

The New Partnership for Africa's Development:

ARE AFRICAN CHILDREN THE NEW HUMAN
CAPITAL FOR TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT?

A discussion paper by Save the Children Canada
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

“The extent and severity of global poverty is not just a global financial and economic crisis. It is a global moral and ethical crisis that calls for more than declarations of intent and protracted negotiations. It calls for confronting the true deficit. Not trade deficits or budget deficits, but rather it is the deficit in political will that is our biggest obstacle.”

Kofi Annan
United Nations Secretary General
Address to the Economic and Social Council
Geneva
1999

Having the G8 focus on Africa is a welcome initiative, providing an excellent opportunity to focus on finding African-led solutions to the continent’s challenges. The success of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), its African designers note, will “depend on it being owned by African people united in their diversity.” Yet, it remains unknown to roughly 51% of Africa’s population: children. What is even more disturbing is that NEPAD adopts measures that would further marginalize African children and with it, the future possibility of a strong and sustainable Africa.

It is ironic that children have been largely forgotten in this new partnership for Africa, given that they are both major contributors to the economy and society, and major stakeholders of its future. Today one in three African children aged five to 14 are economically active, yet make less than a dollar a day¹. More children are heading households than ever before due to AIDS and conflict. Children under 15 have taken up arms in ten African countries². Cheap child labour, child trafficking, displacement and hazardous work lies beneath many of the continent’s exports. Surely if children can fight wars, smuggle diamonds, earn an income, and care for dying parents, they deserve a say in what plans are developed for their continent’s future. Indeed, it is their right to be heard.

The authors of NEPAD, African leaders and G8 Heads of State must take a fresh look at children. We encourage them to recognize that:

- Children are more than passive recipients of aid and development
- Children are key stakeholders in the current and future formulation of Africa
- Children’s needs are distinct and cannot be subsumed under those of adults
- Children are not a homogenous group of people
- A stronger agenda for children’s survival, development, protection and participation is required before NEPAD can be pushed forward.

¹ International Labour Office- International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor, “Every Child Counts: New Global Estimates on Child Labor”, Geneva, April 2002

² according to estimates from the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers

We ask that Africa's leaders and leaders of the G8 countries make three commitments to African children.

1. **Involve Africa's children.** Create spaces for children to provide meaningful input into plans related to governance, economy, peace and security, sectoral development. Prepare child friendly versions of materials to ensure meaningful participation. Seek children's involvement in formal review and monitoring mechanisms to hold Governments accountable.
2. **Protect Africa's children.** While pursuing NEPAD's agenda for economic growth, peace, and good governance, commit to ensuring children will be protected from harmful work, sexual exploitation, violence, traffickers, and other violations of their rights. Build solid mechanisms for corporate social responsibility. Strengthen protection and rehabilitation support systems for children in war. Stop the trade in arms and weapons to Africa. Undertake child-impact studies prior to investing in economic policies or infrastructure development projects.
3. **Invest in Africa's children.** Follow-up on commitments previously made regarding access to health and education. Ensure quality education, leadership training and vocational training for all children, include those who are often considered marginalized. Provide young people with opportunities for small business development, credit and appropriate technologies. Invest heavily in the fight against HIV/AIDS and recognize and support children in the battle against this disease.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

New Partnership For Africa's Development (NEPAD) aims to define Africa's development for the 21st century "based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction" through "participatory processes involving Africans." Its success, the African designers of NEPAD note, will "depend on it being owned by African people united in their diversity." Yet, it remains unknown to roughly 51% of Africa's population: children. African children have played no role in its conception, design, formulation and ownership. What is even more disturbing is that NEPAD adopts measures that would further marginalize African children and with it, the future possibility of a strong and sustainable Africa.

African children are not only major stakeholders in the future of Africa - because the future depends on them - they are also key contributors to the current economic and social development of the continent.

- 48 million African children (one in three African children) between the ages of five to 14 are economically active in the agricultural, manufacturing, extractive and/or domestic sectors, producing goods and service consumed domestically and internationally³.
- Millions of African children are assuming care and support of families due to HIV/AIDS, and other illness and deaths caused by war and conflict. UNAIDS estimates that 11.3 millions African children have lost one or both parents to HIV/AIDS.
- Hundreds of African children play decisive roles in local governance issues, attracting millions of donor aid dollars in social investments and lobbying domestically for accountability, and democratic and stable environments.
- African children have worked with civil society groups on scores of projects facilitating access to quality education, health, housing, food, and water for community youth members which not only ensures lives, but also ensures Africa's sustainable growth.

Leaving African children out of NEPAD's "participatory process" would not only suggest that African leaders fail to recognize the current contributions made by African children in the development of its economies, but also fail to extend to African children equal rights to peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and sound economic management. Further, the exclusion of children would also suggest denying them an equal say in identifying sectoral priorities in the eradication of poverty and the improvement of the standard of living for every African. With NEPAD marginalizing 51% of the total population of Africa, it would seem that partnership in the new development program is not aimed at African self-reliance achieved through rights or participatory inclusive democracy of all. Rather, it suggests that African productivity will rely on the continent's poor and vulnerable who have increasingly become new commodities to be traded and trafficked in global markets, which insist on rapid rates of economic growth.

