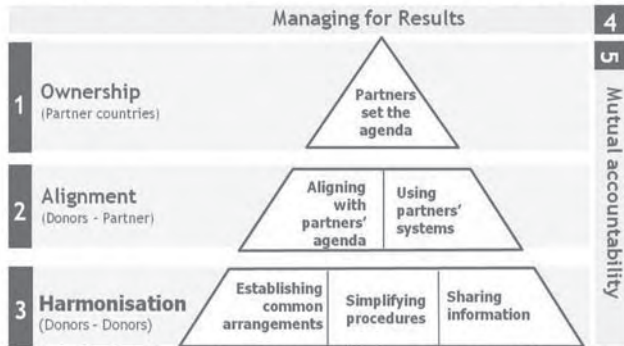
## **Toyako Framework for Action on Global Health (2008)**

- u Hosting the G8 Summit in July 2008 provided Japan with the opportunity to put the human security concept into practice, and the Japanese Presidency set up a G8 Health Experts Group.*
- u Building on the Saint Petersburg commitments to fight infectious diseases, the G8 Experts produced “**Toyako Framework for Action on Global Health,**” outlining the current situation, the principles for action, and actions to be taken on global*

## Toyako Framework for Action on Global Health (2008)

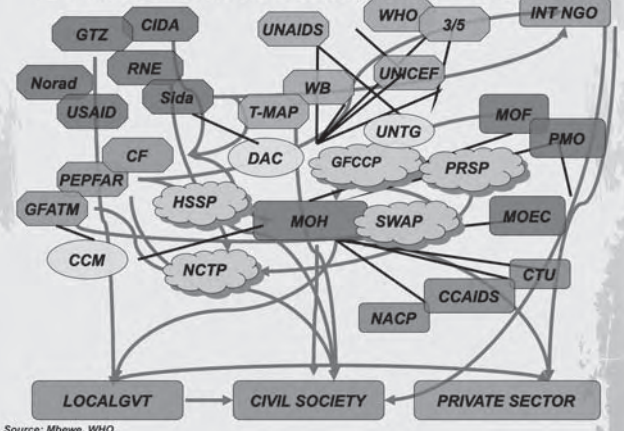
- u The principles for action on global health include the following:
- u First, the G8 will continue to make efforts so that its previous commitments will be met, including the one made at Heiligendamm in 2007, through coordinated and complementary action.
- u Second, the G8 will approach the health-related MDGs in a comprehensive manner.
- u Third, the human security approach, focusing on protection and empowerment of individuals and communities, will be taken in addressing global health challenges.
- u Fourth, a longer-term perspective that extends beyond the 2015 deadline for the MDGs is critical in supporting research and development.
- u Fifth, the effective utilization of financial and human resources requires the leadership and good governance of developing countries and the respect of their ownership consistent with the "Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness."

## Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness



This Declaration emphasizes ownership by partner countries, alignment between donors and partner countries and harmonization among donors for the purpose of managing for results and mutual

## Global Health Initiative "Circus"?



Source: Mbewe, WHO.

## ***Toyako Framework for Action on Global Health (2008)***

- u Among these five principles for action outlined in “Toyako Framework for Action on Global Health,” the second, third and fifth principles will be discussed further in the following sections:***

## ***A Comprehensive Global Health Framework***

- u It is critical to develop a comprehensive global health framework integrating the two strategies of disease-specific programming and health system strengthening.***
- u In other words, we need to move beyond the debate on vertical versus horizontal programming, and look at how these two strategies can be better integrated to provide maximum benefit for health outcomes.***
  - u We are already seeing evidence of healthcare facilities and workers being freed up to focus on a broad range of health issues as a direct result of large-scale successful initiatives to prevent and treat HIV/AIDS and malaria.***
  - u At the same time, these disease-specific targets require strong health systems delivering basic social services.***
  - u As a result, it is no longer appropriate to look at these two strategies as separate enterprises competing for a finite set of resources.***
  - u Instead, we need to find ways in which they can complement each other for more efficient and effective action.***

## ***A Comprehensive Global Health Framework***

- u This integration needs to be done through careful coordination among existing actors and activities, with active involvement of both donor and recipient governments, civil society and private sector stakeholders, and communities.***
  - u It is not clear, though, what institution or institutions should play this role.***
  - u It requires a convening capacity as well as global legitimacy.***
  - u We should strongly endorse the principle of integration, which will provide more impetus for efforts within the field of global health to promote harmonization and alignment.***



## **A Comprehensive Global Health Framework**

- u **More fully integrating these strategies will require more systematic monitoring and evaluation of these efforts so that planning and implementation can be based on strong evidence of what works and what does not.**
  - u However, there are currently too many actors engaged in their own systems of monitoring and evaluation, leaving us with a confusing array of data, particularly on health systems, and imposing additional burdens on implementing agencies and recipient countries that have to spend precious time and resources on multiple evaluations.
  - u Therefore, we should make efforts to develop common indicators and methodologies that they will accept for monitoring and evaluating their bilateral and multilateral assistance for global health.

## **A Human Security Approach**

- u **Another principle for action is to take a human security approach to addressing the challenges of global health.**
  - u Although we generally talk about global health at the macro level, we should not lose track of the fact that health strongly impacts and is impacted by many other factors in people's lives.
  - u Focusing our efforts on individuals and communities requires a human security approach, integrating protection and empowerment strategies, as health challenges cross sectors and national boundaries.
  - u Investing in health of our fellow human beings in the developing world will also help to protect our own citizens from health-related threats, particularly infectious diseases that travel across international boundaries easily.
  - u We can also anticipate significant benefits in terms of economic development and social stability emerging from healthier communities around the world.

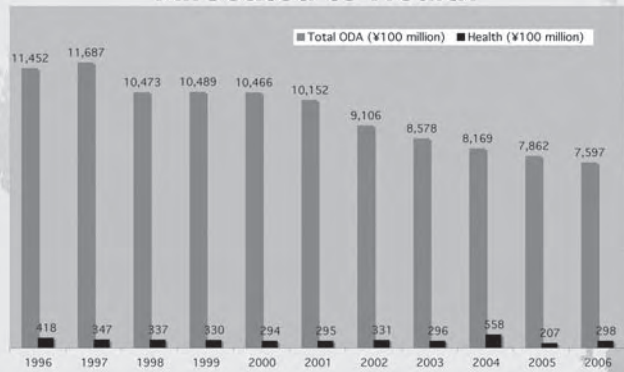
## **Mobilizing More Resources**

- u **In order to translate the above principles into concrete action, it is necessary to mobilize more resources for global health, from both industrialized and developing countries, to respond appropriately to the overwhelming challenges.**
  - u Development assistance for health has increased from US\$2.5 billion in 1990 to almost US\$14 billion in 2005.
  - u Nevertheless, the magnitude of the challenges we face in global health is staggering, and we need additional investments for disease-specific approaches as well as for health system strengthening or a mechanism that integrates the two strategies for maximum mutual benefit.

## Mobilizing More Resources

- u *The dramatic increase in funding for specific infectious diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria, has led to some concern that it is distorting the healthcare sector in many countries with weak health systems.*
- u *Another way of looking at it, though, is that funding for infectious diseases has shown us what is possible when the international community makes a strong commitment to fighting specific health threats, and highlighted the areas where we have failed to make progress.*
- u *Therefore, rather than cutting back on those efforts, the lessons that have been learned through disease-specific funding over the past five years should be applied to the health sector more broadly.*
- u *And, we should be consistent in our message that creating more equity within the health sector does not mean reducing funding for infectious diseases, but increasing funding for other areas of the health sector that have not received as much attention.*

## Japan's Bilateral ODA Allocated to Health



## Japan's Multilateral ODA (2006)

Recipient	Amount (¥1,000)
GFATM	20,646,755
UNICEF	13,426,292
WHO	4,271,946
UNFPA	4,069,910
UN Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS)	2,000,000
UNAIDS	322,756
International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)	1,476,268

## OBJIOFOR AGINAM

Academic Programme Officer  
UNU Institute for Sustainability  
and Peace (UNU-ISP)  
Tokyo, Japan



Obijiofor Aginam holds a PhD from the University of British Columbia, Canada. He is on leave of absence from his tenured position as professor of law, at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada where he has taught and researched global policy issues that cut across international law, globalization, global health governance, human rights, South-North relations, and Third World approaches to international law. He is presently academic programme officer and director of studies for policy and institutional frameworks at the United Nations University Institute for Sustainability and Peace in Tokyo. He has worked as legal officer and global health leadership fellow at the World Health Organization headquarters, Geneva, Switzerland and has held numerous fellowships including a global security and cooperation fellowship of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) of New York. He has been a visiting professor at the University for Peace, Costa Rica, International University of Peoples' Institutions for Peace, Rovereto, Italy, and University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. He has been a legal consultant for the WHO on aspects of trade and health and to the FAO on the regulatory framework for food safety and biotechnology in developing countries. His next book is on HIV/AIDS and Human Security in Africa.

# AFRICA AND GLOBALIZATION: PERSPECTIVES ON GOVERNANCE, PUBLIC HEALTH DIPLOMACY, AND RESOURCE CONFLICTS

## COMMISSION ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE (1995), OUR GLOBAL NEIGHBORHOOD

“Governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest”.

### (GLOBAL) GOVERNANCE: KEY CHARACTERISTICS

- Global Issues: definition and parameters of (global) governance are contested and debated when to global issues.
- Consensus – Governance at the global level involves a multiplicity of actors: nation-states, regional and international organizations, charitable foundations, NGOs and civil society, private sector interest & international business associations.
- Most widely accepted definitions of global governance underscore the dynamic roles of these multiple actors alongside nation-states in the global arena.
- Global governance is necessitated by global interdependence driven by global issues that do not respect the boundaries of sovereign states.
- State-centric Westphalian governance architecture that is exclusively populated by states is no longer capable of addressing the emerging and re-emerging global issues of our time.

### GOVERNANCE VS. GOVERNMENT?

- “Both governance and government consist of rule systems, of steering mechanisms through which authority is exercised in order to enable systems to preserve their coherence and move towards desired goals. While the rule systems of governments can be thought of as structures, those of governance are social functions or processes

that can be performed or implemented in a variety of ways at different times and places (or even at the same time) by a wide variety of organizations” – James N. Rosenau, *Governance in a New Global Order* (2000)

- Proliferation of complex interdependencies leads to emergence of rule systems in non-governmental organizations, corporations, professional societies, business associations, advocacy groups, and many other types of collectivities that are not considered to be governments – Rosenau

### **GLOBALIZATION & BIFURCATION OF GOVERNANCE: STATE-CENTRIC VS. MULTI-CENTRIC SYSTEMS**

- State-centric system driven by governments
- Multi-centric system driven by a collection of non-state actors
- States, and non-state actors could compete, cooperate, and interact
- Egs. of governance frameworks based on the state-centric system – multilateral conventions, treaties, regulations, standards, and soft law declarations negotiated and adopted by states as the dominant actors in international relations, or by states as members of international organizations – UN, WTO, WHO, FAO, etc
- Governance frameworks based on multi-centric system – regulatory approaches to global issues either driven by non-state actors or involve their active interaction with states, E.g. Public-Private Partnerships.
- HIV/AIDS – part of these proliferating complex interdependencies and collectivities b/w states & non-state actors in the global arena.

### **GLOBALIZATION OF PUBLIC HEALTH**

“Today, in an interconnected world, bacteria and viruses travel almost as fast as e-mail and financial flows. Globalization has connected Bujumbura to Bombay and Bangkok to Boston. There are no health sanctuaries. No impregnable walls exist between a world that is healthy, well-fed, and well-off and another that is sick, malnourished, and impoverished. Globalization has shrunk distances, broken down old barriers, and linked people. Problems halfway around the world become everyone’s problem” – Gro Harlem Brundtland

### **GLOBALIZATION OF PUBLIC HEALTH**

–“Dangers to health anywhere on earth are dangers to health everywhere” – John M. Last



- "With globalization, a single microbial sea washes all of humanity" – Gro Harlem Bruntland

- "The world is just one village. Our tolerance of disease in any place in the world is at our own peril" – Nobel Laureate Joshua Lederberg

### **LINKING DISEASE AND DEVELOPMENT**

- Key Findings of the WHO Commission on Macroeconomics and Health
- "The linkages of health to poverty reduction and to long-term economic growth are powerful, much stronger than understood. The burden of disease in some low-income regions..., stands as a stark barrier to economic growth & ...and must be addressed frontally and centrally in any comprehensive development strategy. AIDS represents a unique challenge...This single epidemic can undermine Africa's development over the next generation" – WHO Commission on Macroeconomics and Health, 2001

### **OKINAWA G8 SUMMIT DECLARATION**

"Health is key to prosperity. Good health contributes to economic growth whilst poor health drives poverty. Infectious and parasitic diseases, most notably HIV/AIDS, TB, and Malaria, as well as childhood diseases and common infections, threaten to reverse decades of development and to rob an entire generation of hope for a better future. Only through sustained action and coherent international cooperation to fully mobilize new and existing medical, technical and financial resources, can we strengthen health delivery systems and reach beyond traditional approaches to break the cycle of disease and poverty" – G8, 2000

- "Our response to AIDS has so far been a failure. There has been scientific progress, but with few dividends for people living with poverty as well as HIV. In most of sub-Saharan Africa, they have access to neither prevention nor treatment. Three million deaths this year, and not yet counted millions of new infections, bespeak massive failure" – Paul Farmer, "AIDS as a Global Emergency", 2003

### **AIDS AS A GLOBAL EMERGENCY**

- Over 45 million cases globally since 1980
- Disproportionate infection rate and prevalence of AIDS between the developing and developed regions of the world raises moral and ethical questions about the global framework for its prevention, control, & treatment.
- Africa "remains by far the worst-affected region"

## **GLOBALIZATION OF IP RIGHTS**

- corporate profit against access to essential medicines
- human right to life vs. intellectual property rights
- civil society groups vs. transnational pharmaceutical corporations
- TRIPS globalizes IP rights by harmonizing certain aspects of IP rights at the global level; sets a minimum standard of IP protection for all WTO member-States through their national IP legislation. Patent protection for pharmaceuticals is set for a minimum of 20 years.

