On June 20, 1997, the leaders of eight powerful industrial countries Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States will gather in Denver, Colorado for three days to discuss economic matters of mutual concern. Since 1975, these annual summits have focused on matters of macroeconomic management, international trade, and relations with developing countries. Participants in the Denver Summit of Eight are expected to pay particular attention to integrating Africa more fully into the global economic networks and institutions that form the basis of the post-Cold War economic order.

In spite of the fact that Africa will be high on the summit agenda, no Africans have been invited to take part in the discussions—not leaders of African governments and certainly not those likely to be most affected by decisions made in Denver: ordinary citizens in urban and rural communities across the continent. Leaders of the Congressional Black Caucus, religious groups, and other Africa advocacy organizations issued a statement denouncing the failure of the summit participants to invite African leaders to be present in Denver and calling for formal consultations with African officials and grassroots representatives.

The debates which take place in Denver, both inside the Summit and at parallel events organized by US grassroots groups, will mirror the Africa policy debates currently underway in Washington. Since the publication in February 1996 of the Clinton Administration’s first “Comprehensive Trade and Development Policy for the Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa,” both Congress and Executive agencies have devoted growing attention to the question of how the United States can most effectively facilitate equitable and sustainable economic growth in Africa. Members of Congress responded to the Administration’s report by introducing the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (H.R. 1432/S. 778), designed to stimulate increased US trade with and investment in African nations.

For more than a year, the Washington Office on Africa and Bread for the World have co-convened the US-Africa Trade Policy Working Group to respond to concerns raised by both the Congressional and Executive initiatives. The Working Group has called consistently for the adoption of a comprehensive and coherent set of policies and for the ongoing assessment of these policies on the basis of their impact on Africa’s economically poor majorities. Recognizing that the Denver Summit could provide an opportunity for a systematic review of Africa policy, the Working Group began to identify the key elements of an agenda to promote just and sustainable economic development in Africa. The resulting document was endorsed by 35 organizations and served as the basis for a series of discussions between Working Group members and Administration officials responsible for formulating US position papers for the Denver Summit.

We publish the statement to invite further discussion about the priorities of US Africa policy in the post-Cold War, post-apartheid era.
Recognizing Africa’s Success, Facilitating African Initiative

More than three times the size of the United States, Africa is a culturally, politically, and economically diverse continent. Too often, however, residents of the United States and other industrialized countries cling to distorted views of Africa. Few people have more than a rudimentary knowledge of African history; our collective historical and cultural debts to the continent frequently go unacknowledged. Consequently, Western images of Africa are often shaped by mainstream media, which take disproportionate interest in Africa’s tragedies: conflict, famine, economic crises, and violations of human rights. Unlike in Europe or North America, where such calamities are seen as isolated incidents capable of being addressed and resolved, in Africa they are more commonly presented as the norm.

Although Africa’s problems are substantial, so are the sources of optimism. Economic performance is improving. For the decade beginning in 1996, the annual economic growth rate for Sub-Saharan Africa is projected at 3.8%, double that for the decade that ended in 1995. This welcome increase reflects improved commodity prices, the return to peace in several countries on the continent, and increased investment and productivity in many. Statistics for 1995 show that it was the first year of positive per capita income growth since 1989; 1996 is expected to turn out even better.

Industrialized countries have arrived at a critical juncture in their relations with African nations. Africa is poised at the brink of a “second independence,” a wave of political, social, and economic change which may at last allow her peoples to transform societies distorted for generations by colonial conquest and superpower confrontation. The United States and other industrialized countries must discover ways of facilitating African efforts without imposing their own agendas. Recognizing that Africa policy issues will be considered in multiple arenas in the coming months—at the Denver Summit of Eight, in Congress, in Executive agencies, in international financial institutions—we urge US officials to be guided by the following general principles in their deliberations.

1.0 General Principles

1.0.1 Recognize responsibility, interdependence, and shared interests

Assistance to African nations must not be seen as “charity.” The legacies of colonialism and the Cold War have given unique dimensions to many of the social and developmental challenges which Africans face. Former colonial and Cold War powers must acknowledge a moral obligation to assist Africans in overcoming these obstacles. At the same time, we must recognize that in an increasingly interconnected world, a peaceful and prosperous Africa is in the best interests of all nations.

1.0.2 Support African initiatives

Africans are involved in an impressive range of initiatives, often at the community level, to tackle local social and economic problems. African leaders are not looking to industrialized countries for pre-packaged “solutions.” The primary objective of industrialized nations should be to support and facilitate African initiatives, particularly those which promote broad-based economic growth. This includes programs intended to enhance local capacity for policy research, analysis, and design; strengthen local control and transparency of program implementation and management; and encourage the emergence of regional networks.
1.0.3 Give priority to economically poor majorities
The vast majority of Africans have limited economic resources. Policies and programs should be explicitly designed to promote broad-based economic growth and address the needs of the poorest and most marginalized sectors of African societies. They should focus on creating opportunities for people, individually and collectively, to utilize their non-financial resources to achieve economic advancement.

1.0.4 Emphasize sustainability
Sustainability must become a central criterion for the assessment of all economic and social policy, not just in Africa but around the world. Sustainable human development improves living standards for all people on a stable and equitable basis while protecting the environment and resource base for future generations.

