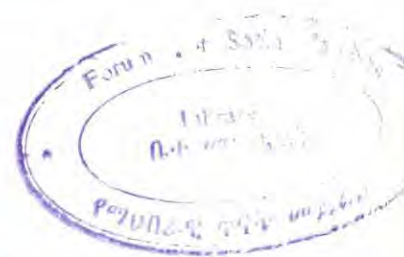


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MEDREK

The Newsletter of the Forum for Social Studies

A Centre for Research and Debate on Development and Public Policy



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FROM THE EDITOR

Poverty is undoubtedly one of the most daunting development challenges facing Ethiopia whose depth and complexity defies a quick fix by a restricted number of stakeholders. We in FSS strongly believe that all sectors of society will have to engage in the search for strategies to eradicate this multifaceted problem. Accordingly, FSS has launched a year long Policy Dialogue on Poverty. In this issue, we have included a synopsis of the first workshop and have also included a tentative program for the year 2001. The overarching objective of the Dialogue is to garner the experiences and insights of as many stakeholders as possible in the poverty reduction process.

Our effort to solicit the widest possible participation is not limited to workshops. In this issue, we have included an observation on the Macroeconomic strategy of Ethiopia's Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper by an Ethiopian colleague who is currently working on a related process in Kenya. The launching of a new publication series known as *Consultation Papers on Poverty* is part of our attempt to have maximum outreach. In the meantime, we take this opportunity to invite readers of MEDREK to send us their reflections on poverty and possible poverty reduction strategies.

While, the major focus of the poverty dialogue will be on Ethiopia, we also hope to include other relevant experiences and broader campaigns against poverty. Accordingly, we have included excerpts from the Dakar Manifesto calling for cancellation of Africa's debt, a burden that only intensifies poverty in our countries. The manifesto calls for a participatory, inclusive and democratic development that is human-centered and endogenous. It also calls for revising external borrowing policies as well as the use made of the loans. As Ethiopia is one of the most indebted countries, we hope that civil society institutions would take up the challenges addressed to them in the Manifesto

Two years ago, FSS launched its first collaborative program with the University of Sussex. In this issue, we have included a short report of the workshop which marked the successful completion of the collaborative project on natural resource management, a subject of tremendous importance in the work of FSS. In the Debate section, we have included a contribution on some of the measures needed to bring about sustainable food security in Ethiopia.

This issue of MEDREK completes volume 2 of our newsletter. March marked the third year of our official existence. These have been eventful years from which we have been able to learn and share many valuable lessons about Ethiopia's development and at our own level, about the potentials and constraints involved in building an autonomous institution. We want to take this opportunity to thank all those who made it possible for us to implement our various programs, and we expect a much greater participation from our members and support from our well wishers as we embark on a new year with a variety of new and on-going programs.

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Structure of Governance

FSS is democratically governed, with decision-making shared by the General Assembly, the Board of Advisors, and the Management Committee. The General Assembly meets once a year to review and approve the broad policies of the organization. The Board, which meets more frequently, is responsible for drawing up the policies and strategies of FSS, monitoring the work of the executive, and reviewing and approving the finances. Of the nine members in the Board four are women. The Management Committee is the executive body of FSS. It is responsible for implementing the decisions of the Board and managing the activities of the organization.

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Policy Dialogue on **The Social Dimensions of Poverty**

The Forum for Social Studies organized its first Workshop under its Poverty Dialogue series entitled the *Social Dimensions of Poverty* on Friday 22 December 2000. The Workshop was hosted as an evening program, starting at 6.00 pm, and held at the Semien Hotel, Addis Ababa. The main aim of the Workshop was to inform participants of FSS' plan to undertake an extended program of public debate and consultation related to the Poverty Reduction Strategy process under way in the country and to help FSS identify issues and problems to be brought for public discussion. The Workshop was planned more like an inaugural or agenda-setting program rather than a full-scale debating forum, however the program stimulated a vigorous discussion indicating considerable interest and concern among the informed public.

There were three speakers scheduled in the program each of whom presented a short paper on his/her subject. The first speaker was Dr. Minas Hiruy, Director of HOPE ENTERPRISES, an NGO that works closely with the poor. He spoke on the broad theme of the *Social Dimension of Poverty*. He put a great deal of emphasis on the impact of the social dimensions of poverty highlighting features such as fatalistic thinking, absence of creativity, risk taking and un-

healthy quietude and pointed to several areas that ought to be major components of a poverty reduction Programme.

According to Dr. Minas, a major component of a poverty reduction programme is the distribution of the responsibility for the Programme to the citizenry via an aggressive devolution of both political and economic power. In this effort, the role of cities in development needs to be appreciated; cities should be given the legal and policy environment to be development actors. Strategic partnership between the public sector, the private and voluntary sectors need to be struck with a view to bringing about a cumulative advance against poverty. Rural reform needs to be farmer-led in line with citizen empowerment. And the state needs to open up possibilities for individuals and communities to enable them to manage public lands and the environment since past and present state-led approaches have failed in both endeavors. He also emphasized the important need to develop the country's human resources given the ominous depletion of the same due to accelerating brain drain.

The second speaker was Ato Abebe Kebede senior advisor at Addis Ababa City Government which runs a number of programs related to urban poverty. He spoke on Poverty in Addis Ababa. He noted the

two contrasting urban features of Addis Ababa as a city enjoying the privileges of modernization by housing the highest concentration of economic and social facilities per population than similar centers elsewhere in the country and yet a city whose healthy urban development is hampered by too many spatial and sectoral structural impediments. Hence, poverty has become rampant and widespread in the city. Having sketched a brief but complex poverty profile of the city with emphasis on the magnitude of unemployment, deplorable housing and a growing process of homelessness coupled with highly inadequate municipal and social infrastructure, Ato Abebe proposed alternative measures designed to address the problem at the city, municipal, and local levels. He urged that these measures merit closer consideration in the preparation of the forthcoming poverty reduction strategy.

He strongly argued that any policy against urban poverty is likely to succeed if and only if it is initially designed with the strategic aim of transforming society. It has to focus on the poor as well as the non-poor and should have an increased integration of interventions at all levels. In this regard, any new urban poverty strategy aimed at eradicating poverty in Addis Ababa critically needs an in depth assessment of the existing and potential opportunities built into the city's urban structure and their employment implications. Furthermore, a successful Poverty Reduction Strategy is one that is organically integrated into

the objectives strategies and targets of National Development Plans and clearly indicating the strategic stakeholders and their respective resource commitments. It also requires an operational mechanism designed at monitoring the various implementation phases and assessing the poverty reduction impacts of interventions. It will also have to be able to integrate poverty reduction interventions currently in use such as supporting a variety of community initiated activities like extending access to land, basic infrastructure, credit etc. in the overall development endeavor.

