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1989-12

IAFF notes

<https://hdl.handle.net/2144/29893>

Boston University

Dec. 12, 1989

IAFF Stmt: Ottoman

- ① Writing off of 1980s decade as 'lost decade' — recolonization of Africa
→ deny Af role in world affairs — wiped out gains of Af. lib
- ② Disasterous failure of structural adjmt — even ECA prog.
not adapted — = loss re what to do in face of deterioration
→ plan campaign v. debt; but need alt. devel →
school campaign
- ③ Alt. formulations = need to collate — realistic framework
= form = available to policy-makers & people.
- ④ Miltm revu by UN = 1 mn. children die/day — drain \$50 bn debt serv
drain to IBRD = \$1.3 bn. 1988 (9 mo.); also to IMF
Massive devel., collapse of ed, health servs., high unemp, 80-85% un
of HS grads.
- ⑤ Need for massive delinking — reverse in 1990s — reject ERD →
- ⑥ 3-fold goals: ① Structural transformation; ② → democratic populism;
③ liberate macro-ec strategies → New social order = new state
& society: democratic, new polit. environment

Mr. H. Samuella - Secy Gen, OAU: "Strategies for Devel in Africa"

- ① Revu pres. strategy: Struct. adj/debts, BoP deficits: \$230 bn - debt:
A) Causes:
a) Narrowing of expts - b) unstable, low commod prices = loss of \$19 bn, 1985.
c) neglect of rural devel; d) corruption; e) TNC pols.
- B) ~~Bank~~ pols:
a) int = 10% over (BOR → min. debt even tho price = pd at 6% 2x over -
- C) Concept of SAP: a) liberal
b) 30-40% rebenchmark; c) IMF supervises of 6 yrs + ec
- d) Arg = "mkt forces" = Surgeon Thru whose op. no patient comes out alive
i) ignores purch power of cur. ii) no curr. in use = "mkt force" = cause
of disaster, famine, unemp; iii) No chry fails to protect ind + ag
Why do IMF/IBRD blackmail Af to do so? = conversion of ec to mkt
for DCs = on foot, inevitable: "Eating together = not good, 7 some -
stomachs = hungry" = decl. in ed, hsg, transpt + incr prices - esp.

iii) reorientation of pub. sect. = no dwell. of human & natural resources of Af
iv) Privatization: Maj. of Affs. (99%) can't partiz; = 1% + TNC thrs genin contr. - Qs:

@ Effic. of cap at what social cost; @ social effic for whom - See OATUM
rept: reason for govt = satisf. basic needs of people; pub sector = vehicle for
dwell. - shdn't privatize; Pub sect = key role in Aff, if destroy it, destroy con
v) supervis by IMF = loss of sovereignty = no doubt SAP woefully failed
mass pov, high ~~unemp~~, malnutrition, loss of tu & dum rts, inward arms
spndg - challenge: = no single success; re Ghana = no success story
(he lives there); no one earns suffic sal. w/o alt'l job.

2) Towards dwell: what = obj's, who benefit?

A - Basic definitions

a) "dwell" = "confiding of growth" (dictionary) - but his def = satisfaction
of basic needs, healthy environment;

b) obj's = // Lagos Plan of Action.

c) Beneficiaries = entire people = "people oriented"

B) Transform Aff ec → self-reliant:

a) human resource dwell; b) satisf. basic needs; c) healthy environment

d) ec; e) food security f) integ'd ec/ind-ag; g) integ. ec; h) cultural dwell

a) human resource dwell → literacy mobiliz + ag, tech rts + soc. anal; teaching; ed
human rt = relevant needs; find vis taxes & reduced arms purchas

b) Satisf. basic needs/povert will: See UNECA Alt. Framework = dwell → enrg'd &
sustained by people → ed, long, health = nec.

c) healthy environment: drought/70s = result of misuse of environment - 1/2
hearted govt pots - protect it (red. of cities/law of nature → trees/shade, beaut

② dwell alt. energy; ③ TUs, crs' assns, peoples' orgs = tree seedlings →
plt & maint; → law for logging cos; legal contr. of ind'l wastes,
avoid overgrazing of cattle; avoid river pollution; preserve game pt

d) employment prog; training, creation of jobs = reg'd/govt, pub,
priv, people = "self-reliance" = article of faith: (0% of ann budget

// ec

e) food sec: bilin ext crisis → chg in kind of food: end food imports; raised v. sw

i) sm. farms = center of ag pols; ii) ag reform/acc. → allow peas, incl. own own farms; iii) ag ext. ed → seedings, credit, iv) coops v) silos → subsidies/better, chpr; v) imp. rural areas/roads, irrig., — must subsidize food = weapon of war, for-polit; but "when remove hunger from poverty = no pov need effective ~~pop pol~~ → mangle prog./simple appr → adopted/traditions; must prob-ed.

integ'd ind'lic: ag → basis, est. food needs, expts → processed; where have minerals, processing + food, blood links, eq cement → linked to hwy, rds, etc. → imp. transport + liv stnds; it ventures any Af govts, w. local, INC cap.

cultural & sports = ^{spots} go health, recr ≠ wealth/indr; polit weapon = eg fight apartheid; bld spts facils; encourage wom, old, young; lrg prod of cheap spts. Egypt; culture: preserve best: oral, written hist, dance, art, dncs; songs = Swahili, hauru, arabic → taught across cont; dual. communications (TV etc.)

reg'l integ: 1992 Eur coop; Af. cties shd partic = linked to prosperity to avoid marginalization -

dem + human rts = fill partic = cond'n/dwel. to avoid alienation of govts; ^{Af charter} uphold UN decl./human rts;

Chanda:

Zambia: malnutrition deaths rose from 11/1000 (1972) to 22/1000/1980 after IMF pols = degradation of soc. = democracy = basic need: malnutrit = political disease, lies in policies of govt = Q = who participates, who benefit; Must exam role of 'Aid' & how it affects Af people & st (& why deers → md in secrecy, or in London, Paris, Wash → feels & link to SAP); does Aid soften govt pols, deprive Those who want to produce of their initiative; need to address its role & decide how to stand on own feet

Horace Campbell: How does SAP affect what people - not what intellectuals say = new challenges for intellectuals be Cons. Price Index, ^{real} wgs, etc.; spec. role of what on econ. development; what = diff. from gov't for "bandwidth about":

Bosswang - re illit: whether dem & basic need, or malnutrition, or women - must focus on workable literacy - Q = how? by peas. mobiliz? polit. activ? mass lit

Joumon: (response): re dem: must org strgl / dem, maint. it; can't expect ldr to maint w/o strgl - eg in the unmt: led strgl / indep; but after indep \rightarrow marginalised & op to strikes, detention, etc; now must org. polit. ps \rightarrow push for others' rts; eg Nigeria: civilians had govt ^{only} 10 yrs of 29 since indep; milit men w/o admin exper.; must strgl for free press, free polit thought, opinion; 2nd strgl. Role of aid: "He goes abegging, goes a-sobbing" - only postpone evil day - w/o aid, would find our sots - eg PL 480 / food aid = destruction of local ag \rightarrow dep. on US surplus [Ghana lecturer]

Reflux issue: Corruption = taps to bottom, note rel. to milit; ~~check~~ subtract their loan repayments from for-accts / corruption, leave rest to people -

Re Campbell: Tried to explain conseqs. / At where & payers: retrenchment of 10% since, w/o soc. sec. syst; multiply poverty; last 4 yrs = 8 mn jobs lost multiply by 7 = 56 mn. affected retrenchment; creeping illit: but IMF focus w/drawal of subsidies / ~~food~~ ed, health - Only rich send kids to sch; even those who go to Hs = unee; return of unsanitary water. Who benefit? $1/2\%$: top ILO official saw famine fagwa caw in Accra than in Europe - measure of success. Challenge to intellectuals = prob of intellectuals to solve.

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IAFF

Assegedech Bezureh, Chair, REN, Ethiopia

Need to have institutional change

Need positive discrimin: special provs/women → tactical prob
realistically - Eth. Const. 36: St. provide spec'l sup + ed,
trng, ee - emph on partic = nec., esp at init. stg.