1.0.5 Coordinate and consult
Africa policy development within industrialized nations should be serious and systematic and should be informed by African perspectives from a broad cross-section of social and economic sectors. Policy makers should emphasize coordination, not only within their respective governments, but also among governments—both industrialized and African—and between governments and multilateral institutions—such as the United Nations and the World Bank—in order to promote strategic and effective deployment of resources.

1.0.6 Adopt a holistic approach
Africa policy should be holistic and integrated, maximizing the complementariness of programs and minimizing the risk that initiatives in one realm will be thwarted by actions (or inaction) in another. Public health programs, for example, should not be undermined by rigid adherence to economic policies which damage living standards in rural communities; nor should trade enhancement initiatives be doomed by a failure to address onerous debt burdens. Comprehensive policy must embrace a range of options—including aid, trade, investment, and debt reduction. It should blend these instruments in different mixes depending on the specific conditions faced by various countries, but not present them as a hierarchy within which countries “graduate” from one level to another. In addition, it must recognize the need for interaction among economic, political, and social initiatives, and carefully assess the differential impact of such initiatives across lines of gender, ethnicity, class, location (urban/rural), productive sector, etc.

1.0.7 Challenge stereotypes
Officials of industrialized nations must reexamine their own assumptions about Africa and must also challenge their citizens to do so through extensive public education. Africa policy should be designed to highlight the continent’s diversity, combat stereotypes, and promote creative and varied interaction between the peoples of Africa and other continents.

1.1 GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS TO US OFFICIALS
Pursuant to these concerns and objectives, we submit the following general recommendations for action to US government officials:

1.1.1 Increase Africa’s visibility
All branches of government—including, in particular, executive agencies—should support efforts to heighten Africa’s visibility in the US in a manner which is designed to challenge, not reinforce, common stereotypes of the continent. In particular:

1.1.1.1 In order to build on the First Lady’s valuable and extended trip to the continent, the President should announce his intent to visit Africa before the next Economic Summit. Such a visit should include stops of longer than 24 hours in at least one country (other than South Africa) in each of at least three different regions of the continent. As a part of the visit, specific attention should be paid to recognizing and encouraging Africans involved in promoting conflict resolution and sustainable human development.

1.1.1.2 The Secretary of State should demonstrate the seriousness of the United States’ desire to expand relations with African nations by scheduling a visit to the continent early in her tenure.

1.1.1.3 The White House should convene a follow-up conference to the pioneering 1994 conference on Africa. This should include greater African participation and should be designed to promote further dialogue and exploration.
regarding the contours and key components of a comprehensive and consistent US policy toward Africa.

1.1.2 Increased coordination on Africa policy
Africa programs must be assigned higher priority within all branches of the government and, especially, Executive agencies responsible for administering those programs must establish structures designed to maximize interagency coordination and foster the implementation of balanced and coherent policy.

1.1.3 Strengthen regional networks
Both Congress and Executive agencies should acknowledge and give priority to strengthening emerging regional networks within Africa. Specifically, this could involve the creation of interdepartmental working groups on Africa’s major regions. It should also involve supporting the efforts of regional blocs (such as the OAU and regional economic communities, such as ECOWAS in West Africa, IGAD in the Horn of Africa, and SADC in Southern Africa) to build their own policy research, design, and analysis and management capacities around permanent local institutions and personnel. Such institutions should receive technical and financial support to effect synergies among the indigenous private, public, and civil society sectors.

1.1.4 Ensure consultation
US officials should ensure that consultation with Africans becomes an integral component in the process of developing and implementing US foreign diplomatic and economic policy. Special effort should be made to involve representatives sectors which are often excluded from the policymaking process: women, rural dwellers, workers, youth, and the unemployed, elderly, and disabled.

2.0 DEBT

2.1 Africa’s debt crisis
Africa’s debt crisis arose out of a complex mix of forces. A key contributing factor was the eagerness of financial institutions to lend the mounting reserves of petro-dollars deposited by oil-rich nations during the 1970s. International bankers urged African governments to borrow, but when many commodity prices began to decline in the 1980s, African nations—whose experience of colonial rule typically left them dependent on raw materials exports as their chief source of foreign exchange—became trapped between increasing debt payments and falling export income. The total debt of sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) is now $199 billion, 20 percent higher than the region’s annual income and almost four times its yearly export earnings. The debt burden has exacerbated poverty in the region both directly, as servicing obligations drain resources from social spending, and indirectly, as it constrains African economies’ ability to grow.

2.2 Responses to the African debt crisis
Initially, the international community responded to the debt crisis by promoting stabilization and structural adjustment programs supported by concessional loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. These programs have drawn growing criticism for their high social and environmental costs and for involving debt rescheduling, not reduction.

At the Halifax summit in June 1995, the Group of Seven (G-7) governments asked the multilateral financial institutions to look for solutions. This request coincided with the appointment of James Wolfensohn as President of the World Bank. Shortly after taking office, Wolfensohn went to Africa. He returned convinced of the need for action and appointed a Task Force to develop a plan to reduce debt. The ultimate result was the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt relief initiative which was approved at the Annual Meetings of the World Bank and IMF in September of 1996.

