

THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMATIQUE:

**Demography, Drought and Desertification, Dependency,
Disequilibrium, Debt and Destabilization**

or

THE PARALYSIS OF MULTIPLE DEBILITATING CRISES

by

ADEBAYO ADEDEJI



**UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA**

PREFATORY NOTE

The preparation of this piece was in response to two invitations from Washington D.C. The first came from the International Development Conference whose 1985 theme was «Toward a National Consensus on International Development» and whose Programme Chairman, Martin M. McLaughlin had asked that I gave «an authentic African voice» to the Conference. As he put it, «it is no longer adequate (if it ever was) to hear returning members of the US Congress, or missionaries or World Bank officials, for example, to talk about the economic crisis in Africa. Our board felt that in view of your role in the Economic Commission for Africa, as well as your current position as Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, you would be the very best person to bring the situation of sub-Saharan Africa to the attention of the Conference, and through it to the American public.»

The second invitation came from John Sewell, President of Overseas Development Council. It was to address a group of United States Congressmen who, because of their interest in Africa in general and its development problems and current crisis in particular, have arranged in association with the Overseas Development Council and the Council for Foreign Relations to organize a four-part seminar series on the subject. I was invited to lead the first in the series.

I must thank both the organizers of the 1985 International Development Conference and the President of the Overseas Development Council for these two opportunities to put the African economic situation as perceived by us who live with it and who have been seeing it coming for years before the American audience whose proper understanding is very important to us. While my IDC address was given before an audience of nearly 1,000 people, the vast majority of whom were Americans drawn from all walks of life, my seminar was to about twenty Congressmen genuinely interested in Africa and therefore are asking themselves questions

about what role the United States can and should play in the African development problematique, now and in the years ahead.

I must also express my sincere appreciation to the members of the African Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Republic of Zambia who had invited me to address them on any topical subject of my choice. Since I had to be in Lusaka to attend a series of ECA meetings just before my Washington speaking engagements, I had the most welcome opportunity of testing some of the ideas contained in this volume of fellow Africans. Their Excellencies, the Ambassadors of African countries in Lusaka gave a most sympathetic reception to these ideas even if they did not - as it is to be expected - subscribe to all of them. More than they will ever realize, the discussions that followed my presentation during that two-and-a half hour pleasant evening of 15 March 1985 emboldened me in my presentations in Washington'

Since what I said in Washington D.C. is likely to be of interest to other donor countries - their general public, legislators, ministers and high officials, the Economic Commission for Africa has decided to bring out this small monograph. There is an additional reason which is no less important. This is that the contents of this publication will be of equal interest to our leaders in Africa, their ministers, parliamentarians and high officials.

Although there may be much to disagree with in my prescriptions, I hope the analysis does represent the consensus that has emerged in recent years on the nature and causes of the African economic crisis. It is imperative that a similar consensus should emerge this year - when our Heads of State and Government - are going to devote a substantial part of their OAU Summit on considering this subject - so that we can avoid the situation which developed in 1981 when the publication of the World Bank report, Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action was published only months after the adoption of the Lagos Plan of Action.

If this little publication contributes in any way to the emergence of such a consensus not only on what the immediate focus for action should be but also on medium-term and long-run

programmes of action that will form the basis of international co-operation to get Africa out of its economic quagmire, it would have served a useful purpose'

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Adebayo Adedeji', with a horizontal line underneath.

**Adebayo Adedeji
Executive Secretary
Economic Commission for Africa
and
the United Nations
Secretary-General's
Special Representative on
The African Crisis**

**ECA headquarters,
Africa Hall,
Addis Ababa,
24 March 1985**

I. Introduction

A look at the present desperate situation in Africa, an analysis of the evolution of the African economic crisis during the past decade or two and an extrapolation of the present trends are enough to force one into the usual conclusion of a bleak and unenviable economic future for Africa - a future of permanent or structural emergencies. The facts as they are today unfortunately support such a prognostication. The present crisis, particularly the drought-induced emergency, is but a symptom of the general malaise that has been afflicting the African economy for many years.

The current drought-induced emergency situation which prevails in many countries of Africa is only a dramatic indicator of the continent's poverty and underdevelopment. Africa's economic crisis has been intensifying over the last decade. The optimism that surrounded Africa's economic prospects in the 1960s - the first decade of independence - was soon replaced in the 1970s by increasingly poor performance in many countries as substantial gaps began to appear between hopes and achievements, between promises and performance and between expectations and realities. Meanwhile, the international economic system, on which Africa is so much dependent became increasingly hostile.

By mid-1970s it had become evident to us in the Economic Commission for Africa that the path and pattern of economic growth and development in Africa are not likely to bring about any substantial progress in the life of the rapidly-growing population of Africa as major economic and social indicators persistently showed sharp deterioration and the spectre of mass poverty widened fast and far in sub-Saharan Africa. Unfortunately, we at ECA remained for too long the lone voice crying, as it were, in the wilderness. Sometimes we have even been accused of causing unnecessary alarm and being pessimistic. Even though our Heads of State and Government adopted at the beginning of this decade the Lagos Plan of Action, the African social and economic condition rather than improving became progressively worse culminating in the present widespread drought.

The shock-waves generated by the Ethiopian famine reverberated round the world in October 1984 and the African economic crisis was "discovered" by the world, thanks to Western television media. We in Africa shall remain eternally grateful for this splendid humanitarian service.

There can now be no doubt about the scope and magnitude of the current drought-related emergency in sub-Saharan Africa. Whatever doubt might have lingered in the minds of some people should, I hope, have been dispelled by the recent United Nations Conference on Emergency Situation in Africa which took place in Geneva on 11 and 12 March 1985. According to the basic documents prepared for the Conference by the United Nations Secretary-General, 20 sub-Saharan African countries are still drought stricken - 9 of these are severely affected.

The drought which has devastated many countries for three years or more in succession has persisted - unabated - in most of Eastern and Southern Africa and in the Sudano-Sahelian region. Six of the twenty countries (Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe) are in Southern Africa; four - Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and the United Republic of Tanzania - are in Eastern Africa while eight of the remaining ten - Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, the Niger, the Sudan, Cape Verde, and Senegal are in the Sudano-Sahelian region. The only two Central African countries on the list are Rwanda and Burundi.

Of the 150 million people living in these drought-affected countries, 30 million may be seriously affected. And of this number as many as 10 million have become displaced persons because they have had to abandon their homes in search of food, water and pasture for their herds. It is estimated that the unmet emergency needs in 1985 of these 20 drought-stricken countries for food and water, for essential medicines and relief survival items and for logistical support amount to US\$1,534 million with food-aid requirements alone accounting for US\$893 million of this total.