³ ILO-IPEC, International Labour Office- International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor, "Every Child Counts: New Global Estimates on Child Labor", Geneva, April 2002

In a world of increasing interdependence, G8 leaders can facilitate a process where all African leaders pursue productivity and growth based on eradication of child poverty, child trafficking, children living in conflict zones and children exposed to diseases. This is of critical importance given that:

- 48 million children, aged five to 14 years who work annually receive less than a dollar day for their labour; 381,000 children who are employed in the worst forms of child labour often cannot rely on being paid⁴;
- 200,000 African children are trafficked across borders - most of them are seeking employment⁵. While boys are trafficked for forced labour in commercial farming, petty crimes and drug trade, girls are trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation and domestic service.
- 100 million Africans (mostly children) are affected by conflict and war, and 10 million are currently displaced⁶;
- 2.5 million children under the age of 15 years are living with HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS). Nine out of ten of the worlds' AIDS orphans are African⁷. Tuberculosis rates among African children have soared and one million African children die of malaria annually.

NEPAD does not address these trends because it does not factor children's well being into its paradigm of sustainable development and economic growth, or for that matter, poverty reduction strategies.

2.0 THE COST OF LEAVING CHILDREN OUT OF NEPAD

The G8 meeting on Africa comes on the tails of the United Nations Special Session on Children held in New York in May, 2002. The UN Special Session on Children provided an excellent opportunity for world leaders to recognize the importance and value-added of promoting genuine child participation in a major world conference. The voices of child soldiers, child sex workers, youth leaders and children's parliamentarians from around the world were not only heard, but were influential in drafting the final agreements. A series of preparatory meetings were held in each continent for young people and adults alike, while child friendly versions of official documents were drafted, translated and distributed around the world for debate.

Clearly the economic policies, development agenda and plan of action of NEPAD could have just as great an impact on children's lives as the United Nations Special Session on Children's outcome document, entitled "A World Fit for Children". Why not then, include children both in its design, implementation, and monitoring of its plans of action?

⁴ ILO-IPEC, International Labour Office- International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor, "Every Child Counts: New Global Estimates on Child Labor", Geneva, April 2002

⁵ *ibid*

⁶ OXFAM Briefing paper, "Africa at the Crossroads- Time to Deliver", 2002

⁷ International Coalition on AIDS and Development, "Children Affected by HIV and AIDS: Selected Policy and Programming Issues, Ottawa, August 2001

2.1 The Costs to Peace, Security and Development

How serious a threat to NEPAD's Africa is the continuous marginalization of African children? If a direct correlation exists between peace and stability in the continent and local/foreign investment, then NEPAD's Africa is in serious trouble of having its \$64 billion dollar per year development program financed. The neglect of African children by some African leaders has had disastrous effects on peace and stability. This is evident in the diamond trade and child soldiers in Sierra Leone, the cocoa farms and child workers in Ivory Coast, and/or the coltan mines and child sex worker in Democratic Republic of Congo. African children are not only the targets of exploitation and abuse; they are also used by some adults to perpetrate brutal violence and murders. The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers estimates that children 15 and younger are currently engaged in war in ten African countries and are involved in active military duty in others.

As more and more children are drawn into illegal trafficking in small arms, drugs and other merchandise that constitute war economies, they will increasingly become accustomed to the thinking that war becomes a justifiable mechanism to resolve inequalities. War deepens inequalities allowing for violence against women and girls; the use of rape as a tool of domination and eventually the separation and displacement of very young children from their families. War also increases the growing poverty of African children and their families, which further fuels instability and conflict. According to the World Bank estimates, in 1988, 217 million Africans (mostly women and children) lived on less than a dollar a day. Ten years later, this number had increased to 302 million. By 2015, the World Bank predicts that 360 million Africans (40% of the total population) will still be struggling to survive on less than a dollar a day. With this bleak vision for the future, more and more African children are drawn into the illegal trade of valuable minerals and natural resources to survive. The illegal trade contributes to the proliferation of war economies and the growth of corrupt practices, which in turn further sparks instability and conflict.

2.2 The Economic Costs

To invest in African children and to attract investment into Africa, NEPAD needs to factor them into its long-term objective, mainstream their needs in all activities of development, assess age inequalities, discrimination, and the other related oppressions that lie unacknowledged in the NEPAD plan. NEPAD needs to make clear at the outset that its targeted GDP growth rate of above 7% per annum for the next 15 years and its commitment to meet previously agreed upon International Development Goals will not be achieved through the exploitation and abuse of any its children.