To facilitate the realization of the above set of proposals Ato Abebe suggested the formation of a nation-wide Urban Development Forum and an Urban Development Fund both of which would ensure the sustainability of pro-poor activities as well as a shift away from poverty reduction interventions, which have often been viewed as short-term welfare-type humanitarian engagements. Such a comprehensive strategy is likely to be considered as a credible alternative development strategy with far-reaching societal impact.

The last speaker was Ms Zenebework Tadesse of FSS who spoke on the gender dimensions of poverty. She started out by pointing out that gender is an essential concept for the analysis and eradication of poverty. Gender refers to the socially constructed responsibilities of women and men and the gender relations between them in a particular historical and socio-economic context. As

a result of the differential roles and responsibilities of women and men, the causes and experiences of poverty differ by gender. The gender dimensions of structural and transient poverty include the differential entitlements, capabilities and rights conferred upon women and men. Poor women in Ethiopia have very little access to land, credit and other productive resources and experience myriad forms of other deprivations such as women-specific ill health, higher rates of illiteracy and low levels of education relative to men. In addition to material deprivation, poor women experience the qualitative dimensions of poverty such as lack of free time, dignity and autonomy much more than poor men.

She argued that these various dimensions of poverty are determined by macro-economic policy as well as laws and culture. Social and cultural expectations and norms such as those that define what women and men can do determine women's poverty through restricting women's rights to entitlements and unrestricted exercise of their capabilities. Cultural constraints reinforce generalized socio-economic disadvantages in restricting women's participation in the labor market and in governance. Gender disadvantages faced by women have intergenerational repercussions. Women's multiple responsibilities and heavy workload in a context of poverty limits the resources available for childcare leading to high rates of child morbidity and mortality. It also translates into low educational enrolment,

achievement as well as high dropout rates of girls.

She went on to argue that the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of Ethiopia is a good example of a program that has neglected to include gender as a category of analysis in the formulation of appropriate economic, political and social policies. The IPRSP fails to indicate the ways in which women are likely to benefit from Agricultural-led Industrialization, the major development strategy in the country, or from decentralization, reforms in the judiciary and civil service reforms. A gender-aware poverty eradication program needs to design a two pronged strategy: one which addresses women's specific constraints and which may entail women-specific interventions. These include investments in reproductive health services, schools, water supply and providing specific attention to the development of infrastructure. These ought to be a clear focus on the gender dimension of transport, energy and housing with a view to easing the burden of women's multiple responsibilities.

The second strategy seeks to dismantle gender dis-

crimination in the wider policy framework. These would entail investment in expanding and equalizing access to vocational training and job service centers in order to increase the entitlements and capabilities of women and reduce their dependency, vulnerability and low degree of autonomy or their concentration in low-paying jobs. Concerted effort should also be invested in changing societal perceptions of women's roles and options. She concluded by expressing her hopes that the Poverty Dialogue initiated by FSS will attempt to propose a poverty eradication program that is thoroughly gender-aware.

There were about 80 Workshop participants who came from the NGO and donor communities, government agencies, the private sector, and professionals and the private press. There was a lively discussion of many of the issues raised by the speakers, but unfortunately due to the shortage of time not all participants who wished to speak had a chance to do so. Both during the meeting and later in private, a number of Workshop participants conveyed their appreciation of the initiative taken by FSS and the concern shown about the prob-

lem of poverty and poverty reduction. They welcomed the idea of launching an extended program of public debate and consultation on poverty. Many participants knew nothing about the Poverty Reduction Strategy initiative and were not aware that the Government had prepared an interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, which it had presented to the World Bank and IMF. There were questions raised as to how interested individuals could get copies of the PRSP and which government agency was responsible for its preparation. FSS was very encouraged by the turnout and by the keen interest shown about the PRSP and the program planned by it for the coming year.

The workshop was made possible by financial support from FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG.

The full version of the papers summarized above will be published by FSS in its new series called *Consultation Papers on Poverty*. The full program of the Poverty Dialogue Forum for the year 2001 is included below.

Just off the Press.....Just off the Press

FSS Discussion Papers

No. 4. *Small-Scale Irrigation and Household Food Security. A Case Study from Central Ethiopia*. Fuad Adem. February 2001.

FSS Monograph Series

No. 2. *Environmental Change and State Policy in Ethiopia*: Dessalegn Rahmato. 2001

FSS Conference Proceedings

3. *Environment and Development in Ethiopia*. Edited by Zenebework Tadesse. 2001.

Poverty Dialogue Forum Tentative Program 2001

The following is a tentative schedule of FSS' program of public debates, consultations and research on the problem of Poverty and Poverty Reduction. The first five programs refer to individual Workshops to be held in the evenings and the sixth a day-long symposium to discuss the findings of a research endeavor on the subject. Each public debate will be followed by the publication of a Consultation Paper that will be distributed to the government, donors, civil society groups, the business community, the media, etc. Speakers will be expected to address policy issues and to comment specifically on the interim PRSP document. At each evening program speakers will be required to submit short papers (6-10 pages) on their subject of choice. A press briefing will be prepared both in English and Amharic to be handed out to the media at each public forum. FSS will make efforts to encourage the media to promote debate on the problems of poverty and poverty reduction.

1. **Subject:** *Civil Society Groups and Poverty Reduction I*. Date: 23 March 2001. Venue: Semien Hotel. Speakers will consist of representatives of indigenous NGO groups working with the poor. Language: English
2. **Subject:** *Civil Society Groups and Poverty*

Reduction II. Date: 27 April. Venue: TBA. The panelists will be speakers from the Ethiopian trade union organization, women's groups, and professional associations. Language: English and Amharic.

3. **Subject:** *Listening to the Poor*. Date: 27 July. Venue: TBA. The speakers will be poor people from various sectors. Poor people will also be invited to attend and give their comments and opinions. Language: Amharic
4. **Subject:** *Poverty and the Private Sector*. Date: 28 September. Venue: TBA. Selected speakers from the business community will discuss the role of the private sector in poverty reduction. Members of the business community representing various sectors from many sectors will be invited to attend, make comments and give their opinions. Language: Amharic.
5. **Subject:** *Government, Donors and Poverty Reduction*. Date: 26 October. Venue: TBA. Specialists from the federal and regional governments and donors engaged with poverty programs will be given a

chance to address the issue of poverty and poverty reduction. Language: English.

