



**Africa Leadership Forum**



**REVIEW  
OF  
ACTIVITIES**

**UNTIL  
MARCH  
1992**

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## INTRODUCTION

Despite three decades of political independence, Africa's aspirations and hopes remain today largely unfulfilled. This has not been, however, a period of unmitigated failure in the history of the continent; there have been successes in education, public health, import substitution industries, and in the continuing process of decolonisation. The problems of development, peace and security, the health of the world economy, and improving the environment are interrelated global issues; they do not admit of piecemeal solutions.

And yet all countries find that in the absence of true global cooperation, they have to tackle particular aspects of them. At the national level in Africa, the inadequacy of information, data, and resources render the problems daunting. Regionally they are overwhelming.

African leaders have frequently come to their positions with limited experience. Though most of them have battled on, confronting their awesome problems of development and nation- building essentially not only unprepared but unaided, their efforts have been at best only a qualified success.

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Africa cannot afford to continue with ill-prepared and un-assisted leaders. Those on whom the burden of leadership will fall in future must fully comprehend their responsibilities, duties, and obligations. They must, that is, have exposure and carefully planned preparation if they are to meet the challenges that will face them.

The leaders of tomorrow have to pursue their professional careers today. They have little time to devote to gaining a comprehensive knowledge of their own countries and their region, nor of the cultures of their diverse peoples. Not enough time is given to learning about and understanding the actions taken by their present leaders where they do not impinge on their own areas of expertise.

Most young potential leaders have focused primarily on single issues, lacking time to look at wider, critical regional and world challenges. Time for comprehensive study and reflection, for sharing experiences with persons inside, let alone outside, their countries, region, and field of concentration is very limited. Opportunities for such detached discussion and contemplation are even rarer.

There are no private institutions in Africa devoted to preparing potential leaders with a global outlook, leaders who will be able to co-operate within and across national, regional, and institutional boundaries. Nor are there possibilities to foster, in an informal setting, the exchange of experience and reflection among current leaders and to seek responses to emerging challenges. Further, it is difficult, if not impossible, in

many African countries to gain access to relevant and timely information on most national, regional, and global issues.

Experience in and out of Government and in international fora bears out this situation, one that poses a challenge to be addressed and remedied. The **Africa Leadership Forum**, which was established and launched in 1988, aims at contributing constructively towards a solution in this area.

1991 – the third full year of the Forum’s operations – saw a consolidation of the Forum’s activities and structure. In substantive terms, the dual- strategy approach chosen since the Forum’s inception continued to prove its validity: the Forum proved capable both to address long-term, endemic problems afflicting Africa’s development and to respond flexibly to emerging new challenges and events. In terms of participation, another duality proved its value: the involvement and mix of both experienced leaders and younger, promising individuals from various African countries in the Forum’s programmes.

## ORGANS AND STRUCTURE

The organs of the Africa Leadership Forum (ALF) are:

1. The Governing Council
2. The Secretariat
3. The African Elders
4. The International Advisory Board
5. Africa Forum Journal
6. Africa Leadership Foundations

1. The Governing Council

The Africa Leadership Forum is administered by the Governing Council, which comprises:

- i. Chairman
- ii. Two Vice-Chairmen
- iii. Not less than 12 and not more than 15 other members
- iv. Director of the ALF will serve as Secretary.

The Governing Council meets at least once a year. An emergency meeting can be called by the Chairman at the request of half of the members of the committee plus one.

The Executive Committee is responsible for giving general guidance and direction to the Secretariat and will carry out annual, medium- and long-term plans and programmes of the Forum. The Governing Council is also responsible for fund raising, investment policy and physical development.

The Members of the Governing Council are:

Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria) Chairman; Adebayo Adedeji (Nigeria); Francis M. Deng (Ghana); Joseph Ki Zerbo (Burkina Faso); Akin Mabogunje (Nigeria); Graca Marchel (Mozambique); Edwin Mtei (Tanzania); Letitia E. Obeng (Ghana); Thomas Odhiambo (Kenya); Olara Otunnu (Uganda); Marie-Angelique Savane (Senegal); N'Hames Yazid (Algeria).

2. The Secretariat

The Secretariat comprises:

- i. The President
- ii. The Director

The Secretariat carries on the day-to-day activities of the Forum within the programme and plans set out by the Governing Council.

The President of the **Forum** supervises and directs all Forum activities and the operation of a small Secretariat to undertake programming and organization and to provide co-ordination, backstopping, secretarial, administrative and logistical support. The Director of the Forum supervises the day-to-day activities of the **Forum**.

The tenure of membership of ALF Governing Council will run as follows: After the first three years, starting from 1992, one third of the members will retire and be replaced by new members. After six years, another one third from the remaining two-thirds of the original members will retire and will likewise be replaced by new entrants. At the end of nine years, i.e. by the year 2000, the last one-third of the original members will leave and the entire Governing Council will be a new team i.e. not including any member who was there in 1992.

### 3. The African Elders

Following the recommendation of the Kampala Forum on a Conference on “Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa” to establish an African Elders council made up of men and women “beyond personal national political ambition”, an inauguration meeting of the African Elders was held in Arusha, Tanzania, between the 20<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> of March 1992.

The African Elders was created as an organ operating within the Africa Leadership Forum to work discretely and openly, if and when necessary, to harness and utilize for settlement of conflicts, reconciliation and establishment of harmony among African countries and among Africans through the influence and moral authority of leaders, especially the residual influence and moral authority of those not currently in executive positions.

The aim is to have a body of African men and women not burdened by political incumbency or undue baggage and who, with their residual moral authority, stature and respect, can influence the course of events positively in Africa and for Africa essentially. However, the council will not be working exclusively through the instrumentality of incumbent leaders of Africa and other leaders whose actions affect issues and development in Africa. The African Elders will be largely concerned with the issue of peace, security, stability, conflict- resolution, reconciliation and harmony among African countries and Africans.

The Elders will maintain close cooperation and collaboration with peace organizations and organizations engaged in similar functions inside and outside Africa.

In addition to undertaking conflict resolution and reconciliation responsibilities in Africa as may be desired, required or considered appropriate, the Elders may act as Conflict and Dispute Watch for Africa with respect to situations that are likely to

become threatening and will bring them to the notice and knowledge of relevant governments, organizations and individuals.

