



Promoting Human Resource Development In Africa

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Promoting Human Resource Development in Africa

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About the Center For Economic Research on Africa:

The Center for Economic Research on Africa seeks to foster closer understanding of economic relations between the United States and Africa. Through its research program, it is concerned with examining the scope and consequences of economic policies within Africa, United States economic policies toward Africa, and how specific policy alternatives bear on economic relationships between the two regions. The Center operates with financial support from academic, government, professional, and business organizations, and works in close collaboration with the Department of Economics of Montclair State University.

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Promoting Human Resource Development in Africa

Phillip LeBel, CERAF.

Good morning and welcome to Montclair State University. On behalf of the Center for Economic Research on Africa and the Department of Economics and Finance of the School of Business, welcome to today's conference. This is the seventh international conference of the Center for Economic Research on Africa. CERAF, the Center for Economic Research on Africa, was established in late 1986 as a non-profit research institute based here at Montclair State University, with a goal of increasing public understanding regarding economic issues in Africa, U.S. policies toward Africa, and how economic policies in the two regions affect the prospects for closer economic ties. We do so through events such as this conference, the results of which are published and distributed to the international public policy community, as well as through publication of research monographs by scholars here at Montclair State University, and by scholars working elsewhere in the United States and in Africa, as well as through the provision of specific technical services to the international public policy community.

We have a very distinguished panel with us today. I first want to introduce them to you. Before I do so, I first would like to acknowledge Dr. Albert Rossetti, Dean of the School of Business at Montclair State University, who would like to say a few words to you.

Albert Rossetti, Dean, School of Business.

On behalf of our School of Business and Montclair State University, I would like to welcome all of you here today. I am very pleased with the work that the Economics and Finance Department has been doing, and this conference is one example. As our school pursues the goal of accreditation by the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business, one part of this process is the emphasis which is placed on internationalization of our curriculum, and this event today complements several of the activities which we are pursuing in this area. During this year alone, we have already had a visiting delegation of officials from Cherepovets, Russia in December. In March, we had a visiting delegation of Chinese business executives. Dr. LeBel's work with CERAF adds to this portfolio of activities and which we view as a major part of our mission here at Montclair.

I know that you will have a most informative conference today. I extend a special welcome to our panelists. If this is your first visit to Montclair, I hope it will be the first of many more to come. Thank you, and thank you, Dr. LeBel, and the Economics and Finance Department, for the efforts you have put forth in having this event take place. Thank you.

Phillip LeBel, CERAF.

Thank you, Dean Rossetti. Before we introduce our panelists, let me say a few words about the support which we have received in organizing this event. We spend the greater part of a year in planning for these events, identifying and then securing commitments from qualified panelists to represent their institutions, as well as a host of steps involving faculty, staff, and students here at Montclair State University. First of all, I would like to acknowledge Dr. Glenville Rawlins, Deputy Director of CERAF, and a colleague in our department, without whose assistance and support we would not be able to succeed in sponsoring these events. Glen has worked closely with me since the establishment of CERAF is defining our research and conference agenda, as well as in providing numerous forms of logistical and technical support for our conference series.

I would also like to acknowledge and thank our department secretary, Mrs. Ida Fazio, who in addition to her regular duties, has also served as administrative assistant to CERAF. Her role in coordinating registrations and in managing numerous logistical responsibilities has been central to much of the organization which you see here today.

In addition, there are several departmental colleagues and numerous students who have also been involved with our conference, without whose assistance we would also be unable to sponsor these events. The names of students involved in our conference are listed in your conference program, and whose support is much appreciated.

In terms of institutional support, I would like to acknowledge and thank the Global Education Center of Montclair State University, whose founder, President Irvin Reid, has been a most enthusiastic supporter of events such as these here on our campus. I note also that the Global Education Center has been instrumental in supporting our research monograph publication series, copies of which are located in the rear of our conference room.

Let me round this out in thanking the members of the Economics and Finance Society of Montclair State University, who have been very important to our logistical

operations. I thank in particular Mr. Thomas Loncar, president of the Society, for his devoted efforts in helping us with numerous aspects of today's activities. The Economics and Finance Society has played an important role in securing numerous student volunteers, many of whom you see in our conference room this morning, at our publications desk in the rear, at our registration desk in the foyer, as well as in providing directions to campus parking as you entered the campus this morning.

As you can see, the theme we have chosen this year is promoting human resource development in Africa. Many people have negative images of Africa generated by various media, and which often portray Africa as an unending series of disasters. Most recently, this discomfiting public perception of Africa was reinforced by the acute famine in Somalia, which was accompanied by an utter breakdown of civil order following the collapse of the regime of Siad Barre. Such images of poverty, famine, and social disorder are indeed a part of the African landscape, but they are not all of what is taking place on the continent today.

Many countries in Africa are engaged in very difficult challenges as they approach the year 2000. While many of these countries have been suffering from low rates of economic growth, which when accompanied by relatively high rates of population growth have often resulted in weak rates of growth in per capita income, they have nevertheless embraced a far reaching range of fundamental economic reforms, the fruits of which are just beginning to emerge. While we could extend the list of Africa's economic problems to those of environmental and natural resource conservation, to issues of international debt management, our focus this morning is rather on an area in which African countries have made measurable progress and which has often been neglected in ongoing discussions of Africa's economic and social policies.

Adam Smith, author of the 1776 treatise, *The Wealth of Nations*, identified human resources as the key to economic development. That message is just as true today in Africa as it was in his time. The issue is what kinds of things are taking place in Africa to promote human resource development. The most obvious items are health and education, but also efforts to increase participation in the economy by historically under-represented populations, not the least of which is the role of women. African countries, following both domestic and international initiatives, have made substantial strides in all of these areas, and about which you will hear much in our discussions today.

Our procedure today will be to first give each panelist approximately twenty-five to thirty minutes to make an initial presentation. Following this stage, I will then give each

panelist an opportunity to respond to the remarks that their colleagues have made. Once this has been completed, I will then turn over our discussion to our audience to present questions to our panelists.

In noting this procedure, let me say that all of the presentations and discussions today will be published as part of our conference proceedings series. As you can see at our publications desk in the rear of the conference room, we have published the proceedings of our previous six conferences and intend to do so with this one as well. We undertake this publications effort to facilitate communication on important issues such as the one which we are addressing today, and in hopes that the observations and findings noted here may contribute in a productive way to the ongoing dialogue regarding constructive options for Africa's development alternatives. We do so by sharing the results of these conferences with members of the international public policy community, be they African government institutions such as representative delegations in the United Nations just twelve miles east of our campus, with major international financial and technical assistance organizations such as constituent units of the United Nations, the World Bank, the IMF, and U.S. AID, among others, as well as with public policy and scholarly research centers within Africa, Europe, and the United States.

And now to our conference panelists. Our first panelist is Mr. Carl Schieren, Vice-President for Programs at the African-American Institute in New York. He is responsible for education and training programs in the United States, including the ATLAS, or Africa Training for Leadership and Advanced Skills program, support of African Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's), Private Voluntary Organizations (PVO's), and was instrumental in establishing the African Center for Conflict Resolution. He has held previous positions as Director of Project and Grant Development at the American University in Cairo, as Director of External Relations of the American University in Cairo, and as Group Leader of Operation Crossroads Africa. A graduate of Columbia and Princeton, he is a member of the African Studies Association, the Middle East Institute, the Middle East Studies Association of North America, and the Society for International Development. Mr. Schieren speaks Arabic and French, and has traveled extensively in the Arab world, Africa, Asia, and Europe.

Our second panelist is Professor Guy Schudlers, Maître de Conférences, or Senior Lecturer at the University of Paris Panthéon-Sorbonne and at the French Economic Research Center of the University of Jena, Germany. Professor Schudlers has worked in and out of Africa for the French Ministry of Cooperation for the past nineteen years, has been a visiting faculty at several universities in Africa, including Department Chair of

the Economics Faculty of the University of Bangui in the Central African Republic. He is author of: *Développement: Stratégie de l'urgence* (L'Harmattan, 1991); *S'Unir: le Défi des Etats d'Afrique Centrale*, (L'Harmattan, 1990); *Turbulences Chinoises* (L'Harmattan, 1989); and *La Chine du Nouveau Départ* (L'Harmattan, 1987), as well as numerous research papers. Fluent in English, German, as well as his native French, Professor Schuldts has traveled extensively in Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America, and is a specialist on human resource issues in Africa. In addition to his work in the Central African Republic, Professor Schuldts has lived and worked in Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, as well as Niger. I would round out his portfolio by noting that I first met him while I was conducting a speaking tour for the U.S. State Department in 1988 in Bangui, Central African Republic. Let me add that as a result of our meeting, we have sustained a professional collaboration, including our publication of three research monographs which he authored, and which are part of the collection at our publications desk.

Our third panelist is Dr. Jerome Wolgin, Director of the Office of Analysis, Research and Technical Support of the Bureau for Africa, U.S. Agency for International Development, in Washington, D.C. Dr. Wolgin manages programs and research activities of the Bureau for Africa to improve understanding of the dynamics of and constraints to African development. A doctoral graduate in Economics from Yale University, Dr. Wolgin has lived and worked in Malawi, Kenya, and Nigeria, and has made visits to seventeen other African countries since coming to AID in 1979. Prior to joining AID, Dr. Wolgin was Assistant Professor of Economics at Wayne State University, and is a former Peace Corps volunteer.

Our fourth panelist is Dr. Manuel Zymelman, Senior Advisor, Africa Technical Department of the World Bank in Washington, D.C. Dr. Zymelman is responsible for a range of studies, in particular those addressing human resource issues in general, as well as in Africa in particular. His previous experience includes: Special Advisor, Senior Staff Resources Program of the World Bank, Economic Advisor in the Education Department of the World Bank, Professor in the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University, Consultant to the Organization of American States and to the Inter-American Development Bank, as well as Lecturer and Research Associate at Harvard University. Dr. Zymelman holds a doctorate in Economics from M.I.T., an M.S. in Industrial Management from M.I.T., and an M.S. from the University of Buenos Aires. He is author of over thirty-five publications, including: *Assessing Engineering Education in Sub-Saharan Africa* (World Bank Technical Paper 197, 1993); *Science, Education, and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa* (World Bank Technical paper 124,

1990); *Primary School Teachers' Salaries in Sub-Saharan Africa* (World Bank Discussion Paper, 1989); *The Health Finance Simulation Model* (The World Bank, 1989), *Evaluating Vocational Training Programs* (The World Bank, 1986), among others. Dr. Zymelman is fluent in English as well as his native Spanish, and has traveled extensively in Central and Latin America, as well as in Africa.

The last person who will be making a presentation today is Dr. Ruth Bamela-Engo Tjega, our keynote luncheon speaker. She is Senior Liaison Officer in the Steering Committee Secretariat of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery (UNPAAERD). She is responsible for the coordination and monitoring of an on-going economic programme designed to facilitate cooperation and understanding between economically depressed African countries and the international community, notably between donor countries, the UN system and African delegations, and in particular, the Organization for African Unity.

Ms. Engo has held a number of previous positions, among which I cite the following: Representative of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Cooperation to the 27th Summit of Heads of State of the OAU in 1991; Representative of the Office of Development and International Economic Cooperation to the Second UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries in 1990; Cameroon Delegate to the UN General Assembly in 1984, Cameroon Head Delegate in the International Labor Conference in Geneva from 1975 to 1984; as well as numerous posts in Cameroon, including Director of Labor in the Labor Ministry from 1980 to 1984, and Lecturer at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature in Yaoundé from 1972 to 1984.

Ms. Engo has been a consultant on Women in Development in Food and Security Issues for UNIFEM, UNDP, UNFPA, and the Economic Commission for Africa as well as UNIFEM Liaison to the UN Office of Emergency Operations in Africa. She holds memberships in the Club of Rome, the Society of International Development, OXFAM American and Association of Women in Development, is Co-Founder of Advocates for African Food Security, is Founder and President of African Action on AIDS, and is Founding Member and President of the UN African Mothers Association.

Ms. Engo holds a Third Cycle Doctorate in Social Sciences from the University of Paris, founded and edited *Le Monde du Travail*, as well as numerous publications devoted to economic and social issues in Africa. She is fluent in Bassa, Bulu, Ewondo, Ngoumba, French, and English, collects cultural memorabilia of traditional African women, writes poetry, and is mother of two children.

Carl Schieren, African-American Institute

Thank you Professor LeBel and those of you who have come to Montclair today. How appropriate it is that this Center for Economic Research on Africa should devote its annual conference to Africa's human resources. After focusing for years on growth models, capital formation, per capita income, and urban industry at the expense of agriculture and rural areas, development specialists, including many development economists, are acknowledging grave past mistakes and look increasingly to the future with their eyes fixed on people. They also see transformations that must be made in both North and South at a time when more and more basic issues are being defined globally.

The United Nations Development Programme now is guided by its Annual *Human Development Report*. UNICEF's clarion for concerns of children has engaged heads of state and peoples of the world in an unprecedented manner. The World Bank has given human resource development a key place in the context of capacity building. Many bilateral agencies have followed, with sometimes ever greater engagement by non governmental agencies worldwide. Whether it is broadly based empowerment of people as espoused by the grassroots advocates such as David Korten, or more specifically targeted training and education of the kinds traditionally supported, human beings are the focus. The ability of individuals to provide for themselves and their families in an environmentally sustainable manner will be the critical question of the twenty-first century. In brief, human resource development has come center stage to the global debate on development and our common future.

Colleagues on the panel represent organizations at the forefront of international development thought and policy formulation. They undertake program design in a wide range of development areas, and some often back up their analysis with substantial donor resources. Our institution, the African-American Institute, is a long-established private organization that seeks to foster African development through strengthening its human resources and improving understanding between Africans and Americans. We are a principal advocate for Africa through the activities we organize in and on the continent - seeking to put questions of Africa back on the American and international burner, when many say Africa is not even on the stove. We provide forums for African leaders usually in the United States and Africa, but also in Europe and Japan, as ways to celebrate Africa and stem its marginalization in the world community. We publish *Africa Report*, America's leading magazine on Africa.

Today, however, I shall talk with you about our work in human resource development in Africa, which is quantitatively by far our principal function. You will find many remarks oriented towards higher education, because we have trained many university staff and see a particular need for international support of African higher education. I shall start with some remarks about the context of Africa today as it may relate to human resource development. Then, I shall describe the major human resource development programs of the Institute and conclude with some thoughts on the future role that non-African organizations might be expected to play in the future.

A. The Context of Human Resource Development in Africa

Development of human capabilities never occurs in a vacuum. Many elements make up the context for human resource development efforts in Africa. Some of them I would like to stress, including areas in which the Institute has worked, are:

- 1) Peace,
- 2) Demobilization,
- 3) Democratization
- 4) Population,
- 5) Debt and Investment and
- 6) Incentives and Supporting Environment.

1. Peace

No country being torn asunder by war can devote effective energy to its people. While Eritrea managed to keep schools running during nearly 30 years of guerrilla warfare, in the experience of Liberia, Angola, Somalia and Mozambique constant warfare has caused untold human misery, set back national development and preempted any serious development for people. AAI believes that ways simply must be found to address these and the other more than 40 conflict situations that exist in Africa today. The Institute has been an advocate for a proposal by General Olesegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria and President of the African Leadership Forum, for creation of a Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa. Modeled on the lines of the Helsinki accords, this would be a process involving African states and major non-regional allies in promoting security, human rights and economic concerns in the region and that would legitimize the right of one state to inquire on violation of shared precepts by another.

In addition, the Institute has designed and been seeking support for an African Center for Conflict Resolution. The Center would be private, not under the control or with the participation of any state, based in Africa and run by Africans, able to call upon distinguished leaders and specialists from Africa and from elsewhere in the world. The purpose would be to try to identify and help avoid future conflict situations as well as to seek to resolve conflict underway.

2. Demobilization

The post-cold War era African cannot afford, and superpowers will not continue to help pay, for large numbers of armed forces. From crisis points in Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, Togo and Zaire, to now quiescent Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia and even to Nigeria and Ghana where large-scale fighting has not occurred, there are massive numbers of regular and irregular troops. Urgent attention is needed to help remove the threat that these men and boys pose to civilian authority and eliminate the intolerable burden they impose on their economies. Through testimony before Congress and coverage in conferences it sponsors, AAI has called attention to the need for external financial and technical assistance to address military demobilization through both training and incentive payments.

Just as the U.S. is now investing in housing for Russian officers, investment in training African guerrilla fighters and staff of established military organizations could reduce the threat of future conflict and make a positive contribution to building skills and attitudes for development.

3. Democratization

In the past two years, twenty-three African nations have initiated experiments with political participation. In country after country, citizens who in the past were passive actors under authoritarian and often corrupt regimes, find themselves to be participants in a new and hopeful future. In Benin, Zambia, Mali, Niger, and Madagascar new leaders have come to power. In Ghana and Senegal old leaders have returned with a popular mandate, under new rules of accountability.

A proliferation of new constitutions, electoral and other laws prescribe a limited role for government and guarantee independence of the judiciary freedom of the press, and respect for human rights. These changes are facilitating an explosion of new forms of expression and creation of a whole array of local authorities, grassroots organizations and a freer private business sector. The possibilities for political pluralism, civil society, improved governance and respect for human rights, human dignity, and for universities,

academic freedom, provides an important enabling environment for individuals to take responsibility for their own circumstances and to join with others in unleashing local initiatives.

AAI has been able to help facilitate democratic reform in Africa. As managing partner of the Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund, AAI, and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, the International Republican Institute, occasionally in cooperation with the Carter Center, have provided assistance to no less than 19 African countries in the organization and exercise of elections, all since last August. In organizing election observer delegations in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Madagascar and Djibouti, training has been extremely important for officials in elections commissions, local election monitors and political party officials on a nonpartisan basis. With widespread capacities in place, African states and NGOs should soon be able to help their neighbors, with only occasional outside assistance or observation.

Additional work in helping to strengthen democratic institutions such as a free press, national and local legislatures, and judiciary systems, as well as helping to strengthen the private sector will, however, be an important future priority. Expanded participation will open up new kinds of human resource development that emphasize the creative and responsible role of individuals.

4. Population

Long-term, the single greatest constraint to African development is overpopulation. With the highest population growth rates in the world, family planning and reduced population growth is critical if Africa is to use its limited resources to develop its human and economic potential.

AAI is currently providing a support base for the Nigeria Family Health Services Project, the largest AID-funded family planning program in sub-Saharan Africa and is about to provide the same to the Combating Childhood Communicable Diseases Project. Here, AAI makes subcontracts with Nigerian private organizations of nurses and traditional birth attendants as well as with public entities such as universities, hospitals and local authorities. AAI tries to empower these organizations by providing appropriate programs of management training so they will have the capacity to administer, account for and often reuse funds they receive in these projects, and in so doing enable them to do so for other activities.

5. Investment and Debt

Even with peace, participation and good government, Africa needs infrastructure and capital investment to take advantage of its often abundant natural resources and provide jobs. With debt in excess of its gross national product and debt servicing obligations in excess of the total amount that Africa now receives, debt and investment are crisis matters for African nations, who constitute the majority of the poorest nations in the world.

In Congressional testimony and in its Conference programs where AAI highlights African issues, AAI stresses debt relief for African countries. AAI also has a new Trade and Investment program, in which it tries to make American investors aware of specific opportunities that exist in Africa.

6. Incentives and Supporting Environment

Africa's producers, be they on the factory floor, in farms, or in the university classroom, need incentives and a supporting environment. In the past under misguided and now largely abandoned policies often proposed by international donors, African governments developed pricing mechanisms that denied the African farmer a fair share for his (or more often her) work and subsidized inefficient urban workers and residents.

The change is helping revive African agriculture. However, African nations have been suffering an approximately seven percent annual loss of their senior government and university staff through emigration to other countries. At the same time there are estimates of from 30,000 to 100,000 expatriate advisers have been working in Africa at a total cost that has been estimated at more than half the total amount of its international assistance. While the emigration reflects to some extent the poor fit between the fields in which Africans have been trained and those that are needed today, it also reflects the absence of either adequate compensation - where professionals may be lucky to drive taxis as a way of earning a minimally adequate income - or a productive or supportive working environment in most educational and government institutions.

B. AAI Human Resource Development Initiatives

With these elements of context, I would like to turn to the African-American Institute. AAI is the oldest American non-profit organization devoted exclusively to Africa and operates out of headquarters in New York City, with representatives in twenty-two African nations, including a Southern Africa regional office opened in January 1992 in Johannesburg.

AAI's Board of 30 persons is composed of those in business, university life (3 current or former university presidents), non-governmental organizations and the media. In recognition of the special relationship between African-Americans and Africa, African-American and African leaders comprise a significant portion of the Board's membership.

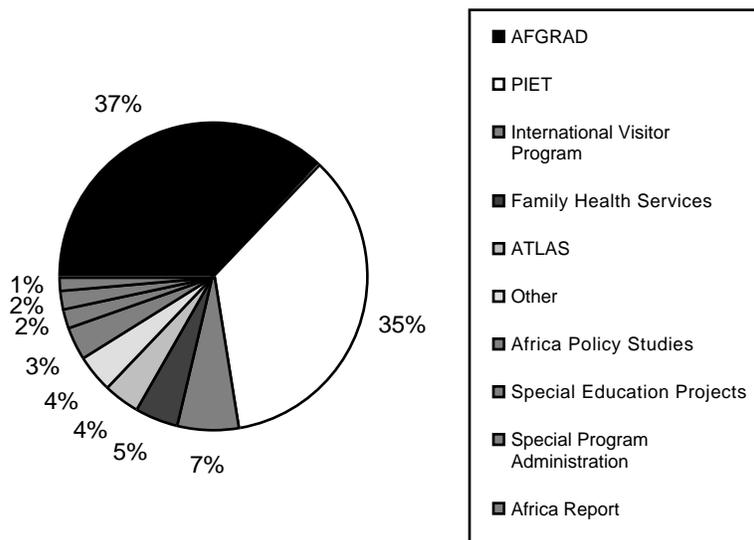
In 1989 the Board appointed the first African-American and the first woman as President. This President, Vivian Lowery Derryck, has moved aggressively to strengthen AAI networks with African leaders, AAI's relationships with African-Americans and reinforce AAI's role as a mainstream non-governmental organization committed to African development.

