INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
POPULAR PARTICIPATION
IN THE RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT
PROCESS IN AFRICA

AFRICAN CHARTER FOR
POPULAR PARTICIPATION
IN DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION
(ARUSHA 1990)

Arusha
United Republic of Tanzania
12 - 16 February 1990
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This publication contains the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation (Arusha, 1990) which was adopted by acclamation by the participants of the International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa recently held in Arusha, the United Republic of Tanzania during 12 to 16 February 1990. It also contains excerpts from the statements made at the opening and closing sessions of the Conference and the programme, list of papers and list of participants of the Conference.

The conference, the theme of which was Putting the People First, was a truly participatory encounter. It featured an Ideas Market Place and Exhibition which reminded the participants of the limitless talents and ingenuity of African grassroots and small-scale entrepreneurs. In plenary sessions and workshops the participants listened to each other, learned and worked together to reach consensus. Communication and cooperation was found to be both necessary, urgent and possible at all levels of development work. It was discovered that in almost every African language words exist which capture the meaning of popular participation and these expressions have been included in the publication for interest and reference.

The Charter calls for the emergence of a new era in Africa - an Africa in which democracy, accountability, economic justice and development for transformation become internalized and the empowerment of the people, initiative and enterprise and the democratization of the development process are the order of the day.
in every country. It delineates the actions that are required by all concerned - the people and their organizations, governments, African and non-African NGOs and the international community - to achieve the aforesaid objectives and also proposes national and regional mechanisms to monitor and report on the progress made in the implementation of the Charter.

The momentum begun in Arusha must continue. It is hoped that this publication would not only inform of the outcome of this unique and participatory encounter in Arusha, but would also serve as a tool in the hands of governments, non-governmental and grassroots organizations, youth and womens' groups, trade unions, the United Nations and the international community in galvanizing support for the Charter, carrying out the actions it prescribes, building effective networks locally, nationally and continent-wide and in establishing the necessary monitoring mechanisms. To the extent that success is achieved in that direction, can a process then be initiated and sustained to create a new and better tomorrow for Africa and her people.
PART I

Our major resource is our people. We all recognize the inherent relationship between people and development. We are fully conscious of the fact that the primary objective of development is to improve the living conditions of people. The people are at the heart of the development process. It is obvious, therefore, that the success of the recovery and the development process will be effective only if the people are involved.

The main task confronting many African national authorities is to create favourable conditions which would enable the people to fully apply their energy, skills and creativity for their own benefit and for the benefit of their countries. These conditions should, first and foremost, aim at enhancing the people's participation in the decision-making process on matters affecting their welfare. That situation will make them feel fully responsible for their own development and hence motivate them to participate actively in the planning and implementation of their development activities.

Moreover, it also remains essential that the principle of self-reliance should be pursued beyond national borders in the interest of the African continent as a whole. There is a great need for African countries to intensify their efforts to achieve collective self-reliance through increased cooperation among themselves. For while we acknowledge that individually we may not possess sufficient productive capacity to meet the growing needs of our people, I believe that by pooling our resources together we can substantially increase production to meet our domestic requirements and to increase our exports.
Our major resource is our people. We all recognize the inherent relationship between people and development. We are fully conscious of the fact that the primary objective of development is to improve the living conditions of our people. But we also know that it is the people who are the principal actors in the recovery and development process. It is obvious, therefore, that the success of the recovery and development process very much depends on the effective participation of the people in that process.

The main task confronting many African national authorities is to create favourable conditions which would enable the people to fully apply their energy, skills and creativity for their own benefit and for the benefit of their countries. Those conditions should, first and foremost, aim at enhancing the people’s participation in the decision-making process on matters affecting their welfare. That situation will make them feel fully responsible for their own development and hence motivate them to participate actively in the planning and implementation of their development activities.

Tanzania also remains convinced that the principle of self-reliance should be pursued beyond national borders in the interest of the African continent as a whole. There is a great need for African countries to intensify their efforts to achieve collective self-reliance through increased cooperation among themselves. For while we acknowledge that individually we may not possess sufficient productive capacity to meet the growing needs of our people, I believe that by pooling our resources together we can substantially increase production to meet our domestic requirements and to increase our exports.
The concept of peoples' participation in their own development is enshrined in the principal documents of the United Nations. The charter itself not only begins with the words "we the people of the United Nations", but also declares that they, the people, are determined among other things, "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women..." and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

You convene at an extraordinary moment in contemporary history. The transnational communication of peoples' ideas has accelerated exponentially in the last decade. All over the world, and regardless of ideology or education or economic circumstance, people -especially young people- are drawing inspiration from each other and voicing their concerns on a variety of issues. The sheer example of one popular demand becomes, by itself, a new motive force for others in neighbouring or even distant countries to express their wish for a greater share in governance and in the management of economic and social development.

It is encouraging that in response, Africa has convened this truly historic gathering to develop a collective understanding of and position on the role of popular participation in the development and transformation of the region and seek to identify African solutions to African problems. I am pleased that the United Nations, in particular the Economic Commission for Africa, could join in this initiative.
There is no gainsaying the fact that the foundation for self-reliant and internally self-sustaining processes of development is people's participation. It is the engine for launching the processes for economic transformation of the structures and material attributes of a society. Authentic, self-reliant processes of development inevitably result in the transformation of the people who bring about the change - their culture, their attitudes to work, their saving and investment habits, their concepts and skills and their social systems. Genuine self-reliant development of an economy brings in its trail this process of self-transformation of the people.