The Elders will be serviced by the ALF Secretariat. The Elders may invite advisers or experts to be in attendance at its meeting as it may consider necessary. The Elders will meet once a year or in an emergency any other time as considered necessary by the Chairman.

The Elders will be an informal gathering of invited personalities. The founding members are:

Leopold Sedar Senghor (Senegal); Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere (Tanzania); Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia); Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria); Matthieu Kerekou (Benin); Aristides Maris Pereira (Cape Verde); Archbishop Desmond Tutu (South Africa).

#### 4. The International Advisory Board

An international Advisory Board offers guidance on the focus and the programme of the Forum, including programme development, the selection of candidates, speakers, and seminar leaders. The Board will comprise no more than fifteen members, of whom at least seven must be Africans once the full Board is constituted.

The current members of the Advisory Board are:

Chief S.O. Adebó (Nigeria)

Joszeŕ Bognar (Hungary)

Takeo Fukuda (Japan)

Huang Hua (China)

Robert McNamara (United States of America)

Winnie Mandela (South Africa)

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere (Tanzania)

Carlos Andres Perez (Venezuela)

Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal)

Helmut Schmidt (Federal Republic of Germany)

Leopold Sedar Senghor (Senegal)

## 5. The Africa Forum Journal

After much groundwork, the Forum was able to establish and launch an organ to focus on the dissemination the ideas for which it stands. “The Africa Forum” – a Magazine of Leadership and Development Ideas was conceived as an independent, authoritative magazine to be published in French and English. The idea for this new publication arose from the inaugural programme of the Africa Leadership Forum in late 1988 in order to contribute to African development, and by extension, world development by

- portraying positive role models in all walks of life;
- enhancing performance generally, but leadership in particular;
- being a source of inspiration and encouragement for incumbents as well as potential African leaders;
- discussing current issues of development;
- being a forum for the exchange of ideas and views;
- analysing and projecting current trends in policies and socio-political issues;
- serving as sign posts and caution for leaders and players on the leadership scene;
- promoting communication among potential leaders.

Initially, it will be a learned, quarterly magazine co-ordinated and produced from a base in London. The maiden issue appeared in February 1991. Mr. Ad’Obe Obe, a highly experienced and respected professional and most recently the editor of West Africa magazine, serves as Editor-in-Chief.

The target readership of the Forum will be individuals, universities, research institutions, corporations, Governments, non-governmental organizations and other potentially interested groups, inside and outside of Africa, who are not only interested in African development but who appreciate that effective leadership is the key to progress.

An honorary editorial advisory board has been established, consisting of:

Margaret Busby (Ghana), Chris Civic (United Kingdom), Pierre-Claver Damiba (Burkina Faso), Basil Davidson (United Kingdom), Ray Ekpu (Nigeria), Ibrahima Fall (Senegal), Mohamed Heikal (Egypt), Rushworth Kidder (United States), Flora Lewis (United States), Bona Malwal (Sudan), Charles William Maynes (United States), Roberto Savio (Italy) and Allister Sparks (South Africa).



Africa Forum was launched on 12 February 1991 in London. Lord Callaghan of Cardiff, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, delivered the keynote address. Other speakers included former Agriculture Minister of Cote d'Ivoire M. Bra Kanon and Marie-Angelique Savane of Senegal.

The print run is normally 10,000 copies of the English edition and 5,000 copies of the French editor. The journals has a worldwide circulation targeted at individuals and organizations who, in their various capacities, are concerned and involved in development generally, but African development in particular and appreciate the fact that effective leadership is the key to progress. Copies are circulated to heads of governments, top government officials, decision makers, top business executives, entrepreneurs, private individuals, educational institutions, research organizations, voluntary organizations and world libraries.

A major regular feature of Africa Forum is a series of indepth interviews with elder African leaders who have been privileged to be involved in African history at the very crucial transition phases such as from the period of colonialism to political independence.

Thus far, four issues have been published, containing, among others, interviews with former Tanzanian President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, former President of Cape Verde, Artistides Pereira and Professor Thomas Odhiambo.

#### 6. Africa Leadership Foundation

The Africa Leadership Foundation is a legal entity registered in Nigeria as a non-profit organization to support the Africa Leadership Forum.

Two Trustees provide policy and programme advice and are responsible for the legal operation of the Foundation, interalia, by keeping records and filing necessary returns.

The Nigerian Foundation has:

- i. The Chairman
- ii. Two Trustees
- iii. A President
- iv. A Vice-President
- v. A Treasurer
- vi. Three other Directors
- vii. The Office of an Attorney and an Adviser
- viii. External Auditor

In the United States, an Africa Leadership Foundation, Inc. is registered in New York States as a not-for-profit organization exempt from (US) Federal income tax under section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of the United States.

The directors of the Africa Leadership Foundation are Adebayo Adedeji (Nigeria), Diego Arria (Venezuela), Keiko Atsumi (Japan), Francis M. Deng (Sudan), Jens Fischer (Germany), Wayne Fredericks (United States), Dragoljub Najman (Yugoslavia), Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Hans d'Orville (Germany) and Felix G.N. Mosha (Tanzania).

Olusegun Obasanjo is Chairman of the Board of Directors. Wayne Fredericks and Jens Fischer serve as Vice-Chairmen.

Officers of the Foundation are Hans d'Orville (President), Dragoljub Najman (Vice-President) and Diego Arria (Treasurer).

## **OBJECTIVES**

The principal objective of the Forum is the enhancement of leadership performance and qualities at all levels and in all walks of life in Africa.

The Forum's aims are:

- (a) To encourage the diagnosis, understanding and informed search for solutions to local, regional and global problems, taking account of their inter-relationship and mutual consequences, involving both current and future leaders;
- (b) To develop, organize and support programmes for the training of able, capable and promising Africans with leadership potential so as to expose them to the demands, duties and obligations of leadership positions and to prepare them systematically to assume higher responsibilities and to meet the challenges of an interdependent world;
- (c) To generate greater understanding and to enhance the knowledge and awareness of development and social problems within a global context among young, potential leaders from all sectors of society, cutting across national, regional, continental, professional and institutional borders and with a view to fostering close and enduring relationships and promoting life-long association and co-operation among such potential leaders;
- (d) To support and encourage the diagnosis and informed search for appropriate and effective solutions to local and regional African problems from an African perspective – within the frame work of global interdependence. This would include the consideration of phased action programmes, which can be initiated by various communities, countries, sub-regions and institutions, drawing on the contribution of current leaders and decision-makers, scientists and younger persons.