6. **Subject:** *Poverty Policy Analysis*. Date: 8 December. Venue: TBA. A one-day symposium to discuss the findings of a research effort on poverty and government policies related to poverty management. Some 5 to 6 research papers will be discussed in the symposium and their policy implications examined. Language: English.

Computerization of FSS Library

The FSS library is now computerized. All its collections have been digitized using CDS/ISIS software. Users will be able to search for any document easily and quickly. The library's data base will be updated periodically as new documents are acquired. The user-friendly software will also enable users to search the collections of other libraries and institutions.

Management of National Resources: A Workshop

The Forum for Social Studies hosted a Workshop on Management of Natural Resources which was held at Semien Hotel, Addis Ababa on Friday 9 February 2001. The objective of the Workshop was to discuss the findings of a research project which was carried out under the auspices of FSS. The Workshop marked the successful completion of the first FSS collaborative research project. Over two years ago, the Forum for Social Studies entered into an agreement with the University of Sussex to sponsor a research project on natural resource management.

The research work has been completed and some of the papers that were presented at the workshop were based on the findings of that research. The main aim of the research was to look into the question of resource management and examine the roles of resource management institutions in post-stress situations. The researchers included staff from both Addis Ababa University and the University of Sussex. The fieldwork was undertaken mainly in south and north Wollo but also in Borana in southern Ethiopia.

Participants from a number of government agencies, civil society groups, academic institutions and FSS members attended the one-day workshop. Six papers, one of which provided the experiences of Mozambique in resource management were presented

and discussed during the workshop. Participants were provided a broader access to the major findings of the research project, and these have been published in the form of Thematic Briefings and distributed during the workshop.

The framework of the research is based on three considerations: First, *post-conflict* and transition situations expose resource management dilemmas, and raise challenges in adjusting relations between local, regional and national policy and practice regarding Natural Resource Management. Second, resource management involves collective decision-making; *institutions* are therefore central in mediating different interests at both the local level and between local and external interests. Third, *community* participation, which has generally become accepted as necessary, is neither straightforward nor unproblematic, due to both internal conflicts of interests within communities and complex relations with external agents, notably Government and NGOs.

In his welcome address to workshop participants, Desalegn Rahmato, Manager of FSS, highlighted the lack of attention to the question of natural resource management, resource management institutions as well as the dearth of policy initiatives on the subject in Ethiopia. He recalled that during the previous two regimes,

the state claimed custodianship over such major natural resources as forests, pastureland, and water points, which it brought under its control and over which it established a form of management which was based on exclusion and authoritarianism. He further added that the institutions that assumed responsibility for managing the resources were bureaucratic, non-participatory and patronizing and that there was no attempt to encourage benefit sharing and to accommodate the needs of communities and stakeholders.

He went on to point out that over the years, most of the existing institutions were considerably weakened due to civil conflict, environmental stress and the return of large numbers of landless peasants from resettlement schemes. Having lamented the breakdown of customary management systems and institutions he argued that state custodianship has been a dismal failure and has in many cases led to mismanagement and loss of natural resources. He concluded that the absence of sound management policy has led, both in this country and elsewhere, to social conflict, political unrest, and wastage of resources on a large-scale and expressed his hope that the workshop will be discussing a broad range of issues that will contribute significantly to the emerging de-

bate on resource management and policy in this country.

The workshop began with the presentation of Dr. Yeraswork Admassie of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the Addis Ababa University who provided an "Overview of Natural Resource Management in Ethiopia and Policy Implications." The presentation highlighted the numerous implications of state land ownership to natural resource management such as the subversion of rural institutions that were subordinated to the hierarchically organized monolithic political structure and the institutionalization of coercion as a tool of natural resource management. State land ownership also led to frequent land redistribution and triggered a severe sense of tenure insecurity pushing farmers towards short term endeavors on their allotments, and predatory activities with regard to public/common resources.

The second presentation by Dr. Elizabeth Harrison of the School of African and Asia Studies at the University of Sussex dwelt on the complex issues related to participation and partnership in resource management. Noting the emergence of a widespread formal acceptance of participatory approaches to agriculture extension in Ethiopia and the various types of these approaches, the presentation put emphasis on the gaps between participatory ideals and its implementation. A major inhibitory factor facing participatory extension arises from the problematic position of Development Agents (DAs)

who work with limited resources, are usually both members of the communities in which they work and representatives of the government, and who are potential distributors of benefits and yet may play a controlling or even coercive role. Participatory ideals are therefore comprised by a history of coercion, the existence of quotas that surrounds the incentive system of DAs and the competing demands that DAs are expected to address.

The second concern that the presentation focused on was the notion of building partnerships. Currently much attention is being given to building partnerships between government, international donors and the "communities" with which they work in the management of natural resources. The process of making partnerships more real than rhetorical requires identifying the nature and source of discrepancies in resources and power among the different stakeholders which give rise to different priorities and objectives. However, these discrepancies should not be taken as strict oppositions as interest groups cut across institutional boundaries. Other crucial factors that play an important role in how people respond to management initiatives include collective and individual memories and how such memories may influence people's current positions.

The third presentation was by Antonio Serra of the Centro de Experimentação Florestal, Chimoio, Mozambique currently at University of Sussex. Mr. Serra provided a syn-

opsis of Mozambique's experience in the management of natural resources. The presentation provided a background to the major transformations that took place in Mozambique since Independence with emphasis on their implication for community-based natural resource management. In the 1990s, Mozambique formulated many laws such as the Environmental Law and the Land Act, all of which refer to "communities" and transfer of powers ranging from 'participation' in conflict resolution' to the 'management of natural resources' and the capacity to demarcate and title land. However these legislations are vague as to how such communities should be defined and represented. Many community-based resource management projects have opted for the formation of 'community committees' to respond to the issue of representation. After independence the major plank of government policy was the abolition of traditional leaders. By the end of the civil war, there was renewed interest in working with, rather than against traditional leaders particularly in the field of natural resource management. But working through traditional structures has not been able to overcome the history of conflict between rural people and the government or the differences between the various stakeholders. As a result, the process of selecting 'community committees' has led to the election of ineffective and subservient committees, as well as committees that do not represent the diversity of community interests.