AAI was founded in 1953 as the result of efforts by American educators from Howard and Lincoln Universities to provide advice, scholarship assistance and other services to African students in the United States and broaden understanding of Africa in the United States. Early encouragement by the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund was the beginning of support that has been uninterrupted since that time and that has gained critical backing from the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Figure 1

Program Expenditures of the African-American Institute

Fiscal Year ended September 30, 1991



Total: \$25,186,597

This base of support, plus a private endowment of \$10 million and annual giving by individual and corporate contributors has provided a firm underpinning for the Institute's independence, even though of its \$30 million plus budget today, 90% comes from the U.S. government, mostly A.I.D.

Most AID funding is for human resource development. AAI's programs began as a loan fund for Africans studying in the United States. Since then among the more than \$500 million in programs it has administered have been the following in education and training:

- a) sending young American teachers to Africa before establishment of the Peace Corps, for which AAI experience helped provide a model;
- b) construction and operation of schools for refugees from southern Africa in Tanzania and Uganda;
- c) operating a regional heavy equipment training center in Togo;
- d) helping at the establishment of the Association of African Universities in the creation and funding of an exchange program among African universities themselves and

- 5) design and operation the African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU) for undergraduate study in the United States for more than 12 years.

With the three major current activities described below, AAI education and training programs have served approximately 18,000 individuals from African countries.

1. The African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRAD)

AAI's largest and oldest program the African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRAD), accepted its final intake in 1991. Since 1961 AFGRAD has provided nearly 2800 graduate fellowships to African students from 47 countries in over 200 American universities. Involvement of the Council of Graduate Deans, whose members go to African countries to participate in the final selection of candidates for fellowships, has helped AAI obtain commitments of tuition waivers for each AFGRAD fellow and guarantee a high standard of students.

More than ninety percent of AFGRAD students returned to their countries upon completing their studies. AFGRAD graduates now include many distinguished individuals, including three Prime Ministers who have come to power on the current wave of democratic reform and six university presidents.

2. Advanced Training for Leadership and Advanced Skills (ATLAS)

A much broader conception of training has been embodied in the program which AAI now administers as the successor to AFGRAD. Called "Advanced Training for Leadership and Advanced Skills" or "ATLAS", this project includes a bold initiative by A.I.D. to deal with the bottom line of participant training: what do participants do when they go home? and how can they make best use of their training in very unsupportive environments.

A.I.D. authorized in the ATLAS project a Field Services component that is now helping graduates network with one another. It includes tracking all AFGRAD alumni and issuing an annual alumni directory, and publishing a newsletter. In a unique partnership it has established with the African Academy of Sciences, AAI also organizes for graduates national and regional conferences in Africa on development topics, such as Governance, the African Family, Health and the Environment, and Export Promotion Strategies. It also supports grants to nongovernmental organizations in which alumni may be engaged.

Unlike AFGRAD where participants were funded centrally through the AAI contract, under ATLAS USAID missions in each country determine and pay for the participation they wish. Ongoing efforts to inform Missions has enabled ATLAS to reach the point where it is programming approximately 150 students per year, mostly at the Master's level. The much reduced number of Ph.D. students under ATLAS is a concern to AAI and the graduate deans, who believe Ph.D. study is the ultimate form of capacity building.

3. Southern African Programs

AAI is phasing out a long-running Southern African Refugee Training Program, which placed students both in the United States and in other African countries. It is helping repatriate former students in Southern Africa, in part through a bimonthly newsletter, SASPOST.

In South Africa black universities such as the University of Western Cape, University of the North, University of Fort Hare enroll more than ninety percent of the approximately 75,000 black university students in the country. They were intentionally located in remote areas and systematically underfunded under apartheid. In 1989, with a pilot program with the University of Western Cape and help from the Ford Foundation, AAI began providing opportunities for faculty to spend six months at American institutions, where they carry on research or more often undertake a study program that strengthens their capabilities. The Ford Foundation, AAI has just received AID funding to open this program to all other black universities in South Africa.

4. Partners for International Training (PIET)

Ten years ago three other nonprofit organizations, The Asia Foundation, the Experiment in International Living, and Amideast, teamed up with AAI to form PIET to provide short term training programming and management for USAID missions worldwide. AAI is managing partner of the overall activity and also handles all participants from African countries. Since its inception, PIET has handled more than 20,000 trainees worldwide, including more than 4,000 from Africa in programs ranging from courses a week or two in duration to full-term Ph.D. programs.

Of particular interest under PIET is a program called Entrepreneurs International, which provides training to international business men and women and commercial opportunities for American companies. It does so by bringing developing nation entrepreneurs to the U.S. for 3-6 weeks of on-the-job training with U.S. businesses.

Since 1987, 61% of EI's 245 entrepreneurs worldwide have come from sub-Saharan Africa.

C. Future Potential of U.S. Institutions in Human Resource Development in Africa

From the perspective of this experience and in light of rapidly changing conditions in Africa, what is the potential role for American institutions in human resource development in Africa in the future? What can we do to reduce the number of those expatriate consultants in Africa and encourage expatriate Africans to return home?

The key is development of African capacities. While we at AAI have focused on developing the capacities of individuals and have been pleased that so many have returned to and are working in Africa, some are not there, and without changes in the operating environment in Africa, many may join those who have left.

How many stories are there of the Egyptian, the Nigerian or the Kenyan, unproductive in his or her own country, who goes to Switzerland, the United States or the World Bank and becomes a leader in the field. One cannot separate individual human beings from the institutions and environments in which they work.

American organizations in the future will have to concentrate on broader-based institutional capacities and supportive environments so that individuals, regardless of where they were educated, can be productive. Special attention has to be given to educating women and including women in all development initiatives. New development agenda items of providing basic education, improving public health and investing in family planning will have to be pillars of human resource development.

For the future, I would like to mention some areas in which U.S. and other organizations outside Africa might take initiatives.

1. Greater Use of African Talent by Donors and NGO's

Those who work with Africa from outside will do Africa a disservice if they do not try to draw upon the base of Africans now living and working in their own countries to participate in the design and handle the implementation of program activities. In the Family Health Services Project AAI has hired only one expatriate specialist, while it has more than 100 Nigerians on its payroll. Current restructuring of the project is being pursued so that its technical direction and identity in Nigeria will be Nigerian.

Donors frequently raise the question of the local pressures to which a "national" can be subject. Compensation is difficult, particularly when using dual nationals, who will demand "American" rates and who may be perceived locally as unjustifiably privileged. However, a concerted effort to use domestic, national talent will help provide opportunities for resident citizens and may help lure back expatriates. When consultants from the country are not available, efforts should be made to identify those from other African countries with similar experiences. This too provides opportunities for Africans and helps ensure the sharing of African experiences among African professionals and countries. When an expatriate consultant must be engaged, efforts should be made transfer skills to Africans.

2. Will There be More African Students in the USA?

African students in the United States (including North Africa) have declined from a high of 14% of all foreign students in 1975-76 to less than 6%, or just under 24,000 today. The lowest percentage in twenty years, this mirrors the state of African economies and the inability of private citizens, and state organizations to afford such study.

Asia with 230,000 students Asia accounts for 56%. Students from China, Japan, Taiwan, Korea and India all individually outnumber the students sent to the U.S. from the entire African continent.

As a reflection of American interests, Africa with 1.3% of Americans studying abroad attracts the least of any world regions, while Europe attracts an overwhelming 76.7%. Although Asian countries have invested heavily in American education and have given wide responsibility to many returnees for the building of their economic strength, it is doubtful that Africans will ever have the resources to take such an approach.

3. Long-term Linkages with U.S. Universities

University linkages with American institutions as part of specific African capacity-building initiatives are a possible means of developing those who can in turn develop others - at far more reasonable cost. This approach, while forced by necessity, could also be an opportunity, to ensure that what most Africans study will be more relevant to African circumstances than may be much of the content to which they would be exposed in the United States.

The challenge to those who design such programs in Africa will be to see that, in terms of rigor, methodology and the ability to develop both effective expression and critical thought, programs in Africa can be equivalent to programs at leading institutions elsewhere in the world.

There is a literature on capacity building with an uncertain history with regard to linkages, but I would like to suggest that there is a unique set of opportunities that can and should be recognized and developed by American universities, educational institutions and interested donor organizations.

For American universities, linkages provides an opportunity to give international outreach to faculty and students, well beyond traditional contact with Europe. For African universities, linkages offer potential access to people at the cutting edge of the profession, particularly those where change is rapid or where help is needed in combining disciplines for work in multidisciplinary fields. For faculty it can provide access to research sources and opportunities to keep in contact with the profession through refresher courses or assignments in the United States, and have access to equipment and library resources not otherwise available.

As much as possible, it must be professionally rewarding for the American faculty, or run the risk that participation will be second rate. This is harder in microbiology or electrical engineering than in anthropology or political science. Such arrangements work best when the commitment is long term on both sides, and multiple members of given institutions participate in exchanges of teaching staff.

It is clear that Montclair State University already has established productive relations with institutions in Africa and may be well able to deepen these in the years ahead. Clear, achievable objectives, careful planning and attention to matters of financing and sustainability need to be established at the outset.

4. Greater Involvement by US NGO's

American NGOs are being used increasingly as conduits for international development assistance. Following disillusionment with African governments among the donor community, and a new embrace of non-governmental organizations in the World Bank's *Long Term Perspective Study on Africa*, many donor agencies are seeking ways to program development assistance outside government channels, something A.I.D. has long had a special mandate to follow.

Most indigenous NGOs are too small for large donor agencies to support directly and most do not meet established criteria for direct funding. Accordingly, agencies may request American NGOs to grant or contract to African NGOs and PVOs. Middle term, this means that American NGOs will assume even larger roles in developing capacities of African NGOs, to administer and account for project funds, and design and oversee projects. In the longer term, however, as in the case of elections assistance, this need will have been met, and African organizations should not need intermediaries.

Over the long term, those NGOs that develop long term reasons to have truly mutually equal relationships will be those best able to continue their activities in Africa. For example, a human rights organization in the United States can serve as an international conscience and verifier for an African organization seeking to monitor academic freedom on a university campus. Or the AAI can bring to the African Leadership Forum platforms in the United States through which it can state its case, while the Forum can include AAI in cutting edge debates about the African condition.

5. Training and Technological Innovation by the Private Sector

Since time is extremely short, I want to mention only briefly the unexamined role of the private sector in training. Upon reentry into South Africa, Lotus Inc. established a foundation to train Africans in spreadsheets. Such training by Lotus and other vendors in the future, and the introduction of user-friendly software with self-learning tutorials, together with plummeting prices for computers could bring about in South Africa the kind of office productivity revolution that has taken place elsewhere.

Motorola is establishing a satellite network that will make it possible for someone in a remote African village to have instant phone or video contact anywhere in the world. This will open up totally new possibilities for communications and access to data and information. Could not such technology as this or let us say CD-ROM technology through which African libraries could purchase 400 periodicals with complete backlists in one relatively inexpensive order enable Africa to leapfrog years of decline?

6. Involvement of African-Americans

African-Americans are becoming major participants in international affairs, commensurate with the role they have long played in other areas. With this emergence has come a new and more sophisticated evolution of the relationship many feel they have to Africa. From the search for the a lost and idyllic ancestral past has emerged a growing bond of common respect for one another, a sense of kindred burdens in the modern world and a sense of mutual economic interest.

African-Americans today constitute the single most important potential source of support on African issues in the United States. Because of this interest and insight, many of the individuals AAI now uses in its human resource development and trade and investment programs are African-American.

In brief conclusion, the African context has never been as vibrant as it is today, with political reconstruction transforming the landscape into one in which people can be the objects of and participants in development policy. Thank you very much.

Guy Schulders, University of Paris I - Panthéon-Sorbonne

Over the last few years, the African continent has witnessed serious economic deterioration. This has significantly increased the risk of political and social collapse on a scale unprecedented since the onset of independence in the early 1960's. It is an issue of international concern, not only because it hampers individuals' development opportunities, but also because it jeopardizes peace in the regions most affected.

Western countries have responded thus far to Africa's economic plight through various programs of structural adjustment and stabilization. They have done so through the financing of rehabilitation and reconstruction projects in social and economic infrastructure, while at the same time placing major emphasis on improving the performance of local and internationally placed investments on domestic economic growth. As is well known, these international initiatives have also embraced the issuing of loans on concessional terms, the re-scheduling of existing debt, and in some cases, of outright cancellation of debt. In the name of national sovereignty, adjudged to be sacrosanct, industrialized developed countries of the North have insisted increasingly that their aid be used in a rational manner or be directed towards activities tied to the improvement of human resources.

Since the onset of the 1980's, international organizations, in particular, the World Bank, have made their aid conditional upon the fulfillment of a certain number of obligations for sound management in the framework of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP's).

As for France, it has simultaneously made known to the countries of the South, at the La Baule Congress, its desire to aid first of all those countries progressively orienting themselves towards democratic forms of management. Moreover, it has

regularly provided Africa with a cadre of Technical Assistance personnel in the fields of health, training, and education, and has allocated numerous scholarships to African students wishing to improve their technical qualifications through further study in Europe.

A. Rethinking the Policy Paradigm for Human Development in Africa

In terms of theoretical analysis, economists have agreed, since the mid-1980's, that the process of growth and development of Southern nations can no longer be based upon the simple combining of labor and capital endowments, taken generally to be homogeneous factors of production. If, in the case of Northern industrial countries, traditional growth and development models have been called into question, they apply even less convincingly in the case of the nations of the South.

The well-known production functions of Solow, Cobb-Douglas, Arrow and Chenery, among others, take insufficient account of the phenomena of diversity, heterogeneity, of cultural traits, of human behavior patterns, of geographical position, or market weaknesses, or of the particularly problematic situations in which African political and economic institutions find themselves at the present time.

It is only very recently that phenomena linked to the diversity of human reactions to the problems of unrequited needs, to the efforts to attain minimal standards of living, or even to the struggle for survival of whole populations on the region-wide scale, have been addressed by growth and development experts.

Economists of the New Cambridge School long ago exposed the non-homogeneity of factors of production and preferred instead to conduct their analyses of factor incomes in distributional terms, rather than in terms of the relationships between the major factors of production viewed globally.

Recent circumstances, highly conducive to change in modern-day economies, have provided strong grounds for laying to one side standard models in favor of explicit incorporation of those elements thought to be fundamental to growth. Following Romer's work, it is both logical and empirically supported to link overall growth and productivity to such factors as imperfect competition, externalities, as well as demographic structures, infrastructural provision, and public services. Moreover, explicit consideration of human capital formation, much more widely resorted to since

the innovative work of Gary Becker and Theodore Schultz, gives a new dimension of realism to the study of development phenomena.

B. The Role of French Aid and Technical Assistance in Africa

Drawing on the development experience of the past three decades, French aid has moved to increase the emphasis given to human resource development. It has done so through a systematic re-evaluation of its programs in Africa, notably through a number of considerations which I would like to list here.

1. First, increasing emphasis is given in the planning and funding process to accounting mechanisms as to how human resources are used, based on widespread recognition that much technical assistance is often inefficiently utilized with inadequate attention given to the linkage between inputs and outcomes.
2. Drawing on existing and evolving evidence regarding the most productive arenas for human resource development, French aid is being re-evaluated beyond its traditional commitment to formal education and health to programs of adult literacy, to general and professional out-of-school training, as well as in innovative methods for improving personal hygiene, nutrition, and primary health care.
3. French efforts are being strengthened in the area of family planning, encompassing programs and their effects on infant and adult mortality rates, as well as on the context in which the demand for children arises.
4. French aid programs place increasing emphasis on decentralization and on the transfer of skills and responsibility to local administrative units. In this regard, not only is there a shift away from formal education, but there is also an increasing effort devoted to practical issues of administration rather than the creation and dissemination of knowledge in the traditional academic sense.
5. While France has been generally supportive of Structural Adjustment Programs as outlined and implemented by the World Bank and the IMF, there is growing concern that these programs have been devised on the basis of short-term expediency rather than on a more careful analysis of long-term considerations.

As even the World Bank now admits, there are social dimensions to adjustment which can do much to affect the ultimate outcome of the adjustment process. Thus, privatization, which has been seen as a doctrinaire solution to the problem of excessive public sector external debt, has been slow in producing the desired fruits of adjustment, largely because the private sector has been so slow in taking over the creation of employment and output from a still diminishing public sector. Unemployment rates, at least in the short-run, are thus at near unprecedented levels, and are creating enormous social and political pressures.

7. Despite the sometimes widespread uncertainty associated with privatization and structural adjustment, it is also recognized that the informal sector is responsible for a major proportion of economic activity in African countries. At the same time, traditional programs of international aid and technical assistance have often ignored this sector in terms of the influence of strongly held traditional religious beliefs as they affect learning, hygiene and health prescriptions recommended by technical assistance personnel. Reforming technical assistance means that these factors must be taken into greater account if development through adjustment is to be effective.
8. In light of all the above, development programs and policies at the macroeconomic level are likely to be guided increasingly by broader measures of development than those embodied in per capita GNP or per capita GDP. The UNDP's decision to publish an annual Human Development Report quite rightly should be viewed as complementary to such standard documents as the World Development Report published by the World Bank.

These diverse observations reveal a growing awareness of the inadequacy - and sometime the waste - of human resources in education, training, and health. French programs of aid and technical cooperation are adapting to these new realities and will be critical to the success of many development programs in Africa in the future.

C. Action for Education in Africa

The French Ministry of Cooperation and Development is very strongly committed in support of African policies seeking efficient development of human resources. its

instruments, whether they be human (Technical Assistance personnel), or physical and financial (amongst other, The Cooperation Aid fund (Fonds d'Aide de la Coopération), the Central Bank for Economic Cooperation (Caisse Centrale de Coopération Economique), have evolved over the years as the principal institutions of French support of development initiatives. During that time, they have adapted themselves to the very disquieting situations in which African socio-economic structures have found themselves.

C.1 Action on Education and Training

Bilateral French aid and Technical Assistance fosters the promotion of human resources in 32 states or groups of states in Africa, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean. Multilateral aid to Southern nations is provided to these same countries, as well as to others, through the channels of the Ministries of the Economy, of Finance (the Franc Zone is directly supported by the French Treasury), and Foreign Affairs (liaison with international organizations, humanitarian relief bodies, and non-governmental organizations).

In over 30 years of independence, African countries, undergoing the consequences of often poorly controlled growth in population, and in response to demands for an expanding technical base in support of efforts in modernization, have made important strides in a number of areas. As an example, school enrollments have increased sevenfold since 1960 in Sub-Saharan Africa alone.

At the present time, the coastal countries of Black Africa and the Maghreb provide primary education for 77 percent of school-age children, 22 percent of their adolescents attend a secondary school, and 2 percent of their young adult population undergo higher education studies. Thirty years ago, the same population groups attended education establishments at corresponding rates of 39 percent, 3 percent, and 0.2 percent, respectively,

In the landlocked countries of the sahel, overall less well endowed than their coastal neighbors, school-going in primary education only attains a rate of 52 percent and in secondary schooling, barely 11 percent. In those countries where Islam is the predominant religious faith, school attendance rates among girls are even more modest than in the better off countries of Africa.

The project-aid component of the French Ministry of Cooperation and Development's assistance has risen in 1992 to the equivalent of U.S. \$910 million. Out

of this, U.S. \$300 million are reserved for educational and training activities. This latter amount provides for a flow of 4,300 Technical Assistance personnel with teaching responsibilities at the various levels of secondary and higher education (much less frequently in primary education), or with responsibilities allocated to a wide range of cross-sectoral educational projects.

As already noted, French aid and Technical Assistance has placed increasing emphasis on allocative efficiency. Thanks in part to increased training of host-country teaching staff, and to the fostering of better targeted educational projects -France has been able, in ten years, to reduce by half the number of teachers that it deploys on the ground, from 8,000 in 1980 to 4,300 in 1992. French officials expect that this reduction will become even more pronounced in the future as projects become better managed and trained local personnel can assume greater responsibilities for their success.

French Technical Assistance teachers are spread over all levels and sectors according to mutually defined goals agreed to by local and French officials. At present, 1 percent are deployed in basic higher education, 37 percent are in professional and technical education at the higher and secondary level, 42 percent are working in general secondary education, and a smaller residual of 5 percent are working at the primary school level.

It should be noted that French technical assistance to education in Africa has been shaped by a number of factors. Among them are:

1. While sustaining an historical commitment to education, enrollment growth ratios have been hampered by some of the highest of population growth in the world, with Sub-Saharan Africa alone averaging a 3.2 percent annual rate of increase alone, the result of which is that elementary school classrooms often have between 70 to 100 pupils per class, with corresponding adverse effects on the quality of learning
2. Local educational policies notwithstanding, cultural factors such as religious custom have inhibited educational participation rates in some countries and areas, especially in the predominantly Muslim Sahel region, with attendant relatively low rates of attendance among school-age girls, as already noted.