2.3 The Costs to Good Governance and Rights

For NEPAD to uphold its commitment to global standards of democracy and good governance, it needs to not only include African children in its short and long-term design, but also be accountable to this growing segment of Africa's population. To include African children in NEPAD requires four guiding principles derived from the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)- a convention that all African and G8 countries have ratified, except US and Somalia. These principles

provide a rights framework as clearly defined in International Human Rights Law. They are the principle of non-discrimination (UNCRC, Article 2), best interest (UNCRC, Article 3), participation (UNCRC, Article 12) and survival and development (UNCRC, Article 6). The Organisation of African Unity's African Charter on Rights and Welfare of the Child, which entered into force on November 29th, 1999 has already carved a way for African leaders to regard children within a central position in the development of the continent.

In following child rights principles, G8 Heads of State must encourage the NEPAD designers to recognize that:

- Children are more than passive recipients of aid and development
- Children are key stakeholders in the current and future formulation of Africa
- Children's needs are distinct and cannot be subsumed under those of adults
- Children are not a homogenous group of people
- Children that are most marginalized need to be factored into NEPAD's planning process
- A stronger agenda for children's survival, development, protection and participation is required before NEPAD can be pushed forward.

2.4 Seeing Children Differently

Many non-governmental organizations around the world have started to view children differently. Save the Children's work is based on a three-pronged child rights model that believes in empowering children to understand their rights, undertaking policy dialogue with key stakeholders to promote child friendly policies, programs and investments, and following-up with concrete solutions to make those rights a reality. We work with communities, children's groups, coalitions, Government bodies, the private sector and multi-lateral organisations to further the rights of children in the continent. We do not view children as passive recipients of development assistance, nor as helpless victims of abuse, but as subjects with rights, whose voices should be heard and valued.

Save the Children Canada is part of the International Save the Children Alliance, a global movement for children which currently comprises 30 Member organizations, operating in over 100 countries, across the five major continents. Save the Children members invest roughly \$130 million US annually in 33 countries in Africa. Save the Children Canada works in Burkina Faso, Mali, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya and Ethiopia and is expected to commit close to \$5 million dollars or 30 % of its budget to the continent this year.

3.0 ANALYSING NEPAD'S PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA: *Protecting Children, Protecting Investments*

Quite simply put, to protect children is to protect the investments of and into Africa. Northern countries have repeatedly illustrated the direct equation of peace and stability and local and foreign investment. One factor that can help protect African children against the effects of and solicitation into war and conflict is the creation of protection

mechanisms, which could shield them from the violence, hunger, disease, poverty and family dislocation that difficult situations present.

Furthermore, NEPAD needs to give greater consideration to the impact of war and conflict on boys and girls. Strategies should be adopted to minimize disruptions in their lives, because disruption in their lives ultimately leave them disconnected to family and community, and prey to traffickers in search of child soldiers, child labourers and/or child sex workers.

As well, a continent-wide initiative designed in collaboration with African government, private sector and civil society organizations that directly address the root causes and impact of war and conflict on children could go a long way in not only illustrating the value of children to the sustainable future of Africa, but could also alert the developed countries (G8 countries) to stop shipping weapons and small arms to African countries and to reject products that have been produced through abject exploitation and abuse of African children.

Major stakeholders that could be identified for this initiative must include children themselves: those affected by war, living on the streets, in schools, in rural and urban settings, working children and orphans. All these groups of children have equal rights to the peace and security of the African continent. This call for peace and security would in turn ensure a business climate for investment, which would in turn ensure a future for African children.

Recommendations:

- Build protection measures for children and their families during war and conflict to help protect them from violence, hunger, disease, poverty and family dislocation.
- Research available on the assessed impact of war and conflict on children and their families must inform the NEPAD's peace and security process.
- Design a continental wide campaign with key stakeholders on the root causes of war and conflict and the socio-economic impact of these on sustaining Africa's future.
- G8 countries to stop the trade of small arms and weaponry to countries in Africa
- Recognizing that child soldiers are one of the unconditional worst forms of child labour as defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and ratified by most African and G8 countries, NEPAD's leaders and supporters should help rehabilitate existing child soldiers, stop the recruitment of children in conflict, criminally penalize those involved in forced recruitment and develop a regional agreement to prohibit the protection of traffickers in child soldiers.

4.0 DEMOCRACY & POLITICAL GOVERNANCE: *Accountability to Children, Accountable Children*

While NEPAD provides a unique opportunity to improve governance in unified Africa and attract investments to the continent, its conception of government accountability needs to be reformulated. An accountability to African heads of states is important, but the volatility of certain governments and the enormous divides between governments and their people makes it imperative that for NEPAD to succeed it must be rooted in every

African man, woman and child. To achieve this, NEPAD will have to build an internal relationship of accountability between African governments and their own citizens, including children.

From a citizen's point view, good governance means respect for human rights, the rule of law, and responsible management of public resources in the best interest of all. Judgments of good governance must include children's assessments of their quality of life and a formal mechanism of reporting should be designed where children can hold their governments accountable. A number of African countries already have established a Children's Parliament and in some cases children are involved in reviewing national budgets and overseeing the management of resource allocation. NEPAD could work upon this model and mainstream it throughout its design for a new Africa.