The fourth presentation was by Tarekegn Yibabe, School of African and Asian Studies, University of Sussex which entitled "Land User Rights and the Question of Ye-wel Meret in Wello, Amhara Region." Tarekegn highlighted several policies, strategies and programmes related to agriculture and environmental rehabilitation that have been enacted and implemented at the Federal and Regional levels since the demise of the Derg in 1991. Of these the most significant shift has been the recognition of the relationship between land tenure and natural resource management. A case in point is the formulation and implementation of the regulation to allocate *ye-wel meret* in the Amhara Region. Ye-wel Meret refers to marginal or hillside land areas within a Kebele Administration that is neither owned by an individual as a private land, nor is used for cultivation. However it excludes land that is being used by peasants for grazing.

The official objective of the allocation is to rehabilitate degraded natural resources. The most important component of the regulation is the provision of user rights as a legal incentive to rural peoples' long-term investment in improved natural resource management. Despite much rhetoric about "community" participation and the innovative ideas behind user rights, local state representatives dominate the allocation of these rights. In both North and South Wello, landless households, especially young households, were prioritized while 'rich' and 'middle' peas-

ants and female-headed households were excluded from the allocation. Ye-wel Meret may also have been limited by restrictions on how individuals can use the land and failed to match the expectation of beneficiaries.

The fifth presentation was by Dr. Alula Pankhurst of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Addis Ababa University. His presentation was entitled "State and Community Forests: Yegof, South Wollo, Amhara Region." He noted that although the extent of forest cover in Ethiopia is debatable, presently it is generally believed to be less than 3 percent. This dramatic process of deforestation is the outcome of long-term socio-economic and political factors and political transitions. Despite references to 'community forests', communities consider these forests with few exceptions as state property. Although the process of preserving forests as state-owned goes back to Imperial times, under the Derg, no real sense of community ownership was fostered in government-sponsored projects. The rules and procedures were not instituted for the protection and rational exploitation of the forests in the interests of the communities that planted them. Very often forest plantations were made without the consent of the communities. As a result 'community forests' were frequently subject to looting especially in times of political transition and post-conflict periods. The few community forests that survived are exceptional cases where a sense of ownership had been fostered.

Presently participation is on the forestry agenda. Under the new government, 'community' forests have effectively been left to 'communities'. However the use of 'voluntary' mass campaigns, work that is carried out through food-for-work, or EGS (Employment Generation Schemes) blur the voluntariness of 'participation'. There are no clear rules or guidelines about exploitation of forests, replanting, sanctions or incentives at either the collective or the individual level. Despite the rhetoric of the 1990s, forestry in the year 2000 seems to be low on the national agenda.

The sixth and final presentation was by Dr. Elisabeth Watson, Geography Department of Cambridge University who presented a paper on the role of institutions in natural resource management in Borana Zone of Oromia Region. Her paper considered various indigenous institutions concerned with the management of water and pasture resources, their representativeness of various sections of Borana society, and their relations with government and NGO structures. She suggested that in 1999 there was enthusiasm for involving indigenous institutions in NRM. However, by 2000 there was greater skepticism on the part of both government and NGOs. She concluded that there is the potential for involving indigenous institutions if the respective capacities of various institutions are understood and conflicts of interest are overcome.

DEBATES

We would like to invite readers to participate in an on-going debate on issues related to development and public policy in Ethiopia in Medrek. Send us think pieces, comments and letters (not more than 2000 words for publication in these columns.

Ethiopia's Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (IPRSP): Some Preliminary Observations on the Macroeconomic Issues

Alemayehu Geda, PhD, Macroeconomist at ISS-KIPPRA project
The Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis

Thanks to the recent World Bank emphasis on medium term planning strategy and associated budgeting framework, such as Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), most African countries are in the process of moving from crisis management to medium-term strategy and from incremental budgeting to at least three years budgeting. Concrete efforts in this direction are being made in Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia, among others. In this short article, we will critically examine the macroeconomic-related issues of the Ethiopian IPRSP. When necessary, a comparison with Kenya's IPRSP, which is at an advanced stage, will be made. The modest objective of the article is to enrich Ethiopia's IPRSP by pointing out some of its weaknesses. Again the focus is on the macroeconomic aspect leaving the other issues to other colleagues at FSS.

The IPRSP document prepared by the Government of Ethiopia (GoE) is an interesting document that sets out the major intents of the GoE and its effort to combine the Bank-inspired IPRSP program with

its own 'Agricultural Development Led Industrialization Strategy' (ADLI). It is also interesting to note in the document the various gains in terms of social and infrastructure development indicators. If a sustained and vigorous effort is made, it won't be difficult to envisage a huge social capital gain in about a decade or so. Moreover, the cautious approach pursued at financial sector liberalization noted in the document (See Also Addison and Alemayehu 2001) is a plus for the GoE. The task in this paper is not only to praise the government (although it is important to do so when it is deserved) but also to critically examine its strategy so as to positively contribute to policymaking. In line with this, the following major weakness of the IPRSP in relation to the macro framework adopted, are outlined.

Less Emphasis and Lack of clarity about the Source of Macro Instability:

The strategy emphasizes the centrality of macro stability such as low inflation, sensible public deficit and debt profile, sustainable balance of payment

and conservative monetary policy as well as healthy banking sector. Notwithstanding the importance of such policies, the major sources of macro instability in Ethiopia are external shocks: terms of trade, external resource inflow and vagaries of nature as well as regional security (see Alemayehu 2000 for detail). Neither an explicit acknowledgement of these issues nor a concrete strategy of addressing them including financing when needed is provided in the document.

Identification of Source of Growth and Macro Stability.

The IPRSP notes that apart from the positive effect of social sector gains, macro stability is thought to be the source of growth through positively influencing savings and investment as well as through interest rate effect on access to credit. The first point to note is that various macro indicators noted in the document could vary depending on which year the analysis started from, as failure to do so might erode the credibility of the figures reported. Second, and most important, the expected effect on savings and investment seems weak in

Ethiopia. It is pretty obvious that investment is still constrained by land, bureaucracy and infrastructure problems. So is savings owing to low level of income. Probably the most important task to ensure the practicality of the strategy is to design a growth strategy that could go beyond the ADLI in making the latter a concrete program. Such an effort, for instance, underway in Kenya. The task also requires the examination of the source of growth from different angles such as growth accounting, sectoral analysis, the role of markets and institutions as well as the political economy of agents involved (See Alemayehu and Befekdau 2001).

Weakness in Using of Existing Poverty Studies to Design Poverty Reducing Strategy. Fortunately the country is rich in terms of poverty-related data owing to the efforts of, among others, the Statistical Authority, the Welfare Monitoring Unit of MEDaC and the Department of Economics of AAU. The IPRSP document seems to draw its understanding of poverty more from measurements of poverty than analytical studies. The latter are in particular important in identifying determinants and profiles of poverty and quantification of such issues (See for instance Abebe, Berket and Bigsten 2000). Such analytical studies are central for prioritization of budgetary expenditure destined for poverty reduction.