Yet it must be admitted that the response of the international community since the UN Secretary-General first made his appeal on 21 December 1983 has been growing. This is more so since October 1984 when television networks in Europe and

America brought the picture of starving Ethiopian children and women into the homes. I must record, once more, Africa's appreciation for the positive humanitarian response of many Governments to the African emergency.

Above all, we are most grateful to the millions of individuals in the United States, Canada and Western Europe who have dipped their hands into their pockets and have contributed so generously for African relief. Such spontaneous and generous response by individuals in many countries has clearly demonstrated the essential humanity of man.

Special tribute must also be paid to the exceptional response and outstanding performance of the hundreds of voluntary organizations and agencies from all parts of the world which continue to provide essential services and assistance to the victims of drought-related disaster in Africa. The combined and co-ordinated efforts of diverse nations, people and volunteers of different nationalities in assisting the people in the affected areas is a welcome development in international co-operation. As President Julius Nyerere remarked during his address to the UN Conference on the Emergency Situation in Africa, "What a miraculous relief it would be if, out of this misery of hunger and starvation in Africa, this kind of working together could, as a by-product, lead to greater international co-operation for peace and development".

There is no doubt that every effort must continue to be made to ensure the provision of adequate humanitarian assistance for the people in the affected countries. The unmet needs for 1985 must be urgently satisfied. The expectation generated by the UN Conference a few days ago indicates that these needs will be met. The presence at that Conference of Presidents Julius Nyerere and Seyni Kountche and of Vice-President George Bush together with representatives, at high level, of more than 120 countries including all the principal donor countries and the statements which most of them delivered gave one cause for hope.

And quite a number of the delegations announced pledges. In his own address to the Conference, Vice-President George Bush announced that the United States is again prepared to meet 50 per cent of the emergency food requirements (estimated at 3 million tons) in addition to the \$US 788 millions of other previously planned economic assistance. The representative of Italy, the

Minister for Co-ordination of Community Policies, also announced that the Italian Parliament has allocated a sum of 1,900 billion Lira (nearly \$US 1.0 billion) for "emergency aids and rehabilitation interventions" over a period of 18 months. These and other announcements of pledges were indeed well received.

Thus the continuing battle to save lives, to ameliorate suffering and to reduce the impact of hunger and famine on the affected population remains the first level of concern of the immediate focus in mastering the hunger and poverty that now envelopes sub-Saharan Africa. This is as it should be. However, this is not and cannot be our only focus. Even in these days of emergency we would be making a grievous mistake if we were to confine ourselves to the humanitarian aspect only. Such a limited focus would not only be superficial, but would also be unwittingly contributing to making the emergency a permanent phenomenon or to converting it into a structural one and this will be counterproductive to all concerned.

We must therefore go beyond the current emergency situation and get to the root of the crisis. This will require that we identify the underlying fundamental factors behind the African development problematique which consists not of one crisis but of a multiple of debilitating crises.

In order to facilitate our analysis, I have identified what I have christened the seven Ds of Africa's development problematique, the seven root causes of the debilitating paralysis of the African economy. They are: Demography, Drought and Desertification, Dependency, Disequilibrium, Debt and Destabilization. In our search for ways and means of arresting the present and persistent economic and social deterioration in Africa, reversing it and laying the foundation for an internally-generated self-reliant process of development, it is they we must attack at the root not only in the long run but also in the medium-term and short run as well.

2. Demography

Now let us begin with the first of the Ds - demography. Unfortunately, Africa faces a major population explosion in the near future. African population which was estimated at 257 million in 1960 had increased to 482 million by 1983. The average annual

growth rate during these two decades was 2.9 per cent - the highest among third world regions. The ECA projection for the year 2008, based on the high variant assumptions, is that total African population will be about 1.1 billion, implying an annual growth rate of 3.2 per cent during the next 25 years (1983-2008). The associated numbers of urban dwellers will be 472 million; children (0-14), 479 million; active population (15-64), 546 million; and school age 178 million (primary), 152 million (secondary) and 124 million (tertiary).

Even under the medium variant of the population projections by ECA, a 2.9 per cent annual growth rate is envisaged, thus bringing the total population to 997.3 million instead of 1.1 billion as projected under the high variant assumptions. Thus the prospects of a new and better demographic setting that will not bring about unsustainable pressures and tensions but will rather ensure the progress and prosperity of all African countries seem rather remote during the next 25 years as drastic structural changes in the demographic situation take a long time.

Hence demographic factors will constitute a daunting challenge for Africa in the years ahead as the race between population and economic growth will intensify during the remainder of the century and the first decade of the next. How can Sub-Saharan Africa cope? How can it produce enough food for additional 15 to 20 million people each year when it is unable to feed its present population?

In a continent which has been continuously plagued by open unemployment and underemployment since independence and before and whose unemployment problems have recently been aggravated by worsening climatic, agricultural and overall socio-economic conditions in the rural/subsistence sector, how can it be expected to create 200 million additional productive jobs - more than 10 million annually - between now and the year 2000?

Can Africa provide primary education to 137 million children that will require it in the year 2000? This is more than twice the primary school age population in 1980. Can it provide secondary education for the 70 million that will require it by the end of the century? And with a projected urban population of 472 million in the year 2008 how can Africa hope to cope with

the accompanying fast expansion in urban services like water and sewerage, transport, health and housing? How will this massive urban population - which in a little over 20 years from now will be more than Africa's total population in 1980 - be fed and clothed?

These demographic phenomena constitute the heart of the African development problematique. They are the data that lead most analysts to project a continuing and deepening crisis in Africa. There is no doubt about the imperative and urgent need for a far reaching population policy to be adopted and vigorously implemented by African Governments. The Kilimanjaro Declaration on Population adopted by the ECA Second African Population Conference held in Arusha, the United Republic of Tanzania, in January 1984 is a step in the right direction but it is only a beginning. But this declaration has to be translated into national action programmes. While such actions will have impact on the demographic phenomena, particularly on birth rate during the early 21st century, we have during the next ten to twenty years to contend with the grim race between population and economic growth. We shall, in later sections, discuss the mix of policies required both in the short run and in the long run.

3. Drought

Our second D is drought, to which I referred in the introductory remark. Indeed, the Africa of 1984 was invariably associated in the mind of the public with drought and drought-induced emergency which has resulted in famine and hunger, diseases and deaths for both human beings and livestock and in a massive displacement of population from drought-affected regions in search of food, water and pasture.