Self-reliant development requires, and indeed, demands universally in Africa, the politics of consent and consensus, the politics of conviction and commitment, and the politics of compassion and accountability. Consensus politics is involving people in the process by which policies are developed, listening to what they have to say and adapting the approach of the leadership and government in the light of all these. By so doing, government is most likely to win the consent of the majority of the people, if not of all, to such policies and, with that consent, conviction in the rightness of the courses being pursued and commitment to see them through successfully. The politics of consensus and consent, conviction and commitment, and compassion and accountability are the practical corollary of a concern for a nation as a whole, not just for a particular group.
The time has come that a change of attitude must take place. Women have now for sometime realised that they have the potential (social, political and economic potential) and wisdom to shape the future of this region. They therefore rightly demand the opportunity to have this valuable potential fully tapped for the development of Africa. Machineries to enable women of Africa to fully participate in the development of their motherland must be put in place now and not later.

To women: I say, rights are taken, they are not given. Women of Africa, arise and take your rightful position in society.

To men: I say, please accept women as your equal partners in development and give them the way.

Do understand that without a conducive political atmosphere, we cannot talk of popular participation. Therefore the talk of popular participation necessarily calls for an immediate end to all wars and conflicts in Africa. Let us look to each other for love and support. Let us live as brothers and sisters.
The idea that people - all people, the youth, women, the elderly - should be involved in the development process is an extremely important one, particularly at this time when Africa needs to marshal all its available resources for development. At the present time, the involvement of the wide spectrum of people in the development process is rather limited. Effective utilization of human resources at all levels and in all dimensions, is key to the promotion of real development in Africa.

The real challenge facing this Conference is to come out with practical, implementable and realistic proposals and recommendations on the specifics on how to effect popular participation of the people in the development process. It is my wish that this Conference does not become yet another theoretical and philosophical forum for articulating views which cannot be put into practical use.

A conference of this type should be held regularly, more often, and at all levels national, sub-regional and regional.
Africa’s incapacity and inadequate plans to mobilize the energies of young people has led to a regrettable loss of the most active segment of our societies’ labour power. What will be the future of our continent if this trend is not averted? Youth rural-urban exodus; delinquency and the desire to escape one’s country are not inborn natural vices but are products of objective conditions within which African countries rear their youth especially failing to mobilize them for development.

The youth of Africa believe the most effective means for curing the African socio-economic and political malaise lies first and foremost within Africa itself, and hence the need for concerted efforts to mobilize our abundant local resources of which popular participation of the African people constitutes an inevitable part. The rupture and lack of dialogue and confidence between the leadership and the people has to be mended if Africa is to make headway to recovery and development. The people have to be the source of inputs for the development plans so that they can take development strategies as theirs and not feel alienated from the would be peoples’ development. This could be the source of commitment, initiative, efficiency and accountability. The leadership and technocrats have to listen to the people to ensure that their policies will function effectively.
Mr. Hassan A. Sunmonu,
Secretary-General of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU)

The hardship brought on the people by the implementation of the present Structural Adjustment Programmes made the majority of the people, including organised labour, to oppose them. This has led to the use of force by governments to suppress these protests, resulting in further alienation and in some cases, political instability.

With the failure of the orthodox, doctrinaire development policies that have led Africa to the present economic mess, there is therefore the need for African countries to design a different Structural Adjustment Programme on the basis of the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP) prepared by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, which was adopted in July 1989 by the OAU Summit, and by the United Nations General Assembly in September 1989.

In order to bring about recovery and development in Africa, there is the essential need to involve the participation of the people, the workers, trade unions and other grassroots organisations in all aspects of planning, implementation, management and monitoring of development programmes.

The active involvement of the people in development will guarantee their commitment to the success of the development effort. Gone were the days when development programmes were drawn in air-conditioned offices for the people. Now, people should decide their developmental needs, plan and contribute to their implementation, supervise their construction, manage and monitor them.
The Non-Governmental Organizations, Voluntary Development Organizations and Grassroots Development Organizations believe that no development can be possible in Africa if the people, who are the most reliable engine for development, are not fully involved. There are a number of issues, however, which must be seriously addressed: the poor quality of their working relationships with African governments; the failure to empower the African people so that they can take the initiative in developing their own resources; the lack of concerted effort, cooperation and coordination among NGOs and GRO's; the conditions of insecurity and injustice which displace people and compel them to seek refuge; development options which fail to take the environment into account; the unfair burden of debt and structural adjustment measures which combine to worsen the situation of the people and to make African economies dependent on the outside world.

The Voluntary Development Organizations together with the Grassroots Development Organizations also hope that the OAU and the United Nations would intervene more effectively in impressing upon African leaders the need to stop fratricidal wars which retard development and swell the numbers of refugees.
PART II

AFRICAN CHARTER FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION (ARUSHA 1990)

1. The International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa was held, in Arusha, the United Republic of Tanzania from 12 to 16 February 1990 as a rare collaborative effort between African people's one of the Whole African governments, non-governmental organizations, United Nations agencies, in the search for a collective understanding of the role of popular participation in the development and transformation of the African continent. African people's one of the Whole African governments, non-governmental organizations, United Nations agencies, and a focus to the concepts of democratic development, people's solidarity and creativity, and self-reliance and to formulate policy recommendations for national governments, popular organizations

2. The Conference was organized under the auspices of the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on the Follow-up on the Implementation of the UN-PAPFRD at the Regional Level (UN-IATF) and with the full support and warm hospitality of the government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania. The ECA Conference of Ministers responsible for Economic Development and Planning, adopted resolution 58/XXIV at its twenty-fourth session in which it supported this Conference and urged member states of the Commission, the international community, NGOs and the United Nations system to support and actively participate in it. The Conference was attended by over 500 participants from a wide range of African people's organizations - including, in particular, non-governmental, grass-roots, peasant, women and youth organizations and associations, trade unions and others - as well as representatives of African Governments, agencies of the United Nations system, non-
PREAMBLE