Probs: Male prejudice → complex stg; Af. woman → big role to play
→ nec. to devel. continent;

Discussion:

Q: Effect of perpetual war on women

Q (Fatima): Think/strategies to reverse SAP; also how women =
incl. in + a movement needs disc.: must → positive syst;
→ consc. stg / incl. polit. decs integ; women's orgs / aff = infl'd by
alien ideas - eg 'radical feminist' Eur. mvmt; → need to bld on
own ~~strats~~ = lagging behind / h's wk. - fight for nurseries, child
care cents; Now, part + parcel of lrg stg / men + women; also
health + care for elderly; also hsq = affect wmn more; re
ed = less ops, not have untr col + pre-col; must involve
us to fight for devel.

Q: Cameroon:

Q: burdens on women + integ. women in devel → need complete
rethink: is prob. women not integ'd in devel? isolate issue:
(like poor, = maybe too integ'd in soc. - find loopholes +
how opt out of type of devel. in Af.

Q: Moffat/Zambia: look at IMF prog's effect/women: in Zambia
worst expt = women; eg cut subsidies / fed, ed, = cuts for
producers (maj - women) - major issue = how IMF prog. →
affect women - Zambia: ^{IMF} gen'l disc. re "free title" / ~~not~~ but if
→ est'd → excl. women - credit goes to men - exam
man 100% exclud. women - are we IMF prog. - decided. wmn = mal. ag

Q: Tanz. - every yr since '83 = fewer % of wom / Univ's - maybe due to ec crisis - is this gen'l trend?

Q: Chibute/Namibia: What strategy do wom take to ed men?

Q: _____ / Zambia: laws / rights of wom: few = implemented; eg Nairobi wom's conf = proposals, but men say won't pass or implement; must talk abt. people, men + wom; if separate → divide + weaken(?)

Q - TU / Zimbabwe: basic Q: essence of democracy = dictatorship put wom's league and them → use them to retain power. - Q of wom avoiding that usage; in Zimb = 1 to 5: urge women to think thru = democratic?

Q: Bade Onimode: Shd we talk of wom? or people? Relative to oppression of people, women suffer special oppression: "slaves of slaves" - men = slaves of syst, ^{even peas} ~~women~~ = their slaves; → special reason for address = special categorization = part of gen'l oppression (2) danger: if don't supt lib → used v. men + only some lib stgl; re women 'sustaining appr': true, in some cntries, exg wom / leagues → supt, also = divisions among wom: elite vs maj where supt = highly elite wom; Would like conf. to delineate UN Charter for women by yr 2000 → 20-30% of top posit in all societies; (2) 30% of ec / lab force ^{class}

Q: Dr. Hoffman: wom w. spec probs also = part of relig + ethnic gyps → more complex, contradictory stance - need type of methodology + supt structures / class structures to avoid contrads.

Q: member of medicine faculty, DSM = Q of ideology: man = breadwinner, marries (women → married) → compounded by relig, ethnic, etc - → need strategies to devel. ideology that = some: woman = breadwinner too - i.e. think these strategies

Q: Mohammed Hussein from Sudan → how good things 'ladies' shd be in trad roles, fired most women; most serious, won't allow travel alone abrd ~~Sudan~~ w/o husbands; invited 60 yr old widow, clg come] (2) Women in higher ed → rising % because men prefer to go abrd since incs. of grads = falling.

Q: Samonu (OATUK): Sudan has sacked women tu mmbors, too; probs in encouraging women in tns because of social barriers many w. grown-up kids, husbs allow to attend (tu = time consuming otherwise can't partic; eg wom in Zaria U → selected to tu office, but husb wldn't let her travel ∴ cldn't cont (husban married 2nd wife) ∴. OATUK spec-off. / women → propose 1 of 6 tu ldrs = women to handle wom's issues — must chg attitudes of men & women — overcome petty jealousies → destroy wom's orgs. "Educate women → educate a nation" where must pay ^{for ed}, fathers will choose to find sons; even tho wom take better care of elders — need to help ed wom = challenge / conf.

Q: Lessons from regimes creation of wom's leagues; argues for progressive men to supt wom's lib → avoid misuse; need, shd st. at home: ed men at home, otherwise = difficult to ed / brdr wom's mtr.

Q: IDM / Monze ^{Tanz} (1) Impt issue: biggest no of whor / Af = wom's; even intellectual women = "our proletarians" but prob of wom's orgs = ldrs = not part of generally opprd wom = elite; few "of the people" ∴ best ed = ivory tower, looking down = biggest prob facing — have 'foreign' ideas → separate them from others; (2) re falling % of women in univs = true in other cties, reduced soc serv spendg — w/draw girls, since boys → "brd winner"

Bezurehi: response ① Need more info. on Qs raised = big research on men + women, rels, atts; → start w-what we have, then add from there; incl. men in workshop/women; → learn & teach;
② Re perpetual war: affects everyone + woman = obvious: peace = essential → start for it; ~~prob~~ = African (not just Eth) prob → left by col. to avoid dual soc
③ Poor = "integrated into dual" = part of prob = injust. & workshop; won't ans. here = brand new area; true wom. partic in c'try, but not ^{recogn'd} apprec'd, not in stats; ④ Wom = part & parcel of soc. affected by all probs. ask economists to disc. spec. impact on women; ⑤ Land reform: in Eth, benefitted wom. in one way, farmer can farm indep, but re ownership = prob: still = men; wom own only if = widow; if family takes it, man = resp. pressure for role for women. ⑥ % of wom/higher ed: prob in Eth; decr. too; need study: fams? decis/boys; other aspects? why wom who go to schil not successful? why? Consider research cent. for women in Univ. ⑦ Why leg/wom not implemented = research → disc. factors = outside expectations; how many ch'ies ratify but don't implement? how many don't ratify? why? ⑧ chg of thinkg = most difficult; easier to chg structure than thinkg! takes time → persistence;

Othman: How chg men's mentality?

Fatima: ① won't defend women who "supt dict" - but if look at who supt dictators - ex Sudan = substantial % of TUC != bought; (also elsewhere) = imply only wom = invalid; ② Cde Hassan: implies wom = jealous, etc. = attitudes/paternalism; all kinds of women; men also have probs; Govt women = appr'd, not as ed, move in sm world = intel outlook by double burden; ③ "Behind successful woman = woman-lib-man"! Only under cap do men = breadwinners - women have grown & taken brd. need equality.

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Base Omnino: (1) ECA provides framework for countries to develop ~~own~~ program; not ideological (~~set~~ or cap) but an Af. nat'l response to new colonialism in Af.
= Broad front; ~~call~~ call for strong public sector, but
= mixed ec. incl. pub. sector; indiv. ctry breath id perspective in as they wish = realistic framework/ctry progs. = polit & tech doc, but now → nec. to disting. bet polit & tech context eg. UN finishing 3rd Devel Decade = failure = restricted to govt + officials remained technocratic. 4th Decade → polit doc to mobilize public for open debate, but = turgid for non-professionals. So need simplification accessible to secondary schol level. (2) Run thru doc: Ch. 1 = explain Af. pol. ec. structure = nec. to understand why strategies to date ~~failed~~ excessive dep; 6) disarticulation = structural deformities → sectors don't work together. eg anti-rural pols; inequalities in distrib of wealth, power w/in + ext'l rels = underdevelopment, inadeq. prod capacity; dom. feature of debt crisis = lag for (not lack of liquidity or "insolvency") = reflect deeper long run probs/struct of prod, cons, distrib, power

Ch. 2 → identify devel: 1980-2000/Lagos Plan of Africa [vs IBRD/IBRD report = ext'l orientation]; now IBRD's "sub-Saharan Africa from crisis to self-sustainable devel" - ie whenever Africa proposes new appr → counterprop (Food self-suff./regional (not ctry by ctry); if ideal = 100, Af = 60-70%; diff from food sec. via food aid = polit weapon); (2) reduce gen'l poverty: Af chieft strive/basic needs; (3) sustainable devel. + growth [since 5-10% growth 1y @ next = not valid] w/in self-reliant/nat'n, reg'n. Arg w. IMF/IBRD → (1) how know if succeed? look for criteria [not GDP, expt growth]
Ch 3 Evaluate IMF/IBRD SAP progs/diff ctries → rejects their report Adjnt + Growth in Africa in 1980s → not FAA debate/BBC (together)

→ "stats + policies" = details of critique showing progs = failure, need alt.
Failure = ① performance criteria of SAPs: a) B of P b) inc expt c) infl control d) exch
nt stabl: when exam/crry, = failure / these criteria, eg real ^{effective} exch rt, shd = 100,
but for most = 20, = destroyed nat'l crrs. ② Even if succeeded / then targets
failed to meet basic needs: food self-suffic, alleviate poverty, sustainable
growth, self-rel.