2.3 The HIPC Initiative for debt relief
Although limited in scope, the HIPC framework constitutes a breakthrough because:

1. It represents the first effort to coordinate all creditors.
2. For the first time, multilateral creditors will reduce, not just refinance, debt.
3. The initiative aims to reduce a debtor’s overall burden to a sustainable level, regardless of the distribution among multilateral, bilateral, and commercial debt.
4. Eligibility will be based on an expanded range of criteria (e.g., total fiscal burden, the need for post-conflict reconstruction, dependence on a single export commodity, etc.)
5. Poverty reduction is included along with fiscal and monetary performance as one of the measurements of a government’s commitment to reform.

As countries become eligible for debt relief under HIPC in the first half of 1997, advocates will be monitoring the initiative’s implementation to ensure maximum debt reduction. In the meantime, we recommend that the following steps be taken to enhance the effectiveness of the HIPC framework.

2.4 RECOMMENDATIONS
2.4.1 Revise Naples Terms
The United States should work to secure Paris Club acceptance of revisions in the Naples Terms to increase bilateral debt reduction from 67% to 90%.
2.4.2 Cut-off dates
Currently, only debt accrued before a country’s first application to the Paris Club for bilateral debt rescheduling is eligible for debt reduction under HIPC. For most countries this cut-off date was in the early 1980s. The cut-off date should be moved to the early 1990s, followed by substantial reductions in bilateral debt. Congress should appropriate funds sufficient to cover the cost of this reduction—at minimum, the entire $22 million requested by the Administration for Fiscal Year (FY) 1998, as well as further appropriations in the future if necessary.

2.4.3 Debt sustainability analysis
HIPC calls for debt sustainability to be calculated on the basis of a debt-to-export ratio of 200% to 250% and a debt service to export ratio of 20% to 25%. These ratios were derived from the experience of Latin American countries during the debt crisis of the 1980s—a situation which differs substantially from that faced by African nations today. Lower ratios should be used.

2.4.4 Time frame
Currently, countries must demonstrate satisfactory progress on economic reform for three years before becoming eligible for HIPC debt relief. After the initial three year period, a “decision point” is reached. Only then can they begin receiving concessional financing until the “completion point” three years later. This six-year time frame is too long given the urgent needs of these countries. It should be shortened, and past performance should be taken into account.

2.4.5 Conditionality
One of the strongest aspects of the HIPC initiative is that it assesses country performance on social as well as fiscal and monetary criteria. However, the World Bank and the IMF must go further, initiating a complete overhaul of adjustment programs. Conditionality should promote investment in health, education, and the environment, as well as citizens’ participation in economic planning.

2.4.6 IMF loans vs. grants
The IMF contribution should take the form of grants, not loans. Only grants will effectively reduce debt overhang.

2.4.7 Uganda
Uganda is the first country to come up for debt relief under HIPC. Instead of Spring 1997, that relief will be forthcoming in April of 1998. Many US non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have joined the Ugandan government in expressing disappointment with this delay and, in particular, with US support for it. The Ugandan government has already demonstrated its “ownership” of economic reforms. Most important will be for the Ugandan government to live up to its own commitments to increasing spending on primary education and to adhere to high standards of accountability.

3.0 DEVELOPMENT AID

3.1 Continuing need for development assistance
Development aid will most likely continue to be an important component of US relations with Africa for the foreseeable future. It is not a matter of choosing between aid and trade or between aid and private investment, as is sometimes suggested, nor are they mutually exclusive options for different countries. Asian experience illustrates that taking advantage of trade and investment opportunities requires not only outward-looking government policies but also significant investment in people and in the transportation and communications infrastructure that will attract private investment and facilitate trading relationships regionally and internationally. Few African countries have the needed domestic resources to do the job and thus must depend on external assistance to help fill the gap. The ultimate goal should be to end aid dependency, but only as countries are well on the path to broad-based, sustainable development.

3.2 Aid is central to sustainable development
Aid should not be thought of as charity but rather as a public investment in sustainable development to produce long-term benefits for both African countries and the United States and as complementary to and supportive of trade and private investment. Adequate, targeted aid—combined with debt relief to prevent a drain of domestic resources—can help facilitate the development of human capacity and of the social and physical infrastructure that are the essential foundation for reducing poverty and building a healthy, growing economy. Transition assistance is also needed in countries emerging from conflict to support fledgling democratic institutions and economic and social rebuilding.

3.3 Inappropriate objectives undermine aid programs
US assistance to African countries in the past has not always been effective, in part because sustainable development was not always a central objective. When short-term political considerations result in aid relationships with repressive governments that are not committed to poverty reduction, aid effectiveness suffers. Effectiveness also suffers when primary stakeholders—small farmers, entrepreneurs, and others—are not consulted, and when benefits accrue to a small government-related elite rather than the broader population. Much multilateral aid, as recent internal World Bank studies acknowledge, was also marred by the unfounded assumption that macroeconomic stabilization was in itself sufficient to set countries on the path of growth and poverty alleviation.
Africa and the African Development Foundation need to be brought maximum benefit to the most marginalized people. Funds serve that goal. Aid programs should be designed to bring selectivity in choosing aid partners committed to economic cooperation and development policy for the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. The most recent version of the Clinton Administration’s “Comprehensive Trade and Development Policy for the Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa” can be found at: http://www.ustr.gov/reports/africa/1997/index.html. The text of the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, H.R. 1432, is available through the Library of Congress’ legislative site, Thomas, at: http://thomas.loc.gov/.