1. The International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa was held, in Arusha, the United Republic of Tanzania from 12 to 16 February 1990, as a rare collaborative effort between African people's organizations, the African governments, non-governmental organizations and the United Nations agencies, in the search for a collective understanding of the role of popular participation in the development and transformation of the region. It was also an occasion to articulate and give renewed focus to the concepts of democratic development, people's solidarity and creativity and self-reliance and to formulate policy recommendations for national governments, popular organizations and the international community in order to strengthen participatory processes and patterns of development. It was the third in a series of major international conferences organized by the Economic Commission for Africa in collaboration with the rest of the United Nations system to contribute to the implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990 (UN-PAAERD). It came as a sequel to the Abuja International Conference on Africa: The Challenge of Economic Recovery and Accelerated Development held in 1987, and the 1988 Khartoum International Conference on the Human Dimension of Africa's Economic Recovery and Development. It is important to note that the initiative for this Conference came from the submission of the NGOs to the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the General Assembly on the mid-term review and assessment of the implementation of UN-PAAERD in September 1988.

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African non-governmental organizations, regional, sub-regional and intergovernmental organizations, bilateral donors, multilateral organizations as well as specialists, both from within and outside Africa. The Conference was opened by H.E. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania. Opening statements were also made by the representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, the representative of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity and representatives of the Non-Governmental Organizations, African Women's Organizations and the Pan African Youth Movement. The Conference would like to put on record its appreciation for the full support and warm hospitality of the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania.

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

4. The objectives of the Conference were to:

(a) Recognize the role of people's participation in Africa's recovery and development efforts;

(b) Sensitize national governments and the international community to the dimensions, dynamics, processes and potential of a development approach rooted in popular initiatives and self-reliant efforts;

(c) Identify obstacles to people's participation in development and define appropriate approaches to the promotion of popular participation in policy formulation, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development programmes;

(d) Recommend actions to be taken by Governments, the United Nations system as well as the public and private donor agencies in building an enabling environment for authentic popular participation in the development process and encourage people and their organizations to undertake self-reliant development initiatives;
Facilitate the exchange of information, experience and knowledge for mutual support among people and their organizations; and,

Propose indicators for the monitoring of progress in facilitating people’s participation in Africa's development.

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

I. ASSERTING THE ROLE OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION

6. We are united in our conviction that the crisis currently engulfing Africa, is not only an economic crisis but also a human, legal, political and social crisis. It is a crisis of unprecedented and unacceptable proportions manifested not only in abysmal declines in economic indicators and trends, but more tragically and glaringly in the suffering, hardship and impoverishment of the vast majority of African people. At the same time, the political context of socio-economic development has been characterized, in many instances, by an over-centralization of power and impediments to the effective participation of the overwhelming majority of the people in social, political and economic development. As a result, the motivation of the majority of African people and their organizations to contribute their best to the development process, and to the betterment of their own well-being as well as their say in national development has been severely constrained and curtailed and their collective and individual creativity has been undervalued and underutilized.

7. We affirm that nations cannot be built without the popular support and full participation of the people, nor can the economic crisis be resolved and the human and economic conditions improved without the full and effective contribution, creativity and popular enthusiasm of the vast majority of the people. After all, it is to the people that the very benefits of development should and must accrue. We are convinced that neither can Africa’s perpetual
economic crisis be overcome, nor can a bright future for Africa and its people see the light of day unless the structures, pattern and political context of the process of socio-economic development are appropriately altered.

8. We, therefore, have no doubt that at the heart of Africa's development objectives must lie the ultimate and overriding goal of human-centered development that ensures the overall well-being of the people through sustained improvement in their living standards and the full and effective participation of the people in charting their development policies, programmes and processes and contributing to their realization. We furthermore observe that given the current world political and economic situation, Africa is becoming further marginalized in world affairs, both geo-politically and economically. African countries must realize that, more than ever before, their greatest resource is their people and that it is through their active and full participation that Africa can surmount the difficulties that lie ahead.

9. We are convinced that to achieve the above objective will require a re-direction of resources to satisfy, in the first place, the critical needs of the people, to achieve economic and social justice and to emphasize self-reliance on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to empower the people to determine the direction and content of development, and to effectively contribute to the enhancement of production and productivity that are required. Bearing this in mind and having carefully analyzed the structure of the African economies, the root causes of the repeated economic crisis and the strategies and programmes that have hitherto been applied to deal with them, we are convinced that Africa has no alternative but to urgently and immediately embark upon the task of transforming the structure of its economies to achieve long-term self-sustained growth and development that is both human centered and participatory in nature. Furthermore, Africa's grave environmental and ecological crisis cannot be solved in the absence of a process of sustainable development which commands the full support and participation of the people. We believe in this context that the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP) - which was endorsed by the twenty-fifth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in July 1989, and by the Conference of Heads of the State or Government of Non-Aligned countries held in Belgrade in September 1989 and by the Forty-fourth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations which invited the international community, including multilateral, financial and development institutions, to consider the framework as a basis for
constructive dialogue and fruitful consultation - offers the best framework for such an approach. We also wish in this regard to put on record our disapproval of all economic programmes, such as orthodox Structural Adjustment Programmes, which undermine the human condition and disregard the potential and role of popular participation in self-sustaining development.

