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A NEWSLETTER ON DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

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Centers for Democracy, Pluralism, Human Rights Thriving in Africa

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New and existing organizations in support of democracy, pluralism, and human rights in Africa are gaining momentum and beginning to join forces throughout the continent. To help foster the development of a network among these organizations in Africa and elsewhere, each issue of this newsletter will highlight several of these organizations. Please send us information about your own organization or others you are aware of for inclusion in future issues.

African Center for Democracy and Human Rights Studies, The Gambia

The African Center for Democracy and Human Rights Studies in The Gambia was created in 1989 to promote in cooperation with other African and international organizations the observance of human rights and democratic principles in all parts of Africa. The Center was created by an act of the Gambian Parliament, but is an independent organization governed

by a council of experts, and has observer status with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights.

The Center's programs include:

- Activities to increase awareness in Africa of international human rights procedures and to increase the flow of information between African and international human rights groups.
- The publication of reliable and objective research about human rights in Africa.
- A documentation center containing books, reports, journals, and brochures dealing with human rights issues in Africa. The Center's own publications include a quarterly newsletter in French and English, *African Human Rights Newsletter*, as well as a series of occasional papers on human rights in Africa. The Center welcomes publication exchanges with other organizations.
- Education and training programs. Programs conducted by the Center include a training course for human rights activists; a seminar for francophone magistrates, which focused on the rule of law, international human rights standards, professional ethics, and courtroom management; and a course for senior law enforcement officers on the role of the police in the protection of human rights. In addition, internship programs for human rights workers also are available at the Center.

For information: African Center for Democracy and Human Rights Studies, Kairaba Avenue, Kombo St. Mary Division, Banjul, The Gambia, telephone: (220) 94525, fax: (220) 94962.

The Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development (GERDDES), Senegal

The Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development, or GERDDES, Le Groupe d'Etude et de Recherche sur la Démocratie et le Développement Economique et Social en Afrique, is based in Cotonou, Benin, with members in Africa, Europe, and North America. GERDDES was created in 1990 for the purpose of promoting and monitoring democracy and conducting studies and research on aspects of democracy and on economic and social development in Africa. Areas of research include human rights, multiparty and single-party systems, legislation, constitutions, and economic liberalism.

Current GERDDES projects include plans for the International Center for Research on Democracy (CIRD), an international school in Benin, training for the observation of elections in Africa, the organization of conferences and debates, civic education programs, and the publication of a magazine, *African Democracy*. Studies recently published include: "Human Rights and Democracy as a Condition to Development Aid," and "Is the Protection of Human Rights and Democracy Strange to the African Tradition?"

For information: GERDDES, P.O. Box 1259, Cotonou, Republic of Benin, telephone messages: (229) 313915, fax: (229) 315623, telex: 5050.

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AID Programs Support Democratization and Improved Governance in Africa

Within the past two years, more than two-thirds of the countries in Africa have begun to open up their political systems or have made clear commitments to the democratization process. The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) has begun to respond to this wave of fundamental democratization throughout Africa. Recognizing that political and governance issues are linked closely to economic development, AID's Africa Bureau is committed to supporting sustainable African-led initiatives for democratic institutions and improved governance.

Many AID missions in Africa will be generating democracy and governance programs and related activities to meet specific needs and circumstances within a given country context. Activities in support of democracy and governance will be designed to include the clear and specific involvement of African non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other private organizations and African governments.

The democracy and governance programs of the Africa Bureau focus on four basic themes. The first, participation, focuses on broadened participation in development at all levels of society. The second focus is to provide an enabling environment to improve private-sector development. The third is on activities that support and strengthen democratic institutions and civil society. Finally, the Bureau will continue its support of human rights activities in Africa.

Democracy and governance is not a new area of activity for AID. In the past, AID has supported programs to strengthen democratic institutions, such as electoral commissions, legislatures, and independent judiciaries in many other regions of the world. AID has also provided technical assistance for elections, constitutionalism, civic education, human-rights projects, and

for improving civil and military relations. In addition, AID has supported NGOs, labor unions, and other civic organizations around the world.

Currently AID is designing stand-alone democracy and governance projects in several African countries and many AID missions are integrating democracy and governance-related activities into existing AID projects in Africa. Some AID missions are designing programs to assist governments in reforming their judiciary, in rewriting constitutions, in improving legislatures, and in reforming domestic laws in order to enable market forces to work. Also, significant assistance will be provided to nascent NGOs and other civic associations in order to expand and strengthen civil society.