As the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) agreed in its discussion of OECD development goals in May 1996:

We now see a much broader range of aims for a more people-centered, participatory and sustainable development process: reducing poverty while achieving broader-based economic growth; strengthening human and institutional capacities within nations to meet internal challenges and help avert further tragic cases of social disintegration and ‘failed states’; improving the capacity of developing countries to contribute to the management and solution of global problems; and reinforcing the transformation of institutions and enabling environments to facilitate the emergence of developing countries and transition economies as growing trade and investment partners in the global economy.

3.4 Both quality and quantity of aid important
Quality of aid and quantity both need to be addressed, as well as selectivity in choosing aid partners committed to poverty reduction. US development assistance, at 0.1% of GNP, is disgracefully low, the lowest among Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) donor countries. Bilateral aid through the Development Fund for Africa and the African Development Foundation need to be increased incrementally, and full payment of International Development Association (IDA) funding and arrears pursued vigorously. Programs need to be evaluated in light of their effectiveness in promoting sustainable development, and reforms undertaken as necessary to ensure that limited funds serve that goal. Aid programs should be designed to bring maximum benefit to the most marginalized people.

3.5 RECOMMENDATIONS
3.5.1 Evaluate program effectiveness and sustainability
All industrialized countries should evaluate the effectiveness of their Africa development assistance programs in light of discussions of development goals within the DAC and modify programs where necessary to ensure that they effectively serve sustainable development goals—in particular, that they are participatory, promote gender equity, and facilitate broad-based economic growth.

3.5.2 Affirm the role of development aid
Industrialized nations should reaffirm the need for continued and increased development aid—bilateral and multilateral—as an essential component of an integrated policy toward Africa that also includes trade and investment initiatives, promotion of conflict resolution and food security, and debt relief.

3.5.3 Enhance World Bank commitment to poverty reduction, community consultation
The governments of industrialized nations should commit to a reform agenda for the World Bank/IDA. This includes affirming the Bank management’s renewed commitment to poverty reduction and calling on them to implement participation guidelines by, for example, requiring systematic community consultations to be an integral component of the lending and policy formulation processes.

3.5.4 Ensure timely implementation of multilateral initiatives
The governments of industrialized nations should work vigorously to implement multilateral initiatives, including Commitment 7 of the United Nations Summit for Social Development Plan of Action which calls for the acceleration of the development of economic, social, and human resources in Africa. Similar support should be given to the transition in Africa to sustainable energy systems as expressed in the newly-produced study by the United Nations Development Programme. “Energy After Rio: Prospects and Challenges.”

3.5.5 Increase support for the Development Fund for Africa
In view of decreases since FY 1995 in bilateral development assistance for Africa, the US Congress should preserve the Development Fund for Africa (DFA) as an individual account and increase it incrementally from $700 million in FY 1998 by at least ten percent annually through FY 2000. Increases should not be drawn from development assistance for Asia or Latin America but should come instead from increases overall or from other accounts or regional programs.

3.5.6 Emphasize poverty reduction in US bilateral commitments
The United States must give greater weight to government commitment to poverty reduction and sustainable development in bilateral country allocations. In cases where governments have weak commitment, assistance should be channeled through non-governmental organizations.
3.5.7 Expand commitment to the African Development Foundation
To acknowledge the important role of the African Development Foundation (ADF) in engaging and supporting community level organizations and self-help initiatives, Congress should increase ADF funding incrementally from $14 million in FY 1998 to $16 million in FY 1999 and $18 million in FY 2000.

3.5.8 Replenish and reform IDA
Recognizing that IDA is an important source of development finance for African countries, Congress should approve the Administration’s request for clearing IDA X arrearages and fully funding IDA XI in FY 1998, while working to promote continued reforms. Congress and the Administration must draw the non-governmental (NGO) community into three-way discussions to elaborate a more comprehensive reform agenda for the IDA XII negotiations.

4.0 AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SECURITY

4.1 Pervasive and growing hunger
According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), over the past 25 years, food security has deteriorated significantly in sub-Saharan Africa. Between the periods 1969-1971 and 1990-1992, the proportion of the region’s population with inadequate access to food rose from 38% to 43%, while the absolute number of hungry people doubled, from 103 million to 215 million. Thirty percent of African children (26 million in all) are undernourished, while over half of all of all deaths among pre-school children are linked to malnutrition. In Ethiopia and Somalia, the proportion of the populace facing food deprivation is 55%. Per capita food production in Africa has steadily declined. On average, food insecure Africans consume 1,470 calories per day, far below the minimum requirement of 2,350 calories. Forty-one of the 82 nations which FAO classifies as Low-Income Food Deficit Countries (LIFDCs) are in Africa.

