FORUM Valutazione

periodico del CISP
Comitato Internazionale
per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli

12

LE SFIDE DELLA POVERTÀ

Suppl. a NOTIZIARIO CISP bollettino quadrimestrale del Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli. N. 14, anno 5 Aut. Trib. di Roma n. 451/97; sped. in abb. post. art. 2 – comma 20/C legge 662/96 – filiale di Roma.

FORUM
Valutazione

12.2002

LE SFIDE DELLA POVERTÀ

CISP
COMITATO INTERNAZIONALE PER LO SVILUPPO DEI POPOLI

FORUM Valutazione, n. 12
La sfida della povertà
a cura di **Paolo Dieci, Anna Rocchi**

direttore **Maura Viezzoli**
direttore editoriale **Anna Rocchi**
editing **Marina Berdini**
progetto Grafico e impaginazione
Periscopio editoria e comunicazione

Con il contributo della Direzione Generale
per la Cooperazione allo Sviluppo del Ministero degli Affari Esteri italiano
Le opinioni espresse dagli autori non riflettono necessariamente quelle del CISP

Copyright © Cisp
Direzione e amministrazione
Cisp, Via Germanico, 198 – 00192 Roma – Italia
Tel +3906.3215498 – Fax +3906.3216163
Web WWW.CISP-NGO.ORG

Chiuso in stampa nel Luglio 2002
presso Tipolitografia Aurelia'72 – Roma

Supplemento a «Notiziario CISP», bollettino quadrimestrale di informazione del Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli, n. 14 – gennaio-aprile 2002. Direttore Giovanna Chirri.
Autorizzazione Tribunale di Roma n. 451/97.

Sommario

Prefazione
Anna Rocchi 5

Editoriale
Povertà: sfide ed antidoti
Anna Rocchi 7

The challenge of poverty reduction
and the Less Developed Countries
Paolo Dieci 13

Investing in health for economic development
Key findings, recommendations and the way forward
Sergio Spinaci 45

Macroeconomics and health
Investing in health for economic development
Executive summary of the report
of the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health
Jeffrey D. Sachs 51

Aids e povertà
Paolo Giorgi, Carlo Tassara 75

La nuova partnership per lo sviluppo africano [nepad]
Sandro De Luca 87

Une nouvelle initiative africaine
AA.VV. 97

PREFAZIONE

Anna Rocchi

"Forum Valutazione" ha quale obiettivo principale quello di favorire la veicolazione di informazioni relative ad iniziative particolari e soprattutto di favorire la riflessione secondo angolazioni multiple su argomenti di interesse in ambito di cooperazione internazionale.

Questo numero è dedicato al tema della povertà ed alle sue numerose sfide verso l'obiettivo finale dell'eradicazione.

Il numero in questione dedica molto spazio alla diffusione accompagnata da commenti critici di due importanti documenti: il rapporto della "Commissione Macroeconomia e Salute" dell'OMS "Macroeconomics and Health: Investing in Health for Economic Development" (a cura di Jeffrey D. Sachs, Dicembre 2001) ed un documento di programma, la "Nuova Iniziativa Africana" (o "Nouvelle Iniziative Africane", NIA) definito immediatamente prima del vertice dei capi di stato e di governo africani di Lusaka (luglio 2001).

In particolare, l'articolo di Paolo Dieci mette in evidenza, attraverso una interessante carrellata tra le teorie più attuali e discusse sulla lotta alla povertà, le sfide della povertà, identificandone i suoi principali elementi costitutivi, e le sfide implicite nel processo di eradicazione della povertà.

Sergio Spinaci introduce con il proprio articolato e competente commento, le tematiche trattate dal citato documento dell'OMS, pro-

muovendo una positiva visione verso alcune delle iniziative proposte e potenziali sviluppi ad esse correlate.

Attraverso un breve estratto dalla pubblicazione "AIDS. L'epidemia che potrebbe cambiare la storia" prodotto da Forum Solint si mettono in evidenza le interrelazioni tra AIDS e povertà, specialmente nelle dimensioni sociali ed economiche direttamente connesse all'epidemia.

Infine, Sandro De Luca affronta le implicazioni derivanti dalla definizione di una strategia di sviluppo del continente africano inaugurata con la "Nuova Iniziativa Africana" e ne evidenzia criticamente gli aspetti salienti favorendo la lettura e la comprensione del documento.

Povertà: sfide ed antidoti

editoriale

Anna Rocchi

Nel cercare di scrivere l'editoriale di questo numero di Forum Valutazione, non posso fare a meno di pensare ad una domanda: cosa è la "povertà"?

Le possibili risposte sono numerose. Alcune sono sensibilmente influenzate nella definizione e nelle implicazioni emotive a loro connesse dal mio portato culturale e dai significati collettivi che derivano da società in cui la povertà non è mai stata sperimentata direttamente dalla gran parte dei suoi membri. Tuttavia, alcuni attributi possono essere elencati con un certo grado di accuratezza obiettiva.

Povertà è fame. Povertà è mancanza di alloggio. Povertà è abbandono, è essere abbandonati dagli altri; non essere in grado di provvedere ed aiutare sé stessi o altri. Povertà è impossibilità a curarsi; è soccombere alla malattia, anche a quella considerata più trascurabile e potenzialmente innocua; è vedere i propri cari, i propri vicini, i propri simili soccombere alla malattia. Povertà è non essere in grado di leggere e di scrivere. Povertà è non avere un lavoro; povertà è paura del futuro, incertezza; impossibilità di pianificare. Povertà è lasciarsi trascinare dallo scorrere dei giorni; povertà è fatalità, è vivere un giorno per volta. Povertà è

impotenza, povertà è mancanza di proiezione verso il domani. Povertà è mancanza di libertà, libertà fisica e mentale, libertà nel senso più ampio del termine. Povertà è caduta di ogni speranza. Infine, povertà è spesso anche violenza o meglio, violazione della persona, della collettività, prevaricazione, privazione.

La povertà ha molte facce, cambia aspetto a seconda dei luoghi, degli assetti culturali ed a seconda delle epoche storiche. La povertà ha molti, differenti attributi e molte dimensioni.

Spesso, la povertà è comunque una condizione dalla quale la gente vuole scappare, della quale ci si vuole liberare.

In questo senso, dunque, povertà è una sorta di "richiamo all'azione", sia per i poveri stessi che per coloro che stanno bene. In un certo senso è un richiamo al cambiamento dell'assetto attuale. Una variazione degli attuali equilibri dalla quale possano derivare maggiore protezione per i più deboli, maggiore accesso a cibo, educazione, salute, decorose soluzioni abitative; dalla quale si possa infine fornire maggiore voce ai reali protagonisti del dramma in atto.

Non solo infatti la povertà depriva l'individuo di tutti gli attributi fondamentali dell'essere umano, ma toglie ad esso anche la voce, la possibilità di comunicare, di spiegare, se non per interposta persona e con il rischio di manipolazioni volontarie o meno del messaggio.

Risulta così di vitale importanza "conoscere" la povertà, capirne le componenti, gli attributi, capire quali meccanismi possano realmente essere applicati al fine della riduzione ed eradicazione della stessa. È importante identificare la sostenibilità dei mezzi a disposizione per combatterla. È necessario comprendere gli elementi base che la compongono, è necessario studiarla, misurarla, definirla.

Poiché la povertà ha numerose dimensioni è necessario ricorrere a vari indicatori: indicatori sociali, livelli di produzione e di consumo, indicatori di vulnerabilità ai rischi ed indicatori di accesso socio/politico.

Fino a qualche tempo fa, nel tentativo di conoscere il fenomeno "povertà" nelle sue molteplici dimensioni si è ricorso soprattutto all'utilizzo di indicatori economici. Tuttavia, grazie al contributo di illuminati economisti, da qualche anno ormai si fa utilizzo anche di indicatori sociali e, conseguentemente, sono stati prodotti numerosi lavori sulla dimensione non-economica della povertà.

A questo proposito, un importante passo verso la chiara identifi-

cazione della nozione "povertà" fu compiuto da B.S. Rowentree, uno scienziato inglese, che all'inizio del 20mo secolo compì numerosi studi nei miserabili quartieri della periferia urbana inglese.

Il suo primo grande merito fu quello di focalizzare l'attenzione su un fenomeno fino a quel momento praticamente mai studiato ed osservato, la povertà. Secondariamente, ebbe il merito di identificare il concetto di "povertà assoluta", un concetto derivato dall'osservazione relativa ai bisogni fisiologici base dell'uomo.

Negli anni '70, P.Towsend estese la nozione oltre la mera considerazione di quelle che sono le necessità fisiologiche dell'uomo alla relazione dell'individuo con il resto della società e successivamente alla relazione tra un paese ed il resto del mondo identificando così il concetto di "povertà relativa". Oggi questo principio ha permesso a scienziati ed esperti di identificare chiari indici (come il PGI, o "Poverty Gap Index") che riflettono in maniera pressoché inequivocabile le varie situazioni. Infine, il merito più grande dell'identificazione ed uso di tali indici è quello di permettere la comparazione tra differenti casi e paesi.

La sfida dell'eradicazione della povertà

Come già sottolineato in precedenza, povertà è in un certo senso anche una sorta di chiamata ad agire. Un'azione che coinvolge e tocca numerosi aspetti ed in particolare apre il capitolo della cooperazione internazionale e dello sviluppo. Tra le soluzioni più diffuse nella sfida per l'eradicazione della povertà c'è quella dell'accelerazione della crescita economica.

È universalmente riconosciuto il fatto che la *crescita economica* è la più potente arma disponibile per il raggiungimento di standard di vita più decorosi di larghe fasce di popolazione. Tuttavia, l'ottenimento di una crescita economica ragionevolmente veloce e soprattutto adeguata al contesto considerato richiede l'identificazione ed attuazione di politiche atte ad incoraggiare la stabilità macroeconomica, lo spostamento di risorse in settori più redditizi e soprattutto, l'integrazione con aspetti di economia globale. Da qui si deriva l'importanza di un coinvolgimento attivo di istituzioni e governi locali, quali attori principali della pianificazione ed attuazione di strategie e di piani di coordinamento a livello internazionale e regionale.

Un secondo aspetto particolarmente rilevante ai fini della sfida dell'eradicazione della povertà è il miglioramento della *distribuzione della pro-*

duzione e della ricchezza. Infatti, non basta puntare alla crescita economica, poiché se i parametri di distribuzione della stessa dovessero presentarne le caratteristiche, il tutto si tradurrebbe solo in un progressivo impoverimento delle fasce di popolazione meno abbienti o povere. È il caso in cui, ad esempio, i proventi della crescita economica rimangono concentrati in poche mani. In tal caso, i benefici diretti su determinate fasce di popolazione sono grandemente vanificati.

Di conseguenza, la pianificazione e promozione di politiche che promuovano un'equa distribuzione della ricchezza sono annoverate tra gli strumenti più consolidati per la lotta alla povertà.

Accelerazione dello sviluppo sociale. Sicuramente, gli indicatori sociali nel loro complesso tendono a trarre effetti benefici dall'aumento della crescita economica e dal miglioramento della distribuzione della ricchezza, tuttavia non bastano a garantire un impatto positivo e diretto sul problema in questione. Infatti, in tali condizioni, rimane ancora molto spazio per interventi che abbiano come obiettivi diretti l'educazione e la salute delle fasce di popolazioni povere. In cima alla lista troviamo ancora la formazione femminile, la vaccinazione infantile, l'accesso all'acqua (nel senso più esteso del termine) e la creazione di forme di previdenza sociale per i più vulnerabili. Particolare attenzione è da destinare anche alle strutture e alle istituzioni sociali che influenzano lo sviluppo. Tuttavia, prima di proseguire nella descrizione delle interconnessioni tra fattori sociali e riduzione della povertà è necessario sottolineare alcuni degli aspetti caratterizzanti il capitale sociale.

Secondo una definizione comunemente accettata e grandemente derivata dalla Banca Mondiale, per capitale sociale si intende l'insieme di istituzioni, relazioni, norme che determinano la quantità e la qualità dei rapporti sociali all'interno di una data società.

Il capitale sociale ha importanti implicazioni per la teoria dello sviluppo, la consuetudine e la politica. In realtà il capitale sociale riguarda diversi aspetti.

A] *L'istruzione.* Le scuole funzionano quando i genitori e le persone del luogo sono attivamente coinvolte. Gli insegnanti tendono ad essere più impegnati, gli studenti raggiungono punteggi più alti nonché si registra un migliore uso delle attrezzature scolastiche in quelle comunità dove genitori e abitanti sono realmente interessati a far ricevere una buona istruzione ai propri ragazzi.

B] *La salute*. È importante mantenere uno stretto legame tra gli enti che erogano il servizio e la popolazione che ne beneficia, anche tramite forme di valutazione da parte dei fruitori.

Il valore aggiunto è dato da una maggiore motivazione del personale.

C] *Accesso ai mercati*. L'accesso sicuro ai mercati è una tappa fondamentale per l'avanzamento economico dei poveri. Una delle caratteristiche principali dell'essere povero è la mancanza di connessioni all'economia formale e informale comprese le risorse materiali e informative. Il capitale sociale dei poveri, prodotto principalmente dalla famiglia e dai vicini, può servire come un'importante rete di sicurezza giornaliera, ma il capitale sociale posseduto dai ricchi porta loro a favorire i propri interessi.

D] Il capitale sociale include il ruolo *della cultura* e in particolare la cosiddetta *"cultura della povertà"*. Secondo questa prospettiva, ci sono aspetti legati ad atteggiamenti culturali propri dei paesi e delle comunità che impediscono a gruppi di persone di trarre vantaggio dallo sviluppo economico. Contrariamente, e considerando una prospettiva diversa ("Culture and Development Policy" Coautori: Vijayendra Rao-Senior Economist, Development Research Group, The World Bank- and Michael Walton-Regional Advisor, Latin America and the Caribbean, The World Bank) si potrebbe discutere sul fatto che i processi culturali incidono sul modo in cui i gruppi agiscono e in cui essi sono interessati dai processi di sviluppo. Sicuramente la cultura non è soltanto correlata allo sviluppo economico, aiuta a definire come il benessere viene percepito dalle differenti società. La cultura, infatti, va intesa nella sua più ampia accezione, ossia le strutture sociali, i modelli, i valori e le consuetudini che sono alla base delle identità e dei comportamenti sociali.

La cultura è rilevante per lo sviluppo poiché:

A] riguarda l'insieme dei valori di una società e attraverso il valore accordato alle attività culturali e, soprattutto, attraverso l'influenza dei processi culturali sui valori connessi ai vari aspetti della prosperità (incluso il relativo peso dato al benessere da differenti gruppi o individui);

B] si riflette nel modo in cui gli individui, le comunità, le istituzioni formali e informali rispondono ai cambiamenti della crescita.

Infine, la sfida dell'eradicazione della povertà, implica il sostenere e promuovere l'aiuto e la *cooperazione internazionale* sia a livello regionale sia a livello nazionale.

Le agenzie internazionali devono lavorare con i paesi in via di svi-

luppo per sostenere l'intero processo in tutti i suoi aspetti e rafforzare la capacità di un paese di valutare il progresso in base ai risultati. Questo implica assicurarsi che le infrastrutture statistiche nei paesi chiave siano adeguate ad effettuare verifiche periodiche e ad analizzare i dati nonché di vedere la possibilità di condurre degli studi con la partecipazione delle fasce di popolazione più povere e di ascoltare la loro voce.

I donatori e le agenzie internazionali devono sostenere i paesi che mostrino una determinazione nell'accogliere le sfide per il 21mo secolo con attività e con accordi e documenti.

Informazione

La conoscenza del modo in cui si può eradicare la povertà deve riguardare, come prima cosa, la politica e i programmi di lotta alla povertà. Questo perché è fondamentale che in ciascuno stato esista la capacità di valutare la povertà e di analizzare l'impatto delle politiche e dei progetti.

In secondo luogo una regolare e responsabile diffusione di informazioni relative al tema deve poter raggiungere opinionisti, esperti e la società civile.

L'informazione assume infatti un ruolo cruciale non solo nel mantenere viva l'attenzione su argomenti specifici direttamente connessi o meno con il tema della povertà, ma anche e soprattutto nella veicolazione di tematiche e loro sfumature fondamentali nel processo di sostegno alle attività varie della lotta alla povertà.

La diffusione di informazioni talvolta risulta particolarmente ardua, soprattutto nel caso di notizie o iniziative relative a paesi meno sviluppati, per i quali l'opinione pubblica internazionale riserva spazi di interesse limitati ad atti di violenza (quali combattimenti o vere e proprie guerre) o comunque a rappresentazioni piuttosto codificate.

A tal proposito, risulta quindi di grande importanza dedicare spazi a carattere informativo più o meno tecnico, alla diffusione di informazioni relative ad iniziative volte allo studio ed alla lotta della povertà e relativi commenti.

The Challenge of Poverty Reduction and the Less Developed Countries [LDCs]

Some introductory remarks

Paolo Dieci*

In roughly 50 years of debate on development[1], different approaches have emerged – and in many cases this has led to exchanges of views and even clashes of diverging opinions – which have often strongly influenced the governance and planning choices. By way of example we would like to quote the link existing between the theories of dependence (which after all emerged in the Latin American context) and the Ujama policy implemented by Julius Nyerere in Tanzania[2]. Some of these approaches had the limit of an excessive emphasis laid on ideology which sometimes ended up by making development coincide with the completion of a political process to be carried out also at the cost of sacrificing the fundamental rights of the people.

1. The term "theory of development", as conceived today, dates back to the beginning of the fifties, faced with the advancement decolonization processes.
2. See Colin Leyes, *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory*, East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi, 1996.

The fact is that, inevitably, the cold war has long influenced the theories of development and ideologies, military hegemonies, political and economic systems have mutually contaminated themselves all over the world. At least at theoretical level, today we are in a position to face the issue of development free from ideological constraints and on the ba-

sis of some "well-established mainstays", that is elements of analysis corroborated by the experience of decades of co-operation and the debate on it. Some of the most significant mainstays can be summarised as follows:

- underdevelopment and poverty are the result, *inter alia*, both of distortions in international relations and of political responsibilities by ruling classes and governments;
- development co-operation can contribute to solving some serious problems in poor countries and to reducing poverty, but, in the lack of more general international political choices, it can reverse the trend towards an increase in inequality neither at world nor at domestic level;
- the existence of a democratic fabric – besides corresponding to the need of favouring the respect for people's rights – is also one of the essential elements of every development process;
- a debate on the development of individual countries – detached from the international relations within which they are placed - has today a limited proposition ability due to the dynamics of the globalisation process;
- poverty is a multi-dimension reality and therefore calls for systematic measures capable of affecting its causes and not only temporarily mitigating its effects;
- in the context of globalisation an international system is needed – which is bound to hinge around the United Nations – capable of ensuring that economic and financial integration is consistent with the objective of the fight against poverty and social marginalisation and exclusion.

This document tries to summarise some priority actions for an integrated European strategy addressed to fight poverty in LDCs and it is articulated as follows: the first section deals with the wide issue of the existing relationship between globalisation, poverty and inequality, and aims at underlining some of the major recommendations so far elaborated by international organisations and NGOs; the second section reports some considerations on the relationship between international market dynamics and food security/insecurity; the third section attempts to underline the major challenges for the European Union with regard to poverty alleviation of LDCs and its elaboration has been largely based on recent documents endorsed by the European Union itself and, finally; the fourth section contains some suggestions on priority objectives to be pursued by

the EU through its development co-operation policy having in mind the goal to fight poverty in LDCs.

1. Globalisation, poverty and inequality

The term globalisation has now become part and parcel of today's language. Indeed, as stressed by the 1999 Report on Human Development[3], the process to which this term refers is not a recent one since economic integration at world level originates from the European colonial expansion at first in the XVI and then in the XIX century.

In order to highlight the specific features which the globalisation process has taken up today, the Report stresses four new elements in the current integration process:

- the existence of new markets and particularly the global integration of financial markets which are always active;
- the existence and the widespread diffusion of new integration tools among which Internet and the mass media networks;
- the existence of new protagonists, "formally" or "de facto" equipped with supranational authority such as the World Trade Organisation and multinational corporations, and the growth of non governmental organisations networks which – besides promoting projects on the field – carry out "lobby" activities on governments and international agencies;
- the existence of new rules such as those defined in the multilateral agreements on trade, services and intellectual property.

Even though, undoubtedly, the integration of markets – starting from financial markets – is the most visible aspect in the globalisation process[4], it is not its only component, since the process itself is characterised by an unprecedented strong integration also in the field of information, cultural patterns and lifestyles. The problem that we are facing today is not deciding whether the integration process must be accepted or rejected – for the additional reason that such an approach would be inevitably wishful and "naïve" considering the size of the process and the momentum which has caused it – but rather to ex-

3. "Human Development Report 1999", UNDP, Oxford University Press, 1999.

4. "More than $1.5 trillion is now exchanged in the world's currency markets each day, and nearly a fifth of the goods and services produced each year are traded", – "Human Development Report 1999", UNDP, Oxford University Press, 1999.

amine the causes which, in a strongly integrated world, give rise to an increase in inequality within many countries and in the relationship between rich and poor countries. In a context dominated by economic and technological integration, we witness the spreading of inequality and poverty in relation to the existence or not of the opportunity of playing an active role within the integration process which means, first of all, having access to the economic, social and technological opportunities opened up by this process. In this respect China is a case in point since there we record an increasing gap between the coastal regions having an export-oriented economy and the internal ones. In the former regions the human poverty index is below 20%, whereas in the latter regions it exceeds 50%[5].

5. These data and the following ones are taken from "Human Development Report 1999", UNDP, Oxford University Press, 1999.

It is to be noted that economic inequality records significant increases also in rich countries such as Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. This reality shows the limits of an approach to the poverty problem which is centred only on the analysis of the relationship between the "North" and the "South" and which, conversely, disregards the processes underway in the various countries, be they rich or poor.

Obviously what has just been stressed does not mean that the increasing inequality between rich and poor countries can be underestimated, especially because in these latter countries it creates situations of poverty which are ever wider at quantitative level and ever serious at qualitative level. At the end of the nineties macroscopic levels of inequality have been recorded in terms of distribution of resources, wealth and access to technologies at world level. One fifth of the world population living in rich countries has 86% of the world Gross Domestic Product, whereas in the case of the one fifth living in poorer countries this figure is equal to 1%. These percentages are significantly similar to those related to the participation in the world export markets (82% and 1%).

Also the data regarding access to information and communication tools bears witness to the high level of inequality if we consider that 74% of world telephone lines are owned by the one fifth of world population living in rich countries, whereas the one fifth living in poorer countries has access to a mere 1,5% of these lines. Furthermore, the population living in the OECD countries – that is 19% of world population – accounts for 91% of Internet users and ten countries only invest 84% of the resources employed at world level in research and development (1993 data).

Objectively it would be too ambitious to try to summarise in this paper the reasons for the gradual widening of the inequality gap at world level. It can be stated, however, that, among other factors, the increase in inequality is fostered by the lack of an effective "global governance" system which is really designed to turning globalisation into a development opportunity also for poor countries and to fighting against social marginalisation and exclusion. Against this trend, the Report on Human Development suggests – among the main strategies for the future – the construction of a new architecture for "global governance" in the XXI century, which should be based on the following priorities:

- a stronger and more consistent United Nations system;
- a World Trade Organisation capable of ensuring the compliance with transparent codes of conduct by multinational corporations;
- a world agency for the environment;
- a "trust" for world investment having re-distribution tasks;
- an international court of justice having a wide competence on human rights;
- a more incisive participation by the civil society in the United Nations system.

The Report also stresses the need for ensuring to poor countries access to technical and financial resources for research with a view to asserting one's own reasons and claims more incisively in international negotiations – by supporting them with data and analyses. Clearly the above stated priorities require long term timetables and especially a strong political will by the governments of the most industrialised countries. After all, in the lack of an effective and really democratic "global governance" system, there is the strong risk that the inequality gap continues to widen relentlessly, thus increasing poverty and social marginalisation and exclusion. The increase in inequality and poverty poses a dual challenge to development co-operation.

On the one hand it is up to the public agencies in charge of implementing co-operation with third countries to urge their governments to be really consistent with the objectives of development aid and the economic and trade policies which have an impact on the economy of poor countries[6].

6. The issue of consistency has been considered to be a central one – at least formally – by the European Union as from the Maastricht Treaty, even though much remains to be done to turn some important declarations of principle into reality.

On the other hand, adequate strategies and methodologies co-ordinated between donors and "beneficiary" governments are needed to support programs which may have a concrete impact on the reduction of poverty and social marginalisation and exclusion. While in the last section of this document an attempt is made to suggest priority actions to be implemented in the framework of a strategic approach for poverty reduction, the following few sentences serve the scope of drafting some conceptual ingredients of this approach.

The starting point for any Poverty Reduction Strategy has to be the based on the alarming dimension of the problem. It is estimated that all over the world 800 million people regularly suffer from hunger[7].

Over time, three ways to quantify and define poverty have been emerging. The first one is mainly based on measuring income and consumption. The second one – which is inspired by the notion of "basic needs" – has laid emphasis also on other dimensions such as health and education. The third one – which is more recent – tends to define poverty in terms of vulnerability due to the lack of access to sufficient resources and opportunities. This way of measuring poverty does not deny the importance of considering factors such as income, consumption and basic needs. The innovative character of this third approach, however, lies in the fact that low incomes and low consumption – which are not sufficient to meet basic needs – are considered to be effects of poverty, whereas the vulnerability due to the lack of access to resources is rightfully one of its causes.

The issue of vulnerability is connected with the issue of insecurity. As a whole, social, economic and food insecurity are basically synonyms for vulnerability. Clearly these are only general categories and an in-depth analysis of vulnerability in different contexts should necessarily articulate the data related to the lack of resources by gender[8], kind of activity carried out, ethnic group and other characteristics such as disability. However, even not considering now these factors, it is possible to define the vulnerable groups as those groups whose insecurity situation steadily runs the risk of worsening in relation to changes in their reference contexts such as drought and conflicts.

Poor people are basically those who have no

7. Data taken from "Agriculture and Rural Development Policy in Developing Countries, Policy Orientation Paper" ADE in association with ODI, November 1999.

8. If we analyse the factors which hinder the poor people's access to resources, we cannot ignore, for example, the existence of specific barriers vis-à-vis women. After all many studies and the practical experience gained by many NGOs and other development agencies clearly show that almost everywhere the poorest families are those where women are bread-winners.

access to productive resources. In many countries mainly living on agriculture and animal rearing the most important of these resources is land and the phenomenon of land deprivation is growing in many developing countries[9], thus causing – as is well-known – massive rural exodus towards cities and the development of urban poverty, which has its own serious features such as the spreading of prostitution, the growth of petty crime and organised crime, as well as children exploitation[10].

The causes of this phenomenon are manifold. In many cases it originates from the excessive population pressures in limited territories, which cause fragmentations which are such as not to allow sufficient productive activities, even for self-consumption only, which thus lead to rural exodus. In other cases, basically large estate regimes still exist. For example in Latin America 2% of land owners have 33% of available land[11]. In some SADC countries most fertile land is within "farms", owned by a small minority of people – almost exclusively white people. Two further causes of this phenomenon are military conflicts – which force thousands of families to leave their villages – and environmental decay.

2. International market, food insecurity and poverty

What has been drafted in the first section can be summarised as follows: if, on the one hand, it is necessary to promote in poor countries incisive strategies to fight against poverty hinged around the causes of vulnerability, insecurity and social exclusion – and this is certainly a task pertaining to development co-operation – on the other hand we cannot ignore that these efforts are not sufficient if there are no rules governing international markets able to avoid that globalisation leads to wider inequality. From April 18 to 22, 1999, 57 civil society organisations from Europe, North America, Latin America, Asia and Africa met in Zeist, in the Netherlands, to analyse – on the basis of specific "case studies" – the implications of the current system of agricultural markets liberalisation on poverty[12].

Based on the premise that food cannot be considered only a commodity for trade, since it is a primary asset and a universal right, the organi-

9. Maxwell, 1998, quoted in "Agriculture and Rural Development Policy in Developing Countries, Policy Orientation Paper" ADE in association with ODI, November 1999.
10. Women are particularly hit by the phenomenon of land deprivation, for the additional reason that they often have no hereditary rights.
11. Binswanger and Deininger, 1997, quoted in "Agriculture and Rural Development Policy in Developing Countries, Policy Orientation Paper" ADE in association with ODI, November 1999.
12. See "Trade and Hungry", John Madeley (editor), APRODEV, 1999.

sations gathered in Zeist, under the auspices of APRODEV[13], sounded a precise alarm: if no deep changes are effected in the world trade organisation and especially if agricultural trade is not made conditional upon the objective of social and food security, also the modest aims defined at the 1996 World Food Summit – the 50% reduction of the under-nourished population within 2015 – run the risk of not being achieved and conversely food insecurity in poor countries could worsen significantly.

The liberalisation of markets often leads to more imports and greater emphasis laid by governments on export crops. Frequently these priorities are matched by the marginalisation of products devoted to meet the domestic food requirements.

As from the early eighties, the structural readjustment plans have been generally focused on the cutting of public expenditure, the liberalisation of markets and the related lifting of barriers to imports and exports. Hence the structural readjustment plans and the liberalisation of markets have been viewed by the organisations gathered in Zeist as two components of the same process, whose impact on poor countries shall be assessed in order to propose the necessary corrective measures[14]. The analysis of specific case studies clearly shows that one of the main effects of the international agricultural trade liberalisation process is an increased competition in the use of the land resource between consumption and export crops. Hence, very often, while favourable economic conditions have been created for large exporters, the situation has worsened for small farmers who, without state subsidies, could not compete in a globalised market.

Hence in poor countries the advantages of the global market have been distributed among few groups of people, who are virtually always linked to multinational corporations.

In the Philippines[15], for example, the social security of more than 400,000 families employed in sugar production in small and medium

13. Association of World Council of Churces-related Development Organisations in Europe. Practically APRODEV is the network of Protestant European development NGOs.

14. In the introduction of the publication "Trade and Hungry", APRODEV, 1999), an analysis of structural readjustment plans is proposed which, on the one hand, shares some of its basic reasons, but, on the other hand, harshly criticizes its limited adherence to the objective of food security. This analysis is well summarized in the following excerpts «... in the 1980s, adjustement policies were needed in many developing countries. State-run organisations had often become bloated and poorly-run, and people were in danger of being exploited by State inefficiency. Adjustement was needed, but a huge charge against the SAPs ... is that they overlooked food security issues ... so called safety nets ... were often under-funded and ineffective ... the liberalisation of trade did not address the problem of food security, but rather made the problem worse ...».

15. This case study and the following ones are taken from "Trade and Hungry", John Madeley (editor), APRODEV, 1999.

sized farms (5 hectares on average) is at risk as a result of the large quantities of this product flowing into the country from outside at prices which are decisively more competitive than those charged by small local farmers. The liberalisation started by the Manila government has been the result of the ratification of the agreements reached during the "Uruguay Round" in 1993, and was decided in the lack of a programme aiming at increasing the competitiveness of the sugar production sector in that country.