Under its Democracy and Human Rights Fund for Africa, the Africa Bureau is providing financial and technical support to indigenous institutions in 35 countries for small, short-term projects, such as election assistance, newsletters and newspapers on human rights, civic education, women's rights, legal libraries, judicial training, and professional workshops and seminars.

The Africa Bureau is working with a number of U.S. and international organizations involved in democratization in Africa. The International Foundation for Electoral Systems has been funded by AID to provide African countries with technical assistance for elections. Through its Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund project, AID provides support to African countries in preparing for and sustaining the democratic electoral process. The project, which is being implemented by the African-American Institute, the International Republican Institute, and the National Democratic Institute, provides technical assistance and training in all stages of the electoral process. In addition, AID is

supporting the Global Coalition for Africa, a forum where senior African and donor officials can discuss solutions for major African issues.

Representatives of AID also are meeting regularly with other international donor organizations to better develop programs that are compatible with and complementary to other donors' democracy or governance-related activities in Africa.

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Editor
Patricia Mantey

African Voices was initiated to provide a forum for ongoing dialogue with Africans on democratization. Your comments, letters, articles, announcements, or photos are welcome. Send them to:

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Human Rights and Economic Development in Africa

Donor nations have a role to play in providing technical assistance for development of pluralistic societies in Africa, but must take care not to interfere or impose their own agenda. This was one of many observations made at a conference on "The Interdependence of Human Rights and Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Blueprint for Democratization in the 21st Century," held at Lincoln University, from April 1-3, 1992.

The three-day meeting provided a forum for discussion of the interdependence of political, social, and economic factors as African nations move toward more pluralistic societies. Nearly 100 international leaders, scholars, policymakers, and donors attended the conference, which was cosponsored by the African-American Institute, Lincoln University's Center for Public Policy and Diplomacy, Amnesty International, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the United Nations (U.N.) Development Program.

Keynote and guest speakers included Abdul Ciss, U.N. assistant secretary general for the Office of Human Resources Management; Representative Donald Payne (D-N.J.); Ambassador Walter Carrington of the office of Representative Mervyn Dymally (D-Calif.); Dr. Adu Boahen, professor emeritus of the University of Lagon in Ghana; and Albert Tevoedjre, founder and director of the Worldwide Association for Social Perspectives.

Panel discussions focused on democratization in practice, the role of regional organizations, ethnicity and national unity, grassroots participation, and the linkage between human rights and economic development.

Recommendations and caveats for external involvement in Africa's democratization process were offered throughout the conference. As African nations undertake their own democratization process, donors must proceed cautiously by fully understanding issues and needs within

country contexts before becoming involved. Africans must be allowed to develop their own form of democracy by incorporating their indigenous traditions and institutions into new political systems, because what works in America will not necessarily work in Africa.

At one of the panels it was suggested that at present, an understanding of democracy and basic human rights has not been fully developed in many parts of Africa. The United States and other donors might put pressure on African leaders to allow their people's voices to be heard, which could be done by privatizing the press and by facilitating democratic transitions. Finally, a call was made for African-Americans to assume a greater role in lobbying for U.S. support for African nations.

A monograph from the conference is available from The Center for Public Policy and Diplomacy, Lincoln University, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, 19352 USA, telephone: (215) 932-8300 ext. 327, fax: (215) 932-4828.

Global Coalition for Africa

Subcommittee on Democracy and Governance Meets in Uganda

The peaceful management of political transition in the midst of economic hardship represents one of Africa's greatest challenges. This challenge was the impetus for the formation of the Global Coalition for Africa's (GCA) Subcommittee on Governance and Democracy, which held its first meeting May 5-6, 1992 in Uganda. The subcommittee was formed to translate discussions concerning democratic transitions into African-led action programs for institution building and improved governance.

President Quette Masire of Botswana and President Nicephore Soglo of Benin cochaired the subcommittee's first meeting and President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda also participated. The meeting provided an opportunity for frank discus-

sions on human rights, conflict resolution, the components of good governance and the need to reduce corruption, and military spending.

The GCA was established in 1990 to provide a forum to address development issues in Africa, identify problems, and discuss potential solutions among African and donor officials.

The subcommittee's aim is to provide a forum where Africans can define the democratic institutions needed to promote a culture of tolerance and acceptance of individual freedom within their own societies, in partnership with culturally sensitive and sustained international support. The subcommittee meeting was attended by committee members, multilateral donor-agency partners, representatives of non-

governmental organizations from both African and non-African countries, and North-South cooperative organizations. In addition, select democracy and governance experts were invited.