4.2 Hunger affects people, not just statistics
Human faces stand behind these grim statistics:

- A new mother in Senegal who walks for six hours, house to house, begging for the equivalent of 10 cents so her sick baby may be seen by a nurse;
- Lowland farmers in Ethiopia, forced by chronic drought to sell all their worldly possessions to obtain food;
- A refugee woman in the Great Lakes region, forced to flee her small plot of land, not knowing if her husband and children are still alive, and now living in a camp controlled by armed men.

4.3 Food insecurity stems from multiple and complex sources
African hunger stems from poverty (40% of the population of sub-Saharan Africa subsists on less than a dollar a day), debt, declining terms of trade, violent conflict, uprooted people, environmental degradation, drought, harsh structural adjustment programs, fragile or collapsed states, and corruption. Population growth (2.9% annually for the continent as a whole) and food insecurity march in lockstep. Women grow up to 80 percent of Africa’s domestic food supply, but agriculture and rural development programs tend to focus on male farmers and export crops.

4.4 Key successes
Nevertheless, in some countries of the region, such as Burkina Faso and Tanzania, the proportion of hungry people has decreased substantially. Tanzania’s Iringa District has markedly reduced child undernutrition through community-based health and nutrition programs.

4.5 Neglect will guarantee grim future
The regional food outlook remains grim without significant action. The FAO projects 265 million undernourished Africans by the year 2010. The International Food Policy Research Institute predicts that growth in food production is unlikely to outpace population growth. Increased exports are unlikely to generate enough foreign exchange to import adequate food, and African countries cannot count on sufficient aid from abroad.

4.6 Importance—and neglect—of agriculture
Agriculture must become or remain a high priority in most African economies, not only as the principal source of adequate foodstuffs, but also as the source of livelihood for a high proportion of African workers and as a source of savings for other investments. Unless their agriculture prospers, most African nations will not. Policies in many African nations have discriminated against agriculture in pricing and export promotion. Resources, especially from the international community, have been insufficient to adapt both traditional and new, “green revolution” technologies to African conditions.

4.7 Unfulfilled promises
The November 1996 World Food Summit called the persistence of hunger in Africa “unacceptable,” and pressed for action to reverse present trends. The 1994 Uruguay Round agreement includes the “Decision on Measures concerning the Possible Negative Effects of the Reform Programme on Least-Developed and Net Food Importing Countries

---

1. Food security means assured access for every person, primarily by production or purchase, to enough safe, nutritious, and culturally acceptable food to sustain an active and healthy life with dignity.
(Marrakesh Decision). This directs that, if trade liberalization adversely affects food security in the LIFDCs, they should receive adequate levels of food aid, preferential access to bilateral and multilateral credits for food imports, and technical and financial aid to improve their own food production. The Food Summit Plan of Action, adopted by consensus, called upon members of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to “fully implement” the Marrakesh Decision, and separately encouraged additional aid to agriculture and rural development.

However, the WTO Ministerial Meeting in December 1996 agreed only to encourage discussions among food aid donor and recipient governments about targeting food aid to LIFDCs. There has been no movement on other aspects of the Marrakesh Decision.

4.8 RECOMMENDATIONS

4.8.1 Emphasize agricultural development
Donor nations and international institutions should encourage and support efforts by African nations which give priority to a vigorous agricultural sector, rural non-farm development, and food self-reliance. The United States, Canada, and the European Union, in particular, should quickly phase out their programs of export subsidies and open their markets to primary and processed African agricultural exports. Aid programs should assist the development of physical, market, and credit infrastructures.

4.8.2 Implement Marrakesh Decision
The heads of state of industrialized countries should agree to fulfill their pledge made in Rome last November to fully implement the Marrakesh Decision, and encourage other donor countries and international institutions to do their part.

4.8.3 Focus assistance on sustainable, small-farm agriculture
A greater proportion of bilateral and multilateral aid resources should go to support sustainable, small-farm agriculture, as well as greater on- and off-farm economic opportunities for rural poor people, especially women. USAID's African Food Security initiative is a welcome, if modest, step in this direction.

4.8.4 Support agricultural research; promote stakeholder involvement, local leadership
USAID should continue to increase its welcome support for agricultural research. More attention must be given to stakeholder involvement in research activities and greater representation of developing country nationals in senior positions at the International Agricultural Research Centers.

4.8.5 Combat desertification
Industrialized nations should support African countries in the development and implementation of plans to combat desertification and mitigate the effects of drought.

4.8.6 Recognize food security as a pivotal issue for child survival
All donor nations and agencies should acknowledge the connection between food security and child survival. Food security programs should be designed to emphasize nutrition at the household level and to provide explicit support for children and families.

4.8.7 Announce renewed commitment to food security
The US government should announce a renewed emphasis on promoting and supporting food security generally, and in Africa particularly. Congress should give explicit support to the new ten-year USAID initiative, “Promoting Food Security: Africa and Beyond,” and should appropriate funds to enable USAID to expand annual commitments under this program beyond the $30 million designated for the pilot program in FY 1997.