NEPAD's call for judicial reform needs to include a comprehensive view of laws affecting children that is linked to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Juvenile justice systems need to be instituted to distinguish between crimes committed by children and those committed by adults. We welcome NEPAD's call for participatory decision-making, however, want to ensure that this participation would include children at local, district and national levels of government. NEPAD could build upon the success and leadership that African child delegates had shown in the lead up and follow-up to United Nations Special Session on Children held recently in New York. Children and young people should be further encouraged to developed leadership skills.

If democracy and good governance is about equal rights and opportunities, then all children are entitled to these same rights and opportunities. The problem with NEPAD is not that it loses sight of the connective links between democracies, protection of human rights, people centred development and increased market-oriented economies. NEPAD understands these links all too well, but fails to factor children into the logic of its equation that free markets equal free societies. If children remain outside this circle of thinking, then NEPAD's design to re-construct Africa as a new union filled with democracy, economic growth and good governance will collapse in the midst of the testimonies that children will tell regarding the gross violations of their rights. We have already witnessed the possibilities of this collapsing in the stories children have told in the cocoa farms of West Africa. Africa's political framework needs to be developed with the thinking that children's well-being is as important as sound economic policies.

In moving toward a more democratic and just Africa, NEPAD must adopt a framework of analysis that attempts to connect poverty issues with discrimination. As we have argued, poverty has a devastating impact on children, which in turn, impacts on the socio-economic system as a whole. The link between poverty and discrimination in the partnership plan needs to be extended to women and children – Africa's most marginalized groups.

Good governance does not only affect Africa. G8 countries should also operate under good governance guidelines, which includes children's well-being in the continent of Africa. An independent monitoring mechanism needs to be established to ensure adherence to these guidelines. G8 countries should insist that NEPAD is genuinely rights orientated and participatory in nature (i.e., inclusive of all government, private and civil society sectors).

Recommendations:

- NEPAD should develop formal review and monitoring mechanisms for African civil society groups, including children, to hold governments responsible for management of public funds.
- Invest in democratic education and leadership training of children through curriculum design and child-centred learning. Involve children in forums for participatory planning at the local, district and national levels.
- Undertake judicial reforms to deal in a comprehensive manner with children's legal rights and institute juvenile justice systems.
- G8 countries to operate with good governance principles in conducting business in the continent of Africa and subject to monitoring by an independent body.
- Prioritize good governance models that connect poverty issues with discrimination of women and children, and a concrete action plan for their eradication.

5.0 ECONOMIC & CORPORATE GOVERNANCE: *Linking Wealth to Well-Being of Children*

NEPAD economic and corporate governance initiatives set out by stating the importance of States in creating conditions of development. Development is regarded in purely economic terms. Economic governance can be a significant contributor to the development of Africa if it links people with leaders. However, many African leaders do not regard economic policies as a way to maximize benefits for the development of all people. African children remain the most disadvantaged group of children in the world today. While NEPAD talks about the lack of capacity, policies and regulatory frameworks for private sector growth, it offers no note of caution to the known costs of economic growth to date on African children. NEPAD must factor children into its economic policies and regulatory frameworks. This then needs to be centralized in all systems of economic operations, including the African Development Bank's operations.

If NEPAD goes ahead as currently conceptualized to enable private sector activity (presumably mostly in export-oriented production and industrial expansion), agriculture and manufacturing will no doubt be sectors to receive maximum enhancement. Both these sectors currently employ African children in the worst forms of child labour. Small-scale farming is the livelihood of roughly 60% of African woman and children⁸. Given NEPAD's drive towards economic enhancement, it is very likely that both these sectors will subordinate women and children's rights to profit incentives. G8 countries are increasingly showing how the protection of these rights is compatible with profit making incentives. The African leaders need to make explicit references to protection of women and children in their plan for African development, especially in the section Economic & Corporate Governance.

To begin to achieve the mainstreaming of children's rights in NEPAD, reference to "Economic and Corporate Governance" must be changed to "Corporate Social Responsibility." While the former ensures profit-making within certain set rules of

⁸ Urban Agricultural Notes, Global Studies, 2000

identifiable conduct, the latter ensures developments in the private sector as inextricably linked to social development of societies. Simply put, social investment is linked to economic investment. In the NEPAD context this would mean economic growth tied to social inclusion of disadvantaged groups, including children.

