



Un Peuple - Un But - Une Foi

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Thème :

**Comment le NEPAD peut-il contribuer à l'instauration de
systèmes politiques démocratiques en Afrique ?**

**Introduction de
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Monsieur le Président de l'Université

Mesdames, Messieurs les professeurs,

Mesdames, Messieurs les Etudiants,

Mesdames, Messieurs les invites,

Mesdames, Messieurs,

C'est toujours pour moi un grand plaisir que de me retrouver avec des étudiants car, comme j'ai l'habitude de le dire, un vieux professeur est toujours un étudiant. Il s'y ajoute que depuis que j'ai quitté l'université pour la politique, je me suis inscrit dans une nouvelle école qui est celle de la conduite des affaires des hommes, bref l'université de la politique.

Permettez-moi de vous rappeler très brièvement ce qui me lie aux universités britanniques, Cambridge et, aujourd'hui, Oxford.

Comme tous les libéraux, j'ai découvert les vertus du libéralisme avec son fondateur Adam Smith, le père du célèbre ouvrage : de la richesse des nations et avec ses continuateurs, David Ricardo et Stuart Mill, chacun avec sa touche propre.

Je suis un pur produit de J.M. Keynes et la représentante de sa pensée, Mme Joan Robinson dont la lecture a formé ma pensée et, aujourd'hui bien qu'étant dans un contexte différent de celui de l'Angleterre et des pays développés, je n'en reste pas moins keynésien. Dans un ouvrage que je suis en train d'écrire sur la mondialisation, je soutiens que nous sommes tous des keynésiens, que nous soyons monétaristes ou budgétaristes.

Ce n'est pas un hasard si Oxford est le berceau du libéralisme international car c'est d'ici que le premier manifeste de cette organisation a été lancé en 1947 en réaction au nouvel ordre mondial dirigiste et désastreux lors de la dernière guerre.

Dans les années 1960, date des indépendances africaines, nos pays inspirés par le système marxiste ont appliqué cette doctrine tout en récusant la doctrine. Cela s'est traduit par le Parti unique généralisé dans toute l'Afrique, l'économie d'Etat devenue la norme et la pensée unique.

En 1967, parut l'appel libéral d'Oxford en réaction aux velléités des mouvements de gauche engagés à préparer le désordre de mai 1968.

Plus près de nous, en 1997 le Congrès de l'International Libéral d'Oxford prit position par rapport à la mondialisation et cette année, à Dakar, l'International Libéral a été la seule organisation internationale à s'aventurer publiquement et courageusement dans l'examen de thèmes aussi brûlants que le rapport entre la

religion musulmane et l'Ouest chrétien. Les conclusions ont été que dans un monde déboussolé par le terrorisme et la violence aveugle, les intellectuels musulmans et chrétiens dont les deux religions sont fondamentalement pacifiques et contre la violence devraient refuser que l'on s'accapare des religions pour, en vérité, faire de la politique avec et capter la masse des pauvres par un langage démagogique. C'est la vision libérale du monde actuel et du dialogue Islam-Occident.

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Vous m'avez proposé un choix entre deux sujets. J'ai préféré les combiner en un seul en les liant dans une seule formulation:

Comment le NEPAD peut-il contribuer à l'instauration de systèmes politiques démocratiques en Afrique?

Pour cela rappelons d'abord l'essentiel du NEPAD.

1. NEPAD

The African continent, distraught at one time, has found a new hope in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), a new African vision of Renaissance based on bold and original initiatives which already mobilises the African continent and has convinced its partners.

What is the internal logic of the new strategy? Is there any risk for the logic to be stalled and obliterated by the international environment of the infernal globalisation process? Since Africa's strategy is based on partnership, what are the chances of this alliance of conflicting interests in a competitive world?

I will now try to answer a series of questions.

I. The new partnership

Africa had a new lease on life with the launching of NEPAD, a merger between the **Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Program, (MAP)**, developed by Mr. Thabo Mbeki, President of South-Africa, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria and the **OMEGA Plan** proposed by Senegal.

MAP essentially insisted on Africa's impoverishment process.