## **TRIPS AND LIFE VS. PROFIT TENSION**

- Establishment of the WTO witnessed an expansion of global trade from goods to services, intellectual property, etc
- “The WTO’s extension into new substantive areas, intrusiveness into domestic policy-making, ‘single undertaking’ mandate, explicit linkage of trade with the protection of investment and intellectual property rights, and strict enforcement of disputes and cross-retaliation have extended its authority into areas of domestic regulation ...”  
– Malhotra et al, Making Global Trade Work for People (UNDP)

## **PARADOX: CO-EXISTENCE OF OPPORTUNITIES AND IMPEDIMENTS IN TRIPS**

- TRIPS codified flexibilities: parallel imports, and compulsory licensing
- Parallel imports: allow importation of patented products without authorization of the patent holder. Parallel importation allows a country to “shop around” for lower prices of the same patented product anywhere it may be found in the global market.
- Compulsory licensing: allows a government to authorize local firms to produce generic versions of patented drugs, often used during emergencies.

## **EXPANDING TRIPS “OPPORTUNITIES”**

- WTO Doha Ministerial Declaration on TRIPS & Public Health, 2001
- TRIPS should be interpreted and implemented in a manner “supportive of WTO Members’ right to protect public health, and in particular, to promote access to medicines for all”

- WTO Members with “insufficient or no manufacturing capacities in the pharmaceutical sector could face difficulties in making effective use of compulsory licensing under the TRIPS Agreement”
- On 30 August, 2003, the General Council of the WTO adopted a decision on the Implementation of Paragraph 6 of the Doha Declaration
- Decision provides for criteria for facilitating access to essential medicines, including ARV drugs for AIDS in developing countries.

### **IMPEDIMENTS TO TRIPS OPPORTUNITIES**

- On the 2003 Decision, only Canada initiated significant changes to its patent laws to allow domestic production of generics for export to poor countries
- The Decision imposes an obligation on developing countries to notify the WTO of an intention to become an eligible importing member, and to notify the WTO specifically about the products and quantities
- Over 80% of developing countries lack a functional pharmaceutical sector with a capacity for domestic production of generic ARVs.
- These countries cannot issue compulsory license for domestic production of generic HIV/AIDS drugs because they lack the technological capacity to do so.
- Only option is a dual process that involves importing generics from an industrialized country that is willing to amend its patent legislation to produce generic drugs solely for export to countries in need of them.
- Another factor impeding the TRIPS opportunities globally is the proliferation of bilateral Free Trading Blocs across various regions of the world that impose the TRIPS+ obligations on developing countries.

### **CANADIAN RESPONSE TO WTO COUNCIL DECISION**

- Canada – amended its IP law via “Canada’s Access to Medicines Regime” (CAMR)
- At the request of MSF, Apotex, a Canadian generic manufacturer, developed a new fixed-dose combination tablet that combines existing ARV drugs – zidovudine (AZT), lamivudine (3TC), and niverapine into a single tablet for the first time for export under compulsory licence to developing countries
- In July 2007, Rwanda became the first country to initiate use of a procedure under WTO Rules that allows developing countries import low-cost, generic medicines produced in other countries under compulsory licenses

- Rwanda deposited Notification to WTO that it intended to use the 2003 procedure to import 15.6 million of the fixed-dose combination produced by Apotex
- Apotex negotiated with 3 Canadian companies holding patent rights on the 3 products and got compulsory licence on 19 September, 2007.
- Canada notified the WTO of this development as required by the 2003 Decision
- This generic combination costs US\$0.40 per tablet as opposed to US\$20 per tablet in the U.S. using the patented brands
- The Canadian CAMR framework is commendable although with serious problems and administrative bottlenecks: – long procedure in negotiating compulsory licences by generic producers

#### **OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION ON INCREASING ACCESS TO ARV**

- In 2007, Uganda commissioned a facility to produce generic ARV drugs locally in Uganda
- Joint-Venture with Cipla, Indian generic producer
- According to WHO & UNAIDS, only 41% of Ugandans who need ARV receive the treatment
- The joint venture with Cipla will likely drive down costs and make ARV treatment accessible to Ugandans who need it
- Other countries: Ghana & Tanzania now working towards local generic production

#### **2ND LEVEL OF INQUIRY: RESOURCE CONFLICTS IN AFRICA**

- Struggle for control of Natural Resources is connected to a large number of intra-state conflicts in Africa
- Sierra Leone (Diamond), Liberia (Timber), Angola (Oil & Diamond), DR Congo (Diamond, etc), Sudan (Oil), Nigeria (Oil in the Niger Delta region), Congo-Brazzaville (Oil), Chad (Oil)

#### **RESOURCE SCARCITY & GREED/GRIEVANCE THESIS**

- “Profit & Greed” “Greed & Grievance” feature in the economic analysis of conflicts in resource-rich African States – Paul Collier & Anke Hofliier; David Malone; Ian Gary (Catholic Relief Services)

- “Future wars and civil violence will often arise from scarcities of resources such as water, forests, fish ... environmentally driven wars ...” Thomas Homer-Dixon , “Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict”.

### **BOTH PERSPECTIVES MAY BE RIGHT**

- Resource Scarcity could cause acute conflict, E.g. where local communities rely on “scarce” resources of a River Basin. Climate change-related variations may be a contributing factor
- “Profit & Greed”, “Greed & Grievance” thesis – Relevant in resource-rich African countries where local/host communities suffer the consequences of pollution; or struggle for environmental/ecological rights are suppressed by TNCs, and the State

### **RESOURCE SCARCITY AND CONFLICT**

- Homer-Dixon’s postulation of resource scarcity must be assessed against the “Greed and Grievance” thesis of other scholars in the search for the linkages between foreign policy, natural resources and human security in a post-cold war world order.

### **I. THE WAY FORWARD**

- Asymmetrical international system with inequalities and disparities between countries: Need for supportive environment for the weaker countries to strengthen their governance institutions to promote public goods given each country’s specific socio-economic conditions.
- Brazil & India (part of “BRICs”) have shown leadership for South-South Cooperation in HIV/AIDS diplomacy. African countries should articulate a policy framework through Joint Ventures with Brazil and India in ways that are TRIPS compliant that also meet the health needs of their HIV-positive populations
- African countries should strengthen their health systems to support life-long ARV therapies. Availability of drugs without a functional health system to administer them effectively may not be a sustainable solution to the HIV/AIDS crisis on the continent.

### **II. THE WAY FORWARD**

- Institutions for Transparency in Extractive Industries, Including Governance & Institutional Issues
- Respect for Environmental Rights – Business has to be “Green”
- Pragmatic Policies to Address Climate Change

- Taking Sustainable Development + Precautionary Principle Seriously- Including Environmental Impact Hearings
- In all of this, the “African nation-state” must resist the captivity by “powerful elites & transnational social forces” – exemplified by “corruption and rent seeking”.

# COMMENTS ON THE AFRICA AND GOVERNANCE: IMPROVING SOCIO-POLITICAL COHESION SESSION

BY JOHN AGYEKUM KUFUOR, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA (2001-2009)

From the perspective of a politician who has had the opportunity to preside over the government of a nation with over 24 to 25 million people for eight years, the social political cohesion of a nation is perhaps the rationale for having a government. A government that cannot hold the polity together is not worth having. To be able to do this, a government must not just have the civil service, but it should also have the technocratic support to assist it in the formulation and execution of policies so as to hold all of the stakeholders of the nation together.

One of the speakers gave a definition of governance which really impressed me. You don't equate governance with government. Governance includes government, but it also goes beyond government. It includes all stakeholders within the state, but it also goes further to include international diplomacy. However, if we are starting from the state, all stakeholders, including the opponents of the government, must be part of governance. This includes tribal groups, civil society groups, minority groups, and every citizen, or non-citizen living within the state. It is the government's role to ensure that stakeholders participate and claim their rights within the constitution. To improve social cohesion, governments should develop and implement policies that fairly serve all stakeholders. Without these types of policies there may be tensions, which may lead to conflict.

Africa has not been fairly served internationally. It has been described as a scar on the conscience of humanity. Some people say that it is the last frontier of human development. We come by these descriptions because not many of the countries over the past three or four decades after independence have managed to show the essential attributes of nationhood to the rest of the world. When Ghana received independence in 1967 there was a celebration that Mr Nixon attended, who was then Vice-President of the USA. After the independence celebration Nixon pulled the then British Governor aside and asked "Is it going to work?" (it referring to Ghana) and the then Governor said "It must," implying that if it didn't work it would be a disaster. Since then, the cynics have picked up the slightest mishaps made by newly independent nations and often exaggerated and enlarged these shortcomings in the media and in academic discourses. They have not reported on the positive developments that might encourage nations to sustain good governance.

We have come to the point where Africa is struggling to mainstream itself into globalization. It needs informed, analyzed, researched opinion to encourage the nations of Africa to continue to strive in the right direction so as to gain the necessary self confidence and employ the efforts needed to bring the people together to help the continent.

The first presentation given by Professor Adibe on "The role of the international community in sustaining African democracies through an effective management of observable pressure points in moments of political hiccups" raises a valid point. The donor community makes good governance a condition for development assistance. Sometimes a nation is in dire need of development support, but because of a hiccup, which might be exaggerated, there is a delay in receiving this support. This naturally compounds the problems for the people. If the international community were to approach the issue with some perspective they would realize that when there are delays in giving support to a government this can result in pushing a country deeper into a crisis situation.

Comments on governance from Professor Aryeetey, a very distinguished technocrat who has a research institute in Ghana, can sometimes even tilt national opinion one way or the other. Institution building is a very difficult thing, while we tend to depend on the civil service for this, the challenges associated with it may go beyond the capability of the civil service. Governments may need to engage consultants, perhaps even from outside of the country, so as to have a broader, in-depth perspective on how to tackle these problems.

Professor Katsuma talked about health. Health should be put on the same scale as climate change. The rallying call and slogan that we should use when we talk about health should be "common but differentiated responsibility". For example, many say that HIV/AIDS originated in Africa, but because of our increased mobility it is now present everywhere. Solutions are hard to come by. We do not have a solution for HIV/AIDS.

The interdependence of nations is a key element when we talk about health. Professor Aginam provided some interesting perspectives in his discourse on governance, public health diplomacy and resources conflicts. I think that the global community should be verging towards establishing some kind of global authority which can exact some discipline and commitment across the board, especially when we are talking about health. I am talking about the provision of generic medicines and things like that.

Do we have the safety nets in place so that the poor man in my village in Africa gets the necessary healthcare he needs? A healthcare supplier/manufacturer should go into a country with a profit motive, yet often villagers cannot afford access to the healthcare supplies being offered. However, it is also the villager's right to access these services. Who is there to ensure that he does? Governments in the developing world do not always have the resources to buy the necessary healthcare supplies from the suppliers/manufacturers. Who then in the international community has the resources to buy the needed supplies from the manufacturer, perhaps not at exorbitant profits but at profits that would allow the manufacturer to continue producing?



The professor mentioned the joint ventures and partnerships that are happening in India and Brazil, but in Africa there are some governments that would like private companies to invest in their countries. Many of these companies refuse these offers because they do not think that the conditions in these countries are business friendly. There must be a global, central authority whose mission is to identify the resources needed to help local governments deal with some of today's major challenges, like the spread of infectious diseases.

**BY ALPHA OUMAR KONARÉ, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALI (1992-2002), AND CHAIRPERSON OF THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION (2003-2008)**

Are we Africans really willing to play a proactive role in Africa's destiny? Are we trying to be the subject of our destiny, or are we just accepting the destiny that is forced upon us? Are we speaking for ourselves, and can we continue to speak for ourselves? I think that is the major issue here.

We have established nation-states. That is something that nobody can deny. We need to be responsible as nation-states, but we also have to overcome the nation-state position. I'm not denying national borders and I'm not denying sovereignty, but we have to overcome sovereignty. We need to have a Pan-African concept which is diverse and multiple

Every country in Africa should not try to become a totally isolated nation-state of its own. The history and the constituencies of each country show that it is difficult to become isolated nation-states. We have all experienced colonialism and we should have a good understanding of each other; however, in reality, each country has been developing in different ways. There are some African countries that developed early and speedily because they resorted to military force to become independent.