Ch 4 Formula for alt. adj = 3 models/stages: ① level of prod = describe
most imp't prob = inc. prod / all sectors ② distrib of prod, inc: ③ = kinds
of polc to ach ① + ② / money, taxes, gov't spendg, for trd. Now trying
to bld econometric models [but IMF/IBRD econometric model = useless
have challenged them to show 3 pols "wkd": ① devaluation: Tanz sh =
500%, Nigaira = 600% - can prove it can't work; ② high int
rts - 10 - 30% - cannot inc. savings = outdated th, savs don't dep
on int rt but inc; high rts actually reduce savs; ③ liberalization
of trd can't imp'r B of P or w/in ec. - challenge them since can
show NONE work

Ch 5 Propose alt pols: way IMF pols/progs designed (first stab,
then growth) = nonsense. Conceptual error: never had
bal. before, either = feature of underdevl - can't est. it now. Never
had bal. need pols to reduce imbalance, mng disequilib.,
real task = structural transformation → ach. end of mass
poverty → Simultaneous growth w. adjmt. Now they're beginning
to agree, but still arg. haven't est'd concrete pols on grd, still use
model of monetary flows which can't → growth, ECA alt
adj. + growth TO GET IT ER. (Pols: ① exchg rts: a) massive
deval = failure = destroy off. crrs. b) allow crrs to deprec; ② reject currency
anchors = can't wrk / smt chies; need fixed exchg rts → reveal for
time to time - eg Tanz sh = 30 / US\$ for 3 mos, exam = "Crawling
deval" - 1980/1997 alone fixed rts shd have more than 1 exch

not for essentials = higher exchg rt: eg \$20 shs/\$1; all others = pay 50-100 shs/\$1; may be corruption, but even w. present syst = corruption → benefits lots + TNCs (before = civil servants in long run can control [if look at Eth, contr. exchg rt/10 yrs = better of than other chies - need stability]; when ^{IMF} come to our chry, say = overvalued, but now eg Kenya = 7 N/US 1. ∴ US cit goes to hotel get room = \$40, but in US = \$100 - ie we subsidize rich chies = raw mats almost free = fraudulent prog
 (2) int rates: shd be lower, deter by Af govt/priority areas, give guidelines/alloc credit, subsidies/Af. chies/prod (= used in US, Eur.)
 (3) trade lib: US et al object to "dumping" of Asia, but tell Af chies to open eus. ^{Af} Needs more not less prod
 (4) Privatization = doctrinaire: says all pub ents fail, corrupt = collective guilt; eg Eth airlines = efficient, profitable - ~~why~~ ∴ where govt can do well, do it; let each chry say if "commercialize"
 (5) selective expt promotion - eg Iv. Co. doubled apt of cocoa, but inc → 50%; from 1980 to now = loss of more than for. debt; US has reduced dem. for expts by 30%.

[Ch. 6] How to implement = popular partic / polit. doc → via pressure → IMF negot w. doc. as basis / recovery & transformation:

Discussion:

Q: (1) IBRD stats = to prove = wrong? (2) IMF must chg - what alt does Af have to IMF?

Q: ~~IMF~~ Why not exchg reserves w. each other = alt.?

Q: Togo: Expecting to hear disc. re why chies don't say "no" - means think prog will wk; ^{govt's} not trying to solve probs w. intellectuals

Ben Magubane: Cautious for talk of politics - cont. of war by other means;
have us bring ec. to attack them - By its own logic, assumptions =
class based, in 'tms of our logic can't fault them - don't aim to help Af;
wherever look in 3rd W, can't show a cure/their medicine - of Latin Amer. =
best lesson re how not to take advice from enemies; after enslaved us, stole our
resources; why expect them to assist us.

Q: St/DSM: econ. integ. = alternative: take into consid market & polit.
union - fill now = use for. w/s → PTA → poss. of bld insts → finance
own devel = \$38 bil./10 chrs

Q: ANC - Julius ^{Namunye} any of IMF/IBRD = indiz. = failed - focus on ag;
does UN ECA do - advise natns/industrializ, funds + size of ind -

^{50 page} Bader's response: ① Use their figs/their criteria = fail; 2nd step = what they try to do = failure/Af.
letter of resignation by IMF official said they manipulated data/Af. crises; no
→ bcz = "Dear Mr. Camdessus" via 2nd press; Dr. Percy Nkomo resigned from
IBRD = lecture highly critical of IBRD - ② Alt. to IMF - "belong
to us", ∴ can't set arbitrary cond's. for us - note other chrs in debt (inc
US = biggest) but IMF assists them, no cond's - reject their cond's but take
their money; in Europe won't accept 10% of cond's, ^{IMF says} when talk to
govts, they agree - i.e. part of prob = internal, encourage dictatorship,
know = undemocratic, so we say must stop = reason for polit. pressure
③ Agree/indiz, but not enuf in document; need to spell
these out = next stg.

Bishop ^{Henry} Okello: Role of Church & State in devel. tasks - in last
few days = maj. Nat'l Council of Churches/Kenya = polit. backlash to
2 resolutions = difficult to write paper for Af = wldly diff; split as E.
Af, w. Anglican Church bkgd: ① Sometimes Af. ldrs set out to bld/co
= "Af socialism" in which status dep'd on human dignity,
everyone had right to be heard = based on cultural hist = strength

= force disc bet rulers & ruled; relig/church = imp factor (as Kenya's paper #10 says) = strict moral code of soc.; many sts = secular; Moz = semi-secular; Liberia = only 1 sts = Christian; in some sts, govt gives tax subsidies (depending on mood of the day); but relig = major role in soc. Many people = in 1 or another relig. - began sessions w. prayer; ie sts = secular in that const doesn't say = Christian princes; but stress relig = help those who can't help selves; but govt ldrs call on churches to pray for natin. Before 1986 = no open conflict in Kenya; much of govt = kikuyu hands; now → issue of free press & unlike Kenya, Moi = churchgoer, but irony = open conflicts, not clear why → conflicts after nat'l pastors' conf; church said syst = divisive to divide churches/candidates; * Nat'l Comm of Churches called for abolition of syst. ~~Not done~~ ^{Zambia} Shd churches spend more time/nations? = saddened by absence of church intellectuals on nat'l issues/moral & spiritual stnds - expected best/moral, spiritual force - but churches don't speak up; Zambian conf'n 1968 = st vs. Jehovah's witnesses & burned down houses - also 1972, 1975 last yr = peace & justice letter = critical of human rts/Zambia; also crit. Mugabe who said church not dem, either; probs elsewhere = Zaire's "authenticity"/decolonization of mind → attached Cath church/Africentric → nationalized Cath insts, banned Christian names, expelled bishop = crit. of "reversion of past" - but church = only indep. body/Zaire, indeed in all one-Polys. Nigeria: church shd help men & women rebell vs. anything → enstaveant had no trouble w. church, said Anzha = spirit of Christianity; future role: nat'l anthems appeal to god's syst; U of Nairobi = dept of relig. & phil; church = help govt → peace & stabl.; ① commitment of survival of state - Politician who seeks to preserve Syst/any means // missionary chrs = part of Af. world pic.