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

II. PROMOTING POPULAR PARTICIPATION

11. We believe strongly that popular participation is, in essence, the empowerment of the people to effectively involve themselves in creating the structures and in designing policies and programmes that serve the interests of all as well as to effectively contribute to the development process and share equitably in its benefits. Therefore, there must be an opening up of political process to accommodate freedom of opinions, tolerate differences, accept consensus on issues as well as ensure the effective participation of the people and their organizations and associations. This requires action on the part of all, first and foremost of the people themselves. But equally important are the actions of the State and the international community, to create the necessary conditions for such an empowerment and facilitate effective popular participation in societal and economic life. This requires that the political system evolve to allow for democracy and full participation by all sections of our societies.

12. In view of the critical contribution made by women to African societies and economies and the extreme subordination and discrimination suffered by women in Africa, it is the consensus of the participants that the attainment of equal rights by women in social, economic and political spheres must become a central feature of a democratic and participatory pattern of development. Further, it is the consensus of this conference that the attainment of women's
full participation must be given highest priority by society as a whole and African Governments in particular. This right should be fought for and defended by society, African Non-Governmental Organizations and Voluntary Development Organizations as well as by non-African Non-Governmental Organizations and Voluntary Development Organizations, Governments and the United Nations system in due recognition of the primary role being played by women now and on the course to recovery and transformation of Africa for better quality of life.

People's Role

13. We want to emphasize the basic fact that the role of the people and their popular organizations is central to the realization of popular participation. They have to be fully involved, committed and indeed, seize the initiative. In this regard, it is essential that they establish independent people's organizations at various levels that are genuinely grass-root, voluntary, democratically administered and self-reliant and that are rooted in the tradition and culture of the society so as to ensure community empowerment and self-development. Consultative machinery at various levels should be established with governments on various aspects of democratic participation. It is crucial that the people and their popular organizations should develop links across national borders to promote co-operation and inter-relationships on sub-regional, regional, south-south and south-north bases. This is necessary for sharing lessons of experience, developing people's solidarity and raising political consciousness on democratic participation.

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

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

16. We strongly believe that popular participation is dependent on the nature of the State itself and ability of Government to respond to popular demand. Since African Governments have a critical role to play in the promotion of popular participation, they have to yield space to the people, without which popular participation will be difficult to achieve. Too often, the social base of power and decision-making are too narrow. Hence the urgent need to broaden these; to galvanize and tap the people's energy and commitment; and to promote political accountability by the State to the people. This makes it imperative that a new partnership between African Governments and the people in the common interest of societal and accelerated socio-economic development should be established without delay. This new partnership must not only recognize the importance of gender issues but must take action to ensure women's involvement at all levels of decision-making. In particular Governments should set themselves specific targets for the appointment of women in senior policy and management posts in all sectors of government.

17. We believe that for people to participate meaningfully in their self-development, their freedom to express themselves and their freedom from fear must be guaranteed. This can only be assured through the extension and protection of people's basic human rights and we urge all Governments to vigorously implement the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the ILO Convention No. 87 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

18. We also believe that one of the key conditions for ensuring people's participation throughout the continent is the bringing to an end of all wars and armed conflicts. The millions of African refugees and displaced persons are those with least opportunity to participate in the determination of their future. We urge Governments and all parties to Africa's conflicts, domestic and external, to seek peaceful means of resolving their differences and of establishing peace throughout Africa. In situations of armed conflicts, we uphold the right of civilians to food and other basic necessities and emphasize that the international community must exercise its moral authority to ensure that this right is protected.

19. We cannot overemphasize the benefits that can be reaped if, with the elimination of internal strife or inter-country conflicts, the
(iv) increasing employment opportunities for the rural and urban poor, expanding opportunities for them to contribute to the generation of output and enhanced productivity levels and creating better marketing conditions for the benefit of the producers; and,

(v) strengthening communication capacities for rural development, mass literacy etc.

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

5. Intensifying the efforts to achieve sub-regional and regional economic co-operation and integration and increased intra-African trade.

B. At the level of the people and their organizations

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

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

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

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

4. Shake off lethargy and traditional beliefs that are impediments to development, especially the customs and cultural practices that undermine the status of women in society, while recognizing and valuing those beliefs and practices that contribute to development. Rural and urban people’s organizations, such as workers, peasants, women, youth, students etc., should be encouraged to initiate and implement strategies to strengthen their productive power and meet their basic needs.
resources spent on defence were to be redirected to productive activities and social services to the people. As rightly noted in the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-economic Recovery and Transformation, "it is not difficult to imagine what it would mean to social welfare in Africa, with all its positive multiplier effects, if a saving can be achieved in defence spending and non-productive expenditures". We believe that our Governments can make such savings and we call upon them to do so urgently.

20. We are, however, aware of certain situations, particularly, for the Front-line States which continue to face the destabilization acts of apartheid South Africa. This destabilization results in a debilitating diversion of resources that would otherwise have been used to meet critical basic needs of the people in these countries.

Role of the International Community

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

22. We also call on the United Nations system to intensify its effort to promote the application of justice in international economic relations, the defence of human rights, the maintenance of peace and the achievement of disarmament and to assist African countries and people's organizations with the development of human and economic resources. We also call on the United Nations system to implement its own decision to have at least 30 per cent of senior positions held by women. Special efforts are needed to ensure that African women are adequately represented at senior levels in United Nations agencies, particularly those operating in Africa.

III. POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

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

1. African Governments must adopt development strategies, approaches and programmes, the content and parameters of which are in line with the interest and aspirations of the people and which incorporate, rather than alienate, African values and economic, social, cultural, political and environmental realities.