Let me say at this juncture that this current drought-induced emergency situation is both a consequence and a cause of the African development problematique. It is a most dramatic indicator of the continent's poverty and underdevelopment. And, as we shall see later, the drought is both a consequence and a cause of the increasing desertification of Africa through the cumulative effect of man-made degradation of land until it not only loses its fertility and capacity to provide economic returns under cultivation or grazing, but also brings about ecological changes. Over-cultivation, overgrazing and deforestation are also themselves

due to population pressure. The frequency of the recurrence of drought, its intensity and its ability to ravage the African countries for many years at a time, not to speak of its widespread nature throughout most of Africa - North, West, East and South - shows the close linkages among drought, desertification and demography. Indeed, Africa, cannot combat its drought problem successfully without addressing itself to these Ds simultaneously.

4. Desertification

We have already stated that drought and desertification are closely inter-linked and mutually reinforcing but while drought is a result of weather systems, desertification is principally man-made. There are four causes of desertification, each made more acute by increasing human populations - over-cultivation, over-grazing, deforestation and unskilled irrigation. Thus man, by his actions, is contributing to the advancement of the deserts.

Of course, desertification, like drought, is not a unique African problem. It is global. Two-thirds of the world's 150 nations are affected by it. What makes the African case so glaring is that not only are the countries of Africa the least organized to combat it, but also that it is spreading very fast and Africa's hunger for food to feed its rapidly growing population may contribute towards the further acceleration of the desertification process. Currently, UNEP estimates that desertification on the fringes of the Sahara is spreading at 1.5 million hectares (3.7 million acres) each year.

Unfortunately, combating desertification has not been given any high priority by African Governments. Given the generally urban bias of government policies, more lip service than action has been paid to stopping the growing encroachment of the deserts. The people who live in arid zones wield very little political power. Nor has the performance of aid donors been any better. Otherwise the process of desertification would have been halted in the Sahel and the current drought would not have happened for since the 1968-73 drought in the Sahel, the donors have been very busy there combating desertification. For instance, UNEP reckons that tree planting - for fuel, for timber and to prevent desertification - is proceeding fifty times slower than what the Sahel really needs.

5. Dependency

One of the unenviable legacies at independence was an overly dependent African economy and during the past 25 years this economic dependence has intensified. Today, the African economy is a dependent economy par excellence. It is dependent on foreign factor inputs and this has serious repercussions on Africa's cost structure, production efficiency, exploitation of natural resources, development of domestic technology, and the comparative advantage of surplus labour relative to capital. Thus most capital goods acquired are neither consistent with the factor endowments of the African region nor oriented to its basic needs.

The dependence of the African economy is also glaring in the external trade sector. African exports consist of a few number of primary agricultural and mineral commodities. This dependency on primary raw materials exports continues to have negative effects on Africa's export earnings because of the highly inelastic supply of these products and the price instability in international markets.

The weakness in the demand for African exports continues to manifest itself over the years, particularly during the 1980-84 period. The volume fell by 18.6 per cent in 1981, by 7.6 per cent in 1982 compared to an increase of 2.5 per cent in 1981 and a decrease of 2.5 per cent in 1982 for developing countries as a whole. During the 1980-84 period, Africa experienced, as a whole, a decline of 22.9 per cent in the volume of its exports. This low performance may, unfortunately, turn out to be the beginning of a long-term trend in view of protectionist measures in the developed countries against some of these exports, and in view also of the development of synthetic substitutes and the growing prospects of bio-technology in producing in factories many of these products. Unfortunately the domestic demand for them is extremely small.

This dismal prospect for export underlines one of the main difficulties that is in the way of African development. Because of their dependence on exports not only for foreign exchange earnings but also for government revenue and household incomes, the present critical resource situation in Africa is likely to persist.

One other effect of diminishing earnings from exports is a decline in imports. Partly because of this and partly because of stringent adjustment programmes enacted by a growing number of African countries, there have been significant contractions in imports. These adjustment programmes include devaluation which makes imports very expensive or by direct limitation of certain categories of imports or through the reduction of import-generating expenditures. Thus between 1980 and 1984, total imports are estimated to have declined in volume by 7.8 per cent. This was the first time that such a development had taken place since 1967 and the second time since 1961. This is symptomatic of the current debilitating crises confronting Africa.

Indeed, it is the poor performance in the export and import sectors that has adversely affected the manufacturing sector which has been deprived of imported raw materials, machinery, spare parts and high-level personnel. Today many manufacturing plants remain closed and essential commodities (such as toiletries and detergents) which depend on foreign inputs are in scarce supply in Africa. Thus between 1980 and 1984 the rate of growth of manufacturing value added at 1980 constant prices fell by 1.6 per cent. The rehabilitation and revitalization of existing manufacturing enterprises will face difficulties unless external support is forthcoming.

As I have said again and again, dependent development will lead Africa nowhere fast. Africa marching towards the future hand-in-hand with its colonial past and with the present excessively externally oriented and dependent economy has no dignified future at all. Africa has to remove the yoke which it has fastened on its economic system, which inhibits the range of national resources it can utilize, which puts the continent into a strait-jacket of producing what its people do not consume and of consuming what it does not produce and which makes it exporter of raw materials at low and declining prices in order to import semi-finished and finished products at high and rising prices. There is no doubt that what Africa needs - and needs most urgently - is the complete decolonization of its economies, a total and sharp break with its colonial dependent economic past.

6. Disequilibrium

The African economies have been, as it were, in a permanent state of disequilibrium where there is a growing gap

between promise and performance and between expectation and realization. Whereas the revolution of rising expectations has whetted the appetite of the population, the abilities of the governments in particular and of the economies as a whole to respond to these expectations are severely circumscribed. Hence the series of serious disequilibria suffered by the economies.