Expectation about the Agricultural Sector and the Extension Program. The ADLI strategy seems to put a lot of

weight on the role of its extension program. Although it is quite encouraging to see the impressive increase in the coverage of the program it will be worth examining the dropout rate from the program and most importantly the sustainability of the program. This requires investing on R&D on which no explicit emphasis and linkage is made in the document. Second, and relate to this, the IPRSP program seems to envisage raising the competitiveness of the agricultural sector to an international level. This does not seem to be a sustainable strategy in view of the subsidization of agriculture throughout the world (it is estimated that half of European Union budget is spent on agricultural sector). The issue for IPRSP thus may not only be competitiveness but also subsidization with all its budgetary implications.

Lack of a Macroeconometric Model for Concretizations of IPRSP through Medium Term Expenditure Framework. Concreter realization of the IPRSP requires translating the strategy in a concrete budgetary framework. The evolving approach in most African countries is to use the MTEF for this purpose. The MTEF however requires projection of major economic aggregates (for at least three years ahead) with fairly disaggregated fiscal variables. This can best be handled using a macroeconometric (as opposed to Computable General Equilibrium, CGE,) model with an elaborate fiscal block. The Kenyan Institute for Public Policy Research Analysis, in collaboration with the Treasury, has developed such a model and the

use of this model for MTEF as well as for policy analysis is quite promising. To my knowledge the GoE has no such instrument (*pace* the two rudimentary models at MEDaC). The challenge for GoE is not only to develop such a model but also to make an explicit and quantifiable link between the growth strategy (such as ADLI), the IPRSP and MTEF. The model could be developed from the nucleus of a macro model developed in academic institutions in Ethiopia.

Finally, for comparative purposes, a brief look at the Kenyan IPRSP is in order. The Kenyan IPRSP is tied to the three years Medium Term Expenditure Framework budgeting approach. The latter in turn is linked to a fiscal outcome, growth target and development in the world economy. Thus, at macro level, policies geared towards these issues are presumed to be instruments in addressing the poverty issue. In Kenya, the IPRSP has the following major strategy components that are identified as important fundamentals for reducing poverty. These are: accelerated economic growth, governance and security, raising the ability of the poor to raise their income, improving the quality of life, as well as equity and participation of the poor. In a sense, this list of measures fundamentally concur with the strategy outlined in the recent World Bank Report on poverty that suggests addressing poverty reduction through three pronged measures: promoting opportunity, facilitating empowerment and enhancing security (World Bank, 2000/2001).

The Kenyan IPRSP identifies landlessness and lack of education, the prevalence and incidence of ill health (in particular the response to sickness), declining levels of school attendance (which is identified to be influenced by the cost of education), low productivity, inequitable access to land and capital and vulnerability (especially women's vulnerability to poverty) as major problems. The identification of these factors, although an important task, needs to be complemented by empirical analysis however. Empirical analysis, such as the one I noted above in the case of Ethiopia, helps not only to examine the validity of factors noted as determining poverty, but also their relative importance in determining the state of poverty. It might also lead to identification of other factors that are not explicitly addressed in the strategy. Identifying such relative importance is crucial for policy prioritization. This is an important lesson that Ethiopia's policy makers need to learn when designing the final PRSP.

After identifying these poverty related characteristics in Kenya, Kenya's IPRSP has outlined in detail the components of the strategy aimed at addressing the poverty problem. For the purpose of this paper, these components could be classified in to two broad categories. The first comprises: 'Economic growth and macro stability', 'ability of the poor to raise their income', 'improving quality of life' and the 'issue of equity'. The other component relates to 'governance' and 'sectoral policies'. Such con-

cretization of the strategy is important in the preparation of the GoE's IPRSP.

To conclude, it is hoped that the GoE will take the suggestions noted above so as to be able to design a strong PRSP as well as mobilize the requisite technical capacity to realize such strategy on a sustainable basis.

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No. 1. *Water Resource Development in Ethiopia: Issues of Sustainability and Participation*. Dessalegn Rahmato. June 1999

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3. *Environment and Development in Ethiopia*. Edited by Zenebework Tadesse. 2001.

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Is sustainable Food Security Possible in Ethiopia?

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Present Situation

The country faces a significant food gap. This has been mainly due to the poor performance of the country's agriculture. Smallholder farmers cultivate about 95% of the land presently used for food production. For these farmers, agriculture is both a way of life as well as the primary source of livelihood. Their productivity level is subsistence and in some cases below subsistence not only of food but also of fuel, fodder and fiber. These low levels of productivity are attributed to many factors, in particular:

- ◆ Land holding policy: The current policy creates tenure insecurity for the majority of the smallholder farmers (0.5 to 2.0 ha) and prevents them from long-term planning and investing to improve their holdings. Moreover, farmers are faced with demographic and other socio-economic constraints. Furthermore, the available institutional support is inadequate to mitigate crop failure. On the other hand, government agents burden the farmers by demanding various taxes even during periods of natural calamity.
- ◆ Soil fertility: On the whole, the soil is very low in fertility due to soil erosion, leaching, cultural practices and extensive cultivation for many years.
- ◆ Droughts and floods: These two have become a common phenomenon and cost, at times, thousands of human and animal lives, causing large scale destruction, loss of crops and forcing thousands, particularly the young and able bodied, to migrate leaving behind old men, women and children.
- ◆ Disease and pests: On the average, the pre and post-harvest losses due to diseases and pests is 30-40%.
- ◆ Technologies: We have not been able to design appropriate technologies (for land preparation, crop establishment, irrigation etc.) for a range of ecological settings to maximize production, minimize losses (pre and post-harvest) and increase value added (processing). Appropriate technologies with distinctive advantage over existing ones for harnessing the different agro-ecological areas are generally lacking. Most of the draft animals for agricultural operations are generally weak and the harnessing system is inefficient.
- ◆ Illiteracy: The literacy rate in 1998/99, including students enrolled in primary, academic, institutes of higher learning and extension, is about 6.3m (10.2% of the population). The literacy rate for the rural population is far less than the above figure. The literacy campaign embarked upon during the Derg regime was a good start for the nation on the whole but short-lived as it was terminated by the present government.
- ◆ Health services: Primary health care is not within the reach of the rural population. The health services of the country in 1998/99, excluding those outside the Ministry of Health, is one doctor for every 43,522 and one nurse for every 12,894 persons.
- ◆ Social Infrastructure: Social infrastructures such as hospitals, clinics, schools, water supply, etc. are lacking in rural areas. Rural people have to travel long distances in search of these facilities.
- ◆ Other: Traditional values (taboos) such as not working during certain days of the month (such as Saint Michael, Saint George, etc.) are commonly observed among the farming community of the Orthodox faith.