2. We strongly urge African Governments to promote the formulation and implementation of national development programmes within the framework of the aforesaid aspirations, interests and realities, which develop as a result of a popular participatory process, and which aim at the transformation of the African economies to achieve self-reliant and self-sustaining people-centered development based on popular participation and democratic consensus.

3. In implementing these endogenous and people-centered development strategies, an enabling environment must be created to facilitate broad-based participation, on a decentralized basis, in the development process. Such an enabling environment is an essential pre-requisite for the stimulation of initiatives and creativity and for enhancing output and productivity by actions such as:

   (i) extending more economic power to the people through the equitable distribution of income, support for their productive capacity through enhanced access to productive inputs, such as land, credit, technology, etc., and in such a manner as to reflect the central role played by women in the economy;

   (ii) promoting mass literacy and skills training in particular and development of human resources in general;

   (iii) greater participation and consensus-building in the formulation and implementation of economic and social policies at all levels, including the identification and elimination of laws and bureaucratic procedures that pose obstacles to people’s participation;
5. Concerted efforts should be made to change prevailing attitudes towards the disabled so as to integrate them and bring them into the main stream of development.

6. Create and enhance networks and collaborative relationships among peoples organizations. This will have the effect of social involvement capable of inducing social change.

7. People’s organizations should support strongly and participate in the efforts to promote effective sub-regional and regional economic co-operation and integration and intra-African trade.

C. At the level of the International Community

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

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

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

3. Fostering the democratization of development in African countries by supporting the decentralization of development processes, the active participation of the people and their organizations in the formulation of development strategies and economic reform programmes and open debate and consensus-building processes on development and reform issues.

4. Allowing for the release of resources for development on a participatory basis which will require the reversal of the net outflow of financial resources from Africa to the multilateral financial institutions and donor countries and their use for development purposes and for the benefit of the people.
5. Reducing drastically the stock of Africa's debt and debt-servicing obligations and providing a long-term period of moratorium on remaining debt-servicing obligations in order to release resources for financing development and transformation on a participatory basis.

6. Ensuring that the human dimension is central to adjustment programmes which must be compatible with the objectives and aspirations of the African people and with African realities and must be conceived and designed internally by African countries as part and parcel of the long-term objectives and framework of development and transformation.

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

D. At the level of NGOs and VDOs

The African and non-African NGOs and VDOs have an important role in supporting recovery and development efforts and popular participation initiatives and organizations in Africa. They are urged to take the following actions:

1. African NGOs and VDOs and their partners should be fully participatory, democratic and accountable.

2. African NGOs, VDOs and GROs should develop and/or strengthen institutional structures at the regional sub-regional and national levels, such as FAVDÖ, to bring them together.

3. African NGOs and VDOs should broaden the dissemination of successful African popular participation and grass-root experiences throughout the continent and the exchange of experience thereon to create a multiplier effect and sensitize policy-makers.

4. The International Conference on Popular Participation is clear in its recognition of the value of the contribution of grass-roots organizations and NGOs to Africa's development and demonstrates that effective dialogue
between governments, NGOs and grass-roots organizations is essential and valuable. This Conference recommends that national fora be established to enable honest and open dialogue between African Governments, grass-roots organizations and NGOs in order that the experience of grass-roots participatory development informs national policy-making.

5. Non-African NGOs and VDOs should give increased support and target their operations within the framework of national economic strategies and reform programmes aimed at transforming the structures of the African economies with a view to internalizing the development process and ensuring its sustainability with a particular focus on the human dimension and people's participation.

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

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

8. Non-African NGOs should strengthen their advocacy work internationally and in their home countries and with regard to bilateral donors and the multilateral system, closely monitoring their response to the African crisis and holding donor governments and agencies accountable for their policies and actions. In particular, non-African and African NGOs should formulate a programme of action geared towards their fullest participation in the end-term review of UN-PAAERD.

9. Co-operation and dialogue between African and Non-African NGOs and VDOs should be strengthened to increase the effectiveness of their interventions at the community level and the building of greater understanding on the part of international public opinion of the real causes of the African socio-economic crisis and the actions that are needed to deal with its root causes.
10. Non-African NGOs acknowledge that their influence as donors is often detrimental to ensuring genuine partnership with African NGOs, VDOs and grass-root organizations and affects the enabling environment for popular participation. In that context co-operation in all its forms must be transparent and reflect African priorities.

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

E. At level of the Media and communication

1. The national and regional media should make every effort to fight for and defend their freedom at all costs, and make special effort to champion the cause of popular participation and publicize activities and programmes thereof and generally provide access for the dissemination of information and education programmes on popular participation.

2. Combining their indigenous communication systems with appropriate use of modern low-cost communications technology, African communities and NGOs, VDOs and trade unions and other mass organizations must strengthen their communication capacities for development. Regional and national NGOs should participate in the assessment of Africa's Development Support Communication Needs to be carried out under the auspices of the United Nations Steering Committee and the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on UNPAAERD.

F. At the level of women's organizations

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

1. Continue to strengthen their capacity as builders of confidence among women;
2. Strive for the attainment of policies and programmes that reflect and recognize women's roles as producers, mothers, active community mobilizers and custodians of culture;

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

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

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

G. At the level of organized labour

Trade Unions should:

1. Be democratic, voluntary, autonomous and accountable organizations.

2. Initiate, animate and promote mass literacy and training programmes.

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

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

5. Assist in the formation of workers' co-operatives.
6. Assist in organizing the unemployed for productive activities, such as the establishment of small and medium scale enterprises.

