

ISSN 0856-6291

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH FOUNDATION  
(ESRF)



SWEDISH POLICY TOWARDS  
AFRICA FOR THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY:  
NEW PARTNERSHIP CHALLENGES  
FOR AFRICA

A report of a lecture given  
by Sten Rylander

Policy Dialogue Series No. 12

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH FOUNDATION  
(ESRF)

**SWEDISH POLICY TOWARDS  
AFRICA FOR THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY:  
NEW PARTNERSHIP CHALLENGES  
FOR AFRICA**

**A report of a lecture given  
by Sten Rylander**

This is a report of a public lecture given by Mr. Sten Rylander, Assistant Director General and  
Head of the Africa Department of the Swedish International Development Cooperation  
Agency (Sida), at the ESRF Conference Hall  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 14 May 1998

Policy Dialogue Series No. 12

1998

**SWEDISH POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA FOR THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY  
NEW PARTNERSHIP CHALLENGES FOR AFRICA**

A report of a lecture given by Sten Rylander

Published by: Economic and Social Research Foundation  
P.O. Box 31226 • 51 Uporoto Street  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

© 1998, Economic and Social Research Foundation

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS .....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	vi
PREFACE .....	vii
<b>1.0 A SYNOPSIS OF MR. RYLANDER'S LECTURE.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Sweden is Developing a New Development Policy for Africa..	1
1.2 The New Policy Aims at Enabling Developing Countries Realise their Potential .....	1
1.3 Africa: Reject Conditionalities/Development Prescriptions .....	1
1.4 Promotion of Trade and Investment, and the Removal of Trade Barriers High on Agenda.....	2
1.5 Peace and Stability Central to Development .....	2
1.6 New Policy Addresses Africa's Colossal External Debt: Caused by Poor Aid Coordination? .....	3
1.7 Primary and Higher Education, and Research Activities: Part of Requisite Skill Development .....	3
1.8 Roundtable Discussions Involving Civil Society and NGOs Pertinent .....	3
1.9 New Policy to also Empower Women: Women Key to Development .....	3

<b>2.0</b>	<b>DISCUSSIONS.....</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1	The Impact of Global Trading and Financial Systems on Africa's Development Should be Known .....	4
2.2	An Evaluation of the Impact of Aid Pertinent: About 80% of Aid Returns to Donor Countries? .....	4
2.3	Development Conditionalities Hamper the Attainment of Sustainable Development .....	4
2.4	Uniform Assistance Strategies will Make Implementation Easier .....	5
2.5	Measures to Safeguard and Promote Africa's Interests in View of WTO Essential .....	5
2.6	A Conducive Domestic and Global Environment Imperative for Africa's Development .....	6
2.7	Technological Development Programmes Important (e.g. in "Electronic Commerce") .....	6
2.8	Let the Dialogue Continue .....	7
	<b>APPENDIX.....</b>	<b>8</b>

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ESRF	Economic and Social Research Foundation
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

## **PREFACE**

On 14 May 1998, the Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF) organized a public lecture on "Swedish Policy Towards Africa for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century". The lecture, which focused on "New Partnership Challenges for Africa", was delivered by Mr. Sten Rylander, the Assistant Director General and Head of the Africa Department of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). Mr. Rylander's service in Africa include having been Sweden's Ambassador to Namibia and Angola.

Chaired by Professor Samuel Wangwe, the Executive Director of the ESRF, the event was attended by members of the public and private sectors, representatives of donor agencies, the diplomatic corps and members of the public. Mr. Charles Mutalemwa, Deputy Permanent Secretary, Planning Commission was the Discussant.

## **1.0 A SYNOPSIS OF MR. RYLANDER'S LECTURE**

*Mr. Sten Rylander, Assistant Director General and Head of the Africa Department at the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) started off by intimating that Sweden was evolving a new development policy for Africa.*

### **1.1 Sweden Developing a New Development Policy for Africa**

Sweden was developing a new development policy for Africa in view of present globalization trends. Such policy places emphasis on cooperation between Sweden and Africa based on equality and the furtherance of the interests of both sides. This policy seeks to do away with the donor-recipient attitude.