The continent's impoverishment, dates as far back as the slave trade and colonisation eras, and the process went on after the independence of the 1960s. Every period was marked by its own levy on Africa : human resource levy (three centuries of slave trade), natural resource levy (colonisation), levy on products subjected to unfair trade (long-drawn deterioration of terms of exchange observed since independence).

The OMEGA Plan is the economic component, the catching up theory, which aims to close the gap that separates us from developed countries in the essential sectors of the economy. After competing briefly, the two plans were merged into the "New Initiative for Africa", NIA, which was quickly, renamed the **New Partnership for Africa's Development, NEPAD**, with the aim of integrating the aspect of a new type of international cooperation with developed countries advocated in the new African plan. In fact, NEPAD was prepared with the perfect awareness that it would be ineffective without co-operation with developed countries.

We can summarise it as follows: NEPAD's long-term aim is to **close the fundamental gaps that separate Africa from developed countries, through massive investments in basic infrastructure and human development projects**, with a view to enabling the continent to fully and wholly participate in world production and international trade, the driving force of economic growth. In a nutshell, Africa should "no longer be considered as recipient of aid but as a partner", to quote Jacques CHIRAC. It is against reason to consider as permanently condemned a continent with considerable human and natural resources, with a potential of 700 million consumers, and twice as much in the next 25 years.

II. NEPAD's structure and internal logic

NEPAD is, first of all, based on three basic options or parameters which constitute essential conditions; good governance, the region rather than the State as it currently stands, the private sector. Of course they are voluntary, "optional". Then comes the eight priority sectors which are variables whose interaction generates growth.

Let us first look at the parameters:

- Good Governance, public and private,

In addition to democracy and the respect of human rights, good governance also entails the fight against corruption which has wreaked havoc in Africa. This concerns active corruption characterised by the plundering of State resources as well as the facilitation of the act by external complicity. Let us take only one example: loans with issuance rates that are sometimes less than 90, leave exorbitant margins in the form of commissions, high cost suppliers' credit, through a single tender that has become common practice; all these elements have contributed in generating heavy indebtedness without any real advantages in the field, for Africa.

The 1st NEPAD option is the **Good Governance**. I propose to establish an **Institute of Good Governance** whose main objective would be to train, over a 6-month or 12-month period, Africans of all walks of life, from the private or public sector, with a view to familiarising them with Good Governance.

The Institute could also train specialist trainers, men and women working in the field, who could take over at regional level.

The training could include the organisation of practical missions to those African countries which have succeeded in resolving a specific good governance problem. This would enable the trainees to see for themselves how a given country has managed to deliver and appreciate its achievements in the field of management, which is sometimes fraught with difficulties : free, transparent and democratic elections, respect for human rights, an independent judiciary, transparency in the management of public funds, effective press freedom and plurality, social peace, stability, fight against corruption, compliance with children's rights, favourable conditions to attract private investment etc... The Institute would thus act as a sort of laboratory where experiences could be exchanged among African countries so that they would benefit from one another's expertise in a given field.

- The **region** (Africa has 5 regions) as an operating territory. This does not exclude the possibility for Government to take action at national level, particularly through international co-operation. Thus, NEPAD is seeking funding from fresh resources which should not, in any way, come from recycled bilateral resources.

- Turning to the **private sector** as the key partner instead of continuing to rely essentially on public funds.

Assuming for the first time, that most of Africa's massive resource needs can only be expected from the African or international private sector, the summit of African Heads of State on partnership with the private sector for the financing of NEPAD, held in Dakar in mid-April 2002, was attended by more than 1000 people and business groups from all continents, selected out of 1600 applications to participate.

Out of these long-term parameters, NEPAD chose 8 sectors as super-priorities which are variables whose interactions generate growth, as I mentioned earlier:

- 1. Infrastructures: railway, roads, ports, dams**
- 2. Education / training**
- 3. Health**
- 4. Agriculture**
- 5. New information and communication technologies, NIC**
- 6. Environment**
- 7. Energy**
- 8. Access to markets of developed countries.**

The importance granted to such and such a sector (variable) defines the type of development opted for. Thus, NEPAD can be materialised through a mathematical or econometrical model, based on whether we use an investment breakdown strategy according to proportions or arithmetic coefficients linked to the sectors or regression coefficients to show progress or chose a project.