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

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

H. At the level of youth and students and their organizations

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

1. Preparation and adoption of an African Charter on Youth and Student Rights to include the right to organize, education, employment and free and public expression.

2. The full democratic participation of youth and students in African society requires immediate steps by Government, popular organizations, parents and the youth themselves to eliminate the major impediments to youth participation, such as frequent bans on youth and student organizations, police brutality against unarmed protesting students, detention and harassment on campuses, dismissal from studies and the frequent and arbitrary closure of educational institutions.

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

4. The advancement of youth participation in development also requires the protection of Africa's minors against forced military service, whether in national or insurgent/rebel groups.
very week when Nelson Mandela’s release has exhilarated all of Africa, and galvanized the international community.

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

29. History and experience both teach that this world never works in compartments. The forces of freedom and democracy are contagious. Inevitably, and irresistibly, popular participation will have a vital role to play on the continent of Africa, and play that role we will.

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

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

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

Done at Arusha, The United Republic of Tanzania
16 February 1990
5. African youth and students should organize national autonomous associations to participate in and contribute to development activities and programmes such as literacy, reforestation, agriculture and environmental protection.

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

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

IV. MONITORING POPULAR PARTICIPATION

24. We proclaim the urgent necessity to involve the people in monitoring popular participation in Africa on the basis of agreed indicators and we propose the use of the following indicators, which are not necessarily exhaustive, for measuring the progress in the implementation of the recommendations of the Charter.

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

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

3. Representation of the people and their organizations in national bodies.

4. The rule of law and social and economic justice, including equitable distribution of income and the creation of full employment opportunities.
5. Protection of the ecological, human and legal environment.

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

7. Number and scope of grassroots organizations with effective participation in development activities, producers and consumers co-operatives and community projects.


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

10. Decentralization of decision-making processes and institutions.

25. We are convinced of the imperative necessity to follow-up and monitor the implementation of this Charter and to report periodically thereon on progress achieved as well as problems encountered. We accordingly recommend that at the national level a follow-up mechanism on which representatives at high level of Government, trade unions, women's organizations, NGOs, VDOs, grass-roots and youth and student organizations will be members.

26. At the regional level, we propose a joint OAU/ECA Regional Monitoring Machinery on which also, in addition to representatives of these two organizations will be representatives of the network of organizations named above. This regional monitoring group will submit biennial progress reports on the implementation of the Charter to the ECA Conference of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU.

CONCLUSION

27. This Conference has taken place during a period when the world continues to witness tumultuous changes in Eastern Europe. Even more dramatically, this Conference has taken place during the
Professor Kighoma Malima,
Chairperson of the Conference,
Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission and
Minister of State in the Office of the
President of United Republic of Tanzania

This Conference has provided us with the much needed and renewed inspiration as well strength to press on and correct any shortcomings that have become apparent. This is why the Charter we have adopted today will be an invaluable working document for the Government in its continued effort to ensure effective people’s participation which as the conference has rightly noted, is the only way of accelerating sustainable development and transformation for Africa.

Please, take this message home with you and work for the realization and implementation of this Charter in your different capacities as ambassadors of good hope for Africa. We have too often disastrously underestimated the POWER OF IDEAS and in so doing grossly over estimated the IDEA OF POWER, at our own "peril".

Let us now go back to our respective responsibilities and work towards building a vibrant and prosperous Africa.
PART III

QUOTES FROM CLOSING STATEMENTS

That new Africa must be born today not tomorrow. The world has witnessed in the past four months momentous developments in Eastern Europe where the people are asserting their rights. A new revolution is in process—a democratic revolution, that will give full reign to popular participation. Will we, the Africans, stand by and allow this wind of change to pass us by? Will we remain onlookers or will we join in the crusade in order to set in motion the badly needed process of change and transformation?

We stood by during the period of the renaissance. We were even less than onlookers in the era of the industrial and technological revolutions. Now that the rebirth of democracy is taking place at a time when the last vestiges of colonialism have disappeared from Africa, are we going to allow the continent to be further marginalized, to be out of the new mainstream? Let the people decide. Let the people of Africa assume their responsibility. Let them face their historic challenge.
The African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation which has just been adopted by acclamation by this Conference has, in no unmistakable language, argued the case for the launching of a new era in Africa, on the basis of which the new Africa of our vision can emerge - an Africa in which democracy, accountability and development for transformation become internalized in every country and deep-rooted at every level of our society; an Africa where the enabling environment that promotes initiative and enterprise and guarantees the dignity of each human being becomes pervasive; and, an Africa where the empowerment of the people and the democratization of the development process is the order of the day.

Africa needs fundamental change and transformation, not just adjustment. The change and transformation required are not just narrow, economistic and mechanical ones. They are the broader and fundamental changes that will bring about, over time, the new Africa of our vision where there is development and economic justice, not just growth; where there is democracy and accountability not despotism, authoritarianism and kleptocracy; and where the governed and their governments are moving hand-in-hand in the promotion of the common good, and where it is the will of the people rather than the wishes of one person or a group of persons, however powerful, that prevails.

That new Africa must be born today not tomorrow. The world has witnessed in the past four months momentous developments in Eastern Europe where the people are asserting their rights. A new revolution is in process - a democratic revolution, that will give full reign to popular participation. Will we, the Africans, stand by and allow this wind of change to pass us by? Will we remain onlookers or will we join in the crusade in order to set in motion the badly needed process of change and transformation?