### **1.2 The New Policy Aims at Enabling Developing Countries Realise their Potential**

The need to support the development of the developing countries, and particularly Africa, is central to the new policy. Assistance is aimed at enabling African countries realize their economic and political potentials in improving the living standards of their people while at the same time opening up to the outside world.

### **1.3 Africa: Reject Conditionalities/Development Prescriptions**

It is time African countries started to reject conditionalities or development prescriptions that do not address their development needs. African countries should take their destiny in their own hands. This is all the more important now and the failure of earlier programmes could partly be attributed to their having been wrong founded by failing to reflect African needs.



Furthermore, it was imperative for African leaders to insist on their right to formulate programmes of their choice, focusing on attaining growth or raising the standards of living of their people. African leaders should emulate Eritrea's and Uganda's leadership in setting conditions for programmes and projects by rejecting prescriptions for development from donors. This is a necessary prerequisite for attaining sustainable development. Globalization trends sweeping through Africa call for the design of new approaches so as to meet Africa's needs.

#### **1.4 Promotion of Trade and Investment, and Removal of Trade Barriers High on Agenda**

The new policy goes beyond the needs of African governments. It also delves into matters such as the promotion of trade and investment in an effort to utilize the existing potential of many African markets. Trade barriers on goods from Africa in the global market that have had a hand in limiting Africa's economic growth must also be addressed. The new policy which is a new generation of genuine partnership is intended to help create greater transparency in all dealings. It will further enable the public to have control of the entire development process which will in turn help in changing the life opportunities of the poor.

#### **1.5 Peace and Stability Central to Development**

Realizing the essence of peace and stability for meaningful development, the new policy is also geared to fully supporting international efforts to strengthen the capacities of African countries to prevent and manage conflicts in their respective regions.

## **1.6 New Policy Addresses Africa's Colossal External Debt: Caused by Poor Aid Coordination?**

One area that the policy also seeks to address is the colossal external debt burden on Africa which is partly the result of poor aid coordination on the part of international development partners. There is need to campaign for debt relief and at the same time support moves for more bilateral and multilateral support for economic reforms aimed at realizing economic and social growth in Africa.

## **1.7 Primary and Higher Education, and Research Activities part of Requisite Skill Development**

Other areas earmarked for Swedish support, include primary and higher education as well as research activities. Indeed, partnership can only be realized by first developing the skills and institutions of the weaker partner.

## **1.8 Roundtable Discussions involving Civil Society and NGOs Pertinent**

African governments should invite the participation of their respective communities including civil societies, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the private sector in deciding on the kind of development partnership aid should emulate instead of entrusting these negotiations to only a few people. New partnerships should be people-centred.

## **1.9 New Policy to also Empower Women: Women Key to Development**

Women should also be empowered as a way of eradicating poverty in Africa. They should also have access to a share of the resources, land rights and credit facilities as investment in women is widely believed to be a key to the development of many African countries.

## **2.0 DISCUSSIONS**

*The main Discussant, Mr. Charles Mutalemwa, Deputy Permanent Secretary, Planning Commission had a few comments, as had some members of the audience. The gist of their comments and various contributions follows below.*

### **2.1 The Impact of Global Trading and Financial Systems on Africa's Development Should be Known**

There is need to understand how Africa should tackle the impact of increasing globalization of trade and financial systems. At present, most sub-Saharan African countries have not benefited from globalization. In other words, Africa has been marginalized.

### **2.2 An Evaluation of the Impact of Aid Pertinent: About 80% of Aid Returns to Donor Countries?**

There is an urgent need for an evaluation of the aid so far received by African countries to determine its effectiveness. Genuine partnership with African countries should begin with the scrapping off of the huge debt. Aid should be replaced by investment. Furthermore, international development partners should check for aid flight as almost 80% of the supposed aid has found its way back to the donor countries.