The result of this situation is that many small and medium sized companies are closing down and no realistic employment alternatives exist for those people working in this sector. Another related consequence is the reduction in food consumption by small farmers and their families.

The situation in the Philippines is symptomatic of a wider problem, as shown by the case studies reported in the Zeist meeting which regard not only the Philippines, but also India, Tanzania, Kenya, Benin, Ghana and Bolivia.

In Kerala, India, the government encouraged small farmers to produce rubber for export and this had led to massive re-conversions towards this product. The subsequent government opening to exports created serious social security problems to local farmers making them completely vulnerable.

Furthermore, in the lack of policies to support food security, not only the liberalisation of international markets, but also the liberalisation of domestic markets runs the risk of causing the impoverishment of small farmers. In this respect Tanzania is a case in point. In the Dodoma region, the results of a fact-finding survey show that the high level of organisation reached by large local traders – matched by a scarce organisation by small farmers – results in prices being almost exclusively set by the former ones, thus not enabling farmers to make significant investment in order to improve their productive abilities. For example, in order to keep prices low, traders tend to purchase soon after the harvest and farmers are obliged to accept this both because they need immediate financial resources and because they have no structures for stocking and preserving products. This case bears witness to the fact that very often poverty is a real vicious circle which is difficult to be broken without programs and policies designed to this end.

The final appeal launched by the non governmental organisations

which met in Zeist in April 1999 is not against markets, but aims at increasing the "policy makers" awareness on the need to adopt concrete measures to avoid globalisation turning into a tool causing the gradual widening of the inequality gap, and therefore the increase of poverty and food insecurity [16].

Basically, the appeal launched by the civil society organisations goes along the same lines as the already mentioned recommendations of the 1999 Report on Human Development: the foundations for a democratic system shall be laid and this system shall be designed to solve the problem of poor "global governance". With a view to reaching this objective, a stronger role by the United Nations system is essential, as well as politically wider mandates for its agencies, starting from FAO as regards food trade.

Indeed, the globalisation of markets really reduces the guidance and monitoring tasks performed by national States. Just to summarize the reasoning made by the organisations which gathered in Zeist, we can say that these tasks have been completely transferred to large multinational structures. Politics shall regain its guidance and monitoring role at international level and this is possible by granting stronger mandates along these lines to the United Nations.

We are convinced that this objective can be achieved provided that the UN agencies are basically viewed as bodies entrusted with political responsibility and no longer as bodies relegated to a mere role of co-operation programs implementing agencies – as after all has happened recently. For example, the UN agencies should be entrusted with the task of carrying out a steady monitoring activity – jointly with local governments – on the economic and social impact of trade policies, with a view to identifying the necessary corrective measures on a case by case basis.

Another important role to be played by this agencies could be that of backing poor countries in international negotiations with technical and financial means so as to enable them to have their voice heard on the basis of concrete analyses and data. As already seen, this indication is included also in the Report on Human Development which, in this con-

16. For example, the final Declaration on Trade Liberalisation and the Right to Food contains two significant indications: «[...] WTO and other actors must undertake a systematic review of the agreement with a view to removing its imbalances and unfair provisions, by providing better market access, incorporating non-trade concerns, in particular food security, and introducing clear mechanisms for the implementation of Marrakesh decision for net food importing developing countries [...] WTO and FAO, in partnership with the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, should convene a high level meeting attended by governments and civil society and intergovernmental organisations to discuss and debate the impact assessment of AoA ...» (taken from APRODEV, publication already quoted).

nection, complains about the scarce funds granted to the "UNDP South Centre", which has been created to meet the need of supporting developing countries in international fora. Though sharing the basic reasons for the creation of this body, we cannot understand why a new structure shall be created to this end and this task cannot fall within the competence of the already existing agencies.

We would like to make two considerations in order to corroborate this assumption. First of all, in our opinion, one of the factors which have objectively reduced – over time – the incisiveness of the activity pursued by the United Nations system has been the excessive proliferation of structures linked to it, which has ended up in fragmenting and reducing its concrete impact.

Secondly, there is the need to carry out a systematic monitoring activity on the impact of trade policies in poor countries based on different factors – children's conditions, food production, gender inequality, health conditions. This activity can be better pursued by enhancing the specific tasks and the sectoral competence of the various UN agencies. However, the basic issue that we have introduced is that of the consistency between co-operation policies and economic and trade policies – an issue which is not new in itself, but that today emerges more clearly than in the past.

3. The Challenge of Poverty Reduction: the European Union and the LDCs[17]

Globally the proportion of people living in poverty (less than one dollar per day) declined from 29% in 1987 to 26% in 1998, although the total number of poor remained almost unchanged at around 1.2 billion. The negative effects of the uneven distribution of the costs and benefits of globalisation and liberalisation processes are evident. The number of people living in very bad conditions is increasing in various regions of the world. The poorest countries are failing to catch up with developed and some are getting stuck in vicious circles of economic stagnation and regression.

17. For the elaboration of this section some recent documents endorsed by the EU have been utilised and, among them: Communication of the Commission about "The European Community's Development Policy" (COM(2000)212); Communication of the Commission about "Integrating Environment and Sustainable Development into Economic and Development Co-operation Policy"; Communication of the Commission about "Accelerated action targeted at major communicable diseases within the context of poverty reduction"; Initiative of the Commission "Everything but Arms"; Declaración del Consejo y de la Comisión con ocasión del Consejo de Ministros de Desarrollo del 10.11.2000.

LDCs, in particular[18], constitute a mixture on the one end of particularly weak countries where development has never been more than very limited, and on the other hand of countries that have had brighter prospects and a history of successful agricultural and mineral export but which have fallen on hard times because of war, natural disasters, limited access to export markets, growing debt burdens, poor policies, mismanagement and other government related failures.

18. "The Least Developed Countries 2000 Report"; UNCTAD.

Moreover, during the '90s, the acceleration in the twin processes of globalisation and liberalisation, the decline in ODA flows to LDCs, combined with debt overhang, the increase in the number of countries classified as LDCs, and, in several cases, domestic social and political upheavals, have impaired the capacity of LDCs Governments to implement domestic policy reforms and/or manage their own development.

The LDCs are not just the poorest countries in term of per capita income, but most of them also have by far the lowest human development and poverty indicators. LDCs account for 32 of the 35 countries in the lowest category of the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI). On average, 15% of all children born in LDCs do not survive to their fifth birthday – a rate almost double the developing country average while the average life expectancy is no more than 51 years, compared to 65 years for the developing countries and 78 years in OECD countries. Among the LDCs are also the countries with the highest illiteracy rates, the lowest rates of primary school enrolment and the widest gender disparities in education in the world. The population growth rate for LDCs was significantly higher than the developing country average, and almost double that of the world average. Taking this into account, real GDP per capita in the LDCs grew at only 0.9 per cent per annum during 1990-98, and, excluding Bangladesh, by only 0.4 per cent per annum.

During the 1980s, the simple average of the per capita growth rates in the other developing countries was double that of the LDCs, and in the period 1990-1998 it was four times higher than that of the LDCs. This indicates a growing average per capita income gap between the LDCs and other developing countries.

Compared with low-income countries, the overall growth performance of the LDCs as a group also appears slow. Per capita GDP in low-income countries, largely because of high rates of growth in China and

India, increased at annual rates of 4.3 per cent and 5.4 per cent during the 1980s and the 1990s respectively.

In facing the challenges of development in the 21st century, the EU development policy represents a fundamental part of the international development strategies towards the LDCs. The EU provides 55% of global aid, considering both the Commission-managed multilateral programmes and Member States own bilateral programmes; the European Community, through the Commission, is the second largest multilateral donor of humanitarian aid in the world. In terms of trade the EU is the single biggest market for imports from developing countries, and its exports to developing countries are more than twice the amount of the USA, Japan and Canada put together. In political terms, the EU governments are powerful stakeholders in the G8, the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank and the UN.

Therefore, it's clear that the EU has a key role and responsibility in urging coherent and effective strategies for sustainable development in the Least Development Countries.

Importantly, the Commission proposes to place poverty reduction at the heart of all aspects – economic, political, cultural and commercial – of development policy, as the objective of its global strategy, integrating within this strategic goal the support to democracy and peace, the support to conflict prevention activities and the integration process in global economy of developing countries. Furthermore, the Commission emphasises the social and environmental issues as fundamental aspects of a sustainable development together with the equality between men and women and the strengthening of public and private actors' capacities.

Furthermore, some priority domains in which the EU development policy should be concentrated are underlined, such as: (i) the link between trade and development; (ii) regional integration; (iii) the support for macroeconomic policies; (iv) transport and communications; (v) rural development and food security; (vi) institutional capacity building.

Firstly, the necessity of strengthening the links between international trade and development objectives considering also the trade and investment policy. The EU commercial and agricultural policies have seriously to consider the developing countries' needs and interests also through a closed and enduring political dialogue with developing countries' governments. Concerning this issue, the Commission adopted a proposal, the "Everything but Arms" (EBA) initiative, to grant unrestricted

duty-free access to all products, except arms, from all LDCs. The proposal to the Council would extend duty and quota free access for a further 919 lines, covering many products which are not currently imported into the EU because of the high level of protection.

Although the EBA initiative has been generally welcomed by the European NGOs[19], some concerns have been expressed with regard to the actual implementation of this important EU policy measure. Many NGOs urge that once the proposal is adopted, the reservations lodged against sugar, rice and bananas are lifted in a timely manner to ensure that LDCs reliant on these crops are not at a disvantage[20]. NGOs suggest, in order to guarantee that LDCs are the real beneficiaries of the EBA initiative, a concrete set of "rules of origin" similarly to what has been adopted by the Cotonou Agreement for ACP countries. Another NGOs recommendation is to provide assistance to Caribbean countries with large sugar sectors that have been sheltered from competition for years due to preferential access arrangements with the EU. As part of the EU's commitment to development co-operation it should provide assistance to these countries as they adjust their productive strategies, in the framework of the consultations with the ACP within the negotiations of Economic partnership Agreements as foreseen by the Cotonou Agreement[21]. Secondly the Commission recognises the regional integration domain as one of the necessary elements in reaching sustainable development, in preventing conflict and in reaching the long term-objective of developing countries economic integration in the global economy. Concerning this domain the Commission outlined the European experience in regional integration issues. Thirdly the Commission outlines its determination to combat inequality, supporting macroeconomic policies that promote access to social services. The Community's political and financial weight in international fora and in consultation with Bretton Woods institutions, enables it to exert influence on decisions on the macro-econom-

19. See the document "Putting Food Security into the WTO Agriculture Agreement" (November 15th, 2000), by the Joint Food Security Group of EuronAid and the Liaison Committee of Development NGOs to the European Union.

20. Freely extrapolated from a letter addressed by the Liaison Committee to EU Commisioners responsibles for: Trade Agriculture, Rural Development and Fisheries; Development and Humanitarian Aid; External Relations on December 5th, 2000: « ... it is disappointing that there is opposition to this laudable proposal by a handful of member states and representatives of industry ... Their concern that competitively produced sugar from LDCs will threaten European producers are unfounded ... LDCs currently account for a mere 0.4 per cent of world trade and none of the 48 countries is a significant producer of sugar, or rice and bananas ...»

21. Again, see the letter addressed by the Liaison Committee of Development NGOs to EU Commisioners responsibles for: Trade; Agriculture, Rural Development and Fisheries; Development and Humanitarian Aid; External Relations on December 5th, 2000.

ic framework of the partner countries. Europe has a decisive role in ensuring a fair distribution of the fruits of growth and access to basic social services and in encouraging the emergence of an investment friendly environment.

Furthermore the Commission emphasises the centrality of a development policy that aims at encouraging regional economic integration, also supporting transport and capacity building sectors. To reduce the vulnerability factors that contribute to a negative social and economical environment in development countries, the Commission emphasises the importance of differentiating development co-operation activities according to the differences among developing countries, focusing on the support of social sectors, such as health, education, food security, training and gender sensitive programmes. It also proposes to adopt an integrated development framework, which involves focusing on priority areas of support where the EC has a distinctive competence, using common sectoral policy guidelines.

In the context of supporting social sectors, the Commission recognises investments in health as one of the major contribution to poverty reduction and economic growth, and underlines the need for accelerating community response to the major communicable diseases, HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, as part of ongoing investments in health and poverty reduction. Today, 34.3 million of people are affected by the HIV/AIDS and the spreading of the disease is going beyond the worst expectation. Fourteen million adults and children have already died; 9% of adult deaths regards the poorest countries and the previsions say that the percentage is going to quadruple by 2002. The virus, considered a "development crisis at planetary level" has, as known precedent, only the plague, that hit Europe in the middle ages, and killed 20 million of persons.

Besides health and education, food security and rural development remain two essential elements of the EU's development policy and also in this case the Commission emphasises the need to strengthen its interventions in this domain through a regional and integrated approach.

Furthermore, the Commission outlines the natural environment as a key element in the EU's efforts to support developing countries' integration in the world economy and to reduce poverty. It promotes the natural environment as a mainstreaming of EU developing policy whose objectives have to be integrated in the macro-economic policy.

To meet this objective the Commission proposes:
- to give special attention to strengthening the countries' institutional and administrative capacity to manage the environment effectively;
- to integrate the environment into the programming and project cycle;
- to Advance and evaluate the integration process of environment issues into different policies and programmes.

To succeed in reaching the overall objective of poverty reduction the Commission proposes:
- to reach the highest possible degree of coherence between Community development policy and other Community policies that impact on developing countries;
- to ensure better co-ordination and complementarity among EU development policy and governments' policies, as well as the Commission's multilateral programmes and governments' bilateral programmes;
- to promote and increase the political dialogue with International Organisations, with governments of the developing countries themselves, NGOs, and the north and south civil society.

Despite the difficulties, coherence, complementarity and co-ordination are still the major concerns for the EU. In practice, the articulation between different policies or actions of the Community, which aim to minimise or suppress the contradictory or negative effect of these policies on developing countries, is still far from harmonious. Conflict of interests, imbalance between development co-operation and other public policies, lack of knowledge on the impact of European policies and complex decision making system are the factors causing EU policies' inconsistency. In this regard, the proposal of the Commission, about the adoption of a strategic programming process that links aid, trade and political co-operation, demonstrates, in principle, that the links between political objectives and administrative change are recognised. Furthermore, the Commission emphasises the need to strengthen its capacity to guarantee the coherence between different policies in the field of trade liberalisation, technical assistance and financial co-operation, sustainable development (environment, employment, Codex Alimentarius, etc.).

To ensure better coordination and complementarity among EU development policy and governments' policies, as well as the Commission's

multilateral programmes and governments' bilateral programmes; the Commission outlines the need to strengthen local ownership, to promote local participation in co-ordination and where possible to specify procedures in a common guideline. At the same time, to guarantee greater complementarity, the Commission emphasises the importance of a more effective work division among all the European institutions and the Member states, according to their competence and the importance of encouraging the adoption of a sectoral approach and supporting national sectoral policies.

Finally the Commission outlines that the definition of poverty reduction strategies by the developing countries themselves, is a fundamental prerequisite for sustainable development. The principle of partnership is supposed to encourage ownership of the development strategies by the countries and population concerned. In order to ensure that the process for achieving poverty eradication is defined by developing countries, the Commission emphasises the key role of political dialogue and the necessity of providing support and capacity building in beneficiaries countries. The dialogue should allow LDCs and the EU to address all issues of mutual concern and to ensure consistency and the increased impact of development co-operation. The Commission recognises the fundamental role of NGOs in formulating and carrying out the development policy objectives and humanitarian aid programmes and their complementarity to the EU activities. It proposes:

- to strengthen the information and consultation between the EU and the NGOs in defining strategies and development policies;
- to strengthen the participation and collaboration of NGOs in the elaboration and execution of co-operation programmes;
- to simplify the collaboration procedures between the NGOs and the Commission;
- to institutionalise a constant and fluent dialogue with NGOs as partners in every step of the elaboration and implementation of developing policies and co-operation programmes.

As it has been underlined, the need to avoid incoherence between its development policy and other policies is an integral part of the recent EU documents and recommendations, at different levels, particularly after the resolution of the European Council on Development of June 5, 1997.

To this regard, it is also worth noting the recent choice done by the Commission to create within its Development General Directorate an office in charge for the coherence issue. It will be extremely important to open the work of this office to contributions and suggestions from the European Civil Society organisations, including within this category both Development NGOs and other grass root associations.

In addition to what has been already stressed, some further critical areas are those below summarised. Again with reference to trade policies, another specific contradictory element is identified with respect to the objective of fostering development in third countries, which is related to arms exports from European countries, that are subjected to extremely generic constraints. Existing rules are indeed not capable of ensuring that weapons themselves are not sold to governments which are running against the fundamental human rights.

More generally speaking, is it mere wishful thinking to suggest that the "But Arms" philosophy is also employed with regard to European export to LDCs rather than only to imports from these countries?

An additional area regards the practice of "export refunds", which is designed to make European products competitive on international markets. This practice often stultifies local production. In theory mechanisms exist capable of regulating the amount of refunds on the basis of the costs of the products exported in the recipient countries; nevertheless, these mechanisms are not always implemented strictly and impartially.

On a more general level, the EU should play a positive role in ensuring that Food Security is actually considered by the international community – starting from the World Trade Organisation – as an inviolable right of LDCs. The current rules – as defined by the Agreement on Agriculture – allow developed countries to heavily subsidise their domestic agriculture and exports and ignore the problem of dumping by private firms on agricultural products from developed countries to the world markets at less than the cost of production. The outcome is that developing countries are forced by the rules to allow the influx of subsidised imports, which compete unfairly with agricultural goods produced by their own farmers in situations where the farmers receive no subsidy[22].

22. See the document "Putting Food Security into the WTO Agriculture Agreement" (November 15th, 2000), by the Joint Food Security Group of EuronAid and the Liaison Committee of Development NGOs to the European Union. The document urges the adoption of some recommendations as central to the EU's negotiating position on Agriculture within the WTO. These include: the creation of a

Finally, the Commission itself has underlined[23] the contradiction existing between the general objective of the fight against poverty in the most stricken areas of the world and the recent trend pointing to a re-definition of the intervention priorities as regards financial allocations which attaches priority to countries such as Kosovo and Turkey to the detriment of the poorest countries. We deem it appropriate to add a further consideration with reference to this last critical area. It raises great concern also in the light of the process of enlargement which is currently underway within the European Union. Indeed, the risk exists that this process is matched by a gradual cutting down to size of the European humanitarian and development aid commitment towards the LDCs and, more generally speaking, the ACP, the Asian and Latin American countries. The risk also exists that the current re-definition of priorities anticipates the way in which the European Union intends to develop its co-operation policy in the future, by aiming in particular at economic integration with its neighbouring areas and their stabilisation. We do not call into question either the validity of these objectives, or the fact that the European Union and its member states have mobilised to face the great humanitarian needs which have emerged in the former Yugoslavia, but we formulate the wish that this commitment would not run counter to the objective of the fight against social marginalisation and exclusion in the poorest countries all over the world.

The creation of the "coherence office" can certainly contribute to reducing the contradictions of the European activity towards third countries, provided that it is equipped with the sufficient political authority and its work is recognised and supported by member states.

In general terms, however, a renewed European commitment in favour of consistency between economic and co-operation policies cannot leave aside not only a careful monitoring activity within the European Union institutions, but also a close dialogue with the developing

Food Security or Development Box (the idea is to allow poorest and net food importing countries to develop and protect their agriculture also by being exempted from the WTO demands of minimum market access); the implementation and strengthening of Marrakech Decision (with the focus on ensuring the growth of food production capacity of net food importing developing countries as a needy measure during the liberalisation process for adjustment purpose); ending Export Subsides and Export Restraints; improve access to the markets of developed countries by developing countries; impose penalty measures when domestic support distorts international markets; requirement for Anti-Dumping Provisions; recognition of the role of State Trading Enterprises in planning for food security; avoiding abuse of the Peace Clause; meaningful capacity building for developing and least developed countries; increasing civil society participation in the WTO process.

23. See the document "Towards Improved Coherence between the Community Development Policy and other Community Policies", 1999.

countries' governments and non governmental organisations. The dialogue with governments is clearly extremely important and the more Europe will be willing to accept the developing countries demands regarding the consistency of its policies towards them, the more it will be in a position to positively affect national planning and development strategies. As is well-known, the fragility of the economic and social fabric in developing countries is influenced not only by negative international situations, but – very often – also by the local ruling classes' inefficiency and lack of democratic representation. In this field dialogue and international pressures can prove to be extremely important, but their effectiveness is linked to the existence of a real partnership relation, where each Party is willing to revise its choices on the basis of the other Party's needs.

Some further considerations are now appropriate with reference to the non governmental organisations' involvement in developing a genuine consistency of the European policies towards third countries. We are convinced that this involvement is essential, especially because it can enable the viewpoints of the rank-and-file organisations in developing countries – which for decades have been the "partners" of the development programs carried out by the NGOs – to become part and parcel of the debate on the political choices to be made. As we have tried to stress, in the lack of political support measures, the globalisation and integration of markets have the effect of increasing inequality not only between rich and poor countries, but also within the individual countries. Small producers' associations are the main victims of this situation for the additional reason that very often they cannot find political bodies and fora ready to represent their interests. Working on this assumption, we can maintain that the growth and the role of these associations through development programs and the representation of their interests in international fora are part and parcel of the same strategy, for which today non governmental organisations can be preferential protagonists. The Report on Human Development shows that the growth of NGOs networks is one of the factors which characterise the current globalisation process. If it is true that in every process everybody shall do its utmost, we believe that in this case the NGOs role is basically the one that we have already described – that is fighting against marginalisation and social exclusion both at local level and in international fora, as well as supporting the interests of small producers who do not want to become passive recipients

of humanitarian assistance, but rather contribute to growth and development in their own countries.

4. Some priorities of the EU Development Co-operation with regard to LDCs

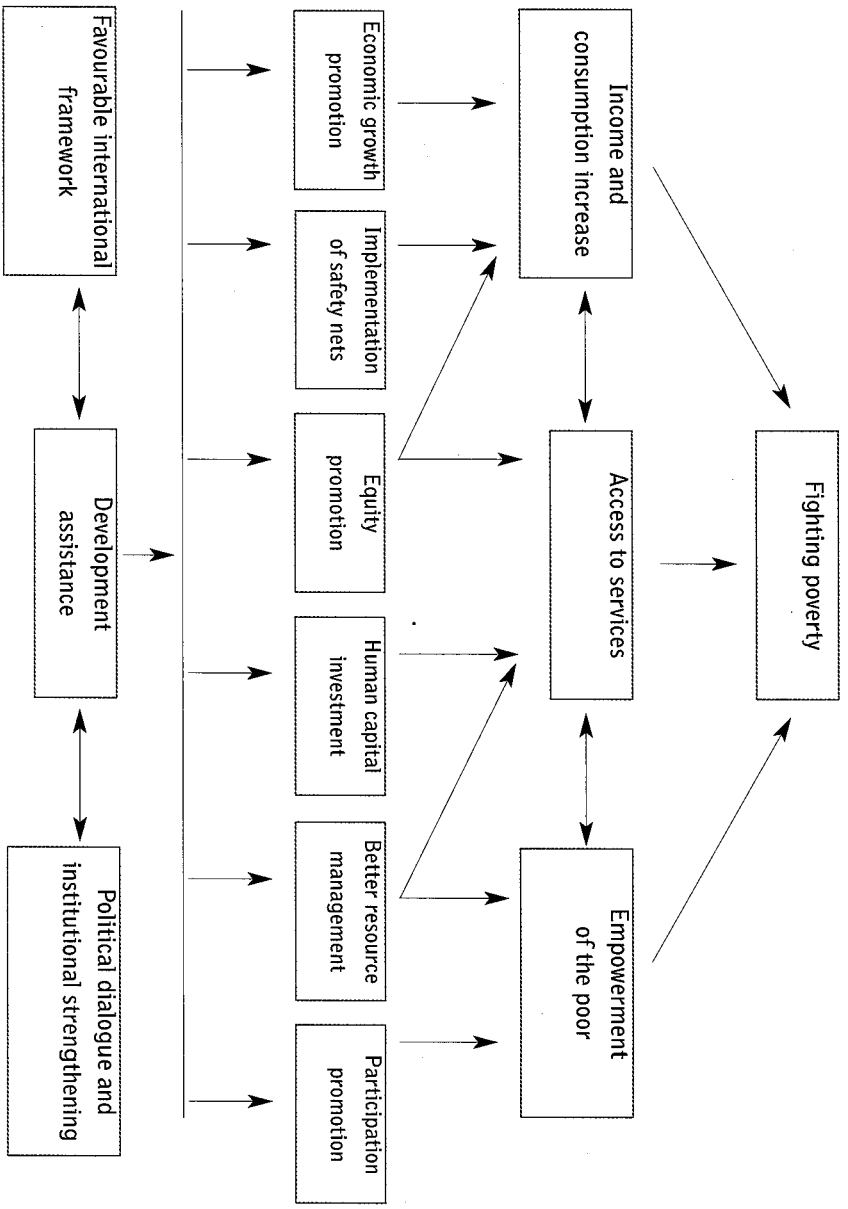
4.1 Notes on an integrated approach to Poverty, Vulnerability and Food insecurity

The results of some researches on poverty indicate that in many countries the poorer family units of the rural population are those that draw the lowest share of their agriculture production for their own maintenance. In other words, the poorest are almost always those that have to find sources of income alternative to the use of the land. At the same time it has become clear that even in zones and periods in which the agriculture production is satisfying, with availability of products in the market, a large number of households is insecure from as far as alimentation is concerned. This points out the frequent failure of the strategies of self-maintenance undertaken by the rural poor and focusing on researching sources of income other than self-production.

In order to define serious and effective strategies of food security and poverty relief it is necessary start from analysing the main factors of vulnerability. These can be divided into two broad categories: those contributing to a poor income generation and those fostering the sedimentation of unfavourable socio-economic environments. In the former category finds place the insufficient availability of production[24] assets, the insufficient supply of means (i.e. fertilisers and seeds), the critical sanitary conditions of the farmers that obstacle the full productivity. In the latter are traditionally included the scarcity of infrastructure and connection systems, the poor access to services and instruction, the low level of community organisation, which also determine a tendency towards the political marginality of the rural communities with respect to the political power and the institutions.

24. A research carried out in 1989 in Ethiopia (Various: 1998) suggests that, on average, every rural household commands 0,78 hectares.

It is not difficult to extrapolate from the joint factors of vulnerability a comprehensive picture of extreme poverty. What can the Development Co-operation do in order to tackle the issue of poverty in a comprehensive way?


Fighting poverty
Income and consumption increase
Access to services
Empowerment of the poor
Economic growth promotion
Implementation of safety nets
Equity promotion
Human capital investment
Better resource management
Participation promotion
Favourable international framework
Development assistance
Political dialogue and institutional strengthening

This kind of formalisation has the advantage of setting the Development Co-operation strategies in a wider framework, that includes, in general, the net of relations between European Countries and LDCs. For instance, the determination of favourable international framework does not depend exclusively on the Development Co-operation, while it calls on other general issues, like the commercial relations, the management of the debt crisis, the impact of the European Community Agriculture Policy on the economies of the poor countries. Some strategic priorities seem to arise, on our opinion, from the analysis so far developed and from the above presented scheme on the relation between food security and poverty relief, that are here summarised.

The added value of non-governmental co-operation

Another advantage of the formalisation presented above is that it allows us to identify the different subjects that have to be involved in the pursue of the common general aim of reducing poverty. If, for instance, developing the political dialogue and granting the consistence between co-operation and economic and trade policies is a primary governments' responsibility, we believe that the main value added of the non governmental co-operation regards the aim of empowerment of the local communities, through their actual involvement in the resources management and in the strategies definition. For example, the NGOs can contribute to the strengthening of associations and local NGOs able to effectively represent the demands and the needs of the most vulnerable slices of the population.

The gender issue

The analysis so far developed gives the gender issue a key role in the activity of co-operation for fighting poverty in LDCs, basically for two reasons. The former is that the various dimensions of poverty cannot be understood without a rigorous analysis of the gender issue. Assuming for example the lack of access to services and to productive assets as two of the most significant dimensions of poverty, we cannot ignore, if we want positively affect this situation, that women often suffer from the existence of extremely strong barriers, also for cultural reasons. It is not accidental that among the poor families, both in rural and metropolitan areas, there are female headed households. The latter is given by the fact that an effective policy against poverty cannot ignore the coping strategies normally undertaken by poor households in situations of crisis,

among which are included the reduction of per capita consumption, internal migrations, search of new income sources. These strategies are often undertaken by women. Therefore, increasing the access to instruction and training for the women can improve the effect of coping strategies of entire households and local communities.

The focus on Social Capital

Acknowledging the complexity of the phenomenon of poverty also brings us to conceive a project of development co-operation as catalysing agent of institutional, financial, and human resources in a given context. It is evident that it is unlikely that a single co-operation initiative can substantially affect poverty in a given area if it is not planned in order to favour the actual participation– and the cohesion - of different subjects, in search of adequate solutions for the problems ahead. We refer to the local institutions, to the Academic world of the country, to the specialised institutes, to the private sector, to the grass root organisations and; furthermore we refer to the linkages among these actors. In many LDCs, in different fields, the human and institutional resources are available, but their connection, the synergies among them and their full involvement in the development plans are still missing. The co-operation projects can attempt to fill this gap, becoming the gathering point for the search of effective solutions to the problems of poverty.

The role of development co-operation in urban areas

Although the focus of poverty alleviation projects is rightly put on rural areas, where generally the majority of the LDCs populations live, there are very good reasons to strengthen the European Development assistance also in the cities of LDCs, for a number of reasons. The first reason lies in the absence, in many cases, of the basic services and survival opportunities for millions of urban poor. Here the humanitarian and the political reasons are both calling for an integrated response. In fact, in addition to the humanitarian concerns, it has to be underlined that urban poor can constitute a factor of instability and in many cases the widespread of the urban criminality, which is obviously related to the extreme poverty, is hampering many development opportunities. A concrete example here is the reduction of tourism as a consequence of the fear of foreigners to go in unsafe cities. The second reason is related to the possibility to support the growth of a public urban opinion oriented towards the defence and the promotion of human rights. It has to be underlined that in the

LDCs the media are generally concentrated exclusively in the big cities – if not only in the capital towns –. Therefore positive actions performed in urban areas may have a cultural impact in the country. Recently, in many LDCs cities, associations that implement a lobby action for feminine emancipation, for the defence of childhood, for the defence of street children's rights, have appeared. These realities have to be supported, also through plans of capacity building because they carry out positive actions in support of weak subjects and also because they can contribute to reinforce in the country a culture of rights that today is objectively fragile everywhere in the LDCs.