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RESOLUTION 1
TRANSMITTAL OF THE AFRICAN CHARTER FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION (ARUSHA, 1990)

THE OAU MINISTERIAL COUNCIL AND BCA CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS

ANNEXES

The Conference:

Recalling General Assembly resolution 43/27 and its annex on the mid-term review and appraisal of the implementation of UN-PAAERD,

Recalling also General Assembly resolution 43/27 and its annex on the mid-term review and appraisal of the implementation of UN-PAAERD,


Aware of the need to mobilize support from every quarter for promoting Popular Participation in the recovery and development process in Africa,
ANNEX 1

Resolutions

RESOLUTION 1

TRANSMITTAL OF THE AFRICAN CHARTER FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION (ARUSHA, 1990)

TO

THE OAU MINISTERIAL COUNCIL AND ECA CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS

The Conference:


Recalling also General Assembly resolution 43/27 and its annex on the mid-term review and appraisal of the implementation of UN-PAAERD,

Mindful of ECA Conference of Ministers resolution 664 (XXIV) entitled "International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa",

Aware of the need to mobilize support from every quarter for promoting Popular Participation in the recovery and development process in Africa,
1. **Expresses** its deep appreciation to the Government and People of the United Republic of Tanzania for having hosted the meeting so generously;

2. **Also expresses** its appreciations to His Excellency Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, for officially opening the Conference and for the inspiring address which he delivered;

3. **Requests** the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania to transmit the *African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation (Arusha, 1990)* to both the Twenty-sixth Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU and to the Forty-fifth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations for their information and such necessary action as they may deem fit.

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**TRANSMISSION OF THE AFRICAN CHARTER FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION (Arusha, 1990)**

**TO**

THE OAU MINISTERIAL COUNCIL AND ECA

CONCERNING MINISTERS' CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS
RECOGNIZING that without popular participation there can be no true and lasting development for Africa,

REJOicing that this Conference coincided with the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990 who sacrificed his freedom for his belief in the right of the people to decide their own future,

RECOGNIZING that Governments, agencies of the United Nations system and Non-Governmental Organizations are giving increased importance to the role of participation as a means to and an end of development,

AFFIRMING the need to acknowledge the efforts and sacrifices of grass-roots and people's organizations to make popular participation a reality,

RESOLVES that henceforth the eleventh day of February each year should be proclaimed Popular Participation Day in Africa,

RECOMMENDS that the Executive Secretary of ECA should bring this resolution before the forthcoming meeting of the ECA Conference of Ministers in May 1990 and thereafter to the General Assembly of the United Nations at its Forty-fifth Session as well as to the Fifty-second Session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU and the Twenty-sixth Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU.
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TRANSMITTAL OF THE AFRICAN CHARTER FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION (ARUSHA, 1990)

TO THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE OAU AND UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Conference:


Recalling also General Assembly resolution 43/27 and its annex on the mid-term review and appraisal of the implementation of UN-PAAERD,

Mindful of ECA Conference of Ministers resolution 664 (XXIV) entitled "International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa",

1. Requests the Executive Secretary of ECA to submit the CHARTER to the Sixteenth Meeting of the ECA Conference of Ministers,

2. Invites the Secretary-General at the OAU in collaboration with the Executive Secretary of ECA to submit the CHARTER to the Fifty-second Session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU.
To: Our dear brother Nelson Mandela and all members of the African National Congress (ANC)

Our dear brother,

We the participants at the International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa, taking place in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania from 12 to 16 February 1990 and jointly organized by African people's organizations (Non-Governmental Organizations, Grassroots Organizations, Trade Unions, Youth and Women's organizations), non-African NGOs, African Governments, and the UN system under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa and the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, seize the opportunity of the official opening of our conference by his Excellency Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania to salute, with great joy and pride, the legitimate and long-awaited release of our illustrious brother, Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and African symbol of the relentless struggle for justice, equality, freedom and democracy.

All the participants at the Conference congratulate you, the ANC and all the people struggling for justice in South Africa. Your release is an eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of the unrelenting solidarity and resolute commitment of the people of South Africa. It is also a salute to your resolute courage and determination. We must see your release, however, as only a beginning because apartheid remains basically intact.
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Presenters: Dr. M. Olaseinde Arigbede
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Discussants: Prof. Dharam Ghai
Chief (Mrs.) Bisi Ogunleye
Mr. Makambo Siongo
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Theme: The role of popular participation in meeting the challenge of recovery and development in Africa.

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Mrs. Olive Luena
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Chairperson: Mrs. Aissata Kane
Presenters: Ms. Emilienne Ngo Basse, Dr. Mbuyi Tuambilangana
Rapporteur: Prof. Bade Onimode

Working Group 2:

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Chairperson: Dr. Edda Gachukia
Presenter: Mr. Akpalo Kouassivi
Rapporteur: Mr. Simon Stocker

Working Group 3:

Topic: Innovative popular participation experiences.

Chairperson: Dr. John Tesha
Presenters: Mrs. V.B. Dunmade, Dr. E.M. Maganya
Rapporteur: Dr. W. Karanja

Working Group 4:

Topic: External and internal impediments to effective popular participation in Africa.

Chairperson: Mr. Henri Bazin
Presenter: Mr. Tim Shaw
Rapporteur: Mr. Patrick Bugembe

Working Group 5:

Topic: How to unleash the talents and energies of the people to contribute effectively to the process of development and transformation.