### **2.3 Development Conditionalities Hamper the Attainment of Sustainable Development**

It is essential that programmes intended to promote sustainable development (in its broad sense of social development, sustained economic development and economic growth) in Africa are strengthened. Programmes should receive

---

adequate support by the concerned development partners. One of the guiding principles should be that cooperation and support in this field, like in others, is not made difficult by the imposition of conditionalities.

#### **2.4 Uniform Assistance Strategies will Make Implementation Easier**

New contractual standards that will focus on the critical factors for success must be emphasized as a means of avoiding backtracking by either partner -- a fact that has contributed to the failure of most programmes in the past. International development partners should put into place sound and carefully thought-out development policies for African countries. On this ground, there is need for international development partners to have uniform assistance strategies for developing countries. The present chaotic situation can largely be attributed to this lack of uniformity which has in turn made it difficult for the recipients of aid to conform to all the requirements prescribed by each donor and implement them efficiently.

#### **2.5 Measures to Safeguard and Promote Africa's Interests in View of WTO Essential**

It was further observed that there were new areas such as the issues under the World Trade Organization (WTO) arrangements and the establishment of the new currency system in the European Union (EU) that needed to be addressed. These were areas where it was essential for African countries to build capacities and launch relevant measures to safeguard and promote their development interests.

## **2.6 A Conducive Domestic and Global Environment Imperative for Africa's Development**

With globalization, however, most benefits have gone to developed countries. It is critically important for development efforts targeting Africa to create a conducive domestic environment which is fully supported by a favourable global/external environment. This will allow for the strengthening and sustenance of the development process in African countries. A supportive external environment would entail the tackling of several interrelated issues including the improvement of terms of trade for African exports as well as an increase in commodity earnings. Another area is the expansion of market access opportunities and the diversification of trade for both traditional and non-traditional exports of African countries through safeguards and enhanced modalities for the full utilization of trade preferences available to the countries.

## **2.7 Technological Development Programmes Important (e.g. in "Electronic Commerce")**

Over and above educational development, emphasis should be placed on the acceleration of technological development programmes of African countries with the adequate support of bilateral and multilateral sources, including the relevant organs of the United Nations Organization (UN). Such a move, it was observed, would lead to a reduction in the current technological gap between Africa and the rest of the world and at the same time allow for an increase in the benefits of the technology process at the global level. High priority should be accorded to the promotion of what was called "electronic commerce" programmes in Africa.

## **2.8 Let the Dialogue Continue**

Dialogue should be continued in order to further articulate and increase the momentum of implementing key or emerging themes in development cooperation. These include, to name a few areas, those that have been the subject of the United Nations Conference follow-up programmes e.g., United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD IX), Women and Development; Human Settlements; HIV/AIDS; Environment and Development and, the Least Developed Countries' Programme as well as programmes aimed at promoting South-South Cooperation in the trade, finance, industry and other sectors.

## APPENDIX

### New Partnership Challenges in Africa

Open Lecture, Hosted by ESRF,  
ESRF Conference Hall, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania  
14 May 1998

by Mr. Sten Rylander  
Assistant Director General, Swedish International Development  
Cooperation Agency (Sida)

Let me first of all thank you for the invitation to make a lecture at the Economic and Social Research Foundation. I have heard about ESRF a lot and I have met Professor Wangwe a few times in different places outside of Tanzania. Sida is also cooperating with ESRF: we are cofinancing a few regional studies where ESRF is involved on the Tanzanian side. As Ambassador designate to this country I hope for more interaction in the future. My experience is that institutions of this kind can play a very important strategic role: not only by helping to build up and stimulate a dynamic research environment, but also-and maybe more importantly - by carrying out policy relevant and analytical studies from a more independent perspective; studies which can be drawn upon by both the Government and the international development cooperation partner community.