In our struggle against colonialism and apartheid we always had the concept of PanAfrica, but we never fully harnessed its full potential. When we look at each individual country on the continent we see that it encompasses aspects of many nations that are surrounding it. For example, we could say that Mali is part Guinean, part Senegalese, part Cote d'Ivoire, and maybe also partially Nigerian and Algerian. We could say the same thing about other African countries. Each country has within it the essence of other countries that are surrounding it.

I believe that the Pan-African concept is a Pan-African Federation of sorts. This is not something that should come from the outside, but something that should be created through a democratic process. For this we need education and political will. We need intellectual expertise to take the steps towards become a Pan-African state. It is risky to stay within the confines of the nation-state because this will divide the African continent. Without an integrated Africa our voices will not be heard within the global community.

The whole African continent is not working together to gain what it can. There is no technical transfer because there is no plan in place. African countries are competing against each other. We need to look at the whole continent, including the Africans in the diaspora, so as to harness the academic and technical skills needed to create a Pan-African state. We need to have integration so that we can leverage the capacity of Africans in order to create a different kind of government.

The emerging counties just look at Africa as merely a market. We need to be weary of this. There are also many programmes that are forced upon us by the outside that do not always benefit Africa. I would say that there are two types of threats.

The first is from the major financial powers who try to decide what is good for Africa. The second is internal. By this I mean the threats which affect the nations' people. To effectively deal with these two threats, we need to reflect upon what we mean by democracy.

Discussions on improving democracy in Africa should not only include politicians and intellectuals, but should also include all of Africa's citizens. It should also not be based on competing nations, but on providing a better future for our youth, and on eliminating poverty through Pan-African unification.

# AFRICA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

**156-162**

Lidia R. Arthur Brito, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Agronomy and Forest Engineering  
Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, Mozambique

**AFRICA AT CROSSROADS, AND EDUCATION AND STI AS PREMISES FOR DEVELOPMENT**

**164-174**

George Hara, Group Chairman, DEFTA Partners/Alliance Forum Foundation  
Special Commissioner on Tax Panel, Office of the Prime Minister, Tokyo, Japan

**NURTURING A PROSPEROUS AFRICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

**176-178**

Tatsuo Hayashi, Representative, Africa-Japan Forum; Special Visiting Professor  
Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan

**WORKING HAND IN HAND FOR A JUST WORLD**

**179-180**

Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1976–1979 and 1999–2007)

**COMMENTS ON THE AFRICA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT SESSION**

## LIDIA R. ARTHUR BRITO

Assistant Professor  
Faculty of Agronomy and Forest  
Engineering, Eduardo Mondlane  
University; Council Member, UNU  
Maputo, Mozambique



Lidia Arthur Brito is a former minister of higher education, science and technology of the Republic of Mozambique. From 1982 to 1983, she was an assistant lecturer at the Faculty of Agronomy and Forestry, Eduardo Mondlane University. She was a guest worker at Wageningen Agricultural University in the Netherlands from 1983 to 1985. From 1985 to 1988, she was an assistant lecturer of wood sciences at Eduardo Mondlane University. Upon completion of her MSc and PhD studies, Dr. Brito was an assistant lecturer in the Department of Forestry at the same university, as well as head of the Wood Technology Section and coordinator of the Natural Resources Management and Biodiversity Group (GRNB). In 1996, she became an assistant professor and the head of the Forestry Department. From December 1998 to January 2000, she was the vice-rector for academic affairs. She has served as member of many boards, including the IHE-UNESCO Governing Board, the UNESCO-NEPAD High Level group, the Advisory Board of the Community Development Carbon Fund, the board of directors of the Development Gateway Foundation, and recently as member of the board of trustees for SciDev. She holds a PhD in forest sciences from Colorado State University, USA.

# AFRICA AT CROSSROADS AND EDUCATION AND STI AS PREMISES FOR DEVELOPMENT

## *Africa at crossroads: Education and STI as premises for development*

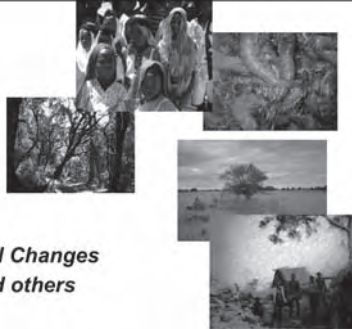
*Lidia Brito*

2009 UNU/UNESCO International Conference  
Africa & Globalization:  
Learning from the Past, Enabling a Better Future  
28<sup>th</sup> - 29<sup>th</sup> of September 2009

### **Introduction**

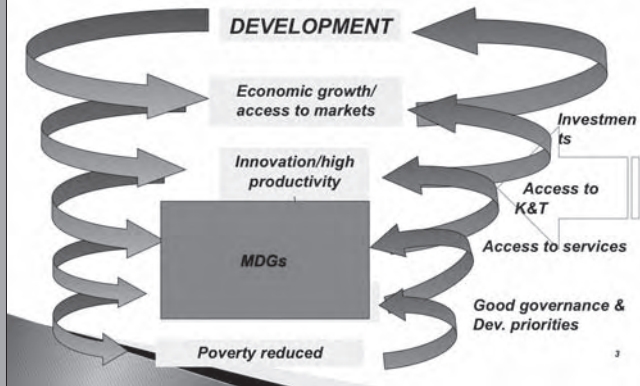
#### **Issues to deal with:**

- Absolute poverty**
- Food Crisis**
- Energy crisis**
- Financial crises**
- Global Environmental Changes**
- HIV/AIDS, Malaria and others**

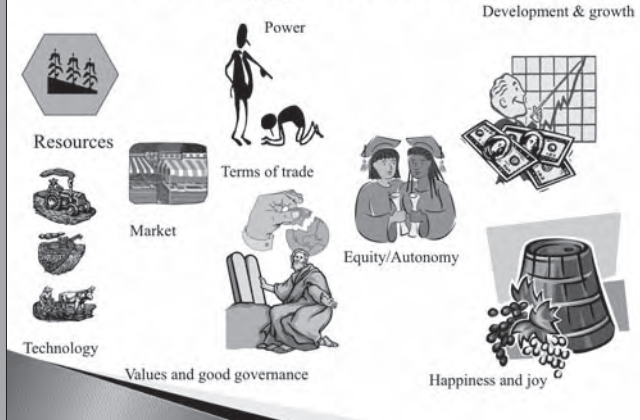


**Low-income, populations living in rural areas, most are unskilled labourers working as subsistence farmers and above 60% are illiterate, peripheral in the decision making, central in the impacts of global policies and actions, and vulnerable.**

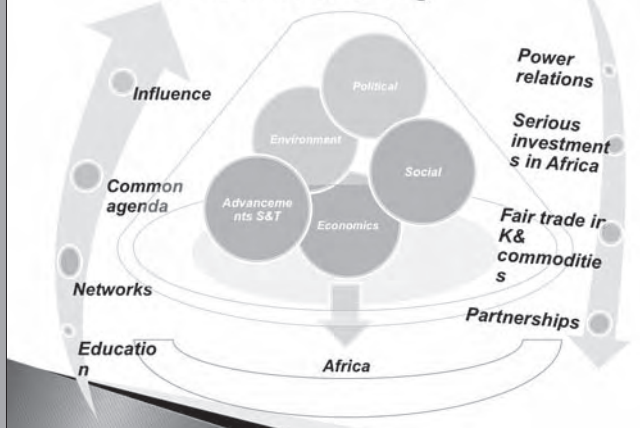
## Poverty trap? Can we break it?



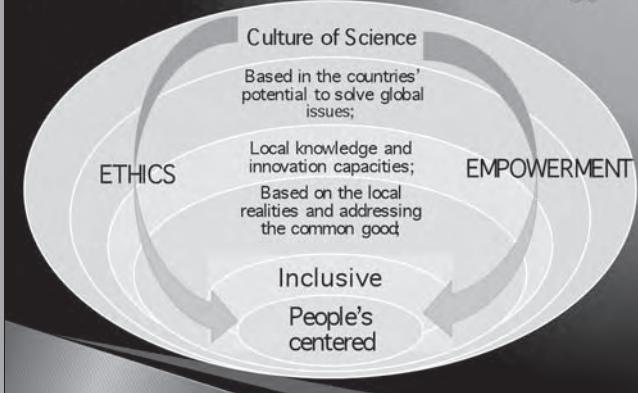
## Our biggest challenge?



## Decision making



## The Development Vision and Models have to mobilize the social energy



## Sustainability

- Can we talk about the construction of sustainable societies, with differentiated economical and technological options, geared towards the harmonious development of people and their relationship with the natural world?**
- A change in values, behaviors and lifestyles required for a sustainable future. A complex combination of 5 characteristics of eco-systems: interdependence, recycle, partnership, flexibility and diversity.**

7





## **Strategies to be used (1)**

### **1. Quality Education for all:**

- **Transformation of mentalities and visions;**
- **Abilities to transform those visions into reality;**
- **Building scientific and technical skills and social support to apply them;**
- **Build up conviction and commitment for pursuing sustainable development;**

*Three major conclusions can be drawn:*

1. **The content of the educational system itself has to be adapted. It should teach skills and knowledge that equip the pupils for a life immediately after school**
2. **Strategies such as lifelong education that enables people to acquire skills and knowledge according to their specific needs and capacities according to their life-stage have to be developed, including distant education.**
3. **Knowledge has to be made accessible outside the context of formal education and schools**

10

## **Educational institutions:**

- ☒ **We need a new vision of education, a vision that sees education as a means to help people to decide on the basis of a better analysis of the world in which they live and to project their future**
- ☒ **UNESCO (Strategy for ESD 2004) defends that we have to develop actions to reorient our education systems, policies and practices in order to empower everyone, to make decisions and act in relevant ways to readdress the problems that threaten our common future.**

11

## Strategies to be used (2)

2. *STI policies that are cross-cutting and creating a structural basis for the other policies:*

- *Strengthening Science education at all levels;*
- *Improve and scale-up research programs in crucial areas for development;*
- *A new approach of research that goes beyond research about Africa, moving towards research for Africa and by Africans*
- *Spur innovation in the productive sector, including SMEs;*
- *Popularize Science in society.*

## Are you doing it?

*An Africa well integrated into the global economy and free of poverty*

(AST - CPA, NEPAD 2007)

### *A new Vision?*

*Science and Technology to mobilize, through innovation, the social energy needed for the development of Africa and its People.*

## Bring ethics to the centre of the development agenda



Effective response	
<b>Governance and management</b>	• Policies and programs • Accountability
<b>New Ethics</b>	• Technological and environmental • Social, Economical, Political
<b>Knowledge for public good</b>	• Social contract • Culture of Science

### **Strategies to be used (3)**

#### **3. Build strong Partnerships and Networks that ensures knowledge production and identification of existing knowledge and builds bridges between development actors**

- **Deep understanding of factors influencing global policy making processes;**
- **Capacity to contextualize the policies at national and regional level;**
- **Capacity to critically analyze impacts;**
- **Capacity to develop alternative**

### **What are the challenges?**

- ☒ **Human-resources**
- ☒ **Infra-structure**
- ☒ **Institutional setting**
- ☒ **the lack of long-term vision and commitment towards an integration of policies and approaches in the development strategies in Africa - Leadership**

### **Concluding Remarks**

- ☒ **Leadership:**
  - **Values and Principles**
  - **Open and robust dialogue**
  - **Shared Governance and responsibilities**
  - **Ownership**
  - **Commitment**
  - **Partnerships and networks**

**Thank you**

## GEORGE HARA

Group Chairman  
DEFTA Partners/Alliance Forum  
Foundation  
Special Commissioner on Tax Panel  
Office of the Prime Minister  
Tokyo, Japan



George Hara has been active in venture capital and high technology global alliances for over two decades. After founding DEFTA Partners in 1985, he became a Silicon Valley venture capitalist, responsible for the emergence of numerous industry pioneering firms including Actuate, Borland, SCO, PictureTel, Tradex, and Zoran Corporation. Since 2005, he has been involved in the deployment of next-generation technology in developing countries to improve the standard of living. He has served as chair of the board for the Alliance Forum Foundation, as the prime minister's special commissioner on tax panel (Japan), as counselor to the Japanese Ministry of Finance, and as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary for IIMSAM Permanent Observer Mission to UN ECOSOC. He holds a bachelor of law from Keio University and a master of science from Stanford University