There are a number of developments in International Law to strengthen linkages between corporate social governance and the protection of child rights. Much of the basis for this framework is to be found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The UNCRC offers the most comprehensive protection of Child Rights, especially, Articles 31 through to 37. These articles outlines rights to education, leisure, and development, and establishes clearly identifiable prohibitions of various abuses to children, including economic exploitation. The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography is also extremely relevant to matters of corporate social governance. The ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, Article 182, offers a way for the private sector to establish standards for the employment of children. The private sector's position in society places a strong obligation on them to enhance and respect rights-based development. NEPAD needs to recognize this potential of the private sector and formulate its plan for African development into the 21st century accordingly.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have developed codes of conduct to support more “friendly” business practices. Save the Children has formulated a checklist for companies planning to further develop codes of conduct to include child rights. This checklist includes actions to be taken if harmful working situations for children are discovered, conditions required for the improvement of each working child via better and sustainable opportunities, assessments to be made regarding the economic, social and family situation that pushes children into dangerous forms of work and commitments to the legal implementations of the UNCRC (particularly, Article 32, protecting children from economic exploitation and from hazardous forms of work). Other NGOs have also developed codes of conduct to address issues of marginalizations that economic enhancements extend. NEPAD needs to consult with civil society groups working in Africa to identify key values, standards and business practices to which companies can pledge to uphold in relation to children.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has stressed corporate social governance as a response to the possible abuse that can come from concentration of economic power and conflicts with national social policy objectives. The OECD Principles of Corporate Governance insists on businesses recognizing the greater context in which they operate and how they may contribute to the greater benefits of society. The UN's “Global Compact” initiative, which requests business to operate as good “global citizens” further illustrates the universal call for the private sector to ensure that they are not complicit with rights abuses. NEPAD's leaders, along with G8 Heads of States, must collaboratively plan to implement OECD Guidelines for Multinationals Enterprises with clearly thought out monitoring and enforcement strategies. All human rights sections in the guidelines need to be expanded to include child rights. Monitoring and enforcement can follow the Global Reporting Initiative, which sets globally acceptable guidelines for reporting on the economic, environmental and social performances of multinationals and governments.

Recommendations:

- NEPAD must be revised to include an impact assessment analysing how new economic policies and regulatory frameworks will impact on children.
- NEPAD needs to consult with civil society groups working in Africa to identify key values, standards and business practices to which companies can pledge to adhere in relation to children.
- African leaders, along with G8 Heads of States, must collaboratively plan to implement OECD Guidelines for Multinationals Enterprises with clearly thought out monitoring and enforcement strategies.
- NEPAD must develop clear mechanisms to end exploitative and hazardous child work in major sectors of the economy including ensuring fair working conditions, equal pay for equal work, access to good health and education. At the same time, investments must be made in small business development, micro-credit and vocational training opportunities for children and young people that create safe, fair and valuable conditions for child work.
- G8 leaders need to challenge the basic assumption of NEPAD that economic growth will essentially mean growth for all with the fruits of development being distributed evenly to all people.

6.0 PRIORITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT: *Sectoral Emphasis and Mobilization Of Resources*

This section of NEPAD identifies sectoral priorities and mobilizing resources as it pertains to the objectives and goals of the NEPAD sustainable development plan. Sectoral priorities cover six focal areas: a) bridging the infrastructure gap, b) human resource development, c) agriculture, d) environment initiative, e) culture and f) science and technology platforms. Resource mobilization covers: Capital Flows and Market Access. As indicated in NEPAD, both Sectoral Priorities and Resource Mobilization are designed with the view of eradicating poverty and promoting women's role in economic and sustainable development activities.

6.1 Bridging the Infrastructure Gap: Factoring Children into the Design of a New Africa

The weakening, yet colonial design of Africa's infrastructure is clearly identified as an important bottleneck to development within NEPAD. As solutions are identified for restructuring the new Africa, the impact and involvement of children with regard to information and communication technologies, energy, transport, water and sanitation should not be overlooked

The section on information and communication technologies focuses on bridging the digital gap. The underlying assumptions are twofold- first, that demand for these technologies will presumably increase to ensure the continent develops according to the yardstick of the industrialized world where technological advancement equals wealth generation, and second, that there will be equitable distribution across lines of difference where the divide also exists.

The unanswered question is how the demand for new technologies will be met and which markets will be involved in satisfying this demand? NEPAD makes no reference to Africa's capacity to manufacture and/or export information and communication technologies. Further, NEPAD also does not settle the question of whether or not these technologies are to be considered as "public goods" and/or "merit goods." If it is to be the former, then are children factored into the equation of access? If it is the latter, how will NEPAD ensure that African children have fair access to the technologies that guarantee their sustainable future? Furthermore, NEPAD does not indicate if these features of infrastructure development are going to be privatized, state owned and/or not-for-profit operations. Whatever path is chosen for the ownership, development and distribution of these technologies, children's access to information and communication must be considered to be of crucial importance. African leaders need to follow the example of some of the Asian countries and insist on developing their capacity to manufacture and sell information and communication technologies. To achieve this objective children need to be given easy access to these technologies and encouraged to be innovative and experimental.

While NEPAD's energy sector objectives are valuable, particularly with respect to the development of renewable energy, the proposed action fails to recognize rural children whose responsibilities include being collectors of household fuel-wood. Resolving the traditional energy crisis in many countries in Africa must include the views of rural children and must ensure solutions are appropriate and sustainable to their development. NEPAD's action plan for energy does not include minimum standards for continued oil extractions that have fuelled several conflicts in the oil producing areas of Africa. Given current plans of development, Africa would likely become a more dominant source of oil for America and Europe. While NEPAD does not speculate on how oil-producing countries in Africa will play a more strategic role in the international counties, room for this expansion seems likely. G8 countries need to ensure that the demand placed on Africa for more oil, does not entail conflict and or more abuses of children's rights.