These conditions make food insecurity and poverty much more severe here than in many developing countries.

Taking population growth rates into account, the present rate in food production is a cause for great concern as the current rate of agricultural growth might not be able to meet the expected food supply needs.

Estimated cultivated area, production of major crops and population for the years 1991- 1999 is shown in the following table.

According to the table, in 1999 an additional 3.23 million hectares was cultivated as compared to 1991. The Population in 1999 was approximately 61.67 million. In support of this population size, the country's grain production was approximately 88.67 million quintals. This means 1.44 qt. per person annually. *This quantity is totally inadequate to provide the required energy intake.* In fact, it is about 25 percent of the ideal KCal required.⁴ Of this, middle class society, mostly the urban population, gets the greater share, which significantly reduces the share of the large segment of the population particularly women and children. The data reveals an absolute gap between total production and total requirements. Therefore, Ethiopia today is unable to provide sustained food supply and adequate diet to millions of its people. Thus debating possibilities of providing adequate food for millions more people than are presently dependent on *food aid* becomes an imperative.

Future Outlook

The projected population size of Ethiopia in 2010

Estimated Area, Production and Population Size 1991-1999 in Million

Year	Area in Hectares	Production in Quintals	Population Size
1991	5.29	65.93	-
1992	5.31	53.05	-
1993	-	-	-
1994	7.20	57.42	53.48
1995	7.71	74.99	55.19
1996	9.07	103.28	56.93
1997	8.95	104.36	58.12
1998	7.69	81.04	59.88
1999	8.52	88.67	61.67

Source: The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Central Statistical Authority, Agricultural Sample Survey (1999) and the 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia Sample Survey

will be about 83 million. At present rate of consumption of 1.44 qt per capita annually, the country requires about 120 million quintals of grain crops. In 1999, estimated cultivated land was 8.52 million hectares and produced 88.67 million quintals of grain averaging 10.41 qt/ha.

Taking into account the growth performance attained both in crop yield and cultivated land during the last nine years, it is unlikely that the country will meet the food demand of the projected population size of 83m by the year 2010. This assumption is based on two scenarios.

Scenario 1. Let us take the Ministry of Agriculture yield forecast of 17.3 qt/ha to be attained by the year 2005 from the current averaged yield of 12.25 qt/ha. Total expected grain production on 9.0 million hectares (8.52 m/ha cultivated in 1999) would be 156 million quintals to feed about 73 mil-

lion people (2.13 qt/capita annually)

Scenario 2. If we can increase the average expected yield from the year 2005 from 17.3 qt/ha to 20.0 qt/ha by the year 2010, total estimated grain crops production on 9.0 million hectares would be about 180 million quintals to feed about 83 million people (2.17 qt/capita annually), providing about 1915 KCal per capita daily. Also, the

increase in income of certain segments of the population, particularly in urban areas will lead to increased demand for high priced cereals (teff, wheat), livestock and marine products, vegetables and fruits. These figures show that a disproportionate portion of the population particularly women and children will be living on an insufficient diet on a continuous basis.

Thus, growth in agriculture productivity seems not to keep pace with population growth. Above all, biotic and

abiotic stresses are expanding and prime farmlands, virgin forests and grasslands are being converted to non-farm uses under the pretext of investment. Those evicted, who were once prime producers become additional consumers. Overall, the present land tenure and land use policies will continue to have a negative impact on production and the productivity of resource-poor farmers. Moreover, the government development policy, agricultural-development-led industrialization (ADLI) does not seem to provide the necessary incentives to the rural sector such as provision of cheaper energy, machinery, farm equipment and tools, chemicals and other services to spin the wheel for accelerated development.

Traditional food crops (teff, wheat, maize, barely, sorghum and millet), which about 40 years ago ensured the food self-sufficiency of the country can no longer do so. The conventional methods for increasing the yield of these crops per unit area can no longer cope with the food needs of the increasing population. The improved technologies promoted through the extension packages based on high production inputs (fertilizer and chemicals), with limited supply of improved varieties, have not benefited all crops nor all farmers. It is also common knowledge that the use of High Yielding Varieties (HYVs) increases the reliance of farmers on purchased inputs. Moreover, it becomes the primary threat to bio-diversity, conservation and to sustainable food production in the future. The use of local land races, in spite of lower yield perform-

ance, will continue to be better for the livelihood of resource-poor farmers. For these farmers, minimizing risks is often more important than maximizing returns.

On the positive side, there seem to be a continuous increase in hectareage for producing wheat and maize as opposed to teff and barely. This change is attributed to higher yields attained per unit area of wheat and maize than teff and barely. It indicates that farmers are placing economic over traditional values. As a result, households will be forced to use more wheat and maize and less teff and barely for the preparation of *enjera* in the future. This shift will ensure the availability of more wheat and maize and possibly at a cheaper price to the large segment of the population and teff will remain a high priced cereal. As a result, a sizable proportion of the population will reduce their dependency on traditional staple crops such as teff and change their eating habits in the future.

Although rice has not been a popular cereal in Ethiopia, globally, it is the most important crop in terms of its contribution to diet and return value to producers. Potato, enset, sweet potato, banana, yam, cassava, plantain, *anchoti aroids* and coleus will remain important contributors to food security and food self-sufficiency. At present, potato, enset and sweet potato greatly contribute to food security. Research on the future of these crops holds exciting challenges and promises to make significant contri-

butions to the future food supply of the nation.

The following questions however merit greater concern:

- ◆ Can technologies produced by agricultural research alone bring increases in productivity growth to meet the rising demand for food? Can they sustain natural resources and preserve biodiversity in the absence of an enabling environment in the areas of rural lands, land and tax policies, and basic services to the rural community?
- ◆ With the expansion of biotic and abiotic stresses and in a climate of growing competition from non-agricultural sources for land, can we increase productivity to meet the future food demand of the nation at affordable prices?

What should be done?

Rapid population growth will continue to be a challenge in spite of the gains achieved in agricultural research and development. Thus, increasing production and productivity will become more complex than ever before. Therefore, to reduce the country's dependence on *food aid*, appropriate blends of technologies, services and government reform policies are needed.

The following are important measures to consider.

Technologies:

- ◆ Technologies for a range of

ecological settings which require lower inputs and contribute to sustainable farming systems, targeted to benefit resource-poor farmers and the women who perform more than 50% of farm work.