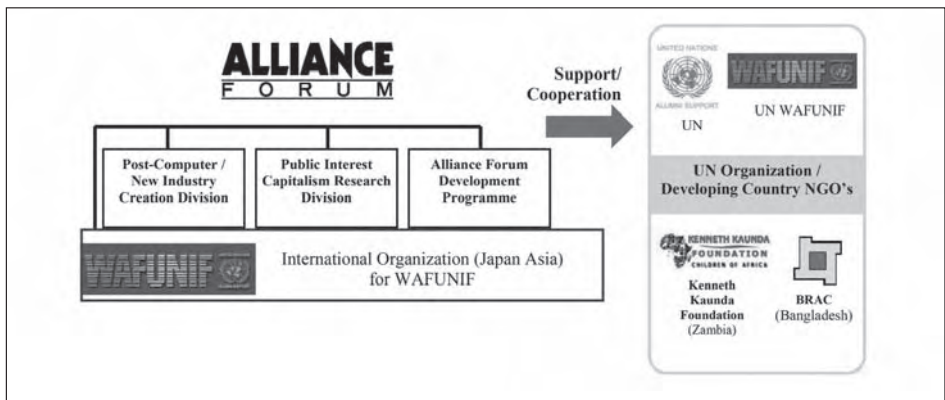
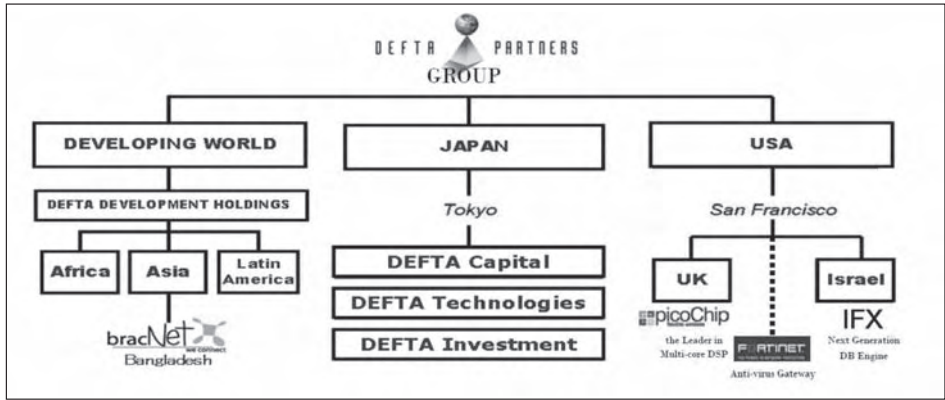
# NURTURING A PROSPEROUS AFRICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

## OBJECTIVES

In general, there are three ways to assist developing countries. The first being the provision of official development assistance (ODA) by industrialized developed countries like the U.S., Europe, and Japan, as well as, international/multi-lateral organizations such as UNDP and the World Bank. The second way is the provision of donations from international donors or philanthropic organizations such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, and religious organizations such as churches. The third way is to establish a for-profit company, to make this company successful, and to allocate a percentage of the profits to social contributions. In the following paper, I will describe an actual example of this third way, the DEFTA-bracNet model in Bangladesh, and explain my current challenge to replicate this model in Africa. Finally, I will introduce a three pronged strategy that incorporates this model to promote sustainable development by reducing malnutrition, bolstering education/healthcare using next-generation technologies, and spawning innovation and entrepreneurship.

## INTRODUCTION

In the mid-1980's I established DEFTA Partners as an operating holding company and venture capital firm to discover, invest in, and nurture early stage information technology companies in Silicon Valley. As a venture capitalist, I have engaged in the development and management of a wide variety of high technology companies, many of which have become large global enterprises. To leverage these emerging technologies for the benefit of society, I also founded the non-profit Alliance Forum Foundation in 1985. The Alliance forum Foundation is composed of three divisions: the Alliance Forum Development Program (AFDP), the Public Interest Capitalism Research Division, and the Post-Computer/New Industry Creation Division. Below, I focus on the AFDP, which seeks to help solve poverty-related problems in developing world through a number of initiatives that employ leading edge technology and harness the power of the private sector. Once DEFTA Partners proves a sustainable business model by use of technology in developing countries, the AFDP works together with governments and/or NGOs in developing countries to find most suitable model in that particular country.



Since the late 1990's, my focus shifted to investing and nurturing venture firms involved with the development of cutting-edge, post-computer technologies. Through my work in this field, I began to realize the inherent power of next-generation technology to improve the standard of living in developing countries, assist these countries with leapfrogging the traditional industrial cycle, and make sustainable development feasible. Moreover, I began to consider how to leverage new technologies developed by the affiliated firms of my core business, DEFTA Partners, to bring cost effective information infrastructure technologies to least developed countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and at the same time, help solve poverty problems in these countries. In this process, I hit on an idea for a new project and approach that is a profit-making enterprise, not a charity organization, but throughout the course of its operations would use a portion of generated profits to support education and medical programs for society.

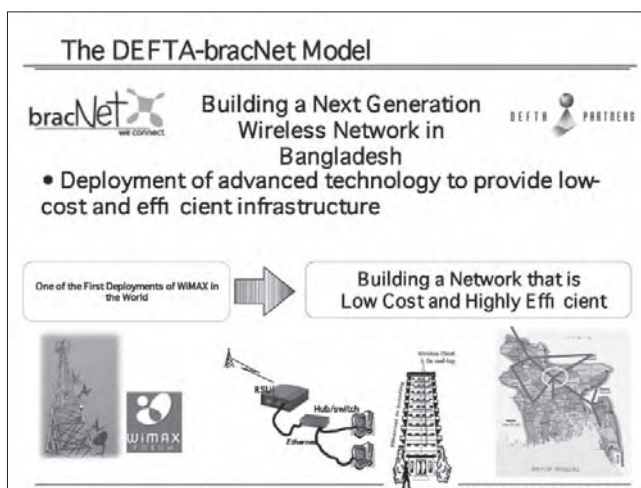
In 2005, based on this vision, I launched "bracNet" in Bangladesh. In just a few years, bracNet has become a successful internet service provider, and at the same time, it is poised to act as a catalyst to significantly improve education and healthcare in rural areas in Bangladesh



through its self-sustainable and unique corporate structure and its cost-effective strategy deploying state of the art technology.

## ESTABLISHING THE DEFTA-BRACNET MODEL IN BANGLADESH

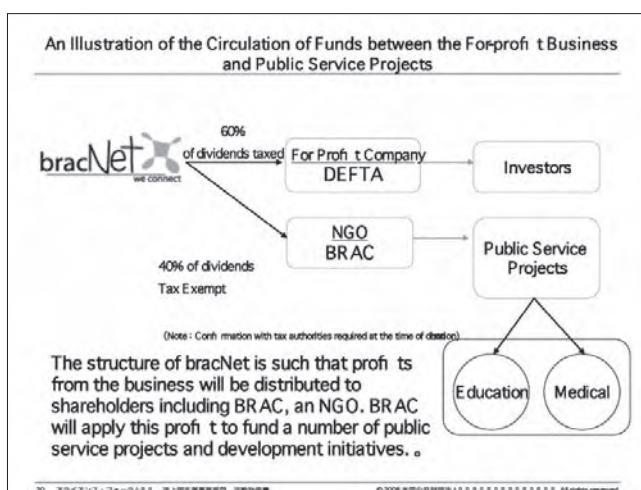
BracNet is an internet service provider (ISP) in Bangladesh that was established in the fall of 2005 by DEFTA Partners and a consortium of investors. BracNet is unique for a number of reasons. First, the company has been extremely successful in deploying high speed wireless broadband technology called WiMAX to provide lowcost internet communications for a wide-range of customers in Bangladesh. This technology enables coverage of the entire country with access points at a capital cost in the range of \$10 million, versus the 25-50X or higher cost of rolling out a cellular or fixed line network. Before bracNet, ISP's in developing countries using cellular or fixed line networks mainly focused on developing infrastructure for business users only due to cost issues involved with building infrastructure that would enable use by the general public in these countries. In the case of bracNet though, we have doubled our paid subscribers every year since inception and made the strategic decision to go into rural areas based on our long-term perspective.



## THE UNIQUE BRACNET PARTNERSHIP AND CORPORATE STRUCTURE

Another unique feature of the DEFTA-bracNet business model is its corporate structure and allocation of a portion of profits to public interest initiatives. bracNet has a unique hybrid corporate model, which at its heart provides the driving forces for private-sector support to developing nations, allowing these countries to free themselves from heavily depending on foreign aid. bracNet was set up as a joint venture between DEFTA Partners, a for-profit company,

and BRAC, the world’s largest NGO. “BRAC” (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) was established by Fazle Hasan Abed in 1972 and aims to mitigate poverty and support self-reliance for the poor. BRAC operates a variety of projects and businesses in different industries including dairy, handicraft production, seeds/seedlings, refrigerated warehouses, and poultry farming projects. It also provides health/education support programs, such as elementary education, university, job training services and tuberculosis healthcare programs. Throughout its various operations, BRAC employs more than 100,000 staff members and generates job opportunities for 7 million workers.



BracNet’s collaboration with BRAC in this unique joint venture will enable a larger portion of profits to be used for the public interest. If bracNet was just a corporation with solely corporate investors, half of its profits would go toward corporate tax commitments and 80% of the remaining half would be paid out as dividends to investors, leaving only around 10%. Since the maximum allocation for CSR activities is around 25% of retained earnings after tax and dividends, when all said and done, the portion of profits available for community projects and public interest-related initiatives would amount to only 2.0%. However, in the case of bracNet, only 60% of the profits are taxed (DEFTA investors own 60%) and the remaining 40% can be distributed directly to BRAC (BRAC is a tax-exempt organization with no shareholders), enabling use of these profits for social contribution initiatives. As bracNet grows, there may be opportunities to take on further investors or raise additional capital from a large multi-national to further grow the business. Although the infusion of additional capital may dilute BRAC’s ownership stake, increased profits from larger scale operations can actually serve to increase the amount available amount of profit for allocation to social contributions.

By partnering with a local organization like BRAC, bracNet gained access to local resources and contacts, long-term experience with Bangladeshi education and healthcare, a strong brand and an understanding of the domestic market and challenges. Moreover, DEFTA



and BRAC both share a common vision that a sustainable business can be built by providing connectivity services to the underserved in Bangladesh. BRAC's support of this vision is based on their experience in banking, micro-credit and a number of other services in Bangladesh that have shown this to be the case. Approximately 70% of BRAC's USD 500 million in annual expenditures are generated internally and the remaining 30% donor related. Both parties are firmly committed to serving the rural areas of the country from both a business standpoint and social welfare perspective. BRAC's vision is to alleviate the disparity in the quality of education through internet based distance training and learning. DEFTA

is offering full support of this initiative as a key part of the project objective. This shared vision and alignment of interests of bracNet's partners has enabled bracNet to be effectively run on a joint venture basis.

## CLOSING THE DIGITAL DIVIDE AND IMPROVING HEALTHCARE AND EDUCATION WITH TECHNOLOGY

Despite bracNet's success, the company's work has really only just begun. In addition to expanding its wireless broadband infrastructure network to rural areas, bracNet has also developed a network of digital business kiosk franchises called *e-huts* that cater to the local communities, enabling individuals and small businesses to access the internet for an affordable price. Many e-huts also offer computer training certification programs and have digital tools that are often taken for granted in economically developed countries but scarce in Bangladesh, including copiers, scanners, and printers. The e-huts will also serve as re-sellers of bracNet, serving as the bridge for connecting the rural and semi-rural areas. More importantly, however, is the role that these e-huts are set to play in rolling out telemedicine and distance learning services for those in rural areas.

In rural locations in developing countries like Bangladesh, population density is in many cases not very high and assigning doctors evenly is a difficult undertaking. Telemedicine using interactive video communication and the latest technologies will make it possible to link these rural regions with doctors in metropolitan areas. In telemedicine applications, especially, it is essential for medical staff to use technology which will allow them to assess the exact condition of affected areas and to come up with an accurate diagnosis. High definition video in which even the complexion of patients can be clearly seen offers such as solution. BracNet will use its e-hut locations, as well as, its continually expanding broadband infrastructure to support telemedicine initiatives in rural areas by deploying state-of-the-art video compression technology called XVD. Using this technology, it is possible to provide High Definition-quality teleconference solutions over the Internet and instantly connect two distant locations with High Definition images. In July 2008, bracNet successfully conducted a pilot test connecting a hospital in the capital city of Dhaka with a rural e-hut internet café and

BRAC University. This pilot test has shown that XVD technology can provide stable images even within a poor communication infrastructure environment. Going forward, as bracNet

continues to expand its wireless broadband communication infrastructure on a nationwide scale, an XVD layer will be rolled out on this infrastructure to support remote medical services and remote education programs.

As with healthcare and medical services, the same holds true for education. Bangladesh, like many developing countries, faces a shortage of quality teachers in a number of disciplines and assigning teachers evenly to areas with low population density has shown to be a challenge. BRAC, which operates or provides support to thousand of schools in Bangladesh, is painfully aware of this problem and sees distance learning using the bracNet infrastructure as solution with enormous potential. By creating a system that connects these areas with cities using high-definition video, teachers will be able to hold class in real-time while also taking questions and interacting with rural students.

## REPLICATING THE DEFTA-BRACNET IN AFRICA

DEFTA Partners is performing a number of feasibility studies to investigate the possibility of replicating the DEFTA-bracNet model in Africa and has started a number of pilot projects in the region that will use XVD technology to connect educational institutions and government offices via high-definition real time video. The Tokyo International Conference on International Development (TICAD) in May of 2008 was a turning point for DEFTA Partners as the company began to screen potential countries in Africa to launch the DEFTAbracNet model. More than 20 nations were selected as viable locations to conduct feasibility studies, and the first countries that were visited included Botswana, Mozambique, and Zambia. Delegations have been subsequently sent to these regions four times to gather information.