As we have already noted, the rate of growth of population is far in excess of the growth in the capacity of the agricultural system to cope. The welfare programmes which governments have perforce introduced in order to satisfy, at least in part, the revolution of rising expectations are beyond their capacity to finance. Budgetary deficits have been growing wider and wider for many a year in economies where there is hardly any room to manoeuvre. Indeed, a growing number of governments are unable to meet their recurrent expenditure, let alone finance new investments. As the *1984 OECD Review of Development Co-operation* by the Chairman of its Development Assistance Committee (DAC), Mr. Rutherford M. Poats, has succinctly put it:

"The food and hunger problems are symptoms of pervasive imbalances in national development processes which, along with external restraints, have deprived most Africans of the material progress and social justice that they confidently expected to follow the attainment of independence. The most serious imbalances are between the benefits allocated by governments to urban and to rural people, between the incentives provided to agriculture and to commerce, between the savings claimed by government and those available to private industrial and agricultural enterprise, between the resources devoted to preventive and to curative medicine, between investments in physical capital and human capital, and between the growth rates of population and productive employment, or between the gravity of population problems and the slight efforts devoted to their reduction." ^{1/}

The African economies are also full of rigidities. They are unable to adapt to changing circumstances. The monocultural economy with overly emphasis on production of one or two primary commodities or minerals for exports has persisted in spite

^{1/} *Development Co-operation, 1984 Review* (OECD, Paris 1984). pp. 16-17.

of all the difficulties which have been and are being faced. All developing countries have suffered from the generally depressed conditions of the world economy since the first oil shock of 1972/73. Prices of traditional commodities have slid downwards, interest rates have shot up drastically increasing debt servicing charges (a point we shall come back to shortly when we discuss our sixth D) and concessional flows have stagnated. However, while the developing countries in other regions have been responding in one way or the other to these problems, the rigidities and discontinuities of the African economies have led to a near-state of hopelessness and paralysis because of the sense of helplessness generated. For instance in Asia, economic growth has continued unabated in spite of the international economic crisis. But this has not been the case with Africa whose response mechanisms to shocks, whether external or internal, are extremely weak. This is no doubt due to the fragility of the economies but whatever the reasons their impact is to exacerbate the perpetual state of disequilibrium of these economies and thereby aggravate their underdevelopment.

After all, Africa is not resource-poor. On the contrary, the continent is endowed with considerable resources - both natural and human. Even in spite of the desertification menace, the land/population ratio is the highest; vast hydroelectric resources remain untapped; and, Africa's mineral wealth is still virtually unexplored. In addition, since independence, sub-Saharan Africa has made considerable strides in developing its human resources: literacy, which was limited to a few percentage points in the early 1960s, has now reached around 40 per cent and there has been considerable development in the field of education, with primary schooling now almost 80 per cent of the population of children of primary education age. And in the field of training of high-level manpower, impressive pools of professionals and technicians now exist in Africa.

What is needed and needed urgently is the development of the capacity to tap these resources for the benefit of the population and to create an environment that encourages enterprise, innovation and ingenuity. We also need to keep our priorities under constant review and ensure that allocation of resources is consistent with our declared goals. We also need to develop an incentive system through the price mechanism and government support arrangements that will accelerate the rate of growth and

development by making it worth the while of producers, manufacturers and workers to work hard, to save as much as possible and to invest.

It is only by doing all these that we can narrow the gap between production and consumption, between plans and implementation and between expectations and realities with a view to eliminating the imbalances and the disequilibria.

7. External debt

This brings me to the last but one of the seven Ds - the worsening external indebtedness of African countries. Since ECA, in collaboration with ADB and OAU, organized from 18 to 20 June 1984 a Regional Ministerial Conference on this subject and that Conference came out with the *Addis Ababa Declaration on Africa's External Indebtedness* which has been annexed in full to the *Special Memorandum by the ECA Conference of Ministers on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis*, I shall not deal with this very important problem at any length. I would simply like to make four points.

First, on the face of it, Africa's external debt, which is currently estimated at about \$US150 billion, might seem small when compared with the corresponding figures for other third world regions, particularly Latin America. It is, however, a very heavy burden for the fragile economies of Africa to bear. By the reckoning of the World Bank, Africa's debt represented about 36 per cent of its total GDP. Conclusions reached by the IMF are even more alarming. According to the latest data provided by the IMF for non-oil-exporting African countries, debt represents near to 55 per cent of GDP, so that its relative weight is greater than that in all other developing areas. In fact, debt service for non-oil-exporting countries is estimated by the IMF to rise to 27 per cent of exports of goods and services during the current year (1985). This puts Africa second only to Latin America. In fact, in some countries - notably the Sudan, Zaire and the Ivory Coast - debt has become a crushing burden on the balance of payments, practically choking off growth.

The second point I wish to make on this issue is that the rapid accumulation of external debt is in itself, due to the disequilibrium between resource needs and resources domestically available. In other words, external debt has been used to supplement declining domestic savings, augment foreign exchange receipts and smoothen the consumption path over time, particularly, as we have already indicated, fiscal deficits have been growing in many countries.

Thirdly, important as these endogenous factors are, there are even more crucial exogenous factors that have contributed to the debt crisis. These include the slow growth in world demand for primary commodities, aggressiveness of foreign banks in their lending behaviour to African countries considered credit-worthy, structural changes in the flow of financial resources to Africa, the hardening of terms of external borrowing and the appreciation of the currencies in which external debt is contracted and serviced.

Finally, the emergence of external debt crisis has contributed in a large measure to the decline in the growth of GDP in Africa. The inability of the countries to service their debt has eroded their credit-worthiness and stemmed the inflow of new resources or at best has led to higher borrowing costs and more stringent conditions for import payments.

8. Destabilization

The social and political consequences of continued poor economic performance are so grave that it will be unrealistic to continue to ignore this as one of the major factors in the debilitating crises that have engulfed sub-Saharan Africa'. There can be no doubt that riots, crimes and misery would be the order of the day in Africa if the present crises persist. And with these, the fragile socio-political systems will be undermined and the political sovereignty of the countries concerned will be severely threatened.

If sub-Saharan Africa continues for too long to be the sick child of the international economy, it will pose a threat to world peace and stability as the temptation to interfere in its affairs will become too great to resist and this, as likely as not, will lead to confrontation and even conflicts between the super-powers.

In order to avoid such a development, it is imperative that the international community, particularly the major donors, come fully to the assistance of Africa and help it to break the vicious circle of poverty and lay the foundation for growth and development and stability and peace so that it can become a true partner of the international economy.

There is, however, the other side to the political destabilization problematique. We have talked about political destabilization arising from continued poor economic performance. However, we must not forget that poor economic performance can also be the product of political instability - whether endogenous like the frequent military coup d'états that have afflicted sub-Saharan Africa since independence or exogenous like the policy of political destabilization being flagrantly pursued by South African authorities against the front-line States of Southern Africa.

9. Action for immediate focus by African Governments

What in the light of the foregoing analysis of the seven Ds of African development problematique should constitute the main thrust of the immediate focus in the fight against hunger, poverty and underdevelopment? What mix of programmes and policies in addition to humanitarian assistance need to be urgently designed and vigorously implemented in the immediate future, i.e., the next three to five years? Before we put a package of programmes and policy for immediate implementation together, let us review, albeit briefly, the agricultural sector in Africa and the main causes of its backwardness and poor performance.