4.8.8 Prioritize food aid to rural poor; expand local purchasing
The United States should target LIFDCs in allocating food aid. Every effort should be made to counter food aid's potential to induce dependency at all levels, from national through household and intra-household. Therefore, monetization of food aid commodities should generate funds to support small farmers, especially women, and to enhance the well-being of other rural poor people. The Administration should press for greater flexibility to use food aid funds to buy food from within the recipient country or neighboring countries.

4.8.9 Link relief and development
Emergency food aid should emphasize linking relief and development, e.g., through food-for-work activities aimed at rehabilitation. Aid to refugees and internally displaced people should include not just food aid, but opportunities to engage in agriculture, paid employment, and trade, even in camp settings. Where feasible, emergency food aid should include vitamin and mineral fortification. Support for conflict resolution and prevention is essential to achieving food security in Africa.

4.8.10 Replenish Food Security Commodity Reserve
Congress should enact legislation mandating replenishment of the Food Security Commodity Reserve on a timely basis, so as to assure adequate emergency food aid supplies.

4.8.11 Reestablish Farmer Owned Reserve
Congress should also reestablish the Farmer Owned Reserve, to help stabilize food prices domestically and globally, and encourage the development of local, national, and regional food reserves elsewhere.
5.0 TRADE AND INVESTMENT

5.1 Trade and investment essential to sustainable development
Private sector trade and investment is a necessary component of any sustainable development strategy. Industrialized countries should consider, individually and collectively, ways of increasing trade with and investment in African nations that can expand economic opportunities for the greatest number of the continent’s residents, especially those in poor and marginalized communities.

5.2 US trade with Africa already extensive
US trade with Africa is already far more extensive than is commonly assumed. For example, US trade with Southern Africa is roughly comparable to that of the US with the former Soviet Union, while US trade with West Africa is 50% more than US trade with Eastern Europe. As the Office of the US Trade Representative noted recently, “The United States has a growing strategic and commercial stake in expansion of Sub-Saharan African trade flows as the region already exports products worth $12 billion to the United States and is a growing market for US goods. US merchandise exports to the region jumped nearly 23 percent in 1995, to $5.4 billion.”

5.3 Trade cannot be a substitute for aid
Even in the case of the most advanced African countries, however, private sector trade and investment is not a sufficient substitute for adequate and sustainable levels of aid. The diverse experiences of East and Southeast Asian countries show that taking advantage of market opportunities requires not only liberalization and export orientation, but also massive investments in state capacity and human resource development. Creating the basis for such development requires concurrent action to promote investment in social and physical infrastructure through targeted foreign assistance, facilitate trade and investment, and address the pressing issue of debt overhang. It also means involving multilateral institutions, national governments, the private sector, and the voluntary sector in ongoing dialogue about their appropriate contributions.

5.4 Trade initiatives must enhance African access to foreign markets
To achieve long-term success, such initiatives must dramatically enhance African access to US markets. This includes not only the extension of preferential terms of trade to African nations, but also the encouragement of investment in both the physical and social infrastructure which undergird sustainable development. US policy should promote emerging African processing and manufacturing industries and the expansion of regional productive and commercial networks, but must do so in a manner which does not invite worker exploitation or environmental destruction.

5.5 African nations struggling to take advantage of trade liberalization
Most African nations are poorly situated to realize significant advantage from the trade liberalization agreements generated by Uruguay Round negotiations. Studies designed to predict the impact of tariff reductions on sub-Saharan Africa have produced ambiguous and conflicting results, but they agree that the greatest threat which the Uruguay Round presents to African nations is the potential for further economic marginalization of those countries which are unable to capitalize on the new opportunities presented by the agreements. Recent export growth in parts of Africa suggests that some countries are becoming more competitive on global markets. The United States and other industrialized countries must find ways to facilitate Africa’s competitiveness and access to markets.

5.6 General System of Preferences
One such mechanism is the General System of Preferences (GSP), which offers lower tariffs to developing nations. The US GSP program is currently due to expire in May 1997 and should be extended. At the same time, Congress should revise the terms of the GSP to enhance the program’s value to Africa’s poorest nations and to encourage sustainable development. This might involve, on the one hand, waiving statutory product exemptions for eligible countries for a specified period (5 to 10 years) while, on the other, modifying the eligibility criteria. In particular, the United States should develop a revised set of criteria which factors social, as well as economic, indicators into eligibility decisions and which also assesses a nation’s progress in achieving poverty reduction. Countries with the greatest absolute need should receive top priority in the awarding of GSP concessions.

5.7 RECOMMENDATIONS
5.7.1 Facilitate the growth and policy analysis capacity of regional economic institutions
The United States and other industrialized nations are encouraged to invest in the development of Africa’s existing regional economic communities to facilitate the growth of institutions capable of utilizing, retaining, and repatriating indigenous human resources; planning, evaluating, and implementing regional trade and economic policy; and coordinating regional trade, investment, and infrastructure development.

5.7.2 Support central elements of the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act
Congress is urged to adopt those provisions of the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (H.R. 1432 and S. 778) per-
taining to the establishment of a US-Sub-Saharan Africa Economic Forum, the enhancement of African producers’ access to US markets (provided these initiatives protect US workers from unfair competition by requiring respect for core labor standards), and the allocation of additional funds to promote investment in African businesses and in improved and accessible infrastructure. Congress is encouraged further to exercise oversight of the implementation of this legislation to ensure that the act achieves the objectives of reducing poverty, creating an enabling environment for the emergence of small and micro-enterprises, and promoting broadly-based economic growth throughout Africa; and to balance trade and investment measures with expanded African assistance programs and debt relief initiatives.