3. Structural Adjustment Programs have placed severe hardships on resource commitments to social infrastructure in general in Africa, and on education and health in particular, with payroll crises for teachers and teacher employment in non-school activities an increasing phenomenon in many countries. Simultaneously, French aid is being oriented towards a more clearly defined logic. Among other initiatives, French aid places emphasis on cost-effectiveness to a much greater extent than ever before.
4. Greater replacement by local personnel of French Technical Assistance, notably at the primary and secondary school levels, with long-term replacement efforts at the higher education level.
5. Increased emphasis on educational productivity, as measured in terms of more professional education, lower dropout rates in formal education systems, greater incentives for students to opt for economically rewarding school specializations, among others. As is well known, dropout rates in African school systems can be catastrophic, reaching 75 percent at the end of the first year for some programs in law and engineering.
6. A more obvious effort is being made to allocate aid on the basis of underlying competitive rates of economic and social return as part of the emphasis given to cost-effectiveness and productivity-based decisions.

3.b Grass-roots Reform Initiatives

In other respects, a thorough rethinking is called for in the manner in which teaching programs are focused. They need to be more closely linked to the age and maturity-levels of school-age children in the countries themselves. Attitudes among European children may differ substantially from those among African countries, yet Technical Assistance personnel may have had little training to the local context.

In addition, teaching has to incorporate the cultural and environmental features proper to each of the countries for which they have been conceived. At this level, it appears misguided to go down a path of harmonizing teaching programs between countries of differing backgrounds when the context is so varied. Relatively poor, landlocked desert countries of the Sahel and richer, coastal, forested countries in more tropical zones may require quite differing strategies. There is no compelling logic that

curricula and school-books should be the same in Nouakchott, Abidjan and Libreville, even though these may have been thought desirable in the past by both African and European educators alike. The relevant test is to what extent any losses in universality can be compensated for by gains in effectiveness of schooling in raising levels of economic and social development indicators overall. In all of these instances, it is important that African leaders take the initiative in linking these reforms from the ground up to the national and international level if they are to succeed.

3.c Policy-Relevant Local Research Initiatives

Finally, secondary and, above all, higher education, courses can gain from being semi-professionalized. This means the development of secondary technical and professional education, ensuring that such programs of study correspond to job-market realities within each country.

In terms of scientific research, it also follows that greater emphasis must be given to locally driven economic and social realities so that African research efforts can contribute more effectively to the choice of appropriate social policies. Faculty with responsibility for drawing up curricula should take up contacts with local firms and administrative bodies to ask of them what they would desire students to know, when, on completion of their studies, they will come to employ them. Unfortunately, one observes an undeniable reticence among African fellow teachers, mainly in the area of research, where the concern to follow the lines of what is being done in the West distances them from the realistic - and sometimes agonizing - exigencies of the local economic context, valuable though such locally driven research is to African policymakers.

Curricula must be adapted to the difficult realities of these countries, even if, in certain cases, this means holding back on the presentation of certain bodies of received theory. Course papers and research dissertations should be oriented towards regional economic realities. From this standpoint, it is appropriate to monitor closely students' work on the informal sector. The informal sector is the one which is not attaining full levels of adjustment, while structural adjustment itself appears to become more and more informal.

D. Monitoring Human Resource Development in Africa

Within the context of Africa's efforts in structural reform and of French efforts to promote a more effective use of international aid and technical assistance, it is

instructive to examine more closely some of the change now taking place. To do so, I will draw on the Francophone zone of Central Africa, where I have had first-hand experience in this area. The profile I will construct draws thus not only on traditional measures of development, but also on broader indices such as those put forth in the UNDP Human Development Report.

Table 1 provides an overall profile of human development in the states of Central Africa. As a point of comparison, UNESCO estimates that Sub-Saharan Africa has a mean literacy rate of 21 percent, while for the states of Central Africa, it is on the order of 16 percent for the region as a whole. In comparison, it is 12 percent in Mali, 66 percent in India, 82 percent in Europe, and 99 percent in the United States. Since literacy is an important indicator of human development, by this measure alone, the states of Central Africa are not high on the scale, even though they are making great efforts at improvement in this area.

Short of detailed estimates of literacy rates, one proxy measure that is often used is school attendance ratios, and which is given on a country-specific basis in Table 1. It should be noted that there are issues of consistency in these ratios from one country to another, with religious practices influencing differences as well.

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Table 1
School Attendance Rates
in the
CACEU (UDEAC) and ECCAS (CEEAC) Countries

Country	Population	Primary Schooling			Secondary Schooling			Primary Student-Teacher Ratio
		Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	
Cameroon	11.7	101	109	93	26	41	11	51
CAR	3.0	64	80	48	11	16	6	70
Chad	5.7	57	79	35	7	11	3	67
Congo	2.3	114	134	94	10	15	5	64
Gabon	1.1	134	146	122	11	17	5	46
Eq. Guinée	0.4							
Zaire	37.3	78	91	67	24	32	16	65
Burundi	5.4	71	82	60	4		3	63
Rwanda	7.1	69	70	68	7	8	6	57
Sao Tomé	0.1	0						33
Angola	10.0	94	125	63	11		18	4
CACEU	24.2	85	93	83	17		18	57.6
ECGLC	55.9	88	92	84	43			43.2
ECCAS	84.1	87	92	83	34			51.6

Source: *African Statistical Yearbook* (Addis Ababa: ECA, 1992)

The official ages for attending secondary school and undergoing higher education are tied into the official minimum duration of school-going at the primary level and are thus open to variation from one country to another, with religious practices influencing differences as well. For each country, the age-groups corresponding to comparable norms of schooling are fixed.

The age-band fixed for primary schooling is usually for children of no more than 14 years. At the secondary level, it ranges between 15 and 19 years, while for higher education, it ranges between 20 and 24 years.

With an overall population of some 70 million inhabitants, 88 percent of children of primary school-going age received some form of sustained primary education. For secondary schooling, the figure is approximately 34 percent. It is very difficult to assess a rate for higher education, but this remains on the order of between 1 and 2 percent.

This overall approach somewhat obscures disparities existing among different countries. Where school attendance is very advanced, school enrollment ratios can exceed 100 percent of the relevant age-group. In Cameroon, primary school enrollment ratios thus have climbed to 107 percent, while for Gabon they have reached 123 percent. Chad, Rwanda, and Burundi retain relatively modest rates of school attendance since less than 75 percent of the children of school-going age regularly attend primary school.

The size of Zaire's population and the high level of its attendance rates in the primary sector, at 98 percent, gives a high average value to the ECCAS sub-region. As concerns secondary education in the sub-region, the rates are much lower. For the Central African countries, less than 25 percent of the age-group considered are enrolled in secondary schooling.

Zaire stands out as an exception with a declared attendance rate of 57 percent. These latter figures are, of course, open to considerable discussion. This is particularly so as far as the higher education sector is concerned. The reasons for this become clearer once the often quite advanced age of university students in the ECCAS countries is taken into account. finally, we may observe, that precise determination of student ages is not always readily made: informal estimates still serve for missing birth certificates in certain regions.

Belgian religious missions, which are both numerous and very active in Zaire, explain in part the relatively high rates of schooling at all levels of national education in that country. As concerns Cameroon, the official bilingual policy makes comparisons of its education system relative to member states of the Central African Customs and Economic Union (CACEU/UDEAC) particularly difficult. Issues of credit equivalency have been particularly vexing to students seeking to transfer from one institution to another in a different region.

Overall, there is clearly excess demand for education at all levels among countries in the region, if for no other reason than the fact that it is nominally free to students. As policymakers consider educational reform, it is clear that the absence of suitable economic incentives often sends a mistaken signal to students seeking to pursue

continuing educational opportunities for employment opportunities that simply may not exist. Similar conditions exist for countries outside the Central African region as well, and for similar reasons.

D.1 French Structural Reforms in Education in Africa

Confronted with such figures, which are disturbing for the countries of the Sahel, France is reviewing with its donor partners optimal strategies to be followed in education. Although African educational leaders still seek to achieve universal primary schooling by the year 2000, given the present climate of adjustment, the unprecedented high rates of population growth, and the need to sustain public sector reforms as part of the region's economic recovery, Africa is not likely to achieve before the year 2000 the goal of universal primary schooling.

Short of universal primary education by the year 2000, French aid has concentrated on improving the quality of schooling, even as the goal of higher educational enrollment ratios is debated and pursued. One such initiative is in the area of pilot curriculum programs designed to adapt local curricula to local conditions, taking into account the diversity of cultural contexts to be examined.

At the same time, even as curricular reforms have been introduced, rising social pressures over the level of educational resources has given rise to institutional dysfunctionality in many instances. It has not been uncommon for students to go on strike for several months at a time to protest limitations and cutbacks in local scholarships and boarding assistance, even as their hard-pressed governments seek to sustain existing and future enrollments against a backdrop of severe budgetary constraints. As many of these disruptive strikes have unfolded, they have, in many instances, undermined efforts by host-country and expatriate teachers to improve curriculum content and delivery technologies, thus further prolonging the quest for universal access to education.

At the same time, teachers have also gone on strikes in many countries, often protesting delays of up to several months in payments of salaries by hard-pressed local governments. Worse yet, many African rulers send their own children for schooling in the West, or in very costly local private establishments, usually frequented by children of expatriates, and managed and organized by foreign nationals, all of which tend to undermine local morale.

D.2 Higher Education Options in Africa

As concerns African systems of higher education, we face two problems above all others. They are those of the rational and functional organization and the adaptation of study programs and teaching methods to the specific forms that characterize local labor markets in present-day African countries. By way of example, we will explore, with the assistance of some nineteen years of direct experience on the ground, the case of teaching economics and management in African universities. This case can perhaps be extended to other disciplines as well.

Table 2
School Attendance Rates
in Sahelian and
Sub-Saharan Africa

	Primary School	Secondary School	Tertiary School
Sub-Saharan Africa			
1969	51	8.3	0.6
1989	77	22.0	2.0
Saharan Africa			
1969	25	5	0.2
1989	52	11	1.8

Source: UNESCO

D.2.a Proposals for Economics Education in Africa

As has been documented in numerous reports, economics education, as with many related university disciplines, is typically poorly linked to underlying market realities in many African countries. Although higher education enrolls only between 0.8 and 1.1 percent of all individuals between the ages of 20 and 24 years in Sub-Saharan Africa, given suitable economic reforms, economic growth would generate substantially higher levels of demand for higher educated labor. At the same time, higher education graduates often are trained in largely theoretical issues with too little attention given to practical skills for suitable local labor positions, and is particularly so in the case of Sahelian and Central African countries.

In response to these conditions, several practical lessons emerge. First, African universities should undertake detailed studies of local labor market dynamics in order to

provide a more informed basis for resource allocation and policy choices. Such studies should be directed to determine the number of newly salaried staff that countries can absorb each year by level and type of qualifications, as well as by employing institution in both the public and private sectors. In addition, these studies should provide specific estimates of the kinds of knowledge and skills expected by employers as well as estimates of prospective earnings by level and type of schooling. In turn, such information would guide university officials in selecting the kinds of skills and specializations to be sought when undertaking teaching and research hiring decisions.

As labor market studies are completed, university officials will build up programs of study, incorporate suitable areas of professional experience, even if this were to involve reductions in some of the strictly theoretical domains of their teaching. In turn, students would be required, beginning at the Masters level, to prepare and defend suitable research theses on issues of direct policy relevance to their country.

In order to facilitate linkages between university instruction and the labor market, local firms would be asked to provide student internships involving them with practical on-the-job experience, which could in turn be used as a basis for their research and in preparing them for subsequent employment within the local economy. Students have often asked for such opportunities and by placing them within an internship and research-oriented context, would provide benefits to both university officials and prospective employers.

To provide focus to such activities, each university Economics Department should establish and maintain a University Center for Economic Research. Such research centers would be required to sustain an ongoing program of research focusing on local problems, on regional problems, as well as on broader issues affecting North-South relationships within the global economy.

Wherever possible, Masters level students in Economics would also be encouraged to participate in internship programs with local private sector firms as well as with various public sector agencies. Articulation between these students and local public and private sector managers would be undertaken with a view to promoting pertinent research on issues of mutual interest, as well as on the conditions suitable for student preparation for subsequent employment.

Given the emphasis on practical research activities, higher education officials should encourage local public and private sector managers to extend modest logistical

support for student interns. Policy issues of significance to both public and private sector managers could form the basis of dissertation topics by masters level students, and which in turn could be published by the university research center to disseminate findings to the broader local community.

To facilitate communication on all sides, universities should also engage in a vigorous program of invited speakerships within the university setting. Managers of firms, banking specialists, insurance officials, government civil servants, as well as representatives from the international development community should be invited to make systematic presentations on issues of topical concern as a supplement to the regular curricular program in which students are enrolled. Most developing countries in Africa have a substantial talent pool of national and international experts, many of whom are almost never called upon to share their insights and expertise with local students, and which should be redressed as part of any curriculum reform effort.

At the faculty level, professorial and research faculty should establish linkages with national and international agencies involved in programs of structural adjustment, providing suitable technical assistance in the completion of various projects essential to the articulation and implementation of these programs. Such linkages would also provide a ready pool of local talent for international funding agencies seeking to complement and staff existing and proposed projects, as well as to undertake suitable on-site studies to complement information and studies done within staff headquarters.

The collaboration of university Economics Departments with the outside world would be constant and direct. Masters students would be in the front line of those concerned with national problems and the Department's teaching staff would be well placed to carry out any proposed research. The department and its research center would supervise students' theses and assure practical significance to prospective employing agencies. In economic matters, it would constitute the scientific moving spirit of the national university in which it was located.

Such initiatives should also be undertaken at the regional level. Regional economic commissions already exist in various countries in Africa, but thus far too little attention has been given to the integration of university training to the theoretical and practical policy issues that these institutions must address. Harmonization of teaching among different countries, or even the setting up of a regional higher education body should henceforth be envisaged.

In terms of higher education enrollments at the national and regional level, based on the gathering of ongoing survey data by university research programs, it is clear that suitable information could be compiled to set market-driven incentives in moving to optimal university enrollments. To the extent that such information is openly and freely available to all, any political decisions regarding the size of university enrollments would be correspondingly easier to undertake by all concerned, and would be far less disruptive than the sometimes murky decisionmaking which now occurs. Parents and students, knowing realistically what the prospects for employment by relevant sectors could adjust far more readily to these conditions once a broad base of information were made available.

D.2.b French International Scholarships for Africa

Each year, the French Ministry of Cooperation and Development allocates a large number of scholarships to African students. Some 6,000 scholarships were awarded in 1992, valued at the equivalent of U.S. \$45 million. Programs in various African countries extend these scholarship awards on the basis of primary training, on continuing short and long-term studies for civil servants, as well as for post-doctoral research fellowships. A breakdown of some 5,190 awards for 1991 is given in Table 3.

Some 20 percent of scholarships awarded to African students are granted in order to facilitate enrollment in African countries other than their own. Almost half of all scholarship awards are for study in France, with the remaining 31 percent allocated to short and long-term training programs in various disciplines. In each of these endeavors, French policy has placed emphasis on providing opportunities to individuals with the greatest potential for contributing to their respective fields of specialization. Selection of candidates, as with other programs of international assistance, is done through established bi-national commissions in each participating country.

Table 3
Allocation of Scholarships and Training Fellowships
by
French International Aid
(Total: 5,192 in 1991)

Category	Number	Percentage
Science in Industry	988	19.03%
Agriculture	851	16.39
Public Administration	598	11.52
Health	526	10.13
Teaching and Sports	506	9.74
Equipment	412	7.94
Law and Economics	318	6.13
Business & Management	232	4.47
Social	57	1.10
Miscellaneous	<u>704</u>	13.56
Total	5,192	

Source: Ministère de la Coopération et du Développement

E. Improving Health Programs in Africa

As the international spread of AIDS has served to remind us, health care is a central dimension in promoting human resource development in Africa. French programs in support of health care in Africa focus on both preventive and curative treatment of disease, as well as on promoting informed linkages between food production and sustainable health alternatives.

French aid to health care in Africa has been driven by several considerations. As in the case of education, this has involved an improved understanding of the importance of productivity in public sector investments and their linkages to broader measures of human development. Key among these factors are:

1. Structural adjustment has had direct effects in limiting the quantity of available resources for hiring and deploying qualified health care professionals. Doctor and nursing ratios per capita in Africa are among the lowest in the world, and African physicians often have few incentives

to practice among rural populations, so limited is the level of financial support. As a result, the distribution of physician and nursing care is far more unbalanced within the population than it is among more developed countries, and, of course, with far fewer such professionals available overall.

2. Either by default or by design, in the absence of suitably trained health care professionals, rural populations, often steeped in traditional religious practices, turn frequently to alternative medicine as the most cost-effective alternative. While such alternative traditional medicine has been known to provide effective remedies in many instances, it frequently lacks established norms and suitable sanitary conditions for implementation, with the result that its positive effects are often vitiated to the detriment of patients.
3. African populations in general, and African rural populations in particular, often suffer from generally inadequate diets. Deficiencies in vitamins, trace elements, and protein intake abound far too frequently for populations already at risk even under the best of circumstances, so thin are the margins of safety in cases of drought or famine.
4. Inadequate diet alone is but one risk to African populations. Equally, if not more, severe is lack of hygiene wrought by unsafe water supplies. Populations either too poor or sufficiently undereducated often use common water sources for animal and human consumption and waste with a result that hepatic and related water-borne diseases are all too commonplace.
5. Given unsanitary health conditions and associated rural poverty in rural African communities, formal education often serves as an inducement to migration. As rural populations migrate to urban communities, rural agricultural production stagnates from the lack of technical change and positive producer economic incentives, while urban infrastructure faces even greater stresses on already overcrowded systems of housing, transport, education, and health maintenance systems. As food production falls, urban populations also tend to shift to imported foodstuffs, particularly from millet to rice in the Sahelian countries, with the result that balance of payments deficits become even greater.
6. Given already thin social safety margins, periodic droughts and accompanying famine place an overwhelming burden on already

overstretched public health resources. Epidemics such as chloroquine resistant malaria, sleeping sickness, tuberculosis, poliomyelitis, and above all, the explosive growth of AIDS are symptomatic of a health care system no longer able to meet even minimal health care needs.

AIDS in Africa is transmitted far more frequently in Africa through multiple heterosexual partnerships than it is through homosexual or intravenous drug use. As urban populations succumb, it is often the more educated who are its victims, thus destroying the economic and social returns to the human capital which has been invested in their education and training.

Against this disappointing backdrop, French aid to health care has tended to concentrate on those areas most likely to yield immediate rather than long-term benefits. French technical assistance personnel, including private voluntary organizations such as the Doctors Without Walls, or Médecins Sans Frontières, have engaged in numerous extension and health education campaigns, either alone, or in concert with technical assistance personnel and programs from other donors.

Table 4
French Medico-Social Aid Programs
and Technical Assistance
1991-1992

Country	Funds Allocated (in U.S. \$millions)
Madagascar	5.40
Mali	0.40
Niger (0.55 2.5)	3.10
Senegal (8 programs)	8.30
Burkina Faso (0.36 + 2.7)	3.10
Cameroon	7.20
Guinée Bissau	1.10
Côte d'Ivoire (1.1 + 5.4)	6.50
Congo	1.40
Guinée Conakry	3.60
Central African Republic	1.25
Bénin	2.50
Mauritania	2.15
Djibouti	3.60
General Interest (6 programs)	15.40
Total	46.45

Source: Ministère Français de la Coopération et du développement

As the media have served to remind us, in such areas as AIDS and malaria, health care intervention in Africa is falling far short of need. Since some health care issues involve education and changes in human behavior, particularly in the case of AIDS, only when local populations take into account the gravity of the situation are conditions likely to improve.

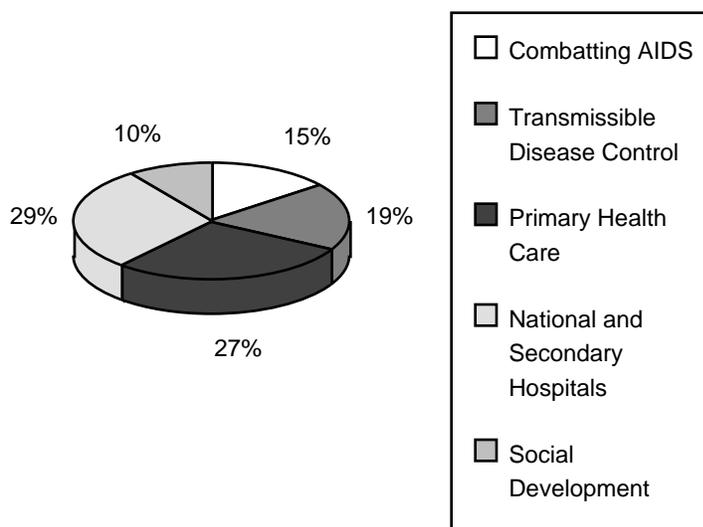
French Aid and Technical Assistance in the field of health care goes largely to programs of public health in support of locally defined initiatives. French aid has provided support for such goals as "Health Care for All by the Year 2000", as well as for

mother and infant care, and in education and outreach programs for contagious disease control. For 1991-1992, the French Cooperation Aid Fund (FAC) allocated to African countries the sum of U.S. \$65.4 million in equivalent funds, a breakdown of which is given in Table 4.

It is appropriate to underline that this aid constitutes half of medical aid and Technical Assistance granted by France to African countries. The other half consists of U.S. \$62 million, corresponding to the cost of Technical Assistance personnel, which comprised in 1992 some 750 doctors and specialist medical staff.

Activities being carried out with the support of French Aid and Technical Assistance can be grouped into five subject areas, as shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1
French Aid to Health Programs in Africa
1991-1992



Total: U.S. \$65.4 million

F. Conclusion

Nowadays, it is widely accepted that the weakening, and in some cases, wholesale collapse, of social support systems in many countries in Africa has called into question the political and democratic legitimacy of regimes. As programs of economic

rehabilitation within the context of structural adjustment are adopted and implemented, it is also clear that if sustainable growth is to occur, these programs must be linked to a systematic re-assessment of human resources policies in training, education, and health care.