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Bishop Okulla (cont.) How Af. polit lds v. church = variant v. of st. - institutions, incl church = subservient to state; wom's League & TU in Kenya = subsev. to st; Party wants Law Soc. subsev., too; Empire bldg. Nat'l lds aren't preachers; church must clarify strongly its understanding + role - Nairobi journalist: those who shout loudest will win - so Church shd shout louder; nat'n bldg not only task of lds, but also church - ^{Different relig apps} (1) Those who think soc shd = theocratic, but socs w. several relig → infringing liberties; (2) Those who think if aren't w us = against us - keep soc & relig things sep = predominant evangelical appx / Af & US; (3) politicians in same cat, a) Myerere & Kaunda: want church to suppt. st; b) others want church stay out of politics = prerogative of politicians; c) intellectuals have no faith, relig = irrelevant politics; (4) Authentic relig cannot be est'd by politics - but what then = role of church? Answer = separation = institutional, but both = bound together by birth via god, integ'd v. of life at deeper level → unified ethical perspective; God = lord of ec & polit, systs, not only ind. ∴ concern w. social justice & interpersonal rels. In practical terms (1) freedom from doctrinal matters, politicians can't interf. w. Church, (2) church = fin'l indep; (3) recog. all churches exist, no blueprint, ideal sit; → fresh appx / church (4) Sep. from st = no interf. w. church or st, - church may interf. st, but has no legal auth; suppt each other, ^{rels} but re social civil conscience, = approp. to open sessions w. prayers, even evolving in US ("radical separation") as well as UK ("establishment") = exam legal issue: meaning of "witness" in soc, service church will render - (1) word of god = telling of story = mandate, but not sep from church's other tasks; (2) Christians = ^{worshipping} community = living, sharin serving = min / survival = worship 7 ed; need not be institutionalized by law, but simple existence as "witness" // new auth of st (esp in) DC - Baruch total c (Eil mba Rba) → Right v. private but - danger of absolutism / etc.

= duty of church to disc. how witness, take mod. st. seriously / reforms; st can // reform or evil. - church prepr mmbors / nat'n bldg; shw in social problems; specific Q/alt. strategy in Af; Church must define concern: rural sector → focus - lrgst no. of poor (= not dwell'd); poverty not prob, but focus that cause pov. = prob. ECA prog: disadv'd sector can't mk rural sector succeed or lobby st to alter priorities. ∴ gradual erosion of principles of reliability = plight of rural folk = marginalized ∴ church's resp to ensure polit ldrs' resp. = misundstd = "incitement," but church ed → people think for selves; ^{some say} lack of resources, infrast, etc = cause of rural pov, but I believed ⁽¹⁾ = key → enrichment of mind + spirit via knowledge; devel. implementor disc put ed first = difficult; ⁽²⁾ self-suffic food = nec. for ed. Dep on handouts = contrary to indep → destroy sm. farm incentives; credit schemes don't meet sm ldrs' needs, default → deeper troubles; donors ~~expt~~ debt relief schema govts provide subsidies = burden for ec. ⁽³⁾ health = church concern tried to water & inc generating prog, be community-based → accepted by int'l donors = realize stat at grass-roots // unique Church structure → reach entire rural pop → mobilize, ed → reach grass roots; insts / churches, local NGOs → encourage partic; churches can't be politicized ∴ impt role, can't be taken over by politicians; Quote Jesus Christ: "I came that they may have life"

Discussion:

Q: (1) in Kenya, govt disagrees - churches ~~get~~ ^{get} NGO funds - govt = uneasy since they don't get funds, how see NGO / churches v. church re finances (A: Debate in Kenya: P wanted to de-register Nat'l Council of Churches, defrock Okullu - Pres. returned said couldn't interf. ∴ hope won't, tho = constant threat; once P said all ~~NGO~~ ^{Church} funds go thru Treas, so church said no, let govt find proj. + govt w/drew; USAID eval. said \$ to churches did more good than via govt - but annoys govt, tho fear bad publicity abrd;
* churches + NGOs provide 40% of Kenyan health services

Q (Bade): glad church ldrs incr. say ^{liberation}sts. w. food; = 2 Qs: ① how extend relig concern to other religs, esp - Islam → collaborative rels, since mosques = silent, tho conds affect mmbrs; ② Christianity, even Wld Council of Churches worried: sts. & IMF/IBRD = manned by Christians → how, in these key posit; can oppose church pols.

Q: OATUU: added to Bade: "dialogue w. Islam, shd → social dialogue w/in each c'try; polit ldrs → "tin gods" = task of churches to brg. out truth - involve intellectuals, wtrs, bus → shield v. oppression: in absence of partic of people, can't talk of dwel.

Q: Ben Magubane: gave us idealized message, since church has history. Christian church, first ship carrying slave to US = "Jews"; to understand message of church, know hist: Roman Cath = persecuted, when Emperor consolidated / contr. church, UK, Ger burg. est'd own church to brk w Rome contr; in Africa → need to understand particular Af sit.-. comment re Mxsm v. Church.

Bishop ① Churches often = divided on issues; eg LA split in Cath. church re poor; churches sup'd slavery, also op'd it = story of church - it deps on Christians of the day; now, accdg to "our intup" in Af today = to shnd in solidarity w. poorest of poor; maybe tomorrow, something else → more imp't; ② Dialogue = imp't; org called "World Conf on Relig & Peace" = all religions; have been president of Af. br → trying to penetrate other faiths, but not very successful; at one pt in Kenya = cl to Kenya Law Society, both nearly → banned; but not so close now

③ Disturbing Q = re ldrs: why attend church, but don't listen to church politicians say one thing in pub, another in person ^{but w/ a pers} keep on saying it = trapped in system but stgl v. unjust system

- ① Note TNC control / ~~other~~
- ② St + law = key issue → Govt
strengthen + more spt → dev's.
= No secrets!

Rugomamu: What goes do to attract TNCs - performance / leg + contr:

- ① Structural weakness / inst'l weakness → TNCs do whatever want ⇒ countervailing power
- ② Bretton Wood / Trd + monet but nothing to contr. TNCs.
 - a) Havana document → rejected by US, later sptd by Europe
 - b) 60s-70s: govt try to initiate inv codes = 2 forms:
 - (i) Africanization - (ii) Socialist / nat'liz w, TNC mgmt
- ③ Major prob: str. structural weaknesses = not enforced codes enacted
 - a) TNCs = too strong; Af. govt can't monitor - w/o personnel can't do job -
 - b) Vested int of Af. bureaucrats = in practice → TNC use of govt in Tanz, eg Bk of Tanz, but TNCs can infl. govt officials or go mad law -
 - c) ∴ need codes → enforced by specified ^{nat'l} inst. - Call on reg'l code // Andean Pact = st. inv = floor

Discussion:

- ① QASUU Disc TNCs / Af = govt inability to know how they act, + inf. on govt ldrs → Q: What is to be done? What is TNC strategy? In light of SAP, how TNCs take advant? What is inv. climate? → consid all those angles - eg promise govt officials jobs after retire eg Nigeria → officials → "instant millionaires" = directors → lay gnd while in top posit; eg US govt's law: any top functionary
- ② Given chg sit / Af isn't attractive → ^{TNC} ^{from} inv NICs - join scramble in EEC mkt / 1992, + Eastern Europe(?) = new attn on those mkts - ∴ no light at end of tunnel ③ Af govt haven't personnel to negot. effectively ∴ must conclude: 3-5 TNCs → poss., sm/r ones, not just big ones - How end "marginalization" of Africa

Req: Af. chies have experts, but govt negots behind doors w/ them
Mwangachi - Tanz. Min of For. Affairs: ~~Totes~~ = attended seminar org'd by Geneva
= reactionary (John Fremont - Center for Int'l Negots) = trend in Wld
ec = tech rev → sweep everywhere. ∴ US - Can "freed", EEC,
Asian / Af → aligned = picture of adapting to it: confirms
role of TNCs - didn't inv in Af. sm'l chies - way → IVICs
India, Mex - asked role / Tanz; UNCTAD, GATT - should we
receive this? Their ans = yes - dismissed issue of price, since
= "World That's Coming" - Discussed SADC etc to defend
ourselves = constraints, even w/in our concept; eg FTA =
prods for trd bet. chies have origin in TNCs - eg
Kenya + Zimbabwe say no contr. over "origins" =
how handle this; can't est Af. ec community w/ them -
~~maybe~~ but must contr - eg Coke → destroy local
fruit inds - ∴ go one-by-one to do away w/ TNC
contr.

Shangha: Tanz; Most of time unless expose contrads in pol
(as in Tanz), won't get anywhere; Tanz disc's soc +
contr of TNCs, but exam tax pols → do something
else? unless practice what we say, incl. exposing
contrad + end secrecy

Rugermann: Tanz hasn't come up w. inv. code =
forces for, against, ∴ none - draft = top secret
[Mwangachi = w. plug Commiss.]