The focus on the fight against HIV as an integral part of poverty alleviation strategies

Last but not least an impact oriented European Development Policy towards LDCs cannot ignore the real nightmare represented by the widespread, in these countries, of HIV. The reality of this problem starts to be known in its dramatic entity, since many countries, after years of reluctance, have started to officially address the international community asking for an help to control this real tragedy. We have chosen to address this issue under the sub-chapter dedicated to the fight against poverty because poverty is the root cause of this problem in the LDCs. In this case poverty means lack of education, lack of access to services, lack of prevention, lack of care. Again: lack of protection for the children made orphans by the disease. There are already applicable guide-lines drafted by the WHO in order to identify the priority actions to be performed. What is still missing is the definition of country strategies to the formulation of whom international and local NGOs can contribute. An idea that the EU could promote, to this regard, is the establishment, in the LDCs, of national consultative platforms that could have the Ministries of Health and the Ministries of Education as focal points. The platforms should be open to international NGOs and local NGOs and have the role of defining for each country priority areas of intervention, with a strong focus on prevention.

4.2 Orienting Development Co-operation towards Conflict Prevention

It is a fact that LDCs are very often theatres of violent and prolonged political and military conflicts. Wars often classified as ethnic generally arise from the struggle for the access to resources, exacerbated by conditions of misery. The identification of central power with the defence of

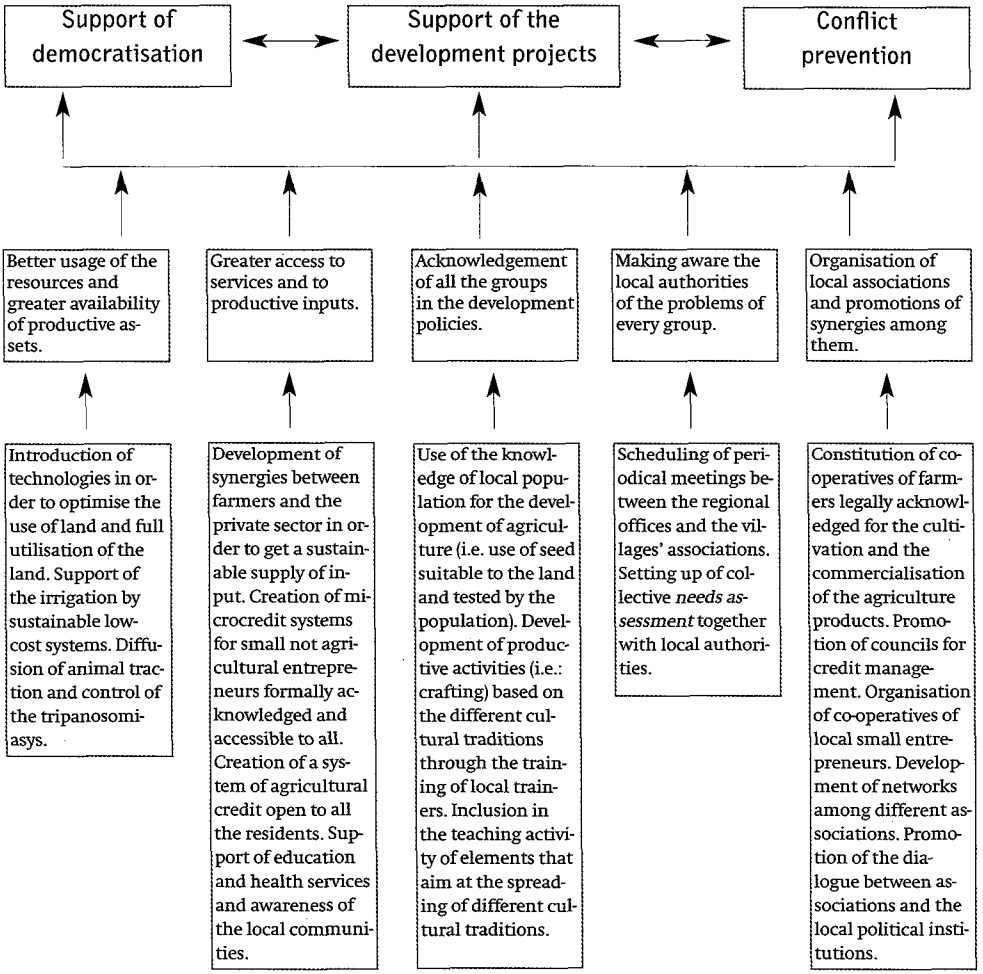
interests that conflict with those of its own group, most of the times motivated by governments' actions, in some cases goes beyond the responsibility of the governments themselves and could nourish power ambitions of political-military groups that offer immediate abductions in favour of peculiar interests. In many cases the cause is the lack of regulation mechanisms of the use of and the access to resources in the places where the conflicts arise.

Lacking these mechanism, every repressive intervention of the central authority in case of rebellion seems to be undoubtedly arbitrary as they tend to restore a social order that has not been defined by participation of the actors involved. In many LDCs, even though in convulse form, the demand for participation to the economic policy decision process can be noticed to be stronger than elsewhere as to this process is attached the possibility of survival of the group itself. In a sense, the ethnic character of politics, as opposite groups are identified almost completely on the basis of ethnic or clan consideration, can be seen as a means of having their own interests and identity represented. Putting forward the hypothesis of concrete means of democratisation means giving credible answers to this question, posing at the same time the basis for conflict prevention.

In the context of LDCs, to form the hypothesis of stable solutions to the democracy problems, only based on the definition of macro institutional orders like federal systems founded on the principle of self-government of the various regions, is not sufficient, also because within the local and regional administrative contexts themselves could often arise, and actually in many cases do, conflicts nourished by the struggle over the control of resources. Both the co-operation and the political dialogue could effectively contribute to the structuring of mechanisms and institutional places that carry out the duties described above, that should be intended as mechanisms of regulation and planning at local levels. A co-operation intervention can have a positive effect on the process of democratisation and on the prevention of military conflicts in a country if it includes among its goals that of allowing an actual participation of the local communities to the control and the management of the resources. It means that conflict prevention rather than being only an expected output of an European Foreign Policy in crisis areas – which is in any case something dramatically necessary – is also a general aim of the Development Policy, which can be achieved if the projects are designed to this end.

The support to the process of democratisation and conflict prevention: the experience of a co-operation intervention

In order to make the reasoning clearer we turn to present a case of "typical project" realised by an European NGO in one LDC (Ethiopia) in the period 1994-1999 in an area characterised by an high level of competition among different ethnic groups for the control of resources (especially land). In the following scheme we try to summarise the main strategies of the project and the actions linked to it. At the top of the figure the goals are presented, while in the subsequent line there are the strategies on which actions are based.



An approach that tends to strengthen the channels of participation and mediation of the interests of the basic social groups, does not diminish but emphasises the role of the central states that should basically consist of the building up of those institutional mechanisms to which we have referred, besides giving assistance to the elaboration of local development plans that should become part of consistent national policies.

4.3 The role of the intellectuals and of the scientific institutions

A further issue is that of the role of intellectuals and the freedom of research of the University and Scientific Institutions. The dismissal of the intellectuals from their own countries has constituted both an effect and a cause of the crisis of the political systems and of their weak democratic features. In the LDCs is necessary to encourage significant synergies between the spheres of the education and of the politics and where development plans are designed and, above all, not making the mistake, often made in the past by international co-operation, of mortifying rather than developing the contributions to the reconstruction of their own countries of qualified local personalities.

The issue of education, intended not only as the process of making literate the local communities but also as support for the creation of focal points for the development of collective identities, is linked to that of the role of intellectuals. This support is unthinkable without the effective involvement of qualified personalities in this area's countries. Besides it cannot be ignored that the economic reconstruction also requires the availability of professionals and planning experts, financing, social policies and technologies.

4.4 Co-operation and regional integration

Another question that needs to be taken up is that of the regional co-operation and integration. It is evident the negative impact on the process of democratisation within each state and on their political and economic stability, of the regional tensions. Furthermore in some cases the explosion of civil wars in single countries has extremely negative effects on the stability of the neighbouring countries.

We also believe that in order to favour the regional distension some programmes that aim at co-operation among neighbouring countries can result useful.

4.5 Administrative and government ability of the local institutions

The fifth problematic area is that of the administrative ability of the local institutions (regions, districts, municipalities). There is an indissoluble link between the credibility and the stability of the democratic systems, above all in context of extreme poverty, and the efficiency and the credibility in responding to the existing problems in the competence areas. The improvement of the management and administrative abilities in the sphere of the local governments of the LDCs, to which the local European bodies could give a strong support, should be among the main goals of the development co-operation.

4.6 The need for a long term humanitarian strategy to tackle the complex emergencies

Very often LDCs are theatres of complex emergencies, where the deterioration of the concrete conditions of life of the civil population is accompanied by military conflicts and political instability. In these circumstances it is certainly necessary to provide relief assistance to the most vulnerable sectors of the society; at the same time a clear and rehabilitation oriented humanitarian strategy is also of vital importance.

The first ingredient of this strategy is the broadening of the thematic and operative boundaries of humanitarian aid, that cannot be limited in the mere immediate management of emergencies. This necessity was officially acknowledged by the European Union, so that the mandate of its humanitarian office, in the code approved and made effective on the 1st of January 1999, has been extended to the first rehabilitation. However we signal a tendency of going back to the past, that is a too strict vision of what humanitarian aid is, that raises concern and that, on our opinion, is inadequate with respect to the challenges we have to face today. In order to give a concrete example, interventions of capacity building that support the growth and the intervention capacity of the local communities appear to be indispensable also in contexts of first emergency, above all if we want to reach the two aims: (i) preventing the exasperation of the dependence from outside of the vulnerable communities; (ii) allowing the humanitarian aid to use the nets of local solidarity, without which it is difficult to reach the most vulnerable segments of the population.

It is first of all necessary to endow humanitarian aid with a certain

and medium term time horizon. In fact, in the case of conflicts emerging in LDCs, humanitarian aid risks to be stuck in the conflict rationale – or worse, in contributing to foster it – if it mainly responds to the effects of the conflict itself and if it is not able to present itself with an independent rationale, projected in the future and oriented to the restoring of the productive capacity and to reconstruction.

It is also imperative to build up mechanisms able to ensure a stricter relation, both at informative and consultative level, among humanitarian, political and diplomatic actors in emergency operations, particularly in LDCs. In many cases it is absolutely clear that a greater capacity to ensure the humanitarian assistance to the populations relies, not marginally, on the possibility of negotiating with the central governments, which cannot be a task of each individual relief agency.

4.7 The focus on rehabilitation

The support to the rehabilitation of social fabrics made weak by a number of factors including prolonged civil wars, extreme poverty, natural disasters such as drought, should remain one of the most important priorities of an European development policy. Europe has a potential added value to "exploit" in the definition and implementation of rehabilitation strategies in LDCs. We refer to the variety and richness of the European civil society and to the existence, in our countries, of many associations, organisations, institutions that could positively intervene in order to contribute to restore social fabrics in LDCs. In this framework, Development NGOs could act – an in many cases are already acting – as real "bridges" between LDCs institutions and associations (municipalities, welfare organisations, schools, hospitals, local unions, etc.) and their European "counterparts".

In other words, the rehabilitation of LDCs could involve the "System Europe" as a whole, through a strategic alliance between the Commission and the NGOs where the first should play its role of defining comprehensive strategies and the NGOs could be the activators of synergies and partnerships between LDCs and European societies. There is a lot that can be done here. We cannot forget that LDCs are lacking social services, infrastructures, skilled manpower in many areas. Development Co-operation alone cannot fill all the existing gaps unless it is able to involve other resources from the European society.

At the same time the involvement of European realities other than NGOs and specialised agencies in LDCs has to be planned and governed from the very beginning in the framework of clear strategies if it has to be avoided the risk of creating in the same LDCs an unnecessary confusion.

With regard to the rehabilitation issue, some additional points need to be underlined. The first is that rehabilitation does not necessary mean restoring previously existing institutions and services as they were before. In fact in many cases previously existing services could never be sustainable in the new contests. That is why a deep economic analysis should always be conducted during rehabilitation programmes.

The second point in question here is that of the social and political impact of rehabilitation plans, particularly when they occur after a military or political conflict.

This impact has to be assessed jointly by the European Union and the NGOs. Indicators can be defined and applied informing on the local communities' level of participation in the services' management, on the intensity and frequency of the collaborations developed, starting from the rehabilitation projects, among community and personalities related to different groups of the society, on the actual involvement of the local authorities in the projects' planning.

A real challenge is also to identify actors at the same time credible and as representative as possible. The effort has to be addressed in individuating local counterparts, expression of mentality and visions of their country different from the ones that have settled in years of conflict and contrast. In this case again the collaboration and the partnership between the Commission and the NGOs is a potential resource to be exploited. Just to give concrete examples: how to select local counterparts to restore social fabrics in countries like Somalia or Sierra Leone avoiding the risk of "feeding" the very same subjects responsible for the destruction and the violence? To respond to this answer is not an easy task and it requires a lot of joint analysis between the Commission and the NGOs.

Again few considerations on the sustainability issue. The sustainability of the health and education services is problematic everywhere in LDCs as a consequence of very fragile economies and of a general cut in public expenditures. At the same time these services are indispensable because they respond to basic human rights and because in many cases they represent the few visible and concrete elements of a connective tis-

sue in societies where the majority of the population lives well beyond the poverty line.

An holistic approach to the theme of sustainability has then to be necessarily developed. The sustainability has to be considered, rather than a precondition for the start up of new projects, as an objective to meet beginning from three thematic areas:

- institutional: working in order to strengthen the management and direction ability of the local structures;
- technical: the emphasis has to be posed on the formation and retraining of the local staff, in order to be in the conditions of assuring continuity to the services' management;
- socio-economic: reducing as much as possible the costs of services' management and, at the same time, promoting effectively forms of cost-sharing of the services themselves at community level.

*CISP Head of International Programmes.

Investing in Health for Economic Development

Key findings, recommendations and the way forward

Report of the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health [CMH]

Sergio Spinaci*

I. Key CMH findings

Health is wealth

"*Wealth not only means the ability to enjoy good things; it also means three extra decades to do so*" (Financial Times, 9 January 2002). In the least developed countries life expectancy is about three decades less than in high income countries. The CMH Report produced by 18 of the world's leading economists, public health experts, development professionals and policymakers under the Chairmanship of Professor Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard University, provides compelling evidence that health is not only a human right in itself but is also central to economic development.

In fact, scientific evidence-based recommendations contained in the Report clearly show that investments in health pay off in economic terms. Statistical estimates suggest that each 10% improvement in life expectancy at birth is associated with 0.3-0.4 economic growth per year. In sub-Saharan Africa the losses due to HIV/AIDS are estimated to be at least 12% of annual GNP and malaria free zones are developing at a rate of at least 1% per year faster that zones with endemic malaria.

"The macroeconomic evidence confirms that countries with the

weakest conditions of health and education, have a much harder time achieving sustained growth than do countries with better conditions and of health and education"[1]. In a CMH analysis, it is shown that, at the same level of per capita income, countries with the lowest infant mortality, as a proxy for all health conditions, experience three-fold capita income than countries with higher infant mortality. In January 2002, the WHO Director-General in the opening lines of her statement to the Executive Board hailed the Report of the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health as a turning point in giving health its rightful central role in the development agenda. Investments in health lead to economic development whereas the burden of disease drains the economy and perpetuates the poverty cycle.

1. Direct citation from the Report : "Macroeconomics and Health: Investing in Health for Economic Development".

— Just a few health conditions account for a high proportion of the avoidable deaths in the poor countries.

— In 1998, 16 million deaths, (almost a third in low and middle income countries) were due to communicable diseases, maternal and perinatal conditions and nutritional deficiencies. A tenth of those deaths were due to measles, tetanus and diphtheria, all routinely vaccinated against in wealthy countries. Of the 30 million children not receiving basic immunisations, 27 million live in countries with GNP lower that $1,200. Of the half million women who die annually due to pregnancy and childbirth, 99% can be traced to developing countries (Table A -Top 10 Causes of Death in Low and Middle-Income Countries, 1999).

— The technology, the knowledge base, and tried and tested interventions all exist which could save around 8 million lives per year and generate economic benefits of more that $360 billion per year by 2015-2020. The aggregate additional cost of scaling up essential health interventions in the low-income countries would be around $66 billion per year for the year 2015, with the costs roughly divided between high-income donor countries and the low-income countries.

— What is lacking to save million of lives each year, the Commission finds, is political will and substantially increased financial resources.

Scaling up health outcomes

The CMH has classified constraints in scaling up health outcomes in five categories (see Table II, Categorization of Constraints, CMH Report, p.70). Two of the categories are mostly dependant on health financing, whilst the other three are more dependant on central policy and environmental factors. The two categories dependant on health financing are based on factors closer to the community and on systems that deliver community health services. The CMH defines these as close-to-client (CTC) constraints, dealing with community health services and health financing, and as being all the more amenable to solutions. The lessons from successful health programmes, such as the provision of TB control with the DOTS strategy, and other tropical and infectious diseases programmes, show that often international programmes provided as global public goods may overcome weak domestic political systems. In addition, macroeconomic constraints affecting countries are often transitory, therefore sustained investment in close to the community health services protects households in periods of conflicts and other crises.

Average per capita expenditure on health is $26 in countries with less than $1200 per capita GNP and $13 in the poorest countries. Only a small proportion of these expenditures come from public funding. The rest is paid "out of pocket". These "out of pocket" expenditures are highly inefficient in preventing and curing devastating health conditions. In fact widespread coverage of all priority interventions identified by the CMH is low in most of the poorest countries. Thus expanding coverage to priority interventions will require additional funds which can relieve many local delivery constraints through, for example, increasing salary and non salary incentives to health workers, increasing the number of key health staff, such as birth attendants and nurses, in clinics mostly attended by the poor. Long-term commitments of additional funding are required to ensure regular essential drug supplies, quality assurance methods, and to cover ongoing maintenance of the infrastructure and logistics.

How can it be done?

The CMH in its review of the feasibility of scaling up the coverage of priority health interventions among the poor concluded that there are many success stories for various interventions. The challenge today is achieving, in the next two decades, high coverage of all of the core interventions

among the more than two and half billion poor, supported by strengthening health systems management and backed by technical support of countrywide programmes.

To reach the desired increased coverage by 2007 would require an additional disbursement of $14 per person per year in the low income countries and $22 in the least developing countries, on top of existing levels of expenditure. The CMH Report states that not a single country amongst those with less than $500 per capita GNP managed to spend even $20 per capita for public outlays on health. Therefore, as a baseline, on average the low-income countries will need to increase their budgetary outlays of 1% of GNP by 2007 and 2% by 2015. Only donor assistance can close the financial gap for the low income countries (Table B: Recommended Donor and Country Commitments for Country Level Programmes in Low-Income Countries).

II. The way forward

Since the launch of the Report in December 2001, WHO is planning to work with countries as they pursue the recommendations of the Commission by:

- embarking on an intense process of consultation to develop evidence-based guidance for health systems development. This will encompass;
- developing locally relevant information for national decision-makers on the costs and consequences of key interventions;
- through the newly developed World Health Survey, WHO proposes to assist Member States obtain important information on the coverage of key health interventions, levels of health and risk factors and health expenditures;
- developing a technical guidance for health financing and for human resources in health systems;
- planning scaling up investments;
- assessing national health priorities and establishing a sustainable strategy to extend coverage of essential health interventions as part of their overall framework in their Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). This framework in order to take off is dependent on political will at the country level, on scientific expertise and guidance from international agencies and on substantially increased donor assistance.

WHO has and will continue to ensure that the Report's analyses and conclusions are incorporated into relevant international, regional and national events. World Economic Forum, the Meeting of Financing for Development (Mexico, Monterrey, March 2002), the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg in August 2002) and high-level donor meetings.

WHO will work with the World Bank, the IMF and the international donor community with recipient countries in incorporating health and poverty-reduction programmes into a viable macroeconomic framework at the country level.

The CMH Report is strongly linked to other relevant health initiatives:
- the Commission strongly endorses the establishment and adequate funding of the new Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and indicates the new Fund should provide around $8 billion per year for disease control programmes as of 2007;
- the Commission proposes the establishment of a new Global Health Research Fund to invest into research of diseases of the poor. It would entail working closely with existing institutions such as WHO as well as the Global Forum for Health Research and various public-private partnerships that are currently aiming towards new drug and vaccine development.

The Report is unprecedented in that it provides solid scientific underpinnings for its recommendations. The approach follows on closely from the Millennium Development Summit in September 2000 when certain clear development objectives and targets were outlined with a view to improving global health, reducing poverty and protecting the physical environment. The Commission's is not alone in its evidence-based prediction that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for poverty reduction and health will not be met without a concerted effort to extend essential health interventions to the world's poor. The plan of action outlined in the Report is seen as one pathway to meet the Millennium Development Goals and to save millions of lives per year at a small cost relative to the vast benefits that will be generated.

*Executive Secretary of the CMH World Health Organization

Macroeconomics and Health: Investing in Health for Economic Development

Executive summary of the report
of the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health

Jeffrey D. Sachs*

Technology and politics have thrust the world more closely together than ever before. The benefits of globalization are potentially enormous, as a result of the increased sharing of ideas, cultures, life-saving technologies, and efficient production processes. Yet globalization is under trial, partly because these benefits are not yet reaching hundreds of millions of the world's poor, and partly because globalization introduces new kinds of international challenges as turmoil in one part of the world can spread rapidly to others, through terrorism, armed conflict, environmental degradation, or disease, as demonstrated by the dramatic spread of AIDS around the globe in a single generation.

The world's political leaders have recognized this global interdependence in solemn commitments to improve the lives of the world's poor by the year 2015. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), adopted at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in September 2000, call for a dramatic reduction in poverty and marked improvements in the health of the poor. Meeting these goals is feasible but far from automatic. Indeed, on our current trajectory, those goals will not be met for a significant proportion of the world's poor. Success in achieving the MDGs will require a

seriousness of purpose, a political resolve, and an adequate flow of resources from high-income to low-income countries on a sustained and well-targeted basis.

The importance of the MDGs in health is, in one sense, self-evident. Improving the health and longevity of the poor is an end in itself, a fundamental goal of economic development. But it is also a *means* to achieving the other development goals relating to poverty reduction. The linkages of health to poverty reduction and to long-term economic growth are powerful, much stronger than is generally understood. The burden of disease in some low-income regions, especially sub-Saharan Africa, stands as a stark barrier to economic growth and therefore must be addressed frontally and centrally in any comprehensive development strategy. The AIDS pandemic represents a unique challenge of unprecedented urgency and intensity. This single epidemic can undermine Africa's development over the next generation, and may cause tens of millions of deaths in India, China, and other developing countries unless addressed by greatly increased efforts.

Table 1. Life Expectancy and Mortality Rates, by Country Development Category, [1995–2000]

Development Category	Population [1999 millions]	Annual Average Income [US dollars]	Life Expectancy at Birth [years]	Infant Mortality [deaths before age 1 per 1,000 live births]	Under Five Mortality [deaths before age 5 per 1,000 live births]
Least-Developed Countries	643	296	51	100	159
Other Low-Income Countries	1,777	538	59	80	120
Lower-Middle-Income Countries	2,094	1,200	70	35	39
Upper-Middle-Income Countries	573	4,900	71	26	35

High-Income Countries	891	25,730	78	6	6
Memo: Sub-Saharan Africa	642	500	51	92	151

Source: Human Development Report 2001, Table 8, and CMH calculations using World Development Indicators of the World Bank, 2001.

Our Report focuses mainly on the low-income countries and on the poor in middle-income countries[1]. The low-income countries, with 2.5 billion people – and especially the countries in sub-Saharan Africa, with 650 million people – have far lower life expectancies and far higher age-adjusted mortality rates than the rest of the world, as shown in the accompanying Table 1. The same is true for the poor in middle-income countries, such as China. To reduce these staggeringly high mortality rates, the control of communicable diseases and improved maternal and child health remain the highest public health priorities. The main causes of avoidable deaths in the low-income countries are HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis (TB), childhood infectious diseases, maternal and perinatal conditions, micronutrient deficiencies, and tobacco-related illnesses. If these conditions were controlled in conjunction with enhanced programs of family planning, impoverished families could not only enjoy lives that are longer, healthier, and more productive, but they would also choose to have fewer children, secure in the knowledge that their children would survive, and could thereby invest more in the education and health of each child. Given the special burdens of some of these conditions on women, the well-being of women would especially be improved. The improvements in health would translate into higher incomes, higher economic growth, and reduced population growth.

1. The classifications are those used by the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD. There are five categories: least-developed countries, or LDCs, the 48 lowest-development countries as catagorized by the United Nations; other low- income countries or OLICs (countries with less than $755 GNP per capita in 1999 that are not LDCs); lower middle-income countries; upper middle income countries; and high-income countries. In the costing exercise we refer to the countries in Table A2.B.

Even though we focus mainly on communicable diseases and maternal and perinatal health, non-communicable diseases (NCDs) are also of great significance for all developing countries; for many middle-income

countries the mortality from communicable diseases has already been significantly reduced so that the NCDs tend to be the highest priority. Many of the non-communicable diseases, including cardiovascular disease, diabetes, mental illnesses, and cancers, can be effectively addressed by relatively low-cost interventions, especially using preventative actions relating to diet, smoking, and lifestyle[2]. Our global perspective on priorities needs to be complemented by each country analyzing its own health priorities based on detailed and continually updated epidemiological evidence. Our argument for outcome-oriented health systems also implies substantial capacity to deal with a range of conditions not detailed here, such as lowcost case-management of mental illness, diabetes and heart attacks. The evidence also suggests that approaches required to scale up the health system to provide interventions for communicable diseases and reproductive health will also improve care for the NCDs[3].

The feasibility of meeting the MDGs in the low-income countries is widely misjudged. On the one side of the debate are those optimists who believe that the health goals will take care of themselves, as a fairly automatic byproduct of economic growth. With the mortality rates of children under 5 in the least-developed countries standing at 159 per 1,000 births, compared with 6 per 1,000 births in the high-income countries[4], these blithe optimists assume that it's just a matter of time before the mortality rates in the low-income world will converge with those of the rich countries. This is false for two reasons. First, the disease burden itself will slow the economic growth that is presumed to solve the health problems; second, economic growth is indeed important, but is very far from enough. Health indicators vary widely for the same income level. The evidence suggests that 73 countries are far behind in meeting the MDGs for infant mortality, and 66 are far behind for meeting the MDGs for child mortality[5]. The disease burden can be brought down in line with the MDGs only if there is a concerted, global strategy of increasing the access of the world's poor to essential health services.

On the other side of the debate are the pessimists, who underestimate the considerable progress that has been made in health (with the no-

2. In much of the low-income world, the age-specific death rates of many NCDs are falling while absolute burdens are rising due to an aging population. Tobacco related illnesses and deaths, however, are rising even on an age-specific basis.

3. As just one example, new mechanisms for improving access to essential drugs for communicable diseases are beginning to be applied to cover key NCDs such as diabetes, some forms of cancers, mental disorders, hypertension, and other NCD conditions, but much more needs to be done for both communicable diseases and NCDs.

4. United Nations Development Program, Table 8, p. 169.

5. United Nations Development Program, 2001, Feature 1.3, p. 23.

table exception of HIV/AIDS) by most low-income countries and believe that their remaining high disease burden is a byproduct of corrupt and broken health systems beyond repair in poorly governed low-income countries. This alternative view is also filled with misunderstanding and exaggeration. The epidemiological evidence conveys a crucial message: the vast majority of the excess disease burden is the result of a relatively small number of identifiable conditions, each with a set of existing health interventions that can dramatically improve health and reduce the deaths associated with these conditions. The problem is that these interventions don't reach the world's poor. Some of the reasons for this are corruption, mismanagement, and a weak public sector, but in the vast majority of countries, there is a more basic and remediable problem. The poor lack the financial resources to obtain coverage of these essential interventions, as do their governments. In many cases, public health programs have not been modified to focus on the conditions and interventions emphasized here.

The key recommendation of the Commission is that the world's low and middle-income countries, in partnership with high-income countries, should scale up the access of the world's poor to essential health services, including a focus on specific interventions. The low- and middle-income countries would commit additional domestic financial resources, political leadership, transparency, and systems for community involvement and accountability, to ensure that adequately financed health systems can operate effectively and are dedicated to the key health problems. The highincome countries would simultaneously commit vastly increased financial assistance, in the form of grants, especially to the countries that need help most urgently, which are concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa. *They would resolve that lack of donor funds should not be the factor that limits the capacity to provide health services to the world's poorest peoples.*

The partnership would need to proceed step by step, with actions in the low-income countries creating the conditions for donor financing, while ample donor financing creates the financial reality for a greatly scaled-up, more effective health system, with the shared program subject to frequent review, evaluation, verification, and mid-course corrections. The chicken-and-egg problem of deciding whether reform or donor financing must come first would be put aside with both donors and recipients frankly acknowledging that both finance and reform are needed at each stage, and that both must be sustained by an intensive partnership.

For lower-middle-income countries with large concentrations of poor, a prime task of national governments would be to mobilize additional resources to finance priority interventions that assure coverage of the poor within those societies.

The commitment of massive additional financial resources for health, domestic and international, may be a necessary condition for scaling up health interventions, but the Commission recognizes that such a commitment will not be sufficient. Past experience shows compellingly that political and administrative commitments on the part of both donors and countries are key to success. Building health systems that are responsive to client needs, particularly for poor and hard-to-reach populations, requires politically difficult and administratively demanding choices. Some issues, such as relative commitments to the health needs of rich and poor, relate to the health sector. Others, such as whether the public sector budget and procurement systems work or whether there is effective supervision and local accountability of public service delivery, are public management issues. Underlying these issues are broader questions of governance, conflict, and the relative importance of development and poverty reduction in national priorities.

The Commission recognizes the importance of these and other constraints and treats them in depth in several places in this Report. Success will require strong political leadership and commitment on the part of countries that can afford to contribute resources as well as from developing countries in the private and public sectors and in civil society as well. It requires the evolution of an atmosphere of honesty, trust, and respect in donor-recipient interactions. Success requires special efforts precisely in those settings in which health conditions are most troubling and where public sectors are weak. Donor support should be readily forthcoming to help overcome these constraints. Where countries are not willing to make a serious effort, though, or where funding is misused, prudence and credibility require that large-scale funding should not be provided. Even here, though, the record shows that donor assistance can do much to help, by building local capacity and through the involvement of civil society and NGOs. This is a daunting challenge, yet one that is more than ever a strategically relevant objective. Governments and leaders who help stimulate and nurture these actions will be providing a specific antidote to the despair and hatred that poverty can breed.