French Aid and Technical Assistance have adapted to the newly emerging political and economic context in Africa. It has done so by promoting in often difficult circumstances sound human resource policies in educational innovation, literacy, technical and professional training, in the diffusion of appropriate technology, as well as in innovative programs in preventive medicine, personal health care, family planning initiatives, as well as in linking health care to community rural and urban development. As African countries approach the twenty-first century, French aid will continue to play a constructive role in fostering economic and social development in the region. Thank you.

Phillip LeBel, CERAF

At this point, I would like to acknowledge two members of the CERAF Board of Advisors who are with us today. One is Mr. Paul Mifsud, General Counsel of KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, and who has been instrumental in helping us to move forward with many aspects of our conference series. The second person is Mr. Robert Allison, Director of Research Management at the National Bureau of Economic Research in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Again, he has been quite helpful in the shaping of our conference agenda. Following a brief intermission, we will then turn to our two remaining panelists, after which we will turn to our discussion period.

Jerome Wolgin, U.S. Agency for International Development

Thank you for inviting me to this conference. I am going to say a few short words about U.S. AID, just because I think I owe it to the President, to the Secretary of State, and to the taxpayers. Second, I want to talk about the nature of the problem of human resource development in Africa as we see it in AID. Third, I want to talk about some of the things that look like, at least in part, solutions, where the trends are going in the last five years.

U.S. AID is your government's foreign aid agency. It is an independent agency. It works in coordination with or under the aegis of the U.S. State Department, depending on how you feel about it. We have 3,500 bureaucrats, many of whom are development experts. We spend U.S. \$6 billion of your money each year on international aid. In

Africa, we have approximately 600 people working on programs in some 30 countries and we provide U.S. \$800 million in development assistance through the Development Fund for Africa. Another U.S. \$200 to \$500 million, depending on circumstances, is allocated in the form of food aid and in emergency assistance. Last year, this funding appropriation was relatively high. In short, we spend in Africa between \$U.S. \$1 billion to \$1.3 billion per year, or approximately twenty percent of our total aid budget in this part of the globe.

AID works frequently with partner agencies such as the African-American Institute and other non-governmental organizations such as universities and contractors around the world. Recently, we did a study of how many people are actually working for AID, and came up with an interesting finding: We have 3,500 people directly on our payroll as full-time U.S. government employees, but we actually have over 60,000 people who are working for us in one way or another.

A. The Human Resource Development Challenge in Africa

It seems to us that the reason we are talking about human resource development as a problem in Africa is that there have been two exponential curves that have been proceeding since independence in 1960. One is the demand for education, health, and family planning services. The other is the supply of those services.

In terms of human resource demand, if you do not worry about changing access, and look solely at the underlying growth of population, the baseline rate of growth is at three percent a year, higher than in any other region of the globe. Population in Africa has been growing on the average at this rate for some time, and it means that every twenty-four years, the population doubles in size. With this factor alone, just to keep where you are, to run in place as it were, services have to increase by three percent each year.

A.1 Planning for Educational Demand in Africa

Coupled with the baseline growth in demand is the impact of social policy. Suppose you started in 1960 with primary school enrollment only at 30 percent of the school-age population, and you had a goal of achieving 100 percent over a twenty-five year time period. To do so, you would have to increase primary school enrollments at seven percent each year, i.e., you would have to double your enrollment capacity every ten years to reach your goal, after which you could then slacken off to the baseline demographic rate of growth. Given African aspirations to achieve goals such as

universal primary education with a generation since independence, the demand for these kinds of services has been growing very rapidly over the last thirty years, to say the least.

From the supply side, if we just look at the basic question of finance, i.e., where is the money coming from to finance this growth in services, we can talk about four variables that come into play. First is the size of the economy. The second is the size of government revenues as a share of that economy, putting aside for the moment the private provision of services, since government is the main institutional player in the education and health services fields. The third is the ratio of government revenues going to the social sector, i.e., the human resource sector. Last, there is the allocation within the social sector of how much goes to primary school, how much goes to secondary education, how much goes to preventive and curative health in rural and urban areas.

If you look at these four variables over the last twenty-five years, economies in Africa have, on average, been growing at no more than four percent per year, with typical rates of growth falling far below this level. Revenues as a share of Gross Domestic Product have probably been declining, certainly in many countries, with the result that government revenues have been growing at something well less than four percent per year on average.

To this declining fiscal base, we should also note that the share of government revenues going to debt service has been increasing for reasons relating to the overall policy environment. This means that what is left over for payment for provision of services has been declining. As a result, it is unlikely that revenue can keep up with demand. This is so even when supplemented by foreign aid. The result has been, particularly in education, a process in which there has been a trade of quality for quantity, simply to try to keep running in place.

A.2 International Aid to Education in Africa

When I was a Peace Corps volunteer in Malawi in 1965-1966, I taught in the standard 7 level. It was the beginning of independence, and there had not yet been much of an educational establishment in the country. Peace Corps volunteers made up 75 percent of secondary school teachers in Malawi at that time. My classroom in standard 7 had 70 students, 30 of whom were named Banda.

Recently, I had a friend who brought me a photograph from a primary school in Malawi. As he held it up, you could see all of these bright faces crammed together, to which he added, "This is only half. " "Here's the other half". He put it together as a group portrait of all 125 students in the class. This overcrowding is typical of what has been happening in universities, in secondary schools, and in primary schools in Africa.

When I was in Nigeria, teaching at the University of Ife, Nigeria had a lot of oil money and officials had then decided to expand the university system. They went first from 3 to 6 universities, then to 12, and later to 21 universities. They doubled the size of the incoming class of the University of Ife in one year, and that was the kind of commitment they were making to expand the quantity of students. It is not surprising that quality has suffered.

One sign of the decline in quality is the collapse of student exchange programs. I know of no university in the United States that at the present time has a junior year exchange program with any university in Africa. They did once, but no longer do so because of the obvious decline in quality.

A.3 Social Dimensions of Educational Policy in Africa

In short, we have problems of quality and we have problems of finance in education in Africa. In addition, we also have problems of equity because the share of resources going to things that are mass-based and which reach rural populations such as primary education or primary health care, is less in many cases than what is being allocated to curative health care, or to secondary and tertiary schooling.

Governments that choose to reallocate human resource funding to promote broader equity often do so at risk of rising social tensions. Students in Mali just rioted recently because the government was committed by its agreement with donors to begin reducing the amount of scholarships going to college students. These are students who not only got their tuition paid, but were also receiving living stipends in addition.

Primary education in Mali only reaches 28 to 30 percent of the population, yet university students could not accept shifting resources from the universities to the primary school system, and thus sought to prevent government from carrying out this shift by going on strike. And so you have problems of quality, finance, to which we add both equity and finally, efficiency.

In Mali, it takes on average twenty-four years for a student to graduate from primary grade six. This means that there is a repeater and dropout rate of inordinate proportions just to get students through the grade six standard. Those are the kinds of problems being faced in terms of human resource development in Africa. While these are in fact difficult problems to deal with, they are not insurmountable.

B. Recent Changes in Africa's Human Resource Policy Environment

What I would now like to do is to identify some of the things which have been changing over the past five to ten years, positive changes for the most part, and the extent to which U.S. policy has had in helping to bring them about. As I describe these changes, I add that we are far from the only donor, and in fact, many of the changes which have been taking place have occurred because of changes in attitudes and policies in African countries themselves.

B.1 Africa is Undergoing A Fundamental Demographic Transition

One issue which I would link to U.S. AID policies, is that the demographic transition is beginning to take place in Africa. We have known that, for Kenya, Botswana, Zimbabwe, total fertility rates have been declining and contraceptive prevalence rates have been increasing. We are beginning to see the kinds of changes in contraceptive prevalence rates, and the demand for contraceptives in other countries, which means that we are going to see in the next five to ten years real declines in fertility rates, and eventually declines in population growth rates.

The U.S. has been the leading donor in providing family planning services in the world in general, and in Africa in particular. AID was the leading donor under the Carter administration, under the Reagan administration, under the Bush administration, and it will be the leading donor, as far as I can see, under President Clinton. A lot of the *sturm und drang* about the Mexico City population policy conference ignored the fact that the U.S. has remained the leading donor in the field of family planning in the world, bilateral or multilateral, regardless of some of the restrictions which were being put into place by various administrations.

What we are trying to do is to help governments shift their policies. Most governments in Africa are moving away from a pro natalist approach to either an even or actually a pro-family planning approach. This has been accomplished largely through some modeling that has been done through U.S. AID, and through sharing with African policy makers the results of what happens with exponential growth.

There is at present a process of building a demographic policy infrastructure in Africa, which encompasses local institution building, mechanisms for the dissemination of information on population dynamics, and the provision of family planning services. Let me give you a quantitative characterization of this demographic infrastructure.

In Uganda, in the last two years, service delivery points through the Ministry of Health have increased from 152 to 1,566. In Malawi, it went from 3 to 230. In Guinée Conakry, it went from 0 to 340 in four years. We are building the infrastructure that is needed to provide the kinds of services I have alluded to.

As a second indicator, contraceptive prevalence rates in Africa have been growing. In Ghana, they have gone from 12.8 to 18 percent in four years. In Malawi, over 8 years, they have gone from 1 to 12 percent. Such changes clearly reflect increased use of and an increased demand for contraceptives.

Two weeks ago, I received an encouraging cable from Rwanda. It described the preliminary results of a demographic health survey just recently completed. It said that, in just ten years, total fertility rates in Rwanda had declined from 8.5 to 6.2. This is an almost unprecedented shift for any country to bring about in such a short period. As you may or may not know, Rwanda is probably the most Malthusian case of any country in the world. There is simply no more opportunity to divide land up to pass on to children, so small have land parcels become.

The image is one of people sitting on hillsides largely cleared of tropical forests, and seeing that as their land plots get smaller and smaller each year, that there is simply no future in continuing on with past practices. Now even with a decline in fertility to 6.2, there is still a long way to go before Rwanda even begins to make a substantial difference for the current generations, but to see even this kind of change is truly unprecedented.

The fact that there is a recognition of the population problem and that Rwandans themselves have begun to change is already a hopeful sign. Of course, it may yet get stalled, and there could be all kinds of setbacks. Yet, we know that the infrastructure is being built in countries such as Rwanda. In Rwanda, as elsewhere in Africa, governments are now in favor of helping family planning services, recognizing that there is a substantial unmet demand that needs to be addressed.

B.2 Health Indicators in Africa are Moving in a Positive Direction

The second sign of change is in health. If you look at any kind of social indicator in development, across the world and across Africa, there is only one indicator that has shown consistent and continuous improvement, and this is in health. Even in the last ten of fifteen years, when economies were quite stagnant, health indicators were improving in Africa. Infant and child mortality rates were declining.

A large portion of these changes can be traced directly to international donors who have sponsored many programs to combat childhood diseases. Immunization for measles and pertussis, for example, as well as in providing treatment for diarrhea, are indicative of this kind of positive change. For example, for Sub-Saharan Africa, over the 1980's, infant mortality rates declined from 129 to 102. Seven countries are at levels below 75, which has been a widespread comparative target for many developing countries in the past decade.

1991 immunization programs in Africa prevented 675,000 deaths from measles, tetanus, and pertussis. Between 1985 and 1991 the use of Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT) salts increased from 8 to 40 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa alone. Now we are seeing these substantial successes in health because these interventions are relatively inexpensive and they can be distributed on a widespread basis to the most vulnerable populations, given the right policy climate.

B.3 New Health Challenges in Africa

Even with this encouraging picture, I also add that Africa is also faced some daunting problems in health care, notably the persistent of new strains of transmissible diseases, the most dramatic example of which is the AIDS epidemic that has emerged during the past decade.

B.3.1 Drug Resistant Strains of Malaria

There are first of all problems of sustainability of the successful health programs thus far in operation. This is a major concern to African countries and to the international donor community because most of these successful health care initiatives have been donor financed and there has yet to be a shift in financing to local governments. In addition, there are also rising threats from several new diseases. The first is malaria. Malaria is becoming increasingly difficult to treat with existing drugs such as chloroquine phosphate, and requires new forms of intervention, many of them considerably more expensive than conventional ones. As a result, morbidity rates from malaria, after falling gradually for some time in many parts of Africa, are once again on the increase.

B.3.2 The Impact of the AIDS Epidemic in Africa

The most dramatic new health challenge is the AIDS epidemic which has caused major devastation in many countries in Africa during the past decade and threatens to expand even faster between now and the twenty-first century. In Sub-Saharan Africa,

approximately 7 million persons are infected with the HIV virus. This is one of every 40 adult Africans.

Two-thirds of the HIV-positive global population is found in Africa. Approximately eighty percent of the global total of infected women are in Africa, and more than forty percent of the global total of men are also in Africa. HIV infection levels continue to increase rapidly throughout the continent at rates that are outstripping local preventive health care resources.

In many African cities, infection rates of twenty-five to thirty percent of urban dwelling African adults are common. In rural areas of several countries, adult infection rates are ten to fifteen percent and rising. In geographic terms, AIDS has expanded beyond the countries of east and central Africa where it was first diagnosed.

Despite earlier data that suggested that west Africa is relatively free of AIDS, recent studies have established that in Abidjan, AIDS is the number one cause of death in adult males, and the number two cause of death in adult females. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), between 1985 and 1990, AIDS added an extra ten percent to the death rate for Africans between the age of 15 and 49. By the mid-1990's, it is expected to add more than 40 percent to that rate.

AIDS is also expected to reverse the declining trend in adult mortality rates. When AIDS was first diagnosed in Africa, there was no effect on infant or child mortality rates. By the mid-1990's, according to WHO estimates, infant mortality rates in Africa are likely to be 40 percent higher than they would have been in the absence of AIDS. The probability of dying before age five in Africa is expected to increase by 7.6 percent as a consequence of AIDS.

AIDS is not only an incredible health problem. It is a health planning nightmare. It is hard to imagine thinking about a capital city where twenty-five percent of adults have this time bomb ticking. It strains one's credulity. People seem to think that there is a plateau of infection at around twenty-five percent, and yet we do not know precisely what the ceiling rate will be because of the speed of transmission now taking place.

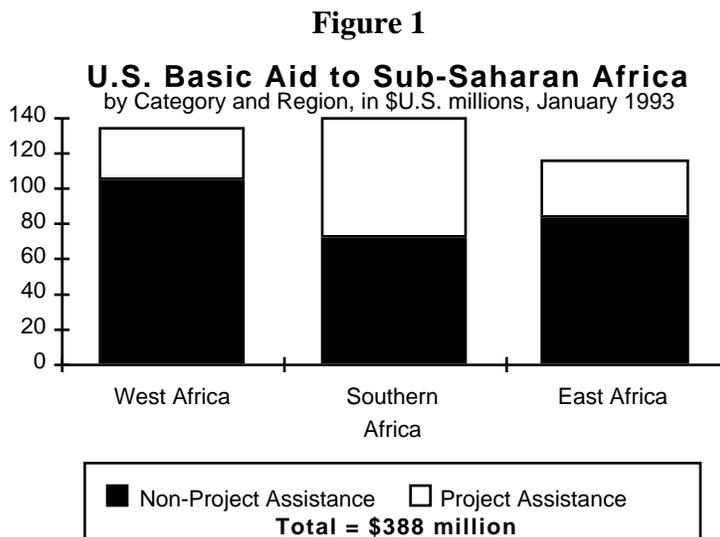
To gain some sense of the social and economic impact that AIDS is having in Africa, let me share some anecdotal evidence with you. In Zambia, firms have had to reduce or eliminate the granting of leave to attend funerals because the number had grown to such a degree that absenteeism was having a substantial impact on

productivity. In Zimbabwe, banks hire three people for two jobs, expecting one person to die in the next five years. In the hard-hit Tanzanian villages along Lake Victoria, the social infrastructure has been tossed topsy-turvy as grandparents, expecting to be taken care of by their children, are forced instead to take care of their grandchildren who have been orphaned by AIDS.

As elsewhere, we do not at this point have a curative solution to the AIDS epidemic. And thus we have concentrated our efforts in trying to reduce the rate of new transmission. We are doing so through public information campaigns, through the provision of condoms, and through a corollary attack on sexually transmitted diseases. While the demand for contraceptives in Africa has undoubtedly been driven to some extent by a growing awareness of the impact of AIDS, in the long run it is far better that voluntary measures be adopted to attain demographic balance in Africa than the draconian effects which this disease will impose in the interim.

D. New Human Resource Initiatives of U.S. AID in Africa

As we look ahead, let me describe some of the positive initiatives which U.S. AID is now pursuing in Africa. We have already talked at some length about the problems of education in Africa. Let me now talk about what we are doing to address some of them now and in the near future.



To give you some idea of our thinking, I have brought with me today our first technical paper on this issues, copies of which are available at the publications table in

the rear of this conference room. The technical paper reviews education policies and programs of U.S. AID in Sub-Saharan Africa.

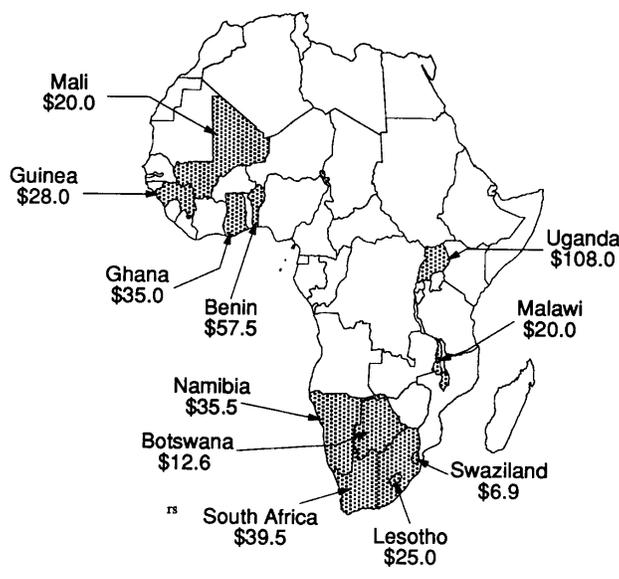
To extract from the paper, we are now in eleven countries and expect to be operating in Ethiopia either in 1994 or the year after. In each of the countries where we have made commitments to education, we are trying to address systemic problems of finance and equity within a framework of mutually defined goals. Two examples from the report illustrate this strategy.

D.1 Toward a Peaceful Transition in South Africa

Most of you are well aware of the substance and flow of events in South Africa. At present, we are working with a group of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) who are supported by the African National Congress and other Black political organizations to equip them to discuss with the current DeKlerk government what kind of educational policy is feasible within the context of a post-apartheid South Africa. As you know, educational services are highly skewed in South Africa. White schools probably receive something on the order of ten times the amount of resources per pupil as do Black schools per pupil.

Figure 2

USAID Basic Education Activities in Africa



Source: USAID, "Overview of A.I.D. Basic Education Programs

in Sub-Saharan Africa”, Technical paper No. 1, January 1993, p. 4

The challenge is to determine how to shift this balance, to bring these two systems together, to integrate them in a mutually satisfactory way. By providing technical assistance in thinking through the modeling of this process, we are able to get people to discuss these things in a pragmatic way, to set aside many of the unrealistic ideas and goals which were originally put forth in favor of a practical yet progressive agenda.

The reality which defines the common ground for educational policy in South Africa is that it is simply not possible to raise every Black school to the level of every White school at this point in time because the proportion of Black to White schools is so overwhelming that there would simply be no way to provide the funding from any source. In short, desirable though the goal of funding equality may be, there is simply not enough money to do so at present.

The challenge today is to begin to narrow down differences so that the various parties can begin discussing on a political level what needs can be realistically addressed within the immediate and near-term horizon. Despite periodic expressions of frustration, we see both progress and hope on this issue, and will continue to work toward practical solutions.

D.2 Promoting Female Education in Malawi

In Malawi, we are working to increase school participation rates for girls below their historically low levels. As you may know, one of the most important developmental variables over the long term is female education. Girls become mothers, and mothers affect the health of children as well as fundamental decisions about demography and family size. One of the things we are trying to do in Malawi is to provide subsidies for girls who succeed academically. We do so by providing direct payment of their school fees.

We are also looking at other issues such as what kinds of things are preventing girls from attending schools. We try to address these issues in related AID programs so that the combined effect is to increase female schooling participation rates, and thus issues of quality in family formation and size.

D.3 Promoting Capacity Building in Africa

Finally, I want to talk briefly about the question of capacity-building in Africa. This is an issue at a broader level than the two preceding ones. The question is how do

you define local institutional capacity and the associated delivery skills essential for its success?

A cable received in our office just last week provides some insight into the question of capacity-building in Africa. For the past dozen years, we have been working with the Center for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta and in Africa on the issue of health-related capacity-building. Our goal has been to try to improve the capacity of African ministries of health to plan, monitor, and develop more cost-effective health policies in a variety of areas. CDC's role was in emphasizing the setting up and management of operations research in general and health care research programs in particular, as critical tools for increasing local policymaking capacity.

As this project came to a close, we sponsored a joint conference on child survival in Dakar, Senegal this past March. Between 500 and 1,000 people were in attendance. Some 120 scientific papers were presented. Although many were jointly written with CDC and other technical experts, eighty percent of them were presented by Africans.

At the end of the conference, participants returned to their home countries to continue follow-up work. Fourteen of the participants were from Mali. Five were from the Ministry of Health; four worked for non-governmental organizations, with the remainder coming from other sectors. When these Malians returned with the ideas they had heard on child health care strategies they immediately decided to share these findings with their colleagues.