- (e) To sensitize incumbent leaders and policy-makers, the media and the public at large – both in and outside Africa –to the national, regional and global problems of development, strategy, environment and management in a way to facilitate the search for effective solutions.
- (f) To harness and utilize for settlement of conflicts, reconciliation and establishment of harmony among African countries and among Africans, the influence and moral authority of leaders especially the residual influence and moral authority of those not currently in executive positions;
- (g) To undertake actions and measures that will promote and sustain democratic practice and culture in Africa;
- (h) To disseminate information, ideas, solutions to problems, works, reports and activities of the Forum through the publication of books, journals, videos and other means of passing information and knowledge;
- (i) To assist in the development of the spirit and culture of entrepreneurship, self-employment and job creation among young professionals, especially those with an inclination towards an interest in business activities;
- (j) To develop close network, outreach and cooperation with organizations, institutions and individuals inside and outside Africa, with a view to promoting and enhancing the work of the Forum and for the mobilization and coordination of efforts and resources.

## **PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES**

The Forum pursues its objectives in a variety of ways, encompassing different approaches and modalities so as to build and improve on leadership skills, experience and exposure in all walks of life, by:

- (a) Exposing African leaders to recognized and accomplished leaders from within and outside Africa so as to facilitate the exchange of views in an informal setting and to partake in their specific experience particularly in an African environment;
- (b) Arranging seminars, meetings and face-to-face encounters on emerging key issues bringing together African leaders in an effort to focus both on global questions with a direct bearing on Africa and on problems of a sub-regional or regional character;
- (c) Organizing events in different African countries and at international locations where appropriate, in order to accomplish a broad outreach;

- (d) Disseminating widely, findings and proposals on priority issues so as to induce decision-makers in Africa and other continents to address the problems and take appropriate action;
- (e) Involving both well-known personalities and the younger generation, mostly the uninitiated in international exchanges and co-operation, drawn from a network that will gradually be built through recommendations and identification by experienced personalities;
- (f) Holding a bi-monthly farmhouse Dialogue at the Forum Center in Ota, Nigeria, to discuss issues of a more national interest that may have wider relevance and ramifications for other African countries.
- (g) Publication of a journal on leadership and development for wide distribution and circulation amongst Africans and non-Africans. The journal carries articles and analysis on African or Africa-related problems and in-depth/detailed interviews with accomplished leaders.
- (h) Encouraging the establishment of National Chapters of the Forum in African countries, essentially to undertake programmes similar to the Farm House Dialogue in Nigeria and other national programmes; and subsequently to foster the emergence of a continental network to expand the base and the international activities of the forum;
- (i) To organize workshop and seminars at the national, sub-regional or continental level for specific young professional and interest groups for the purpose of widening and deepening experience, contacts, exposure and the practice of their profession and civic responsibilities and for the encouragement of entrepreneurship, self-employment and job creation.

Each programme may include lectures, panel discussions, small group discussions, case studies and/or simulations as well as field visits.

To disseminate information on the recommendations and conclusions reached at conferences of the Forum. In addition to wide mailing and circulation to, and networking with, personalities and institutions, small missions may be dispatched to African countries to sensitize and apprise Government and non-government leaders and relevant groups and organizations with the current steps taken with a view to soliciting their support, endorsement and eventual adoption of proposed measures and policies. The journal, Africa Forum, is also an instrument of dissemination and communication.

Other mechanisms and modalities may emerge over time.

## **PARTICIPANTS**

Forum participants include both experienced personalities and leaders and future leaders from all walks of life in Africa. In order to encourage interaction with, and exposure to other parts of the world, some participants will also be invited from other continents. Participants will be drawn from Government, political parties, industries, the business and banking communities, the military, academia and the scientific community, non-governmental organizations, women organizations, international, regional and national organizations, the agricultural sector, writers and the media. It is a policy that not less than fifty per cent of participants should be under forty years of age and at least one-third of the participants should be women.

To introduce major issues and to lead discussions, the programmes will regularly draw on a small number of internationally known, outstanding individuals both from Africa and from other continents who will be able to offer valuable insights into the practical problems of leadership. They are personalities who are themselves long-time students of global issues or who have been decision-makers in and out of government or business. They will participate as speakers, discussion-leaders, presenters of case studies, or as experts in high-level seminars.

## **A REVIEW OF PAST ACTIVITIES**

### **1. Inaugural Programme: The Challenges of Leadership in African Development – October/November 1988, Ota, Nigeria.**

The conference considered a wide range of issues on the challenges to African leadership and development. They were addressed in lectures, structured discussions and group seminars and interaction. The discussion of the well-known exogenous factors, which, historically, have besieged African development, were supplemented by an in-depth analysis of the root problems, especially as it relates to leadership deficiencies in virtually all fields of societal activity. The programme produced a number of recommendations, the implementation of which may help to pave the way for a more conscious and systematic approach in many sectors paying special attention to the critical factors of leadership performance and capability. Some of the specific, action-oriented recommendations were that:

- (a) More serious and concrete efforts should be deployed to increase regional co-operation and integration within the various sub-regions of Africa and the continent as a whole;
- (b) Structural adjustment programmes should aim at true structural transformation of an economy benefiting its long-term growth and not causing a deterioration to the situation of the most vulnerable groups within the society;
- (c) Institutions should be developed that can translate political independence to broad-based popular democracy, liberty, accountability and participatory politics and economics;

- (d) African leaders should hold regular sessions of introspection on specific issues to review performance and the general direction of governance;
- (e) As a matter of immediate urgency, governments should make relentless efforts towards ensuring food security by devising and implementing new, imaginative and practical policy initiatives;
- (f) As Africa, unlike other parts of the world, has no regional institute, centre or think-tank for long range studies, policy formulation and analysis, consultations should be initiated towards establishing an African Centre/Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies;
- (g) The feasibility of publishing a journal on African leadership issues should be explored, to present positive role models of leadership and to serve as a channel of vital communication.

One central message emanating from the first programme was that Africa has become marginalized in world politics and in the world economy. Strengthening the capacity and capabilities of existing and future leaders can, to a considerable extent, prevent a further deterioration of this situation. To that end, an intensified public awareness and sensitisation campaign is required with a view to pushing the complex African problems to the forefront of the international debate and have them reflected on, and integrated into, global perspectives and action.