At the root of economic backwardness, stagnation and decline in many African countries is the poor performance of the agricultural sector, which is also the most predominant sector. Annual average growth rates of agricultural production decreased sharply from 2.7 per cent during the 1960s to 1.6 per cent in the 1970s. But the deterioration is even more serious in food production which increased by only 1.5 per cent per annum during the 1970s when Africa's population was growing at an average annual rate of about 3.0 per cent. As a result, the food self-sufficiency ratio dropped from 98 per cent in the 1960s to 86 per cent in 1980. Meanwhile cereal imports escalated threefold due to the combined effects of increasing population and changing food

habits, especially in urban areas. Between 1980 and 1984 agricultural performance further deteriorated. It was as low as 0.1 per cent for the period as a whole with negative growth rates in 1983 and 1984. According to ECA/FAO projections, Africa's self-sufficiency ratio in cereals will drop to about 71 per cent by the year 2008 implying an import bill of \$US14 billion at 1980 constant prices.

The root causes of the rapid decline in food production are well-known. First, domestic policies with regard to agriculture have often constituted a disincentive for producers. Pricing policies have turned domestic terms of trade against agriculture in general and food production in particular. Moreover, the intervention of government parastatals in input distribution, marketing and consumer-oriented price setting has also greatly contributed to the deterioration of agricultural performance together with inadequate land tenure policies which do not provide landowners with the necessary security that encourages long-term land improvement. High rates of rural-urban migration, which has now reached an estimated level of 6 per cent per annum, has aggravated the situation as it has resulted in shortage of rural labour force while at the same time increasing rapidly the population of urban dwellers who have to be fed by the rural people.

Secondly, the poor performance in agriculture is also due to very low productivity per unit of land. For cereals the annual average was, in the 1980-1984 period, only 917 kg per hectare or less than half the world average. According to FAO, the annual average of fertilizer used during 1978-1982 was only 17.3 kg per hectare of arable land compared to a world average of 77.4 kg. Large areas are thus currently underproductive. Some others are unusable because of disease-carrying pests such as tsetse fly which affects 10 million square kilometres in 73 countries south of the Sahara. Lack of adequate support to agricultural research especially the traditional food crops has also hampered the development of improved technologies particularly in rain-fed small holdings.

Thirdly, agriculture in Africa, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa is over-dependent on rains. Hence, the effects of each successive failure of seasonal rains have led to the present situation whereby about two-thirds of the land area is permanently short of water, either for the whole year or for large parts of the year.

Even in the wetter areas, inadequate water management, conservation and utilization has left the countries concerned very vulnerable to the vagaries of the climate as it was the case in 1983 in some coastal West African countries and in 1984 in some Eastern African countries. Water conservation policies such as sub-surface storage in the form of natural and artificial impoundments have been given very little attention in sub-Saharan Africa.

Fourthly, the advance of the desert in sub-Saharan Africa constitutes a growing threat. Some factors underlying the desertification phenomenon are essentially man-made. Scientists have, long ago established links between desertification and man-induced changes in ecology, such as poor cultivation practices, deforestation for fuelwood consumption and timber export, overgrazing of rangelands and overuse of marginal lands for unsuitable cultivation. It has been estimated that more than 2.5 million hectares of savannah in Africa have been destroyed in the last year. The same assessment shows the extension of desert conditions around the Sahara, Namibia-Kalahari and the Horn of Africa, and the increase in dry season in forest countries.

Fifthly, the increase in agricultural production cannot be substantial if not supported by adequate transport infrastructure, especially feeder roads, and by the availability of necessary inputs such as fertilizers and agricultural tools. Unfortunately, as the current emergency situation has amply demonstrated, the transport and communications system in sub-Saharan Africa is far from being adequate which makes it difficult to ensure a quick distribution of agricultural inputs and the efficient marketing of agricultural products. For example, post-harvest food losses are as high, in some countries, as 40 per cent of total production due to poor or lack of storage and transport facilities.

What in these circumstances should be Africa's immediate focus in combating the triple enemies of poverty, hunger and underdevelopment? There can be no doubt that Africa can only break the vicious circle of poverty that engulfs it through the achievement of an agricultural revolution. Given the rapid rate of population growth, Africa urgently needs a green revolution if it is not to continue to be plagued by hunger and famine and if its poverty is not to persist. There is no other way in which Africa will be able to feed its projected total population of 1.1 billion and an urban population of 472 million by the year 2008.

Our immediate focus should therefore be concentrated on how to bring about an agricultural revolution or a green revolution in Africa. This requires, first and foremost, the creation of a stimulative environment for agricultural production through the provision of (i) adequate farm credit facilities; (ii) appropriate producer prices regularly kept under review for adjustments; (iii) sufficient supply and timely delivery of agricultural inputs; (iv) effective extension services which must reach the real food producers who are mostly women; and (v) adequate marketing, infrastructural and storage facilities.

As we admitted openly and frankly in the ECA/ADB *Economic Report in Africa, 1984*, "what we see as the most urgent task at this juncture is not so much large increases in government expenditures which have proved wanting by past experience, but appropriate policy changes affecting factor remunerations, the system of exchange and trade, domestic resources mobilization, conditions for investment, particularly private investment, the regulations concerning operation of producers particularly small businessmen, farmers and the like... Once a stimulative environment is created, it will be possible to revitalize investment and production."

Secondly, if Africa is to achieve a green revolution in the immediate future, high priority needs to be given to research and development (R and D) in agriculture, particularly food crops, in agricultural implements, and in appropriate food storage and preservation technology. Without R and D breakthroughs in these areas agricultural revolution will continue to elude Africa. Fast dissemination of successful R and D work is also one of the requirements of internalizing the green revolution.

The second area of focus for immediate concern is the need to formulate urgently and execute vigorously a policy of direct intervention in the husbandry practices of farmers and herders with a view to putting an end to overcrowding, over-production, overgrazing and soil erosion. This we must do if we are to increase the productivity of our farm land. The devastation that could be brought about by erosion of the soil was forcefully demonstrated by the experience of North America in the "Dust Bowl" of the 1930s which had turned the rich farm land of the central plains of the United States into an agricultural waste land. The growing aridity in Africa together with the dust clouds

of the expanding desert makes our situation comparable to that of the areas affected by the Dust Bowl in the 1930s - where land became parched from an extended drought and the wind kicked up dust as it now does in areas of the Sahel.