The Malians organized a conference for those who had not attended the conference in Dakar. They presented the results to them over a two-week period. As a result of this conference, the Mali Ministry of Health has decided to change its health policy to be more in keeping with the research results derived from the experience of other countries and shared at the conference in Dakar. To me, this is exciting. It is exciting because the change in child health policy is Malian-owned and it is built on African capacity.

While there are many things we read about in terms of the stumbling blocks to development in Africa, there are also lots of positive things which are taking place. Such is the success story of the Mali Ministry of Health and we should look forward to more of these examples in the future. On this note, let me conclude, and thank you for your time.

Manual Zymelman, The World Bank

I am in a bit of a quandary because the previous speaker has addressed much of what I had intended to say on the subject of promoting human resource development in Africa. Rather than be repetitive, I will try to bring in some other but related aspects of the issue of human resource development. Before I do so, let me preface my remarks by recounting a classic fable.

An Africanist walking on a beach one day came across a bottle lying in the sand. No sooner had he picked it up when out came a genie who asked him what three wishes he would like to have granted. The Africanist thought about it for a minute and replied that he only had one request, which was a list of things he wanted to do for African development. The list comprised disease, overpopulation, low income, infant mortality, AIDS, inadequate schooling, among others, and the Africanist promptly asked the genie to solve them. The genie replied, "You are asking too much". The Africanist said, "Even with all these problems, I still have another list: What about changing the outlook of donors and multilateral organizations, in particular their modus operandi, to do a little better for development?" He added, "What about changing corruption in governments in Africa, the behavior of businesses, and so on?". The genie then paused and said, "Wait a minute, let me see that first list again".

The reason why I mention this fable is that after having heard the list of problems, there is no question that we would require either magical powers, or divine grace, to make meaningful progress on the problems of Africa. Despite this somewhat discouraging picture, you have nevertheless heard that there is some glimmer of hope, and I would like to retain this perspective in my remarks.

A. Labor Market Dynamics and Human Resource Development in Africa

One of the areas that was not touched upon, thus far in our deliberations is the problem of employment in labor markets. Labor market dynamics is a topic that comes to us from classical economics, but which really relates to the issue of human resource development, and thus is useful for our discussion today.

Labor markets in Sub-Saharan Africa display some behavioral characteristics that differ from labor markets in other regions, and which compel us to reflect on their significance. My reference to Sub-Saharan Africa reflects not only a geographic group of countries which the World Bank has defined as part of a series of special initiatives which it has pursued in the context of structural adjustment over the past decade, but also because these countries, even with the considerable diversity they have, also share a

number of common characteristics which form the thrust of my observations. In particular, I contend that labor market dynamics in this group of countries have been conditioned by particular historical developments which have shaped and conditioned existing perceptions of differing actors in the labor market today, and on which I would like to provide some elaboration.

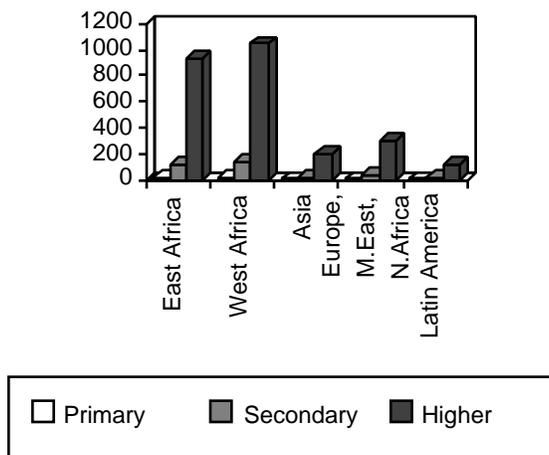
A.1 Historical Factors in African Labor Market Dynamics

As I view historical developments in African labor markets, they seem to fall into four distinct periods. First, we have the pre-colonization period, which stretches for many centuries prior to what has been referred to as Africa's colonial exploitation. During this period, tribal affinities and affiliations pre-dating and crossing any modern notion of national boundaries were established. These affinities have continued to exert a strong influence on social organization and behavioral patterns today, as many African political leaders themselves have stated.

Second is the colonial period, stretching from the mid-nineteenth century to the late 1950's and early 1960's. This period was characterized by straightforward political colonization of local tribal and federated communities, as well as by European economic domination built around the development of mineral and primary commodity trading relationships linked to colonial metropolises. Whether it was the centralized French model of Albert Sarraut or the decentralized British one of Lord Lugard, European colonialism was built on a highly regulated system of controls imposed on African populations, and in which relatively little emphasis was given to the development of human resources along the lines we have been discussing today.

Figure 1

Education Costs as a Percentage of GNP per Capita



Source: The World Bank, *World Development Report*, 1988

The third period was the immediate post-colonial period, dating from the early 1960s to the end of the 1970's. It was characterized by not only nominal political independence, but also by relatively high rates of international economic growth and

prosperity. Such prosperity, especially when set against the exigencies of the Cold War, often encouraged the use of international aid resources in a highly mismanaged way. This mismanagement occurred through implementation of many poorly conceived construction projects designed to expand Africa's physical infrastructure in ways that could help countries to diversify from the colonial pattern of primary commodity dependence, even if the commerce and industry essential for these projects to become economically viable was never to materialize.

Mismanagement also occurred as international aid funded the establishment of many huge government administrative structures in economies far too small to justify them. Many of these government organizations had ill-defined or non-existent economic functions, but they allowed many local governments to retain a loyal following for extended periods of time, especially if they sustained illusions of political independence. These government bureaucracies thus provided the semblance of political stability in many African countries, even though it was often enforced by authoritarian means.

As government payrolls expanded through international aid, governments took on more and more economic functions, real and imagined, to justify rising expenditures. During the 1960's and 1970's, governments expanded their services at rates far higher than underlying rates of economic growth. In many instances, governments nationalized many existing industries and created a growing chain of state-owned enterprises with little regard to the administrative and economic cost implications.

Governments also placed large investments in newly acquired or created state industries, often by neglecting investment in agriculture, especially peasant agriculture on which the majority of populations in these countries depended. As they did so, they also imposed extensive regulations over production, prices, and trade, which together distorted economic incentives and helped to bring about economic stagnation.

As has been well documented in numerous studies, these distortions encompassed overvalued exchange rates, negative real depository savings rates, as well as extensive and stifling controls over foreign and domestic trade. Real production and trade went underground, and neighboring countries wound up exporting more than they were producing in many basic commodities. Meanwhile, lost trade meant declining fiscal revenues, all of which would eventually set severe limits on the prospects for human resource development which was so dependent on public sector support.

A.2 Consequences of Immediate Post-Colonial Policies

To place these change in context, let us focus on the problem of the employment of educated labor. in the 1960's, there were relatively few graduates from secondary and higher educational institutions, reflecting in part the colonial legacy which African countries were trying to overcome. With such a small base, newly independent African governments were at first able to promise all secondary and higher level graduates jobs in their public sector. Many of these jobs were handsomely paid, in addition to which the schooling of African graduates was heavily subsidized by government, either from domestic tax resources or by international aid.

Twenty years later, the rate of growth of employment in the public, for reasons already cited, could no longer be sustained. However, as you know, once you create a system, it continues through inertia to grow. The result is that African countries wound up producing relatively large numbers of university graduates with high expectations of public sector employment, and based solely on the non-comparable experience of their compatriots of a generation earlier. Few seemed to be paying attention to the warning signs that were accumulating at the time.

A.2.a Stagnating Agriculture and Accelerating Urban Migration

As more resources were devoted to public sector employment to absorb the growing tide of secondary and university graduates, African governments cut back support of agriculture. They did so by imposing ceilings on farm gate producer prices to create a price wedge in international markets which could serve as a source of government revenue, largely through the expansion of Agriculture Commodity Marketing Boards, themselves essentially creatures of colonial administrations no longer in power.

With real farm incomes in decline in both relative and absolute terms, rural populations began to migrate at accelerating rates to urban areas in search of jobs. What rural education African governments chose to provide often accelerated the rural exodus as better educated populations acquired some degree of professional and geographic mobility.

National pricing policies compounded even further these economic distortions. Overvalued exchange rates encouraged imports over exports, thus artificially reducing living costs of urban populations who were the primary consumers of imported goods and services. In turn, African governments, whose political constituents were more often urban rather than rural, found it increasingly difficult to made economic

adjustments and thus wound up increasing levels of international debt simply to keep things as they were, unsustainable though these policies were turning out to be.

Overvalued exchange rates also worked against direct foreign investment in Africa, and for which there was less and less local investment forthcoming to take its place. In turn, what international investment there was seemed to be less and less related to the kind of classical and theoretical education and training which formed the core of African secondary and higher education systems. Training in practical skills might have overcome some of the distortions imposed by exchange rate overvaluations, but together the twin effects were to turn away much foreign investment to other regions of the world.

A.2.b Rising Urban Unemployment

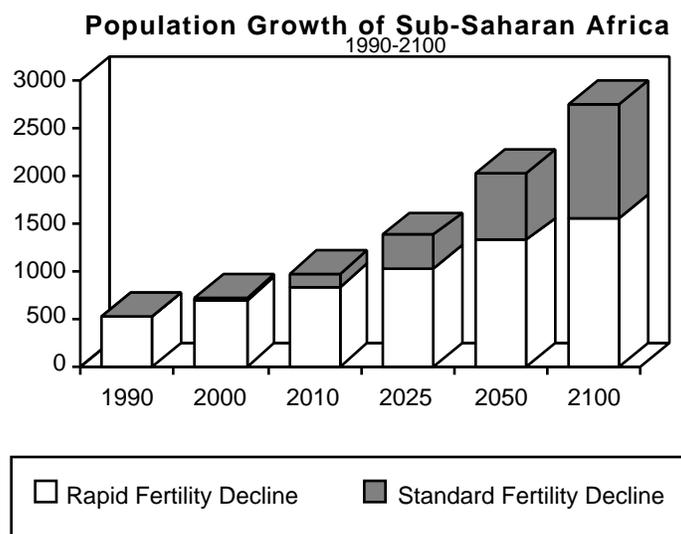
With economic growth slowing down in African economies, governments found it increasingly difficult to provide public sector jobs from the expanding education system of a growing population. One obvious result of this economic environment was a substantial increase in urban unemployment rates to levels comparable to those of the global depression of the 1930's.

As my colleague from U.S. AID has pointed out, the impact of these forces on health and education was both dramatic and tragic. Education systems, trying to keep up with population growth, traded quality for quantity to achieve enrollment ratio targets. Graduates from these institutions became essentially unemployable as far as the local labor market was concerned, especially when it became clear that government could no longer serve as the employer of last resort. Worse yet, the poor skills levels of graduates also dragged down the productivity of domestic industries, industries that in many cases could only keep open their doors because of a vast system of protectionism that shielded them from the competition of the global market.

To return to the issue of quality versus in quantity, let me cite some of the findings from a World Bank report on the state of labor markets in Africa today. First is the sense of loss amounting almost to grief of some of the most senior professors in the older African universities as they compare the state of their institutions with the vigor, optimism, and pride which these same institutions displayed twenty or thirty years ago. These are not just the observations of nostalgic and aging faculty, nor the sad realization that the energy of African academic pioneers has almost run its course. It is the knowledge that the nature of the university experience today is profoundly different for

many teachers and students. It is so different and so inferior that some wonder whether it can rightly be called a university experience at all.

Figure 2



Source: The World Bank, Africa Division

A comparison will help to clarify this point. OECD countries produce one hundred eighty times more engineers per capita than do the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. In terms of research, as confirmed by a content analysis of bibliographic research, Africa produces eight to ten times less than the Latin American or Asian poorer countries. As you can see, all this provides a nightmare for labor market prospects.

Let us also look at youth unemployment. As many of you know, it is currently very high here in the United States as well as in other OECD countries. Because of demographic conditions, the proportion of youths seeking jobs in Africa is twice as great as it is in OECD countries, reflecting not only smaller enrollment ratios in Africa, but also higher dropout rates and a higher proportion of the total population falling into younger age groups.

If you look at the population between ages 18 and 24, the proportion of people in OECD countries entering the labor market is about sixty percent. The rest are in training or are in universities. In Africa, with less than twenty-five percent of this age grouping either in school or in training programs, three-quarters of the population between the age of 18 and 24 are either working or are looking for work. In other words, African labor markets have to absorb twenty-five percent more people in Africa as do comparable labor markets in OECD countries.

In terms of absolute numbers, of Sub-Saharan Africa's estimated population of 500 million, approximately twenty percent, or 100 million, are between the ages of 18 and 24. At current rates of growth, this group is growing by 3 to 4 million per year, thus creating enormous pressure on African governments to generate employment, but which these governments simply can not do in terms of the kinds of imbalances which we have described. If we ignore the unemployed labor in the agricultural sector, which represents between thirty and forty percent of the total, you begin to get some idea of the magnitude of the problem.

A.3 The Structural Adjustment Era in Africa

The fourth period of the historical portrait which I am describing is the period of structural adjustment. This began in the early 1980's and has continued down to the present day. During this past decade, structural adjustment programs have attempted to reverse the tendencies developed during the previous periods.

To do so, structural adjustment has meant the imposition of measures, often unpopular with established constituencies and elites, designed to apply the policy fundamentals essential to restoring economic growth in Africa, and to do so within a sustainable policy framework. This has meant the adoption of sound fiscal and budget practices, improved market mechanisms, and in general, raising savings and investment rates with corresponding positive effects on growth of per capita Gross Domestic Product.

In my view, we can not expect any short-term gains, even with the kinds of the sometimes complex structural adjustment programs now in effect in many African countries. While these policies are having positive effects, the transition can be difficult, and the necessary changes in attitudes and behavior takes time.

The present period, from 1990 to 2010, will be a period of fundamental transition in Africa. It will have to be based only on the liberalization of economies. It will also depend on basic changes in the attitudes and behavior of labor, management, and government. This adjustment will be hard to accomplish because it will have to occur in a changing international environment. By themselves, industrial relations are being shaken by the pace of political and technological change throughout the global economy.

In the future, political leaders in industrialized countries will no longer be guided by sentiments of guilt for past colonial behavior. In part, this derives from the time span of economic experience, but it also derives from new sources of international economic

specialization in production and trade, notably between the industrialized countries and the Pacific Rim countries, and more recently because of rising economic interest in central and eastern Europe generated by the collapse of Communist regimes and the prospects for renewed economic ties on a pan-European scale.

Given changes in the international economic landscape, one thing which is emerging is a tendency to reduce the flow international aid to Africa, first in relative terms, and perhaps in absolute terms as well. If this scenario is correct, the emphasis on the programs of governments and donors in the human resources sector will have to focus on changing the behavior of decision-makers, both private and public. While I do not have any particular prescription to suggest, to the extent that this analysis is valid, it would be interesting to see to what extent and how it will unfold here in our deliberations today. Thank you very much.

Phillip LeBel, CERAF

In keeping with our announced procedure, we will now give each speaker an opportunity to respond briefly to the remarks of other panelists. Our first speaker will thus be Mr. Carl Schieren.

Discussion

Carl Schieren, African-American Institute

I would like to inject a note of optimism to Mr. Zymelman's remarks on African universities. I think that the gloomy points he makes are in many ways well taken, but there are also some bright spots as well. One of the depressing aspects of life in African universities in the last twenty-five years has been the extensive abuse of academic freedom. With the changes now unfolding and which have been described here today, there is today an outpouring of collaboration between African scholars and their counterparts in American and European universities. I think that this collaboration will make an important and positive difference in the academic environment of African universities. This will be significant for both the quantity and quality of research that unfolds, but also for the general expansion of contacts among scholars.

Second, with respect to graduates of universities who make up a much larger proportion of labor market entrants, I know from my years in Egypt that this was a chronic situation described by all foreign and local experts. At the American University in Cairo where I worked, we prided ourselves on the quality of education which we

offered. What I saw from the hundreds of thousands of graduates from Egyptian universities was something that maybe Jerry (Wolgin) would recognize, and that is changed attitudes. There were changed expectations of what life has to offer.

As an example, we found that in Egypt, university education for women was the single most important variable leading to a significant use of contraceptives. This goes back to the point about educating women and girls. Universities that may produce people who can not get jobs in the public sector may not be totally dysfunctional, because they create attitudes which will motivate people to do more and to have a better life later on.

There are also some instances in which universities are beginning to generate positive leadership models, particularly as they relate to the reform of university systems. The University of Botswana has put together a most impressive university plan for its development and management. At Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique, there has been a positive response to World Bank initiatives. University officials have now put together an ambitious strategic plan which has received widespread support and which charts a new direction for higher education in Mozambique.

The University of Namibia, as part of the country's recent accession to independence from South Africa, has also been putting together a solid management and development plan. While university environments have had their depressing aspects over the years, it is these positive changes which I think we are going to see more of as time goes by.

Guy Schuldners, University of Paris - Panthéon-Sorbonne

Every time we speak of African problems, I often hear echoes of economic theories which are no longer valid. Teaching in African universities is often predicated on a choice of topics built on a universal platform of economic theory based on the notion that students could, should they so choose, continue their studies elsewhere in Europe or in America.

On the other hand, as I mentioned in my presentation, much of this is often little related to actual conditions on the ground. If we opt for the latter in efforts to make the curriculum more relevant as some have suggested here today, we tend to divorce our

disciplines more and more from each other, and which may be intellectually unhealthy for the progress of universal knowledge.

How to resolve this dilemma is no simple matter, especially given the fact that so many African leaders have given such historical importance to the universal equivalency of their university degrees with degrees of other universities. Such a debate has taken on sometimes rancorous tones, notably in Senegal in the late 1960's and elsewhere in Africa. As Mr. Zymelman, there will undoubtedly have to be some adjustments in attitudes and behavior if there is to be a successful resolution of these issues.

Jerome Wolgin, U.S. AID

What Carl (Schieren) said about attitudes is extremely important. The one thing which is clear to me in terms of where a lot of the problems in Africa have lain has been in the lack of vision for most leaders. Because of poor economic performance, there has been an apparent inability to see beyond the immediate and to have a vision of the future that you can aim at.

It seems to me that one of the things that we can begin to bring back is that there is a future, and that the future is likely to be much different from the past, and that Africans can affect that future in positive and constructive ways. When I was in Uganda three years ago, I was struck by conversations I was hearing about the terrible toll that the years of Idi Amin had taken on Ugandan society and economy. The vision that these people had was that it would take fifteen years to get back to where they were before Amin took over. That, at least, conveyed a certain realism, knowing that they had to do some fundamental things in order to get back to the place where they had started. It seems to me that it is important that we push forward that change is possible, that the world environment is much more difficult than it was thirty years ago, but that change can happen.

The political changes that are now taking place on the continent offer lots of possibilities for sustainable development, just as they offer lots of opportunities for pitfalls. People are going to have a harder time making difficult decisions, and certainly we and the World Bank are going to have a harder time dealing with governments that have functional legislatures as well as executives, thus making life much more complicated. The main thing is for people to realize that they can change their lives. Once they begin to see this, then they will make the decisions and choices that will enable them to do so in positive and constructive ways.

Manual Zymelman, The World Bank

It is not that we should not look positively to the future, nor that we should not try to influence things so that they would change directly. I am not saying that this is not possible. I think it is possible. What I am saying is that this is going to take a long time.

On the question of attitudes, does it pay to spend money on universities to change attitudes? As an economist, it depends very much on the opportunity cost of funds. If it costs U.S. \$2,000 per year to persuade someone not to aspire to a government position, maybe one should spend U.S. \$200 on media advisement.

The other issue, regarding what careers to choose, depends on what kinds of opportunities exist in the labor market. At the present time, with so many unemployed individuals with degrees in liberal arts and in law, for example, very few people seem to be responding to incentives for going into science, where there is an evident demand. why does this not occur reflects deeply ingrained expectations, reinforced by the past experience of relatives and cousins who somehow managed to get jobs with liberal arts and law degrees, and who just assume that such positions will still be available today. They ask, not unreasonably, why one should go into engineering if such has been the experience of others.

It is not only the people in universities. Employers, many of whom also got positions largely irrelevant to their credentials, also carry the same kind of mind set. If you ask employers if they would take someone with a degree in engineering over someone else, they would tend to use other criteria in making a decision, e.g., ethnic affiliation, geographic origins, or other such irrelevant criteria in justifying why the engineering graduate should not be hired. I am not saying that we should be pessimistic, but rather that we should be realistic until such time as there is more persuasive and compelling evidence of the kind of fundamental shift in attitudes to which I have referred.

The issue is whether the most appropriate approach to these issues is one of shock treatment, or whether one should use a form of stroking. I do not know. May we have reached a point where our best instincts, to be nurturing and supportive, are no longer possible within the constraints of time and the magnitude of the problems which we are addressing. It maybe that in some circumstances that the only effective solution is a form of shock treatment.

Phillip LeBel, CERAF

We now turn our discussion over to members of our audience. I would ask that you clearly identify yourself by name and institutional affiliation and that you direct your question to a specific member or members of the panel. Thank you.

Michael Malone, Professor of Economics, Washington College

As a former Fulbright Visiting Professor in Ghana and in Kenya, I would like to share some perspective on the university observations which have been put forward. Moi University in Kenya was founded expressly to promote training in production and technology. Under structural adjustment, funding for Moi University by the World Bank appears to have been curtailed significantly. This has had devastating effects on the faculty, many of whom are junior employees. Similar conditions have evolved in Ghana, at Kumasi, Legon, and at Cape Coast.

From my experience in these two countries, my conclusion is that the World Bank seems to be writing off higher education in Africa as an avenue to economic development. I would direct my question to Mr. Zymelman as to what you think will be the role of higher education in Africa, and what plans the World Bank may have with regard to generating sustainable configurations for the future.