Sinda - IDS: Re TNCs + resource base: can mk pols
→ aids level of approp tech, etc., but must
have tech = in hands of TNCs. ∴ potential
[OATU: Nobody will "transfer" tech - you can buy

that's why devel of human resources = key; hist. of
Coke/India - refused to give formula. - Ind Incl'd India
Tech transfer = not gd contr - main research by LDCs
/intermed tech. progs = sponsored by TNCs =
little achmt; focus of arg = need for local initiative
→ replace TNCs = strong reg'l research → exam
local aspects - if mkt reqs dep on TNC = useless
Papporteur: Need to clarify obj's, inevitability of for. in
then consid contr - or alternative → downgrade
role to avoid distortion. - shd disc. if central role
of TNCs; few Af economists writing not neo-classical
in capitalism. When For min splr mentions globalization = qualitative
chg. = "streamlining" = new sty of TNCs / conglomerate
esp / Canada = linked to neo-conservatism ⇒ fundamental
issue of contr - can't find sm'r chies - now →
conglomerates - Q: w. massive cone, is it meaning
ful to discuss controls; reading re Reaganomics =
new capitalism → downgrade cons = Supply Side
encourage ^{destroying} trad of nationalism - even in Canada →
"free mkt" → gobble each other - neo-Mkt / Cap =
hopeless

QATull: Who we are, how move forward - An recommendation
→ more inter-Af trad; but before that have
comparative advant = 500 m. people - what, is
sty today? Tendency // IMF, IBRD: Nigerian
whos went on st because of 70% TNC control
/ "banana republic" / arg. - keep them out - resist
temptation to turn arg over - obj = feel self-suffiz.

Af. can grow food; what abt construction?
History of W. Ger firm: Mig. to bld 2nd bridge
Lagos - mainland: borrowed from W. Ger -
Use W. Ger const. firm = \$30 bn. bus. in Nig.
eed Nigerians - but W. Ger. plnd & took out
profits = use African contractors → expertise from
that - AD B Af. consultants - but govts give
contract to others (10%!) - to impr. hsq, etc.
→ bld own cos. Actual prt sector/Af =
"informal sector" esp W. Af = women traders (1 woman
has 3 Mercedes Benz but can't read!) TNC = home-
grown = 0%, but don't have them - ~~Ata~~ MNCs
transformed local bus into big ones - don't want
NIE dictatorships: must dwell comparative
advant

Pugamamu: Must get govt asst → to grow

ORUU: We all know probs - but prob = solutions
Our grtst assets = human resources

For. min: Where do we begin - eg Bado disc'd

Af strategy - but face probs w/in presence
of TNCs: how

OATULL: ① Impact of wktg techs; ② Environment = incl. in investment codes; ③ Re free ind'l zones: a) = at expense of local inds; b) no tns - exploited, no min. wg, why could laws; c) Maniwan tu reptd re "success story" = neglect environment = pollution, prostitution, etc.

Rugamannu: Maniwan/IBRD = "success" = textiles exptd → imptd cut, etc → sewn, pressed;

For Min: Re theory of cheap lab in one place/US, low elsewhere - eg
Friestone op. in Liberia, benya = \$10/mo, US =

OATULL: 1980 exper/Nig: ind'l unions (42) = automatically recog'd by ex,
ex pays hrs to tu; Michelin refused, tus didn't get min of Lab to
react ∴ union sent official to ex to ~~CGT~~/Michelin → CGT mmb's disc'd
w. him, learned that Michelin wouldn't let tu disc' - pub'd in union paper
→ strike ∴ 1st union does - i.e. = beginning links;

For Min: Because of exploitation = aristocracy or No vs. exploit s.

OATULL: = issue of divide & conquer - TNCs exploiting both - 'shr
info →

Rugamannu: Issue of labor = key attraction to TNCs - Reaganomics →
job creation → low pd jobs; if look at TNCs sector
by sector, show ship lab. int. mach to Turkey, rather than
brq in migrant labor; need to address issue of how much
want TNCs - expectations/dwel = w. middle class = distorts strategy
little info. flowing back into Af re what's going in U.S. or comp.
ang. tries.

OATULL: What = objective Af. govts want TNCs for? Is it ind? transfr
of tech? indep? brk into wld mkt? or put gain? in light
of int'l tns lab, what do we want?

Rugamannu: go thur papers first

re obj. w/o TNCs remain subst, but how can we use
them & reach what = bad in this connect. look at TNCs -

Tanz. nat'lized, but TNC came in via jt. ventures -
Shangri: Sometimes mk losses - eg Tanz firm sold shrs →

managers only

—: Thus not fulfilling role - eg Tanz tuc = whrs shd
partic, instd locked up mngers - → strike broken - are they
effective

OATU: = diff expers / diff cties, deps on port. sit / ctry, nat'l
of tuc; ~~to trad = militant~~ ∴ OATU = ~~all~~ lordly / workshop →
exch expers → cross fert. ideas / tuc + intellectuals -
deps on trad of tuc / ctry; Vig = militant - so: "way you pluck
cocoa not same as copra" to involve tuc in devel, must
know; in Afg = past trad stg of brd + butter - Lost 8 million
whrs in last 10 yrs; how inv. tuc funds? how contrib.
to debate - eg IMF; Intc w. intellectuals; no ctry can say
'no' to IMF "tougher than stg / indep" ∴ see prefer in

global form -
Rapporteurs: Need for coop N-S whrs = obvious; but entire whrs
mkt / W = in confusion; ~~at level of~~ sol's = w / in nat'l boundaries
= inadeg. / in dealing w. unity -

Tanz. fiscal policy / public admin:

I. Tanz broke w. past / Ruska, 1967: Tax policy via min of Fin / 1967-8: re-tax
rates + incentives to deter int. of st = 'indicators' / pol. re nat'l + for. cap

A. Min = aim to devel. soc. st → reconst ec instc / soc. 1967 // ests / budget

1. budget pol = dir. ec. pol to when mkt regulators / devel. plan -

B. Exam tax rts:

advice

1961 ~~1961~~: govt took IBRD 'liberal tax rts' / bus: 35-45% / nat'l +

TNC -

1964-73 some chgs

1972 - 1973 rate at 40%. TNC 42%

'75 - 45% / ^{pub.} ent 47% / TNC

'76 - 50% / ^{pub.} ent 55% / TNCs

Since ~~dis~~^{st.} ent ops under contrs, can't max profit // TNC

but Tax incentives = tend for TNCs to get more incentives

than pub ent - i.e. ~~INCS~~ = 2 catgs:

i - blanket - for all cos: w/in tax leg / devel. exps, higher amortiz. rts; exempts / bldg, mach;

ii - "govt notices" = indicator of govt pol = discretionary:
Min for Fin may agree or refuse = secret. ∴ went
thru Hansard / govt notices = 1110 notices, 868 =
admission exemptions (others = admin) = 17 yrs

77.5% = exempts / ~~TNCs~~

28.8% of there = pub. ent - tho govt says want
to emph pub ent.

71.2% { 32.6% = local prt cos.
38.6% = TNCs

iii - Why?

a) Most = to TNCs = mgmt agmts w. st or pub ent.

eg PBC sugar est. ∴ md losses, sold shrs to
govt → mgmt w/o any tax

eg hotels - Kilimanjaro, Kilombero, etc. = mgmt
agmts = inc earned / mgmt = exempt from taxes
incl. stamp duties

b) Break into specific exemptions = inc tax exemptions m.

eg. 9.9% of govt inc tax exempts = pub ent

72.5% = TNC

eg. Customs duty -

c) //

What
interim??
Secret?

Fin. Min.: Tell us abt tend of TNGs to go for mgmt avoid investment

OATUU: Aim to create ee

Rapporteur: Don't really create ee - eg soap ind puts local people out of work.

Tanz paper: Textile plts - if wanted to create ee, bld 'Rafizi' textile plt.

OATUU - est flour mills \therefore impt. wheat; when oil price fell \rightarrow prob. \therefore gov't banned wheat \therefore no bread, but eat beans, rice, cassava. + grow wheat - now = 8000 t/yr. in N & W = more expensive, but = help farmers; no more impt of barley for brew res. - research \rightarrow m/c beer w. maize; US obj'd to protection but said no impts.