All subsequent programmes carried out during 1989 were drawn up in the light of the recommendations made at the inaugural programme.

## 2. The Impact of Europe in 1992 on West Africa – April 1989, Brussels

Held at the headquarters of the Commission of European Communities in Brussels, the purpose of this high-level seminar was to examine the tangible impact of the 1992 Single European market on West Africa and, based thereon, to develop a plan of action for governments and the business community as to how best to adapt to the emerging situation.

Further more, it was to deduce from the EC experience a blueprint for steps required to move towards a more open and integrated market and more intensive cooperation in West Africa.

Some 40 leading African and European policy-makers participated in a most stimulating exchange. One of its major results was a recommendation to convene an independent group, which would be asked to study the causes of lack of progress on sub-regional integration and to propose measures to revitalize the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as an effective sub-regional organization.

3. The Challenge of Agricultural Production and Food Security in Africa – July 1989, Ota, Nigeria

This major conference was addressed, among others, by former President Jimmy Carter. As a direct follow-up, missions composed of African conference participants visited about a dozen African countries with a view raising awareness on the issues and problems among a cross-section of governments, administration officials, chambers of commerce, farmers and women organizations, financial institutions and agro-industry establishments. These missions were also intended to obtain first-hand information on agricultural success stories that could be replicated elsewhere and on the failures that should be guarded against in other countries.

4. The Challenge of Economic Reforms in Africa- 28 and 29 September 1989, Washington, D.C.

Organized in the wake of the annual meetings of the Bretton Woods institutions, at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., the purpose of this conference was to assess in a frank manner the problems of economic reforms, their requirements in terms of sacrifice, inputs and resources, the political dimension and prospects for outside co-operation with Africa. Participants included a number of African Ministers of Finance and Plannings and a panel of distinguished personalities from the various regions of the world who were asked to comment from their viewpoints on the subject, among them Robert McNamara, former Philippine Prime Minister Cesar Virata and the Deputy Director of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

5. The Impact of Changes in Eastern Europe on Africa- 17 and 18 April 1990, OECD headquarters, Paris

This High-level Conference addressed a series of separate, yet interrelated sets of issues such as:

- The diversion of aid and capital flows by industrialized countries to the countries to the countries of Eastern Europe and the possible responses of developing countries, especially African countries, to this development;
- The lessons from the collapse of the political, economic and social systems in Eastern Europe for future governance and socio-economic policies of African countries;
- The consequences of events in Eastern Europe for developments in Southern Africa and other regions of Africa.

Numerous senior African leaders attended the conference, among them the Prime Minister of Mozambique, the Secretary- General of the Commonwealth, the President of IFAD and senior officials of ADB, SADCC etc. and about half a dozen up and coming Africans under the age of 40. The discussions at the conference resulted in a

set of detailed recommendations for action by African countries. Among these recommendations were several suggestions for future activities by the Forum, including the convening of a Conference on Stability, Security and Co-operation in Africa and a conference to foster direct investment in Africa.

6. Population, Environment and Climatic Change – Their Impact on Development in Africa 21 to 24 June 1990 – Ota, Nigeria

The keynote speech at this international conference was delivered by former World Bank President, Robert S. Mc-Namara.

The issue of population had been identified as one of the crucial determinants of future development at virtually every Forum conference. This conference agreed on a feasible strategic approach and a comprehensive set of practical measures that will be recommended to governments and national institutions and organizations.

7. Towards a Conference on Security, Stability, Development And Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA)

- (a) On 17 and 18 November 1990, a brainstorming meeting was arranged in Addis Ababa by the Forum in co-operation with ECA and the OAU Secretariat on the proposal of convening a Conference on Stability, Security and Co-operation in Africa. This idea resulted from the Paris Conference of the Forum. It is expected that some 30 leading Africans will meet at ECA premises to examine the feasibility and practical aspects of convening for Africa a conference patterned along the European experience with the Helsinki Act and subsequent process. The underlying premise of the proposal is that non-African powers may feel a stronger commitment and obligation to support the development of the Continent if they can play a certain agreed role in shaping developments.

A steering committee was set up to advance the work on CSSDCA and it has met twice – in February 1991 in Addis Ababa and in April 1991 in Ota, Nigeria, preceded by a consultation with NGO representatives from all parts of Africa.

The CSSDCA proposal was also presented by Gen. Obasanjo to the OAU Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa in February 1991.

- (b) In furtherance of the November 1990 brainstorming exercise on the holding of a Conference on Stability, Security and Co-operation in Africa (CSSCA), the Forum, jointly with the Development Policy Forum of the German Foundation for Development, held an international round table on CSSCA between 20 and 21 March 1991 in Cologne, Germany, to explore lessons that may be learned from the European Helsinki experience and their potential relevance for the launching of a similar process for Africa.



- (c) From 18-22 May 1991, the Forum, in conjunction with the secretariats of the Organisation for African Unity and Economic Commission for Africa, convened, at the invitation of President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, the Kampala forum on the Conference on Stability, Security and Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA). In attendance at this Forum were Governmental representatives from Africa, representatives of African NGO's, professional organizations and academic institutions, representatives of international organizations, leading personalities from outside Africa and representatives of foundations. The Kampala Forum brought together a cross-section of some 500 persons who discussed and adopted the Kampala Document containing the declaration, principles and policy measures as well as specifying the ensuing process for CSSDCA. The Kampala Document was submitted to the OAU summit held in early June 1991 in Abuja, which after a substantive debate decided to refer the proposal to the Council of Ministers for re-submission to the Heads of State or Government at the 1992 OAU summit.

8. The Challenges of Post-Apartheid South Africa in Africa  
Windhoek, Namibia – 8-10 September 1991:

At the invitation of President Sam Nujoma of Namibia, the Forum convened from 8-10 September 1991 a conference in Windhoek on “**The Challenges of Post-Apartheid South Africa in Africa**”. This conference addressed two principal objectives:

- to focus on the need for new economic and social mechanisms to foster economic and regional co-operation in the southern African region;
- to focus on measures to redirect resources within South Africa with a view to supporting and stabilizing the emerging non-racial society.

9. The Role of Domestic Financial Institutions in African Development - ADB  
Headquarters, Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, October 1991

In October 1991, a Conference on “**The Role of Domestic Financial Institutions in African Development**” was held at the Headquarters of the African Development Bank in Abidjan.