I have chosen to speak about "New Partnership Challenges in Africa". And I am doing this against the background of the development - over the last year and a half - of a new Swedish Africa policy. This policy - which is briefly summarised in this leaflet produced by our Ministry for Foreign Affairs and which will be available soon in full translation is now before our Parliament and will guide our future interactions with Africa in all spheres.

The upshot to the Swedish initiative was the effects of globalization and the changes in Africa which - as we see it - demand new responses and new approaches. Across the continent more open and more demanding societies are shaping the new Africa. A sovereign, self-reliant and democratic Africa is emerging. This call for a new generation of genuine partnership and for stronger common efforts to re-link Africa with the globalizing world: all based on the notion that the Africans should become the subjects of their own destiny and not the object of somebody else's design.

African societies are of course acutely aware of the choices they face. But what about the outside world? Are we listening and responding? Now that many countries are again showing substantial economic growth, what is required to sustain and increase that growth, make it really change the life opportunities of the poor and create stronger links between African private business with the international economy? How can aid dependency be broken, the structural adjustment programs be superseded, and sustainable modes of cooperation be shaped? The overriding challenge for Africa's partners at this stage is to try hard to come up with a coherent response to the positive changes unfolding on the continent. An essential part of that challenge is that such responses must intrinsically build on the actions taken and answers given by African societies. They should not - as has been the case so often in the past - be based on strategies devised in "donor capitals" alone. More than ever, Africa's friends need to listen and reflect on what is actually said and done in Africa.

We have been through a long process in developing our **new Africa policy**. I submit that we listened very carefully to Africa and to Africans. Most background documents were produced by Africans. Two major conferences with very strong African participation, also from Tanzania-from Governments, opposition parties, civil society, NGOs etc. - were held in Abidjan and in



Stockholm last year. Of course we have not come up with the final answers. But we have certainly come a long way in trying to formulate a more coherent response to the emerging new Africa. Furthermore I do not hesitate to suggest that we are mentally prepared and ready to leave old habits and practices behind in facing up to the new challenges. Old donor/recipient-oriented attitudes have no real place in the new policy. Words like "donors", "recipients" and "aid" will give way to partners and development cooperation. And we will do our level best to adapt our own rules and procedures to a modern, partnership-based cooperation under African control. One manifestation of this preparedness is Sida's mission statement, "Sida Looks Forward - A Programme for Global Development", which is available to you here.

As I already indicated the new mandate will guide Swedish policy into the new century, not just on development cooperation; it is an integrated policy covering political cooperation, trade and investment and broad societal contacts. The following three **guiding ideas** have emerged:

- *change under African democratic control*
- *space and respect for African voices in the world and*
- *long-term, broad-based relations between our societies.*

Let me emphasize that although development cooperation and assistance is far from the only important element in a coherent response it will still be vital, as we see it, over the next few years, not least in the continued efforts to eradicate poverty. We do know that it can be effective, even decisive in many situations. That is why the rapidly falling aid volumes that have been a feature of the last decade are so disturbing and irrational.

Hence - to prove that we are serious - Sweden will increase its development assistance by some 25 percent in the four years to 2001.

There is no time on this occasion to go into the details of our new policy. What I would like to do, however, is to sketch out some of the more general principles which we think could back up a new partnership-based cooperation; dealing with both ethics/quality and methodology/modalities. Some of you may recognize these principles from an article by our Secretary of State in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Mr Mats Karlsson, reproduced in one of the Tanzanian newspapers a few weeks ago.