Rapporteur: IBRD said Ntg cldn't grow wheat. US wld sell subsidize wheat. Reagan cldn't abandon subsidies despite de-reg.

OATUU: Ghana: "Who pockets Gh's gold" = refined 95%, can't sell abrd so \rightarrow sold to Switzerland. \therefore Ghanaians ~~get~~ don't know total value \therefore Rhonlaa contrs.

Fin. Min.: Maekita radio mfg, another = Philips/Ansha, Mashita lowered price, Philips left, mashita raised price.

Rugamamu: Govt has knowledge, but not will

Rapporteur: Tend for Af cabinets to have 'experts' - but don't want to ask them -

OATUU: says abolish plng. mins - now = smt for/pin. ope; no interlink in govt = competitive; how related to productive sectors / manpower plng -

Tanz. paper: Exam how st = instituted; if all power = in few indivs, how contr, supervis. etc. - 1 man sits on bds, no systems. Need to be concerned abt organizing people / democracy -

_____ : Can ideology \rightarrow used as strategy to deal w. MNCs - eg Tanzi,
Gdr - most id/self-reliance, etc. \rightarrow focus on identifying how?

MTUW: Focus on democracy - dips on content; undermined in Pif = result of
lack of dem. partic. We need way out =

Rapporteur: Ec crisis hasn't pd altn to ideology -
Cant afford to talk abt. id.

Fin Min. - can't escape role of syst in prod. rels.

Need research
re links

② 2-way: SA gov't ops via US media for
misinform US cit's // infl. US pol.: Taste for
③ What abt Weekly Mail? = contrads
a) US media based in SA/locality control press
b) SA gov't needs Weekly Mail = contrads

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Apalito Rwomire: Mass Media & Cultural Imperialism in SA
(Swaziland) (= social work theory/social theory)

SA media's crucial role = maint & exacerbate SA dom. of reg/cultural imperialism = shape social insts to promote dom. center - wealth = unevenly distrib'd / region; SA monop of means of communication = reflects & reinforces dom. - Non-availability of data → difficult to evaluate, but w/in SA & in region, unrealistic to find pluralistic rational media. But gov't/SA censors media; SA media = extension of int'l media network = contr. global info. = dom'd by TNCs w. HQ in imp. powers/Eur, U.S.

SA media → pol'tic oppress: ① Cover up conflicts or portray as natural; ② Conc. of info into 2 centers // gov't contr. ③ Censorship = many forms;

Recommendations:

Disc:

Ortuku: Pan Af News Agency: shd → strengthened as part of recons. → alt.; need Af. press = critical to prevent adulation & perpetuation of undem. regimes; protect by law

Fin. Mini: look into system of channelling info, both media, + mfrg. of eg TV, radio - ie "informatics": Africa = marginalized in that respect if hear BBC, can say whatever they want w/o disgmt → Q: how get out? perhaps reinterpret issues from our perspective

Rugamamu: Maybe shd strengthen Pan Af News

Fin. Mini: won't bn local repts to interp / nat'l context; Pan Af News has probs.

Tanz - tax: know official contrs can be by-passed as found in SA = how escape these → discuss w/in context of TNCs = same guys. don't

Rwomire: response @ hand to get data/SA since don't live in SA, hand to analyze content; some papers/lib - eg Weekly Mail; mkt critics = white; media = 2 side; ~~2 books~~

Chaligaha
lanz fur: 2 books or TNC dom: "Randlords" ('85-86); + Oppenheimer biography: how used mass media // TNCs; if media = op'd, buy out or close it, but also appear "liberal"

Min Fin: re "informatics" - need to encourage sources of info from our own people; eg film/Af = young ind - if see US films = alien values, but = in TV. ∴ go beyond critique of SA to devel own appr. to "informatics"

OATUU: Take that seriously: some violent crimes = not unconnected to US 'cowboy' pictures - even music ind = US. ∴ don't know own local music, exchg films, music w/in Af. → pressure + promote Af. culture: "If you call your car a jalopy, people don't value it; if you call it 'limosine', recog its val" -

Bergamamu: Colonial mentality is still a problem

Simda: ~~local~~ Orsoal people have own culture, but expect more of urban area ∴ don't value their local papers - (2) Agencies gather info/francophone cos = no direct info to Anglophonic, go via Europe (Paris)

Recommendations:

4) Prepare a workshop: mine contr. surplus, end mkt.

presentations -

Regulation: inability of AG. sts. inv codes to contr. TNCs;
~~Regulation~~ reflects lack of countervailing power + personnel;
Social + political dynamic = compliance by bureaucrats
+ politicians

Proposito:

Technical controls: reg'l (+ nat'l) → strengthen bang power

High: Case study: despite soc. persp, in fact = maj. of exempts / TNCs -

Sidman:

① ~~Project~~ Prob-solving appr \rightarrow Research. \therefore what want to do
= ind'lize \therefore policy = promote selective TOLC//
obj. long tm

② Methods of res + generate policies/TNCs -

Current crisis → disc. intervention w/in chg'd wtl' divis of lab
= restructuring of int'l cap / Reaganomics - Thatcherism
Eastern Europe = massive conc. of cap = dog eat dog →
dynamic sectors of ind'l growth: tech, mgmt, mkt center
in DCs; lab-int mfgs / 3rd w - . Af. cties → what
get? important / IMF-IBRD emph/expt orientation
is it viable / "little dragon" - Privatization = need to
contr. TNCs, capture surplus. Summarize → tech
capac to monitor; devel info basis; technology / diversity &
harmonize & standardize. → basic inds -

Future of Af = dem. partic = key → to constrain st. pow/personal
gain → create new insts → ~~end security~~ (5) (Note imp. of
mat fa)

Discussion: ~~En~~

Asian Af loop: Informed pop / NGOs (Tus, Church) = social dialogue

→ req'l integ
inter req integ
w/ w. tus / NGOs / Dcs.

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Re Democracy (workshop):

Discussion Crit. of bureaucratization of party + usefulness of P:
Demarcation bet. dom + ext'l sector - exposes superficiality of
left-right debate. ∴ need authentic Af. insts based on trad
not classes; state → role of regrouping, promoting patriotism
+ nationalism; P not req'd; instd st. take over role of P
(have done so anyway) = act as "cooperative" in providing
ec growth; feudal Af. syst at nat'l level w/o conflicts
from outside

① ^{Hist} Kamba Papers emphas on nat'n st = modern reflection of culture
= parameters of prod'n; from slave trad to now = forced prod,
either physical or not pd survival w/g producers get less
to give non-producers more; ^{I.F.A.A.} disc/gen'l prog shd consid
that → can't cont w. forced lab., what kind → approp.

② "Cultural revolution" = reflect on conds of c'try, not just lit
consid other aspects → new social values; character of prod,
cultural accommodation vs. resistance/creativity; govts assume
people don't think. ∴ how chg att → how people think.

③ Nat'n st model - when sent slaves // Eur emerg. nat'n st =
shift away from forced lab → col. imposition of col. state →
need reflection re extent nat'n st. not nec deleterious.

④ —: Prob. w. Bado's paper: a) re relinking: given dom of
Eur, US, Jap; new focus/E. Eur; Af = "virgin" area ∴ it's
not involuntary relinking, but conscious "relinking" // NICs + reg.
subcenters → detriment of Af → relinked: S-S trad - will it
be devoid of exploitation? Believe won't. ∴ aggravate crisis
re relink. How generate funds for ind'liz. - in Nig: SAP
→ conc. for inward looking inds, but = TNCs, emphas on

not int'l dwell: consid Offl dem.

④ —: ^{a2}Ext'l aspect/cap. ^{dict}structure, internal historical structure: not clear
b) is cap. structure purely ext'l? in Af = emerg. cap. structures =
nat'l cap. cl. b) who = agents of transformation / whrs, pccw: need to
consid. ideological aspects: role of sts? instruments of repression &
ideology: nat'l ist id exper. crisis - eg "Af. soc" = alt for generat
alts? But = init. id / indep. Af. sts, now hasn't served promise/mg
∴ transform it? ??