The proposal for this conference resulted directly from the deliberations of and recommendations made at the Forum's inaugural conference and the Brussels seminar on EC-ECOWAS, namely that viable institutions be developed to support economic development both at the national and regional levels.

10. New Avenues for Technical Cooperation in Sub-Saharan  
Africa – Maastricht, Netherlands, 18 – 20 October 1991

In October 1991, the Forum jointly with the European Center for Development Policy Management in Maastricht, Netherlands, organized a seminar titled “**New Avenues for Technical Co-operation in Sub-Saharan Africa**”.

11. Democracy and Governance in Africa – Ota, Nigeria December 1991

The annual Forum Conference in Ota was devoted to the subject *Democracy and Governance in Africa*.

The issue of democracy and governance in Africa has become one of the most important and central issues in African development and political life in virtually every African country. This had become particularly underlined by the results of the Forum's Paris conference. Taking advantage of the Forum's comparative advantage of holding this conference in an informal setting, this Ota conference allowed a major examination of the challenges, the possibilities and courses of action and the complexities to be addressed.

12. Follow-up activities to earlier programmes and recommendations

a) Sensitization missions

The Forum initiated and undertook several sensitisation programmes and missions to African and industrialized countries with a view to increasing awareness and mobilizing support for specific action proposals emanating from Forum meetings.

Following the July 1989 conference on “**The Challenge of Agricultural Production and Food Security in Africa**”, **two sensitisation missions were arranged** in order to communicate the conclusions and recommendations of the conference to non-governmental organizations, the private sector and government officials and to seek their concurrence and pertinent action.

Each mission was composed of experienced individuals drawn from among the conference's participants. One Mission visited Zimbabwe, while the other visited Guinea, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire.

The response to these missions was most encouraging indeed as they helped to initiate a broad-based discussion on agricultural issues which led, in Zimbabwe, even to the establishment of a cabinet-level committee set up specifically to review the recommendations by the mission following its visit. In the case of Guinea, the Forum was requested to provide further advice on aspects of privatisation and foreign investment in the agricultural sector.

Discussions are continuing to arrange for further missions to Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Kenya and Somalia. Future missions will be organized in such a way that, in addition to aspects of agricultural production, they will also address issues and recommendations from other, more recent conferences, such as that on population, environment and development.

The first **sensitisation programme in an industrialized country** took place in March 1990 in London, in collaboration with the Overseas Development Institute and the Twenty-First Century Trust. Some thirty leading personalities from government,

media, the private sector and academia assembled for a brainstorming session on how Africa can be better assisted and empowered to address its problems in an effective manner.

Another **sensitisation programme took place in Moscow** from 28 to 30 October 1990. The Forum Chairman accompanied by a small delegation visited Moscow to discuss possible areas for future joint programmes between the Forum and the USSR Academy of Science's Institute for African Studies.

Under the auspices of the Forum, the Chairman and Dr. Francis Deng have continued their peace initiative in the Sudan through several missions to the region in an attempt to bridge existing differences and identify a viable basis for ending the conflict in the largest country in Africa.

b) ECOWAS Commission

As a direct result of the April 1989 Forum seminar on **“Europe in 1992 and its Impact on West Africa”**, a blue ribbon commission of senior West African personalities was set up in co-operation with the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the President of Senegal. The Forum Chairman presided over the work of the commission, which held three sessions in 1990. Drawing on the preparatory work carried out by the Forum during 1989, the commission completed its work in time to **submit a programme of action on revitalizing ECOWAS to the ECOWAS summit held in May 1990** in Banjul, Gambia. The Government leaders unanimously adopted this action programme.

13. Farmhouse Dialogues

In Nigeria, the Forum convened during 1989 a regular series of “Farmhouse Dialogues”. Since 1988, seven subjects have been covered: Leadership for Development, Education for Development, Youth and Development, Communications and Development, Labour and Development, Health for Development and Women in Development.

Throughout 1990, the **development series of the Farmhouse Dialogue** continued regularly every six to eight weeks and addressed topics of culture, management, technology, population and environment, security and food.

Throughout 1991, the democracy series of the Farmhouse Dialogue continue every six to eight weeks and addressed topics on multi-nationality, religious pluralism, the media and the issue of poverty.

The discussions and the reports resulting from these dialogues have exercised a discernible influence on national debates on the issues concerned (e.g. the recommendation to employ additional criteria, e.g. management experience, in the selection of chief executives of universities – a recommendation resulting from the second Farmhouse Dialogue; or the adoption of a national policy of nine years of

compulsory education – resulting from the second Farmhouse Dialogue) and some of its recommendations have already been implemented at the national level (e.g. the abolition of Ministries of Local Government at the state level –resulting from the first Farmhouse dialogue). Five national and two community newspapers have serialized the reports of the Farm House Dialogues, namely the New Nigerian, The Guardian, Sunday Sketch, The Mail, Sunday Times, The Parrot and Community Magnet.

The reports were published in more than 4500 copies. They are widely distributed within Nigeria and other West African countries. A collection of all development dialogues was published in February 1991 in Nigeria in a book under the title “Elements of Development” edited by Olusegun Obasanjo and Akin Mabogunje.

The Farmhouse dialogue series have attracted the interest of African personalities outside Nigeria who intend to take the independent initiative to create a similar mechanism in their respective countries. The Forum has been approached with a view to extending assistance and initial support in establishing such similar dialogues.

#### 14. Networking and Outreach

Until now, the Forum has built up a genuine computerized mailing and contact list containing more than 3000 names of individuals from all walks of life in all African countries and from outside the continent. This list is continuously being expanded and updated, drawing on recommendations from senior personalities, participants in Forum programmes and the evaluation of publications, journals and reports. It utilizes a software programme specifically developed for the Forum’s purposes and needs. All mailings receive considerable feedback reaction from the recipients.

This list serves as an important tool for identifying young leaders and involving them in the Forum’s activities.

To broaden its outreach, especially to the younger generation, the Forum has engaged in a number of specific programmes:

- (a) In conjunction with the Nigeria Jaycee’s (average age 35), the Forum has sponsored a national conference to examine the prospects and desirable policy options for Nigeria by the year 2010. The proceedings have been published as a book for wider circulation. Similar programmes are planned for other neighbouring countries in the West Africa region.
- (b) Following up on the successful conference with the Nigerian Jaycees in 1990, similar conferences are under consideration for other West African countries and on a sub- regional basis so as to provide a forum for the younger generation to articulate its vision, aspirations and suggestions for policy development and initiatives over the next two decades.
- (c) A joint conference was organized in 1991 with the Pan-African Institute for Social Studies in Porto Novo, Benin, to explore possibilities for closer and more effective co-operation between the two countries in a variety of sectors, eg. Business, media, NGOs.