Support to the transportation sector also provides an opportunity to further children's rights. At the moment, 200,000 children are trafficked across African borders every year. Efforts made in NEPAD to harmonize customs and immigration procedures and to develop and maintain ports, roads, railways, and maritime transportation, provide an excellent opportunity to scale up efforts across the continent to better detect and arrest traffickers, and to protect and prevent more children from falling prey to traffickers' intricate and sophisticated networks. African leaders need to ensure that commitments to increased, safe and reliable transportation do more than produce short-lived projects. Efforts need to be made to undertake locally defined and initiated research on trafficking with the aim of implementing recommendations made from a diverse community of rural and urban stakeholders. Anti-trafficking training should readily be made available to all involved in the transport industries. G8 leaders need to ensure that trafficking networks are shut down in their own countries and discourage the demand for cheap unprocessed commodities from the countries within Africa where trafficking of women and children as cheap labour is known to exist.

In the case of water and sanitation, young children under five suffer the greatest consequences of poor quality drinking water. Since children and their mothers are primarily responsible for fetching water for their households, NEPAD needs to involve both groups in their design for safe and clean drinking water. NEPAD could expand on

plans already designed, like the African Water Vision 2025, adapt and mainstream it in its infrastructure development.

Recommendations:

- African leaders must recognize children as stakeholders in the energy, transport and water sectors and ensure projects, plans and policies developed through NEPAD include their meaningful participation and assess potential impact on their lives.
- When donor agencies and international financial institutions, such as the African Development Bank, screen grants and loans applications for infrastructure development, a child-impact analysis should be conducted to determine potential risks and benefits to children and to ensure that gains anticipated are fairly distributed among African men, women and children.
- Investments should be made in appropriate technologies that reduce household labour, freeing children's time for education, active involvement in their communities and engagement in leisure activities.

6.2 Human Resource Development Initiative: Regarding Children as Contributors

While NEPAD reiterates the critical importance of poverty reduction in all country and regional development plans, poverty reduction strategies have been tried and retried under different acronyms for many years on the continent. The recent Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers in Africa have had very little analysis of children's issues. Children are generally seen as a "target group" to be reached by the education and health systems, not as critical actors or contributors in the economy, society, security or governance of the country.

NEPAD's action plan with respect to the education sector aims to address the gap between Africa and the rest of the world. However, the plans do not deal with the millions of Africans that remain under-educated (either in the formal and informal sense). It does not address the gap between adult and children's education and between men and women. No mention was given to improving the availability and effectiveness of financing education, other than calling upon governments to spend more. NEPAD's education plan must address the educational needs of its marginalized children – those living in conflict or living in the streets, working children, those with disabilities, girl and rural children. Assurance needs to be given to these groups of children that access to appropriate, flexible and quality education or learning is the prime responsibility of African leaders in satisfying NEPAD's human resource development goal. This education must include alternative vocational training, relevant curriculum, participatory or child-centred learning styles, and the inclusion of child rights in the curriculum.

With regard to the planned health sector, interventions address the major health issues on the continent with an estimated required annual budget of \$10 billion. However, no specifics are provided as to where the money will come from and what the cost breakdowns will entail. While NEPAD makes a brief mention on placing high priority in tackling HIV/AIDS and building a campaign for increased international financial support for its eradication, it fails to capture the urgency of the problem at hand. The impact of HIV/AIDS on children in Africa is overwhelming. About 80% of the world's children living

with AIDS are from Africa (UNAIDS). Children affected by HIV/AIDS face deep psychological trauma of seeing their parent or sibling fall ill and die. They suffer depression, stress and anxiety and at the same time take on additional responsibilities in terms of household chores and farming. Increasingly, the pressure to earn an income forces children into dangerous and exploitative working conditions, including sexual exploitation, which further increases the likelihood of contracting the disease. Children affected by HIV/AIDS often lose their inheritance, drop out of school, become ill, malnourished, and even homeless. Community support systems for children affected by HIV/AIDS are becoming over-stretched⁹.

Despite the HIV/AIDS crisis in Africa, NEPAD fails to assert the importance of a continental treatment action campaign and the importation of generic anti-retroviral drugs essential to fighting HIV/AIDS. The 2015 Millennium goal for halting the spread of HIV/AIDS needs to be given prominence in NEPAD. G8 countries should categorically discourage pharmaceutical companies from fighting for harder-line patent protection. African leaders need to recognize that failing to invest adequately in the fight against the disease will cause any gains made by NEPAD to be short lived.

The remaining sections on agriculture, the environment, culture and science and technology, though identifying key issues, fail to provide action plans that are inclusive of all groups. For instance, the section on agriculture, though dealing with the need to achieve food security and overcome critical constraints to rural development, does not regard the high demand for cheap child labour in the production of cash crops as a critical obstacle to building sustainable development. Even the section on culture, though recognizing the importance of utilizing and protecting indigenous knowledge, fails to value children's knowledge. As we have repeatedly argued, African children are unlike most children of the world; they survive and develop under conditions that have been reported by world leaders and international financial institutions to be of crises proportion. In their stories, we can learn of the various innovative and ingenious ways that some children have beaten all the odds of failure and loss.