Manual Zymelman, The World Bank

The World Bank is very much interested in higher education. If you look at the lending portfolio of the Bank, the proportion given to higher education has not dropped at all. The only thing is that I hope we will become a lot more stringent with the conditions which we impose for higher education loans in Africa. The truth is that a lot of our lending is, if not a disgrace, then a basic waste, in the higher education sector. I say this if we trace the productivity of African universities to the underlying imbalances that I have referred to in terms of African labor markets.

As an example, I just returned from a mission to examine changes taking place in the university system of a particular African country. I asked the Chancellor what his most pressing problems were. He answered that he needed a large auditorium, to which I replied, "Is that all?". He said that there were so many students that they simply did not have enough classroom space to accommodate them for lectures. Now when we tried to explain to him that the last thing we want to do is to provide hardware that is not directly related to teaching, he found this very difficult to understand.

As a point of comparison, I recently attended a meeting of deans of engineering schools in Europe, along with representatives of the largest engineering firms in Europe, in which we discussed the standards for engineering education in Europe. Everyone came with apologies, *mea culpa*, that they were doing a lousy job. These were deans of

the best technical institutions in Europe proclaiming that they were doing a lousy job because they were not confronting the future.

Two months later, I had a meeting in Zimbabwe with deans of engineering in African universities. I asked them exactly the same question. Every one said that they were doing a marvelous job. They said that their only complaint was that they did not have enough money. I said that I was very disappointed with Europeans coming and saying that they are doing a lousy job with their students, while deans in African university engineering schools were all proclaiming that they were doing a great job in their schools.

The Bank would be more than happy to invest much more money to introduce an adjustment process in the university system that reflects more closely the disparities which exist in the structure and behavior of university systems in relationship to the local labor market. Then we would be more than willing to provide such support. What we can not do is to put forth large amounts of money to a select group of people who are not going to have a minimum level of internationally recognizable quality standards. Unless we all agree on this principle, we will simply do a disservice to Africans by tolerating conditions in which it is accepted as routine that African universities should produce graduates with less than minimum standards.

Tigineh Mersha, Management Professor, University of Baltimore

As an African and as an Afgrad scholar, I have been interested in the observations put forth by Mr. Schieren. I am particularly interested in his views of how one is to make African education more "functional" while at the same time sustain quality standards. I think it is possible to give students functional skills as well as bring about changes in attitudes.

As some of you happen to be ex-Peace Corps participants, you may have noticed, as has Professor LeBel, a situation where students are given a quality education and also come from a peasant background. Such students were often given a highly demanding and quality education and yet did not have one course on agriculture on which so much of their daily lives depended. These same students then continued on to college, where they were given courses which they would never use in the real world. In such circumstances, there has been a waste.

I think that the content of education should be oriented so that students would have a bridge between the classroom and prospective employers. And so, I agree that there should be a change in attitudes, but also a change in making education more functional.

My question is to Mr. Zymelman. The World Bank tends to put much effort on policy formulation such as structural adjustment in various sectors. Why is it that they do not follow through with those policies, by translating macroeconomic policies at a local operational level?

Manual Zymelman, The World Bank

Structural adjustment means the change in policies. If you had a high exchange rate, it should be lowered. If you have excessive state intervention that can only be supported by extensive government subsidies, then liberalize the economy so that the government can devote its efforts to such priority sectors as health and education which are more appropriate to its efforts.

We are trying to ask that governments consider these changes as appropriate to restoring fiscal and economic health to local economies. At the same time, we do not have carte blanche to order that these things be adopted, and if governments do not want to adopt these policies, as long as they can function without World Bank assistance, they may simply prefer to do so as a gesture of political independence, even if the economic policies in place are not sustainable over the long run.

Tigineh Mersha, Management Professor, University of Baltimore

So how should one go about accelerating privatization? Privatization, it seems to me, gets too little support from the Bank in effecting a transition by local governments to a market economy. In terms of my own country of Ethiopia, from what I know, the World Bank has spent far too little in encouraging Ethiopian officials to more expeditiously with privatization.

Phillip LeBel, CERAF

I would like to make a comment in reference to educational policy in Africa. When African countries acquired political independence in the late 1950's and early 1960's, there was a strong desire by many African leaders to move away from technical and professional education of the kind being advocated here today because such education was viewed as vocational and inferior to classical educational disciplines taught in

Europe, and because of the emphasis which had been given to technical and vocational education by European colonial administrators. To the extent that vocational education was emphasized, many Africans viewed it as denigrating.

From this environment, university education in many African countries has been driven by a desire to establish and sustain classic university programs along the lines of those found in Europe, regardless of the relevance of these programs to local social and economic conditions. Programs in agriculture have thus often been viewed as sub-standard by many African educators, even though advances in agricultural research leading to increased agricultural productivity may be crucial to economic growth. Thus, the present call to make African education more practical and functional, including more technical and vocational courses, has indeed been difficult to implement because of the historical context in which African countries have evolved.

Given the need for such change to occur, the relevant issue here is the extent to which market incentives can create responses appropriate to today's economic and social realities rather than the imbedded experience of the past.

Jerome Wolgin, U.S. AID

I would like to talk to the second point on structural adjustment. It seems to me that there are two sets of issues here. One has to do with implementing adjustment aimed at liberalizing the economy. In some sense, if adjustment were complete, that is, if you announce one that the parastatal marketing board which has been in existence since independence, will no longer exist. It is not like that. In most cases, adjustments always take place in stages. Managing the process of moving from a controlled system to a liberalized system gets extremely complicated. It needs a lot of hands on management. The fact is that it tends to be more complicated than either system alone.

The second is that if you are going to reform a whole sector such as education, this will definitely require a lot of hands on management and technical assistance. What we have tried to do, and we have worked a lot with the bank in this sector, has been to try to empower the governments themselves to make some of these decisions themselves, to provide them with the assistance that they may need to make the decisions, but have them be responsible for deciding how do you shift resources around, how do you development an evaluation plan. What we usually do is have hybrid programs, that is, programs with technical assistance. In all these cases, implementing reform is much

more complicated, partly because reform never seems to be complete, and partly because institutional changes are so important.

Marcus Elias, Department of Political Science, Montclair State University

I disagree with Mr. Schieren's assertion that education creates "good attitudes". I have traveled extensively in Latin America and Africa, and have visited many universities. My sense is that there are well motivated people still working in the university environment, but who are in need of technical assistance, particularly in agriculture. It is irrelevant when you have a political scientist while at the same time your needs turn on greater knowledge in applied fields such as agriculture.

Carl Schieren, African-American Institute

The kind of attitude which we are talking about is not the kind that when one gets a certificate, one then concludes that as a university graduate, the world becomes one's oyster. The kind of attitude I am talking about which I have witnessed in Egypt, is the attitude of people who have come to the university, expecting that, under the system, where there are 125,000 student at Cairo University alone, once they got out they would get a job. Under the regime of Gamel Abdel Nasser, it was guaranteed to them. Under the Mubarak regime, it is not.

You have to wait for up to five years for a job that may not really be worth waiting for because the salary is so low you can not live on it. These are people who find themselves cheated by the "system". Yet their four years of university education has raised their consciousness about who they are and what they want out of life. They are simply not willing to sit back and have the same standard of living as their parents. What I mean about changing attitudes is that there is a shift within themselves that says, "Look, regardless of what ever happens, I am doing to do something. Whatever it means, even if I have to work in plumbing with my training as a lawyer, I will do it because my wife and I sense the possibilities of life, and we are responsible for what happens".

If you permit me, may I also say something about the observations put forth by Manual Zymelman of the World Bank. I just read a couple of weeks ago those reports on higher education in Africa. There really is a remarkably progressive analysis of the situation regarding higher education in Africa today.

It is a consensus document that has benefited from a lot of research, reflecting a lot of dialogue with African educators and international consultants. It is a challenge to develop new flexible and lean institutions to rethink what the institution is, to do a self-study and to engage everyone in the institution to develop a strategic plan, to develop

systems that are a lot more efficient, to develop programs that generate outside sources of income, and that make an auditorium get used twelve hours a day instead of the two at present.

It also redefines the role of university president from one who may hold court as "great administrator" in his office to one who serves as the university's chief ambassador to the business community and to the government, to bring those people in to critique the product of the university. It means getting the faculty to get together to change courses in response to employer demands for particular skills so that these institutions become much more responsive to their communities and can be relevant to the environment. I find that the Bank has indeed been very progressive in imposing this dimension. In Mozambique, there has been measured success and which has been well received. What we need are success stories. When you have one or two or three success stories, the possibility for replication can be enormous.

Deneke Hailemariam, Office of the Mayor, City of New York

My question is directed to Mr. Zymelman. What I want to ask is the variation between human resource development and issues of utilization. In the last couple of years, what I hear in some of the new countries of central and eastern Europe is that they have not been paying much attention to human resource development, and that their problems are simply the absence of market incentives.

In contrast, in Africa, we hear of thousands of people who are teachers, doctors, and allied professionals, all complaining about the loss of their jobs because of the impact of structural adjustment policies, all of which seem to be directly related to economic forces. At the same time, Mr. Zymelman has said that there are factors other than economics, e.g., politics and culture, that may be central to the adjustment process, particularly insofar as attitudes are concerned. Can you explain how much of those factors are central to the adjustment process rather than economic ones? If so, what actions are appropriate to consider?

Manual Zymelman, The World Bank

First of all, I do not agree with the statement that doctors and engineers are losing their jobs as a result of structural adjustment. As far as I know, I do not know of any place where a doctor in public health, or an engineer in sanitation or roads, has lost his job if he had one. Now it is true that new graduates may not be getting jobs. This is a different story.

Most of the people who are being let go generally are being given severance packages. It is just as true in the case of teachers. I do not know the case of one teacher in Africa who lost his or her job because of structural adjustment. As a matter of fact, most structural adjustment agreements make sure that education and health professionals are not touched. Many times, there is a dispensation with the government, and which is done also with other funding agencies such as the International Monetary Fund, that you can not hire more people in the public administration except in the case of teachers, doctors, and nurses.

Other people, however, do lose their jobs. As a matter of fact, I think that if you fire thirty percent of personnel in most administrations in Africa, the amount of work accomplished would go up by something on the order of twenty percent. Like everywhere else, you can not continue to featherbed twenty to thirty percent of your workers.

Jerome Wolgin, U.S. AID

I agree completely with what Manual has said. We did a study of retrenchment in Ghana and found two things. One is that people who were retrenched were those close to retirement, or people of low skills. There was no firing of people at the higher skill levels. The people who were fired and who had low skills, within a year had the same employment or unemployment rate, albeit a slightly lower average level of income than before, than the population as a whole. The people who have been retrenched in a lot of these places were people who simply not producing anything.

A good example was the Cocoa Marketing Board in Ghana. Every cocoa farmer in Ghana was carrying three people on that Board because they were taking that much money from his cocoa production. These people are just going to have to find something more useful to do. The real skills in Africa are in such short supply that no one with them has ever been fired, nor is likely to be fired.

Manual Zymelman, The World Bank

Let me give you an example from Zambia. They have a computing department at the university. There are officially one hundred fifty employees for ten programs. Ninety or one hundred people are engaged in cleaning services for ten programs, a ratio of fifteen to one of non-professionals to professionals.

Deneke Hailemariam, Office of the Mayor, City of New York

Let me relate this discussion to my own country of Ethiopia. What I heard is that several professor were recently fired from the university. I also heard of senior managers from several other institutions who were let go as a result of structural adjustment. To the extent that this true, I am wondering what should be done about it.

Jerome Wolgin, U.S. AID

The incidents to which you are referring were not due to structural adjustment. They were based on a political issue relating to the transition in power from Mengistu Hailemariam to Meles Zenawi.

Carl Schieren, African-American Institute

I think this issue relates more to the current policies of the Zenawi government than anything to do with structural adjustment. As I was just in Ethiopia as part of the referendum international observer team I did have some sense of what was taking place. The Zenawi government was trying to get university staff to sign a document in which some limits were to be set on academic freedom in the presence of government officials on campus. A number of faculty refused, and they were terminated. While I do not have all of the details, clearly, the situation in Ethiopia is more a question of what is taking place in local politics than it is with results of structural adjustment.

Fareed Hassan, Professor, University of Connecticut

As stated in a recent World Development Report of the World Bank, poverty is the overarching problem of development. Some seventy percent of Africa's population are classified as poor, and therefore, this constitute the crux of the human development debate. Without a resolution of the issue of poverty, we will not be able to alleviate the condition of human resource development in Africa.

Because of poverty, it is not surprising that so many people turn to government to find employment security, even if the positions which many of them hold are redundant and non-productive. They have few, if any, alternatives. Given previous commitments by African governments to African universities and students in these institutions, there is an obligation to find employment for them.

The private sector at present is so small in Africa that there are practically no job opportunities for university graduates. Public employment has become a kind of

workfare system because the private sector has simply been incapable of filling this role. In many instances there is no such thing as the private sector, at least for formal sector employment appropriate to the education and training of university graduates.

If we pursue willy nilly policies to get rid of the public sector and to replace it with the private sector, we will only wind up with an economic and social disaster. Because poverty is so central to all of these choices, avoiding it can only be a mistake. Policies designed in the context of structural adjustment must therefore address head on the issue of poverty if such programs are to succeed.

Jerome Wolgin, U.S. AID

It seems to me that you have it upside down. Countries are poor because they do not have resources, be that human resources, capital resources, or any other kinds of resources. One of the ways we have learned through history and research is that development proceeds on the basis of increasing human resource capacity, and that this applies particularly to education and health.

Populations that are more literate are more productive. As they produce more, their incomes go up and poverty is alleviated. The question is how do you increase the human resource capacity when you have limited resources? The answer surely is not that you take those resources and transfer them from a larger group to some small group, particularly to graduates who do not represent any proportion of the poverty population in Africa.

In a country where forty-seven percent of the population is poor, most of them are located in rural areas, most of them are uneducated, do not go to schools, and they are certainly not secondary school graduates. If you tax the people who are the poorest, i.e., rural farmers, and give their resources to educated and skilled individuals, then you are pursuing a strategy of increasing impoverishment of the great proportion of the population in which everyone winds up ultimately losing more.

Poor countries can not afford welfare programs. Poor countries have to worry about getting productive activities in place. They have to grow, to build capital and human resource capability. It is a slow process, but there is no way you can move out of it by transferring resources from the great majority of the population to a small class or university or secondary school elites.

Matthew Chiedu, Professor, Rutgers University.

When you sit back and listen to the debate over Africa's problems, it seems that the solutions are somewhat doctrinaire and theoretical, as opposed to practical and proven. Let me talk briefly about education, particularly university education, and in relation to my own country of Nigeria, which has been mentioned already in our discussions this morning.

If Mr. Schieren is correct in his observations about the changes in perceptions deriving from university education, why is it that Nigeria's expansion of university campuses should be seen as a decline in quality? Yes, there have been some changes in the loss of amenities such as someone to do your laundry for you while you are studying, but that is a different matter than saying that the quality of education is in utter decline.

It is true that failure rates in Nigerian universities are somewhat high. However, the reason for high failure rates in any education system is the absence of guidance, or a lack of the kind of vision which has been talked about here today.

The same question could also be said of overall project assistance, and of the failures therein. I have seen numerous cases where some seventy percent of project funding is consumed by excessive administrative costs, eaten up, if you will, by the rental of expensive and dubious housing expenditures, expensive vehicles, and the like, so that the end users of a project are relatively little affected by the project' terms of reference. This is simply wasteful no matter how you look at it.

When aid is going to an African country, we need to engage in a process of effective monitoring so that at the end of the project, genuinely productive activity has taken place. When you give aid, may I suggest that there are many well trained local nationals who can assure that such monitoring does take place with the intended effects projects are designed to accomplish.

In reference to the World Bank, I would be interested in knowing from Mr. Zymelman if he could identify any successful case story of privatization, or of devaluation, that has worked in Africa. I have not seen one such case thus far. In the case of Nigeria, devaluation seems to have been nothing of a disaster. When we devalued the Naira, oil prices fell and we were worse off than before. When Ghana devalued the cedi, cocoa prices also fell, with similar results on the balance of payments

and per capita income. Why should conditionality be used when export prices collapse right in front of your eyes?

Jerome Wolgin, U.S. AID

In Africa, in adjusting countries, export volumes have been growing since about 1980 at between five to six percent a year. This encompasses all products, of traditional things like cotton, tobacco, and copper, as well as non-traditional products such as horticultural crops, manufactures, seeds, spices, and so on.

In Nigeria, you can't just talk about oil. At one time, Nigeria was the world's leading producer of palm oil, and that whole industry went down the drain because of overvaluation of the currency and the neglect of productivity enhancing investment in palm oil. The same thing happened with cocoa. The whole agricultural sector in Nigeria went almost completely under because of overvaluation associated with the oil boom. Now Nigeria has not been the first to experience this kind of sectoral dislocation, but part of it has been policy driven and the policy effects in Nigeria were particularly pernicious. There is no doubt that if you look at the data on African exports in response to devaluation, you will see an extremely positive response.

Manual Zymelman, The World Bank

What about the cost of the Nigerians who used to rent a jet to spend a weekend in New York? Nigerians did this because they could do so at the time based on the extreme overvaluation of the Naira. Now because of devaluation, they can no longer afford to do such things.

Matthew Chiedu, Professor, Rutgers University

What I am saying is that when oil prices were high, it was only natural that Nigeria should be able to afford such things. What we are now looking at is when you translate changes in the volume of trade associated with devaluation, you see that the benefit is not proportional to the change. In all honesty, I can not say that Nigerians are doing better today than they were five years ago. This seems to be the case of several African countries.

Jerome Wolgin, U.S. AID

May I share the data on devaluation? For twenty-eight countries that are the principal recipients of U.S. AID assistance in Africa, in the 1980-1984 period, GDP

grew on average at one percent, in 1985-1987 it grew by three percent, and between 1988-1991 it grew by four percent. For other countries, the non-adjusting countries, the numbers are 1.2, 2.6 and 1.3 percent, respectively. So we have had an acceleration of growth in the countries that were adjusting, from 1 percent at the beginning of the 1980's to 4 percent at the end of the 1980's, whereas the other countries stayed flat at 1 percent.

Export volumes. They are now growing at up to 4 percent for adjusting countries, but only at 1 percent for non-adjusting countries. These are the numbers. You have to consider them when any such comparisons are being made about the impact of structural adjustment in Africa.

Phillip LeBel, CERAF

At this point, because this debate has been lively and engaging but our time has been getting short, I would like for us to now break for our lunch. Following lunch, we will introduce our keynote luncheon speaker, Dr. Ruth Engo, and in the follow-up question and answer period, for those of you who would like to pick up the discussion where we are now leaving it, I encourage you to please consider doing so.

Luncheon Session

Phillip LeBel, CERAF

At this point I am pleased to present Dr. Ruth Engo. Before I do so, I would like to introduce Dr. Greg Waters, Deputy Provost of Montclair State University, who would like to say a few words to you.

Greg Waters, Deputy Provost, Montclair State University

Thank you Phil. On behalf of the President and the faculty, and all of our students here at Montclair State University, I would like to extend another welcome to you. We are very happy to serve as the host of this conference on an annual basis. Personally, I find it to be very rich and very provocative. I am especially honored by our off campus visitors and I thought it might pay to give you a thumbnail sketch of the campus, just so you have a sense of what you are seeing as you move across campus.

We are a campus of 13,800 students. We have about 10,000 undergraduates and the rest are students largely pursuing master's degrees, and some are enrolled in various programs of post-baccalaureate education. We have five schools, about 435 faculty. At

the moment, we are finishing the semester, and people look a bit more frantic than usual. Many of use who are with you today are here all summer long and we are already beginning plans for the next semester.

This conference fits in with the general development of the campus. One of the areas we are all very interested in is global education. We view this as essential to come to a better understanding of issues that have an impact on the United States, but also on all of us. We are very much committed to preparing our students for the global economy, where differences are celebrated and diversity is very much part of our definition.

I am happy to be with you for lunch. I have enjoyed my conversations with my lunch mates at the table, and I look forward to the presentation this afternoon. Thank you very much for being with us today.

Phillip LeBel, CERAF

Some of you did not arrive in time to hear our initial introduction of our keynote speaker. I will give you an abbreviated version, and I am speaking, of course, of the distinguished woman to my left, Dr. Ruth Bamela Engo-Tjega. She is Senior Liaison Officer of the Steering Committee, of the United Nations Secretariat's Program for African Economic Recovery. Her responsibilities are for the coordination and monitoring of an ongoing economic program designed to facilitate cooperation and understanding between African countries and the international community.

Dr. Engo is responsible for maintaining continuous liaison, notably between donor countries, the UN system, and African delegations, particularly the Organization for African Unity. For those of you present this morning, I said at that time, she has had a number of high level positions. She is a highly qualified and experienced professional, thoroughly knowledgeable with these issues, as her extensive credentials attest. Without further adieu, I am delighted to present to you Dr. Ruth Engo. She will comment on the remarks presented this morning, and add her own as to the status of our discussion and debate, after which we hope to continue this discussion with members of our audience.

Ruth Bamela Engo, United Nations Secretariat for Africa

Thank you very much, Professor LeBel, for your kind and extensive introduction. After this introduction, I should sit down and say nothing, just to look good. Before saying anything, I would like to say that I do not represent the United Nations here. I

am here simply as an African woman following some of the debates on crucial issues of the continent.