5.7.3 Reverse trade missions
The Department of Commerce and the Office of the US Trade Representative are encouraged to expand their recently introduced program of “reverse trade missions” to assist African producers and entrepreneurs to gain greater familiarity with US markets, export opportunities, and trade regulations.

5.7.4 Expand microcredit in ways which build capacity in the voluntary sector
USAID is encouraged to consult with representatives of African private and voluntary sectors, including officials of regional NGO federations, to identify methods of expanding access to capital among African small businesspeople and microentrepreneurs which can simultaneously enhance the policy design and administration capacity of African voluntary sector organizations.

5.7.5 Renew and reform GSP; provide expanded technical assistance
Congress should renew GSP beyond May 1997 and should make the program more relevant to African nations by revising and simplifying the schedule of goods eligible for tariff reduction, making it more consistent with principles of sustainable development, and giving priority to countries with the greatest need, as indicated by both economic and social data. In addition, the relevant Executive branch agencies should offer expanded technical support facilities at US embassies in Africa to enable African producers and merchants to utilize this program fully.

5.7.6 Incorporate environmental and labor rights protections in all trade agreements
Congress is urged to adopt measures to ensure that all trade agreements concluded under “fast track authority” including those affecting African nations, incorporate mechanisms designed to protect the rights of workers and to prevent environmental damage.

5.7.7 Affirm and support the economic role of diaspora communities
Congress and Executive agencies are encouraged to recognize and affirm the economic role of African diaspora communities in national development by supporting the creation of structures to facilitate immigrant remittances and investments, especially in countries with sizeable diaspora communities resident in the United States (e.g., Ethiopia, Cape Verde, Liberia, Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Eritrea).

6.0 CONFLICT RESOLUTION

6.1 Conflict remains a challenge to development in Africa
Although a number of Africa’s most protracted wars have recently been resolved, conflicts still affect the lives of many people around the continent. Between 1989 and 1993, Africa was second only to Asia in the average number of active small and large conflicts each year (15). This figure does not include instances of repression or massacres of civilians, as in Burundi in 1993 and Rwanda in 1994. Twelve of the 18 “great domestic slaughters” occurring in the world between 1955 and 1994 were in sub-Saharan Africa. In 1995, 26 countries in the world were affected by complex emergencies; twelve were in Africa.

6.2 Economic ramifications of conflict
In Africa, as in other parts of the world, conflicts thwart development by destroying existing infrastructure and by consuming resources that might otherwise be invested in social and economic programs. The World Bank’s projected growth rates for Africa provide stark evidence of how Africa can ill-afford to squander resources on conflict. According to the Bank, Africans will have to wait two generations to reach the standard of living they had in 1975.

6.3 Industrialized nations must share blame
Industrialized nations share much of the blame for Africa’s strife-torn history. Colonial conquest and Cold War era intrigues have shaped the political and economic terrain on which these battles have unfolded. Although many countries have given substantial assistance to humanitarian initiatives designed to address the consequences of conflict, they have often been less generous in supporting people-centered development programs capable of addressing the sources of conflict. The United States, for example, has committed $500 million to help refugees in Rwanda—more than twice the total amount of development aid it has given Rwanda in three decades since its independence.
6.4 Arms export policies fuel conflict

Moreover, the arms export policies of industrialized countries have frequently sustained or exacerbated conflict in Africa. While Congress has stopped financing arms sales to most African countries, the US government continues to supply surplus military equipment through the Excess Defense Program to countries such as Uganda, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana. Commercial sales also continued; US exports from 1991 to 1995 totaled more than $23 million and included major deliveries to Nigeria (prior to the imposition of sanctions), Uganda, Botswana, Zambia, South Africa, and Namibia. This military equipment and commercial arms sales breed conflict situations and destabilizes various regions on the continent.

6.5 Landmines pose a unique threat

Landmines have had a particularly devastating effect on African economies. According to the US State Department's 1993 study, Africa is the most mined region in the world, with 18 million to 30 million mines laid in 18 countries. Of the 17 countries around the world most severely affected by landmines, seven are in Africa.

Long after a conflict ends, landmines threaten villagers, render farmland unusable, and disrupt transport and market systems. Within countries, the people most likely to encounter mines are the rural poor, especially peasant farmers and their children. The disruption of transportation and agricultural production hits hardest the economies of those countries with

This Document is Signed by:

Africa Faith and Justice Network
Sr. Maura Browne, Executive Director

Africa Fund
Tidran LeMelle, Chair, Board of Directors

Africa Policy Information Center
Betty A. Coats, Interim Director

African Methodist Episcopal Church
Bishop McKinley Young, President, Council of Bishops

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Piedmont District
Bishop Cecil Bishop, Presiding Bishop

American Committee on Africa
Jennifer Davis, Executive Director

Bread for the World
David Beckmann, President

Catholic Relief Services
Ken Hackett, Executive Director

Catholic Task Force on Africa
Center of Concern
James E. Hug, S.J., Executive Director

Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in USA and Canada
Dr. Richard Hamm, General Minister and President

Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Bishop Nathaniel Linsey, Senior Bishop

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
William Lucy, President

Comboni Missionaries
Cindy Browne, Manager, Justice and Peace Resource Center

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
Rev. Mark B. Brown, Asst. Director for Advocacy, Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs

Friends of Cape Verde
(Returned Peace Corps Volunteers of Cape Verde)
Chad Call, Chair

Lutheran World Relief
Kathryn W. Welford, President

Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers
Justice and Peace Office
Terence Miller, Director

Maryknoll Mission
Association of the Faithful
Vicky Armour-Hileman, Center Co-ordinating Team

Maryknoll Sisters Office of Social Concerns
Cathy Rowan, Director

Mennonite Central Committee
James Shenk and Terrance Sawatsky, Co-Directors of Africa Program

Missionaries of Africa
Rev. William Moroney, Provincial Superior of US Province

National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA / Church World Service
Rodney I. Page, Deputy General Secretary (NCCC) and Executive Director (CWS)

Oxfam America
James Akena-Dero, Policy Director (interim)

Phelps-Stokes Fund, Policy Program for Africa
George Shepherd, Director

Presbyterian Church (USA)
Clifton Kirkpatrick, Stated Clerk of the General Assembly

Progressive National Baptist Convention
Rev. Dr. Bennett W. Smith, President

Society of African Missions
Stephen G. Price, Office of Justice and Peace

TransAfrica
Randall Robinson, President

Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Rabbi David Saperstein, Director, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism

United Church of Christ
Paul H. Sherry, President

United Methodist Church, General Board of Church and Society
Dr. Torn White Wolf Fassett, General Secretary

United Methodist Church, General Board of Global Ministries
Dr. Randolph Nugent, General Secretary

United Methodist Church, General Board of Global Ministries, Women’s Division
Joyce D. Sohl, Deputy General Secretary

Washington Office on Africa
Rev. Dan C. Hoffman, President

Women Strike for Peace
Edith Vilastrigo, National Legislative Director

YWCA of the USA
Prona Mahlavi-Davis, National Executive Director
large rural populations and little industrial infrastructure. In
countries such as Angola, where an estimated 70,000 people
have lost limbs to landmines, there is an urgent need to
address disability issues. Mine clearance and victim assistance
programs—both essential to enable countries to rebuild and
move forward—will have limited effectiveness until a global
ban on landmine production, sales, and use is in place.

6.6 US peacekeeping initiatives fall short
The US Congress made a modest attempt to address conflict
on the African continent with the passage of the African
Conflict Resolution Act (ACRA) in 1994. While Africa
advocates were broadly supportive of ACRA and its objec-
tives, they have criticized the sharp reduction of operational
funding for conflict resolution projects in Africa between
1995 and 1996. Support for demining programs in Angola,
for example, fell from $5.35 million in 1995 to $2 million in
1996. Of the nearly $24 million designated in 1995
for
improving the conflict resolution capacity of African NGOs,
less than $5 million was ultimately disbursed.

Last September, the US pledged $20 million to help create a
new all-African peacekeeping force, known as the African
Crisis Response Force (ACRF). A number of African coun-
tries, including South Africa, have raised significant ques-
tions concerning how the force would be organized,
controlled, and funded. Their reactions suggest that the
United States should initiate a serious dialogue with African
governments and civil society organizations to identify ways
in which the United States can more appropriately assist
African peacekeeping efforts.

6.7 RECOMMENDATIONS
The Clinton Administration must commit itself to a compre-
prehensive conflict resolution program in Africa and provide
sufficient resources for its implementation. A wide gap
remains between the US government's stated commitment to
enhance the capacity of Africans to resolve African conflicts
and the actual level of support for African initiatives.

6.7.1 Appropriate additional funds for conflict resolution
Congress should immediately restore funding for conflict
resolution programs for Africa to 1995 levels (approximately
$30 million) and should allocate increased resources in
subsequent years. Agencies responsible for the allocation of
these funds should give priority to programs designed to
support the efforts of the Organization of African Unity
(OAU) and African non-governmental organizations to
improve their conflict resolution capacities.

6.7.2 Expand diplomatic activity
The US should use its considerable diplomatic resources to
play a direct role in efforts to resolve African conflicts.

6.7.3 Actively support a global ban on landmines
President Clinton should unambiguously endorse the call for
a comprehensive global ban on the use of anti-personnel
landmines. The Clinton Administration should also participate
in the campaign to secure a multilateral ban on landmines in
Ottawa in December 1997. In parallel with this accelerated
strategy, the United States should continue to play an active
role in the United Nations Conference on Disarmament
and to negotiate with Russia, China, and other countries that
remain unwilling to halt landmine production and use.

6.7.4 Endorse code of conduct for arms sales
The US Congress and the Clinton Administration should
support Code of Conduct legislation that would prohibit arms
sales and transfers to governments that: systematically violate
human rights, are engaged in armed aggression internally or
externally, have not registered with UN Registry of Conven-
tional Weapons, do not enjoy a democratic mandate.