Recommendations:

- A children's task team, similar to the gender one, should be established to ensure the differing needs and rights of Africa's children are addressed in the poverty reduction human resource development strategies of the NEPAD.
- Access to education alone will not solve the educational crisis in the continent of Africa. NEPAD should stress quality, relevance and flexibility in the development of education. Support for the marginalized children to reach post-secondary education should be provided. Clearer commitments to early childhood education must be made, given that research has demonstrated a clear link between intervention in the early years and children achieving their full potential.
- African leaders need to recognize that failing to invest adequately in the fight against HIV/AIDS and other diseases will cause any gains made by NEPAD to be short lived.
- African leaders to stick to 2015 Millennium goal for halting and beginning to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS, while G8 countries should categorically discourage pharmaceutical companies from fighting for harder-line patent protection.
- African and G8 leaders need to halt the current high demand for cheap child labour.

⁹ International Coalition on Aids and Development, "Discussion Paper: Best Practices for Care of AIDS Orphans, by F. Ombaso, Ottawa, August, 2001

7.0 MOBILIZING RESOURCES: *Making Capital Flows and Market Access Work for Children*

NEPAD estimates that \$64 billion per annum is required to reach the 7% GDP growth rate and other development targets. Most of this money is presumably to be raised from development partners, including the G8 countries. Given the current reluctance of development partners to increase their development aid to reach the Millennium target of 0.7% of GDP, coupled with Africa's difficulty to increase domestic savings and revenue collection to finance its portion of the required funding, let alone money going towards paying off Africa's debt, it seems very unlikely that capital flows can be generated both in the internal and external environment to pay NEPAD's bill.

Despite this, NEPAD provides various ways in which financing of the new partnership plan can occur. For example, it refers to increasing tax collection, enhancing private sector growth tied to corporate governance and monitoring, preventing capital flights and requesting reductions of debt of African countries. It is noteworthy to point out that NEPAD does not factor the impact of all these revenue-generating activities on the lives of the rural communities and women and children. Further, it does not take into consideration the new strategy of the developed world to engage in "trade, not aid;" and does not calculate the harm that increasing trade of the developed countries with developing ones have had on women and children in countries like Sudan, Angola, Sierra Leone, Liberia, DRC, Ivory Coast, and Mali, to name a few.

While NEPAD makes a very strong case for development aid, it does not make an equally good case for convincing ordinary Africans that increased aid will not mean more bureaucracy, more inequalities of the rich and poor, more dependency on development countries, or more unemployment and poverty.

For capital flows to work, NEPAD leaders must not only convince G8 countries that their performances will favourably suit sound economic principles, but also convince African civil society that human rights and poverty reduction will be more than macro-economic issues and apply to every man, woman and child. G8 leaders for their part must revisit their "trade not aid" strategy and support the deep will of African leaders to build a new Africa built on the grounds of democracy, inclusivity and rights. G8 countries must raise their ODA levels to 0.4% of their average GDP and make concrete plans to increase these to meet the Millennium Goal target of 0.7%.

The "trade not aid" strategy could work only if this could lead to an increase in wages and employment, a reduction of poverty, a total removal of the worst forms of child labour in all the African countries, and adherence to corporate social responsibility guidelines.

The second resource mobilization initiative of NEPAD is expanding Africa's access to international markets by diversification of production and promoting African exports. Not enough attention was paid to the development of services that this new design for Africa would necessitate.

For example, with almost one in three children working in Sub-Saharan Africa, clearly African girls and boys are an important engine for growth that can neither be overlooked

in developing trade and economic programs, nor deliberately exploited as cheap and replaceable labour. NEPAD's strategy for enhanced trade and market development must go hand in hand with fair working conditions for adults and children, including equal pay for equal value of work, non-exploitative working hours, non-hazardous workplace and living environments, and access to medical and educational services. Children play an important role in a number of sectors of the economy- from agriculture, to petty trade, from manufacturing to the service industry. NEPAD should consider supporting both children's right to quality, flexible education and fair working conditions. Investments in small business training for children, micro-credit and market driven vocational training programs could go a long way at making trade and markets work better for children, and for all of Africa.

Much of African economies are based on commodities, including tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, rice, cotton, tobacco, whose prices on the world markets can fluctuate widely at times leaving producers vulnerable. In West Africa, falling world prices for cocoa for instance have created conditions for the worst forms of exploitation of child workers. In East Africa, tobacco farms employ children under hazardous conditions, long working hours, and for wages as low as one-tenth the official minimum rate.¹⁰ Products made by these children are then sold to developed countries, including the G8 ones, for prices that attract significantly high returns. These returns are not passed on to the countries in which unprocessed commodities are produced. While African countries need greater and more direct access to the world's wealthiest consumers and need to get involved with production of high-value-added, non-volatile and high growth industries, NEPAD must ensure that people-centred development is the way to attain sustainability in the new Africa. G8 countries should take the lead and change global attitudes of Africa as a source of cheap labour and raw materials for the developed world. Further, it must work with African leaders to list market access indicators tied to the administration of justice, democratic participation and security for all Africans.