- (d) The creation of national chapters of the Forum in other countries supported with modest seed money by the Forum, such as in Tanzania and Ghana.
- (e) The African Leadership Forum has initiated the process of establishing the African Center for Policy and Strategic Studies, originally recommended by the inaugural Forum conference.

**MAJOR ACTIVITIES – ALF WORK  
PROGRAMME 1992 – 1994**

1. Study on the Characteristics of, and Experiences with, National Conferences and other Transition Processes Toward Democracy and their Potential Implications for a Wider Application in Africa. Preparations for the study are scheduled to commence by the end of January 1992. The study will, in particular, articulate an African viewpoint on these issues.
2. A conference on the Exchange of Experiences on Democracy and Governance in Africa to include Countries/Parties that have crossed the threshold to democratic transition and those that are still moving towards a democratic transition. The conference is planned to take place in 1992.
3. The Conference on Removing the Barriers to Women participation in Politics – to focus principally on West Africa. The conference is scheduled to hold in 1993.
4. Conference on Democracy Without Violence to focus principally on Eastern Africa – scheduled for 1994.
5. The Role of Non-Governmental Organization in the Democratisation Process. Meeting scheduled for the first half of 1994.
6. Follow up activities for the conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA). Major tasks involved are:
  - (i) The publication of background and reference papers on CSSDCA for widest possible circulation (primarily within Africa and a limited number outside Africa) as basic reference materials in the final adoption and negotiation of the CSSDCA. Final printouts are ready for publication.
  - (ii) Inauguration, in March 1992, of the African Elders Council for Peace as recommended by the Kampala Document on CSSDCA. The Council will comprise distinguished African Elder Statesmen. The Council will operate on the basis of an open agenda so as to deliberate on all major problems facing the African Continent and put forward appropriate recommendations to the OAU Summit through a current OAU Chairman. The primary mission of the

Council, however, is to work towards the peaceful resolution of conflicts in Africa to ensure that peace and harmony may reign in the continent as a prerequisite for the creation and maintenance of conditions for development and a state of intra-African and inter-African tranquillity.

- (iii) The second Meeting of the African Elders Group is scheduled for the first quarter of 1993.
  - (iv) ALF will also continue to intensify the major task of familiarizing and ensuring the support and sustenance of CSSDCA by governments and civil society primarily within Africa but also outside Africa. The strategy involves missions to a number of African and some non-African countries to build up a core support for CSSDCA.
  - (v) The Preparation and implementation of back-stopping arrangements for CSSDCA negotiations on the basis of rotation in different countries including work on relevant papers as inputs into the negotiations of the CSSDCA process and measures for monitoring compliance to the CSSDCA agreements by participating states.
7. Follow up activities on the recommendations of the ALF conference on the Challenges of Post-Apartheid South Africa to Africa (8-10 September, 91 Windhoek, Namibia). The follow-up programmes include:
- (i) A Study of the Post-Apartheid Challenges with a focus on a framework for cooperation within the Southern Africa sub-region particularly (SADCC; and Post-Apartheid South Africa) and considerations on Post-Apartheid cooperation in Africa as a whole;
  - (ii) Joint ALF/ANC High level expert group meeting on Post-Apartheid land reforms and agricultural development as a contribution to ANC policy options on agriculture. This follow up meeting is scheduled for the second quarter of 1992 subject to the readiness of the ANC.
  - (iii) A conference of Black South African Businessmen with their counterparts from the rest of Africa. The historical denial of business opportunities, and the suppression of black entrepreneurship in South Africa (until the changes currently under way) coupled with international sanctions, which the few existing Black owned business in South Africa observed, combined to seriously curtail contracts between South African Black Businessmen – especially, with the rest of Africa. The conference will serve as an initial stage and a basis for a building block

approach in the development of intra-African and inter-African Trade expansion in the Post-apartheid era. This conference is planned for the second half of 1992.

- (iv) A conference on Post-Apartheid Challenges for middle level professionals from ANC/COSATU and other sections of civic society in South Africa and their counterpart from the rest of Africa. The conference is intended to expose the young/middle level professionals to a broad range of discussion, papers and analysis on Post-Apartheid issues and options with a focus on inter-African cooperation. This activity is planned for 1993.
  - (v) A programme for the Rehabilitation of Lives and Livelihoods in Africa covering domestically and trans border displaced persons as well as several sections of pauperised and demobilized individuals. The focus of the rehabilitation will be to ensure long-term security; good governance, economic recovery and development by integrating such individuals into civil society in the countries affected viz. Angola, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Somalia, Sudan etc. Each of these countries will be gradually covered as the resources permit. The basic objective of the programme will be to highlight the magnitude of the problems and explore strategies and areas of domestic and international support for the restoration of a meaningful production life to such groups. This programme will be implemented over a period of five years with 1992-1994 as the first phase.
8. A programme to explore African brainpower with emphasis on the mobilization of African scientists by giving the attention to women scientists in particular and also, to evolve and obtain a continental approval of a protocol that would cover the work of "African returnees" (African nationals presently out of the continent) in different African countries.
9. A follow-up programme on the Maastricht Conference on New Avenues for Technical Cooperation in Africa, which was organized by the European Centre for Development Policy Management (18-20 October, 1991) under the co-sponsorship of Africa Leadership Forum and Commission of the European Communities. Two major follow-up activities are:
- (i) A conference of African countries to reflect on discussions that took place in Maastricht and to determine a common African strategy that can realistically be sustained under the foreseeable conditions of technical assistance. This conference, planned to take place in early 1993, will be held in conjunction with the international conference (6 ii) below.