A. Recent Organizational Changes in the United Nations

Let me take this opportunity first of all to clarify some of the changes which are taking place these days in the United Nations. The department I was working in 1991-1992 was effectively called the Office of the Director-General for International Economic Cooperation. With the restructuring of the United Nations, this department was abolished in 1992, replaced by the Department which is concerned with Economic and Social Development. The restructuring did not end there. It has since been further restructured, and now our department is responsible for Policy Coordination for Sustainable Development.

Within this department, I am responsible for a program that was adopted two years ago, called the New Agenda for African Development (UN-NADAF) in the 1990's. This new agenda, and I have left a few copies of a publication describing this program, did replace another program which had existed from 1986 to 1991. This was the program which had been adopted by a Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations at the time of Africa's severe drought and debt problems in 1986.

One of the aspects of the initial program approved in 1986 was that it would be only for four years, and there was clearly a need for a long-term development program. This is why the New Agenda for African Development in the 1990's was adopted. This New Agenda addresses major problems affecting Africa during the current decade until the year 2000. And as I said, while I have these responsibilities, my remarks to you today are those of an African woman and not as a UN official.

Given the extensive technical presentations and debate which we had this morning, I feel free to engage in a kind of unruly thinking that only non-technicians have the privilege of originating. For this, I apologize in advance.

B. Rising Interest in Human Resource Development in Africa

We have been observing a healthy trend all over the world in the development of human resources. In television, a recent commercial portrays a CEO, realizing that upgrading people is more productive than upgrading computers. In print, a magazine article entitled, "The Emancipation of Capitalism", proposes the concept of a modern company composed of people rather than of employees and managers. Numerous

studies and conferences devoted to the theme of human resources in recent years have echoed this change in perspective.

One of these conferences is the United Nations Interregional Symposium on Promoting Accelerated Development in Africa, Perspectives from the Asian Experience. This conference was held in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, in 1992. As part of my work, there is an important upcoming conference this October, called the International Conference on African Development, which will be held in Tokyo, and which is being sponsored by the Japanese government. It is one of the first conferences since the Bandung Conference of Non-Aligned States in 1955, which is being held in Asia and which is devoted to Africa.

All of these conferences are stressing the issue of human resource development. In the UN system itself, the UNDP Human Development Report has compiled many indicators which are more appropriate for assessing the needs of people than some of the more standard indices. Here in the United States, there is already a major debate on human resources in America's inner cities. In addition, we also see unfolding a major debate on health care reform in the United States.

C. Africa's Complex Relation to the External Industrial World

The trend of growing interest in human resource development demonstrates firstly that traditional examples of power, epitomized by a strong military, tall skyscrapers, huge international airports, and lavish lifestyles for a few, are gradually being questioned to the advantage of the well-being of the majority of the people. Secondly, it is indicative of the changes ahead, changes that will bring the need for more quality than quantity of life. There will be changes in the economy that will dictate new lifestyles and new work rules.

Furthermore, humanity has evolved from an agrarian society of thousands of years ago through the industrial revolution a few centuries ago to the present restructuring of contemporary civilization. This restructuring is portraying the need for a more humane existence. All of these facts make the whole discourse on human resources a central one, particularly when focusing on a continent as complicated as Africa.

It is difficult enough to address this theme globally, but particularly so when it comes to Africa. The difficulty lies in the fact that Africa leapfrogged a large era of development history, namely, the industrial revolution. Clearly, the majority of African

countries did not reach this economic evolution, but continued to interact with people and cultures who were immersed in this industrial revolution, and progressively living that industrial revolution.

D. Africa at the Crossroads of Development Models

The question arises, "Should Africa have its own little industrial revolution before joining the rest of the world, or should it take this opportunity, while everyone is building a new economic future on the basis of trial and error, to define its future based on its own reality?". When you start talking about a profile of African human resources in the year 2000, do you address this from the perspective that we should forge ahead with a new vision, or does one continue to base effort on past and perhaps unworkable models?

Both capitalist and socialist models introduced in Africa during the industrial revolution were based on assumptions of continued growth. Both measured prosperity by growth, and measured growth by consumption. We now know, especially since the Rio Summit of 1992, that increasing world consumption of material resources will ultimately result in less growth, less wealth, and therefore, less consumption.

E. Sustainable Growth as the Wave of the Future

A new way of thinking is now emerging which places emphasis on sustainable development instead of growth. It gives a central place to the integration of environmental concerns with traditional notions of economic development. Current patterns of production will certainly have to shift to a system which provides incentives to reduce resource requirements for production and to limit waste. More goods need to be repairable and recyclable, re-utilized. Access to transportation may become more important than the number of automobiles per capita, as both a planning goal and as measures of prosperity.

The balance between the use and the replenishment of resources will be part of the new system of calculating social costs. If this is to be the post-industrial calculus, then Africa needs no industrial revolution because it did not reach the consumptive and waste patterns of the developed countries. Its informal sector on which it relies heavily, recycles, re-utilizes, and repairs semi-finished and finished commodities already. Access to transportation for the majority of populations is still a critical issue. And so, regarding patterns of production and consumption, we can easily conclude that Africa is

at the right stage. It only needs to systematize these patterns around socio-cultural and economic growth, drawing on resources which it will fix for itself.

E. Dimensions of the Human Resource Debate in Africa

In this context, it is imperative that we address the human resources issue. The question is, "For which purpose?". Why should we address human resources? There seem to be a lot of activities focusing on the development of Africa's human resources. Mostly, this seems to be taking place through initiatives of the international community. However, these efforts are more philosophical than practical. Everyone is concerned about percentages at all levels of education. We hear comparisons of differences between men and women, rural and urban, and so on, but little on the practical use of human resources. That has been a concern since Africa became independent.

Many have advocated in favor of universal primary education as a human right, or as a base for democracy. Africans themselves have viewed education not as a tool to develop, but as a way to gain prestige in the society. The consequence of these trends were that all Africans who went to school were striving for the highest degrees. The backlash of this global behavior was that the African labor market in the 1960's, the 1970's, the 1980's, and today, have more high level professionals than the mid-level people who are the real backbone of any economy.

Universal education is good. Yet, as long as people are trained just to provide good statistics, or for prestigious reasons, Africa will not have found a solution to its challenge of human resource development. Africa could have everyone get a Ph.D. and there would still be no guarantee of development of the continent.

With the lessons learned during the last 30 years, I believe that people should be trained for a purpose. The experience today in Africa is one where parents no longer want to send their children to school because it does not pay to do so. When educated children come back, do not participate in community life, and are still dependent on their parents and grandparents, then something is seriously wrong. Schooling has not paid in Africa. African countries therefore need to focus on precise goals, and then prepare their human resources for the fulfillment of those goals. This will not only present good statistics. It will also solve local problems like chronic unemployment which is a threat to Africa and to global peace and security in the world.

Does Africa want to reach food security and stop having food aid? If this is the goal, then all intervening steps involving production, nutrition, transportation, all should be part of a well defined strategy to reach this goal. People would then be trained not for the sake of statistical comparisons, but for accomplishing a socially desirable goal.

When Malaysia decided to focus on palm production, and they learned from Africans in Sierra Leone and elsewhere, they listed all of the benefits from that choice in comparison to the costs. They noted that palm provides food, soap, automobile lubricant, cosmetics, and then they designed a strategy around the production and marketing of palm which included research on what others were doing with the same product. They then derived an estimate of training needs to be met for each stage of production and marketing. Today, palm oil is utilized to run cars in Malaysia. A big part of the Malaysian workforce is employed in offshoot industries generated by the palm industry.

F. A Model for Human Resource Development in Africa

The Malaysian palm experience echoes a broad-based pattern of development now widespread throughout Asia, namely, the concept of total training. The basis of this training is contained in three letters: A, S, and K. Respectively, these letters stand for: attitudes, skills, and knowledge. I like to use this model to put forth my model of total training for Africa.

F.1 Attitude

Attitude generates first of all a feeling of family, community, and nation that each member, men and women, are needed, important, and expected to participate. At present, one goes to school, but one is still waiting for an international donor or financial institution to solve one's problem. This level breeds the self-confidence that is the foundation of creativity and excellence. It also gives rise to a work ethic based not only on monetary incentives, but also on the self-satisfaction good service brings to the individual and to the whole community.

Foreign investors would certainly be attracted to a country that is efficient, where they know that their money will work, where people are hard working, and where people are polite and willing to communicate. Within this understanding, attitude will mean recognizing that every person is a potential client, be that your company or your country. However, attitude also means team work, humility, and the realization that no one has a monopoly on knowledge. This is one thing that is killing our countries, our administrations. As soon as one has power, one assumes wrongly that one has a monopoly of knowledge, and then one tends to dismiss teamwork.

F.2 Skills

Skills result in members of a society enjoying self-fulfilling and productive lives. This educational stage would be achieved by vocational or other specialized studies for the majority of mid-level workers, and also for professionals from higher education. The important goal at this level is that these skills should be part and parcel of a well-defined strategy built on the kind of production goals such as in the case of Malaysian palm which I was talking about. It is not getting a skills just for the sake of having a skill.

F.3 Knowledge

Knowledge will be the minimum education necessary members of a society, men and women, to appreciate their environment, their history, their culture, and to understand how to interact with other people at a global level. Once this basic knowledge is achieved, self-awareness, and demonstrating responsibility as a group member, would make such individuals candidates for being educated in a special skill. This level of education should be country-wide and it should place the majority of population of a country at the secondary school level.

The concept of total training goes beyond the classroom and statistics. It represents a strategy for development. Because of constraints on time, I have limited my remarks to educational aspects of human resource development. It is understood that the knowledge, skills, and attitudes presupposes that the physiological conditions for their realization are met. Only on this basis can one then talk about returns from social investment, because dealing with human resources is not a burden, is not charity - it is an investment. Unless you address all of these issues simultaneously, you will not have a social return, and people will be seen as a burden, as unattractive, and thus unproductive.

G. On the Role of Women in Africa's Human Resource Development

In closing, I would like to say a few words on the participation by women in development. I noticed this morning that nothing was said about women. On this matter, my perspective is that women are equal members of any society. Their rights and concerns should not be treated as separate issues. I should not be the only one addressing the issue of women. Everyone should be addressing the issue of women. We have a proverb in our country which states that you can not walk with one foot. You have to have your two feet to walk well and good. If I am the only one to talk about the issue of women because I am a woman, then society is losing somehow.

Women's issues are international and global and merit the attention of us all - they should not be addressed by women alone, but by everyone.

All of the concepts I mentioned with my Attitude-Skills-Knowledge model should apply fully to women. Special emphasis should be given to attitudes. The family and community at large should give them equal opportunity to be trained, employed, and represented at all levels, not because they are women, but because society needs them. Unfortunately, we have been put in a situation where women are dealt with separately much of the time.

Concerning participation by women in development, I will say that women contribute more than any other group to Africa's development. Today, Africa would literally collapse if women took off a day. They produce eighty percent of the food we eat. They get ninety-nine percent of the daily household water supply. They produce one hundred percent of the human resources and contribute most of the effort in raising them. They comprise the largest group of inter-African merchants, offering most of the services through the informal sector, which is the only sector really supporting life in Africa today. The question, therefore, is not whether they participate, but whether their overwhelming contributions are given due consideration within the modern economy.

African women produce goods and services that are not counted at all in national income accounts. Because they are not counted, they don't exist. We are therefore in a situation where the output of the most productive group is disregarded by those in charge of economic policy. These are the series of questions which should be addressed before we talk about various strategies for training.

Mr. Zymelman spoke this morning of the era of transformation. I agree with him that there should be an era of transformation. The lessons we have learned over the past thirty years should definitely lead to a transformation. Yet transformation should also involve the issue of leadership in Africa. The leadership in Africa should devise a clear strategy of what they want to achieve. Do they want people to continue to have food aid or do they want food security in their continent? If they want to achieve any goal, let them be purposeful. They should not just allow everyone to come to Africa and decide with virtually no coordination how resources are to be allocated. The transformation which needs to be made is one of vision. Vision is a concrete thing. It is seeing people who do not eat today begin to be able to eat. It is seeing a reduction in the number of people who are dying of AIDS.

F. Conclusion

Vision is a way of making people as the center of development. In this context, I did not agree with the comparison offered by Mr. Zymelman on differences in university training attitudes in Europe versus those in Zimbabwe. What gives one the right to say that what one does in Zimbabwe is not good compared to what the Europeans are saying? The Europeans are in a situation of competition over technology. In Zimbabwe people are dying of hunger. An engineer in Zimbabwe has a totally different perspective and vision in comparison to the European.

This constant comparison between Africa and Europe also places Africa at a disadvantage. The man in Zimbabwe wants his students to have a place to study. If one can't fund such a proposal, then one should not judge it. Yes, we need help from the international community, but these constant comparisons do not help people to see the same issue.

I believe there is a future for Africa. In the 1950's, Africans moved to put political independence on the agenda. They were committed to independence, devised a strategy, and followed through with it until they succeeded. In the 1960's, much of Africa lost itself in the mad struggles of the Cold War. Today we find that none of these things did help. The commitments of the 1950's to independence should be transformed into a commitment by today's leaders that they will see tangible development results in their lifetime. When that commitment is taken, then on their own terms, the goal will be achieved. Thank you for your attention.

Phillip LeBel, CERAF

Thank you Dr. Engo for your stimulating remarks. Would any panelists like to make any remarks? Then let me again turn over our discussion to the audience.

Paul Mifsud, General Counsel, KLM Airlines

As general counsel for KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, I am involved extensively with issues regarding the international provision of services, in particular the Uruguay Round GATT negotiations where services are being included for the first time. African countries have also been very much concerned about the trade in services issue, because they are not able to participate at this point for technologies affecting global services, and yet they are very much affected by them.

Labor and human resources provide services. It strikes me that the current global system which relegates people who are born in one place to that place forever, unless they are lucky enough to get a green card. Within this context, we hear statements that things are inevitably going to take place very slowly, over a generation or more, thirty or forty years from now, and the like, while technology serves up images of the things which are being dangled forth as the material fruits of development to today's generations.

All of this takes place while African countries sit back in political environments inherited from colonial days, all of which strikes me as something akin to an unreal theatrical discussion between the aristocracy and the peasantry at the turn of the previous century. At that time, a fatalistic set of attitudes prevailed as to who had what level of opportunities, and if one happened to be born a member of the peasantry, well this is what God intended things to be.

In terms of education, part of this translates into the attitude that the only good education for Africa is vocational education because this is all one can do with it. If you are able to break out of your geography, propelled by your interests, then you can go into the Western world and shape a different kind of universe. My sense is that much of what we hear from the international donor community is largely a set of criticisms rather than advocacy on behalf of Africa and Africans.

Jerome Wolgin, U.S.AID

I resent the suggestion that I am not an advocate for Africa. I have spent all of my working life working on problems in Africa. I began this when I started as a Peace Corps volunteer in Africa, and I have been committed by what I think is constructive in helping people in Africa to move to a different plane. In fact, one can criticize the international community, the donor community, for not having been more diligent and attentive to the problems of Africa, just as African governments also share in the blame for what has happened.

Our responsibility, primarily, is to the U.S. taxpayer. My job is to see, as much as I can, that the dollars we spend, over U.S. \$800 million a year, are spent as well as they can to achieve the goals that we have. Right now those goals are to raise African development. We are not in the business of telling people what to do, but we are also not in the business of throwing money away. We try to put it where we think people are doing things that will make a difference, and this is how we define our role, and how we

define what we do. We provide assistance if it is sought, and we provide advice if it is wanted. We can draw on a tremendous amount of intellectual resources in the United States to give this process as much consistency as possible.

The question about green cards - I am not speaking for the U.S. government - but that issue is much larger than what we are talking about here today. There is not a country in the world today that has open borders. The United States has borders that are more porous and more open and receptive than almost any country in the world. I don't know if it is open enough. My grandfather was an immigrant - he came here in 1904. He came on a cattle boat from Odessa. The issue is a much different one from the one we are talking about.

I don't think Africa is going to be served by supplanting them and scattering them around the rest of the world. Unfortunately, the people who are the most mobile are those with the most skills.

Gibson Dallah, Professor, Bloomfield College

I am from Nigeria, and I work as a Professor of Mathematics at Bloomfield College. I think people would agree that the role of women is central to Africa's development. We have seen just such a fine example of the intelligence of women today in the fine speech presented by Ruth Engo.

Black Americans are often compared to Africans. We forget that Black Americans did not have many schooling opportunities until the late 1920's, and then by the 1950's and 1960's, they were asserting their rights to equality in American society, to take their full place in that community. The same thing happened to Africans through the colonial experience. Within a couple of decades of independence, we should not expect miracles. We know we have problems, but we needn't be so criticized because we have not yet succeeded.

My question, in particular the remarks of Carl Schieren, I would like for you to explain why helping elites will help Africans better than a more mass-based strategy of development.

Carl Schieren, African-American Institute

First, I am glad that the question of women has been raised. In fact, I think it did appear in some of the observations made this morning, but it can not be over-

emphasized. When mention was made of de-mobilization, I stressed that it was men and boys in the military who were the problem. Women are not that problem because they are already out producing. Unemployed men and boys are the threat for stability as they leave the military.

We talked earlier about farmers. Farmers are mostly women in Africa. Indeed, as Ruth just mentioned, women dominate the economy. Women in West Africa kept the economies of those countries going when the political systems were falling apart. So, indeed, the focus on women's capabilities and on women's participation is important.

I did mention this morning some of our programs to increase women's participation, particularly political participation. AAI has been one of the major sponsors of promoting exchanges between women's political organizations in the United States and women's political organizations in Nigeria. This program has been geared specifically to increasing women's political participation. In Nigeria, when women run for office, they sometimes are denied the right to take office even when they have won an election. All of us need to work toward changing these attitudes.

The question about elites. Many of us wound up talking about universities because we felt strongly that universities were more than just repositories for students. If Africa can not develop the intellectual capacities for being able to deal with the world as it is, then outsiders will come in and influence Africa after their own fashion. I think that for those of us who are interested in Africa, the emphasis on the role of universities is central to this debate, for it is from African universities that the intellectual talent and vision will come to enable Africans to shape their own destinies and on terms more of their own choosing than would otherwise be the case. It is important that these analyses be done by Africans for Africans and that the outside community nurture these initiatives for the good of all. And, there is no better place for this to happen than in the university.

If you talk about cost-effectiveness, about the things that are wrong with universities, surely, you can not pour any more money from national budgets into these institutions. Problems of health and basic education are more critical. Yet what African universities have got to do, as the World Bank has tried to suggest, is to become a lot more efficient, to develop new sources of revenue, new kinds of programs that are relevant to their communities, and that they become organizations that are responsive to their communities. This is much more critical than sometimes sterile debates about what universities may have been or should have been in the past.

John Dilyard, Finance Professor, Montclair State University

I have a masters' degree in International Development and have some familiarity with capital markets in Kenya. My question to the panel is what financial strategies are there to address the rising expectations for human resource development in Africa.

Jerome Wolgin, U.S. AID

In Mali, when the revolution that overthrew the regime of Moussa Traoré, one thing everyone was sure of was that they would be able to go to the Treasury and find the money that was stolen, and then go out and provide the services which the regime had refused to provide. Unfortunately, they found that not only were people stealing money, but that there was not much money to start with. The interesting thing is that Malians adapted fairly quickly their expectations to this reality in terms of what they thought they could realistically accomplish.

We are going to see that as regimes change, there is an expectation that something is going to change, and then it doesn't. I saw an article from a South African newspaper in which a letter to the editor complained that Nelson Mandela had been out of prison for a year and this person still did not have a house. The most productive change will be the adaptation of the content of education to the new economic realities of African economies and in attaining the kind of quality that makes these investments economically and socially worthwhile.

John Dilyard, Finance Professor, Montclair State University

Do you think that the end of the Cold War has helped to refocus international aid in more productive ways in Africa?

Jerome Wolgin, U.S. AID

It has certainly been helpful to us for the kinds of things we would like to do. At the very least, we don't have to worry so much about providing money to regimes that don't deserve it. We no longer have to make such political choices because there is no longer that ideological competition. In some sense, it should lead to smaller armed forces, smaller military forces, and it should certainly should lead to a change in expectations regarding international aid. In the present climate, we are likely to see a decrease, in real terms, in international aid, and this is going to force people to make hard decisions in ways that they did not have to do before.

Kofi Afriye, Economics Professor, Rutgers University

I share the concern that Africa should develop on its own terms. Today, the issue of globalization bears heavily on the process and options of how Africa can pursue this goal. Unlike China, which developed a model based on isolation and self-reliance, Africa has been very wide and open to international forces, both positive and negative.

How can we policymakers formulate strategies so that Africans can come up with their own development models? I ask this question because I noticed that if there were no countries in the predicament that African countries find themselves, then there would be no *raison d'être* for the international development agencies. I don't think that any programs are likely to be designed so as to put these agencies out of business, and so how can aid programs devise programs so that they become irrelevant?

How can Africa focus itself to go back and look inside at indigenous values, drawing on the wisdom displayed through endless crises of drought, AIDS, and international debt? African societies have survived thus far. How can they look inward to draw upon those skills to be able to meet whatever external challenges as may present themselves?

Ruth Engo, United Nations

I realize that we are no longer in the era where you had nation-states closed unto themselves, solving their problems internally as they defined all policies from within. Today, everyone has to negotiate and find other kinds of global laws that help life because life within the boundary is determined by larger forces. We understand this with the environment, with communication, and with trade, and that it is no longer possible to stay within you nation-state and provide clear-cut solutions. I understand this very well.

I think whenever we go to global negotiations, whoever is leading the nation-state as part of such negotiations should be going to that global negotiations with its own series of problems. Within international law, one should seek a universal solution that is at the same time locally pertinent and valid.

One thing we could take to the global negotiations is our capability to survive, even with all the problems we have, with so little. We have a leadership to do so. The world is moving toward a conservation climate and we are the technicians of using less. We

know how to use less. We have a lot to give and instruct, particularly on how to live with less.