Debt payment for most African countries far exceeds investment in basic social services. Structural adjustment programs have diverted money from social protection mechanisms for children and detracted investment in the future potential of children through decreased educational spending, poorer health care and growing malnutrition. Efforts that invest resources on the one hand, and extract them on the other do not make sense.

Recommendations:

- Priority must be given to relieving the debt burden of African countries as a means of investing in African children.
- G8 countries to raise their ODA levels to 0.4% of their average GDP and make concrete plans to increase these to meet the Millennium Goal target of 0.7%.
- The G8 "trade not aid" strategy needs to be assessed against increase in wages and employment, a reduction of poverty and a total removal of the worst forms of child labour in all the African countries.
- NEPAD's strategy for enhanced trade and market development needs to go hand in hand with fair working conditions for adults and children, as well as corporate social responsibility.

¹⁰ ILO-IPEC "Tanzania: Child Labour in Commercial Agriculture-Tobacco: A Rapid Assessment", by A. Masudi et al, Geneva, November 2001

- Investments in small business training for children, micro-credit and market driven vocational training programs should be provided;
- G8 countries should take the lead and reverse trends that view Africa as a source of cheap labour and raw materials for the developed world.

8.0 CONCLUSION: *Building Development Alliances With Children*

At a recent UNHCHR open-ended working group on the Right to Development, Mary Robinson, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, noted:

Poverty eradication, without empowerment is unsustainable. Social integration without minority rights is unimaginable. Gender rights without women's rights is illusory. Full employment without workers rights maybe no more than a promise of sweatshops, exploitation and slavery. Development without participation is undemocratic. The logic of the right to development is inescapable. (Geneva on 25, February 2002)

NEPAD certainly represents the logic of the right to development by African Heads of State and their G8 partners based on shared responsibility in correcting centuries of injustices and facilitating African transformation. NEPAD is not the first African plan aimed at sustainable development of the continent. Throughout its history, various Africans have played a part in organizing their nations in support of building an African led and African owned vibrant continent. Edward Blyden, one of the foremost Pan-Africanist, promoted the idea of African advancement through African ownership. In an address in 1881, he noted, "The African must advance by methods of his [*sic*] own...We must show that we are able to go alone, to carve out our own way." The trouble with NEPAD is not that it is not African led or African owned. The trouble with it is that it is not a vision shared and shaped by most Africans. As we have argued, African civil society, women and children have been excluded from designing NEPAD's new relationship with various African nations and its development partners.

Most of NEPAD'S design has been levelled to attract financial aid from development partners and trade from major multinational corporations. In fact, the Corporate Council on Africa (representing 185 American companies), which supported a NEPAD conference that brought 700 business leaders and politicians together in Senegal last month to comment on the new partnership plan, noted that "Africa must build its case to Wall Street and the financial markets of London, Frankfurt and Tokyo." OECD could provide "significant billions for Africa's development." These remarks were significant, especially because potential multinational corporate investors like IBM, Microsoft, Hewlett Packard, Chevron, Shell, Petronas, Coca Cola and Air France were part of the conference participants. While NEPAD's wish to attract major foreign investors goes along with the logic of the right to development, it does not go along with the accompanying and binding right to empowerment of all Africans, women and child rights and workers rights all within a participatory democratic inclusionary frame.

NEPAD's Democracy and Political Governance Initiative (DPGI), which forms the basis of participation and stands as a linchpin for the successful implementation of the new partnership plan, must be strengthened. For instance, the African Peer Review Mechanism that South Africa pushed for must include the assessments of women and children. Its function must be expanded to include the voices of women and children in political accountability and economic conduct, in identifying best practices, designing monitoring mechanisms, ensuring that policy is based on inclusive and diverse knowledge practices, and resolving gaps and deficiencies. As a vital element of the DPGI, the Peer Review Mechanism must not only mean review by African leaders on African leaders performances, but must also include African civil society reviews of their governments. Further, the current governing structure of NEPAD must be reformed to include women and children's representatives in the Steering Committee, Implementation Committee and the Secretariat and current African Heads of States that make up these committees must be fully briefed on the importance of women and child rights protection in the successful development of a sustainable Africa. G8 countries at the June 2002 meeting in Canada must ensure that NEPAD's democracy and political governance initiative be refined to include the more than 50% of its population that have been marginalized. This message must be re-echoed at the Organization of African Unity (OAU) meeting on NEPAD in South Africa in July.

While there is no doubt that NEPAD offers an impressive development framework, it is equally true that that there is agreement that the continent of Africa will be judged by the way it deals with conflict, institutes democracy and builds a culture of human rights, which includes women, workers and child rights. The future of a sustainable Africa will be assessed on the current alliances created with children.

“The promotion and protection of children’s rights are priorities for Canada.... We will emphasize the rights and needs of children ...”

John Manley,
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Canada
Speaking at the United Nations Special Session on Children, May, 2002

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