At the opening session, the three attending African heads of state all made welcoming remarks and noted some of the many challenges for democratic transition in Africa. They pointed out that democracy has a rich tradition in African society where traditions of debate and consensus can serve as the basis for democratic transition in Africa. Democracy will have to grow internally, beginning with family traditions and cultural values, and then be embodied in constitutional consensus. The

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Conferences Gather African Views on Democratization

Earlier this year the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) sponsored three conferences in Africa in Benin, Ethiopia, and Namibia to generate discussions among Africans and solicit views on the democratization process in Africa. The conferences, organized by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences with cooperation from local African institutions, provided a forum to obtain African views on the democratization process and gain opinions on the role of international donors in this process. The over 100 participants came from more than 40 African countries and included scholars, journalists, judges, human rights workers, non-governmental representatives, government officials, as well as several donor representatives and select Western academics.

Most of the African participants indicated that they had never before had the opportunity to engage with their peers from other African countries in an open dialogue of this nature and found the conferences an extremely rewarding experience.

Some of the most thought-provoking discussions during the three conferences arose during debates over the role of the military before and after democratization, the issue of cohesiveness in the face of long-simmering ethnic differences and the role of the government in keeping order, as well as the issue of continued donor assistance to authoritarian regimes.

There was recognition that the critical development of a new political culture requires political and civic sensitization among the elites as well as the masses, and that there needs to be strong development of non-governmental organizations to serve as a counterbalance and complement government activities. And there was widespread acknowledgment of the impact poverty and economic chaos can have on undermining the commitment to democratic progress.

At the conference in Ethiopia, considerable time was spent discussing the

extent to which in multiethnic states, the institutions of civil society as well as the institutions of government may be subverted to the demands of ethnic identity. It is therefore critical to consider the challenge that ethnicity poses to democratic government and ways in which that challenge can be diffused.

At all three conferences the importance of civil society in the democratization process was a major topic of discussion. Participants acknowledged the invisible yet critical role that African civil society has played in subverting the weak structures of increasingly impoverished states. This subversion has occurred through the informal economy, social values, and connections that undermine the formal workings of government institutions through local, religious, and occupa-

constraints to democratization:

- In order for democratic initiatives to succeed, the reforms must be based on popular commitment and consensus, and must include access to and participation in political decision-making at all levels. Also vital to this process is accountability, transparency, and tolerance.

- Certain countries have inherently divergent societies and the resulting institutions must be able to cope with them. The institutions that arise should not heighten existing tensions, but rather reduce them; and there will be no easy answers to the issue of ethnic diversity.

- While a correlative or causal relationship between economic conditions and the establishment of democracies is not necessarily a given, stable economic conditions are essential to sustaining a democracy.

- The role of the military is a delicate, albeit important issue, and historical experience points to military institutions as a possible danger to fledgling democracies.

Other panel discussions touched on many of the immediate challenges facing Africans in their early stages of democratization. The democratization process in Africa

needs to recapture the African population that has distanced itself from the political arena. Thus, the first course of action is to develop the conditions, leadership, and institutions to invigorate local participation. While a strong state is arguably necessary, the established institutions of governance must be stable and predictable and firmly entrenched in democratic traditions and principles. A balance must be reached between a strong body of governance that provides stability and one that is responsive to the popular will. And elections, an important initial ingredient in establishing democracies, must be free and fair and widely perceived as such. However, Africa's history of elections has created skepticism of the election process, which must be addressed.

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The challenge for the future is to build parochial social institutions into broad-based social forces of change that promote values and behavior applicable to society as a whole.

tional groups. The challenge for the future is to build parochial social institutions into broad-based social forces of change that promote values and behavior applicable to society as a whole.

While a wide array of views and opinions were expressed at the conference, there was agreement that while the basic principles of democracy are universal, the institutions and means to implement them are dependent upon the unique social, cultural, economic, and other local factors found in each country. When establishing democratic institutions, Africans need to recognize the problems involved in using Western democratic models and move slowly toward full democracy.

Participants also found some common ground on the themes of caveats and

Conferences *from page 4*

The potential role of donors in the democratization process was discussed and suggestions were made:

- Donors must address the problem of the high percentage of funds spent by Africans on the military and push for a reduction by making foreign assistance contingent upon such reduction.

- Greater support to promote local civic groups is needed, however, this must be done in way that will increase the capacity of these organizations but not increase their dependency on outside assistance.

- Donors can promote improved economic conditions through activities such as debt forgiveness, the provision of more grants rather than loans, trade promotion and the reduction of trade barriers, and project activities focusing on fiscal reform and accountability.