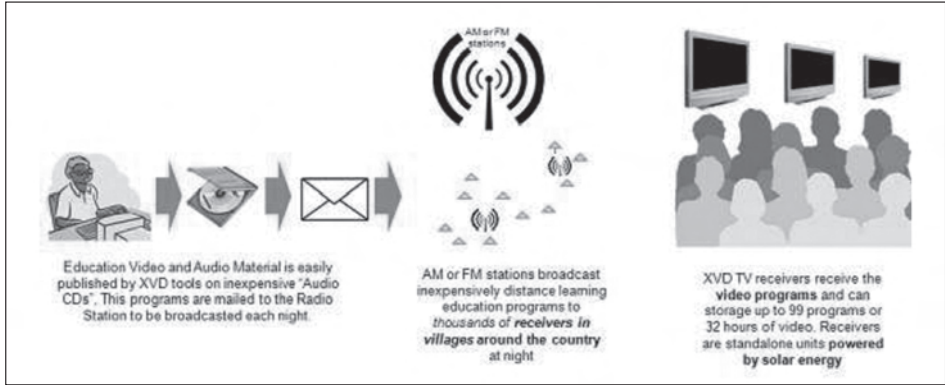
The early findings for DEFTA's feasibility studies have shown that there are very few NGO's capable of fulfilling the same role as BRAC in many African nations. To remedy this, DEFTA Partners is proposing the establishment of a special purpose company (SPC) set up in cooperation with the government to perform the function of BRAC in the joint venture. The SPC will be granted an allocation of the spectrum by the government for a stake in the ownership of the company and DEFTA Partners will provide the technologies and management. The majority of capital for investment in the company shall be raised by global investors and international finance organizations such as the IFC. Bandwidth is very limited in most African nations. Monthly usage costs for 1.0MB in most nations can range from \$6,000-\$10,000, in comparison to Japan in which 100MB costs less than fifty dollars per month. Bandwidth is clearly an extremely valuable asset and it is important for governments of these nations to consider this when deciding how to allocate spectrum. For-profit enterprises that allocate a significant portion of profits to social initiatives, like the DEFTA-bracNet model, offer a good solution for governments that seek private-sectors solutions that can help close the digital divide and also contribute to improving education and healthcare.



Above: of DVD-quality video communication systems to provide face to face collaboration research between scholars and researchers who are located in Africa and Japan

In conjunction with exploring the potential implementation of the DEFTA-bracNet model in Africa, DEFTA is currently in the final stages of dialogue with a number of African governments to establish four unique pilot projects to illustrate how advanced technologies such as XVD can be utilized in education and health care. The first of these pilot projects is an HD-based real-time distance learning network to allow universities to collaborate domestically. Many countries in Africa suffer from a shortage of experienced scholars. This pilot program will enable large-scale video lectures for students on distant campuses who would ordinarily not have access to certain subjects due to the geographic distance. The second pilot project involves the use of DVD quality video communication systems to provide face to face collaboration research between scholars and researchers who are located in Africa and Japan. The first project will begin by connecting veterinarian programs in Africa with researchers in Japan. The same application can also be used to connect the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in African nations and their embassies abroad as an e-government. The third pilot project involves use of the XVD newshound, a lightweight backpack that can compress high-quality video images and transmit them via satellite in real-time. The ability of the technology and the portability of the system allow for use in a number of potential applications such as newsgathering or telemedicine applications in rural villages, as well as, usage by government for border protection, surveillance, and monitoring of petroleum and mining resources.

The fourth project involves connecting regions in which access to fixed line or cellular phones is completely not existent and only FM/AM radio waves are available. This project will deploy XVD technology to send educational contents that have been recorded in CD-ROM format and then encoded to be transmitted via AM/FM radio waves to remote villages. These contents are then received, decoded, and stored for playback on TV monitors locally.



Above: XVD Pilot Project: Educational Contents broadcast through the radio

## SUPPORTING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND SELF RELIANCE IN AFRICA

Although increased internet access, telemedicine, and distance learning can help improve the quality of life in many African nations, many of the least developing countries in Africa are suffering from a far more urgent problem than the digital divide or information gap. Finding a solution for starvation, malnutrition, and related diseases is an even higher priority from both a humanitarian and long-term development perspective. There is no hope for development and improvement in peoples' livelihoods if people starve to death before they can be educated or provided healthcare. As Chairman of the Board of the Alliance Forum Foundation, I am working to implement a number of initiatives to support sustainable development through the foundation's developing country support arm, the Alliance Forum Foundation Development Programme (AFDP). One of these initiatives is the AFDP Spirulina Project which seeks to combat and eradicate malnutrition and related diseases in Africa by using the protein-rich microalgae called "spirulina."

Various organizations around the world including the WFP (World Food Program), FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) and UNICEF are providing food aid to African nations. Often this aid is largely composed of wheat, rice, and corn to help tackle the problem of starvation. Although such foods do provide an adequate intake of carbohydrates, often times they are not rich in other nutrients. In many cases, the problem of malnutrition cannot be solved with this type of food aid alone. As a result, many nations still face malnutrition problems resulting from a shortage of protein and a deficiency of micronutrients that allow the human body to ensure growth and maintain its vital functions. Spirulina, a unique micro-algae, offers significant potential to help solve protein deficiency related malnutrition problems in Africa. Spirulina has unusually high protein content, containing between 65% and 70% protein by dry weight, and it is rich in a number of vitamins and minerals. Due to these characteristics, spirulina is now widely

used as both a dietary supplement across the world. Moreover, spirulina is highly digestible, making it especially important for malnourished people whose intestines can no longer absorb nutrients effectively. For this reason, the United Nations World Health Organization (WHO) has recognized spirulina's strategic potential citing its high iron and protein content and the fact that it can be administered to children without any risk.

In addition to its high nutritional value, a number of spirulina's growth and cultivation characteristics make it suitable as a tool for combating malnutrition in developing countries. Among these are rapid growth and relatively high yield, modest cultivation requirements, and adaptability to different environments. Spirulina is cultivated in ponds and hence does not require fertile land for cultivation, thereby conserving fertile land and soil. Spirulina's natural habitat is mostly Africa and Latin America, in both the tropics and subtropics. In the Republic of Chad in Africa, for example, spirulina has traditionally been used as a valuable regular source of protein by local populations in areas where weather conditions are very severe. Spirulina has been shown to use less water per kilo of protein than other foods, and the water used to cultivate it can be recycled back into the ponds for further harvesting.

For many African nations, the ability to produce large amounts of protein with a small plot of land and little water make spirulina an important tool of practical significance to assist with combating malnutrition. In cooperation with a number of private sector partners, the Alliance Forum Foundation is currently implementing the first phase of its Spirulina Project in Zambia, and at the same time, continuing dialogue with other nations in Africa to launch the project in other regions. Beginning next year, we will begin full-scale distribution of spirulina through clinics and school feeding programs. We intend for our work in Zambia will serve as a model for other nations, and the Alliance Forum Foundation welcomes inquiries from any nation in Africa whose government is interested in implementing the Spirulina Project as a means of combating malnutrition in their country. As with Zambia, a strong commitment from the government and the approval of spirulina as a strategic food by the Ministry of Health, will allow us to launch the program and supply spirulina to populations suffering from malnutrition for the first year.

Ultimately, receiving Spirulina indefinitely as many countries do with food aid, is not productive or nor is it sustainable. For this reason, the Alliance Forum Foundation will work with officials in the ministries of trade and agriculture, as well as, local farmers and entrepreneurs in recipient countries to help them achieve self-sufficient production within three years of the project launch. By the fourth year, the country should be able to produce an excess amount of Spirulina for export.

### A THREE-PRONGED STRATEGY TO PROMOTE SELF-RELIANCE

Eradicating malnutrition, and improving education and healthcare in Africa are urgent issues that require innovative solutions such as the ones that I have just described. These solutions, though, should be part of comprehensive strategy to enable least developing countries in Africa to stand on their own two feet under their own power. This can only be done by

encouraging innovation and entrepreneurship locally. While valuable, ODA, donations, and other philanthropic efforts are not conducive to promoting self-reliance.

The Alliance Forum Foundation has formulated a three-prong strategy to improve the quality of life and promote self-reliance in developing countries. The first two prongs are the aforementioned Spirulina Project to eradicate malnutrition and the DEFTA-bracNet model to help nations close the digital divide and improve education and healthcare through telemedicine and distance learning funded by profits from the private sector. The third prong of this strategy involves fostering entrepreneurship and innovation through Microfinance to help nations develop self-reliance.

This year, the Alliance Forum Foundation established the AFDP Microfinance Institute to help nurture

microfinance professionals. The institute is cooperating with BRAC University to develop a curriculum, and in September, the institute launched a two-week pilot Microfinance Professional Certificate Course. By 2010, a Diploma Course will be developed and a Master's Program for microfinance professionals is planned for 2011.

As part of the curriculum, participants will receive in-depth training in the use of innovative technology to help drive innovation and the development of new self-sufficient industries that can help to build a strong middleclass in developing countries. It is my hope that those trained in these courses will go on to assist African residents with starting and growing local, scalable businesses.

What I have described here is what we can do for Africa. Each initiative is not a mere concept but very realistic, scalable, and sustainable. It goes without saying that ODA and donation based programs in the least developing countries in Africa are important and have made some headway in promoting development.

However, innovative private-sector initiatives that allocate a portion of profits to local development like the DEFTA-bracNet model are more sustainable and offer far more long-term potential. Moreover, non-profit development support programs that empower local communities to become self-reliant are essential. I strongly believe that the innovative initiatives that I have presented can make enormous contributions to nurturing a prosperous Africa in the 21st century. In this way, developing countries can eliminate their reliance on ODA and rich country donors, making them truly independent.

## TATSUO HAYASHI

Representative,  
Africa-Japan Forum  
Special Visiting Professor  
Ritsumeikan University  
Kyoto, Japan



Tatsuo Hayashi graduated in medicine from Ehime University in 1981 and was posted to the National Hospital of Yokohama. In 1983 he became involved in refugee relief activities as a doctor from the Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC) on the Thailand/Cambodia border. He has worked on starvation relief activities and rural community development in Ethiopia, and in 1989 became JVC's executive director and president. In the '90s his research focused on the health of Malaysian indigenous peoples and later on HIV/AIDS in Thailand and Cambodia. In 2001, he was visiting fellow of the School of International Health of University of Tokyo. He has served as chair of the Hottokenai steering committee and as chair of the Hottokenai board. In 2007 he became professor at Ritsumeikan University.

# WORKING HAND IN HAND FOR A JUST WORLD

Visitors to Africa are attracted by "humanity" and "dignity" although African people have been facing difficulties for survival. Africans are supporting each other. Now we need to control the greed of global businesses that hinder universal access to food, water, health and education. It is the time to globalize "inter-dependence" , the value of Africa.

I have been working as a medical doctor in Africa and Asia. More than one million drought victims died in Ethiopia 25 years ago. It was a natural disaster. When I researched the most affected village, I was afraid to be attacked by the drought victims because they were extremely hungry and I had some food. However, on the contrary, they shared their last food with us instead of attacking us. I learnt "human being" can keep "dignity" in any condition.

Ten years ago, I met a child who was affected by HIV in a hospice. HIV affects the next generation's health and human rights. HIV is widening the gap between man/women, urban/rural, rich/poor and who can survive/who cannot survive. The destinies of PWHs (People Living with HIV) in the world was equal until 1996 when the combination antiretroviral treatment was made available. It was a "miracle" in high income countries, which allowed for people living with HIV to live longer, healthier lives. However, the poor living in developing countries did not have access to the treatment. The treatment was too expensive because of the WTO patent policies. The WTO policies widened the gap between poor/rich and who can survive/who cannot survive. So this boy stayed in a hospice.

In Kenya, PWH mothers are supporting each other. They say "If you die earlier than me, I will take care of your children. But if I die earlier, please look after my children." We enjoyed dancing together. Some of the mothers asked me "When shall you come again?" I answered "Maybe one year later." She said "It's too far." It really was too late. When I went back there, they all had died.

HIV is not only a health problem but it is also a human right abuse. "Stigma" hurts PWHs in their school and in their job. Some said "Stigma is more painful than being killed." In Africa, millions of people have been affected by HIV, but nobody is talking about it. The subject has been treated with fear and silence.

In South Africa, one PWH started to talk about HIV and broke the silence. I am a doctor, but a patient knows the problem better than I do. It is part of his life. The patient is a leading player. Sometimes a patient does a better job rather than a doctor. He saved the lives of 2 million PWAs (People living with AIDS) in the world. He organized protest marches and asked that universal access be given to the HIV treatment. Global action and support have been mobilized to challenge and change WTO policies. More than one million voices supported the movement. Finally, WTO policies changed to protect public health rights and access to medicine for all. After



the rule changed, "survival" has come. The children at the hospice have access to the medicine. We can now start to bridge the gap between who can survive and who cannot survive. The change has saved lives not only in Africa but also in other developing countries.

In 2000, the Millennium Development Goals were adopted. In 2005, we NGOs organized the global call for action against poverty. We advocated for debt cancellation, not charity actions. African friends said "We are not beggars. We need a more just world." More than 4 million White Bands were sold in Japan. This showed the will of people for poverty reduction.

In 2008, we have seen more hunger in the world than every before. This was a result of a sudden rise in the price of food and fuel, although there are enough resources in the world for all. Twenty-five years ago hunger was a natural disaster. But hunger this time is a man made calamity, which was caused through global speculation. Food, water, health and education are not for sale. We need to control global businesses that hinder universal access to them. We need voices to change the global policies, to promote "survival."