⑤ —: th of st + "bureaucratization of politics": st./power form
= repressive, but in org form = mobiliz; instruments of st. =
strong. to say st → bureaucratizing civil soc; in absence
of politics, bureaucratic civil society; in Tanz, this is
happening / statization of civ. soc; but indigenization make
st. less oppressive? By def, st = repressive, bureaucratic;
but not autonomous; "civ. soc" can work on it, some sections
(min) = more than others, ∴ what do we do? Get more people
to act on state? Not conspiratorial

⑥ —: de-link: yesterday talked of de-link, thought = disengagement
but given cap penetration, can't completely de-link; in fact per-
trying to fin. Vol 8 of Af hist = prob re how deal w '70s-'80
= can't dwell, obt. tech, etc: prob = how? purposive efforts
to internalize self-rel; ^{Japans} in lat C → contact w. cap tech
→ internalized → eg guns; but we, since contact, haven't reached
level to mk it ours, but shd be able to select certain things
mk them our own. Value of indig. innov. = existing know: ∴
use it // our needs; sensitized syst to go out → selective
introd/internaliz; otherwise can't de-link -

Comments of paper gives: Most of disc = dir'd // paper; but Af. soc

= to reveal soc alt. → high light probs/transformation → NOT go
b/c to old posit (~~the~~ crisis); ~~is Af~~

② The no-P syst arg: agree Af. shd est. indg polit insts, whether = Ps or
otherwise; but P as mobiliz insts = ~~omitted~~ ∴ to look into this →
disc approp polit. insts → mobiliz. of pop, incl. left & right (?)

6) Internal structure: from ant. of mode of P appr: not nec. prod of cap.
prod, since upper sees cap syst subsuming non-cap ~~modes~~.

→ coexist of cap cls/insts & non-cap insts/cls → ~~may~~
~~generate~~ may oppose cap structures: don't have ^{w/eq} cls/Tanz like in
DCs; ext'l structure = extension of cap. syst & control of in-
ternal elite (need discussion); c) Not conspiratorial th of states:
see 2 formative features = concurred w. hist & cap influence;
maybe transformation begins w. "nationaliz" of st in context
of contrad bet ext'l & int'l char. to ach. dem. partic.

Ben Magubane ① Univs/Af, in addn to st. Af. conds, now shd est depts to
study models of other chies, what we can learn eg re NICs

② Indg: as strategy = several things; we use cars, which vs
raw mats. ∴ can lrn from US which didn't compete w. sm
Jap cars ∴ → quotas on Jap cars → incr'd price but people
still buy → Q why use cars w/o jobs ∴. US said if
want to sell cars in US, better est. factories & use US
components ∴. Jap & S. Korea do that = jobs & skills = new
links // jobs; Bude said: we eat bad, but we don't grow wheat.
Can't Af use other grains? = process of Indg things used to resources;

③ Af self-suffic: by 1990, will impt up to 70% of grains;
ind'l chies first = self-suffic in grain → mkt in cities,
US sell surplus to Af → stifle ag/Af? ∴ must = tariffs to
excl. impts; ④ USSR agmt w. Fiat: don't know agmt, but

Why have hodge-podge of cars instd of standardized models =
use local materials: cotton/seats, rubber/tires = skills, jobs →
delink. - ie if gain mkt, must use local resources → take
advant of comp bet. cap pws. (5) State didn't evolve
indig/Af. ∴ must devel civil soc = reflected in type of
st. that exists; eg Af. st in class-based soc, opportunistic
positions can adv. personal int vs. pub/nat'l needs; knowing
damage of prt-based ec, must adopt soc. st →
abolish cl. divisions → abolish conflict / prt accum
∴ mobilize resources for common stg l.

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Women's Workshop:

1. FAA & beyond
Role of women in peace & dem: ① How involve wmn's partic; strategies/implement document from Nairobi Conf; action-ord progs ② specific recoms: devel strategies/wmn + devel/c class, gender; networks/info; delectonic. of men's + wmn's minds; housing effects/devel; disc re Algira Conf (what is it? need info.)
2. Strategies: ① ag-prob, sources, strategies → maj. disc/Af wmn; integ. wmn/devel → strong role → new type of devel beyond women +; ② specific recoms: gender quotas/land; sensitive wmn/levels, skills; document-center;
3. 2 papers: 1) ed-sch/ Tanz. F sts = highlight constraints/sch. & ee. - sch → clsr to homes, communities = elim gender diff; concrete ed strats/wmn incl. extra sch + preferential trtmt; encourage enquiry/learning; 2) SAP & wmn (Katharina) = impact/health, ed, etc & wmn's sts re how to overcome probs → key issue =
4. Democratization for; adoption of relig. ins. - confront → firmw/ recog wmn's org, & partic in all Ps & orgs; re wmn's sts → assess trng/ → courses // designed & implemented by Af wmn. Other recoms: ① wmn & devel progs & proj go beyond integ. Af. wmn into exploitative syst → promote lib. strategies/men & wmn; ② wkg wmn → lead, but men address amg themselves in all cls, insts; ③ strg for wmn's emanc // intensif. of lib. strg → active partic after lib. - watch Nam & SA

Multinat'l's: main focus → industrial roles of TNCs/AG hist; & role of sts/people

- ① Shd accord TNCs; reveal TNCs/chg int'l divic/wld cap syst = restructuring = neo-conservatism/ors, Eur & reassertion of "indets"/bour ec in E. Eur // massive conglomerate mergers - implies: a) decline of civ. in mns, ag → priorities = mktg, contr. tech // lab-intensive inds; divic of lab = Intel ops/sustainable devel ② TNC/IBRC prog = expt-ord infog/cap strgts → invite TNCs; cap = generated in Af → siphoned out by TNCs - reject "inlet"/id, best contr ③ chg from ind/ind sake → priorities = tech/prod - define objectives & goals = selective appr/MNCs/own criteria; ④ Ability to control = like nat'l w. reg'l constraints → ④ impt. of dem. st & accountability: TNCs extract surplus/taxes, etc. = behind secrecy: nec b. but to allow the trans. involve // enable - more research → available labor

Environment: Papers/resource use \rightarrow resolutions: ① need for mass environment ed & resource use; ② plns/mining, irrig, etc. / people's partic \rightarrow promote grass roots op to proj's = injurious; ③ need ed/ed/devel, sci, tech, inter-disc. courses \rightarrow base/environmental sts. ④ grtr language profic: Fr Eng, Port \rightarrow what's happening/research; ⑤ impact of crisis/environmental sit; ⑥ Lack of inform & intersectoral coord/environment - need frontal appr; ⑦ Link bet resource use & people's needs; instd - grandiose proj's/people in pow. vrg involvement of lars in environmental workshops (not just opening, c/lg sems)

Structural Adjust Prog: lrg nos. of papers (12+) = no resolutions; draw attn to highlights: ① debt crisis & way out; ② ag; ③ dead j/IMF; ④ people oriented strategies; ⑤ ~~IMF~~ Structural 'demoliz.'; ⑥ Reg'l integ/sol; ⑦ panic.