The Commission worked hard to examine whether the low-income countries could afford to fund the health systems out of their own resources if they were to eliminate existing wasteful spending in health and other areas. Our findings are clear: *poverty itself imposes a basic financial constraint, though waste does exist and needs to be addressed.* The poor countries should certainly improve health-sector management, review the current balance among health-sector programs, and raise domestic resources for health within their limited means. We believe that it is feasible, on average, for low- and middle-income countries to increase budgetary outlays for health by 1 percent of GNP by 2007 and 2 percent of GNP by 2015 compared with current levels, though this may be optimistic given intense competing demands for scarce public resources. Low and middle-income countries could also do more to make the current spending, public and private, more equitable and effective. Public spending should be better targeted to the poor, with priorities set on the basis of epidemiological and economic evidence. There is scope for private out-of pocket spending in some cases being replaced with prepaid community financing schemes. Yet for the low-income countries, we still find a gap between financial means and financial needs, which can be filled only by the donor world if there is to be any hope of success in meeting the MDGs.

In most middle-income countries, average health spending per person is already adequate to ensure universal coverage for essential interventions. Yet such coverage does not reach many of the poor. Exclusion is often concentrated by region (e.g., rural western China and rural northeast Brazil), or among ethnic and racial minorities. For whatever reason, public-sector spending on health does not attend sufficiently to the needs of the poor. Moreover, since many middle-income countries provide inadequate financial protection for large portions of their population, catastrophic medical expenses impoverish many households. In view of the adverse consequences of ill health on overall economic development and poverty reduction, we strongly urge the middle-income countries to undertake fiscal and organizational reforms to ensure universal coverage for priority health interventions[6]. We also believe that the World Bank and the regional development banks, through non concessional financing, can help these countries to make a multi-year transition to universal cov-

6. For many middle-income countries, our recommendation to raise an additional 1 percent of GNP in health by 2007 and 2 percent of GNP in health by 2015 would be more than enough to provide universal access to essential interventions. Those countries might therefore choose to raise less than that amount in

added revenues for health, or more realistically, might choose to extend coverage beyond the essential interventions outlined in this Report to include various non-communicable diseases that represent a growing burden on health in view of the aging of their populations.

erage for essential health services. The Commission examined the evidence relating to organizational requirements for scaling up and some of the key constraints that will have to be overcome. Fortunately, the essential interventions highlighted here are generally not technically exacting. Few require hospitals. Most can be delivered at health centers, at smaller facilities that we refer to as health posts, or through outreach services from these facilities. We call these collectively the *close-to-client (CTC)* system, and this system should be given priority to make these interventions widely accessible. Producing an effective CTC system is no small task. National leadership, coupled with capacity and accountability at the local level, is vital. This will require new political commitments, increased organizational and supervisory capacity at both local and higher levels, and greater transparency in public services and budgeting all backed by more funding. These, in turn, must be built on a foundation of strong community-level oversight and action, in order to be responsive to the poor, in order to build accountability of local services, and in order to help ensure that families take full advantage of the services provided.

Some recent global initiatives for disease control, including those for TB, leprosy, guinea-worm disease, and Chagas disease, have proved highly successful in delivering quality interventions and, in some cases, changing attitudes and behaviors in some very difficult situations over large geographical areas. An important feature of these initiatives is the inclusion of rigorous systems of monitoring, evaluation, reporting, and financial control as mechanisms for ensuring that objectives are met, problems are detected and corrected, and resources are fully accountable. The result is a growing body of evidence concerning both the degree of progress achieved and the operational and managerial strategies that contribute to success. Lessons from these experiences can provide useful operational guidance, especially for the delivery of interventions at the close-to-client level.

In most countries, the CTC system would involve a mix of state and nonstate health service providers, with financing guaranteed by the state. The government may directly own and operate service units, or may contract for services with for-profit and not-for-profit providers. Since public health systems in poor countries have been so weak and underfinanced

in recent years, a considerable nongovernmental health sector has arisen that is built upon private practice, religiously affiliated providers, and nongovernmental organizations. This variety of providers is useful in order to provide competition and a safety valve in case of failure of the public system. It is also a fait accompli in almost all poor countries.

A sound global strategy for health will also invest in new knowledge. One critical area of knowledge investment is operational research regarding treatment protocols in low-income countries[7]. There is still much to be learned about what actually works, and why or why not, in many lowincome settings, especially where interventions have not been used or documented to date. Even when the basic technologies of disease control are clear and universally applicable, each local setting poses special problems of logistics, adherence, dosage, delivery, and drug formulation that must be uncovered through operational research at the local level. We recommend that as a normal matter, country-specific projects should allocate at least 5 percent of all resources to project-related operational research in order to examine efficacy, the optimization of treatment protocols, the economics of alternative interventions, and delivery modes and population/patient preferences.

7. Operational research involves the investigation of health interventions in practice, including issues of patient adherence, toxicity, dosing, and modes and costs of delivery. The goal is to optimize the treatment regimen to local conditions, and to identify how best to integrate the regimen into existing services. The issue of operational research is typically neglected in country programs. We might distinguish two kinds of operational research. Clinical research involves the questions of treatment regimens, such as dosage and toxicity. Nonclinical operational research involves questions of logistics, financial management, cultural aspects of treatment regimens, and other nonclinical dimensions of health-service delivery.

There is also an urgent need for investments in new and improved technologies to fight the killer diseases. Recent advances in genomics, for example, bring us much closer to the long-sought vaccines for malaria and HIV/AIDS, and lifetime protection against TB. The science remains complex, however, and the outcomes unsure. The evidence suggests high social returns to investments in research that are far beyond current levels. Whether or not effective vaccines are produced, new drugs will certainly be needed, given the relentless increase of drug-resistant strains of disease agents.

The Commission therefore calls for a significant scaling up of financing for global R&D on the heavy disease burdens of the poor. We draw particular attention to the diseases overwhelmingly concentrated in poor countries. For these diseases, the rich-country markets offer little incentive for R&D to cover the relatively few cases that occur in these rich coun-

tries[8]. We also stress the need for research into reproductive health for example, new microbicides that could block the transmission of HIV/AIDS and improved management of life-threatening obstetric conditions.

We need increased investments in other areas of knowledge as well. Basic and applied scientific research in the biomedical and health sciences in the low-income countries needs to be augmented, in conjunction with increased R&D aimed at specific diseases. The state of epidemiological knowledge who suffers and dies and of which diseases must be greatly enhanced, through improved surveillance and reporting systems[9]. In public health, such knowledge is among the most important tools available to successful disease control. Surveillance is also critically needed in the case of many NCDs, including mental health, the impact of violence and accidents, and the rapid rise of tobacco and diet/nutrition-related diseases. Finally, we need a greatly enhanced system of advising and training throughout the low-income countries, so that the lessons of experience in one country can be mobilized elsewhere. The international diffusion of new knowledge and "best practices" is one of the key forces of scaling up, a central responsibility of organizations such as the World Health Organization and the World Bank, and a goal now more readily achieved through low-cost methods available through the internet.

A war against disease requires not only financial resources, sufficient technology, and political commitment, but also a strategy, operational lines of responsibility, and the capacity to learn along the way. The Commission therefore devoted substantial effort to analyzing the organizational practicalities of a massive, donor-supported scaling up of health interventions in the low-income world. We started by noting the changes that will be needed on the ground within the countries themselves. After all, essential health interventions are delivered in the communities where poor people live. Scaling up must therefore start with the organization of the CTC delivery system at the local level. The role of community involvement, and more generally of mobilization of a broad part-

8. Later in the Report we distinguish between three types of disease: Type I, which is incident in large numbers (or at least potentially so) in both rich and poor countries; Type II, which is incident mainly in poor countries, but with a significant number of cases in rich countries; and Type III, which is overwhelmingly or exclusively incident in poor countries. The need for special R&D stimulus applies mainly to Type II and Type III diseases.

9. One part of surveillance is real-time monitoring of epidemics, which now takes place through the WHO Global Outbreak Alert and Response Network, which interlinks 72 existing networks. Yet the absence of requisite laboratory and epidemiological capacity in many low-income countries is a weakness that requires prompt solution.

nership of public and private sectors and civil society, is crucial here. The CTC system should also be supported by nationwide programs for some major diseases, such as malaria, HIV/AIDS, and TB. Such focused programs have important advantages when properly integrated with community health delivery, by mobilizing communities of expertise not available at the community level, public attention and financing, political energies, and public accountability for specified results.

Since scaling up will require a significant increase in international financing, an effective partnership of donors and recipient countries, based on mutual trust and performance, is essential. In this context, the mechanisms of donor financing must change, a point that has been recognized in the international system in the past 3 years by the creative introduction of a new framework for poverty reduction, often termed the *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) framework*[10]. The early results of the PRSP process to date are promising, and the Commission endorses this new process[11]. A concerted attack on disease along the lines that we recommend will help to ensure success of this emerging approach to donor-recipient relations. The strengths of the PRSP include: [1] deeper debt cancellation, [2] country leadership in the preparation of the national strategy, [3] explicit incorporation of civil society at each step of the process, [4] a comprehensive approach to poverty reduction, and [5] more donor coordination in support of country goals. All of these are applicable indeed vital to the success of the health initiative proposed here. To achieve the potential benefits of the PRSP framework, donor and recipient countries must specify a sustainable financing scheme and investment plan for the health sector as an integral part of the PRSP scheme for health.

10. Donors have called upon low-income countries to prepare a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), which is the basis for a sustained and comprehensive attack on poverty supported by donor funding and debt cancellation.

11. These results are summarized in IMF, "Debt Relief for Poor Countries (HIPC): What Has Been Achieved," August 2001, http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ facts/povdebt.htm.

Though we advocate a greatly increased investment in the health sector itself, we stress the need for complementary additional investments in areas with an important impact on poverty alleviation (including effects on health). These include education, water and sanitation, and agricultural improvement. For example, education is a key determinant of health status, as health is of education status. Investments in these various sectors work best when made in combination, a point highlighted by the PRSP process. We did not, however, make cost estimates outside of

the health sector[12]. Within the context of the PRSP, the Commission recommends that each developing country establish a temporary National Commission on Macroeconomics and Health (NCMH), or its equivalent, chaired jointlyby the Ministers of Health and Finance and incorporating key representatives of civil society, to organize and lead the task of scaling up[13]. Each NCMH would assess national health priorities, establish a multi-year strategy to extend coverage of essential health services, take account of synergies with other key health producing sectors, and ensure consistency with a sound macroeconomic policy framework. The plan would be predicated upon greatly expanded international grant assistance. The National Commissions would work together with the WHO and World Bank to prepare an epidemiological baseline, quantified operational targets, and a medium-term financing plan. Each Commission should complete its work within two years, by the end of 2003.

We recommend that each country will need to define an overall program of "essential interventions" to be guaranteed universal coverage through public (plus donor) financing. We suggest four main criteria in choosing these essential interventions: [1] they should be technically efficacious and can be delivered successfully; [2] the targeted diseases should impose a heavy burden on society, taking into account individual illness as well as social spillovers (such as epidemics and adverse economic effects); [3] social benefits should exceed costs of the interventions (with benefits including life-years saved and spillovers such as fewer orphans or faster economic growth); and [4] the needs of the poor should be stressed.

We estimate that by 2010 around 8 million lives *per year*, in principle, could be saved mainly in the low-income countries by the essential interventions against infectious diseases and nutritional deficiencies recommended here[14]. The CMH estimated the costs of this expanded coverage[15], including related general costs of system expansion and supervision, for all countries with 1999 GNP per capita below $1,200, plus the remaining handful of countries in sub-Saharan Africa with in-

12. In addition, it is important emphasize appropriate approaches and technologies in these related areas. For example, emphasis on the education of girls has a particularly large effect on the health of the poor. Similarly, fuel-efficient stoves represent an appropriate technology that can prevent death from indoor air pollution as well as save energy.
13. Where there is a roughly equivalent broad-based group already set up, there may be no need to create another one, but rather to modify the existing structure to cover the necessary tasks. We do, however, stress the advantages of having joint direction by the finance and health ministers as a key to achieving scaling up of health services.
14. Millions more deaths per year would be averted by a dramatic reduction in cigarette smoking as well.
15. All instances of dollar figures in this Report refer to US dollars. All cost projections are in constant-price 2002 $US.

comes above $1,200 (see Table A2.B for the list of countries)[16]. Total annual health outlays for this group of countries would rise by $57 billion by 2007 and by $94 billion by 2015 (Table A2.3). The countries in the aggregate would commit an additional $35 billion per year by 2007 and $63 billion per year by 2015[17]. The donors, on their part, would contribute grant financing of an additional $22 billion per year by 2007 and $31 billion per year by 2015 (Table A2.6)[18]. Current official development assistance (ODA) is on the order of $6 billion[19]. Total donor spending, including both country-level programs and the supply of global public goods, would be $27 billion in 2007 and $38 billion in 2015. The increased donor financing for health would be additional to overall current aid flows, since aid should be increased in many areas outside of the health sector as well.

Most of the donor assistance would be directed at the least-developed countries, which need the most grant assistance to extend the coverage of health services. For those countries, total annual health outlays would rise by $17 billion by 2007 and $29 billion by 2015, above the level of 2002. Given the extremely low incomes in these countries, domestic resource mobilization would fall far short of need, however, rising by $4 billion by 2007 and $9 billion by 2015. The gap would be filled by donors, with grant assistance equal to $14 billion per year in 2007 and $21 billion per year in 2015. We also note that, on a regional basis, Africa would receive the largest proportion of donor assistance, a reflection both of Africa's poverty and its high disease prevalence. AIDS prevention and care would account for around half of the total cost of scaling up[20].

To understand these sums, it is instructive to consider the costs of the health interventions on a per capita basis. We find that, on average, the set of essential interventions costs around $34 per per-

16. The middle-income Sub-Saharan African countries are included especially because of their high HIV/AIDS prevalence, and therefore the high costs of providing essential health interventions.

17. This amounts to an extra 1 percent of GNP in 2007 and an extra 2 percent of GNP in 2015, though for some countries a smaller amount would be sufficient to cover the costs of scaling up.

18. The donors are assumed to cover whatever gap remains after the mobilization of at least 1 percent of GNP in 2007 and 2 percent of GNP in 2015. If those sums are sufficient (or more than sufficient) to cover the total costs of scaling up, then we assume that the donors contribute no funds.

19. We estimate that total official development assistance (ODA) for health is now approximately $6 billion per year, including $5 billion in country programs in the low- and middle-income countries, and approximately $1 billion on global public goods for health. In this $6 billion we are including support for the health system and specific disease control programs, but are not counting family planning, which would add another $600 million or so to the total if it were counted in the total. Despite an ardent effort of the Commission and Working Group 6, it is not possible to get a precise accounting of current donor assistance for health, since the funds are spent in a wide variety of ways and reporting inevitably involves lags, differences in coverage and definitions across donors, and important discrepancies between commitments and disbursements. In

addition to ODA, which is comprised of grants and concessional loans, there are also nonconcessional (market-interest-rate) loans for health, mainly from the World Bank to middle-income developing countries, of around $0.5 billion per year; and R&D spending on diseases of the poor that are financed outside of ODA budgets (most likely, the sums are far below $0.5 billion).

20. Although we have confidence in the general range of our cost estimates, we urge care not to overinterpret the detailed results by region or disease. Precise calculations of the costs of scaling up by country and disease category will have to wait for detailed country-by-country estimation in much greater detail than the Commission itself could undertake.

son per year, a very modest sum indeed, especially compared with average per capita health spending in the high-income countries of more than $2,000 per year. The least developed countries can mobilize around $15 per person per year by 2007 (almost 5 percent of per capita income). The gap is therefore $19 per person per year. With 750 million people in the least-developed countries in 2007, that comes to around $14 billion. The other low-income countries can mobilize around $32 per person on average (again roughly 5 percent of per capita income). Some of these countries will need donor aid to reach the $34 per person requirement, and others will not. The other lowincome countries will have a combined population of around 2 billion in 2007, and when calculated on a country-by-country basis will need roughly $3 per capita on average to close the financing gap, therefore requiring a total level of donor aid of approximately $6 billion. The low-middle-income countries will need an additional $1.5 billion, mainly to cover the high costs of AIDS.

It is important to put the total donor assistance into perspective. Although the required assistance is large relative to current donor assistance in health, it would be only around 0.1 percent of donor GNP, and would leave ample room for significant increases in other areas of donor assistance as needed. We stress that the increased aid for health must be additional to current aid flows, since indeed increased aid will be needed not only in health but also in education, sanitation, water supply, and other areas. Also, although the donor flows look large in relation to current health spending, particularly in the poorest countries, this reflects how little they spend, which in turn reflects their low incomes. This expansion of aid to the health sector needs to be phased over time to ensure that resources are used effectively and honestly, which led us to the time path of increasing coverage shown in Table 7, which shows the basis of our costing. Note that the donor assistance will be required for a sustained period of time, perhaps 20 years, but will eventually phase out as countries achieve higher per capita incomes and are thereby increasingly able to cover essential health services out of their own resources.

This program would yield economic benefits vastly greater than its costs. Eight million lives saved from infectious diseases and nutritionaldeficiencies would translate into a far larger number of *years* of life saved for those affected, as well as a higher quality of life. Economists talk of disability-adjusted life years (DALYs) saved[21], which add together the increased years of life and the reduced years of living with disabilities. We estimate that approximately 330 million DALYs would be saved for each 8 million deaths prevented. Assuming, conservatively, that each DALY saved gives an economic benefit of 1 year's per capita income of a projected $563 in 2015, the direct economic benefit of saving 330 million DALYs would be $186 billion per year, and plausibly several times that[22] Economic growth would also accelerate, and thereby the saved DALYs would help to break the poverty trap that has blocked economic growth in high-mortality low-income countries. This would add tens or hundreds of billions of dollars more per year through increased per capita incomes.

The $27 billion of total grant assistance in 2007 would be devoted to three goals: [1] assistance to low-income countries (and to a few middle-income countries for HIV/AIDS-related expenditures) to help pay for the scaling up of essential interventions and health system development ($22 billion, detailed in Appendix 2); [2] investments in research and development (R&D) devoted to the diseases of the poor ($3 billion); and [3] increased delivery of global public goods by the international institutions charged with coordinating the global effort, including the World Health Organization, the World Bank, and other specialized United Nations agencies ($2 billion). There would also be additional nonconcessional loan assistance for middle-income countries[23]. We believe that if well managed and phased in along the timetable that we recommend, these requisite flows could be absorbed by the developing countries without undue macroeconomic or sectoral destabilization.

These financial targets are a vision of what

21. When an individual dies young or in the middle age, the death is associated with many lost years of life. Also, disease can cause disability for years before eventual death. For both these reasons, DALYs lost per year are a multiple of deaths per year.
22. Per capita income in the low-income countries is currently around $410 per person per year in 1999. With growth of per capita income equal to 2 percent per annum, this would be $563 per year in 2015. 330 million DALYs would therefore result in a gain of $186 billion. There are good reasons to value each DALY at a multiple of per capita income, however, so that the direct benefits could be twice or more $186 billion. These calculations do not, furthermore, take into account the effects of better health on faster economic growth.
23. Our analysis suggests that most middle-income countries can afford to fund essential services out of their own domestic resources, if they demonstrate political will. Donor aid is needed overwhelmingly for low-income countries, with the exception of some funding for middle-income countries with very high HIV/AIDS prevalence which otherwise could not afford a comprehensive HIV/AIDS control effort.

should be done, rather than a prediction of what will happen. We are all too aware of donor countries that neglect their international obligations despite vast wealth, and of recipient countries that abjure the governance needed to save their own people. Maybe little increased funding will take place; donors might give millions when billions are needed, and impoverished countries will fight wars against people rather than disease, making it impossible for the world community to help. We are not naïve: it is no accident that millions of people – voiceless, powerless, unnoticed by the media – die unnecessarily every year[24].

The delivery of such large donor financing will require a new *modus operandi*. The Commission strongly supports the establishment of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (GFATM), which initially will focus on the global response to AIDS, malaria, and TB. We recommend that the GFATM be scaled up to around $8 billion per year by 2007 as part of the overall $22 billion of donor aid to country programs. Given the unique challenge posed by AIDS and its capacity to overturn economic development in Africa and other regions for decades, we believe that the GFATM should support a bold and aggressive program that focuses on prevention of new infections together with treatment for those already infected. Prevention efforts would aim at achieving a high coverage of prevention programs for highly vulnerable groups including commercial sex workers and injection drug users, and achieving widespread access to treatment of sexually transmitted infections (STIs), voluntary counseling and testing (VCT), and interventions to interrupt mother-to-child transmission. Given the costs and challenges of scaling up treatment, especially using antiretroviral therapy (ART) effectively and without promoting viral resistance to the drugs, scaling up should be carefully monitored, science-based, and subject to intensive op-

24. Many have asked the Commission what to do if the donor money is not made available—in essence, how to triage with less money. We are asked to prioritize millions of readily preventable deaths per year, since we have already narrowed our focus to a small number of conditions that have an enormous social burden and that have low-cost interventions that are at least partially effective. Not only is this kind of triaging ethically and politically beyond our capacity, but it is also exceedingly hard to do in sensible way. Those who hope for a simple answer, for example to focus on the cheap interventions (immunizations) while putting off the expensive interventions (higher-cost prevention programs and anti-retroviral therapy needed to fight AIDS) to a later date, misjudge the practical choices we face. The AIDS pandemic will destroy African economic development unless controlled; to fight measles but not AIDS will not begin to meet Africa's human and economic needs. It would be wrong to go to the other extreme as well, and let the legitimate need to fight AIDS end up starving the cheaper interventions, so we advocate both. Moreover, the infrastructure developed to fight AIDS will support the infrastructure needed to fight measles, especially if strengthening such complementarities is explicitly built into the AIDS control effort. It is vastly more fruitful to design and finance a comprehensive program that addresses many critical health needs than to pick and choose the apparently inexpensive items.

erational research. We endorse the estimates of UNAIDS and WHO's ART program that 5 million people can be brought under antiretroviral treatment in low-income settings by the end of 2006[25].

To help channel the increased R&D outlays, we endorse the establishment of a new Global Health Research Fund (GHRF), with disbursements of around $1.5 billion per year. This fund would support basic and applied biomedical and health sciences research on the health problems affecting the world's poor and on the health systems and policies needed to address them. Another $1.5 billion per year of R&D support should be funded through existing channels. These include the Special Programme for Research and Training in Tropical Diseases (TDR), the Initiative for Vaccine Research (IVR), the Special Programme of Research, Development and Research Training in Human Reproduction (HRP) (all housed at WHO) and the public-private partnerships for AIDS, TB, malaria, and other disease control programs that have recently been established. In both cases, the predictability of increased funding would be vital, as the necessary R&D undertakings are long-term ventures. The existing Global Forum for Health Research could play an important role in the effective allocation of this overall assistance. To support this increased research and development, we strongly advocate the free internet-based dissemination of leading scientific journals, thereby increasing the access of scientists in the low-income countries to a vital scientific research tool.

25. Presented by UNAIDS and WHO at the WHO International Consultative Meeting on Anti-Retroviral Therapy, Geneva, May 2001.

The public sector cannot bear this burden on its own. The pharmaceutical industry must be a partner in this effort. The corporate principles that have spurred recent and highly laudable programs of drug donations and price discounts need to be generalized to support the scaling up of health interventions in the poor countries. The pharmaceutical industry needs to ensure that low-income countries (and the donors on their behalf) have access to essential medicines at near-production cost (sometimes termed the *lowest viable commercial price*) rather than the much higher prices that are typical of high-income markets. Industry is ready, in our estimation, for such a commitment, enabling access of the poor to essential medicines, both through differential pricing and licensing their products to generics producers[26]. If industry cooperation is not enough or not forthcoming on a general and reliable basis,

26. Differential pricing refers to charging different prices in different markets, which are kept separate by physical and regulatory barriers. In this case, differential pricing would

involve charging the lowest viable commercial price in the low- income markets, and at the same time charging higher (often patent-protected) prices in the high-income markets.

the rules of international trade involving access to essential medicines should be applied in a manner that ensures the same results. At the same time, it is vital to ensure that increased access for the poor does not undermine the stimulus to future innovation that derives from the system of intellectual property rights. Private industry outside of the pharmaceutical sector also has a role to play, including by ensuring that their own labor force the heart of a firm's productivity has access to the knowledge and medical services that ensure their survival and health.

For example, the mining companies of southern Africa, at the epicenter of HIV/AIDS, have a special responsibility to help prevent transmission and to work with government and donors to ensure that their workers have access to care. The main findings of the Commission regarding the links of health and development are summarized in Table 2. An action agenda is summarized in Table 3. Our specific recommendations on increased international donor assistance and domestic financing are summarized in Table 4.

With globalization on trial as never before, the world must succeed in achieving its solemn commitments to reduce poverty and improve health. The resources human, scientific, and financial exist to succeed, but now must be mobilized. As the world embarks on a heightened struggle against the evils of terrorism, it is all the more important that the world simultaneously commit itself to sustaining millions of lives through peaceful means as well, using the best of our modern science and technology and the enormous wealth of the rich countries. This would be an effort that would inspire and unite peoples all over the world. We call upon the leaders of the international community in donor and recipient nations, in international institutions such as the World Bank, the World Health Organization, the World Trade Organization, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, and the International Monetary Fund, in private enterprise, and in civil society to seize the opportunities identified in this report. Now, united, the world can initiate and facilitate the global investments in health that can transform the lives and livelihoods of the world's poor.

Table 2. Key Findings on the Linkages of Health and Development

1 Health is a priority goal in its own right, as well as a central input into economic development and poverty reduction. The importance of investing in health has been greatly underestimated, not only by analysts but also by developing-country governments and the international donor community. Increased investments in health as outlined in this Report would translate into hundreds of billions of dollars per year of increased income in the low-income countries. There are large social benefits to ensuring high levels of health coverage of the poor, including spillovers to wealthier members of the society.

2. A few health conditions are responsible for a high proportion of the health deficit: HIV/AIDS, malaria, TB, childhood infectious diseases (many of which are preventable by vaccination), maternal and perinatal conditions, tobacco-related illnesses, and micronutrient deficiencies. Effective interventions exist to prevent and treat these conditions. Around 8 million deaths per year from these conditions could be averted by the end of the decade in a well-focused program.

3. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is a distinct and unparalleled catastrophe in its human dimension and its implications for economic development. It therefore requires special consideration. Tried and tested interventions within the health sector are available to address most of the causes of the health deficit, including HIV/AIDS.

4. Investments in reproductive health, including family planning and access to contraceptives, are crucial accompaniments of investments in disease control. The combination of disease control and reproductive health is likely to translate into reduced fertility, greater investments in the health and education of each child, and reduced population growth.

5. The level of health spending in the low-income countries is insufficient to address the health challenges they face. We estimate that minimum financing needs to be around $30 to $40 per person per year to cover essential interventions, including those needed to fight the AIDS pandemic, with much of that sum requiring budgetary rather than private-sector financing. Actual health spending is considerably lower. The least-developed countries average approximately $13 per person per year in total health expenditures, of which budgetary outlays are just $7. The other low-income countries average approximately $24 per capita per year, of which budgetary outlays are $13.

6. Poor countries can increase the domestic resources that they mobilize for the

health sector and use those resources more efficiently. Even with more efficient allocation and greater resource mobilization, the levels of funding necessary to cover essential services are far beyond the financial means of many low-income countries, as well as a few middle-income countries with high prevalence of HIV/AIDS.

7. Donor finance will be needed to close the financing gap, in conjunction with best efforts by the recipient countries themselves. We estimate that a worldwide scaling up of health investments for the low-income countries to provide the essential interventions of $30 to 40 per person will require approximately $27 billion per year in donor grants by 2007, compared with around $ 6 billion per year that is currently provided. This funding should be additional to other donor financing, since increased aid is also needed in other related areas such as education, water, and sanitation.

8. Increased health coverage of the poor would require greater financial investments in specific health sector interventions, as well as a properly structured health delivery system that can reach the poor. The highest priority is to create a service delivery system at the local ("close-to-client") level, complemented by nationwide programs for some major diseases. Successful implementation of such a program requires political and administrative commitment, strengthening of country technical and administrative expertise, substantial strengthening of public management systems, and creation of systems of community accountability. It also requires new approaches to donor/recipient relations.

9. An effective assault on diseases of the poor will also require substantial investments in global public goods, including increased collection and analysis of epidemiological data, surveillance of infectious diseases, and research and development into diseases that are concentrated in poor countries (often, though not exclusively, tropical diseases).

10 Coordinated actions by the pharmaceutical industry, governments of low-income countries, donors, and international agencies are needed to ensure that the world's low-income countries have reliable access to essential medicines.

Table 3. An Action Agenda for Investing in Health for Economic Development

1. Each low- and middle-income country should establish a temporary National Commission on Macroeconomics and Health (NCMH), or its equivalent, to formulate a long-term program for scaling up essential health interventions as part of their overall framework in their Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). The WHO and the World Bank should assist national Commissions to establish epidemiological baselines, operational targets, and a framework for long-term donor financing. The NCMHs should complete their work by the end of 2003.

2. The financing strategy should envisage an increase of domestic budgetary resources for health of 1 percent of GNP by 2007 and 2 percent of GNP by 2015 (or less, if a smaller increase is sufficient to cover the costs of scaling up, as may be true in some middle-income countries). For low-income countries, this entails an additional budgetary outlay of $23 billion by 2007 and $40 billion by 2015, of which the least-developed countries account for $4 billion by 2007 and $9 billion by 2015 themselves, and the other low-income countries the balance. Countries should also take steps to enhance the efficiency of domestic resource spending, including a better prioritization of health services and the encouragement of community-financing schemes to ensure improved risk pooling for poor households.

3. The international donor community should commit adequate grant resources for lowincome countries to ensure universal coverage of essential interventions as well as scaled-up R&D and other public goods. A few middle-income countries will also require grant assistance to meet the financial costs of expanded HIV/AIDS control. According to our estimates, total needs for donor grants will be $27 billion per year in 2007 and $38 billion per year in 2015. In addition, the World Bank and the regional development banks should offer increased nonconcessional loans to middle-income countries aiming to upgrade their health systems. The allocation of donor commitments would be roughly as follows:

	2007	2015
Country-level programs	$22 billion	$31 billion
R&D for diseases of the poor	$ 3 billion	$ 4 billion
Provision of other Global Public Goods	$ 2 billion	$ 3 billion
Total	$27 billion	$38 billion

The WHO and the World Bank, with a steering committee of donor and recipient countries, should be charged with coordinating and monitoring the resource mobilization process. Implementing this vision of greatly expanded support for health requires donor support for build-up of implementation capacity and for addressing governance or other constraints. Where funds are not used appropriately, however, credibility requires that funding be cut back and used to support capacity building and NGO programs.

4. The international community should establish two new funding mechanisms, with the following approximate scale of annual outlays by 2007: The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (GFATM), $8 billion; and the Global Health Research Fund (GHRF), $1.5 billion. Additional R&D outlays of $1.5 billion per year should be channeled through existing institutions such as TDR, IVR, and HRP at WHO, as well as the Global Forum for Health Research and various public-private partnerships that are currently aiming toward new drug and vaccine development. Country programs should also direct at least 5 percent of outlays to operational research.