- ◆ Continuous improvements of plants by selecting superior individuals and retaining them to propagate the next generation to produce improved landraces, which will contribute to conservation of biodiversity as well as to crossbreed with existing individuals to produce High Yielding Varieties but not High Responsive Varieties to inputs.
- ◆ Continued development, production and supply of seeds of High Yielding Varieties (HYVs) along with landraces in order to augment production. In the case of maize, both improved, open-pollinated varieties and hybrids are required, depending on the efficiency of national seed producers.
- ◆ Expand the development of early maturing (short duration) varieties to contribute towards higher food production in drought prone areas. So far, appropriate technologies for dry lands and risk prone areas are far from reaching potential users. Thus, major challenges confront the research systems in delivering solutions to current and pending problems of dry land areas.
- ◆ Amicable systems of irrigation both for large and small scale producers in order to develop some of the estimated 3.5 million hec-

tares available around Abay, Baro, Tekezie and other rivers. In the future, intensive farming to maximize output and income per unit of land, water, energy, labour and capital will be a demographic necessity in our country in order to meet the expanding needs for food, fiber fodder, fuel, jobs and income.

- ◆ Biotechnology programs should prioritize the development of low-input, sustainable farming systems in marginal, risk prone areas.
- ◆ The transformation of many commonly uncultivated plant products into foodstuff through adoption of biotechnologies would facilitate new possibilities for augmenting food supplies.
- ◆ Technologies, including biotechnologies, will remain to be a pre-requisite for the reduction of post-harvest losses and an increase in value added. At present, there is a widespread mismatch between production and post-harvest technologies. Thrashing, drying and storage will have to be improved. The technology should be one that helps to add more economic value to each hour of a woman's work. Thus, the dimension of gender equity should be added to the technology design so that every member of the household derives benefit from the spread of technologies.
- ◆ There is a need for careful screening of available biotechnological options and their applications in order to identify their ultimate effects on yield, quality and

above all on the health of consumers and producers.

Services:

- ◆ Delivery of appropriate extension programs for communicating packages of recommendations be expanded.
- ◆ Strengthen smallholders organizations and services to boost farmers' bargaining power and legal protection, and increase participation of small producers, particularly women in decision-making,
- ◆ Improvements of marketing infrastructure including information schemes.
- ◆ Formation and expansion of marketing cooperatives to facilitate the flow of credit and input to support at Wereda and/or Kebele level.
- ◆ Improvements in health and literacy, communication and rural electrification.

Policies

Divestment of large, virgin forests and grasslands for whatever development it may be without proper assessment of the eco-systems and their habitats as well as their carrying capacity is at best a short-term benefit at the expense of non-renewable natural resources. We should not go through the same path to destroy our non-renewable resources. We had and still have the opportunity to learn from past experiences.

Conducive land policies which guarantee tenure security and provision of incentives for

proper management and use of land, forests and water need to be enacted in order to have sustained development. "Sustainability is to leave future generations as many opportunities as, if not more than we have had ourselves"⁸.

Alleviating the significant food gap and averting the reliance on *food aid* should be the highest national priority. Thus, the government is responsible for reversing the current and future situation of malnutrition, hunger and famine.

In order to achieve this goal, the production and productivity of food must be greatly enhanced through a revision of government policies on agriculture including investments in research, education, health and infrastructure as well as the generation, development and transfer of appropriate technologies. So far, limited investment (0.61% AgGDP) in agricultural research has made possible some technological breakthroughs that have led to increases in yield of certain crops and productivity of live-

stock. With current and future development needs of the country's agriculture, which is the key economic sector, the country has to invest at least 1.0% over the short-term and 2.0% in the long-term of the value of agricultural output (AgGDP) for research. Sufficient investments in research is imperative in order to attain sustained increase in food, fiber, fodder and fuel production and ensure the overall economic development of this country.

NOTES:

¹The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Central Statistic Authority, Statistical Abstract 1999

²This does not include the consumption of enset, roots, tubers, vegetables, fruits, meat, milk and fish. There is no reliable data on production and consumption of the above.

³Extrapolated from Food Composition Table for Use in Ethiopia - Part III. ⁴Ethiopian Health and Nutrition Research Institute 1968-1997.

⁵The Federal Democratic of Ethiopia, Extension Department (2000), MoA, Ethiopia

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Forthcoming Publications

Papers on Poverty

No. 1. *The Social Dimensions of Poverty*. Papers by Minas Hiruy, Abebe Kebede, and Zenebework Tadesse. Edited by Meheret Ayenew. April 2001.

No. 2. *Civil Society Groups and Poverty Reduction I*. Papers by Abowork Haile, Berhanu Geleto, and Jemal Ahmed. Edited by Meheret Ayenew. May 2001.

Books

1. *The View from Below: Democratization and Governance in Ethiopia*. Edited by Bahru Zewde and Siegfried Pausewang. Forthcoming

Special Publications

1. *Thematic Briefings on Natural Resource Management*. Edited by Alula Pankhurst. Published jointly by the Forum for Social Studies and the University of Sussex. January 2001.

Excerpts from The Dakar Manifesto

The Dakar Manifesto was issued by the December 2000 gathering in Dakar of representatives of organizations campaigning for cancellation of Africa's debt, including some 200 participants from 22 African countries, as well as guests from debt cancellation campaigns in Europe, North America, Latin America and Asia.

The gathering reflected an expanding civil society consensus on the failure of creditor-driven international debt relief measures, and the need to work not only for cancellation of illegitimate debt but also for new African initiatives and for reparations from rich countries to Africa.

Africa: From Resistance to Alternatives

THE TOTAL AND UNCONDITIONAL CANCELLATION OF THE AFRICAN DEBT is a demand based on undisputed economic, social, moral, legal and historical arguments. Because the debt problem is not a financial or technical issue as the World Bank and the IMF are tempted to demonstrate. It is fundamentally a human, social and political problem. Debt service and conditionalities associated to it have contributed to the aggravation of poverty. Moreover, the debt has already been repaid: for the past few years, Africa has been transferring more resources to

developed countries than she receives.

In addition, most of Africa's debt is odious, fraudulent and immoral. In fact, in most cases, debt has been contracted by not representative regimes that have used the amount received for purposes that have not served the interests of their peoples. Often, this debt served to consolidate and even legitimize dictatorships that used it to oppress their own people or to make war, with the benevolence and complicity of Western countries.

Debt has also been contracted to undertake mega projects designed to stimulate exportations at the expense of the satisfaction of people's fundamental needs.