Paul Kadjo, International Consultant

Before Africans come to any conference, Africans should speak with a common voice. From tradition, not to do so is seen as a sign of weakness. I would request that Africans always stand together.

The second suggestion is that one draw more extensively on local African technicians when a problem is to be addressed. There are many skilled and knowledgeable Africans who are often not included in the decision-making process and who could make a difference in terms of how problems could and should be addressed. It is important to say this because after thirty years, there is still a high level of dependence on international assistance.

Finally, it seems to me that finance is at the heart of much of the concern over human development in Africa. You can not talk about human resource development without talking about finance. Now you all know that America has been built on the basis of African labor. Europe has been built on the basis of African labor. Asia has been built on the basis of African labor. The issue of labor is very important. Today, there are at least 15,000 Africans in North America with master's and doctoral degrees. This is the labor force needed to put Africa on track.

We have seen that the world has been divided by the Cold War. Now that this struggle is over and capitalism has triumphed, it is time to turn attention to promoting a more efficient use of resources in Africa. Africans themselves know more than anyone else not only the magnitude and scope of these problems, but they are also the most skilled and adept in arriving at a suitable solution.

Guy Schuldners, University of Paris

I think that it is no longer possible to explain the problems of Africa, the problems of growth and development only in terms of mechanisms, only in terms of trade, of money, of Gross National Product. It is now necessary to take into account growth and development in terms of behavior. Development begins at home, at school, at church, and in the village. Elites, both political and intellectual, must develop centrifugal forces, integral forces if development is to succeed.

It is no longer possible for an African country with less than one million inhabitants, with less than U.S. \$1 billion GDP, to develop. There are no longer possibilities for survival in small communities, within self-contained micro-systems. Therefore, instead of developing micro-system ideas, I think that the political and intellectual leaders will need to develop a broader set of strategies, and which reflects the notion of vision suggested by Ruth Engo.

I spoke of behavior, not only of the behavior of African countries, but also of the behavior of Western countries. For example, we have in our culture, the world of equilibrium. This word belongs to the future. It is not possible to speak of equilibrium and at the same time of development. All countries can not have the same trade relations with big and small countries. New relationships will have to be developed. Income per capita is not a term of the future. It is more important to know what are the needs of the population.

Phillip LeBel, CERAF

I would like to make a comment about the need for Africans to develop on their own terms, and about the suggestion that Africans adopt a unified stand. I do not think that anybody in this room would disagree with the notion that Africans should cooperate more than in the past. We have spoken this morning on the need for closer cooperation, for economic integration, for better coordination across the board. At the same time, I am a little troubled by the suggestion that Africans should speak with only one voice. If you think of the countries of the West, one of the signs one points to of a healthy society is the extent to which it can engage in open debate.

I do not view someone's offering a disagreement as a sign of weakness. I view debate as a way of fleshing out what are intellectually superior arguments. The fact that African countries are engaging in a much more open debate these days, despite the severity of the problems which they are confronting, is a healthy process for everyone concerned. It is a much more inclusive process, certainly more so than in the past. I believe that over the long run Africa will be healthier because of the more open debate that is now occurring. At the same time, I would not invite controversy just for the sake of controversy, nor I do not think that anyone here would be so inclined. That there is such open debate about Africa today is likely to provide far more promising solutions than some of us may be projecting in our deliberations.

At this point, perhaps this is an appropriate time for us to bring our discussion today to a close. I thank all of our panelists for their insightful presentations today, and I thank all of the members of our audience for their interest and involvement with this discussion. I think we have had a very useful discussion and I hope that we have advanced our understanding in the process. Thank you for coming and I hope to see you at another conference in the near future.

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Appendix A

Table 1
Basic Economic Development Indicators

	Population	Population	Growth Rate,	GNP per capita	GDP per capita
	1990, millions	2000, millions	1990-2000	\$U.S.1989	\$U.S. 1990
All Africa	627.0	866.0	3.28	\$1,158	\$633
Sub-Saharan Africa	480.0	677.2	3.50	\$339	\$373
Angola	9.7	13.3	3.21	\$624	\$888
Benin	4.6	6.4	3.36	\$394	\$439
Botswana	1.2	1.8	4.14	\$1,655	\$2,593
Burkina Faso	8.8	12.1	3.24	\$329	\$360
Burundi	5.3	7.4	3.39	\$223	\$206
Cameroun	11.6	16.7	3.71	\$1,028	\$1,068
Cape Verde	0.4	0.5	2.26	\$801	\$898
CAR	3.0	4.1	3.17	\$398	\$459
Chad	5.5	7.3	2.87	\$192	\$231
Comoros	0.5	0.8	4.81	\$473	\$492
Congo	2.2	3.2	3.82	\$974	\$1,204
Côte d'Ivoire	11.7	17.6	4.17	\$827	\$855
Djibouti	0.4	0.6	4.14	\$1,000	\$1,133
Equatorial Guinea	0.4	0.5	2.26	\$341	\$393
Ethiopia	49.5	66.4	2.98	\$126	\$122
Gabon	1.1	1.6	3.82	\$3,040	\$3,978
Gambia	0.8	1.1	3.24	\$245	\$316
Ghana	14.4	20.6	3.65	\$398	\$392
Guinea	5.6	7.8	3.37	\$439	\$535
Guinea-Bissau	1.0	1.2	1.84	\$184	\$195
Kenya	23.5	35.1	4.09	\$378	\$390
Lesotho	1.7	2.4	3.51	\$486	\$303
Liberia	2.5	3.6	3.71	\$520	\$560
Madagascar	11.3	16.6	3.92	\$233	\$280
Malawi	8.2	12.5	4.31	\$182	\$213
Mali	8.2	12.7	4.47	\$275	\$300
Mauritania	1.9	2.7	3.58	\$519	\$557
Mauritius	1.1	1.2	0.87	\$2,010	\$2,290
Mozambique	15.3	20.5	2.97	\$83	\$86
Namibia	1.7	2.4	3.51	\$1,060	\$1,176
Niger	7.4	10.8	3.85	\$301	\$316
Nigeria	113.8	149.6	2.77	\$257	\$295
Rwanda	6.9	10.2	3.99	\$327	\$316
Sao Tomé & Principe	0.1	0.2	4.14	\$353	\$420
Senegal	7.2	9.7	3.03	\$675	\$794
Seychelles	0.1	0.2	4.14	\$4,254	\$3,200
Sierra Leone	4.0	5.4	3.05	\$225	\$239
Somalia	6.1	9.7	4.75	\$140	\$156
Sudan	24.5	33.6	3.21	\$483	\$505
Swaziland	0.8	1.1	3.24	\$929	\$829
Tanzania	23.8	39.6	5.22	\$133	\$110
Togo	3.5	4.9	3.42	\$408	\$463
Uganda	16.8	27.0	4.86	\$220	\$245
Zaire	34.5	49.2	3.61	\$265	\$277
Zambia	7.8	12.3	4.66	\$407	\$544
Zimbabwe	9.6	13.1	3.16	\$670	\$626
North Africa	112.0	145.1	2.62	\$1,161	\$1,121
Algeria	25.0	32.9	2.78	\$2,382	\$2,114
Egypt	51.0	64.2	2.33	\$1,001	\$654
Libya	4.2	6.5	4.46	\$1,760	\$540
Morocco	24.0	31.6	2.79	\$447	\$1,040
Tunisia	7.8	9.9	2.41	\$164	\$1,551
South Africa					
South Africa	35.0	43.7	2.24	\$2,200	\$2,645

Source: UNDP, *Human Development Report 1990*; World Bank, *World Development Report 1990*; UNDP and World Bank, *African Development Indicators 1992* .

Table 2
Africa Basic Health Indicators

	GDP per capita \$U.S. 1990	Life Expectancy at Birth, years	Under 5 Year Mortality Rate '1000, 1990	Average Daily Caloric Intake Kcal. per capita 1988	Safe Water Accessibility Rate 1988	Health Services Accessibility Rate 1988
All Africa	633	54	144	2200	44	59
Sub-Saharan Africa	373	51	159	2007	36	54
Angola	888	46	209	1725	30	18
Benin	439	51	155	2145	52	49
Botswana	2593	68	43	2269	54	61
Burkina Faso	360	48	193	2061	67	51
Burundi	206	50	98	2253	26	45
Cameroun	1068	57	118	2161	33	30
Cape Verde	898	67	47	2436	69	82
CAR	459	51	152	1980	30	65
Chad	231	47	201	1852	28	37
Comoros	492	55	124	2046	38	46
Congo	1204	54	165	2512	21	29
Côte d'Ivoire	855	53	140	2365	19	60
Djibouti	1133	49	183	2000	44	47
Equatorial Guinea	393	47	193	1922	21	26
Ethiopia	122	48	186	1658	16	21
Gabon	3978	54	149	2396	92	80
Gambia	316	44	221	2360	60	30
Ghana	392	55	129	2209	56	56
Guinea	535	43	219	2042	19	80
Guinea-Bissau	195	40	227	2690	21	15
Kenya	390	60	96	1973	30	30
Lesotho	303	57	127	2307	36	39
Liberia	560	54	174	2270	55	47
Madagascar	280	51	164	2101	32	41
Malawi	213	48	235	2009	56	27
Mali	300	48	220	2181	17	80
Mauritania	557	47	196	2528	18	40
Mauritius	2290	70	23	2679	100	94
Mozambique	86	49	194	1632	16	27
Namibia	1176	58	121	1889	50	51
Niger	316	46	207	2340	47	40
Nigeria	295	52	152	2039	46	61
Rwanda	316	49	188	1786	50	61
Sao Tomé & Principe	420	66	47	2657	29	26
Senegal	794	49	110	1989	53	75
Seychelles	3200	71	21	2146	83	89
Sierra Leone	239	42	239	1806	25	30
Somalia	156	48	204	1736	34	100
Sudan	505	51	160	1996	21	100
Swaziland	829	57	140	2548	34	37
Tanzania	110	50	138	2151	56	71
Togo	463	54	134	2133	55	30
Uganda	245	49	149	2013	20	41
Zaire	277	53	140	2034	33	83
Zambia	544	54	109	2026	59	90
Zimbabwe	626	64	50	2232	29	40
North Africa	1121	62	86	3011	70	79
Algeria	2114	65	80	2726	68	88
Egypt	654	60	94	3213	73	77
Libya	540	62	84	3384	97	90
Morocco	1040	62	86	2820	60	70
Tunisia	1551	67	51	2964	68	90
South Africa						
South Africa	2645	62	82	3035	65	58

Source: UNDP and the World Bank, *African Development Indicators 1992*

Table 3

Africa Basic Education Indicators

	GDP per capita \$U.S. 1990	Adult Literacy Rate, 1989	Primary School Enrollment Ratio	Secondary School Enrollment Ratio	Public Education Expenditure to GNP Ratio
			1988	1988	1986
All Africa	633	51	71	26	3.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	373	50	66	17	2.9
Angola	888	42	90	27	3.4
Benin	439	23	63	25	3.5
Botswana	2593	74	116	33	9.2
Burkina Faso	360	18	31	6	2.4
Burundi	206	50	70	8	2.8
Cameroun	1068	54	111	27	3.0
Cape Verde	898	66	109	16	2.9
CAR	459	38	67	11	5.3
Chad	231	30	51	6	2.0
Comoros	492	34	80	37	6.5
Congo	1204	57	75	39	5.0
Côte d'Ivoire	855	54	85	19	5.0
Djibouti	1133	27	46	15	2.7
Equatorial Guinea	393	50	41	10	2.1
Ethiopia	122	45	36	15	3.7
Gabon	3978	61	55	30	4.8
Gambia	316	27	61	16	4.6
Ghana	392	60	73	39	3.6
Guinea	535	24	30	9	3.0
Guinea-Bissau	195	36	53	6	2.8
Kenya	390	69	93	23	6.1
Lesotho	303	73	112	25	3.8
Liberia	560	39	70	33	4.4
Madagascar	280	80	97	19	3.5
Malawi	213	39	72	4	3.2
Mali	300	32	23	6	2.8
Mauritania	557	34	52	16	6.0
Mauritius	2290	75	105	53	3.1
Mozambique	86	33	68	5	3.4
Namibia	1176	55	60	36	1.9
Niger	316	28	30	7	4.0
Nigeria	295	51	62	16	1.4
Rwanda	316	50	64	6	3.2
Sao Tomé & Príncipe	420	28	138	24	8.0
Senegal	794	38	59	16	4.6
Seychelles	3200	61	72	38	8.5
Sierra Leone	239	21	53	18	3.0
Somalia	156	24	29	8	6.0
Sudan	505	27	59	17	4.0
Swaziland	829	70	105	44	6.2
Tanzania	110	60	66	4	1.7
Togo	463	43	101	24	6.5
Uganda	245	48	77	8	1.5
Zaire	277	72	76	22	0.4
Zambia	544	73	100	19	2.2
Zimbabwe	626	67	128	51	8.5
North Africa	1121	52	88	59	5.7
Algeria	2114	57	96	62	6.1
Egypt	654	48	90	69	5.5
Libya	540	64	91	83	10.1
Morocco	1040	49	67	36	5.0
Tunisia	1551	65	116	44	5.4
South Africa					
South Africa	2645	65	86	52	4.6

Source: UNDP, Human Development Report 1991.

Table 4

Africa Fiscal Indicators

	GDP per capita \$U.S. 1990	Govt. Expenditure to GDP Ratio 1990	Public Share of External Debt 1989	Subsidy-Transfer Share of Govt. Exp 1987	Net ODA to Recipient GDP 1989
All Africa	633	14.4	64.1	11.2	6.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	373	14.1	68.6	7.2	7.5
Angola	888	27.9	n/a	n/a	1.1
Benin	439	10.7	65.5	n/a	9.0
Botswana	2593	20.0	91.4	21.4	4.8
Burkina Faso	360	12.9	85.9	15.8	8.0
Burundi	206	15.0	96.3	5.4	8.1
Cameroun	1068	11.7	65.0	5.0	2.7
Cape Verde	898	20.2	95.4	n/a	17.2
CAR	459	13.6	91.6	n/a	9.2
Chad	231	22.9	90.2	1.6	12.6
Comoros	492	30.0	92.6	7.4	15.9
Congo	1204	18.6	48.1	11.2	3.3
Côte d'Ivoire	855	18.0	35.0	n/a	2.8
Djibouti	1133	32.4	73.3	n/a	15.8
Equatorial Guinea	393	34.2	91.3	n/a	15.7
Ethiopia	122	26.4	84.5	6.6	6.3
Gabon	3978	19.0	58.9	5.8	3.4
Gambia	316	16.4	89.1	3.0	25.4
Ghana	392	7.5	92.9	9.0	6.7
Guinea	535	11.2	88.9	n/a	7.0
Guinea-Bissau	195	12.6	88.9	2.1	31.6
Kenya	390	18.4	66.4	13.0	7.4
Lesotho	303	26.0	89.5	5.5	14.5
Liberia	560	16.8	68.2	8.0	n/a
Madagascar	280	8.6	88.9	7.3	7.1
Malawi	213	15.5	92.1	6.4	11.4
Mali	300	11.0	96.9	3.9	15.0
Mauritania	557	9.7	89.8	n/a	15.9
Mauritius	2290	12.1	70.6	20.9	2.4
Mozambique	86	20.3	68.9	n/a	42.1
Namibia	1176	26.3	n/a	28.1	1.9
Niger	316	11.6	70.3	6.9	9.8
Nigeria	295	8.2	46.4	6.9	1.0
Rwanda	316	18.4	92.3	13.5	6.0
Sao Tomé & Principe	420	30.4	84.6	n/a	24.1
Senegal	794	14.3	87.9	n/a	11.6
Seychelles	3200	25.5	61.3	12.1	5.1
Sierra Leone	239	9.9	49.9	11.2	7.5
Somalia	156	26.4	90.3	23.8	24.4
Sudan	505	14.2	59.8	n/a	3.7
Swaziland	829	20.7	89.6	12.3	1.9
Tanzania	110	10.0	89.5	9.8	24.3
Togo	463	18.6	81.8	14.1	8.1
Uganda	245	6.8	87.6	n/a	5.0
Zaire	277	8.3	83.5	1.2	4.9
Zambia	544	15.5	64.4	23.2	7.2
Zimbabwe	626	24.3	46.1	31.0	3.9
North Africa	1121	14.4	61.6	20.3	3.1
Algeria	2114	18.2	29.3	n/a	0.2
Egypt	654	10.0	69.2	23.1	4.2
Libya	540	32.1	n/a	n/a	0.0
Morocco	1040	15.9	76.4	11.6	1.7
Tunisia	1551	16.2	69.9	29.2	1.7
South Africa					
South Africa	2645	18.6	17.3	25.2	...

Source: UNDP and World Bank, *African Development Indicators 1992* .

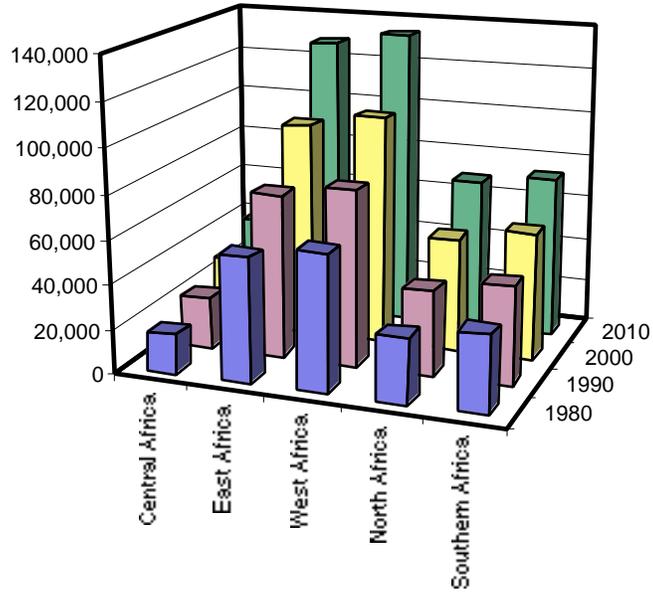
Table 5
Africa Demographic Indicators

	GDP per capita \$U.S. 1992	Total Labor Force in thousands	Annual Growth Rate, 1986-90	Female Share of Labor Force, 1990	Female Share of Total Population, 1989
All Africa	633	229,788	2.5	34.3	50.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	373	197,901	2.5	37.6	50.5
Angola	991	4,081	1.9	38.6	50.7
Benin	436	2,195	2.2	47.4	50.8
Botswana	2643	446	3.1	34.9	52.2
Burkina Faso	294	4,167	2.0	46.2	50.5
Burundi	170	2,820	2.2	47.3	51.0
Cameroun	852	4,365	2.0	33.3	50.7
Cape Verde	913	141	3.0	29.1	52.9
CAR	391	1,384	1.5	45.7	51.3
Chad	208	1,971	1.9	21.1	50.7
Comoros	506	231	2.5	40.4	50.4
Congo	1173	781	1.9	38.8	50.6
Côte d'Ivoire	676	4,599	2.5	34.2	49.3
Djibouti	932	n/a	n/a	n/a	49.6
Equatorial Guinea	408	182	1.4	39.9	50.9
Ethiopia	114	21,225	2.0	37.4	50.4
Gabon	4928	536	0.7	37.3	50.7
Gambia	287	329	1.4	40.3	50.7
Ghana	436	5,686	2.7	39.7	50.4
Guinea	530	3,097	1.7	39.8	50.6
Guinea-Bissau	220	458	1.4	40.8	51.3
Kenya	268	10,011	3.5	39.9	50.0
Lesotho	282	808	2.0	43.4	51.9
Liberia	556	912	2.4	30.2	49.5
Madagascar	223	5,004	2.1	39.3	50.5
Malawi	184	3,495	2.6	41.2	50.8
Mali	314	2,959	2.6	16.2	51.4
Mauritania	514	679	2.8	22.2	50.6
Mauritius	2333	440	2.4	26.5	50.6
Mozambique	58	8,437	1.9	47.4	50.7
Namibia	1053	537	2.4	23.8	50.2
Niger	286	3,619	2.4	46.7	50.4
Nigeria	291	41,857	2.7	34.8	50.4
Rwanda	213	3,520	2.8	47.7	50.6
Sao Tomé & Principe	440	n/a	n/a	n/a	50.0
Senegal	805	3,192	1.9	39.3	50.5
Seychelles	3300	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Sierra Leone	144	1,438	1.2	32.7	50.9
Somalia	106	2,143	1.4	38.7	52.3
Sudan	453	8,078	2.9	21.9	49.8
Swaziland	831	306	2.3	38.8	50.6
Tanzania	91	12,597	2.9	47.9	50.6
Togo	413	1,396	2.3	36.4	50.6
Uganda	171	8,129	2.8	41.1	50.4
Zaire	201	13,084	2.3	35.5	50.5
Zambia	462	2,644	3.3	29.0	50.7
Zimbabwe	484	3,921	2.8	34.6	50.4
North Africa	944	31,887	3.0	13.7	49.5
Algeria	1356	5,819	3.7	9.6	50.0
Egypt	613	14,574	2.5	10.1	49.2
Libya	447	1,076	3.5	9.1	47.6
Morocco	1084	7,824	3.2	20.7	49.9
Tunisia	1649	2,594	3.1	24.4	49.4
South Africa					
South Africa	2604	12,434	2.8	35.6	50.3

Source: UNDP and World Bank, *African Development Indicators 1992*.

Figure 1

Projected Regional Labor Force in Africa
(in thousands, with 1990 baseline)



Source: UNDP and the World Bank, *African Economic and Financial Indicators*, 1992

Figure 2