Let us develop only two sectors:

1. Education - Training

Since they attained independence, African countries have courageously pursued the training of their nationals in western capitals, with a cost increasing every year, to provide them with the possibility of acquiring skills and expertise.

We have proven that we have capacities. Since Africa has human resources of quality, we were able, within a short period, to endow our young Africans in western capitals with skills needed by the market. We made huge sacrifices to provide them with scholarships. And now that they have completed their studies, the West takes them away from us simply because we do not have enough resources to pay for the salaries they receive in that part of the world. Thus, after forcefully taking away our human resources to provide labour force to their plantations for three decades, the West now takes them away from us, on the pretext of the freedom of the individual, an accommodating argument in this particular case.

Countries benefiting from such gross human capital training (investments of an African country to form an African executive) should think of refunding us the value, or send us their experts in exchange.

2. Health

As regards this issue, I will simply talk about AIDS, by recalling an alarming information I disclosed almost fifteen years ago:

Experts say that Aids is the most serious danger that has ever confronted Black Africa. In East Africa, the number of Aids infected persons is said to double every eight months and countries like Zaire, Zambia, Kenya, Tanzania run the risk of losing half of their population rapidly.

It is estimated that in the decade ahead, some 150 million Africans will disappear, thus turning Africa into an empty continent¹. A strategic study shows that governments of several countries, including South Africa, the United States, URSS, France and India, are already engaged in studying scenarios to fill the vacuum which will be caused in Africa by Aids, and the hypothesis of occupancy of Southern Africa by India was seriously examined. The conclusion was that Asian and South African entrepreneurship which could propagate to countries bordering South Africa, could give remarkable impetus to development².

This was confirmed by further developments; but we should not lose sight of the fact that other epidemics are also decimating the population: malaria and tuberculosis resurface.

¹ *Le Monde newspaper, 1 May 1988.*

² *Le Monde newspaper, 1 May 1988; International Defence Review, April 1988. I did not want to change a single word in the text written in 1989. I should however bring the data closer to those of June 2001.*

All the NEPAD projects were identified in each of the eight sectors, both at regional and continental levels.

Consultations have been held between African leaders, the NEPAD implementation committee and Heads of State of G8 developed countries, on the one hand, and sherpas designated by the latter and African experts, on the other. At this stage, we are dealing with the funding of NEPAD projects.

III. Funding NEPAD

1. In Kananaskis, G8 member States adopted an action plan in favour of Africa. They undertook to increase resources assigned to overseas development aid by 60. Besides, 1 billion US dollars will be devoted to covering the deficit of the HIPC initiative financing.

2. G8 member States individually undertook to support the implementation of the action plan for Africa.

3. Canada will provide the African continent with 6 billion Canadian dollars in additional resources, over a 5 year period. This measure will add up to the resources of the Investments Fund meant for development assistance, which amounts to about 500 million Canadian dollars per annum. Part of these funds was used in the preparation of the action plan for infrastructures and will serve to finance the capacity strengthening programme for regional economic communities.

4. The United Kingdom has approved a 360 million pounds increase in resources meant for Africa, in addition to instituting a special fund raising mechanism to support African countries in their efforts to realise the Millennium Development Goals.

5. The United States has announced their intention to increase their contribution to the fight against Aids by 15 billion US dollars, and to assist some countries selected through the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA).

6. The European Union has announced a billion dollar contribution to the VWorld Health Fund.

7. Japan has just confirmed the following proposals:

- 1.06 million dollars for infrastructures,
- 300 million dollars for health,
- 3 billion dollar debt discharge for African countries
- 400 million dollar assistance to Japanese companies wishing to invest in African countries.

IV. Digital Solidarity

The digital solidarity concept, which I had proposed at the preparatory meeting of the International Conference on Information Society, scheduled in Geneva in December 2003, has already been approved by the international community and will be included in the final resolution of the conference. In my opinion, digital solidarity is the only practical and efficient way of progressively eliminating the digital gap between communities, between those who communicate and the others.

Brief explanations:

- A quantitative definition of the information society

- quantitative criteria like the number of computers per 100 inhabitants, number of web sites, etc
- margins (bottom margin and top margin)
- the digital snake,

- The Digital Solidarity Charter

- The Digital Solidarity Foundation

The Digital Solidarity Foundation will be responsible for the administration of mobilised resources and will operate transparently.