Our immediate task is to do what the Americans did in the 1930s - to reclaim our once productive land, not only by combating desertification but also by adopting a far-reaching soil conservation policy, and by strengthening research work into the methods of arable and pastoral production in Africa. We need to establish in each African country a soil conservation service which will be as effective as the United States soil conservation service in the 1930s. Our mounting concern about the worsening degradation of the environment must impel us to a mounting commitment to act. This is an area where massive transfer of the techniques used by the United States in the 1930s to Africa with of course due modification to accommodate local conditions will prove extremely beneficial and cost effective.

Our third area of immediate focus is the rehabilitation and resettlement of the 10 million displaced persons and the millions of others who are still dependent on parched drought-stricken land for their livelihood. These people will need new arable land to settle on, farm inputs and seed supplies; animal health supplies and equipment; animal feed supplements; construction materials for small-scale irrigation and for storage facilities; and some technical assistance. The resettlement and rehabilitation of people away from the drought-prone areas is thus a major exercise which also has serious implications for the organization of large-scale relief operations especially during the first few months of a rainy season and until the first harvest. But it is an exercise from which the affected countries cannot shy away for long. Emergency assistance is not enough to keep people going. There is over and above this the imperative need to give people faith in their own abilities and capacities and new opportunities to translate that faith into operational realities.

Fourthly, there is the urgent problem of sound management of the economies of Africa. It is essential that this problem be addressed as part and parcel of the package of issues for immediate focus. Specific actions are required in four areas: (i) Priority attention must be given to the problems of maintenance of public assets and properties. The standard of maintenance of public

works and utilities has fallen very low because of the inadequate resources allocated for this purpose; (ii) It is becoming increasingly clear that the inadequate use of investment fund has contributed more to poor economic performance than inadequate investment resources. Efforts must therefore be made to increase significantly the productivity and profitability of investment; (iii) Public institutions need to improve on the efficiency of their management. The scope for this is tremendous; and (iv) All the leakages and sources of wastage in the economy need to be plugged. Our preliminary analysis at ECA shows that the annual quantum of foreign exchange leakages and wastage amount to some \$US5.00 billion. If this could be saved and put to productive use, the impact on achieving both the short-term and long-term development objectives will be immediately felt.

Fifthly, the rehabilitation, revitalization, rejuvenation and rationalization of Africa's manufacturing enterprises, so as to make them more supportive and integrated with the other sectors in the economy, particularly the agricultural sector and be less dependent on foreign factor inputs should be on our agenda for immediate focus.

The poor performance of the industrial sector is no doubt aggravating the problems in the agricultural sector. Ordinarily, agriculture should feed industry with required inputs, particularly raw materials while industry on its part supplies agriculture with its requirements - fertilizers, equipment, insecticides, etc. Unfortunately, the industrial sector in Africa is mismatched with resource endowments and, therefore, has weak linkages with the rest of the economy. Indeed, the heavy reliance of the manufacturing sector on imported inputs is too glaring. Not only does it depend on foreign capital and on foreign technology but more often than not it also depends on foreign raw materials. And this is in a continent which is *pro tanto* an agricultural economy. In any case, the manufacturing sector is overly oriented towards producing consumer goods or mere processing of agricultural commodities or materials for export. The capital goods industry is terribly underdeveloped.

The heavy reliance of industrial enterprises in Africa on imported inputs has meant that rather than becoming a growing source of foreign exchange (what the Zambians now call FOREX for short) earning or saving, they have become a veritable bottom-

less pit of "forex" expenditure and drainage. In the circumstances it is not surprising that with the current extreme shortage of "forex" resources, most factories have, one after the other, either been closed down or have been operating ~~at~~ below capacity. The irony of the African situation is that there is considerable and growing excess industrial productive capacity at a time where there are serious shortages of essential and basic commodities. This is why the rehabilitation, revitalization, rejuvenation and rationalization of Africa's ailing manufacturing enterprises must be attended to as a matter of priority.

As we have already indicated during our analysis of the African development problematique - the seven Ds - the fight against desertification has been half-hearted. This fight has to be stepped up and executed aggressively if Africa is not to become before long, one vast desert interspersed here and there by oasis. The magnitude of the effort required before we can achieve a breakthrough has been indicated by UNEP which has judged that current efforts at reforestation is proceeding fifty times slower than what the Sahel really needs. In other words, we must step up our reforestation effort by at least fifty times. This means that Africa must introduce social (mass) forestry which has proved successful in as diverse places as South Korea and China. Our governments must also encourage millions of farmers to raise trees as crops and make it remunerative for them to do so as is the case in some Indian states. Although tackling the desertification menace requires a long time effort, the beginning cannot be delayed any further. Hence it is featuring as our sixth agenda item for immediate focus. As we had earlier indicated, drought and desertification are so closely intertwined that we cannot successfully deal with one without tackling the other. And the battle against desertification can only be successfully fought through subregional co-ordinated effort. This is a good example of where a concerted regional approach is required for national survival.

Seventh on our agenda of actions for immediate focus is the tackling of the debt problem. We have already discussed the magnitude, scope, and the cause of the huge debt burden that Africa now carries and the contribution of the debt crisis to the decline in the growth of GDP. There can therefore be no doubt about the need for urgent actions to be taken at the national, regional and international levels to ameliorate the debt crisis.

While there is some truth in the *Addis Ababa Declaration on External Indebtedness* that national efforts have their limits, there is no doubt that there are many measures that can and must be taken immediately at the national level. These include (i) the adoption of more stringent fiscal policies to keep public expenditure under control; (ii) the adoption of more realistic exchange rates for African currencies; (iii) aggressive export promotion; and (iv) the adoption of better and more efficient external debt management practices.

At the regional level, the *Addis Ababa Declaration* talked of the establishment and/or strengthening of subregional and regional financial institutions to deal with the African monetary problems such as the payments and clearing arrangements that ECA has been establishing in different subregions of Africa and an African Monetary Fund on which action is proceeding slowly but surely. Meanwhile, African countries should do everything possible to encourage exchange of information whether bilaterally or through African multilateral bodies, between interested countries on refinancing and rescheduling terms under negotiations or already agreed upon with international financial bodies and institutions. The secretiveness of African Governments is hurting them more than what they realize.

As already indicated, the immediate causes of the debt problem have been exogenous, beyond the control of African countries. Therefore, the principal and immediate solution must come from the international community, from the creditor nations and financing institutions. We shall make specific proposals when we deal with the contributions expected from the international community in tackling the African development crises.