5. The supply of other Global Public Goods (GPGs) should be bolstered through additional financing of relevant international agencies such as the World Health Organization and World Bank by $1 billion per year as of 2007 and $2 billion per year as of 2015. These GPGs include disease surveillance at the international level, data collection and analysis of global health trends (such as burden of disease), analysis and dissemination of international best practices in disease control and health systems, and technical assistance and training.

6. To support private-sector incentives for late-stage drug development, existing "orphan drug legislation" in the high-income countries should be modified to cover diseases of the poor such as the tropical vector-borne diseases. In addition, the GFATM and other donor purchasing entities should establish pre-commitments to purchase new targeted products at commercially viable prices.

7. The international pharmaceutical industry, in cooperation with low-income countries and the WHO, should ensure access of the low-income countries to essential medicines through commitments to provide essential medicines at the lowest viable commercial price in the low-income countries, and to license the production of essential medicines to generics producers as warranted by cost and/or supply conditions, as discussed in detail in the Report.

8. The WTO member governments should ensure sufficient safeguards for the developing countries, and in particular the right of countries that do not pro-

duce the relevant pharmaceutical products to invoke compulsory licensing for imports from third-country generics suppliers.

9. The International Monetary Fund and World Bank should work with recipient countries to incorporate the scaling up of health and other poverty-reduction programs into a viable macroeconomic framework.

Table 4. Recommended Donor and Country Commitments
[billions of constant 2002 US dollars]

	2001 [CMH estimates]	2007	2015
DONOR COMMITMENTS			
Country-level programs:			
Least-Developed Countries	$1.5	$14	$21
Other-Low-Income Countries	$2.0	$ 6	$ 8
Middle-Income Countries	$1.5 ODA 0.5 Nonconcessional	$ 2	$ 2
of which: Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria	$ 0	$ 8	$12
Global Public Goods			
R&D	[<] $0.5	$ 3	$ 4
of which: Global Health Research Fund	$ 0	$ 1.5	$ 2.5
International Agencies	$ 1	$ 2	$ 3
Total Donor Commitments	$ 7	$27	$38
DOMESTIC RESOURCES FOR HEALTH			
Least-Developed Countries	$ 7	$11	$16
Other Low-Income Countries	$43	$62	$74

COUNTRY-LEVEL PROGRAMS IN LOW-INCOME COUNTRIES

Donor Commitments plus Domestic Resources	$53.5	$93	$119

Note: Recommendations are for annual commitments in a global scaled up program. As stressed throughout the Report, actual disbursements will depend on policy performance within recipient countries.

*Professor J. D. Sachs, has chaired the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health.

Aids e povertà

Liberamente tratto dalla pubblicazione AIDS. L'epidemia che potrebbe cambiare la storia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale «AIDS, una grande sfida allo sviluppo dei popoli», realizzato a Milano il 27 novembre 2001 dalle ONG promotrici di Forum Solint (CISP, COOPI, COSV, INTERSOS e MOVIMONDO), a cura di Paolo Giorgi (con la collaborazione di Carlo Tassara), Zelig Editore, Milano, 2002.

I. La dimensione sociale dell'AIDS

Paolo Giorgi, Carlo Tassara*

L'AIDS, considerato a inizio degli anni '90 quasi esclusivamente un problema di salute pubblica, è oggi percepito come una vera e propria crisi per lo sviluppo dei popoli. La diffusione della malattia investe e condiziona pesantemente ogni aspetto della vita, erode le risorse e le potenzialità delle popolazioni maggiormente colpite, ne sconvolge la struttura sociale ed economica. Porta con sé un enorme carico di sofferenza per gli individui direttamente colpiti dalla malattia o indirettamente coinvolti dalle sue conseguenze sulle famiglie e le comunità. L'impatto dell'AIDS sulla società si traduce nel condizionamento della struttura demografica e delle dinamiche sociali ed esaspera la vulnerabilità della forza lavoro, con il conseguente e progressivo deterioramento delle attività produttive, dei servizi di base, delle attività educative e culturali.

Al tempo stesso l'evoluzione dell'epidemia è condizionata dai modelli comportamentali e dalle dinamiche sociali, culturali e di genere esistenti. È influenzata dall'accesso ai servizi sanitari di base, dalla possibilità e volontà di prevenzione e dall'accesso all'informazione. Determinanti sono anche il livello socio-economico e le condizioni della salute di base della popolazione. Un ruolo considerevole ha il livello del rispetto effettivo dei diritti umani fondamentali.

La comunità internazionale si sta mobilitando in vari modi per fronteggiare l'epidemia ed arginarne le conseguenze ancora evitabili, fornendo supporto ai governi dei paesi più colpiti.

È chiaro che questa mobilitazione non può prescindere da analisi puntuali sull'impatto sociale dell'AIDS e su quello dei comportamenti sociali sulla diffusione della malattia. Analisi di questo tipo dovranno necessariamente focalizzarsi sulle caratteristiche peculiari dei sistemi sociali esistenti nei paesi più colpiti dall'AIDS, in grado di ispirare strategie mirate ed efficaci.

II. La dimensione economica dell'AIDS

L'esperienza diretta e lo studio della documentazione disponibile suggeriscono che i fattori economici costituiscono, al tempo stesso, causa ed effetto della diffusione dell'epidemia. In termini generali, ad esempio, è possibile stabilire alcune correlazioni, quali:

- la povertà diffusa e la distribuzione fortemente squilibrata dei redditi, in particolare a danno delle donne, contribuiscono significativamente alla diffusione dell'AIDS;
- la diffusione dell'AIDS è facilitata dall'accelerazione dei processi migratori e dalla rapida urbanizzazione, a loro volta determinati dall'impoverimento delle aree di origine. In proposito, occorrerebbe, da una parte, determinare condizioni idonee a prevenire massicci e improvvisi spostamenti di popolazione rafforzando sistemi sociali ed economici particolarmente fragili e, dall'altra, accompagnare i processi migratori con politiche di controllo sanitario ed epidemiologico per ridurne il possibile impatto negativo sulla salute pubblica;
- i decessi per AIDS accrescono la povertà delle famiglie colpite e l'ineguaglianza sociale, che, a loro volta, inducono l'allargamento dell'epidemia, creando un circolo vizioso.

I soggetti politici e gli operatori della cooperazione devono approfondire la comprensione di questi fenomeni socio-economici con l'obiettivo d'individuare come spezzare il circolo vizioso povertà-AIDS.

Povertà e disuguaglianze

Numerose analisi confermano che la povertà e la disuguaglianza di ge-

nere accrescono la diffusione dell'AIDS. Ad esempio, è possibile affermare che (Ainsworth et al.: 1997):

- il basso reddito e la sua squilibrata distribuzione sono fortemente associati all'alto tasso d'infezione da HIV;
- in un paese in via di sviluppo medio, l'incremento nel reddito pro capite può ridurre in forma misurabile il tasso d'infezione da HIV negli adulti urbanizzati;
- la riduzione dell'indice d'ineguaglianza è significativamente associabile alla riduzione del tasso d'infezione.

Queste considerazioni suggeriscono che una rapida ed equa distribuzione della crescita economica può fare molto per rallentare l'epidemia di AIDS.

Come si è già sottolineato, l'aumento dei tassi da infezione HIV è dovuto anche alle disuguaglianze di genere, in particolare, nei centri urbani dove è più alta l'incidenza degli uomini rispetto alle donne e la disuguaglianza di genere nell'accesso all'istruzione.

È stato rilevato che nelle città dove il numero degli uomini tra 20 e 39 anni è superiore a quello delle donne, si riscontra un livello di HIV più alto. Analogamente, il *gap* di istruzione tra uomini e donne adulti comporta maggiori difficoltà per le donne a trovare un lavoro, determinando di conseguenza un allargamento del fenomeno della prostituzione.

Le dinamiche di un'economia in crescita: migrazione ed urbanizzazione

Un paese in grado di aumentare il reddito pro capite e ridurre l'ineguaglianza tra i sessi, per esempio con politiche che generino lavoro e accelerino la crescita economica, può significativamente ridurre il rischio di diffusione dell'AIDS o, almeno, controllare e minimizzare l'epidemia in corso.

Al tempo stesso, se un'economia "aperta" è indispensabile per una rapida crescita economica, tale modello economico, prevedendo in maniera "strutturale" forti movimenti migratori, rischia di incrementare la vulnerabilità alla diffusione dell'epidemia dei contesti sociali.

Ciò non implica che i governi debbano limitare l'immigrazione o i flussi migratori interni, sia perché questi fenomeni nascono spesso da veri e propri drammi umanitari ai quali è difficile dare risposte sufficienti nelle zone di origine dei migranti e sia perché, in realtà, le migrazioni

spesso rappresentano processi direttamente associati alla crescita economica e allo sviluppo.

È però legittimo domandarsi, tuttavia, se non sia possibile prevedere, nel contesto della lotta all'AIDS, azioni orientate a mitigare la necessità di spostamenti improvvisi delle popolazioni da aree di particolare fragilità socio-economica e a contenere l'impatto epidemiologico collegato ai processi migratori.

Per quanto riguarda la prima tipologia di azioni pensiamo essenzialmente a progetti che privilegino processi economici legati alle potenzialità locali, basati sulla piena valorizzazione delle risorse disponibili e sull'auto-organizzazione locale (Barro et al.: 1999; Latouche:1997).

Un ulteriore fattore che può essere immediatamente modificato dalla politica dei governi, è costituito dalla militarizzazione. Nei paesi in via di sviluppo, le forze armate sono spesso collocate vicino ai centri urbani e sono costituite soprattutto da giovani non sposati. Riducendo l'impatto della militarizzazione se ne potrebbero contenere gli effetti negativi sul piano della diffusione dell'AIDS. Questo non esclude peraltro la necessità di ampi programmi di prevenzione per tutti i militari.

Infine, fra le determinanti economiche dell'epidemia, va segnalato il turismo sessuale. È un settore economico che muove miliardi di dollari, che ha per oggetto milioni di bambine e bambini coinvolti nella schiavitù del terzo millennio, che contempla anche il fenomeno della vendita di minori ad adulti senza scrupoli e che è oramai diffuso dal Sud-Est Asiatico (Thailandia) all'America Latina (Brasile), all'Africa e all'Est Europeo.

Occorre quindi impegnarsi anche su questo fronte, attuando progetti di lotta contro il turismo sessuale, non solo dove è presente, dove operano le agenzie specializzate, ma anche nel territorio d'origine delle ONG del Nord.

III. Povertà, disuguaglianza e AIDS

La relazione tra la diffusione dell'AIDS e la povertà assume le caratteristiche di un vero e proprio circolo vizioso. È facile rilevare, analizzando le cause ricorrenti dell'emergenza, che esse sono, nel loro insieme, emblematiche di uno stato generale di povertà.

È vero che l'AIDS, nei paesi più colpiti, non riguarda solo gli strati più poveri della popolazione, ma è altrettanto vero che questi ultimi ri-

mangono comunque i più esposti in ragione della loro vulnerabilità sociale ed economica. Ad esempio, è stato rilevato che l'utilizzo del profilattico è generalmente più diffuso presso settori sociali a più alto reddito e con più elevati livelli di istruzione.

In ogni caso, i fattori di vulnerabilità tipici dei settori più poveri e meno protetti delle popolazioni rendono particolarmente problematico ipotizzare una riduzione della loro esposizione al contagio. Assumendo, ad esempio, le scuole come veicoli centrali nell'opera di informazione e prevenzione, va considerato che l'accesso ai servizi scolastici è fortemente limitato dallo stato di povertà dei nuclei familiari e dal loro bisogno di impiegare la forza lavoro dei bambini per aumentare il reddito.

È noto come la povertà costituisca una realtà a più dimensioni, difficilmente indagabile a partire da indicatori esclusivamente economici, soprattutto se questi – come è il caso del Prodotto Interno Lordo (PIL) pro capite – forniscono informazioni aggregate e incapaci di rendere conto delle complesse stratificazioni sociali ed economiche esistenti nei paesi poveri.

Conseguentemente, l'identificazione di strategie mirate di lotta alla povertà in grado di aggredire alla radice anche le cause della diffusione dell'AIDS deve misurarsi con i livelli di disuguaglianza esistenti e perseguire la riduzione dei principali fattori di vulnerabilità e di insicurezza.

In generale, i fattori di vulnerabilità possono dividersi in due grandi categorie: quelli che contribuiscono ad una scarsa capacità di generazione del reddito e quelli che contribuiscono al sedimentarsi di sfavorevoli ambienti socio-economici.

Nella prima categoria rientrano l'insufficiente disponibilità di *assets* per la produzione, tra i quali la terra e lo scarso accesso a risorse d'investimento. Nei periodi di crisi, come quello determinato dall'AIDS, i nuclei familiari spesso sono costretti a privarsi dei pochi *assets* disponibili. Il fenomeno della privazione della terra, ad esempio, colpisce particolarmente le donne, che spesso non hanno diritti ereditari, ed è in crescita in molti paesi in via di sviluppo (Maxwell: 1999), causando come è noto massicci spostamenti dalle aree rurali alle città e determinando la crescita della povertà urbana, che propone specifiche gravi caratteristiche, quali la diffusione della prostituzione, l'incremento della criminalità, lo sfruttamento dei minori.

Alla seconda categoria afferiscono invece la carenza di infrastrutture e di sistemi di collegamento e trasporto, lo scarso accesso ai servizi

sanitari ed educativi e alla formazione, il basso livello di organizzazione comunitaria, che si traduce anche in marginalità politica.

Non è difficile comprendere come l'AIDS sia al tempo stesso causa ed effetto dell'aggravarsi dei fattori di vulnerabilità richiamati.

Gli effetti di impoverimento indotti dall'AIDS sono soprattutto rilevabili ai livelli familiari e comunitari e si traducono nella riduzione dei redditi e dei consumi, nel deterioramento quali/quantitativo delle diete alimentari[1], nell'ulteriore diminuzione del potere politico e di rappresentanza di gruppi sociali spesso già tendenzialmente periferici rispetto agli ordinamenti statuali e alle politiche governative.

1. Nei sei mesi successivi al decesso di un adulto per l'AIDS, le spese per il cibo a livello familiare tendono a diminuire di un terzo nel 50% delle famiglie più povere con effetti devastanti, soprattutto sui bambini. La malnutrizione infantile è sicuramente una delle conseguenze più gravi e durature del decesso di un giovane adulto in una famiglia.

Va poi rilevato che la diffusione della patologia, esasperata anche dall'insufficiente accesso ai servizi (sanitari, educativi e di prevenzione) approfondisce a sua volta lo iato esistente tra il bisogno di servizi e la loro effettiva disponibilità, incidendo negativamente sulla disponibilità delle risorse umane necessarie e sui costi finanziari dei servizi stessi.

Non si può dimenticare inoltre che alcuni specifici fattori, purtroppo prevalenti in molti Paesi Meno Avanzati (PMA), concorrono ad aumentare ulteriormente il rischio di diffusione dell'AIDS. Tra essi, la militarizzazione del territorio conseguente all'instabilità politica e all'esplosione di conflitti. Non è difficile infatti correlare la diffusione della prostituzione con la presenza di reparti militari. In proposito, spiace dover sottolineare che quanto appena affermato non è vero solo in riferimento a reparti militari locali, ma anche delle forze multinazionali messe in campo nell'ambito di operazioni di *peace keeping* realizzate sotto l'egida delle Nazioni Unite. Non è questa la sede per approfondire questa problematica. Va però sottolineata l'urgenza di concepire programmi mirati di sensibilizzazione per i reparti militari impegnati in operazioni di pace. In ogni caso, anche la militarizzazione e l'esplosione dei conflitti armati è considerabile causa ed effetto della povertà. Causa, perché spesso all'origine dei conflitti vi è l'esasperata e violenta competizione tra gruppi sociali ed etnici per l'accesso alle risorse in regimi di scarsità. Effetto perché le guerre producono, oltre che immense tragedie umanitarie, l'impoverimento delle famiglie e veri e propri saccheggi contro la sanità e l'istruzione nei bilanci degli stati.

Coerenza delle politiche

Torniamo dunque al nodo principale del presente ragionamento: se esiste una forte relazione tra povertà e diffusione dell'AIDS, le misure specifiche da adottare nella lotta all'epidemia (prevenzione, cura, sostegno ai sistemi di salute) devono iscriversi nell'ambito di una strategia globale che continui a perseguire con determinazione la lotta alla povertà.
In tale contesto, assumono una particolare rilevanza alcuni obiettivi che, pur essendo da tempo presenti nell'agenda dei principali donatori, e in particolare in quella dei paesi che aderiscono alla *Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development* (OECD), non sono stati ancora affrontati in modo sufficientemente determinato. Ricordiamone alcuni:

- riduzione di almeno il 50% della condizione di povertà assoluta (ossia del numero di persone che vivono con, al massimo, un dollaro al giorno) nei Paesi in Via di Sviluppo (PVS) entro il 2015. In proposito, è importante segnalare che tale obiettivo è stato formalizzato come prioritario dall'OCSE fin dal 1996 e che una sua formulazione compiuta è contenuta nel documento *Shaping the 21th century* (OECD: 1997);
- riduzione di almeno il 66% della mortalità infantile dei bambini minori di 5 anni e riduzione di almeno il 75% della mortalità perinatale;
- accesso universale a fonti sicure di acqua potabile;
- educazione primaria per tutti entro il 2015.

Ma non è possibile perseguire seriamente questi obiettivi se non si affrontano davvero alcune questioni centrali quali, ad esempio, la rinegoziazione del debito estero dei PVS e l'identificazione di strategie di risanamento economico che non pregiudichino sostanzialmente le risorse disponibili per la spesa sociale; oppure la costruzione di un nuovo sistema di regole internazionali che non strangoli sul nascere le potenzialità di sviluppo economico e di commercio estero degli stessi PVS?

Non è questa la sede per approfondire questioni di tale complessità. Va però ricordato che la lotta alla povertà e al sottosviluppo può essere vinta soltanto mettendo in campo politiche e scelte, coerenti coraggiose, anche in altri settori, quali l'economia e gli scambi commerciali, la tutela dell'ambiente e le relazioni internazionali.

In proposito, vale dunque la pena ribadire alcuni contenuti prioritari che una strategia coerente di lotta alla povertà dovrebbe contenere. Per maggiore sinteticità verrà utilizzato uno schema, ispirato da recenti

elaborazioni dell'Unione Europea (Boorman et al.: 1999), che sintetizza, assumendo l'obiettivo generale della riduzione della povertà nei PVS, le condizioni interne da raggiungere, le strategie da perseguire e, in basso, le pre-condizioni necessarie a livello internazionale.



I primi tre livelli dello schema proposto sono probabilmente auto evidenti e non necessitano di particolari approfondimenti.

È in riferimento al quarto livello, quello che attiene alle pre-condizioni a livello internazionale, che è forse utile uno specifico approfondimento.

La prima pre-condizione riguarda la già ricordata coerenza tra gli obiettivi dell'aiuto allo sviluppo e quelli delle politiche economiche e commerciali. Si tratta di un nodo più volte eluso da molti paesi industrializ-

zati. Ciononostante, vanno rilevati anche alcuni segnali positivi, come ad esempio la strategia *Everything but Arms* (EC: 2001), presentata in occasione del G8 di Genova (luglio 2001) dal Presidente della Commissione Europea Romano Prodi.

L'iniziativa, che punta a favorire l'accesso ai mercati europei di prodotti provenienti dai Paesi Meno Avanzati (PMA) con l'eccezione delle armi, è in qualche modo emblematica di una riflessione che da anni l'Unione Europea sta svolgendo sul tema della coerenza, anche tramite frequenti consultazioni con le Organizzazioni Non Governative[2]. Si tratta di una riflessione da incoraggiare e sostenere, sia perché punta il dito su alcuni macroscopici attuali elementi di incoerenza da correggere[3] e sia perché un aumento significativo nella coerenza tra gli obiettivi dell'aiuto allo sviluppo e quelli delle politiche economiche e commerciali può significativamente aumentare l'autorevolezza e la credibilità dei governi dei paesi donatori al cospetto dei paesi poveri, contribuendo quindi ad aumentarne le possibilità di persuasione nella necessaria opera di dialogo politico con i governi dei PVS.

2. All'interno della Direzione Generale Sviluppo della Commissione Europea (CE) nel 1999 è stato creato un ufficio incaricato di definire e suggerire correttivi alle politiche comunitarie affinché siano più coerenti con gli obiettivi dell'aiuto allo sviluppo.
3. Un chiaro esempio è la questione dell'impatto sulle economie dei PVS della Politica Agricola Comunitaria, che secondo molte ONG non agevola la promozione delle economie agricole locali, per via dei sussidi erogati agli esportatori europei anche in assenza di rigorose analisi dei mercati locali.

È stata quindi introdotta la seconda pre-condizione indicata nello schema: il dialogo politico e il sostegno ai processi di democratizzazione. È difficile ipotizzare, anche in riferimento alla lotta all'AIDS, significativi passi in avanti in assenza di più equilibrate e coerenti scelte di bilancio da parte dei PVS e di una più coraggiosa apertura, da parte dei loro governi, alla partecipazione politica dei cittadini. Qualsiasi tentazione di considerare il consolidamento della democrazia un lusso da rimandare a periodi di maggiore prosperità è oggi confutabile da anni di studi (Senn: 1999) ed esperienze nel campo dello sviluppo. Il rafforzamento del tessuto e della partecipazione democratica costituisce tra l'altro un fattore di prevenzione dell'esasperazione militare dei conflitti, che a sua volta rappresenta una causa prevalente di impoverimento e di vulnerabilità e, non da ultimo, di diffusione del rischio di esposizione al contagio dell'AIDS.

Infine, la terza pre-condizione indicata riguarda l'aiuto allo sviluppo. Iniziative come quella assunta in occasione dell'ultimo G8 di Genova con la creazione del *Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis & Ma-*

laria (GFATM) e l'erogazione di una prima parte dei fondi necessari, sebbene quantitativamente inferiori rispetto alle aspettative espresse dal Segretario Generale dell'Organizzazione delle Nazioni Unite (ONU), possono sì contribuire a combattere l'AIDS ma, al tempo stesso e alla luce delle argomentazioni sin qui svolte sul rapporto tra AIDS e povertà, la responsabilità storica dei paesi ricchi è oggi quella di assumere, accanto a decisioni "straordinarie", impegni certi e pluriennali di cooperazione internazionale. Il "famoso" obiettivo[4] di portare l'aiuto allo sviluppo allo 0,7% del PIL rimane quindi prioritario e ineludibile, ed ha anzi acquisito una rinnovata attualità.

Con l'11 settembre, infatti, la grande vulnerabilità degli equilibri internazionali e delle stesse società industriali avanzate si è manifestata in tutta la sua drammatica evidenza. In tale contesto, un numero crescente di persone prende coscienza dell'ingiusta distribuzione delle risorse a livello mondiale e non accetta più la mancanza di diritti e l'acuirsi delle contraddizioni.

Oggi più di ieri, la ricerca di soluzioni efficaci ai problemi drammatici della povertà e del sottosviluppo, tramite gli strumenti della cooperazione internazionale e il perseguimento di politiche economiche coerenti, costituisce un'importante priorità, anche a partire dalla necessità di ridurre i rischi di instabilità politica e sociale del "sistema mondo". Aiutare i poveri e gli esclusi, quindi, non costituisce soltanto un imperativo etico ed umanitario, ma anche un interesse essenziale della comunità internazionale per la "sicurezza" di tutti.

4. Tale obiettivo è stato formalizzato nel 1969 dal *Development Assistance Committee* (DAC) dell'OCSE e assunto dalla grande maggioranza dei paesi industrializzati in varie sedi internazionali. L'Italia, ad esempio, l'ha riconfermato più volte, l'ultima nel giugno 1997, in occasione di una Sessione speciale dell'Assemblea Generale delle Nazioni Unite.

*Paolo Giorgi, Responsabile relazioni esterne – COOPI; Carlo Tassara, Direttore – CISP.

Riferimenti bibliografici

BOORMAN J., Masood Ahmed (approved by), 1999 (December 10). Poverty Reduction Strategies Papers – Operational Issues (Draft for Discussion), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Development Association (IDA), Washington D.C.

DIECI P., 2000. *Il Corno d'Africa tra instabilità e speranze: riflessioni e ipotesi strategiche per la cooperazione allo sviluppo*, in Tassara C. (a cura di), *La sfida delle crisi complesse nella cooperazione internazionale: il ruolo delle ONG e la partnership tra istituzioni e società civile*, Forum Solint, Roma.

DIECI P., 2001 (January). *The Challenge of Poverty Reduction and the Least Developed Countries (LDCs)*: some introductory notes, CISP, Rome.

European Commission (EC). 2001. *Everything but Arms* (EBA) Initiative, Commission statement, 1 March 2001.

GÓMEZ-REINO S. (EC), ALONSO J. A. & BUSTELO P. (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), P. DIECI (CISP), 2001 (April). *The Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and the international development goals*, Brussels.

MAXWELL S., 1999. *Agricultural Development and Poverty, Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation* (CTA), Special paper N° 936, Wageningen.

MAE-DGCS, 2001. *Relazione annuale sull'attuazione della politica di cooperazione allo sviluppo nel 2000*, Roma.

MAE-DGCS, 2000a. *Programmazione delle attività di cooperazione allo sviluppo per il 2000-2002*, Dipco N° 4, 9 marzo 2000, Roma.

OECD, 2000. *DAC Peer Review of Italy*, 9 June 2000, OECD, Paris.

OECD, 1997. *Shaping the 21th Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation*, OECD, Paris.

RANDEL J., GERMAN T. & EWING D., 2000. *The Reality of Aid 2000. An Independent Review of Poverty Reduction and Development Assistance*, Earthscan-Movimondo, London.

SEN A., 1999, *Democracy as a Universal Value, in Journal of Democracy* 10.3 (1999), National Endowment for Democracy and the Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

TASSARA C., DIECI P., 2001 (July). *Talking on the globalisation and fight against poverty*, Rome.

TASSARA C., 2000. *Riflessioni e proposte per una nuova partnership tra istituzioni e società civile nella cooperazione internazionale*, in Tassara C. (a cura di), *La sfida delle crisi complesse nella cooperazione internazionale: il ruolo delle ONG e la partnership tra istituzioni e società civile*, Forum Solint, Roma.

La nuova partnership per lo sviluppo africano [nepad]

Sandro De Luca*

La *New Partnership for African Development* (NEPAD), è una strategia di sviluppo del continente definita nel corso del 2001 che raccoglie l'eredità di precedenti iniziative ed in particolare del *Millennium African Plan* (MAP) proposto dai Presidenti di Sud Africa, Nigeria e Algeria e del Piano Omega proposto dal Presidente del Senegal Abdoulaye Wade. Questi due piani sono stati fusi in un nuovo programma immediatamente prima del vertice dei capi di stato e di governo africani di Lusaka (luglio 2001), che ha assunto inizialmente il nome di *Nouvelle initiative africaine* (NIA) e successivamente di NEPAD.

Nell'ottobre del 2001 è stato definito il Comitato direttivo del NEPAD (*Heads of State Implementation Committee* – HSIC) costituito da 15 membri: i 5 capi di stato promotori più i rappresentanti di altri 10 paesi in modo da assicurare una equa presenza di tutte le sub-regioni del continente.

Il NEPAD ha costituito quindi 5 *task teams* per sviluppare gli specifici programmi per area tematica: a] *Capacity Building on Peace and Security;* b] *Economic and Corporate Governance;* c] *Infrastructure;* d] *Central Bank and Financial Standards.* La definizione del NEPAD risente degli esiti di un dibattito che ha caratterizzato gli ultimi anni ed ha evidenziato i gravi limiti dei

modelli e dei programmi di sviluppo adottati a più riprese a partire dall'indipendenza. Nasce infatti dal pragmatico (e per certi versi drammatico) riconoscimento della profondità della crisi in cui il continente sembra sempre più sprofondare, caratterizzata da una condizione di sempre maggiore marginalità dipendente rispetto ai processi di globalizzazione.

Il circolo vizioso di declino economico, incapacità di governo dei fenomeni economici e sociali viene analizzato dai promotori del Piano da un lato considerando l'eredità del colonialismo in termini di debolezza dello stato e disfunzionalità dei sistemi economici; ma riconoscendo anche gli errori ed i gravissimi limiti delle classi dirigenti che quelle strutture statuali avevano ereditato. La crisi attuale è vista anche come frutto dei processi di esclusione e limitazione dalla partecipazione politica della popolazione, della debolezza endemica delle istituzioni, della cattiva gestione dei fondi pubblici. Accanto a questi elementi vanno considerati i negativi risultati di piani di sviluppo elaborati da attori esterni al continente (in particolare dalle grandi organizzazioni internazionali) o comunque concepiti in modo disancorato dalla realtà dei paesi africani e perciò stesso insostenibili per il tessuto economico sociale su cui avrebbero dovuto incidere. Su questa situazione si è innestata la riduzione dei flussi d'aiuto dalla fine della Guerra Fredda e la diffusione di conflitti violenti che hanno portato in molti casi ad un vero e proprio collasso delle strutture statuali.

Il NEPAD evidenzia il nuovo protagonismo della leadership di alcuni stati africani ed è frutto di processi politici che hanno caratterizzato il continente negli ultimi anni come la fine dell'Apartheid in Sud Africa ed il ritorno al potere dei civili in Nigeria. Questi avvenimenti hanno infatti rimesso in movimento due fra i principali attori del panorama economico-politico del continente; accanto a questi va considerato il pacifico processo di alternanza del Senegal che ha garantito la presenza di una leadership dotata di una significativa legittimazione e quindi in grado di proporre autorevolmente una iniziativa politica innovativa.

Il gruppo di leader che ha promosso il NEPAD si pone alcuni obiettivi di lungo periodo. In particolare:

- sviluppare meccanismi interni al continente per promuovere pace e sicurezza;
- concordare codici e standard di buon governo politico ed economico e meccanismi concordati di monitoraggio e revisione per assicurarne il rispetto;

— promuovere l'integrazione regionale;
— promuovere attraverso un'azione comune un miglioramento dei termini di scambio dei prodotti africani;
— sviluppare strategie nelle aree prioritarie dello sviluppo umano (in particolare per sanità ed educazione) e della produzione agricola.

In relazione a questi obiettivi alcune iniziative dovrebbero essere sviluppate nei diversi ambiti di priorità: il sostegno al sistema infrastrutturale (in particolare strade, ferrovie, energia elettrica per integrare gli stati vicini); la promozione delle tecnologie informatiche e della comunicazione; iniziative di promozione dello sviluppo umano, dell'agricoltura, della diversificazione della produzione e dell'export, la promozione dell'accesso ai mercati ed ai capitali.