- (ii) An international conference on aid to Africa to highlight the positive contributions that international aid has made to Africa and also demonstrate the large portion of such aid that was wasted by many countries on both sides under “cold war” considerations, which significantly reduced the otherwise greater positive impact the total aid could have had on Africa. The aim of the conference will be to cultivate more favourable attitude of taxpayers and policy makers in donor countries towards giving aid to Africa and identify conditions or strategies for better utilization of such aid in the face of existing domestic conditions in both the recipient and donor countries as well as changing global conditions. The conference is planned to take place in 1993 to include 6 (i) above.
10. An international Conference on the opportunities for foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa. The conference is an effort to counteract the negative attitudes and perceptions towards FDI in Africa so as to reactivate and sustain FDI activities in the continent in the face of profound global changes that are increasingly decreasing the limited FDI interest in Africa. The Conference will aim at bringing together the largest possible number of entrepreneurs from Africa and potential investors or FDI partners from the rest of the World. The African entrepreneurs to the Conference must have specific projects for joint ventures and relevant prefeasibility studies. The United Nations Centre on Trans-national Corporations and the Commonwealth Secretariat, London will be co-sponsors of the Conference and undertake relevant background studies. This conference is planned for the second half of 1992.
  11. A conference on Alternative Sources of Energy in Africa with a special focus on renewable sources of energy such as solar, windmill etc. for households or other domestic uses. The conference will explore ways of pooling Africa talents and resources for the development of a viable renewable source of energy that would reduce the negative impact on deforestation and its environmental consequences arising from critical demand for fuel wood. The Conference will specifically consider and approve a solar energy programme for Africa. Such a development will also positively contribute towards the enhancement of the role of women in development in Africa by significantly reducing the time devoted (especially by women) to getting fuel wood and prolonged cooking tasks which give them less time for other priorities. This conference will be held during the second half of 1992.
  12. The ALF Annual Conference. Since its establishment in 1988, the ALF has organized an annual event based on a theme covering a particular major problem for Africa. The theme for the ALF Conference in 1992 will be “The Eradication of Poverty in Africa” through basic needs emphasis (among other approaches), which targets misery rather than mere poverty. The Conference will address some key pertinent issues pertaining to



poverty in Africa and also consider measures for pooling African talents and resources towards a *green revolution in the continent*.

13. The 1993 Annual Ota Conference to be devoted to Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century--Problems and Challenges for the Youth or the Young.
14. A programme on Cooperation between the countries of the south Atlantic (i.e on the side of Africa/ Caribbean-Latin America) including a conference that will explore concrete and practical measures for economic cooperation on specific projects and areas among the countries in question in addition to the rather limited cooperation that only presently exist between Brazil and some African countries. The programme will commence during 1992. The government of Venezuela has expressed its readiness to co-sponsor the programme.
15. A programme involving meetings of African experts and those who possess varied technical skills in biotechnology and other vital areas. Arrangements are to be equally made for their interaction with relevant groups or institutions in other countries dealing with the areas of biotechnology that is of particular importance to Africa. The objective of the programme will be to mobilize African institutions to implement activities in biotechnology and with the ALF playing a catalyst role in mobilizing the research structures.
16. A programme on the development of Business leadership to include several high level leadership courses and seminars for African business to address the role of the private sector in socio-economic transformation of Africa through the necessary contribution of business to the strengthening of civil society and encouragement of popular participation. This programme is planned to commence in 1992 and will be implemented in cooperation with a university that already does some closely related programmes.
17. The institutionalisation of the Africa Leadership Forum – so that, in addition to its present continental thrust, the Forum may also carry out activities on issues of leadership, governance and development at national and sub-regional levels taking into account the different peculiarities of individual countries and sub-regions. It is intended to carry out such activities through the establishment of ALF National Chapter and other institutional facilities.
18. The enhancement of institutional development and the infrastructure needs of the ALF particularly, the extension of present conference facilities at the ALF headquarters in Ota, Nigeria to adequately improve on the existing units especially, offices, library, greater conference space and more rooms to accommodate participants attending ALF activities.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

Publications play a critical role in accomplishing the Forum's objectives. With a wide dissemination, they serve as an essential link in familiarizing a vast audience throughout Africa and in other countries with the problems identified and possible courses of action.

All publications are being widely distributed throughout Africa, North America, in the Western and East European countries and in Asia and Latin America. In particular, the head of state of each African country has personally received a set. The wide reach-out extends also to African universities, research organizations. To facilitate the distribution process and as a basis for networking, the Forum is maintaining a comprehensive address list, which is continuously being expanded.

Given the linguistic diversity in Africa, efforts are made to produce most reports and recommendations in at least two languages, English and French. Selected reports are also translated into Portuguese. To ensure quick availability of the results of its activities, the Forum is producing routine reports on recommendations and proceedings in mimeographed form.

The entire range of publications available represents a major body of thought and recommendations to improve on critical factors of leadership performance and capability, apt both for follow-up by the Forum and for action at the various national, regional, continental and international levels. The Forum's publications are increasingly being quoted and referred to in various political and academic debates.

The following booklets have already been widely distributed and are available upon request:

(a) Inaugural Programme – 24 October to 1 November 1988

- The Challenges of Leadership in African Development (Report on the Inaugural Programme)
- Africa in Today's World and the Challenges of Leadership (President Ibrahim Babangida and Olusegun Obasanjo)
- Leadership in an Interdependent World and What is Expected From Africa (Germany's former Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt)
- The Leadership Challenge in African Agricultural Production (Akin Mabogunje) Development and Culture (Wole Soyinka and Junzo Kawada)
- Development Strategies – Lessons from Experience (Pierre-Claver Damiba, A.M.A. Muhith and Donatien Bihute)

- The Leadership Challenge for Improving the Economic and Social Situation of Africa (Adebayo Adedeji and Tariq Husain)
  - The Challenge of Education in Africa (Presentation by Alexander A. Kwapong)
  - The Interest of the Private Sector in Leadership (A. Anantharaman and J.U. Aire)
  - Case Studies of Nigeria (Ojetunji Aboyade and Raji Rasaki).
  - The Challenges of Leadership in African Development (Recommendations by discussion Groups on Economic and Social Issues; Political and Strategic Issues)
  - Apartheid and the Challenges of African Leadership (Nthato Motlana and Stanley Mogoba).
- (b) Brussels Conference – 21-23 April 1989
- The Impact of Europe in 1992 on West Africa
- (c) Ota Conference – 27-30 July 1989
- The Challenges of Agricultural Production and Food Security in Africa
- (d) Washington Conference – 28 – 29 September 1989
- The Leadership Challenge of Economic Reforms in Africa
- (e) Paris Conference – 17 – 18 April 1990
- The Impact of Challenges in Eastern Europe on Africa
- (f) Addis Ababa Brainstorming Meeting – 17 – 18 November 1990
- Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa
- (g) The Kampala Document
- (h) The Impact of Post-Apartheid South Africa
- Conference on the Challenges of Post-Apartheid South Africa to Southern Africa in Particular and Africa in General, Windhoek, Namibia.
- (i) Abidjan Meeting on the Mobilization of Domestic Resources in Africa