What we should learn from Africa is "humanity towards others"; "Ubuntu" in Uguni, "Boto" in Soto. It is the time to globalize "inter-dependence". Let's globalize the value of Africa.

The world is affected by poverty not only in the developing countries, but also in the developed countries as well, as the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen. All those affected by injustice in Japan and in Africa need to work together. Let's work hand-in-hand for a just world.

Let's raise our voices for change, so that we can bring about a better world.

# COMMENTS ON THE AFRICA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT SESSION BY OLUSEGUN OBASANJO, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA (1976–1979 AND 1999–2007);

I would first of all like to commend the three presenters: Lidia Brito, George Hara and Tatsuo Hayashi for their presentations. The commonality in all of their presentations is the need to do public good, be it through the government, public-private sector partnerships, or through philanthropy.

One of the key points raised in our discussions this afternoon about Africa and sustainable development in the context of globalization is that African leadership is key, particularly in government. Yesterday, President Kufuor identified a number of issues about what leadership should possess. A leader must know what development is all about. Part of our problem in Africa is that most of our leaders do not even know what development is all about. They believe that constructing a building is development. I believe that development is when you are equipped with the skills and knowledge that you need to achieve what you want for yourself, while also preventing things being done to you that are inimical to you.

How do we achieve this sustainability? We can achieve this by making people the subject and object of our action, a point which Brito mentioned in her presentation when she said that a sustainable society is the totality of its people. We need to empower people by providing them with skills and knowledge so that they can become the drivers of sustainable development.

In addition to education, the importance of science, technology and innovation to sustainable development was also emphasized. Education, skills and knowledge must be the instruments of empowerment. Innovation is also critically important. We have heard about how the cell phone is used in East Africa to make payments for crops and other goods. In Nigeria, every market woman, mechanic and meat seller has a cell phone, which facilitates business transactions. We need to focus on the other ways in which we can get more out of the existing products of science and technology for our own society and our own community to enhance development and make it sustainable. I believe that there is still a lot that we can do with the internet and the cell phone that has not yet been done.

International cooperation and partnership are also important if we are to better position Africa in the global system. We cannot move as an island. We have to cooperate among ourselves

within our region, within our subregion, and within the larger international community. We need partnerships to help us produce our goods and to increase our access to global markets.

Brito talked about ethics. There was also a debate about values and ethics yesterday. I would like to add culture to the discussion because culture, values, and ethics are the extension of the same thing in Africa.

Development must not be devoid of our culture and of our values because if you take out values and culture of any human being than he or she is empty. Our culture and our values are essential elements of the development process.

We also need to believe in caring and sharing. Hayashi and Hara mentioned the value of caring and sharing during their interventions. We need to enhance our understanding of diversity. Diversity is beautiful and necessary. If we were all the same life would be monotonous. I believe that the key issues that straddle the three presentations, and which must be globalized, are the following: humanity, dignity, culture, values, education, and of course, diversity.

# CONCLUDING SESSION: A VISION FOR AFRICA

## Summary and concluding remarks by:

### **184-187**

Hans d'Orville, Assistant Director-General for Strategic Planning  
UNESCO, Paris, France

### **188-192**

Walid Mahmoud Abdelnasser, Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to Japan

## HANS D'ORVILLE

Assistant Director-General  
for Strategic Planning  
United Nations Educational,  
Scientific and Cultural Organization  
(UNESCO)  
Paris, France



Hans d'Orville was appointed assistant director-general for strategic planning of UNESCO in October 2007. Prior to joining UNESCO in 2000 as director of its Bureau of Strategic Planning, he served as director of information technologies for the Development Programme, Bureau for Development Policy of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Since 1975, he has held a variety of posts in the United Nations Secretariat and at UNDP. From 1987 to 1995, he served as executive coordinator of the InterAction Council of Former Heads of State and Government. He is a member of the executive committee, Africa Leadership Forum, and was advisor to the Independent Commission of Population and Quality of Life and the Independent Commission on Forests and Sustainable Development. He holds an MA and a PhD in economics from the University of Konstanz (Germany).

# BUILDING A BETTER FUTURE FOR AFRICA – SUMMARY OF THE CONFERENCE DEBATE

The two-day Conference has been exceedingly rich in content and presentations. President Obasanjo has certainly already wrapped up the main elements of the discussion from a leadership perspective. So let me add my own observations and summary, also through the eyes of a non-African and being a friend of Africa. The conclusions could focus on a slightly adapted theme, “**Building the Future of and for Africa**”, involving five main precepts.

First of all, **globalization matters** and dominates increasingly the affairs of the world and all regions today. Whether globalization was meant for us (Africans) and not by us (Africans) is besides the point. What is important is that globalization will have an impact on all economic and political spheres and must be taken into account as we discuss the future development of Africa.

Secondly, African leaders and Africans at large should seek to **seize opportunities provided by globalization**, bringing to bear their own African values and self-confidence, and leave drawbacks behind so as to establish themselves in and benefit from this new, globalizing world. As we are currently living through multiple crises (global financial and economic crisis, food crisis, climate change crisis and the environmental/climate change crisis) the objective must be to integrate the continent more fully into the global economy and the global trends and developments.

Thirdly, **politics matter in all walks of life**, particularly as governmental leadership is the central issue for the future of Africa. It is imperative that leadership be based on accountability and be corruption-free. Good leadership lays the foundation for Africans to become the architects of their own future. There ought to be a vision for the strategic advancement of the continent, which should encompass geo-strategic issues. African leaders should shape these policies, down to the village level, because leadership will not only stay at the global, international level but will also affect every man, woman and child. President Konaré’s vision of an United States of Africa, the issue of drawing much more concretely on subregional organizations and revitalizing NEPAD, while acknowledging its particular role in determining Africa’s future, is of utmost importance. As one of the Presidents said, “It can be done and it must be done.”

Fourthly, the overarching objective for building the future of and for Africa is the **elimination of poverty and inequalities**. Eliminating poverty and inequality ought to determine the course of policies by African leaders, governments and all stakeholders. If we succeed in reducing poverty it will have a positive impact on all areas of development and will underpin all efforts to promote sustainable development and create sustainable societies. I believe that it also

has ramifications for building a green economy and a green society, which will increasingly be coming to the fore on the global agenda over the next few years.

Fifthly, **governance matters**. We heard President Obasanjo give an excellent summary of this issue when he referred to “humanity and dignity.” Human rights and ethics are of fundamental importance and of equal importance will be how we deal with fundamentalism and radicalism, an issue that was addressed by the conference. Whatever happens in governance must be under the precepts of vigilance and understanding, which Ms Assié- Lumumba pointed out several times in her interventions over the course of the Conference.

After these precepts, what are **the key drivers**? Clearly, the **hardcore drivers are economic and financial policies** relating to growth; savings; reform of the economy; national budgets; debt; and – resistance to impositions from Bretton Woods organizations or not – to conditionality of international financial organizations; mobilization of official development assistance (ODA); attraction of foreign direct investment (FDI); trade policies and patterns; promotion of inter-African collaboration and trade; and lastly the management of natural resources.

Now, what would be the **soft drivers of development**, which represent the foundation for Africa’s future prosperity? They include:

- 1) **Providing quality education for all**, higher education, and all types of capacity-building so as to prepare young people for the world of work, focusing in particular on girls and women to realize gender equality as as been stipulated by the Millennium Development Goals;
- 2) **Investing in science, technology and innovation by and for Africans**, drawing very much on indigenous knowledge and what exists already on the continent rather than importing expertise and losing out on opportunities; harness this know-how and further explore opportunities for endogenous development. The role of ICTs will be crucial in this endeavor. More must be done to further integrate the role of ICTs and the access of information into various African languages, e.g. through tools like wikipedia, as Mr Ghosh highlighted. This is an incredibly exciting prospect and we now need to see how we can capitalize on it.
- 3) **Building knowledge societies and making good use of them**. ICTs are crucial to this endeavor as they play a predominant role in the transformation of societies.
- 4) **Promoting culture and the arts**. Let me emphasize creativity. President Obasanjo has highlighted the linkage of culture, values and ethics, which is a little bit different focus. I think that the creative moments, which Dominique Malaquais underlined, and opportunities to unleash dynamism and enthusiasm among Africans in this particular way is of utmost importance. It provides a medium for Africans to assert themselves, appropriate their own culture and capitalize on their own culture.



5) **Health.** We have heard some presentations on the health issue, but we did not go into too much detail, perhaps because we were focusing more on UNESCO's domains of competence.

Some strategies that have been proposed on **the way forward** include:

- 1) Cross-cutting approaches, particularly relating to science and technology;
- 2) Human resource strategies – how do we build them?;
- 3) Empowerment strategies – how do we build them without hierarchical structures?;
- 4) Values orientation strategies;
- 5) Strategies to promote shared governance, networks and partnerships, civil society involvement, and private sector involvement;
- 6) Preserving and promoting diversity which brings out the best of all people – not monolithic approaches, but diverse approaches.

WALID MAHMOUD  
ABDELNASSER

Ambassador of the Arab Republic  
of Egypt to Japan  
Tokyo, Japan



Walid Mahmoud Abdelnasser served as chief of cabinet to the Egyptian minister of foreign affairs (2001–2002) and subsequently at the Egyptian Embassy in Washington D.C. (2002–2006). Thereafter he was director of the Diplomatic Institute in Cairo (2006–2007). He was seconded to the United Nations from 1992 to 1999. He is the author of seventeen books in Arabic, four in English, and has contributed to numerous publications in Arabic, French, English and Japanese. He is a member of the Egyptian Council of Foreign Relations, the Egyptian Writers' Association, and the editorial board of the journal *Beyond* published by the association of former Egyptian employees at the United Nations. He holds a PhD in political science and a "license en droit".

# SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

I wish to thank the Rector of UNU for inviting me to address such an honorable audience. Allow me also to express my deepest appreciation for the generous hospitality of the prestigious United Nations University hosting the 2009 UNU/UNESCO International Conference on “Africa and Globalization” and to provide us with the opportunity to learn intensively from the outstanding presentations regarding visions for Africa’s future in light of the ongoing and accelerating process of globalization, presented by the Honorable former Presidents and distinguished participants. I congratulate both UNESCO and UNU on the marvelous success of this Conference.

I would move now to propose a number of bullet-form remarks that are combining both my own reading of the proceedings of the Conference as well as my own contribution to some of the issues raised in the context of this Conference.

First, the Conference has been encompassing virtually all aspects of life in Africa on the one hand, and all dimensions of globalization on the other. In fact, this characteristic of the Conference reflected the diverse and far reaching activities of UNU in Tokyo dealing with issues ranging from sustainable development, to peace and conflict studies, with a noticeable focus on Africa.

Second, I very much appreciate what the Honorable Alfa Omar Konare, former President of Mali, emphasized on the need not to be trapped in the logic of separating Africa into North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. He also highlighted the central role of Egypt, South Africa and Nigeria in the development of the African continent. We have already gone a long march in Africa beyond this logic of division, which is a legacy of the colonial era. Our leaders have reflected that awareness on many occasions. The non-African world should accordingly give up such divisive discourse.

Third, I was particularly impressed by the “Leadership Forum”, as well as interventions by the five former Presidents in the rest of the sessions, as they provided us with rich and different perspectives, varying from those seeking reconciliation between Africa and globalization, to those calling for pan-African action as a means that Africa can benefit from globalization and avoid damage from it, to those that critically highlight the dangers enshrined in globalization and calling for African well preparedness when dealing with it.

Fourth, I want to touch on a broad subject that has been referred to recurrently in the two days of the Conference. This subject has been that of education, science and technology. In this respect several remarks are worth notice as follow:

- There is a concrete example of cooperation between Africa and Japan in the field of higher education; namely the establishment of the Egypt\_Japan University for

Science and Technology (E\_JUST), whose agreement was signed last March. This University, the first of its kind in Africa and the Middle East, had a provision of its agreement specifying that it will be open for African and Arab students.

- The Science and Technology in Society Forum (STS) annually held in the Japanese city of Kyoto is another example from Japan that we can benefit of in Africa as it seeks to link decision makers, academicians and business circles.
- The first Africa Japan Meeting for Ministers of Science and Technology held in Tokyo in October 2008 was yet another example of cooperation in the field of R&D activities between Africa and a developed country with all its potentials and should be used as a model to be emulated. To this effect, the African Diplomatic Corps in Japan (ADC) consecrated one of its committees to the issue of Science and Technology.
- Cooperation Agreements between African Universities, research centers and think tanks and their counterparts in the developed world can play an instrumental role, via exchange of students, scholars and holding joint projects of research, symposia and workshops, in capacity building and human resource development in Africa. The experience of 2008 as the Year of Science and Technology Cooperation between Egypt and Japan was a demonstration of the success of such strategy. By the end of that year more than 70 of such cooperation agreements were signed between Egyptian and Japanese educational and research institutions.
- Some speakers referred to the question of "brain drain". While some perceived this phenomenon as negative, others addressed its positive aspects. I have had a personal experience with that subject, as I used to chair in the late 1980s and early 1990s a Working Group in UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) in Geneva dealing with this matter under the title of "Reverse Transfer of Technology". I can confidently and safely argue that this phenomenon can serve either as an investment or as a depletion of human resources, depending on how we approach it and manage it.