Mobilized by the Amsterdam Appeal of April 2000, we representatives of women's movements, youth movements, rural and urban workers, and international solidarity, gathered from 11-14 December, 2000, in Dakar (Senegal), with the support of our partners of other continents,

- ❖ call again for the immediate and unconditional cancellation of the African debt
- ❖ demand the end to Structural Adjustment Programs, even as they are renamed Poverty Reduction Strategy Programs (PRSPs)
- ❖ adopt the following pro-

gram and promise to take all necessary measures for its implementation

Citizens movements must reinforce themselves so as to be in a position to not only refute creditors' arguments but especially to move the debate towards the center and identify the real issues.

Strategic Program

1. Radical change of policies

It is essential to tackle the structural factors, which are at the root of the debt crisis. In this respect, it is necessary to revisit from top to bottom the external borrowing policies, as well as the use made of the loans. When those loans are necessary, parliamentary institutions must be involved and the issue must be debated.

Transparent and democratic rules must be applied under the control of the citizens. We must reduce as much as possible the use of external loans by mobilizing internal saving through a progressive fiscal policy, which compels the richest to contribute to the development efforts.

2. Reinforcing South-South Cooperation

South-South cooperation shall be considered as an essential stage by social movements

and African governments. It will allow African countries to reinforce the trend for less dependence towards developed countries. In this perspective, we are urging African countries, members of the OAU to explore all existing possibilities, especially the recommendations of the South Commission Report, under the supervision of the late Julius K. Nyerere and to implement concretely the agreements concluded between them at the Sirte Summit (Libya) in 1999 regarding debt cancellation. The cooperation between G77, that between G15 countries and other forms of cooperation must be developed in all areas.

Social movements must accept, support and widely circulate treaties signed among countries of the South.

3. *Restitutions and Reparations*

Another section of the strategic agenda is the issue of restitution and reparation owed to Africa by Western countries. Slavery, colonization and the various forms of exploitation and wealth plundering have left Africa drained, and caused a tremendous economic, social, scientific and cultural backwardness of the continent. One cannot understand the situation of the continent without taking into account the destructions, robbing and plundering Africa has gone through because of Western countries.

In addition, we must repatriate ill-acquired wealth by African leaders and return them to the people that have been de-

prived of it. To achieve this objective, we have to use appropriate legal actions.

4. *For an endogenous development*

We must replace the notorious "Washington Consensus" now largely discredited, with a vision of development inspired by the values of the African political, social, cultural, economic and scientific Renaissance promoted by an African people's consensus. The fundamental values associated with this Renaissance include restoring confidence in Africans, rejecting all forms of exploitation and domination, reinforcing the culture of solidarity and the spirit of self-reliance, relying on the creative genius of the African people in order to create a new civilization of autonomous development so as to bring a great contribution to world civilization.

The concept of endogenous development is to be conceived as a process of strategic reflection on the fundamental conditions of an African development, understood as a multidimensional emancipating project, i.e. on the economic, social, political, scientific and cultural and gender levels.

The outlines of an approach to an African endogenous development could have, inter alia, the following essential features:

1. A human-centered development, in order to meet the real basic needs expressed by the African people. The experience of Africa re-

veals the failure of the neo-classical model imposed as a turnkey model. The more one talks about growth rate, the more poverty expands. Well, what is the use of "growth" which crushes human beings and increases poverty and exclusion? The truth is that the only kind of development is the one which contributes to the full blossoming of the human being. Understood from this perspective, development is first of all a qualitative and not purely quantitative phenomenon. It is no longer an unrestrained accumulation of wealth, often for a handful of people, but the permanent search of solutions to the basic problems of the majority of the people.

2. A development based, first and foremost, on our own vision of our future and the defense of our fundamental interests. Therefore, a development formulated and implemented by Africans themselves and according to their own priorities. In fact, the second fundamental break to take place is the rejection of an imported development, which treats our continent as a dumping ground where the waste of industrialized countries is thrown.
3. Another characteristic of the new approach to development is that it can no longer be an "elite" issue, but a participatory, inclusive and democratic development. Especially, it is a development relying on ag-

- riculture and the mobilization of the numerous human and material resources of this sector, understood at the same time by intellectuals and non-intellectuals, by the rural areas and the urban zones. This raises the issue of the African cultural Renaissance and the use of the African languages in the formulation and implementation of development programs. The introduction of African national languages would allow hundreds of millions of African to use their creative power in order to fully participate in crafting development strategies and policies. Without the conscious participation of the people in the definition of policies that affect their life and future, there will never be any development, because the people are the driving force of all economic and social transformation.
4. The new approach must also focus on the search for the continent's collective self-reliance on essential and strategic needs, at the agricultural and industrial level. For this, it must be within African integration, a fundamental framework of sustainable endogenous development. It is a truism to say that without integration, Africa has no chance to develop. The vicissitudes of history have made Africa one of the most fragmented continents in the world. That is one of the essential factors for its backwardness and current marginalisation.
 5. That is why Africa must renew the ideal of Pan-Africanism and base its practice on the principles and values of the African Renaissance. This also means that we should walk on our two feet, take agriculture as the basis of development and lay the ground for building a modern and efficient industry.
 6. Another development means promoting and ensuring social justice, gender equality, democracy and respect for human rights. The high level of poverty and exclusion results from the bad influence of the "all for market" policy and the unrestrained search for private benefit, which pushed the State to abandon policy aimed at promoting equality and social justice.
 7. Another development in Africa involves the creation of new development institutions, one of which is a new State ridden of its oppressive, exploitative and repressive colonial heritage. In fact, it is imperative to reconsider all institutions inherited from colonization and create instead new institutions consistent with an endogenous and autonomous approach to development. The State and most present institutions are of "elitist" type and carbon copies of their European counterparts. That is why they participate more in the repression and exploitation of the African people than in the creation of conditions allowing them to develop all their potential and to blossom. In fact, institutions created to enslave Africans would not, under any circumstances, serve to free them. Therefore, new institutions whose nature and functions are different from the ones inherited from colonization, are needed. It is necessary to put in place a new State, which will ensure equity between all and promote an integrated human development
 8. The governance issue should be examined and resolved from that angle and not from the perspective recommended by Western countries, which aim only at making our institutions even more docile instruments to serve their interests. Citizens must conquer anew the ground lost by democracy. Institutions consistent with an endogenous development, designed by and for Africans, are the instruments for African people's liberation, institutions with which they will identify themselves closely, because they participated in their design, understood their nature and mastered their functioning.