- (j) Objectives and Structure and Review of Activities of ALF until February 1991
- (k) Objectives, Structure and Activities of ALF until December 1991
- (l) Each of the Farmhouse Dialogues held at the Forum Headquarters in Ota, Nigeria, resulted in a report that is widely being distributed within Nigeria and other West African countries. The following titles have appeared thus far:
  - Leadership for Development (13 – 14 May 1988)
  - Education for Development (2 – 4 December 1988)
  - Youth and Development (24 – 26 February 1989)
  - Labour and Development (7 – 9 July 1989)
  - Food and Development (27 – 30 July 1989)
  - Food and Development (27 – 30 July 1989)
  - Health for Development (1 – 3 September 1989)
  - Women in Development (17 – 19 November 1989)
  - Population and Development (21 – 24 June 1990)
  - Technology and Development (31 August – 2 September 1990)
  - Management and Development (15 – 17 June 1990)
  - Rural Development (20- 22 April 1990)
  - Culture and Development (2 – 4 February 1990)
  - The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) after the ECOWAS Military Observer Group of (ECOMOG) (22 November 1990).
  - Democratic Process In a Multi-Nationality (8 – 10 February 1991)
  - The Media in Democracy (15 – 17 March 1991)
  - Economic Democratisation (14 – 16 June 1991)
  - Law and Human Rights in Democracy (2 – 4 August 1991)
  - Poverty and Democracy (20 – 22 September 1991)
  - Religious Pluralism and Democracy (6 – 8 December 1991)
  - Traditional Institutions and Democracy (31 January – 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1992)
  - Democracy and Social Justice (13 – 15 March 1992)

A compilation of all Farmhouse Dialogues thus far was published in February 1991 in Nigeria under the title “Elements of Development” edited by Olusegun Obasanjo and Akin Mabogunje.

“Nigeria 2010 A.D. and Beyond: The Challenges of the Youth” is a publication containing the report on the Jaycees meeting on the future of Nigeria.

An ALF series on contemporary African leaders 1800 – 2000 is being prepared under the editorship of Prof. Tekena Tamuno, former Vice-Chancellor, University of Ibadan.

The international publishing house Taylor and Francis of the Crane Russak Group has already published four volumes on the results of Forum conferences.

## **FINANCIAL ASPECTS**

Until December 1991, the **Forum** had received generous financial contributions from the Government of **Japan**, the **United Nations Development Programme**, the **Carnegie Corporation of New York**, **Daewoo** Corporation of the Republic of Korea, the **World Bank**, the Governments of **Finland**, the **Netherlands** and **France**, Mr. Victor Mpoyo, the **Rockefeller** Foundation, New York, the **German Foundation for Development (DSE)** the **Friedrich-Naumann- Foundation** (Federal Republic of Germany) and the MacArthur Foundation.

**In Nigeria**, a number of private sector contributors have already extended financial assistance to the Forum. They include: **Tower Aluminium Nigeria Ltd.**, **Newswatch Communications**, **Guinness Nig. Ltd.**, **United Bank for Africa Ltd.**, **First City Merchant Bank Ltd.**, **Union Bank Nig. Ltd.**, **First Bank of Nig. Ltd.**, **SCOA Nig. Ltd.**, **Sir Mobolaji Bank Anthony**, **Chief Chris Ogunbanjo**, **Oba Dapo Tejuosho** and Chief Dr. S.A. Asabia. Additional contributions have been pledged and are expected to be received soon.

Interested Governments, organizations or individuals may provide funds either through a trust fund established with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) or through the Africa Leadership Foundation, Inc., New York, a not-for-profit organization exempt from (United States) Federal income tax under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of the United States.

## **COMMENTS ABOUT THE AFRICA LEADERSHIP FORUM**

“It is my sincere hope that the in depth analysis and exchange of views that took place during those meetings and those that will take place in future conferences will enhance Africa’s efforts to achieve faster economic recovery and accelerated development. I therefore wish to take this opportunity to wish the Forum great success in its deliberations.”

**Ali Hassan Mwinyi**

President of the United Republic of Tanzania

“...activities such as those of the Africa Leadership Forum are important in helping our governments in the examination of issues and strategies that would otherwise receive inadequate attention or overstretch, beyond practical limits, our existing capabilities.”

**Sam Nujoma**

President of the republic of Namibia

“The (CSSDCA) initiative raises our hopes and inspires our confidence in our capacity as Africans to work towards these most desirable and closely-linked goals of security, stability, cooperation and development.”

**Yoweri Kaguta Museveni**

President of Uganda

“I take pleasure in congratulating the ALF for the preponderant role it has been playing in raising these issues so crucial to the life of our continent and for its timely initiative of organising this Kampala Forum.”

**Joaquim Chissano**

President of Mozambique

“The Forum represents a unique African initiative to deal with a number of vexing problems that have plagued our continent and bedevilled African leaders and their development partners alike.”

**O.K.J. Masire**

President of Botswana

“(the ALF) is a body that was established with a genuine intention and conviction to assist in finding solutions to, among other things, problems and obstacles that are facing our continent.”

**Omar Hassan Ahmed el-Bashir**

President of Sudan

“Africa can go nowhere further from where the Continent is today without security, stability, development and cooperation in all its parts and at all levels of the life and work of its population.”

**Kenneth Kaunda**

President of Zambia

“The range of issues identified in the (Kampala) document reflects the aspirations of the Governments and peoples of Africa, and when the OAU Council of Ministers acts, I am confident that the international community will show its solidarity.”

**Michael Manley**

Prime Minister of Jamaica

“We feel quite rewarded for the efforts and money that have been devoted to this work when we see the attention that it has generated during the OAU Council of Ministers and the Summit of OAU Heads of State and Government.”

**William H. Draper III**

Administrator, United Nations Development Programme

“The CSSDCA is one of the most important initiatives originating in Africa this decade”

**Vivian Lowery Derryck**

President, Africa-American Institute