Today everybody speaks about partnership, but what does it actually mean? When it comes to the **qualitative aspects** we believe that the following five aspects are crucial:

1. *A subject-to-subject attitude.* There is a need for real changes and for a new mentality. No partnership can thrive or survive without full respect for the other partner.
2. *Being explicit about values.* You cannot engage in a true partnership without sharing values at the outset.
3. *Transparency in interests.* Even if interests diverge-and they may for no bad reason - common ground can be found and deals be made.
4. *Clear contractual standards.* New contractual relationships should focus on the critical factors for success and avoid the plethora of conditionalities that today bedevils development cooperation. But then there should be no backtracking by either party. African civil society tells us clearly that indulging reluctant or corruption - afflicted governments is just another form of paternalism. "Never expect less of an African partner than what you expect of yourself", insists Angela Ofori-Atta, a Ghanaian academic who took active part in our Africa policy exercise.

5. *Equality of capacity.* Both parties need to be in equal command of all the issues that go into the partnership contract. The aid relationship as we know it may be inherently unequal-one partner has money, the other does not - but you can have and essentially must have equality in the capacity to analyse the terms of the contract. In a development-partnership, that capacity has to be exercised broadly in society.

These partnership qualities need to be made more explicit i.e., by developing a code of conduct, so that clear judgements can be made how we proceed with a new partnership-based cooperation model. The Nordic-Tanzanian partnership agreement from 1996 contains an embryo to such a code of conduct and could be developed further.

A code of conduct on ethics/qualities could further provide a solid basis for the new partnership modalities under strong country leadership that are so desperately needed in today's international development cooperation. The World Bank's SPA, the EU-ACP Lomé Convention, the UN system-wide initiative for Africa, the consultative groups, round-tables and sectoral programs - all need a new footing through country-led coordination.

When it comes to partnership **modalities and methodology** we favour the following changes:

1. *Country leadership.* This is of vital importance and could be manifested by means of for example, holding consultative group meetings to coordinate development cooperation partners in the capitals of most countries, as was done here in Dar es Salaam in December of last year. In between there should be regular local coordination meetings chaired by government authorities.

2. *Outreach and respect for local democratic processes:* This crucial element has often been lacking in the past when structural adjustment deals were sometimes made with only a few key economic policy officials involved. If there is to be a new partnership era there must be respect for open political debate, the role of parliament, consultation with the private sector and with the civil society. This may be a particular challenge for Tanzania with its long one-party-state legacy; the on-going debate on the role of the civil society and the NGOs is a good indication of the process that is now taking place.

3. *Transparency of principles.* The code of conduct for partnership qualities should be translated into local terms and be adapted, if necessary, to country-specific situations. Again Tanzania is a good case in point. The 1996 Nordic-Tanzanian agreement on partnership principles did develop into something that became relevant for the whole community of development cooperation partners. Let us build further on this major achievement.

4. *Assistance pooling and sectoral approaches.* During the last couple of years we have heard a lot about sector investment programs, sector wide approaches and the need for improved sector coordination under strong host country leadership. Efforts are being made in this direction but the pace seems to be slow. There is definitely room for more determined action and faster progress. Here in Tanzania, for instance, it is my hope that the Tanzanian government will soon finalise the on-going negotiations on the terms of support to education with a lead set of cooperation partners - including Sweden/Sida. Additional partners should then basically not have to do more than write a check. Financial control, follow-up and evaluation procedures must be acceptable and valid for all cooperation partners. A precondition is that all partners entertain the basic idea of flexibility, e.g. by refraining from their own little flags and their own specific procedures.

5. *Success incentives.* Good performance must be rewarded. As we see it, there has been too much acceptance of bad policies and slack implementation in the past. But there should no longer be dominant outside powers who chose whom to favour. The rewards should be applied in accordance with objective and transparent criteria established by the two partners together.

6. *National capacity.* Today, there is a lot of capacity to be found locally or regionally in Africa. It is high time for all development cooperation partners to realize this, e.g. by using more local consultants rather than insisting on their own people financed through expensive so-called technical assistance. Using and building capacity should be a fundamental element in any genuine partnership. The aim should be for a capacity revolution that in the end will trigger a self-reliant democratic development. Of course the ESRF and the University of Dar es Salaam - as well as cooperation generally in the field of education - have key roles to play in this capacity-building process.