① Debt crisis: a) Courses = int'l, ext'l; but disc. emph col. structure. can't avoid debt; b) differ from LA; c) New int'l divis of lab \rightarrow ext-ord ind = No exit, ~~need~~ internal trad w/in Dcs. need reg'l integ & pop partic; e) cap flight & debt prob \rightarrow IMF liberalization (eg Sudan); think clearly / obj's of SAP = need for soc optio \rightarrow indep ecs w/in cap syst; reg'l integ cld \rightarrow collective dep, not indep;

② Expts & ext'l dep: model/system / expts = expt promotion - IMF model = simplistic; own model: actual = infl. effect outpaced dual (10% deval \rightarrow 50% infl) \rightarrow BoP & budget deficits \rightarrow cyclical detor; b) need strong int'l rates/base/expt promotion;

③ Dead j. mechs/IMF: Sudan: no obj's = ach'd, either growth or BoP equilb - sol = more ec integ + quick implementation of resols/cond. \rightarrow sagd mind expts haven't ach'd ant'cd results ④ privatization & conseq = open ec to TNCs + ~~reinv.~~ ^{reinv.} 'stolen' \$ to buy prt shrs; disc. / "pub ent" / Ag; what is proof of better mgmt? no justif. in exist. lit Assumption (not prove); prt ents = guilty of pracls, but = covered up, whereas = pub in pub ent. prt = no sol; ⑤ Solution = people-ord in ec admin, esp at local level (eg Tanz.) / local needs (not st. fin); resisted levies

Politics & Dem: ~~Case~~ Case str. → summarize generaliz: (1) polit crisis: since indep, st → alienated from pop = contrary to 'lib. styl'; ~~after indep~~ ⁽²⁾ reasons = (a) new col st in which int'l fin cap exceeds local int's; → seeks to safeguard int's = tactics to elim partic from intimidation/repression; (b) strategies: in Af, role of st = paramount = nec, but Q = what kind? need/engine for devel: soc-ec infra debate isn't re nos. of Ps, but in both kinds = alienation: - require st. contr'd by gen'l pop. ^{"rev"} how? (c) given crisis, intellectuals can take adv. of st whness to create partic st, requires pop partic + accountability - (3) Logistics of org st: inward-looking, polit, syst (not autarchy) - ie take adv. of intern'l rels // Af plans, projs/people. ~~st~~

Discussion:

- ① Org: "peoples' st"? A: "Peoples' Dem" = diff. process; only alt = contr, accountable to people
- ② OATULL ① Need emph re human resources: in TNC wkshp → emph pub cadre & knowls to negot., st w-mans lit to tech cadre incl. polit ed. ② must define obj/TNC: social dialogue/obj./ind, ee → criteria for admission of TNC after decide what can do alone
- ③ ANC: re TNCs - lib. movmt called for sancts/SA, Norm. = prob./lib. movmt: must learn; can't excl. disc. of SA: whd we call for sancts?
- ④ — re imp't. of watches, etc → suffering if end these impts; in past before col., did w/o, but now → dep → ed/suffering
- ⑤ Ben Magubane: Nature of summary = no justice to richness of paper; eg in session/dem, must exam Im F conds which affect people & if people = alienated must disc in every village; can't ignore recomposition of cap & shift from US & EEC 'common homeland' → forced delinkings from intern'l syst = ~~total~~ synthesis → subct/Af. raw mts; new prods → cheapen Af prods; voluntary delinking = ingredients eg for beer shd = local if car-makers want Af mkt → mkt Af. pte over time, poor people aren't

Sudan: No. of issues: IMF/IBRD involvement = main source of crisis, but not only one; we're dying anyway — so let them go! What to do: Most imp't = peoples' partic. — eg. resources → alloc'd / services: health, ed; if in fam. ed. people re don't drink water w/o boiling → save; if everyone p'lts 1-2 trees, maint. them → save \$; in politics → mk people aware of probs / next generation;

Nigeria: Listened / grps — as educationist → worried: talk abt adults, forget "Child = father of man" — shd → conc'd / sustainable devel, shd lay frdn / self reliance, incl. amg youth → p'als, ed syst / primary up = practically as'd ed

Ethiopia: Add emph / peace / devel

Mali: Peoples' partic + acctability: be concrete: Donor agencies use phrase, must define mechanisms of peoples' power for all sectors of pop incl. women.

—: More knowledge + tech (now contr'd by TNCs); when ldrs → comprador = TNC subversion

Kenya: Observation re mood = talk abt dem / peoples' power // world, E. Eur; caution / romanticism — remember Grenada, Nicaragua etc →

Bale: Remmb'r other stgls → design specific strategies / other

Women: Call = specific / woman; dem = how = key — what exists in soc → room / dem. space; human resources avoid past phrases → awareness of ed; self-reliance = in Ug. = Museveni gave ultimatum to beer sellers: — to use beer w. Ug. inputs → several eqs.

MNCs: Af. strategy / TNCs = sanctions vs. SA; also recog SA → focus of TNCs in SA → condemn US wgs, wkly conds; Int'l Af. has w. stgl for lib.

Environment: Peoples' partic = Key; mechanisms of Int'l shld bend w. use.

Environment: If decs \rightarrow mnd by people \rightarrow better;

FINAL DECLARATION: DSM to Af gorts + people

1. Deter. cond's / continent = decl. liv stds = ec, ecl, soc, servs -
2. Condemn ^{multinatl} ~~IMF~~ agencies - IMF / IBRD - prog's → debt servs, destruction of Af
curs, ecs.
3. IMF pols = DCs
4. IFAD's ^{easier & other groups} ~~recall~~ → on govts → concerted action / debt cancel w. LA, Africa = unjust,
immoral, oppression -
5. ^{Supp} IFAD's endorsement of alt. apppr / ^{ECOT} alt. framework - respect soc. of Af. chns →
suppt prog's tech. fin.
6. Hist // 40s, 90s w. req'd to dg blocs / Eur, + opening Eur = involuntary delinking
in Af → focus on new soc. order / Af: nat'l, reg'l, ss → pind disengage
from sup // satisfy basic needs via ^{relevant} small scale + med- ~~ent~~ ~~ent~~ ~~ent~~ ^{tail} ^{sector} ^{into} ^{ing}
7. Act strategs / ~~as~~ ~~that~~ → ensure all cultivators via coop → inv'd tech / ^{ing}
local resources, dual tech // approp inds + standardization
8. See crisis = polit crisis // contract bet people v. elite pow → resolved
w. pentic + accountability
9. Contr. MNCs via jf. inv codes, esp / transfers pricing
10. Integ. women equitably ^{transformative} ~~industrial~~ process

1. Environmental probs \rightarrow exam'd \rightarrow laws / Af crises \rightarrow implemented
12. Most basic prob = implementation \rightarrow wide dissem, uptake of all strategy \rightarrow launching point / 1990s -

150 participants

42 outside Tanz = 13 Af elites + some int'l insts

Tanz partic = U, govt, P,

4 IFAA Confs to come:

① Sn Af

② St., Democ. + partic.

Imp of Min of Prog

1. Critical time // Namib \rightarrow soon SA too; + hope W. Sahara \rightarrow self-deter-ⁿ, apt to focus on ec devel, cultural regeneration, social adv. A same ldrs remain linked to neotrope, "Cococola culture". Hist: prod food for slaves + expts; now dep on handouts tho Ang, Zambia, Sudan cld \rightarrow food basket / Af, in 90s \rightarrow end aid / food / contr. of politics; Af govt vote / asst.; Zanzibar enough food self-suffic - Af. w. 7.5% of Wld pop, 1.6% of GNP = highest rt. of inf. mortality; \rightarrow specific ssrgts / conf. to overcome;
 - B loss of dem rts / Amin, Bokassa \rightarrow focus on dem
 - C For asst = in all maj projs, even minor projs., Af has highest % of debt / GDP; Sub Sahano = 50% of Af expts, 1/3 of GDP, debt serv. now = 20%; some = over 30%; net paym to IMF alone = \$1 billion, much = split on lux impts + pers. cons; debt \rightarrow higher / day; Af = faced w. devel. crisis;
2. Solution:
 - A IMF / IBRD = no soln = pt of prob;
 - B Options = consid invt rely on social forces \rightarrow prog disc.
 - C Eastern tw = no. of lessons, incl. more openness / devel. issues; rapprochement of E-W \rightarrow implies \rightarrow redir / E = nearer w. Eur + w. well-devel'd in fast \rightarrow higher returns; note Eur proves 'failure' of Af.; Af \rightarrow self-rel; devel'd cpts partic in looking IDCs -
3. Lead vms, blessing / chief min.

IFAD: Women

Turok - No democracy?

Suliman - Sustainable Devel.

Wkonkoni - Ecology crisis

Kouba - Sci, Tech + Sustainable

Hossain - De-adjustment/Sudan

Zayid - Expts/Devel/Sudan

Munyya - Dem

Brook-Litne/ed/Tanz (females)

Misana - Natural resources

Moyo - Debt crisis

Campbell - Debt

Shirji - Dem.

Koffi-Tessio - Environment

Mahmoud - Women/SAP

Rugumamu - Investment req.

Chanda - Zambia

Gonia - PSGE

Changir & Gwar, Roseeneh

Tella - Int'l cap.

Immode - Ag/Nigeria

Eghemot - Financial probs.