Fifth, African leaders, particularly former Presidents Obasanjo and Kufour, highlighted the importance of regional cooperation and integration schemes in the continent. One cannot agree more with such proposition. I particularly refer to two success stories in this respect, namely "COMESA" and "NEPAD". Yet, we should bear in mind that the potentials of both are not yet totally realized and more work should be done by Africa in this respect, but also more recognition and cooperation from the international community with these groupings should be forthcoming.

Sixth, Former President Obasanjo legitimately mentioned the need for revisiting the composition of G20 as Africa is underrepresented there. I would go one step further to mention that both the G8 and G20 composition, mandate, function and roles should be reviewed. The G8 does not include any African country, although the latest G8 Summit held in Italy in July

2009 invited the so called O5 countries (including South Africa) and Egypt to join. French and Italian ideas about turning the G8 into G14 by adding the O5 (including South Africa) and Egypt may ensure, if implemented, that Africa is fairly represented. As for the G20, we should bear in mind that it was established during the Asian financial crisis of 1997/1998. Since then many changes took place at the global economic and financial scenes, thereby justifying rethinking the composition of the Group and its role to add countries from the continent such as Egypt and Nigeria, as currently only South Africa from the continent enjoys membership of this Group.

Seventh, the issues of democracy, good governance and respect for human rights were repeatedly raised in the past two days. While submitting to the validity of the need for such requirements, one has a number of remarks as follow:

- Both selectivity and double standards should not be allowed.
- There is a need for a balanced approach when dealing with different categories of human rights (civil, political, economic, social and economic) with no hierarchy among such them.
- Democracy and good governance are not confined to the domestic situations of African countries or other developing countries, but should be implemented in the decision making process in international relations and organizations, including those institutions dealing with financial, economic and trading matters.

Eighth, another notion that was touched upon in the presentations, interventions and discussions in this Conference, was that of "Human Security". One should be careful here to differentiate between both the United Nations definition and the Japanese definition of this notion on the one hand, and other definitions that tend to try to manipulate the humanitarian dimensions of this notion to justify intervention in the internal affairs of countries, including military intervention. We have witnessed in the past few years some catastrophic humanitarian results of the misinterpretation of "Human Security".

Ninth, the issue of cultural cooperation and exchange was a recurrent issue in this Conference. This matter requires an approach that would delicately balance between the need for asserting "Cultural Authenticity" and the inevitable task of avoiding to be trapped in any kind of narrow mindedness and fanaticism, but rather be open for others' cultures and experiences.

Tenth, tripartite cooperation, i.e. cooperation between a developed country with an African country in another African country has proved to be a positive factor in the development of Africa, while taking place in a similar socio-cultural environment, particularly as far as human resource development and capacity building are concerned. Again going back to Japan where we are meeting today, I would like to cite here the example of the initiative of CARD, launched by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) during TICAD IV Summit held in Yukohama, Japan in May 2008, and aimed at doubling rice production in Sub-Saharan Africa in ten years, while involving an African country with a success record in this field, namely Egypt.

Eleventh, supporting African born and grown initiatives on peace keeping and dispute settlement is another field the international community, particularly development partners, could contribute to strengthening Africa's own capabilities. In this domain, we witnessed last year 2008 support by both UNDP and the Government of Japan to several regional centers for dispute settlement and peace keeping in Africa, including those existing in Egypt, Cameroon, Ghana, South Africa, among others.

To conclude, I would like to mention in one sentence that globalization poses challenges and offers opportunities for Africa. The outcome of the interaction will largely depend on the handling of globalization by Africa, its development partners and the international community at large.

# ANNEXES

**197**

Resolution tabled by President Nujoma & endorsed by the Conference

**199-207**

Photo gallery

**209-213**

Conference programme



# RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY SAM NUJOMA, FOUNDING PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA, (1990–1994, 1994–1999, 1999–2005), AND ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

Master of Ceremonies;

Your Excellencies, Former Heads of State and Government;

Distinguished Koichiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO;

Distinguished Konrad Osterwalder, Rector of the UNU;

Distinguished Participants;

Ladies and Gentleman:

In recognition of the importance of education and training, as important tools for meaningful socio-economic development, and as it was emphasized in the 2009 UNU/UNESCO International Conference on Africa and Globalization, it is my distinct honour to submit to the conference the following proposed Resolution:

**Recognizing the importance of providing access to quality education to the children in areas affected by wars and armed conflicts in various parts of the world, UNESCO should provide assistance in the form of educational materials, including information technology, to pre-school and school going children in such areas so affected to enable them to realize their full potential.**

**Areas affected by armed conflict are Somalia, Sudan, Darfur, Iraq and Afghanistan.**

## PHOTO GALLERY

### Tetsuro Fukuyama

State Secretary  
for Foreign Affairs,  
Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs, Tokyo, Japan  
(MoFA)

Japan views Africa  
as a continent of  
hope and opportunity  
and has publicly  
committed to doubling  
Official Development  
Assistance (ODA) and  
private investment in  
Africa by 2012 so that  
true and sustainable  
economic growth can  
be achieved.



There are many  
areas where Japan  
can cooperate  
in promoting  
the sustainable  
development of  
Africa, such as  
the spreading  
of elementary  
education and  
the training of  
personnel.



### Masaharu Nakagawa

Senior Vice-Minister,  
Ministry of Education,  
Culture, Sports, Science  
and Technology, Tokyo,  
Japan



The economic crisis – like the climate change crisis – was not of Africa’s making. Yet it is the poorest countries, with the least capacity to respond, which are hardest hit. The developed world has a duty to help redress this injustice.

**Koïchiro Matsuura**  
Director-General,  
United Nations  
Educational, Scientific  
and Cultural Organization  
(UNESCO),  
Paris, France

**Konrad Osterwalder**  
Rector,  
United Nations  
University (UNU)  
Tokyo, Japan

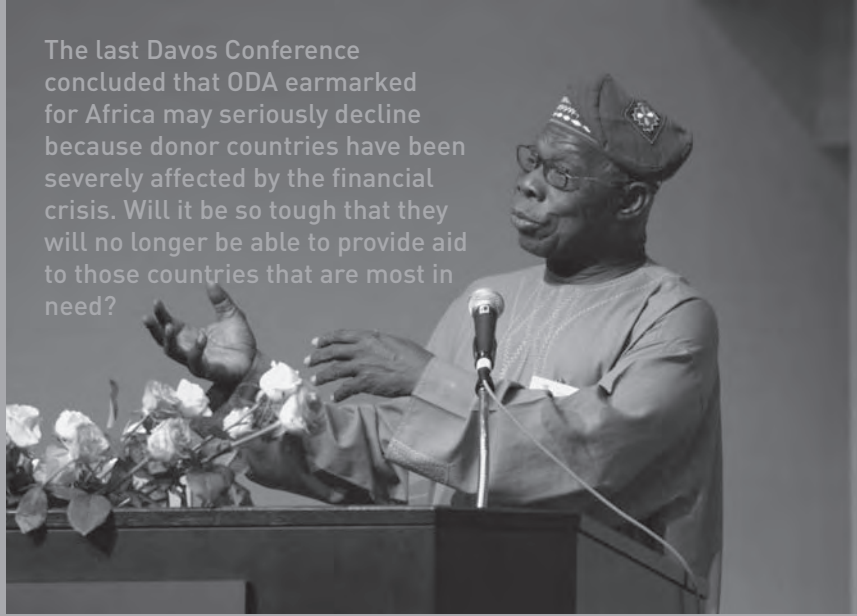


Amidst the current international financial crisis, the African continent is now faced with a devastating new set of challenges, including a fall in commodities prices, a drop in levels of foreign direct investment and increased uncertainty regarding levels of overseas development aid.

**Olusegun Obasanjo**

President of the Federal  
Republic of Nigeria  
(1976–1979 and  
1999–2007)

The last Davos Conference concluded that ODA earmarked for Africa may seriously decline because donor countries have been severely affected by the financial crisis. Will it be so tough that they will no longer be able to provide aid to those countries that are most in need?



**John Agyekum Kufuor**

President of  
the Republic of Ghana  
(2001–2009)

With the increasing spread and succession of the new breed of democratically-elected leadership throughout Africa, many of whom are appropriately informed with a global vision, Africa shall truly make the 21st century its own.



**Alpha Oumar Konaré**

President of the Republic of Mali (1992–2002), and Chairperson of the African Union Commission (2003–2008)

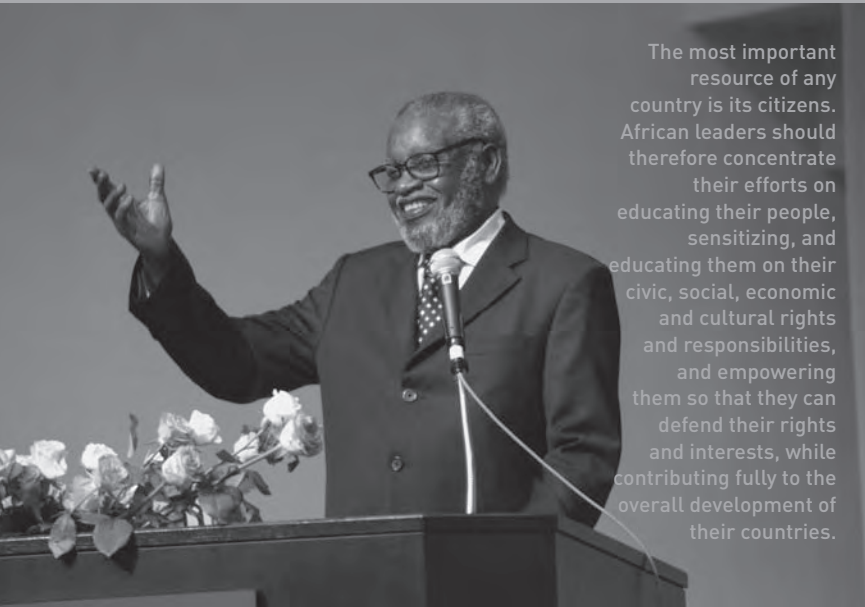
For me, the key to Africa's future can be expressed in one word: the United States of Africa. Today, no country in Africa, irrespective of its size, large or small, or its weight, can by itself address the problems and challenges brought about by globalization. Africa needs to be united to make its voice heard.

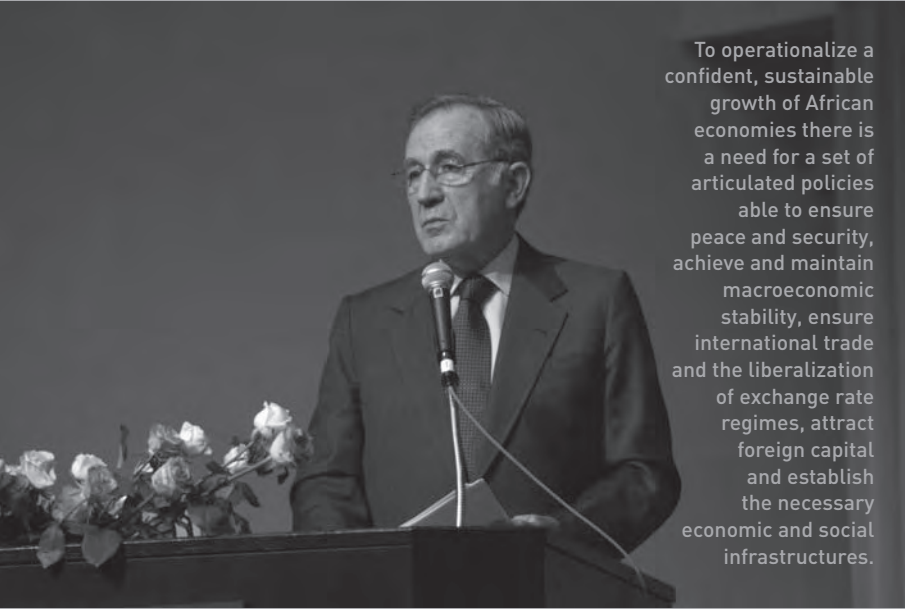


**Sam Nujoma**

Founding President of the Republic of Namibia, (1990-1994, 1994-1999, 1999-2005)

The most important resource of any country is its citizens. African leaders should therefore concentrate their efforts on educating their people, sensitizing, and educating them on their civic, social, economic and cultural rights and responsibilities, and empowering them so that they can defend their rights and interests, while contributing fully to the overall development of their countries.