Africa can no longer afford to ignore the tremendous cumulative impact of destabilization - whether endogenous or exogenous - from its agenda for immediate action. To do so is to be unrealistic, and to cut our nose, as it were, to spite our face. Too much of our extremely limited resources is going to defence expenditure which does not even feature in our priority list in the Lagos Plan of Action but which absorbs several times more resources than food and agriculture which we openly proclaim as our priority of priorities. Political instability, civil wars and border disputes are some of the justification, for the heavy defence expenditure. Yet we know or should know that these

are precisely issues which no war has ever settled. They have to be resolved through appropriate policies that put emphasis on justice, equity, equality of opportunities (to avert political instability) and negotiations based on give and take and on the principle of *quid pro quo* (in the case of civil wars and border disputes). It is the irony of history that we are not unwilling to shed African blood to protect borders that were arbitrarily put up by the buccaneering imperialists and to this end we expend a lot of our extremely limited resources on acquiring modern weapons of war.

This is regrettably an area where the OAU has proved extremely ineffective yet it is one that calls for a regional approach to national survival. Political instability, civil wars and border disputes sap the energy not just of the countries engaged in them but also of the entire continent. They weaken our resolve to work together, to grapple with our economic crises. They undermine our fragile unity and make the difficult task of economic and technical co-operation virtually insuperable. The most important contribution that the OAU can make in the immediate future in solving the African development problematique is to become a positive agent for stability and stabilization in Africa so that the resources now absorbed by unproductive defence expenditure can be released for productive purposes. Africa is spending more every year on defence expenditures than all the external financial assistance that it receives annually. It must be added that this is a development that donor countries not only appear to welcome but also to encourage as three quarters of resources outflows to developing countries are absorbed in the purchase of armaments either for defensive or for offensive purposes.

When we discuss the supportive actions required from the international community, we shall refer to the exogenously induced destabilization being practised by South Africa against the front-line States. Meanwhile, let us deal with our ninth and final immediate action agenda - demography.

The donor countries have always criticized African Governments and ECA for neglecting population factor in their development problematique. In a way, the lack until very recently of a well-articulated population policy has been due to the belief that Africa's underdevelopment is not due to over-population.

Indeed, in terms of ratio of population to cultivable land and to potential mineral resources, Africa is well endowed. It is one of the most endowed continents in the world. However, the fact that people are dying of hunger and famine and the prevalent and widespread poverty and underdevelopment have driven home the realization that until these resources potentials are turned into wealth for the welfare of the people, they are of only theoretical interest. Meanwhile, as we indicated in the earlier sections of this paper, there is a race between population and economic growth which, as likely as not, will intensify during the remainder of this century and the first decade of the next. How can we survive during this period? Can we step up the rate of growth in our food production to match the population growth rate of over 3.0 per cent per annum? Since this seems unlikely in the short run while we are working hard at achieving a green revolution, we must perforce include in our immediate focus specific policies and programmes for curbing the rate of population growth. True enough, drastic structural changes in the demographic situation take a long time but the seeds must be sown now.

As already indicated, the Kilimanjaro Programme of Action for African Population and Self-Reliant Development adopted by the ECA Second African Conference held in Arusha, the United Republic of Tanzania, in January 1984 is a step in the right direction provided it is translated into specific national action programmes. Many of the recommendations addressed to governments in the fields of development strategy and policy, fertility and family planning, morbidity and mortality and urbanization and migration require immediate attention.

These then are the contents of our package of actions for immediate focus in the fight against hunger, poverty and underdevelopment. Needless to add that they are far from being exhaustive or comprehensive. The mix of policies and programmes that has been identified constitutes priorities among priorities.

And the emphasis is on the word *immediate*; on what Africa must do now to save itself from imminent economic - and inevitably political - collapse and at the same time lay the foundation for economic revival and recovery. Consequently, the focus of our immediate action programme is only on five out of our seven Ds - drought, desertification, demography, debt and destabilization. By attacking these at the root, we shall be laying the ground-

work for mastering the remaining two - dependency and disequilibrium - which pose a long-term challenge.

But can we agree on an immediate action programme as fundamental and basic yet ambitious as the one suggested in these pages? If we do, if a consensus does emerge, do we have the will to pull it through, to fully implement it within a given time frame with the sense of urgency that it deserves? I remain optimistic that we have the guts and the grit to rise to the challenge and that our leaders are determined to lead us along the narrow but challenging path of putting our devastated economies back on even keel. Of course the pessimists will no doubt think differently but as the saying goes:

"Twixt optimist and pessimist
The difference is droll:
The optimist sees the doughnut,
The pessimist, the hole." 2/

There is no doubt that by the time of the forthcoming OAU Summit in July 1985 which will be devoted primarily to the economic crisis in Africa, the contents of what should go into the package of programmes for immediate focus will have been firmed up. Indeed, this is the challenge that faces the twentieth session of ECA and the eleventh meeting of its Conference of Ministers responsible for economic development and integration as they assemble in the historic city of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 25 to 29 April 1985. The OAU Council of Ministers, at its forty-first session held in Africa Hall, ECA headquarters, at Addis Ababa, had invited the ECA Conference of Ministers to focus its deliberations on the issues in the draft agenda for the Summit and to recommend concrete measures to be taken including proposals for the follow-up and monitoring of the implementation of the package of immediate focus action that will eventually emerge from the Summit. The draft agenda includes issues such as assessment and measures for accelerated implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos; special programme of action for improvement of the food situation and rehabilitation of agriculture in Africa; external indebtedness; and proposals for a common platform for action among OAU member States and at the international level.

2/ McLandburgh Wilson, *Optimist and Pessimist*.

Although the African economic condition is grave, there is no room for despair. In fact, if our leaders and people can make a virtue of necessity, nothing can stop them from turning the present situation into the springboard for action and inventiveness. It is unbelievable what a people can do if and when they know that their very survival is at stake. Fortunately, African leaders are not only gravely concerned by the very alarming economic and social conditions, they have also expressed unmistakably their determination to take drastic measures.

10. Supportive actions for immediate focus required of the international community

One thing which should have become abundantly clear by now is that the African development problematique is multidimensional and complex in nature and that it is beyond the capacity of African Governments and their people to tackle unaided. That is why the ECA Conference of Ministers in its Special Memorandum appealed to the international community "to respond positively, magnanimously and speedily. . . so that Africa can be assisted to cope effectively with the crisis". "We are convinced", the ECA Ministers went on, "that given the necessary support from the international community, we are capable, in the not-too-distant future, of establishing at national, subregional and regional levels truly dynamic, self-reliant and interdependent economies, capable of functioning as effective partners in the international economic system". ^{3/}

It is however essential, if the African Governments and the donor countries that are helping them are not to work at cross purposes, that all concerned should understand that a one-panacea approach is not going to be helpful. The growing tendency on the part of some well-meaning donors to put forward one general doctrine such as "getting the prices right" or "allowing for more privatization of the economies" or "instituting policy reforms" is an oversimplification of the nature and scope of the crisis.