Chairperson: Mrs. Olive Luena
Presenter: Dr. P. Anyang-Nyong’o
Resource Person: Mrs. Thelma Awori
Rapporteur: Mr. Tim Brodhead
**Working Group 5B:**

Chairperson: Mr. S.C. Nana-Sinkam  
Presenter: Mr. Louis Mahoungou  
Rapporteur: Mr. Pierre Brien

**Working Group 6:**

Theme: People’s responses to the economic crisis in Africa.  
Chairperson: Mr. Marc Laporte  
Presenter: Mr. Faustin Musare  
Rapporteur: Dr. Carmela Abate

**Working Group 7:**

Topic: Participatory development as an essential dimension in Africa’s development and transformation efforts.  
Chairperson: Prof. Peter Oakley  
Presenter: Prof. Dharam Ghai  
Rapporteur: Ms. Melody Morrison

**Working Group 8:**

Topic: Promoting indigenous non-governmental organizations as an instrument of popular participation.  
Chairperson: Chief (Mrs.) Bisi Oyunieye  
Presenters: Mr. Seydou Sall  
Mr. Christopher M. Lekyo  
Rapporteur: Ms. Adrienne Allison

**Working Group 9:**

Topic: People’s participation and access to resources and services including media.  
Chairperson: Mr. Mathias Hundsalz  
Presenters: Mr. Naason Nsabimana  
Mr. Constantinos Berhe  
Rapporteur: Prof. Bade Onimode
**Working Group 10:**

**Topic:** Popular participation and the challenge of self-reliance.

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<tr>
<th>Chairperson</th>
<th>Hon. Mrs. Miriam Matembe</th>
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<tr>
<td>Presenters</td>
<td>Ms. Ludovick Ngatara</td>
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<td>Mrs. Aminata Traore</td>
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<td>Rapporteur</td>
<td>Mr. A.M.A. Dirar</td>
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**Workshop 11A:**

**Topic:** Education and training for participatory development.

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<tr>
<th>Chairperson</th>
<th>Dr. Mahdouh Mohamed Wabba</th>
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<td>Presenters</td>
<td>Mr. John Kabore</td>
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<td>Dr. Pai Obaya</td>
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<td>Rapporteur</td>
<td>Prof. Gelase Mutahaba</td>
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**Workshop 11B:**

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<tr>
<th>Chairperson</th>
<th>Mr. Mutombo Mulami</th>
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<tr>
<td>Presenter</td>
<td>Mr. Pai Obanya</td>
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<td>Rapporteur</td>
<td>Mr. S. Josue Mamder</td>
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**Workshop 12:**

**Topic:** Democratizing the development process.

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<tr>
<th>Chairperson</th>
<th>Hon. Mulondwe K. Muzungu</th>
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<tr>
<td>Rapporteur</td>
<td>Mr. Akpalo Kouassivi</td>
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**Workshop 13A:**

**Topic:** The role and responsibilities of government and donor agencies in promoting popular participation.

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<tr>
<th>Chairperson</th>
<th>Mr. Alioune Sall</th>
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<td>Rapporteur</td>
<td>Ms. Carol Capps</td>
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**Workshop 13B:**

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<tr>
<th>Chairperson</th>
<th>Mr. Justin Savagdo Rarousia</th>
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<tr>
<td>Rapporteur</td>
<td>Ms. Florence Tobo Lobe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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We therefore call for the immediate dismantling of apartheid and the introduction of a democratic system of government which will enable all the people of South Africa to participate fully and effectively in the political, economic, social and cultural life of their country. Only the full attainment of this goal, and nothing less, will be consistent with the legitimate aspirations of the majority of the South African people, the expressed wishes of mankind and the Charter of the United Nations.

Note: Similar messages concerning Mr. Mandela's release from prison were sent to the Secretary-General of United Nations and the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity.
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## ANNEX VI

### Expressions for Popular Participation in Several African Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Expression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kiswahili (Tanzania)</td>
<td>Hamasa ya umma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiswahili (Kenya)</td>
<td>Harambee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulu (Cameroon)</td>
<td>E nyöne ngap ya bo djam ezing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewondo (Cameroon)</td>
<td>Ekaas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amharic (Ethiopia)</td>
<td>Hezbawë tesatifo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twi (Ghana)</td>
<td>Walantu Walansa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga (Ghana)</td>
<td>Wo bole kutu wokpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba (Nigeria)</td>
<td>Ise assowopo se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igbo (Nigeria)</td>
<td>Iso na ndi na ekwu lhe agame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comorian (Comores)</td>
<td>M'ręngo funvu djimla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewondo (Cote d'Ivoire)</td>
<td>N'ṭcha n'gbo soin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More (Burkina Faso)</td>
<td>Sissoaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulaar (Senegal)</td>
<td>Baawal leefiol or golle leefiol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolof (Senegal)</td>
<td>Mbooolo askaan - wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lingala (Zaire) (Congo)</td>
<td>Salongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munu-Kutuba (Congo)</td>
<td>Zola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kikongo (Zaire)</td>
<td>Sala - sambila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambara (Mali)</td>
<td>Diama dje jë ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic (Sudan)</td>
<td>El Nafr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luganda (Uganda)</td>
<td>Bulungi bwansa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swati (Swaziland)</td>
<td>LubambiaSwano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chichewa (Malawi)</td>
<td>Chigwirizano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona (Zimbabwe)</td>
<td>Mushandirapamwe kweruzhinji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu/Ndebele (Zimbabwe)</td>
<td>Ukaphathisana kukazulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesotho (Lesotho)</td>
<td>Matla moruong ke a sechaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa (Nigeria)</td>
<td>Siyasa da mulkin kasar sha'nin jamaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirundi (Burundi)</td>
<td>Tuje inama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole (Sierra Leone)</td>
<td>Hep oona sef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malagasy (Madagascar)</td>
<td>Vahoaka mahdray anjara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>