Alcuni aspetti del piano meritano di essere analizzati con maggiore dettaglio per il potenziale impatto sul successo dell'iniziativa. Ci soffermeremo in particolare sul tema della *ownership* del piano e delle relazioni di partenariato fra i paesi promotori e il mondo occidentale; sul tema della *governance* e sulle prospettive di coinvolgimento degli attori privati nella strategia delineata dai promotori del NEPAD; infine sul ruolo che nel processo può giocare la società civile.

Il problema della ownership e del partenariato con il mondo sviluppato

La percezione dei rischi e delle opportunità che la globalizzazione rappresenta per l'Africa attraversa tutto il ragionamento dei promotori del NEPAD. La sempre maggiore integrazione dei sistemi economici potrebbe garantire rilevanti vantaggi per i paesi africani a partire dal fatto che la sempre maggiore tendenza alla delocalizzazione dei sistemi produttivi e degli investimenti potrebbe avvantaggiare un continente ricco di risorse ancora inutilizzate. D'altra parte la crescente integrazione tende a marginalizzare sempre più stati e strati sociali non "competitivi" approfondendo il gap fra gli stati e all'interno dei paesi poveri fra vincitori e sconfitti del cosiddetto processo di globalizzazione. L'Africa ha vissuto in questi anni molto più le conseguenze di quest'ultimo processo che i vantaggi del primo. I capi di stato africani prendono atto di un contesto che è orientato da e verso il mercato. Nulla, all'interno del processo "riduce automaticamente povertà e ineguaglianza" e questo tende invece spesso

a tradursi in una crescita dell'esclusione globale che alimenta, in un circolo vizioso, l'instabilità e il conflitto. Per evitare gli errori del passato la risposta non può che venire da un'iniziativa nata nello stesso continente e dai leader africani. Tutto il NEPAD è infatti centrato sulla logica della *ownership* e sul ruolo dei paesi africani nella definizione delle priorità come precondizione per il successo.

Esiste una specifica responsabilità dei *leader* e dei popoli del continente nel creare le condizioni dello sviluppo attraverso la risoluzione dei conflitti, il miglioramento delle capacità di governo dei sistemi socioeconomici ed il rafforzamento dell'integrazione regionale. La possibilità di un nuovo fallimento nelle prospettive di sviluppo del continente rappresenta una grave minaccia anche per i paesi sviluppati e questo rappresenta, secondo gli estensori del piano, al di là di motivazioni di ordine morale, un potente incentivo a rilanciare su nuove basi la logica del partenariato per lo sviluppo che deve essere quindi sviluppato all'interno delle società africane, fra i paesi del continente e fra quest'ultimo ed il mondo occidentale sviluppato.

Questa nuova enfasi ha una serie di positive implicazioni. Una di queste è rappresentata dallo sforzo di rilanciare la cooperazione fra i paesi africani, costruire nuovi e più forti legami come precondizione per costruire pace e stabilità. L'integrazione regionale rappresenta uno degli elementi centrali dell'approccio strategico del NEPAD. Viene individuata la prospettiva finale della creazione di un grande mercato continentale africano. D'altra parte, in una prospettiva più ravvicinata, il NEPAD individua alcune funzioni e "valori aggiunti" della integrazione che sono evidentemente condivisibili.

Innanzitutto solo organizzazioni su base regionale forti e legittimate possono proporsi come "controllori" degli impegni che dovrebbero essere assunti dai singoli governi in termini di standard e buone pratiche di governo e democrazia, gestione finanziaria e investimenti nei settori dello sviluppo umano. Inoltre una maggiore integrazione e la promozione di un più forte partenariato politico sono una precondizione per rafforzare il potere negoziale con i paesi ricchi e le istituzioni internazionali sul tema della riduzione del debito, della riforma e dell'incremento su nuove basi dell'aiuto allo sviluppo, dei termini di scambio dei prodotti africani e delle condizioni di accesso ai mercati.

Infine solo a partire da una forte volontà politica di integrazione

potranno essere pianificati e negoziati gli interventi infrastrutturali necessari per promuovere le comunicazioni, i trasporti ed il rafforzamento dei mercati locali. Non mancano evidentemente alcuni nodi critici. Ad esempio non è chiara la relazione con i raggruppamenti esistenti quali la *Southern African Development Community* (SADC) e l'*Economic Community of West African States* (ECoWAS) o la relazione fra gli Stati comparativamente più forti e più deboli per dimensioni o struttura economica. Ma è evidente che solo un'accelerata integrazione permetterà di mettere in comune e rendere meno acuti i rischi di sistemi economico-sociali altamente vulnerabili. I documenti del NEPAD propongono poi una rinnovata logica di partenariato fra i paesi del continente ed i paesi sviluppati basata sui principi della coerenza e del dialogo politico. La dimensione della crisi evidentemente fa sì che la logica della *ownership* non contraddica l'idea di "internazionalizzare" la ricerca delle soluzioni esplorando nuove e rafforzate vie di finanziamento dello sviluppo.

Ci sono da questo punto di vista numerosi elementi di criticità. L'elaborazione del piano ha ricevuto in tutte le tappe fondamentali una calda accoglienza da parte della comunità internazionale ed in particolare dei paesi del G-8. Le priorità identificate nell'ambito dell'allora *Nouvelle initiative africaine* (NIA) confluirono nella dichiarazione di Genova prodotta dai leader dei paesi occidentali nel luglio del 2001. L'intero processo del NEPAD dovrebbe trovare una sanzione ulteriore nel G-8 del giugno 2002 a Kananaskis (Canada). D'altra parte un serio piano di sviluppo dell'Africa implica una logica redistributiva delle risorse.

Finora questa volontà è stata concretamente smentita dalla strutturale e talvolta abissale differenza fra gli impegni e le realizzazioni in termini di percentuali del PIL dei paesi ricchi impiegate per l'aiuto allo sviluppo. Su questa base molti fra i commentatori africani dei documenti del NEPAD hanno criticato la "fede cieca" nella volontà dei paesi ricchi di aiutare l'Africa.

Uno dei principali punti di forza del processo del NEPAD è paradossalmente la profondità della crisi del continente africano. È evidente negli estensori e probabilmente anche fra gli interlocutori nelle cancellerie dei paesi ricchi, la percezione che se qualcosa di nuovo e radicale non viene fatto l'Africa non solo non raggiungerà i propri obiettivi di sviluppo, ma rischierà invece di accentuare ancora il proprio declino con conseguenze evidentemente incalcolabili.

Il tema della *governance* e il rapporto pubblico/privato nell'Africa del NEPAD

I documenti del NEPAD sottolineano ripetutamente la necessità di promuovere il coinvolgimento delle imprese e dei capitali privati per recuperare il ritardo e acquisire le risorse necessarie per promuovere lo sviluppo del continente.

Esperti africani hanno stimato in 54 miliardi di dollari annui gli investimenti necessari in Africa per dimezzare la quantità di popolazione che vive con meno di un dollaro al giorno, ovvero per rispettare gli impegni presi in termini di obiettivi di sviluppo, dalla comunità internazionale. Le risorse dell'aiuto pubblico allo sviluppo sotto forma di aiuti o prestiti sono e rimarranno in ogni caso insufficienti. Dall'altro si evidenzia che l'Africa, un mercato potenziale di 700 milioni di persone con un grande patrimonio di risorse ancora inutilizzato, può rappresentare una opportunità di investimento e di profitto per le imprese.

Se il settore privato è fondamentale per finanziare lo sviluppo dell'Africa, l'Africa deve essere in grado di attirarne l'interesse. Da questo punto di vista sono strategici il miglioramento della dotazione infrastrutturale; la disponibilità di manodopera qualificata e si pone quindi il problema della condizione disastrosa del sistema educativo. Anche nel caso dell'Africa l'enfasi sul ruolo dei privati nel finanziare lo sviluppo non può significare sminuire la responsabilità dello stato (e dell'aiuto pubblico) nel sostenere alcuni investimenti strutturanti indispensabili per attirare gli investimenti privati. Infine i paesi africani devono essere in grado di rassicurare i potenziali investitori sulla propria stabilità politica. È ancora ampiamente condivisibile la priorità assegnata nei documenti del NEPAD alla qualità della *governance*, alla necessità di rafforzare la struttura politica e le capacità amministrative dei paesi partecipanti per attirare le risorse del settore privato.

Ad esempio gli stati africani hanno già realizzato nell'ultimo decennio, a partire dalle pressioni delle istituzioni internazionali, numerose riforme mirate a incentivare gli investimenti stranieri liberalizzando le norme che li regolano. D'altra parte il flusso degli investimenti stranieri non è cresciuto quanto i propugnatori delle riforme si aspettavano. È evidente che il continente è penalizzato dall'immagine (e in molti casi da una realtà) di instabilità e violenza. In questo senso la riaffermazione

da parte del NEPAD dei principi dello stato di diritto, della democrazia e del rispetto dei diritti umani, fino a promuovere l'identificazione di standard minimi condivisi di esercizio democratico del potere, diviene, oltre un imperativo morale, anche la base per costruire quella stabilità di lungo periodo senza la quale nessun vero processo di sviluppo è possibile.

Il ruolo della società civile e delle Organizzazioni Non Governative (ONG)

Uno degli aspetti positivi dell'iniziativa è la grande enfasi data ai temi della pace, del buon governo e dell'avanzamento delle donne. Crescita e sviluppo non sono evidentemente influenzati solo da fattori economici e produttivi, ma anche da processi politici e sociali.

I documenti del NEPAD sottolineano ripetutamente la necessità di puntare alla valorizzazione delle risorse umane e la necessità di promuovere la partecipazione degli strati marginali della società nella definizione ed attuazione dei programmi di lotta alla povertà. Questi aspetti riportano al ruolo delle ONG e delle organizzazioni della società civile ai diversi livelli. Sicuramente fra i parametri di buon governo un ruolo fondamentale è rappresentato dalla presenza di una società civile locale forte universalmente riconosciuto come elemento essenziale per il consolidamento della democrazia nella regione. La piena assunzione di questo ruolo è stato in molti casi pesantemente condizionato e limitato dai gruppi di potere e dagli apparati politici.

Il principale ed indispensabile valore aggiunto delle Organizzazioni Non Governative locali è rappresentato dalla loro funzione nei processi di *empowerment* delle comunità locali attraverso un effettivo coinvolgimento nella gestione delle risorse e nella definizione delle strategie. Le ONG possono contribuire a rafforzare queste istanze dando voce e rappresentazione ai bisogni degli strati più deboli. Spesso anzi, in questi anni, le ONG hanno rappresentato l'unica effettiva modalità di realizzazione di questo processo.

Il supporto al consolidamento di un solido tessuto di organismi dotati di sufficiente indipendenza da funzionare efficacemente come strumenti per incanalare verso gli stati e la comunità internazionale le domande dell'opinione pubblica ed in particolare dei gruppi deboli, è un'esigenza ineludibile che va sostenuta. I governi e la comunità internazionale devono considerare l'associazionismo locale, quando questo si ispi-

ri a valori di democrazia e tolleranza, un *asset* effettivo ed una vera risorsa strategica da sostenere e valorizzare.

La storia e gli errori commessi in questi anni hanno spinto la comunità internazionale a concepire una cooperazione caratterizzata da un approccio sempre più strategicamente orientato ed anche il NEPAD è espressione di questa logica. Questo è sicuramente un valore positivo a patto che le strategie nascano da un'interazione con i diversi soggetti coinvolti e quindi anche con le ONG. Non si tratta di considerare questo come astrattamente "dovuto", ma di riconoscere l'esistenza di un patrimonio di conoscenze e di esperienze da mettere a disposizione. Se le ONG verranno progressivamente marginalizzate sarà questo patrimonio ad essere sacrificato.

La centralità della dimensione di genere nella pianificazione delle strategie di sviluppo è un altro elemento assolutamente condivisibile dell'approccio strategico del NEPAD. Anche in questo caso una possibile implicazione di questa logica è rappresentato dalla necessità di sostenere gruppi e associazioni femminili nell'ambito dei piani di sviluppo. Quando consideriamo le strategie di contrasto delle società africane rispetto alle crisi in atto, ad esempio la spaventosa diffusione dell'AIDS, non possiamo ignorare che fra gli attori le associazioni di donne hanno una presenza fondamentale.

Le ONG sono state in generale in questi anni in molti casi dei veri laboratori di sviluppo: le idee ed indicazioni derivate dall'esperienza sul campo possono rappresentare per i governi e le organizzazioni internazionali elementi fondamentali per costruire strategie di sviluppo e identificare buone pratiche. L'organizzazione ed il potenziamento dei servizi educativi e sanitari è parte integrante del processo delineato nei documenti del NEPAD. Si tratta di componenti senza le quali lo sviluppo dell'Africa non potrà che scontrarsi nuovamente con la prospettiva del fallimento. Uno sforzo straordinario in termini di definizione di politiche di intervento realistiche e di *capacity building* a favore delle comunità e delle amministrazioni locali è individuato come indispensabile.

Le ONG ancora una volta possono contribuire apportando uno specifico valore aggiunto in varie fasi del processo. In particolare possono contribuire alla definizione delle *policies* a partire dalla loro conoscenza del contesto e possono sostenere il processo di riorganizzazione a livello locale nella prassi quotidiana. Possono inoltre individuare, a partire dal-

l'esperienza di campo, eventuali limiti delle strategie individuate suggerendo possibili correttivi.

La organizzazione o riorganizzazione di servizi sociali, educativi e sanitari deve evidentemente essere accompagnata da adeguate attività di formazione e aggiornamento professionale per il personale addetto al loro funzionamento. Rispetto a questo tipo di iniziative l'esperienza delle ONG evidenzia che l'adozione di approcci partecipativi nell'analisi dei bisogni formativi e nella realizzazione delle attività riveste un'importanza particolare.

Se il coinvolgimento della comunità internazionale rappresenta un elemento estremamente importante, è cruciale per il successo dell'iniziativa la capacità di mobilitazione delle energie delle popolazioni africane. I documenti del NEPAD riconoscono che le classi dirigenti africane non hanno sufficientemente promosso la possibilità delle popolazioni di inserirsi nei processi di sviluppo valorizzando il loro potenziale creativo e riconoscono la necessità di potenziare i processi partecipativi nella preparazione di piani e progettualità. D'altra parte l'iniziativa è stata finora sviluppata da un gruppo di *leader* senza molta discussione pubblica. Per il successo del piano è necessario colmare questo gap di partecipazione. L'azione della società civile è ancora una volta cruciale in questa direzione.

*Responsabile Programmi CISP in Africa.

Une nouvelle initiative africaine

Fusion de l'association du millenaire pour le programme de redressement africain [PRA] et du plan omega

Pays qu'ont soussigné l'accord
Algeria, Camerun, Repubblica del Congo, Egitto, Etiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambico, Nigeria, Ruanda, Senegal, Repubblica Sudafricana, Tunisia

I. Introduction

1] La présente nouvelle initiative africaine est une promesse faite par des dirigeants africains, fondée sur une vision commune ainsi qu'une conviction ferme et partagée qu'il leur incombe d'urgence d'éradiquer la pauvreté, de placer leurs pays, individuellement et collectivement, sur la voie d'une croissance et d'un développement durables tout en participant activement à l'économie et à la vie politique mondiales. Elle est ancrée dans la détermination des Africains de s'extirper eux-mêmes, ainsi que leur continent, du malaise du sous-développement et de l'exclusion d'une planète en cours de mondialisation.

2] La pauvreté et le retard de l'Afrique contrastent vivement avec la prospérité du monde développé. La marginalisation continue de l'Afrique du processus de mondialisation et l'exclusion sociale de la vaste majorité de ses peuples constituent une grave menace pour la stabilité mondiale.

3] Depuis les années 70 lorsque les pays d'Afrique sont devenus membres des institutions de la communauté internationale, le binôme crédit-aide est resté la base la logique du développement de l'Afrique. Le crédit s'est traduit par l'impasse de la dette qui, de versements en rééchelonnement, continue d'entraver la croissance des pays d'Afrique. L'on est parvenu au bout de cette option. Quant à l'autre élément du binôme, l'aide, l'on a

aussi observé la réduction de l'aide privée et le plafonnement de l'aide publique, contrairement aux objectifs des années 70.

4] En Afrique, 340 millions de personnes, soit la moitié de la population, vivent avec moins d'1 dollar E-U par jour. Le taux de mortalité des enfants de moins de cinq ans y est de 140 pour 1000 et l'espérance de vie à la naissance de seulement 54 ans. 58 pour cent seulement de la population a accès à de l'eau potable. Le taux d'alphabétisation des personnes de plus de 15 ans est de 41 pour cent. Il n'y a que 18 lignes téléphoniques pour 1000 personnes en Afrique, par rapport à 146 dans le monde entier et 567 dans les pays à revenus élevés.

5] L'initiative exige le revirement de cette situation anormale en changeant les relations qui la soutiennent. Les Africains ne demandent ni une perpétuation de la dépendance par le biais de l'aide ni des concessions marginales.

6] Nous sommes convaincus qu'une occasion historique se présente de mettre fin au fléau du sous-développement qui afflige l'Afrique. Les ressources, y compris le capital, la technologie et les compétences humaines, requises pour lancer une guerre mondiale contre la pauvreté et le sous-développement sont abondantes et à notre portée. Pour mobiliser ces ressources et les utiliser correctement, ce qui est requis est un leadership courageux, imaginatif et vraiment résolu à déployer des efforts soutenus afin d'améliorer les conditions de vie et d'éradiquer la pauvreté, ainsi qu'un nouveau partenariat mondial fondé sur la responsabilité conjointe et l'intérêt mutuel.

7] Sur tout le continent, les Africains déclarent qu'ils ne se laisseront plus conditionner par les circonstances. Nous déterminerons notre propre destinée et nous ferons appel au reste du monde pour compléter nos efforts. Des signes de progrès et d'espoir sont déjà apparents. Le nombre de régimes démocratiques qui se sont engagés à protéger les droits de l'homme, à axer développement sur l'individu et à des économies de marché est en train de s'accroître. Les Africains ont commencé à manifester leur refus d'accepter un leadership économique et politique médiocre. Mais ces progrès sont inégaux et inadéquats et doivent être accélérés davantage.

8] L'Initiative africaine cherche à consolider et à accélérer ces gains. C'est un appel pour une nouvelle relation de partenariat entre l'Afrique et la communauté internationale, et en particulier les pays fortement industrialisés, afin de franchir l'abîme du développement qui s'est élargi au fil de siècles de relations inégales.

II. L'Afrique dans le monde d'aujourd'hui: entre pauvreté et prosperité

9] La place de l'Afrique dans la communauté mondiale est définie par le fait que le continent est une base de ressources indispensable qui sert toute l'humanité depuis bien des siècles.

10] Ces ressources peuvent être décomposées en éléments constitutifs de la façon suivante:

10.1] le riche complexe de dépôts de minerais, de pétrole et de gaz, sa flore et sa faune et son vaste habitat naturel encore intact, qui fournissent la base de l'exploitation minière, de l'agriculture et du tourisme (*Composant I*);

10.2] le poumon écologique que fournissent les forêts tropicales du continent, et la présence minime d'émissions et d'effluents nuisibles à l'environnement une commodité publique mondiale qui bénéficie à toute l'humanité (*Composant II*);

10.3] les sites paléontologiques et archéologiques qui contiennent des preuves de l'évolution de la terre, de la vie et des espèces humaines, les habitats naturels qui renferment une grande variété de flore et de faune et les espaces libres inhabités qui sont une caractéristique du continent (*Composant III*);

10.4] la richesse de la culture africaine et sa contribution à la variété des cultures de l'univers (Composant IV).

11] Le premier de ces composants, le *Composant I*, est celui avec lequel le monde est le plus familier. Le deuxième, le *Composant II*, n'a attiré l'attention que récemment, l'humanité commençant à saisir l'importance cruciale du problème de l'environnement. Le troisième, le *Composant III*,

est aussi en train de prendre de l'importance, n'étant plus un sujet de préoccupation pour une discipline scientifique seulement ou d'intérêt uniquement pour les musées et leurs conservateurs. Le quatrième de ces composants, le *Composant IV*, représente la créativité des Africains qui demeure considérablement sous-exploitée et sous-développée.

12] L'Afrique a un rôle très important à jouer en ce qui concerne le problème crucial de la protection de l'environnement. Les ressources africaines comprennent des forêts tropicales, l'atmosphère pratiquement dépourvue de gaz carbonique au-dessus du continent et la présence minime d'effluents toxiques dans les rivières et les sols qui interagissent avec l'océan Atlantique et l'océan Indien, la Méditerranée et la mer Rouge. L'Initiative africaine comprendra une stratégie visant à entretenir ces ressources et à les utiliser pour le développement du continent africain et le commerce par celui-ci, tout en les conservant pour toute l'humanité.

13] Il est évident que, si on ne donne pas aux communautés vivant à proximité des forêts tropicales d'autres moyens de gagner leur vie, elles contribueront à la destruction des forêts. Comme la conservation du patrimoine environnemental est dans l'intérêt de l'humanité, il est impératif que l'Afrique soit placée sur une voie de développement qui ne le mette pas en danger.

14] La science moderne reconnaît que l'Afrique est le berceau de l'humanité. Dans le cadre du processus de reconstruction de l'identité et de la confiance en eux-mêmes des peuples d'Afrique, il est nécessaire que les Africains eux-mêmes comprennent et apprécient cette contribution à l'existence humaine. Le statut de l'Afrique comme lieu de naissance de l'humanité devrait être chéri par le monde entier en tant qu'origine de tous ses peuples. En conséquence, l'Initiative africaine doit conserver le patrimoine commun et l'utiliser pour établir les fondations d'une compréhension universelle du besoin historique de mettre fin au sous-développement et à la marginalisation du continent.

15] L'Afrique a aussi un rôle majeur à jouer pour maintenir un lien solide entre les êtres humains et la nature. Les progrès technologiques tendent à mettre en évidence le rôle des êtres humains en tant que facteurs de

production, qui rivalisent pour une place dans le processus de production avec les outils contemporains ou futurs. Les espaces libres inhabités, la flore et la faune, ainsi que les diverses espèces animales qui sont uniques à l'Afrique, offrent une rare chance à l'humanité de maintenir son lien avec la nature. L'Afrique est exceptionnellement bien placée pour offrir ce patrimoine à l'humanité.

16] L'Afrique a déjà contribué considérablement à la culture mondiale par le biais de la littérature, de la musique, des arts visuels et d'autres formes culturelles, mais son vrai potentiel demeure inexploité à cause de son intégration limitée à l'économie mondiale. L'Initiative africaine permettra à l'Afrique d'accroître sa contribution à la science, à la culture et à la technologie.

17] En ce nouveau millénaire, où l'humanité est en train de chercher une nouvelle façon de construire un monde meilleur, il est essentiel que nous combinions ces attributs aux forces de la volonté humaine pour placer le continent sur un piédestal de partenariat égal afin de faire progresser la civilisation humaine.

L'appauvrissement historique d'un continent

18] L'appauvrissement du continent africain a été principalement accentué par l'héritage du colonialisme, de la guerre froide, des rouages du système économique international et des insuffisances et faiblesses des politiques menées dans de nombreux pays après l'indépendance.

19] Depuis des siècles, l'Afrique est intégrée dans l'économie mondiale principalement en tant que fournisseur de main-d'œuvre et de matières premières bon marché. Ceci a nécessairement signifié une hémorragie des ressources de l'Afrique plutôt que leur utilisation pour le développement du continent. L'Afrique a raté à cette époque l'occasion d'utiliser les minerais et les matières premières pour développer des industries de transformation ainsi qu'une base humaine très qualifiée afin de soutenir la croissance et le développement. Par conséquent, l'Afrique demeure le continent le plus pauvre alors qu'elle est l'une des régions les plus richement dotées du monde.

20] Dans d'autres pays et d'autres continents, le contraire s'est produit. Une richesse a été injectée sous la forme d'investissements, qui ont créé de plus grands volumes de richesse grâce à l'exportation des produits porteurs de valeur ajoutée. Il est temps que les ressources africaines soient exploitées pour développer la création de richesse sur le continent pour le bien-être de ses populations.

21] Le colonialisme a ébranlé les structures, institutions et valeurs préexistantes ou les a asservies aux besoins économiques et politiques des puissances impériales. Il a aussi retardé le développement d'une classe animée d'un esprit d'entreprise ainsi que d'une classe moyenne dotée de compétences et de capacités de gestion.

22] Au moment des indépendances, presque tous les nouveaux États se caractérisaient par une pénurie de professionnels qualifiés et par une faible classe capitaliste, ce qui a abouti à un affaiblissement du processus d'accumulation. L'Afrique post-coloniale a hérité d'États faibles et d'économies en dysfonctionnement. Cette situation a encore été aggravée par un leadership médiocre, la corruption et la mauvaise gouvernance dans de nombreux pays. Ces deux facteurs, ainsi que les divisions causées par la guerre froide, ont entravé la propagation de gouvernements responsables sur le continent.

23] Un grand nombre de gouvernements africains n'ont pas habiliter leurs peuples à engager des initiatives de développement afin de réaliser leur potentiel créatif. Aujourd'hui, la faiblesse de l'État demeure une contrainte majeure au développement durable dans un certain nombre de pays. En fait, l'un des défis majeurs pour l'Afrique est de renforcer la capacité à gouverner et de mettre au point des politiques à long terme. Dans le même temps, il est également urgent de réaliser des réformes et des programmes d'une portée considérable dans de nombreux États africains.

24] Les programmes d'ajustement structurels n'ont fourni qu'une solution partielle. Ils ont promu des réformes tendant à éliminer de graves distorsions des prix mais n'ont pas accordé suffisamment d'attention à la prestation de services sociaux. En conséquence, ces programmes n'ont permis qu'à un petit nombre de pays d'atteindre un niveau de croissance plus élevé durable.

25] En fait, l'expérience de l'Afrique montre clairement que le taux d'accumulation au cours de la période post-coloniale n'a pas été suffisant pour reconstruire les sociétés à la suite du sous-développement colonial ou pour maintenir l'amélioration du niveau de vie. Ceci a eu des effets corrosifs supplémentaires sur le processus politique et a accru le népotisme et la corruption.

26] L'effet net de ces processus a été la perpétuation d'un cercle vicieux, dans lequel le déclin économique, la capacité réduite et la gouvernance médiocre se renforcent, confirmant le rôle périphérique et de moins en moins important de l'Afrique dans l'économie mondiale. Au fil des siècles, l'Afrique a été définie, par nécessité, comme le continent marginalisé.

27] L'Initiative africaine cherche à tirer parti des réalisations du passé et à les célébrer ainsi qu'à réfléchir sur les leçons tirées d'une expérience douloureuse afin de mettre sur pied un partenariat qui soit à la fois crédible et réalisable. Ce faisant, nous enjoignons aux peuples et aux gouvernements d'Afrique de comprendre que le développement est un processus de responsabilisation et d'autosuffisance. En conséquence, les Africains ne doivent pas être les pupilles de gardiens bienveillants mais plutôt les architectes d'une amélioration soutenue de leurs conditions de vie.

L'Afrique et la révolution mondiale

28] Le monde s'est engagé dans le nouveau millénaire au beau milieu d'une révolution économique. Cette révolution pourrait fournir à la fois le contexte et les moyens de la modernisation de l'Afrique. Tandis que la mondialisation a augmenté le coût de l'incapacité de l'Afrique à faire concurrence, nous soutenons que les avantages d'une intégration gérée efficacement présentent les meilleures perspectives pour une prospérité économique et une réduction de la pauvreté dans l'avenir.

29] La révolution économique actuelle a été rendue possible, en partie, par les progrès en informatique et télématique qui ont réduit le coût et augmenté la vitesse des communications à travers le globe, abolissant les anciennes barrières du temps et de l'espace, et ayant donc une incidence sur tous les domaines de la vie sociale et économique. Cette révolution a

permis l'intégration des systèmes nationaux de production et de finance et se reflète dans la croissance incroyable de l'échelle des flux transfrontaliers de biens, de services et de capitaux.

30] L'intégration des systèmes nationaux de production a rendu possible le "découpage en tranches de la chaîne des valeurs" dans un grand nombre de processus de production du secteur industriel et du secteur des services. Simultanément, la plus grande mobilité des finances signifie que les emprunteurs, publics ou privés, doivent rivaliser les uns avec les autres pour trouver des capitaux sur des marchés mondiaux plutôt que nationaux. Ces deux processus ont accru les coûts pour les pays qui sont incapables d'une concurrence réelle. L'Afrique a, dans une large mesure, supporté ces coûts de façon disproportionnée.

31] Si aucune partie du monde n'a échappé aux effets de la mondialisation, les contributions des diverses régions et nations ont nettement différé. Les nations fortement industrialisées ont été le moteur de ces progrès majeurs. Celles-ci mises à part, seuls quelques pays dans le monde en développement jouent un rôle important dans l'économie mondiale. Un grand nombre de pays en développement, en particulier en Afrique, y contribue, en général passivement,essentiellement sur la base de leur patrimoine environnemental et naturel.

32] C'est dans la répartition des profits que le déséquilibre mondial est le plus flagrant. D'une part, les occasions d'accroître la richesse, d'acquérir des connaissances et des compétences et d'améliorer l'accès aux marchandises et aux services - en bref, d'améliorer la qualité de la vie - se sont accrues. Dans certaines parties du monde, la recherche d'un plus grand accès à l'économie mondiale a offert la possibilité de sortir des millions de personnes de la misère.

33] D'autre part, une plus grande intégration a aussi conduit à marginaliser davantage les pays qui sont incapables d'une concurrence réelle. En l'absence de règles mondiales justes et équitables, la mondialisation a accru la capacité des plus forts à promouvoir leurs intérêts au détriment des plus faibles, surtout dans le domaine du commerce, des finances et de la technologie. Elle a limité la capacité des pays en développement à contrô-

ler leur propre développement. Les conditions de ceux qui sont marginalisés dans ce processus ont empiré en termes réels. Une fissure entre l'inclusion et l'exclusion a émergé au sein des nations et entre elles.

34] L'incapacité de l'Afrique à exploiter le processus de mondialisation résulte en partie d'obstacles structurels à la croissance et au développement que sont les sorties de ressources et les termes défavorables de l'échange. Nous reconnaissons en même temps que les échecs des leaderships politiques et économiques dans de nombreux pays africains empêchent la mobilisation cohérente des ressources dans des domaines d'activité de plus en plus indispensables pour attirer et faciliter les investissements locaux et étrangers.

35] Le faible niveau d'activité économique signifie que les instruments nécessaires à l'injection véritable de fonds privés et à la prise de risques ne sont pas disponibles, ce qui résulte en un déclin supplémentaire. Dans un cycle qui se perpétue indéfiniment, la capacité de l'Afrique à répondre à la mondialisation est affaiblie, ce qui conduit à une marginalisation supplémentaire. La polarisation croissante de la richesse et de la pauvreté est l'un des nombreux processus qui ont accompagné la mondialisation et qui menacent sa viabilité.