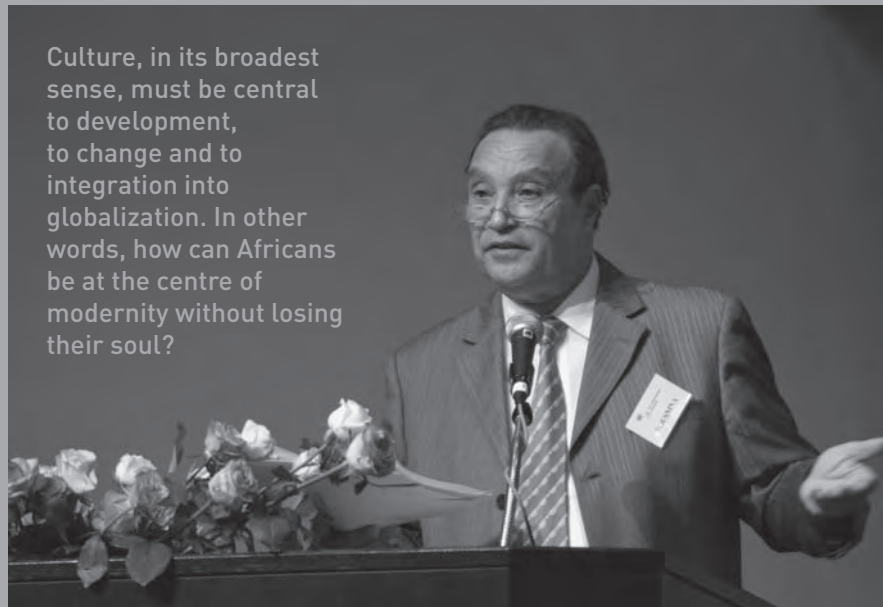
To operationalize a confident, sustainable growth of African economies there is a need for a set of articulated policies able to ensure peace and security, achieve and maintain macroeconomic stability, ensure international trade and the liberalization of exchange rate regimes, attract foreign capital and establish the necessary economic and social infrastructures.

**António Ramalho Eanes**

President of the Portuguese Republic, (1976–1986)

**Mongi Bousnina**

Professor of Geopolitics, University of Tunis, Tunisia; former Director-General, Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO); former Minister of Culture, Tunisia



Culture, in its broadest sense, must be central to development, to change and to integration into globalization. In other words, how can Africans be at the centre of modernity without losing their soul?



**N'Dri T. Assié-Lumumba**

Professor, Africana  
Studies & Research  
Center, Cornell  
University, Ithaca, New  
York; Fellow, World  
Academy of Art and  
Science

My suggestion is to create a Global Higher Education Trust Resource for Africa's Advancement (GHETRAA) to explore the full utilization of the hitherto untapped African resources outside Africa for the renewal and expansion of Africa's higher education.



The content of the educational system itself has to be adapted. It should teach skills and knowledge that equip the pupils for a life immediately after school.



**Lidia R. Arthur Brito**

Assistant Professor,  
Faculty of Agronomy  
and Forest Engineering,  
Eduardo Mondlane  
University; Council  
Member, UNU  
Maputo, Mozambique



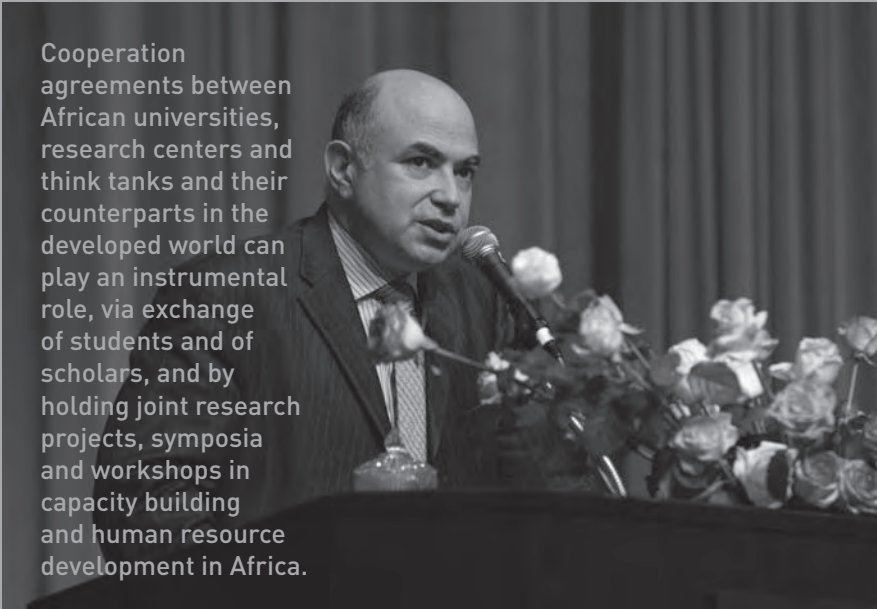
African leaders and Africans at large should seek to seize opportunities provided by globalization, bringing to bear their own African values and self-confidence, and leave drawbacks behind so as to establish themselves in and benefit from this new, globalizing world.

**Hans d'Orville**

Assistant Director-General for Strategic Planning, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Paris, France

**Walid Mahmoud Abdelnasser**

Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to Japan  
Tokyo, Japan



Cooperation agreements between African universities, research centers and think tanks and their counterparts in the developed world can play an instrumental role, via exchange of students and of scholars, and by holding joint research projects, symposia and workshops in capacity building and human resource development in Africa.





Participants from the Charting the Future of Africa: Dialoguing with the Leaders Session.



Speakers and panelists from the 2009 UNU/UNESCO International Conference on “Africa and Globalization: Learning from the Past, Enabling a Better Future.”

# CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

UNESCO/UNU 2009 CONFERENCE ON AFRICA AND GLOBALIZATION  
LEARNING FROM THE PAST, ENABLING A BETTER FUTURE  
TOKYO, JAPAN  
28–29 SEPTEMBER 2009

# DAY 1

MONDAY 28 SEPTEMBER 2009

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE U THANT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE HALL, UNU HEADQUARTERS BUILDING, TOKYO, JAPAN

### MASTER OF CEREMONIES: UNU REPRESENTATIVE [TBC]

9:30-9:45 a.m.

### OPENING REMARKS AND INTRODUCTION

- Tetsuro Fukuyama, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan (MoFA), Tokyo, Japan
- Masaharu Nakagawa, Senior Vice-Minister, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Tokyo, Japan
- Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Paris, France
- Konrad Osterwalder, Rector, United Nations University (UNU), Tokyo, Japan

9:45 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

### CHARTING THE FUTURE OF AFRICA (1): A LEADERSHIP FORUM

*Former Heads of State are invited, together with eminent personalities from Africa, Europe and Japan, to participate in a high-level leadership forum. The forum will focus on charting the future of Africa, based on the lessons learned from past decades, the development experiences and accomplishments, and the impact of the recent financial crisis. Presentations will focus on how to empower the continent to propel and reinforce its own development efforts. Speakers will explore further what role the international community, and most specifically Japan, can and should play to support such efforts.*

**Co-Chairs:** Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General, UNESCO, and Konrad Osterwalder, Rector, UNU

#### **Keynote Speakers:**

- Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1976-1979, 1999-2007)
- John Kofi Agyekum Kufuor, President of the Republic of Ghana (2001-2009)
- Alpha Oumar Konaré, President of Mali (1992-2002) and Chairperson of the Commission for the African Union (2003-2008)
- Sam Nujoma, President of the Republic of Namibia (1990-1994, 1994-1999, 1999-2005)
- Antonio Ramalho Eanes, President of Portuguese Republic (1976-1986)

2:00-3:30 p.m.

## **CHARTING THE FUTURE OF AFRICA (2): PUTTING VISION INTO PRACTICE**

*Speakers will elaborate upon the vision espoused by the morning session of the leadership forum, drawing on their own experience and expertise, and will provide concrete proposals on the ways and means, as well as the obstacles, of putting the vision into practice. They will assess the types of responses needed at the global, regional and national levels to ensure that Africa can weather the impact of the global financial crisis in the short term, while also laying the foundation for the attainment of the Internationally Agreed Development Goals (IADGs), including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), by 2015. Speakers will further analyze the need to ensure that recovery scenarios focus on “the investing out of the crisis” approach, by protecting and increasing funding for global public goods such as quality education at all educational levels; the role of science, technology and innovation; the environment; the quest for a green economy and green jobs; the contribution of culture to development; and the promotion of human rights and gender equality. The floor will then be opened up for a Q&A with the audience.*

**Chair:** Sadaharu Kataoka, President, Waseda Institute of International Strategy

### **Speakers:**

- Mongi Bousnina, Professor of Geopolitics, University of Tunis, Tunis, Tunisia; former Director-General of the Arab Organization for Education, Culture and the Sciences (ALECSO)
- N’Dri T. Assié-Lumumba, Professor, Cornell University, Fellow of the World Academy of Art and Science Africana Studies & Research Center, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, USA
- Augustin Kwasi Fosu, Deputy Director & Officer-in-Charge, UNU World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER), Helsinki, Finland
- Dominique Malaquais, Senior Researcher, Centre d’Etudes des Mondes Africains (CEMAf), Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Paris, France
- Jinichi Matsumoto, former columnist of Editorial Board, The Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo, Japan

4:00-5:30 p.m.

## **CHARTING THE FUTURE OF AFRICA (3): DIALOGUING WITH THE LEADERS**

*Speakers from the previous two sessions will engage in an open discussion on the future of Africa, touching on the themes advanced in the presentations. This session seeks to provide a dynamic forum for a vigorous exchange of ideas and perspectives. The floor will then be opened up for a Q&A session with the audience.*

**Chair:** Konrad Osterwalder, Rector, UNU

6:00-8:00 p.m.

## **RECEPTION**

## DAY 2

TUESDAY 29 SEPTEMBER, 2009

FOCUS SESSIONS: AFRICA AND GOVERNANCE AND AFRICA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT  
U THANT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE HALL,  
UNU HEADQUARTERS BUILDING, TOKYO, JAPAN

10:00-11:15 a.m.

**MASTER OF CEREMONIES: UNU REPRESENTATIVE [TBC]**

**AFRICA AND GOVERNANCE: IMPROVING SOCIO-POLITICAL COHESION**

*Speakers are invited to participate in a focus session to identify new paths for strengthening Africa's governance. The session will focus on the roots of social and political strife and civil wars, and will further consider how increasing inequality can fracture social cohesion and challenge governance. Speakers will examine how the contemporary character of globalization can affect socio-political cohesion and thereby a host of issues, including the effectiveness of development efforts and post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation. The leaders and participating experts will be invited to react to the presentations by speakers. This will be followed by a Q&A session with the audience.*

**Chairs:** Goolam Mohamedbhai, Secretary-General, Association of African Universities; former President, International Association of Universities

**Speakers:**

- Clement Eme Adibe, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois, USA
- Ernest Aryeetey, Director, Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER), University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
- Yasushi Katsuma, Professor, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan
- Obijiofor Aginam, Academic Programme Officer, UNU Institute for Sustainability and Peace (UNU-ISP), Tokyo, Japan

**With comments by:**

- John Kofi Agyekum Kufuor, President of the Republic of Ghana (2001-2009)
- Alpha Oumar Konaré, President of the Republic of Mali (1992-2002); Chairperson of the Commission for the African Union (2003-2008)
- Akilagpa Sawyerr, Former Secretary-General, Association of African Universities; former Vice-Chancellor and Professor of Law, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

11:45 a.m.-1:00 p.m.

## CONTINUATION OF AFRICA AND GOVERNANCE SESSION

2:30-4:00 p.m.

## AFRICA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

*Speakers will present their views on issues which are core to the continent's sustainable development. Presentations will focus on how education for sustainable development (ESD) enables communities and societies to develop adaptive capacities and policies when faced with threats both local and global, including the lack of access to medical care and quality education, and the challenges of poverty reduction and climate change. The session will also focus further on enabling Africa to become a key actor in the emerging global green economy through the development of its science, technology and innovation capacities, and the development of new green technologies and new green jobs. The leaders and participating experts will be invited to react to the presentations by speakers. This will be followed by a Q&A session with the audience.*

**Chair:** Kazuhiko Takeuchi, Vice-Rector, UNU; Director, UNU Institute for Sustainability and Peace (UNU-ISP)

### Speakers:

- Lidia R. Arthur Brito, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Agronomy and Forest Engineering, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, Mozambique
- George Hara, Group Chair and CEO, DEFTA Partners/Alliance Forum Foundation; Special Commissioner on Tax Panel, Office of the Prime Minister, Tokyo, Japan
- Tatsuo Hayashi, Representative, Africa-Japan Forum; Special Visiting Professor, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan

### With comments by:

- Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1976-1979; 1999-2007)
- Sam Nujoma, Founding President of the Republic of Namibia (1990-1994, 1994-1999, 1999-2005)
- Rishab Aiyer Ghosh, Senior Research, UNU-MERIT, Maastricht, The Netherlands.

4:30-5:00 p.m.

## CONTINUATION OF AFRICA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT SESSION

5:00-5:30 p.m.

## CONCLUDING SESSION: A VISION FOR AFRICA

**Summary and concluding remarks by:** Hans d'Orville, Assistant Director-General for Strategic Planning, UNESCO, Paris, France and Walid Mahmoud Abdelnasser, Ambassador of Egypt to Japan, Tokyo, Japan

The global economic crisis poses a serious threat to the achievement of Africa's development goals. It is compounded by the food, energy, climate change and environmental crises. The effects of these multiple crises threaten to derail progress across the continent.

Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO

Amidst the current international financial crisis, the African continent is now faced with a devastating new set of challenges, including a fall in commodities prices, a drop in levels of foreign direct investment, and increased uncertainty regarding levels of overseas development aid.

Konrad Osterwalder, Rector of UNU



United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and  
Cultural Organization

For further information about  
UNESCO's activities related to  
globalization, please see:  
[www.unesco.org/bsp/globalization](http://www.unesco.org/bsp/globalization)



OLUSEGUN OBASANJO



JOHN AGYEKUM KUFUOR



ALPHA OUMAR KONARÉ



SAM NUJOMA



ANTÓNIO RAMALHO EANES