- The Digital Solidarity Foundation

Based on voluntary contributions (\$1 to \$5 for every computer purchased and \$1 to \$5 for every web site created), its purpose is to mobilise resources, in order to equip the South and reduce the digital gap and, through a ripple effect, promote the emergence of new markets.

A Genève, aux réunions de la précom, les délégués sont divisés. On peut dire qu'il y a l'Europe contre le reste du monde. Appelé à présider la séance ou sera discutée cette question, puisque j'en suis l'auteur, je pense pouvoir proposer un compromis.

Comme vous le voyez donc, le NEPAD est devenu l'instrument de la transformation économique et sociale de l'Afrique, mais aussi politique grâce à la Review des Pairs si nous savons la rendre efficace et si nous savons aussi la rendre plus efficace en y impliquant nos partenaires.

5. African Union and European Union

I would like to conclude by recalling that the African Union was built on the basis of the European Union's experience, from which we have taken most of the structures that are being set up.

The Chairman of the Commission has been appointed in the person of Mr. Alpha Oumar KONARE, former President of the Republic of Mali.

The Commission itself was set up on the basis of strict gender equality: 5 men / 5 women, adopted at Senegal's proposal. The African Union is proud of this unique example in the world, a multilateral and continental governing body formed on the basis of absolute gender parity. Let me add that we have also set up the **Council on the future of the Union**, based on the European model, and that I have been designated to chair it.

6. Peace and security

I would like to conclude with a few words on peace and security : We have succeeded more or less in controlling bloody conflicts, particularly in West Africa: Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire which is still fragile and Guinea Bissau. We expect the forthcoming elections in some of our neighbours, namely Mauritania, Guinea Conakry, to cause confusion but we believe that the situation in these countries is still controllable by our institutions,

7. Conclusion

Since independence, forty years ago, international development policy was based on a strategy that can be summarised as "**aid and loan**". Half of the transfer aid goal, recommending the allocation of 0.7 of developed countries' GDP to developing countries, launched almost 35 years ago, has not yet been attained.

We are tempted to ask what its real impact is, since our goal today is no longer one of development but the fight against poverty, and we do not even bother to ask whether this poverty was here from the onset or whether it was generated as relative impoverishment resulting from the development gap between highly capitalised countries and underdeveloped countries.

This is an issue rarely mentioned during various discussions.

The second component is loans in their various forms which have accumulated into debt. As we speak, a solution to the debt issue has not yet been found and is not about to be found. No one dares forecast the end of the debt which, despite cancellations and rescheduling or conversions, is still at the same level.

My reaction to this situation is that while I recognise the immense efforts made by our developed partners to provide financial aid to developing countries, and to Africa in particular, it is an error to persist in maintaining this binomial because no country we know has succeeded in being salvaged from its under-development through aid, loans or both.

On the contrary, we agree with Asian countries which practice another form of development, based essentially on national human resources, education and training which is assigned up to 70% of their budgets (Japan, Korea, Taiwan).

Malaysia which like Senegal, allocates 35% of its budget to education and training has become a developed country, of course with the help of its substantial natural resources. But there are African countries with more oil than Malaysia which are no more developed than poor countries like Senegal.

For all these reasons, we should rethink international development policy and accept that, in addition to assistance efforts, the importance of which cannot be overstated, Africa should open up to private national and foreign capital. It is paradoxical that world capital flows have for a long time headed for Asia and has just started showing interest in Africa, thanks to the new situation created by NEPAD. Ironically, Africans preferred to take their capital abroad. I am convinced - and it is only a conviction - that Africa will not develop unless it takes the path taken by developed countries, i.e. call on massive private capital, etc... as was the case of Europe, the United States, Canada, Japan etc... Making us believe that we can develop without an internal human resource mobilisation effort through education and training, will only prolong the current situation further. As mentioned earlier, Senegal reserves 35% of its budget to education and training and I intend to go tangentially towards the 50% line.

I know that some people do not agree with my views on the role of the private sector but the idea is precisely to launch an open debate on issues as important as the development strategy of a country, or even a continent, which impacts on the future of its population.

Finally, I would like to thank you most sincerely for your welcome and hope that I was able to come up to your expectations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for your attention.