

Development model in crisis: refusal or renewal of development theories in Africa

The donors' model for Africa, commonly known as SAP, has been implemented since the mid 80s despite the existing local counter proposals to renew the development approaches, signifying the rejection of a *monolithic* idea which does not take into account the African political, sociological and cultural realities. For instance, the Lagos Plan of Action (1980) proposed by the former Organisation of the African Union at the initiative of Adedeji Adebayo, was ignored by the donors who, soon after, presented their proposal in the Berg Report (1981) entitled: *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*.

However, after three decades of repeated structural adjustments in Africa, has the Continent really adjusted? Why the expected outcomes have not been fully achieved?

Besides, it is important to take note of the gradual change in the positions of the multilateral institutions. This inflection was observed within a five-year medium term:

-1985: the debt syndrome and the need for implementation of IMF stabilisation policies, whereas the indebtedness ratios of Latin American and Asian countries in the 1970s were higher than those in Africa in the 1980s (ratio at least equal to 10);

-1989: considering that the social *demand-side* was unsustainable (Cornea, Stewart and allii, UNDP ...), the World Bank proposed to support policies exclusively centred on the management of global demand through long-term offer policies. Concurrently, the Baule Speech signified the reorientation of France's bilateral aid policies for the African countries, which were transformed into a European multilateral preference system. The representative democracy system proposed by France became the prerequisite for the provision of aid to the African countries. This Speech marked the beginning of national conferences and now gives the feeling that the countries are always in election campaign and the politicians are always looking for external support. Besides, internal corruption traps are looming and are exemplified by conflicts in public finance and by extreme centralisation of public expenditure and extra budgetary expenditure orders. Governments of national union formed by weak coalitions and entangled in attrition warfare make it difficult to implement efficient budgetary decisions in order to enhance growth and its distribution. Nevertheless within the American Government for instance, voices are being raised (Gcox) to advocate for Africans to be allowed to propose solutions for their Continent. The Africans have once again proposed endogenous solutions in the Abuja Treaty.

-1995: The Washington Consensus acknowledges the shortcomings of the proposed solutions. The idea of **governance in its broad sense** is overriding the simple conjunctural macroeconomic regulation; therefore governance involves taking into account **political and institutional factors** such as experimentation of western-styled representative democracy;

-1999-2005: the creed is the Millennium Development presented in the Blair Report for instance, with a recommendation on poverty eradication in order to avoid serious institutional breakdowns that are likely to disrupt the stability of the concerned countries and whose recurrences may have a regional dimension...

The African Union, CODESRIA, academic institutions..., to paraphrase a significant contribution: *Our future, Our Continent*, did not encourage theoretical/academic vacuum to prosper during these decades by adopting a passive attitude with regard to the donors' offensive. First of all what have been their various contributions including those assigned in NEPAD? Why not take into account the relatively old contributions on SAPs, including the sociological and historical aspects (Gunder Franck...)? Why did the donors, for instance, omit to say that Africans have not been more protectionists than the others with greater integration of their region in the global economy? **What are therefore the concrete proposals in order to concretely and effectively go beyond and supplement this paradigm imposed on Africa without falling in purely dualistic discourse or rhetoric?**

Easterley (2007) reiterated SAP failures but did not explicitly take into account the contributions made by African intellectuals and professionals preoccupied with the Continent's future. Therefore, there is need to review the local approaches and improve on them.

In fact, we have to admit that the failure of the development theories and practices since the mid 80s and the current SPA impasse resulted in poverty eradication plans with debatable contents, taking into consideration the PRSP outcomes. Likewise, since African economists and intellectuals were not heard or involved in research programmes on Africa, which were mostly imposed, or did not adequately respond to such programmes, what should be done now to ensure localization of the debate in our Continent by proposing effective alternative solutions?

In this regard, how to negotiate for instance, with the international organisations after having understood the importance of decoding their operating procedure and the strategic interests they are defending? In other words, why are geopolitical factors that may have discriminatory elements within the heterogeneous bloc of developing countries considered in the decision-making processes of the multilateral institutions? Why are some developing countries better negotiators than others? On this issue, new ideas may be considered (**Bowley, Bini Smaghi, 2006...**). **What for?** The aim is to demonstrate for instance that West Africa lacks bargaining powers that should be coordinated by a monitoring club prior to submitting concrete proposals that will eventually be accepted by the donors; this requires **entrism** capacity in the area of compounded interests. In fact, in some situations, the donors unconsciously ignore the African realities due to lack of proven and reliable information and consequently take erroneous decisions. In other words, why should Africa organise legitimately and constructively its resistance through implementation of a

monitoring club in order to ensure ownership of the knowledge networks and global culture...without being a passive actor with regard to decisions concerning it?

Therefore, the development of horizontal partnerships (Brazil-Africa ; India-Africa; China-Africa; Middle East-Africa...) seems very interesting especially with regard to delocalisation of training (including linguistics, entrepreneurship...), because it shifts the issue of training of the elites and their full use in order to reflect on development. Accordingly, in partnership with such countries that have financial capacities and independent funds, there are reasons for reducing the dependency of African countries on the multilateral institutions. **What are the potential costs and benefits that may result from the new financing modes promoting the South-South axis?** There are numerous financing sources and this entails a redefinition of the ownership modes of these resources based on the wide gap between local savings and investment needs. In other words, the objective is to control conditional aid and its consequences (technological gap, food dependency, acculturation...); one of these consequences is very important and has been identified by African authors **with facts and figures: *maintenance and acceleration of capital flight*, which ironically presents Africa as net capital exporter. How to review development policies by targeting food security for example? If the partners are not philanthropists, how to understand them, and how can Africa benefit from them in terms of financial, technological, human and trade capacity by developing strategic actions? The case of China, which is interested in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire and is providing means of being their special partner, should be considered!**

Likewise, we are aware that African politicians are more preoccupied with their social and political schedules, because they are concerned with their own re-election, nonetheless there is urgent need to make them understand the positive future of the Continent by ensuring training of the elites and the youths. Thus, how to develop strong **externality values** (have faith in Africa, development of entrenched and open African **culturality**...)? What is the importance of a long-term vision on development issues centred above all on African resources and positive values?

What structural reforms should be undertaken? For example, it may be premature for ECOWAS to move to **budget federalism** because this solution is more difficult than delegating **monetary power** to a *conservative* central bank with a view to ensuring low inflation rates. **What are the benefits and constraints of a federal budget? Besides, should monetary issues be related to the union of monetary regimes despite the achievements made in terms of monetary stability in the franc area? How to redesign a chart of competitive poles based on dynamic comparative advantages that go beyond the *complete specialisations or Ricardian theories* centred on some valorised raw materials on the global market and erratic prices? How to coordinate now the SAPs, management of the aid and debt and do away with disorganized management?**

Therefore, the issue concerns the structural reforms based on a long-term development vision in Africa. Ultimately, it is centred on the following items with a view to overcoming *Maldevelopment*:

- Previous and new contributions on development in Africa, with special emphasis on the last three decades;
- Possible ways to improve on these contributions;
- The strategic interests of the various actors in Africa, the discriminatory attitude of the multilateral institutions including WTO, the Chinese determination to establish in Africa, the European determination to safeguard the *status quo* (and policy);
- The place and significance of African economic intelligence in trade, technology and financial diversification and the creation of adequate human capital in order to break the vicious cycle of conditional aid.