7. *Coherence.* This important word has taken on so much added weight recently, not least in connection with the post-Lomé discussions. And it contains so many different issues: trade, market access, debt, investments, peace and security, environment, migration, global economic integration etc. The idea is that we as reliable partners should have coherent approaches to our African counterparts, i.e. not saying one (maybe positive) thing as a nice and flexible "donor", and another (not so forthcoming) thing when it comes to, for instance, market access and debt relief. What we note is that lip-service is being paid at high profile political moments and that much more could be done in practice. It is in the African interest to force these coherence issues high on the development, cooperation agendas.

Let me at this point refer to some recent discussions we had in Washington D.C. in connection with Sida's annual consultations with the World Bank.

These discussions - which on the Bank side involved, *inter alia*, Sven Sandström, Callisto Madavo, Jean-Louis Sarbib, James Adams and Nawal Kamel - centered a lot around the urgent need for a new partnership based approach to development cooperation and for some bold practical action in a few interested African countries. Uganda and Tanzania were specifically mentioned in this regard. In the case of Tanzania reference was made to the Nordic-Tanzanian partnership agreement and the broader Helleiner process that followed after that.

It is obvious that some radical rethinking is going on presently within the World Bank. Behind this process is, *inter alia*, the new Partnership Office, headed by Nawal Kamel and supported by the Bank's top management which is now preparing a paper on partnership-based cooperation for discussion in the Board a few months from now. One idea is to promote the notion of one country-owned and country-led development strategy, worked out in consultation with all relevant stakeholders, including the private sector and the civil society; a strategy behind which all participating development partners could rally. Thus it would not be necessary for all of us to engage in our own independent strategy exercises. Other ideas are to cement the practices of holding consultative group meetings in host country capitals and to push forward with sector-wide approaches with a clearer division of labour between the partners concerned.

It was suggested that Uganda and Tanzania might be candidates for some bold action along these lines. Certainly Sweden and Sida would be a keen bilateral partner in such pilot exercises. Last week in Uganda we tried - together with the Ugandan government - to pave the way for a more consolidated support from like-minded partners to the implementation of Uganda's new Poverty eradication Action Plan (PEAP). Maybe something similar could be developed so in Tanzania.

A key question, as I see it, is the need for a strong and determined leadership. In order for partners to be able to play a constructive and supportive role the host country - represented by both the government and other important stakeholders outside of government - must be in the position to set the stage and the development agenda. And it must have the courage to say no sometimes to donor-initiated proposals and to partners who are trying to impose their views. When necessary it should act with some toughness against cooperating partners who are falling out of line. As for Tanzania the real challenge is for both government and its development cooperation partners to steer the process away from the aid dependency syndrome which has had such destructive and demoralizing influences during the last few years.

Just a few weeks ago - on 28 April 1998 - our Secretary of State Mr. Mats Karlsson was invited to deliver the opening address at the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the UN Economic Committee for Africa (ECA) in Addis Ababa. The title of his address was "A Gender Revolution for an African Renaissance". I will convey a few central themes from that speech on this occasion; both because I think it is highly relevant to the Tanzanian situation and that it represents a very important part of the new partnership challenges as we see them.

One important background is the conference which took place in Stockholm in June last year. More than 100 Africans participated - including Vice Presidents Thabo Mbeki and Speciosa Kazibwe from South Africa and Uganda and the now President of Botswana Festus Mogae - 40% of whom were women. These women expressed strong anger over what they referred to as "gender apartheid" still remaining in Africa. A second important background is the increasing realization that the development job - whether it is in the North or in the South - will not and can not be finished by the empowerment of women, unless it is accompanied at the same time by transforming the self-understanding among men. Their relations with women, with children, and indeed with other men, needs fundamental change.

It is true that many men today understand the gender perspectives much better and also lend their support to women's equal rights. But this understanding needs to be taken a step further by linking gender awareness on the one hand with poverty eradication and democratization on the other.