^{3/} *Special Memorandum by the ECA Conference of Ministers on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis, Document E/ECA/CM.10/37/Rev.2, May 1984, p.32.*

We have already commended the growing positive response to the humanitarian aspects of the crisis but as we have made abundantly clear, this is not enough. To limit support only to humanitarian needs, important as these are, is simply not enough. If anything, it can be counter-productive as it might lead to the conversion of the emergency situation into a permanent or structural one and institutionalize the *esprit de mendicite permanent de l'Afrique*.

The question then is: will the international community, particularly the major donors, commit themselves to helping fully in the economic recovery of Africa? Or will the international community content itself with continuing to make mere symbolic gestures because it sees Africa only in terms of commercial, strategic, ideological and/or political interests? What role will the United States choose to play? Will it show its solidarity with Africa by providing the long-awaited leadership to the rest of the donor community in making long-term commitments to African economic rehabilitation, reconstruction and development?

On the assumption that the answers to these questions are positive, let me put down very briefly some of the contributions of the donor community in support of the African effort. These include (i) the improvement of export earnings; (ii) increase in multilateral concessionary financing and improvement in the international monetary arrangements. The ongoing efforts of the World Bank to raise \$US2.0 billion special fund for sub-Saharan Africa deserves the full support and participation of the United States; (iii) the undertaking of specific debt relief measures including such measures as (a) the total or partial cancellation of external debts of sub-Saharan African countries particularly the least developed countries and the most adversely affected countries; (b) a moratorium for at least three to five years on debt servicing of both public and private lenders; and (c) the conversion of a substantial part of the debt service obligations into grants; (iv) provision of balance-of-payments support; (v) taking measures against rising interest rates which are hurting the poor countries of Africa very badly. It is not generally known that a one per cent increase in the interest rates raises the debt servicing liabilities of African Governments by as much as \$US1.5 billion every year which is exactly equal to the unmet humanitarian needs for 1985; and (vi) the cessation of the acts of destabili-

zation being flagrantly undertaken by South Africa against the front-line States which have negative impact on their development.

All these problems and more must be addressed by the international community in general and by the main donor countries in particular, especially the United States. For if African countries are to recover from their deep economic crisis and if the problems of hunger, poverty and underdevelopment are to be effectively tackled, this is the minimum package of immediate actions that has to be supported by the industrialized countries in support of the African efforts.

It should be the collective primary objective of the international community in collaboration with African Governments and peoples that not later than within the next ten years, the present desperate situation in Africa will have given way to one of hope: that Africa not later than 1995 will have achieved self-sufficiency in food production. Let us hope that the development saga of Africa during the next ten years will follow closely that of South Asia in the 1960s so that by the 1990s we can truly say that Africa has made substantial progress against poverty and the nightmarish picture of starving children and dying women will have become a thing of the past.

11. Long-term development objectives and programmes

Let us now address ourselves to the remaining two Ds - dependency and disequilibrium - which by their very nature constitute Africa's long-term development problematique. The fight against dependency and disequilibrium necessitates a sharp break from Africa's unenviable colonial economic legacy and the initiation of a process of long-term structural transformation. There is no doubt that the successful implementation of our nine-point programme of action for immediate focus will together constitute a major step in the process, a lot more will be required to be done in all the economic sectors and in all spheres of human endeavour.

The Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Final Act of Lagos (FAL) have, elaborated the long-term measures required for the transformation of Africa from its present dependent situation

to a fully self-sustained and self-reliant economic community. Indeed both LPA and FAL are based on the fundamental principle that long-term growth and development are concomitant upon the adoption of structural transformation measures and the promotion of regional and subregional economic and technical co-operation. As I recently wrote, "given the balkanization of Africa during the colonial era, with the consequential large number of miniscule states that with the best will in the world and the most favourable domestic and external economic environment cannot but have an uphill task in achieving socio-economic transformation, intra-African economic penetration, co-operation and integration has perforce to become an integral part of national economic policy in all African countries". ^{4/}

While both the LPA and the FAL have set down the measures required to bring about the economic transformation of Africa, the ECA Silver Jubilee perspective study entitled *ECA and Africa's Development, 1983-2008* has, *inter-alia* spelt out the orders of magnitude of the efforts that are required if they are to be implemented faithfully and successfully. This study totally rejects the continuation of present socio-economic trends and patterns because rather than lead to the structural transformation of the African economies, it will result in Africa being more dependent by the year 2008 than it was in 1980. Since the future that emerges from the historical trends scenario is horrendous, the ECA perspective study proposed the adoption of the normative development scenario or a willed future. But as the study points out the development scenario can only be achieved "if and only if (a) the region succeeds in internalizing the development process, in the spirit of collective self-reliance and self-sustainment; (b) the development process is democratized at all levels so that factors of development - human, capital and natural resources - can effectively and productively interact; and (c) subregional and regional

^{4/} Adebayo Adedeji, "Intra-African Economic Penetration, Co-operation and Integration: Progress, Problem and Perspective in the Light of the Final Act of Lagos" read at the ECA/Dalhousie University Conference on the Lagos Plan of Action and Africa's Future International Relations held in Halifax, N.S., Canada from 2 to 4 November 1984.

co-operation is strengthened, *inter alia*, to overcome the present balkanization of the region and to permit a proper and co-ordinated exploitation and utilization of Africa's vast human, mineral and energy resources".^{5/}

12. Conclusion

It will have thus become crystal clear why throughout this paper we have emphasized again and again that the African development problematique must be attacked at the root. The economic transformation which is required to undermine Africa's current dependent situation as well as its permanent state of disequilibrium calls for daunting efforts - a willed future. But the challenge posed by the immediate focus programme is no less daunting. This takes us back to the question that given the magnitude of what has to be done, of what must be done, can the dream of an Africa free from hunger, disease, unemployment and poverty, social and cultural imbalances, external domination and racism come true? The history of mankind and that of many other regions persuade one to be unequivocal about the potential of the African region in rising to the challenge.

However, Africa requires the commitment of the international community to its long-term development objectives. There is no doubt that the magnitude of the task is far beyond Africa's capacity alone. But will the international community make such a commitment? This is a question which must be answered urgently.

^{5/} ECA and Africa's Development 1983-2008, A preliminary perspective Study (Addis Ababa, April 1983); p. 3.