36] La fin du siècle dernier a vu un effondrement financier majeur dans une grande partie du monde en développement qui n'a pas seulement menacé la stabilité du système financier mondial mais l'économie mondiale dans son ensemble. L'un des effets immédiats de la crise financière a été d'exacerber les niveaux existants de pauvreté structurelle profonde dans laquelle vit environ la moitié de la population mondiale, avec moins de 2 dollars E-U par jour, et un cinquième de la population, avec moins d'1 dollar E-U par jour.

37] Il existe également des dynamiques plus lentes qui présentent des risques à plus long terme. Il s'agit notamment de l'accroissement rapide du nombre de personnes socialement exclues dans diverses zones du globe, ce qui contribue d'une part à l'instabilité politique, à la guerre civile et aux conflits militaires et, d'autre part, à un nouveau mode de migration massive. L'expansion de la production industrielle et l'accroisse-

ment de la pauvreté contribuent à la dégradation environnementale de nos océans, de l'atmosphère et de la végétation naturelle. Si ces problèmes ne sont pas abordés, ils déclencheront des processus qui échapperont de plus en plus au contrôle des gouvernements,à la fois dans les pays développés et en développement.

38] Les moyens de retourner ce scénario lugubre ne sont pas encore hors de notre portée. L'amélioration du niveau de vie des marginalisés offre un énorme potentiel de croissance pour toute l'économie internationale, grâce à la création de nouveaux marchés et à l'exploitation d'une capacité économique accrue. Ceci résultera en une plus grande stabilité à l'échelle mondiale, accompagnée par le bien-être social et l'exubérance culturelle qui prospèrent dans des conditions de certitude.

39] L'impératif du développement ne pose donc pas seulement un défi de conscience morale, il est fondamental à la viabilité du processus de mondialisation. Nous admettons sans hésiter que la mondialisation est un produit des progrès scientifiques et technologiques qui ont été imposés, en grande partie, par le marché. Cependant, les gouvernements, particulièrement dans le monde développé, ont, en partenariat avec le secteur privé, joué un rôle important dans la détermination de sa forme et de son contenu.

40] L'argument en faveur d'un rôle pour les autorités nationales et les institutions privées dans l'orientation du programme de la mondialisation sur une voie durable dont les avantages sont donc répartis plus équitablement, reste fort. L'expérience montre qu'en dépit des occasions sans précédent offertes par la mondialisation à quelques pays auparavant pauvres, rien d'inhérent au processus ne réduit automatiquement la pauvreté et l'inégalité.

41] Ce qui est nécessaire est un engagement de la part des gouvernements, du secteur privé et d'autres institutions de la société civile, à une intégration authentique de toutes les nations dans l'économie et dans la vie politique mondiales. Cela exige la reconnaissance de l'interdépendance mondiale en ce qui concerne l'offre et la demande, la base environnementale qui soutient la planète, la migration transfrontalière, une ar-

chitecture financière mondiale qui récompense une bonne gestion socioéconomique et une gouvernance mondiale qui reconnaisse un partenariat entre tous les peuples. Nous soutenons que la communauté internationale a la capacité de créer des conditions justes et équitables dans lesquelles l'Afrique puisse participer réellement à l'économie et à la vie politique mondiales.

III. La nouvelle volonté politique des dirigeantes africains

42] L'Initiative africaine reconnaît que, dans le passé, des tentatives visant à formuler des programmes de développement au niveau du continent ont été faites. Pour des raisons diverses, à la fois internes et externes, y compris un leadership et un degré de participation douteux des Africains eux-mêmes, ces programmes n'ont pas été couronnés de succès. Cependant, de nouvelles circonstances, qui se prêtent à une mise en œuvre pratique intégrée, existent aujourd'hui.

43] La nouvelle phase de mondialisation a coïncidé avec une restructuration des relations internationales à la suite de la guerre froide. Celle-ci est associée à l'émergence de nouveaux concepts de sécurité et d'intérêt personnel, qui comprennent le droit au développement et à l'éradication de la pauvreté. La démocratie et la légitimité de l'État ont été redéfinies afin d'y inclure, comme éléments centraux, un gouvernement responsable, une culture des droits de l'homme et la participation du peuple.

44] Fait révélateur, de plus en plus de dirigeants sont élus par la voie démocratique. Par leurs actions, ils ont déclaré que les espoirs des peuples d'Afrique pour une vie meilleure ne peuvent plus reposer sur la magnanimité d'autrui.

45] Sur tout le continent, la démocratie continue à se propager, soutenue par l'Union Africaine qui s'est montrée résolue à s'occuper des conflits et à censurer toute déviation par rapport à la norme. Ces efforts sont renforcés par des voix qui se font entendre au sein de la société civile et qui incluent des associations de femmes, la jeunesse et des médias indépendants. De plus, les gouvernements africains sont beaucoup plus résolus à atteindre les objectifs de coopération et d'intégration économiques au niveau ré-

gional et continental. Cela sert à la fois à consolider le redressement économique et à renforcer les avantages de l'interdépendance mutuelle.

46] Le changement des conditions en Afrique a déjà été reconnu par des gouvernements du monde entier. La Déclaration du Millénaire des Nations Unies, adoptée en septembre 2000, confirme l'empressement de la communauté mondiale à soutenir les efforts de l'Afrique visant à aborder le sous-développement et la marginalisation. La Déclaration souligne son soutien à la prévention des conflits et à la création de conditions de stabilité et de démocratie sur le continent ainsi qu'aux défis-clés de l'éradication de la pauvreté et des maladies. La Déclaration attire également l'attention sur l'engagement de la communauté mondiale à accroître le flux de ressources vers l'Afrique, en améliorant les relations dans le domaine de l'aide, du commerce et de la dette entre l'Afrique et le reste du monde, et en augmentant le flux de capitaux privés vers le continent. Il est maintenant important de traduire ces engagements en réalités.

47] L'Initiative africaine est axée sur la nécessité d'en assurer la propriété et la gestion aux Africains.
Grâce au présent programme, les dirigeants de l'Afrique établissent l'ordre du jour du renouveau du continent. Cet ordre du jour se fonde sur les priorités nationales et régionales et les plans de développement qui doivent être mis au point au moyen d'un processus de démocratie directe et participative. Nous estimons que si ces plans donnent leurs mandats aux dirigeants africains, leur rôle est de les exprimer et d'en diriger la mise en application pour le compte de leurs peuples. Ce programme constitue un nouveau cadre d'interaction avec le reste du monde, notamment avec les pays industrialisés et les organisations multilatérales. Il est fondé sur un ordre du jour dont ont décidé les Africains de leur propre initiative et de leur propre gré, afin de déterminer eux-mêmes leur destin.

Pour réaliser ces objectifs, les dirigeants africains devront assumer en commun un certain nombre de responsabilités.

— Consolider les mécanismes de prévention, de gestion et de résolution des conflits aux niveaux régional et continental et faire en sorte que ces mécanismes soient utilisés pour restaurer et maintenir la paix.

– Promouvoir et protéger la démocratie et les droits de l'homme dans leur pays et leur région en établissant des normes claires de responsabilité, de transparence et de démocratie directe aux niveaux local et national.
– Restaurer et maintenir la stabilité macro-économique, en particulier en mettant au point des normes et cibles appropriées en matière de politiques monétaires et budgétaires et en instaurant des cadres institutionnels adéquats pour en assurer la réalisation.
– Instaurer des cadres légaux et réglementaires transparents à l'intention des marchés financiers, pour assurer l'audit des compagnies privées comme du secteur public.
– Revitaliser et élargir la prestation des services d'enseignement, de formation technique et de santé, en accordant une forte priorité à la lutte contre le VIH/SIDA, le paludisme et autres maladies contagieuses.
– Promouvoir le rôle des femmes dans le développement socio-économique en renforçant leurs capacités dans les domaines de l'éducation et de la formation, en développant des activités lucratives grâce à un accès plus facile au crédit et en assurant leur participation à la vie politique et économique des pays d'Afrique.
– Renforcer la capacité des États d'Afrique d'instituer et de faire respecter la législation et de maintenir l'ordre.
– Promouvoir le développement des infrastructures, de l'agriculture et de sa diversification vers les agro-industries et les manufactures au service des marchés locaux comme de l'exportation.

IV. Stratégie africaine pour assurer un développement durable au 21ème siècle

48] La stratégie est structurée comme suit:

A. *Conditions préalables indispensables au développement:*
1. Paix, sécurité, démocratie et gouvernance politique
2. Gestion économique et gouvernance des entreprises, mettant l'accent sur la gestion des fonds publics
3. Coopération et intégration régionales

B. *Secteurs prioritaires:*
1. Infrastructures.

2. Informatique et télématique.
3. Mise en valeur des ressources humaines, mettant l'accent sur la santé, l'éducation et le développement des compétences.
4. Agriculture.
5. Promotion de la diversification de la production et des exportations, mettant l'accès sur l'accès des exportations africaines aux marchés des pays industrialisés.

C. *Mobilisation de ressources:*
1. Augmentation de l'épargne et des apports de capitaux grâce à un nouvel allégement de la dette, à l'accroissement des apports d'APD et de capitaux privés, en même temps qu'une meilleure gestion des recettes et des dépenses publiques

49] Objectif à long terme

— Éliminer la pauvreté en Afrique et mettre les pays africains, individuellement et collectivement, sur la voie d'une croissance et d'un développement durables pour mettre ainsi fin à la marginalisation de l'Afrique du processus de mondialisation.
— Promouvoir le rôle des femmes dans toutes les activités.

50] Buts

— Parvenir à une croissance annuelle moyenne du produit intérieur brut (PIB) de plus de 7 pour cent et s'y maintenir pendant les 15 prochaines années.
— Faire en sorte que le continent réalise les objectifs convenus en matière de développement international, à savoir.
— Réduire de moitié, de 1990 à 2015, le pourcentage de gens vivant dans des conditions d'extrême pauvreté.
— Assurer la scolarisation de tous les enfants en âge de fréquenter les écoles primaires d'ici 2015.
— Progresser vers l'égalité entre les sexes et habiliter les femmes en supprimant les disparités entre les sexes dans les inscriptions à l'enseignement primaire et secondaire d'ici 2005.
— Réduire les taux de mortalité infantile et postinfantile de deux tiers de 1990 à 2015.

– Réduire les taux de mortalité liée à la maternité des trois quarts de 1990 à 2015.
– Assurer que tous ceux qui en ont besoin aient accès à des services de santé génésique d'ici 2015.
– Mettre en œuvre dès 2005 des stratégies régionales de développement durable pour que les pertes de ressources écologiques aient été compensées d'ici 2015.

51] Les résultats escomptés de cette stratégie sont les suivants:

– Croissance économique, développement et augmentation des emplois.
– Réduction de la pauvreté et des inégalités.
– Diversification des activités de production, amélioration de la compétitivité sur le plan international et augmentation des exportations.
– Meilleure intégration de l'Afrique.

52] Conscients qu'à moins que ne soient prises des mesures novatrices et radicales l'Afrique ne réalisera ni les objectifs de développement international ni un taux de croissance annuelle du PIB de 7 pour cent, les Chefs d'État africains proposent le programme ci-après. Ce programme, quise fonde sur des thèmes clés, est étayé par un programme d'action détaillé.

53] Thèmes clés

A. *Conditions préalables indispensables au développement:*

53.1] Favoriser la paix, la démocratie, les droits de l'homme et une saine gestion économique

L'expérience a appris aux dirigeants africains que la paix, la sécurité, la démocratie, une bonne gouvernance, le respect des droits de l'homme et une saine gestion économique sont les conditions préalables indispensables au développement durable. Ils s'engagent à promouvoir ces principes, individuellement et collectivement, dans leur pays, leur région et le continent.

Consolider les capacités de l'État est critique pour créer les conditions du développement. Le rôle de l'État est essentiel pour promouvoir la croissance et le développement économiques et exécuter les programmes

de réduction de la pauvreté. Mais en réalité, de nombreux gouvernements n'ont pas les capacités requises pour remplir ce rôle. De nombreux pays ne disposent donc pas des politiques et réglementations indispensables pour imposer les règles du jeu au secteur privé. Ils n'ont pas non plus les capacités de mettre en œuvre des programmes même lorsqu'ils disposent des fonds requis.

C'est pourquoi un renforcement ciblé des capacités doit être parmi les priorités des priorités. Les programmes dans tous les domaines devront être précédés d'une évaluation des capacités existantes avant d'obtenir le soutien adéquat requis.

53.2] Coopération et intégration économiques régionales

La plupart des pays d'Afrique sont petits en termes de population comme de revenus par habitants. Leurs marchés étant restreints, ils n'offrent pas de perspectives intéressantes de rendement aux investisseurs potentiels, tandis que la diversification de la production et des exportations y est retardée. Les possibilités d'investissements consacrés aux infrastructures essentielles dont la viabilité dépend d'économies d'échelle y sont donc limitées.

Cette conjoncture économique montre que les pays d'Afrique ont besoin de mettre leurs ressources en commun et de favoriser la coopération et l'intégration économique régionales du continent pour améliorer leur compétitivité sur le plan international. Il faut consolider les cinq groupements économiques régionaux du continent: Afrique de l'Ouest, Afrique du Nord, Afrique centrale, Afrique de l'Est et Afrique australe.

L'Initiative africaine met l'accent sur la prestation de services publics régionaux (transports, énergie, eau, informatique et télématique, éradication des maladies, protection de l'environnement et mise en place de capacités régionales de recherche) et sur la promotion du commerce et des investissements intraafricains. Il s'agira avant tout de rationaliser le cadre institutionnel de l'intégration économique en repérant des projets communs qui soient compatibles avec les programmes intégrés de développement nationaux et régionaux et d'harmoniser les politiques et pratiques en matière d'économie et d'investissements. Il faut assurer la coordination des politiques sectorielles nationales et suivre soigneusement les décisions régionales.

L'Initiative africaine donnera la priorité à la consolidation des capacités pour améliorer l'efficacité des structures régionales existantes et rationaliser les organisations régionales existantes. La Banque africaine de développement doit jouer un rôle de pointe dans le financement des études, programmes et projets régionaux.

Les efforts d'intégration devraient tenir compte de la situation exceptionnelle des petits États insulaires de l'Afrique.

B. *Secteurs prioritaires*

53.3] Combler les manques d'infrastructures

Les infrastructures sont des paramètres essentiels de la croissance économique, ce pourquoi il faut trouver des moyens de placer l'Afrique au même niveau que les pays développés en termes d'accumulation de capital, matériel et humain.

Si l'Afrique était dotée des mêmes infrastructures de base que les pays développés, elle serait mieux en mesure de se consacrer à la production et à l'amélioration de la productivité pour faire face à la concurrence internationale. Les insuffisances structurelles des infrastructures handicapent sérieusement la croissance économique et la réduction de la pauvreté. Améliorer les infrastructures, y compris le coût et la fiabilité des services, serait dans l'intérêt de l'Afrique comme de la communauté internationale, qui pourrait obtenir des biens et services africains à meilleur marché.

Dans de nombreux pays d'Afrique, les colonisateurs n'ont construit d'infrastructures que pour pouvoir exporter les matières premières africaines et importer en Afrique les produits de leurs industries.

Pour améliorer les infrastructures africaines, il faudra absolument des financements privés étrangers pour compléter les méthodes traditionnelles de financement que sont le crédit et l'aide.

53.4] Informatique et télématique

Les infrastructures de l'informatique et de la télématique de l'Afrique sont insuffisances, de même que les cadres politiques et réglementaires et les ressources humaines requises dans ce domaine. De ce fait, l'accès à des

services abordables en fait de téléphone, de radio-télédiffusion, d'ordinateurs et de l'Internet est inadéquat. La densité de lignes téléphoniques y reste inférieure à une ligne pour 100 personnes. Les coûts des services sont élevés puisqu' une connexion coûte en moyenne en Afrique 20 pour cent du PIB par habitant par rapport à une moyenne mondiale de 9 pour cent et à 1 pour cent dans les pays à revenus élevés. L'Afrique n'a pas encore pu tirer parti de l'outil que constitue informatique et télématique pour améliorer les conditions de vie des populations et créer de nouvelles possibilités d'affaires. Les liaisons entre les pays du continent et avec les marchés mondiaux en souffrent. Quoique de nombreux pays d'Afrique aient engagé des réformes politiques dans ce domaine, ni la pénétration des services, ni leur qualité ni leurs tarifs ne se sont encore améliorés.

La priorité stratégique est améliorer l'accès des ménages et des entreprises, l'objectif à court terme étant de doubler la densité des lignes téléphoniques pour parvenir à deux lignes pour 100 personnes d'ici l'an 2005. Il faut aussi que ces services soient abordables: diminuer le coût et améliorer la fiabilité des services pour les entreprises diminuera les coûts de production et des transactions dans toute l'économie et favorisera donc la croissance. Pour multiplier par deux le nombre de lignes téléphoniques d'ici 2005 il faudra un investissement estimé à plus de 8 milliards de dollars E.U. rien qu'en infrastructures essentielles. Les compagnies africaines de télécommunications, publiques et privées, ne disposent pas de suffisamment de ressources.

Pour obtenir des investissements du secteur privé, il faudra une stratégie exhaustive, intégrée et bien coordonnée, comprenant des réformes de politiques et de réglementations. Il faudra aussi former les ressources humaines de base requises pour le secteur, notamment des ingénieurs et des concepteurs de logiciels, mettre l'accent sur des applications dont le contenu apporte de la valeur ajoutée aux réseaux et mettre en place des mécanismes efficaces de financement, dont des partenariats entre secteurs public et privé.

53.5] Développement humain: santé et éducation

Le développement humain signifie multiplier les possibilités qui s'offrent aux populations et leur permettre de vivre plus longuement, des vies saines et créatrices. Le programme entérine les programmes de plusieurs

agences multilatérales de développement et autres bailleurs de fonds qui s'attaquent à la pauvreté sur tous les fronts. Il exhorte les gouvernements africains comme leurs partenaires en développement à consacrer plus d'investissements à l'éducation, à la santé, à l'approvisionnement en eau potable et en énergie et à l'expansion des possibilités pour les pauvres de gagner leur vie.

53.6] Santé

L'Afrique est le domaine privilégié de graves maladies endémiques. Bactéries et parasites, portés par des insectes, des personnes en déplacement et autres vecteurs, y prospèrent, notamment grâce à la faiblesse des politiques écologiques et aux mauvaises conditions de vie des populations. Un des principaux obstacles aux efforts de développement en Afrique est la lourde incidence des maladies transmissibles, en particulier le VIH/SIDA, la tuberculose et le paludisme. À moins que l'on ne mette un frein à ces épidémies pour ultérieurement les éradiquer, il restera impossible de véritablement mettre en valeur les ressources humaines du continent.

Dans le domaine de la santé, l'Afrique soutient fort mal la comparaison avec le reste de la communauté internationale. En 1997, les taux de mortalités des enfants et des adolescents y étaient respectivement de 105 et 169 pour mille par rapport à 6 et 7 pour mille dans les pays développés. L'espérance de vie y est de 48,9 ans par rapport à 77,7 dans les pays développés. Il n'y a que 16 médecins pour 100 000 habitants par rapport à 253 dans les pays industrialisés. La pauvreté, que reflète le très faible niveau de revenus par habitant, est une des principaux facteurs empêchant les populations de surmonter leurs problèmes de santé.

La nutrition affecte aussi la situation sanitaire. La consommation quotidienne moyenne de calorie va de 2384 dans les pays à faibles revenus à 2846 dans les pays à revenus moyens et 3390 dans les pays de l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques (OCDE). La santé, que l'OMS définit comme étant un état complet de bien-être physique et mental, contribue à l'augmentation de la productivité et par conséquent à la croissance économique. Les effets les plus évidents de l'amélioration de la santé de la force de travail sont la diminution des journées de travail perdues pour cause de maladie, le relèvement de la

productivité et la possibilité d'avoir des emplois mieux payés. En fin du compte, améliorer la santé et la nutrition contribue directement à relever le bien-être des populations, à arrêter la propagation des maladies, à diminuer les taux de mortalité infantile, à prolonger l'espérance de vie et à améliorer les capacités d'étude des jeunes scolarisés. On peut donc nettement établir le lien entre l'amélioration de la situation sanitaire et la lutte contre la pauvreté.

53.7] Éducation

Les principaux problèmes qui se posent à l'éducation en Afrique proviennent de l'insuffisance des installations et des systèmes de formation de la vaste majorité des Africains. Ceux d'entre eux qui ont eu la possibilité de fréquenter des établissements d'enseignement ailleurs ont démontré qu'ils étaient capables de réussir.

Le plan soutient la consolidation immédiate des établissements d'enseignement supérieur dans toute l'Afrique, en créant suivant les besoins des universités spécialisées avec des enseignants africains. Il faut aussi insister sur la neecessité de mettre en place des instituts technologiques. Le deuxième élément significatif en matière d'éducation est la construction d'écoles primaires dans tous les villages et d'écoles secondaires dans toutes les régions.

53.8] Culture

La culture fait partie intégrante des efforts de développement du continent. C'est pourquoi il est indispensable de protéger et d'utiliser correctement le savoir autochtone qui représente une dimension importante de la culture du continent et d'en faire bénéficier toute l'humanité. L'initiative africaine consacrera une attention toute particulière à la protection et au développement du savoir traditionnel. C'est-à-dire aux œuvres littéraires et artistiques nourries de tradition comme aux travaux scientifiques, performances, inventions, découvertes, conceptions, marques, appellations et symboles, informations encore non divulguées et toutes autres innovations et créations fondées sur la tradition et des activités intellectuelles dans les domaines industriels, scientifiques, littéraires ou artistiques. Ce concept englobe aussi le patrimoine génétique et les

connaissances médicales traditionnelles qui y sont associées.

Les dirigeants du PRA prendront d'urgence des mesures pour faire en sorte que le savoir autochtone de l'Afrique soit protégé par des législations appropriées. Ils favoriseront aussi sa protection au niveau international en travaillant pour ce faire en étroite collaboration avec l'Organisation mondiale de la propriété intellectuelle (OMPI).

53.9] Agriculture

La majeure partie des populations d'Afrique vit dans les régions rurales. Néanmoins, les systèmes agraires sont généralement faibles et improductifs. Comme ils sont associés à des handicaps extérieurs tels que l'incertitude climatique, les déformations de la politique économique et les changements des prix mondiaux, ces systèmes ont entravé l'approvisionnement agricole et l'accroissement des revenus dans les régions rurales, ce qui a conduit à la pauvreté. La nécessité pressante de parvenir à la sécurité alimentaire dans les pays d'Afrique impose que la question des systèmes agricoles inadéquats soit abordée pour que la production alimentaire puisse être accrue et les niveaux nutritionnels améliorés.

L'amélioration de la performance agricole est une condition préalable au développement économique du continent. L'accroissement du pouvoir d'achat des populations rurales qui en résultera conduira également à une augmentation réelle de la demande de produits industriels africains. La dynamique induite constituerait une source significative de croissance économique.

L'accroissement de la productivité agricole repose sur l'élimination d'un certain nombre de contraintes structurelles qui affectent le secteur. Une contrainte-clé est l'incertitude climatique, qui augmente le facteur de risque auquel une agriculture intensive, fondée sur l'afflux significatif d'investissements privés, doit faire face. En conséquence, les gouvernements doivent appuyer la mise en place d'infrastructures d'irrigation et mettre en valeur des terres irrigables lorsque les entreprises privées y rechignent. L'amélioration de l'infrastructure rurale (routes, électrification des zones rurales, etc) est également essentielle.

L'environnement institutionnel de l'agriculture a aussi un effet significatif sur la productivité et la performance de ce secteur dans le domaine de l'approvisionnement. Un appui institutionnel sous la forme de centres

et d'instituts de recherche, la fourniture de services de vulgarisation et d'appui ainsi que des foires commerciales agricoles stimuleront la production d'excédents commercialisables. Le cadre des réglementations relatives à l'agriculture doit également être pris en considération, avec notamment l'encouragement des dirigeants des communautés locales dans les régions rurales et la participation de ces communautés à la formulation des politiques et à la prestation des services. Depuis quelques temps, les bailleurs de fonds bilatéraux et les institutions multilatérales n'accordent que peu d'attention au secteur agricole et aux régions rurales, dans lesquelles vivent 70 pour cent des pauvres d'Afrique. Par exemple, dans le portefeuille de la Banque mondiale, les crédits destinés à l'agriculture s'élevaient à 39 pour cent en 1978 mais étaient tombés à un niveau de 12 pour cent en 1996 et à un niveau de 7 pour cent en l'an 2000. La communauté des bailleurs de fonds dans son ensemble doit renverser cette tendance négative.

53.10] Diversification de la production et des exportations

Les économies africaines sont vulnérables parce qu'elles dépendent de produits primaires et de secteurs fondés sur les ressources et que leurs exportations sont peu nombreuses. Il faudrait d'urgence diversifier la production et cela devrait logiquement se faire pour commencer à partir de la base de la production africaine actuelle, à savoir les ressources naturelles du continent. Il faut augmenter la valeur ajoutée dans les agro-industries et dans l'enrichissement des minerais et développer plus avant la production de biens d'équipement, grâce à une stratégie de diversificatgion économique fondée sur des liaisons intersectorielles. Il faut appuyer les entreprises privées, aussi bien les microentreprises du secteur informel que les petites et moyennes manufactures, principaux moteurs de croissance et de création d'emplois. Les pouvoirs publics doivent supprimer les obstacles aux affaires et encourager les talents créatifs des entrepreneurs africains.

53.11] Accès aux marchés

Les dirigeants africains sont persuadés qu'il serait crucial d'améliorer l'accès aux marchés des pays industrialisés des produits pour lesquels l'Afrique est compétitive. Malgré les nettes améliorations en fait de diminution des droits de douanes ces dernières années, il subsiste d'importantes exoné-

rations tarifaires et des barrières non tarifaires qui constituent des obstacles majeurs. Tout progrès dans ce domaine améliorerait énormément la croissance économique et la diversification de la production et des exportations de l'Afrique. On réduirait ainsi la dépendance vis-à-vis de l'APD et les projets d'infrastructures seraient rendus plus viables du fait de l'accélération de l'activité économique.

C. *Mobilisation de ressources*

53.12] Augmenter l'épargne

Pour relever la croissance et réduire plus efficacement la pauvreté, l'Afrique a besoin de mobiliser des ressources supplémentaires. Dans les pays, les ressources proviennent de l'épargne domestique des entreprises et des ménages qui devaient être nettement augmentée. Il faudrait aussi augmenter les revenus fiscaux pour augmenter les recettes publiques tout en rationalisant les dépenses des pouvoirs publics. Les pays d'Afrique perdent une importante partie de l'épargne locale du fait de la fuite des capitaux. Cette une tendance qui ne pourra être renversée que si les ressortissants pensent qu'ils ont intérêt à conserver leurs richesses en Afrique. C'est pourquoi il faut aussi d'urgence créer des conditions favoirables aux investissements du secteur privé, local et étranger.

53.13] Augmenter les flux de capitaux

Il va néanmoins être aussi important, en particulier à court et moyen termes, d'obtenir des ressources supplémentaires en APD et la réduction de la dette. Plus d'APD serait nécessaire pour permettre aux pays les moins avancés d'atteindre les objectifs internationaux de développement, en particulier en matière d'enseignement primaire, de santé et d'éradication de la pauvreté. Réduire plus encore la dette est aussi crucial. L'Initiative améliorée pour alléger l'endettement des pays pauvres très endettés (PPTE) impose encore à de nombreux pays en bénéficiant un très lourd fardeau d'endettement, compte tenu de la nécessité de consacrer plus de ressources à la réduction de la pauvreté. De plus, certains pays qui ne bénéficient pas de cette Initiative auraient besoin que leur dette soit réduite pour pouvoir consacrer des ressources à la lutte contre la pauvreté.

V. Programme d'action

54. Le plan d'action se présente dans le cadre de huit thèmes et il est structuré de la même façon que la stratégie esquissée. Il porte sur tout ce qui doit être fait dans l'immédiat et sur les mesures à prendre pour engager des interventions à moyen et long terme.

A. *Conditions préalables indispensables au développement*

54.1] Initiatives pour la paix, la sécurité et la Gouvernance politique

[i] Initiative pour la paix et la sécurité

L'Initiative pour la paix et la sécurité consiste en trois éléments:

— La promotion de conditions à long terme qui favorisent le développement et la sécurité.
— La consolidation des capacités d'alerte rapide des institutions africaines et l'amélioration de leur capacité à prévenir, gérer et résoudre les conflits.
— L'institutionnalisation des engagements envers les valeurs essentielles de l'Initiative africaine par le biais de ses dirigeants.

Des conditions à long terme permettant d'assurer la paix et la sécurité en Afrique nécessitent des mesures pour réussir à combattre les vulnérabilités politiques et sociales qui sont à l'origine des conflits. Celles-ci sont abordées dans les Initiatives de gouvernance politique et économique, les Initiatives sur les flux de capitaux et l'accès au marché et celle sur la mise en valeur des ressources humaines.

Les efforts visant à consolider la capacité de l'Afrique à gérer tous les aspects d'un conflit mettent l'acccent sur les moyens nécessaires pour renforcer les institutions régionales et continentales existantes dans quatre domaines-clés.

— La prévention, la gestion et la résolution des conflits.
— La recherche de la paix, le maintien de la paix et l'imposition de la paix.
— La réconciliation, le relèvement et la reconstruction suite à un conflit.

– La lutte contre la prolifération illicite des armes légères et des mines terrestres.

Dans les six mois suivant la mise en place de l'Initiative africaine, ses dirigeants étudieront les recommandations décrivant les mesures détaillées, assorties de leurs coûts, qui sont requises dans chacun des quatre domaines susmentionnés. Ce travail portera aussi sur les mesures requises des partenaires, ainsi que sur la nature et les sources du financement de ces activités.

Le Forum prévu des Chefs d'État servira de tribune où les dirigeants de l'Initiative chercheront à améliorer la capacité des mécanismes africains à promouvoir la paix et la sécurité sur le continent, à partager les expériences et à mobiliser une action collective. Le Forum assurera que les principes et les engagements implicites dans l'Initiative soient respectés.

[ii] Initiative pour la démocratie et la gouvernance

L'objectif de l'initiative pour la démocratie et la gouvernance est de contribuer à renforcer le cadre politique et administratif des pays participants, en accord avec les principes de démocratie, de transparence, de responsabilité, d'intégrité, de respect des droits de l'homme et de la primauté du droit. Elle est renforcée par l'Initiative pour la gouvernance économique qu'elle soutient et avec laquelle elle partage des caractéristiques-clés. Ensemble, elles doivent contribuer à utiliser l'énergie du continent pour progresser sur la voie du développement et de l'éradication de la pauvreté.