We should know by now that poverty has a feminine face. The mounting evidence is overwhelming. But to simply say that if we fight poverty we will help a lot of women is not enough. It should be turned around: it is by empowering women that we will have a chance to eradicate poverty. They need to have their full share of power over the local resources, get their land rights and get access to credit - after all their repayment record is much safer. Their choices in risk assessment and time allocation makes or breaks the efficient link between micro and macro strategies. And women should not have to waste intellectual and emotional energy on men in their lives who do not take full family responsibility. Thus investing in women, and women's investment, is indeed the key to development not just the other way around.

And as with the fight against poverty, so with the fight for full political human rights. It is not just the case that more democracy will lead to empowerment of women. Again it should be turned around: it is when women organize that a new democratic culture will emerge.

Women usually do not partake in the corrupt or near corrupt back-scratching that bedevils markets in Africa and world-wide. The emerging market economies are vulnerable to being captured by elites, old or new, political, military, clan or business buddy - but few of them women. That is why women in power are sometimes perceived as an awkward, even threatening phenomenon. The alternative to captured markets are social market. Women are better at that - that is a safe generalization. So female power is an investment in more efficient social markets.



Women may often choose to seek voice organizations of their own. When these organizations gather enough strength they become a political factor in civil society. With more and more women organized, African politics is not likely to be the same again. It will be a measure of the maturity of the emerging African democracies to see how they allow space and accommodate these new actors. - As far as Tanzania goes, it seems to me that this test is unfolding right now, centering around the handling of the BAWATA affair. For some of us, close development partners to Tanzania, it is indeed difficult to comprehend that laws from as far back as 1954 - at the time introduced to make life difficult for Nyerere and other pioneers in their fight for national independence - are now being used against BAWATA and similar organizations.

The UN Secretary General Mr. Kofi Annan is presently visiting East Africa, including Tanzania, and for that reason I had intended to say something about Africa and the UN. Time is short, however, and I need to be very brief. We only need to read the newspapers during the last few days to get the feeling of growing African disappointment with the United Nations. Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo are the cases in point. It is true that the international system has failed Africa more than once. And without strengthening it might do so again. Nevertheless it is our strong hope that Africans today - as they now reaffirm their responsibility for good governance in their own countries - also care for the global system. Only multilateralism offers any insurance against the vagaries of power, political or economic. Small countries like Sweden and Tanzania can work closely together to help strengthen multilateralism and push through the reforms - as proposed by Secretary General Kofi Annan - which will give the UN new capabilities.

I should add that we also hope for Tanzanian support in assuring adequate, predictable and equitably shared financing of the multilateral system. A few weeks ago in New York, as the UN and Bretton Woods system got together for the first joint session since their founding some 50 years ago, Sweden made

clear its ambitions to focus on the overall development finance issues. In the project "Development Finance 2000" we will seek a new consensus on the financing of the UN, the multilateral development banks and overall global public services. This - we believe - is particularly relevant in an African context and we would welcome alliances with African countries, including Tanzania. - Let me also add that we warmly welcomed the special report of the UN Secretary General on "The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa" which was presented recently. This report should be given immediate response; Sweden endorses it and, as a member of the UN Security Council, will want to see it shape future action.

I would like to end my intervention by again referring to Angela Ofori-Atta from Ghana. For our conference in Abidjan last year she wrote a perceptive and challenging letter, addressed to "Dear little brother Sweden"; a letter which since then has been quoted many times. At the very end she writes:

"So what is it I am saying, my dear little brother Sweden? Basically that we get to know each other better, get to like and respect each other more, work out a good partnership based on transparency of agenda, mutuality of need and build this on egalitarian principles.

You do not need to come as a helper, only as a partner. This your people can understand and respect, and my people will applaud. We will welcome you and your expressed self interests. We will take, fully acknowledging the mutuality of the benefits we reap from each other."