L'Initiative est composée des éléments suivants:

– Une série d'engagements par les pays participants à instituer ou consolider les pratiques et les processus fondamentaux de bonne gouvernance.
– La promesse faite par les pays participants de jouer un rôle déterminant en soutien aux initiatives qui encouragent une bonne gouvernance.
– L'institutionnalisation des engagements par les dirigeants de l'Initiative africaine pour assurer que les valeurs fondamentales de l'initiative soient respectées.

Les États membres de l'Initiative africaine vont aussi prendre plusieurs engagements pour satisfaire aux normes fondamentales de bonne gouvernance et de conduite démocratique tout en s'aidant les uns les autres. Les États participants recevront un appui pour entreprendre les réformes institutionnelles souhaitées lorsque cela s'avèrera nécessaire. Dans les six mois suivant l'institutionnalisation de l'Initiative, ses dirigeants étudieront des recommandations portant sur le déploiement d'outils de diagnostic et d'évaluation appropriés, pour faciliter le respect des objectifs partagés de bonne gouvernance, afin d'identifier les faiblesses institutionnelles et de chercher des ressources et des compétences pour combattre ces faiblesses. Afin de renforcer la gouvernance politique et de consolider la capacité à respecter ces engagements, les dirigeants du PRA engageront un processus d'initiatives ciblées de renforcement des capacités. Ces réformes institutionnelles se concentreront sur.

— Une réforme de la fonction publique et de l'administration.
— Le renforcement du contrôle parlementaire.
— La promotion de la démocratie directe et participative.
— Une lutte efficace contre la corruption et les détournements de fonds.
— La réforme du régime judiciaire.

Les pays participants joueront un rôle déterminant en appuyant et en mettant sur pied des institutions et des initiatives qui protègent ces engagements. Ils s'efforceront de créer et de renforcer des structures nationales, régionales et continentales qui soutiennent une bonne gouvernance.

Le Forum des Chefs d'État de l'Initiative africaine servira de mécanisme grâce auquel les dirigeants de l'Initiative étudieront une gamme d'engagements et d'objectifs communs de bonne gouvernance, y compris le progrès de l'évaluation des faiblesses au niveau de la gouvernance et de l'application des réformes.

Le Forum constituera une tribune dans laquelle les pays partageront leurs expériences afin de favoriser la bonne gouvernance et les pratiques démocratiques.

54.2] Initiative pour la gouvernance économique et la gouvernance des entreprises

Objectif

– Promouvoir des programmes concrets, assortis d'un échéancier, visant à améliorer la qualité de la gestion économique et des finances publiques ainsi que la gouvernance des entreprises dans tous les pays participants.

Actions

– Une équipe spéciale de Ministères des finances et des Banques centrales sera chargée d'examiner les pratiques de gouvernance économique et de gouvernance des entreprises dans les différents pays et régions. Au bout de six mois, cette équipe devra soumettre à l'examen du Comité des Chefs d'État pour la mise en œuvre des recommandations sur les normes et les codes de bonne pratique appropriés.
– Le Comité de mise en œuvre soumettra ses recommandations aux États africains pour qu'ils les mettent en application.
– Le Comité de mise en œuvre accordera un rang élevé de priorité à la gestion des finances publiques. Les pays mettront en place un programme visant à améliorer la gestion des finances publiques, fixeront des objectifs et conviendront des mécanismes de suivi.
– Le Comité de mise en œuvre mobilisera des ressources pour consolider les capacités afin de permettre à tous les pays de respecter les normes minimales et les codes de bonne pratique convenus mutuellement.

B. Priorités sectorielles

54.3] Initiative pour la mise en valeur des ressources humaines

[i] Réduction de la pauvreté

Objectifs

– Atteindre les objectifs du développement international en réduisant de moitié la proportion des personnes vivant dans des conditions de pauvreté extrême d'ici l'an 2015.
– Fournir un leadership déterminé en accordant la priorité à la réduction de la pauvreté dans toutes les composantes de l'Initiative africaine et

dans les politiques macroéconomiques et sectorielles des gouvernements nationaux.
- Mettre particulièrement l'accent sur la réduction de la pauvreté chez les femmes.
- Assurer une responsabilisation des pauvres dans les stratégies de réduction de la pauvreté.
- Appuyer les initiatives visant à combattre la pauvreté au niveau multilatéral, comme le Cadre global pour le développement de la Banque mondiale et le Document de stratégie pour la réduction de la pauvreté liée à l'Initiative d'allègement de la dette pour les pays pauvres très endettés (PPTE).

Actions

- Exiger que les programmes nationaux préparés pour les initiatives dans le cadre du présent programme d'action évaluent la situation avant leur mise en œuvre et mesurent leur impact sur la réduction de la pauvreté.
- Travailler avec la Banque mondiale, le FMI et les institutions des Nations Unies pour accélérer la mise en œuvre et l'adoption du Cadre global de développement, de la Stratégie pour la réduction de la pauvreté et des initiatives apparentées.
- Mettre sur pied une équipe spéciale sur la question de l'égalité des sexes pour assurer que les stratégies de réduction de la pauvreté de l'Initiative africaine abordent les problèmes spécifiques aux femmes pauvres.
- Mettre sur pied une équipe spéciale afin d'accélérer l'adoption de processus décentralisés de participation pour la construction des infrastructures et la prestation des services sociaux.

[ii] Santé

Objectifs

- Renforcer les programmes de lutte contre les maladies transmissibles afin qu'ils soient à la hauteur de la tâche d'alléger le fardeau des maladies.
- Disposer d'un système de soins de santé solide qui réponde aux besoins et qui appuie efficacement la lutte contre les maladies.

– Assurer l'appui nécessaire au développement durable d'un système de soins de santé efficace.
– Habiliter les peuples d'Afrique à agir pour améliorer leur propre santé et assurer l'éducation sanitaire en Afrique.
– Réussir à avoir un impact sur le fardeau de maladies qui pèse sur les personnes les plus pauvres en Afrique.

Actions

– Renforcer la participation de l'Afrique aux processus visant l'obtention de médicaments à des prix abordables, notamment ceux auxquels sont engagées les compagnies pharmaceutiques internationales et la société civile internationale et examiner les possibilités d'utiliser d'autres systèmes d'approvisionnement pour les médicaments et les fournitures essentiels.
– Mobiliser les ressources requises pour intervenir de façon efficace contre les maladies et mettre en place de solides systèmes sanitaires.
– Mener campagne en faveur d'un appui financier international accru pour lutter contre le VIH/SIDA et les autres maladies transmissibles.
– Collaborer avec d'autres organisations internationales comme l'OMS et des bailleurs de fonds afin d'assurer que l'appui au continent soit accru pour atteindre au moins 10 milliards de dollars E-U par an.
– Encourager les pays africains à donner la priorité aux soins de santé dans leurs propres budgets et à accroître progressivement ces ces budgets pour parvenir à un niveau déterminé d'un commun accord.
– Mobiliser conjointement des ressources pour consolider les capacités afin de permettre à tous les pays d'Afrique d'améliorer l'infrastructure et la gestion des soins de santé.

[iii] Éducation

Objectifs

– Collaborer avec les bailleurs de fonds et les institutions multilatérales pour assurer que l'objectif international du développement, visant à parvenir à une éducation primaire universelle d'ici l'an 2015, soit réalisé;
– S'efforcer d'améliorer l'élaboration et la réforme des programmes, la qualité de l'enseignement et l'accès à l'informatique et à la télématique.

— Élargir l'accès à l'enseignement secondaire et améliorer la pertinence de celui-ci par rapport au monde du travail.
— Favoriser la mise en place de réseaux d'établissements spécialisés de recherche et d'enseignement supérieur.

Actions

— Examiner les initiatives actuelles conjointement avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture (UNESCO) et les autres principaux bailleurs de fonds.
— Examiner les niveaux des dépenses effectuées dans le domaine de l'éducation par les pays d'Afrique et prendre l'initiative d'un processus de mise au point de normes relatives aux dépenses gouvernementales dans le domaine de l'éducation.
— Mettre sur pied une équipe spéciale pour accélérer l'introduction de l'informatique et de la télématique dans les écoles primaires.
— Mettre sur pied une équipe spéciale pour examiner les capacités de recherche dont le continent a besoin dans chaque région et présenter des propositions à ce sujet.

54.4] Initiative dans le domaine des infrastructures

L'initiative dans le domaine des infrastructures comprend des éléments communs à tous les secteurs ainsi que des éléments spécifiques à chacun d'entre eux.

[i] Éléments communs à tous les secteurs de l'infrastructure

Objectifs

— Améliorer l'accès aux infrastructures et les rendre plus abordables et fiables à la fois pour les entreprises et pour les ménages.
— Améliorer la coopération et le commerce au niveau régional grâce à de meilleures connexions transfrontalières des infrastructures.
— Accroître les investissements consacrés aux infrastructures en réduisant les risques auxquels les investisseurs privés doivent faire face, en particulier en matière de politiques et de réglementations.

– Édifier des bases de compétences adéquates en technologie et en ingénierie pour installer, exploiter et entretenir en Afrique des réseaux d'infrastructures "en dur".

Actions

– Avec l'assistance des institutions spécialisées dans chaque secteur, mettre en place des cadres politiques et législatifs pour encourager la concurrence. Dans le même temps, créer de nouveaux cadres de réglementation et consolider la capacité de formation de personnes responsables de la réglementation afin de promouvoir l'harmonisation des politiques et des réglementations pour faciliter les connexions transfrontalières et l'élargissement du marché.
– Accroître les investissements consacrés aux infrastructures, en particulier pour leur rénovation, et améliorer les pratiques d'entretien qui assureront la viabilité des réseaux d'infrastructures.
– Commencer à développer des institutions de formation et des réseaux pour encourager la formation de techniciens et d'ingénieurs de haut niveau dans les secteurs des infrastructures.
– Promouvoir la participation des communautés et des utilisateurs à la construction, l'entretien et la gestion des infrastructures, en particulier dans les régions urbaines et rurales pauvres, en collaboration avec les Initiatives de gouvernance de l'Initiative africaine.
– Collaborer avec la Banque africaine de développement et d'autres institutions africaines de financement du développement pour mobiliser un financement durable, en particulier au moyen de processus multilatéraux et des institutions et gouvernements donateurs, afin d'obtenir des dons et des fonds consentis à des conditions de faveur, pour atténuer les risques à moyen terme.
– Promouvoir des partenariats entre les secteurs public et privé qui serviront de véhicule pour attirer les investisseurs privés et concentrer le financement public sur les besoins urgents des pauvres, en consolidant les capacités de mise en œuvre et de contrôle des accords de ce type.

Outre ces aspects communs, les stratégies suivantes sont spécifiques à chaque secteur pour les différents types d'infrastructures.

[ii] Informatique et télématique

Objectifs

- Doubler la densité des lignes téléphoniques pour parvenir à deux lignes pour 100 personnes d'ici l'an 2005, avec un niveau d'accès adéquat pour les ménages.
- Diminuer le coût et améliorer la fiabilité des services.
- Préparer tous les pays d'Afrique à utilliser les communications électroniques.
- Constituter une pépinière de jeunes et d'étudiants compétents dans le domaine de l'informatique et de la télématique pour en tirer des ingénieurs stagiaires en informatique et télématique, des programmeurs et des créateurs de logiciels.
- Mettre au point des logiciels à contenu local fondés en particulier sur l'héritage culturel de l'Afrique.

Actions

- Collaborer avec les institutions régionales comme l'Union panafricaine des télécommunications (UPAT) et Africa Connection pour concevoir une politique et une législation modèle pour la réforme des télécommunications, ainsi que des protocoles et des références permettant d'évaluer la préparation à l'utilisation des communications électroniques.
- Collaborer avec les institutions régionales pour consolider les capacités de réglementation.
- Mettre sur pied un réseau d'institutions de formation et de recherche pour consolider la base de compétences de haut niveau.
- Promouvoir et accélérer les projets existants visant à connecter les écoles et les clubs de jeunes.
- Collaborer avec les institutions de financement du développement en Afrique, les initiatives multilatérales (G8 DotForce, Équipe spéciale des Nations Unies) et les bailleurs de fonds bilatéraux pour mettre sur pied des mécanismes financiers visant à atténuer et à réduire les risques dans ce secteur.

[iii] Énergie

Objectifs

– Accroître l'accès à un approvisionnement commercial en énergie, fiable et abordable, de 10 à 35 % de la population d'Afrique en 20 ans.
– Améliorer la fiabilité et réduire le coût de l'approvisionnement en énergie pour les activités de production afin de permettre une croissance économique de 6 pour cent par an.
– Renverser la tendance de dégradation de l'environnement associée à l'utilisation des combustibles traditionnels dans les régions rurales.
– Exploiter le potentiel hydro-électrique des bassins fluviaux d'Afrique.
– Intégrer les réseaux de transport d'énergie électrique et les gazoducs pour faciliter les flux transfrontaliers d'énergie.
– Réformer et harmoniser les réglementations et la législation de continent sur le pétrole.

Actions

– Établir un Forum africain pour la réglementation des entreprises d'utilité publique et des associations régionales de réglementation.
– Mettre sur pied une équipe spéciale qui aura pour tâche de recommander des priorités et des stratégies de mise en œuvre pour les projets régionaux, y compris la génération d'énergie hydro-électrique, les réseaux de transport d'énergie électrique et les gazoducs.
– Mettre sur pied une équipe spéciale pour accélérer le développement de l'approvisionnement en énergie pour les logements des groupes sociaux à faible revenu.
– Élargir la portée du programme de la Communauté de développement del'Afrique australe (SADC) pour la conservation de l'énergie de la biomasse au reste du continent.

[iv] Transport

Objectifs

– Réduire les délais de la circulation transfrontalière des personnes, des biens et des services.
– Réduire l'attente et les temps morts dans les ports.
– Promouvoir l'activité économique et le commerce transfrontalier des

marchandises sur la base de meilleurs liens de transport terrestre.
– Accroître les liaisons de transport aérien des passagers et du fret entre les sous-régions d'Afrique.

Actions

– Mettre sur pied des équipes spéciales dans le domaine des douanes et de l'immigration afin d'harmoniser les passages de frontières et les procédures de délivrance des visas.
– Mettre en place et favoriser des partenariats entre les secteurs public et privé pour l'octroi de concessions pour la construction, l'aménagement et l'entretien des ports, des réseau routier, des réseaux ferroviairex et de transport maritime.
– Promouvoir l'harmonisation des normes et des réglementations selon les modes de transport et l'utilisation accrue de services de transport multimodal.
– Collaborer avec les organisations régionales pour mettre en place des couloirs de développement du transport.
– Promouvoir des partenariats entre les secteur public et privé et une rationalisation de l'industrie des transports aériens ainsi que la consolidation des capacités de contrôle du trafic aérien.

[v] Eau et assainissement

Objectifs

– Assurer un accès durable à un approvisionnement en eau pure et potable et à un assainissement adéquats, particulièrement pour les pauvres.
– Planifier et gérer les ressources en eau pour en faire la base de la coopération et du développement au niveau national et régional.
– Examiner systématiquement et préserver les écosystèmes, la diversité biologique et la faune.
– Assurer la coopération sur les fleuves que se partagent plusieurs États membres.
– Aborder la menace du changement climatique de façon efficace.
– Accroître l'agriculture irriguée et pluviale pour améliorer la produc-

tion et la sécurité alimentaire.

Actions

– Accélérer les travaux des projets sur les ressources en eau à objectifs multiples, comme par exemple l'étude du Secrétariat de la SADC de l'exploitation du fleuve Congo et l'Initiative du Bassin du Nil.
– Mettre sur pied une équipe spéciale pour planifier les effets néfastes de l'impact du changement climatique sur l'Afrique.
– S'associer à l'Initiative mondiale pour l'assainissement de l'environnement afin de promouvoir des méthodes et des projets sanitaires d'élimination des déchets.
– Appuyer le programme Habitat des Nations Unies sur la conservation des ressources en eau dans les villes africaines.

[vi] Tribunes sur la science et la technologie

Objectifs

– Promouvoir une coopération et une amélioration des connexions transfrontalières en utilisant les connaissances dont disposent les centres d'excellence existants pour tout le continent.
– Développer et adapter la capacité de collecte et d'analyse de l'information pour appuyer les activités de production et les exportations de l'Afrique; - Générer une masse critique de compétences technologiques dans des domaines ciblés qui présentent un potentiel de croissance élevé, en particulier la biotechnologie et les sciences de la Terre.
– Assimiler et adapter les technologies existantes pour diversifier la production des industries manufacturières.

Actions

– Établir une coopération régionale pour la mise au point et la diffusion de normes pour les produits, ainsi que pour les systèmes d'information géographique (SIG).
– Mettre au point des réseaux entre les centres d'excellence existants, en particulier au moyen de l'Internet, d'échanges de personnel et de pro-

grammes de formation transfrontaliers et fournir une assistance aux scientifiques et aux chercheurs réfugiés.
— Collaborer avec l'UNESCO et l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture (FAO) ainsi que d'autres organisations internationales pour exploiter la biotechnologie afin de développer le potentiel commercial de la riche diversité biologique et de la base de connaissances autochtones de l'Afrique, en améliorant la productivité agricole et en développant la production pharmaceutique.
— Développer la recherche dans le domaine des sciences de la Terre pour accroître l'exploitation des richesses en minerais de l'Afrique.
— Mettre en place et développer une base de compétences dans le domaine des techniques de fabrication des produits et du contrôle de la qualité pour appuyer la diversification des industries de transformation.

54.5. DIVERSIFICATION DE LA PRODUCTION ET DES EXPORTATIONS

[i] Agriculture

Objectifs

— Améliorer la productivité de l'agriculture en accordant une attention particulière aux petits exploitants et aux agricultrices.
— Assurer la sécurité alimentaire pour tous et accroître l'accès des pauvres à une alimentation et à une nutrition adéquates.
— Promouvoir des mesures pour lutter contre la dégradation des ressources naturelles et encourager des méthodes de production qui soient écologiquement durables.
— Intégrer les pauvres ruraux à l'économie de marché et leur fournir un meilleur accès aux marchés à l'exportation.
— Transformer l'Afrique en exportateur net de produits agricoles.
— Jouer un rôle stratégique prédominant dans le domaine des sciences agricoles et du développement de la technologie.

Actions

Au niveau de l'Afrique:

– Relever la sécurité de l'approvisionnement en eau pour l'agriculture en mettant sur pied des dispositifs d'irrigation à petite échelle, en améliorant la gestion des ressources en eau au niveau local et en accroissant l'échange de l'information et du savoir-faire technique avec la communauté internationale.
– Améliorer la sécurité du régime foncier, traditionnel et moderne, et promouvoir les réformes foncières nécessaires.
– Encourager la sécurité alimentaire au niveau régional, sous-régional, national et au niveau des ménages en assurant et gérant l'accroissement de la production, du transport, du stockage et de la commercialisation des cultures alimentaires, de la production animale et de la pêche. Accorder, ce faisant, une attention particulière aux besoins des pauvres, et mettre sur pied des systèmes d'alerte précoce pour surveiller la sécheresse et la production agricole.
– Améliorer les mécanismes de crédit et de financement agricole ainsi que l'accès au crédit des petits exploitants et des agricultrices.
– Réduire la prépondérance des dépenses publiques dans les zones urbaines en Afrique en transférant des ressources des activités urbaines aux activités rurales.

Au niveau international:

– Mettre au point de nouveaux systèmes de partenariat pour des projets agricoles particuliers de grande envergure afin de combattre la saturation des bailleurs de fonds.
– Obtenir l'aide de pays en développement pour permettre à l'Afrique de mener et de développer ses propres infrastructures de Recherche. Développement dans le domaine de l'agriculture.
– Encourager l'accès des produits alimentaires et agricoles d'Afrique et, en particulier, des produits transformés qui remplissent les normes requises sur les marchés internationaux.
– Soutenir la création de réseaux africains avec des partenaires extérieurs dans les domaines de la technologie et du savoir-faire agricoles, des services de vulgarisation et des infrastructures rurales.
– Appuyer les investissements dans la recherche dans les domaines des cultures à grand rendement, de la conservation et du stockage durables.
– Fournir un appui afin de consolider les capacités nationales et régio-

nales dans le domaine des négociations commerciales multilatérales, y compris les réglementations sanitaires et les autres réglementations sur la commercialisation des produits agricoles.

[ii] Industries extractives

Objectifs

— Améliorer la qualité des informations sur les ressources minières.
— Mettre en place un cadre réglementaire favorable au développement des industries extractives.
— Instituer des pratiques exemplaires pour assurer l'efficacité de l'extraction des ressources minières et de minerais de qualité supérieure.

Actions

Au niveau de l'Afrique:

— Harmoniser les politiques et réglementations afin d'offrir des niveaux minimums convenus en matière d'exploitation et d'information.
— Harmoniser les engagements en vue de diminuer constamment la perception de risques associés aux investissements en Afrique.
— Harmoniser les incitations aux investissements et les informations sur les ressources.
— Collaborer plus intensément pour relever les connaissances au sujet des ressources naturelles et des moyens d'en augmenter la valeur ajoutée.
— Imposer des conditions d'apports en valeur ajoutée (enrichissement) aux investissements consacrés aux industries minières en Afrique.
— Créer une École africaine des mines (qui offre enseignement, formation et qualification à tous les niveaux). Ceci pourrait se faire en assurant la collaboration entre des écoles existantes.

[iii] Manufacture

Objectifs

— Relever la production, la compétitivité et la diversification du secteur

domestique privé, en particulier dans les sous-secteurs de l'agroindustrie, des mines et des manufactures, là où s'offrent des possibilités d'exportations et de création d'emplois.
– Créer dans les pays d'Afrique des offices nationaux des normes.
– Harmoniser les réglementations techniques des pays d'Afrique.

Actions

Au niveau de l'Afrique:

– Créer de nouvelles industries ou moderniser celles qui existent dans les pays d'Afrique qui jouissent d'avantages comparatifs, notamment pour les agro-industries, la production d'énergie et les industries dépendant des ressources minières.
– Devenir membres des organes normatifs internationaux pertinents. Une participation active de l'Afrique lui permettrait d'y mieux faire entendre sa voix et d'assurer une contribution véritable des industries africaines à la formulation des normes internationales. Cela assurerait aussi le transfert des copyrights des normes internationales aux offices nationaux des normes.
– Mettre en place des institutions nationales de métrologie en liaison avec le système international de métrologie. Ceci resterait toujours la responsabilité des pouvoirs publics.
– Faire en sorte que des laboratoires d'essais et des organismes de délivrance de certificats soient mis en place pour faire respecter les réglementations techniques nationales pertinentes. Ces institutions devraient être mises en place le plus rapidement possible là où il n'en existe pas encore.
– Mettre en place une infrastructure d'agrément semblable à l'Organisation internationale de normalisation (ISO) qui soit acceptée par la communauté internationale. Une telle infrastructure pourrait être nationale dans les pays où l'industrie est suffisamment solide pour s'en charger ou bien l'on pourrait envisager des structures régionales. Il faudrait consacrer des fonds adéquats pour devenir membres des structures internationales telles que *l'International Accreditation Forum* (IAF) et *l'International Laboratory Accreditation Cooperation* (ILAC).
– Faire assurer la reconnaissance réciproque des résultats des essais et

des certificats délivrés par les principaux partenaires commerciaux de l'Afrique. En général, cela n'est possible que si l'on a mis en place des cadres normatifs, des réglementations techniques, des mesures de métrologie et d'agrément et que l'on peut démontrer qu'ils remplissent les critères internationaux.

Au niveau international:

- Faciliter, en créant divers mécanismes dont des associations d'hommes d'affaires, les échanges d'informations entre les entreprises d'Afrique et celles de l'extérieur du continent pour viser la mise en place de co-entreprises et d'accords de sous-traitance.
- Aider à consolider les institutions africaines de formation en matière de développement industriel, en particulier en favorisant l'établissement de réseaux avec des partenaires internationaux.
- Promouvoir les transferts de technologies vers les pays d'Afrique.
- Mettre au point et faire accepter des pratiques exemplaires en matière de réglementations techniques qui remplissent les critères de l'Accord de l'Organisation mondiale du commerce (OMC) sur les obstacles techniques au commerce (OTC) tout en répondant aux besoins de l'Afrique. Les réglementations techniques des pays développés sont marquées par le passé et souvent inutilement compliquées pour de nombreux pays d'Afrique;
- Créer des centres d'information sur les normes offrant aux industries et aux pouvoirs publics les informations requises sur les normes nationales, régionales et internationales pour faciliter l'accès aux marchés. Ces centres devraient être reliés aux autres institutions semblables existantes aux niveaux national, régional et international et pourraient aussi servir de points d'information nationale pour l'Accord de l'OMC sur les OTC.
- Assurer la formulation de normes nationales et régionales appropriées en instituant des comités techniques qui représentent de façon appropriée les parties prenantes du pays et faire en sorte que ces comités soient gérés conformément aux directives de l'ISO et aux exigences de l'Accord de l'OMC sur les OTC.

[iv] Tourisme

Objectifs

– Repérer aux niveaux national et sous-régional les projets clés pouvant avoir d'importants effets de percolation et contibuer à l'intégration économique interrégionale.
– Mettre au point une stratégie régionale de marketing.
– Créer une capacité de recherche sur le tourisme et les statistiques touristiques.
– Améliorer les partenariats semblables à ceux formés dans le cadre d'organes sous-régionaux tels que l'Organisation régionale du tourisme en Afrique australe (RETOSA), la Communauté économique des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEDEAO) et la SADC.

Actions

Au niveau de l'Afrique:

– Forger des relations de coopération qui permettent de tirer parti d'un partage des connaissances tout en offrant une base aux autres pays souhaitant s'engager dans des activités relevant du tourisme.
– Offrir aux peuples d'Afrique la possibilité de participer activement à des projets durables de tourisme au niveau des communautés.
– Donner la priorité à la sécurité et à la sûreté des consommateurs.
– Commercialiser les produits touristiques africains, comme le tourisme d'aventure, l'écotourisme et le tourisme culturel.
– Assurer une meilleure coordination des initiatives régionales de tourisme en Afrique pour multiplier les produits et en assurer la diversité.
– Tirer le meilleur parti possible de la forte demande inter-régionale d'activités touristiques en concevant des campagnes de marketing spécialisées et taillées sur mesure pour les consommateurs.

[v] Promotion du secteur privé

Objectifs

– Créer un environnement sain et favorable aux activités du secteur pri-

vé, en mettant surtout l'accent sur les entrepreneurs locaux.
- Favoriser les investissements étrangers directs et les échanges commerciaux, en mettant l'accent sur les exportations.
- Développer les micro-entreprises, les petites et moyennes entreprises, en particulier dans le secteur informel.

Actions

Au niveau de l'Afrique:

- Prendre des mesures pour améliorer les capacités du secteur privé dans les domaines de l'esprit d'entreprise, de la gestion et des techniques en appuyant l'acquisition de technologies, les améliorations de la production, la formation et le développement des compétences.
- Consolider les chambres de commerce, les associations commerciales et professionnelles ainsi que leurs réseaux régionaux.
- Organiser le dialogue entre pouvoirs publics et secteur privé pour mettre au point une vision commune de stratégie du développement économique et supprimer les obstacles au développement du secteur privé.
- Renforcer et encourager la croissances des micro-industries, des petites et moyennes industries, grâce à un soutien technique adéquats des institutions de service et de la société civile et améliorer leur accès à des capitaux en consolidant les programmes de microfinancement, tout particulièrement en faveur des femmes entrepreneurs.

Au niveau international:

- Promouvoir des programmes de développement de l'esprit d'entreprise pour assister des entreprises africaines.
- Offrir une assistance technique pour contribuer à la mise en place de réglementations appropriées et à la promotion de petites et moyennes entreprises et de micro-entreprises et de programmes de microfinancement pour le secteur privé africain.

[vi] Diversification des exportations de l'Afrique

Objectifs

– Améliorer les procédures douanières et les programmes de drawback.
– S'attaquer au barrières commerciales dans le cadre des organisations multilatérales et en relevant les normes.
– Augmenter le commerce intra-régional en favorisant les contacts entre les entreprises africaines de part et d'autre des frontières.
– Changer l'image négative de l'Afrique en apportant des solutions aux conflits et en faisant le marketing du continent.
– Remédier aux pénuries de compétences à court terme en donnant des encouragements appropriés au niveau des entreprises.

Actions

Au niveau de l'Afrique:

– Promouvoir le commerce intra-africain afin que les pays d'Afrique se procurent sur le continent des importations qui provenaient jusqu'à présent du reste du monde.
– Créer des mécanismes et institutions de marketing pour mettre au point des stratégies de commercialisation des produits africains.
– Faire connaître les sociétés africaines d'importation et d'exportation et leurs produits, notamment grâce à des foires expositions commerciales.
– Réduire les coûts des opérations et des transactions.
– Promouvoir et améliorer les accords commerciaux régionaux, libéraliser plus avant le commerce interrégional et harmoniser les règles d'origine, les tarifs douaniers et les normes des produits.
– Réduires les droits de douane sur les exportations.

Au niveau international:

– Négocier des mesures et accords de facilitation pour améliorer l'accès des produits africains aux marchés du monde entier.
– Encourager les investissements étrangers directs.
– Aider à consolider les capacités du secteur privé tout en renforçant les capacités nationales et sous-régionales en matière de négociations commerciales, de mise en application des règles de l'OMC et pour identifier et exploiter les nouvelles possibilités d'échanges commerciaux issues du système commercial multilatéral.

Sigles et Acronymes

Agoa	Loi des Etats-Unis sur la croissance et le commerce en Afrique
Apd	Aide publique au développement
Cad	Comité d'aide au développement
Cea	Commission économique des Nations Unies pour l'Afrique
Cedeao	Communauté économique des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
Cgiar	Groupe consultatif sur la recherche agricole internationale
Drsp	Document de stratégie pour la réduction de la pauvreté
Fao	Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture
Fem	Fonds pour l'environnement mondial
Fmi	Fonds monétaire international
Ida	Association internationale de développement
Iso	Organisation internationale de normalisation
Ocde	Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques

Omc	Organisation mondiale du commerce
Ompi	Organisation mondiale de la propriété intellectuelle
Otc	Obstacles techniques au commerce
Oua	Organisation de l'Unité africaine
Pib	Produit intérieur brut
Pnb	Produit national brut
Ppte	Initiative pour l'allégement de la dette des pays très endettés
Sadc	Communauté de développement de l'Afrique australe
Sgp	Système généralisé de préférences
Unesco	Organisation des nations unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture

L'analisi ed il commento di alcune delle più attuali e discusse teorie di lotta alla povertà; il rapporto tra economia e salute; lo sconcertante impatto dell'AIDS sulle popolazioni dei paesi meno sviluppati; gli elementi costitutivi e le implicazioni della definizione di una strategia di sviluppo per l'Africa. Ecco alcuni dei temi che compongono le sfide della povertà verso il difficile obiettivo dell'eradicazione.

€ 11,00