- Specific areas suggested for donor support of democratization included the constitutional review process, legislatures, the judiciary, press, and local government.

- It was also suggested that donor agencies might have a role to play in helping create respectable alternative roles for former political leaders. The lack of such roles for outgoing political leaders may foster a climate in which governments use repressive means to hold on to power and refuse to submit to open elections.

- Finally, donors should help promote the exchange of information on the development of democracies throughout Africa, including support for a permanent institution to serve as a resource center on democratization.

The National Academy of Sciences' Panel on Issues in Democratization contributed to this article and will publish a summary report on the conferences later this year. For information: NAS, Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, Panel on Issues in Democratization, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20148 USA, telephone: (202) 334-1360.

Global Coalition Subcommittee *from page 3*

integral relationship between democracy and civic education of the electorate was noted. For if democracy is to succeed, individuals must have a basic understanding of its value and a comprehension of their rights and the issues of democracy. Finally, progress in development is essential if democracy is to grow.

During discussions participants agreed that military expenditures need to be reduced in Africa and suggestions concerning the demobilization and integration of the military into civil society also were addressed. All participants agreed that both dimensions of corruption--the corruptor as well as the corrupted--need to be addressed in anticorruption efforts. There was also agreement that the GCA should encourage African efforts at monitoring and evaluating democratization in Africa.

A proposal for the creation of a working group to coordinate existing efforts in conflict resolution in Africa was accepted. The working group will include representatives of the GCA, the Africa Leadership Forum, the Organization of African Unity, NGOs active in this area, and the African Council of Churches.

A cooperative GCA and African Leadership Forum study on the transition to democracy in Africa was supported by the subcommittee, and will be partially funded by AID. The study will be carried out primarily by Africans and will capture information from Africans not usually participating in the political process. This study also will provide capacity-building support to 25 African institutions that will participate in data collection, and there will be some institutional linkage with the University of Michigan.

For information: Global Coalition for Africa, Subcommittee on Democracy and Governance, 1850 K Street, Suite 295, NW, Washington, D.C. 20006 USA, telephone: (202) 676-0845, fax: (202) 676-1014.

African Centers *from page 1*

Gorée Institute, Center for Democracy, Development, and Culture in Africa, Senegal

The Gorée Institute was originally called the Institute for Democracy and Development in Africa when it opened in 1991. The Institute changed its name in February 1992, when it moved to Gorée Island, which once a passage point for slaves bound for the West. Gorée island exists today as a symbol of the violation of the human rights of millions of Africans for more than 300 years. The Gorée Institute will play a facilitative, explorative, and educative role in the democratization process in Africa and will undertake research in areas related to this process.

The Institute's objectives are to:

- Promote the study, acceptance, and the practice of democracy in Africa through research, training, and the interaction and exchange of ideas and experiences.

- Strengthen the involvement of leaders, individuals, and organizations based in civil society in all of the Institute's programs in order to develop a legitimate consensus on what constitutes democracy in the African context, and to assist in the effective networking and strengthening of African democrats and democratic institutions.

- Promote the recognition of African culture as a critical terrain for innovation, exploration, and communication.

- Facilitate the exchange of ideas and experiences among Africans from all sectors and levels of society, in order to break down cultural and communication barriers and promote South-South dialogue and cooperation.

Proposed projects and activities include providing sabbaticals to leaders, individuals, and intellectuals based in organizations rooted in civil society; sponsoring research fellowships and study tours for the exploration of issues concerning democracy; developing a database and resource center specializing in the issues

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PERSPECTIVES

Prospects for Democracy in Africa

by Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja

The new wind of freedom is said to blow from the east, i.e., from Eastern Europe. Is there any substance to this claim? What impact, if any, did changes in Eastern Europe have on the struggle for democracy in Africa? It must be said that the people of Africa did not have to wait for the breakdown of the Stalinist system in order to fight for genuine freedom and democracy. Examples of popular struggles for democ-

fragile states of postcolonial Africa could give in to the least serious challenges to their authority, once the external protection provided by the Cold War was lost.

But, what is the real impact of the changes in Eastern Europe on the democratization process in Africa? In the first place, the single-party model is finally and totally discredited. The model has failed to live up to its claims as the guarantor of national unity against tribalism and the engine of accelerated economic development. In reality, the single party revealed itself, more and more, as a simple tool of repression. Based on the Stalinist model, which, by the way, has no foundation in classical Marxist theory, the African one-party system has become an anachronism. In the second place, the West can no longer justify its support for this system, even if some reactionaries and racists continue to hold the view that Africans are not ready for democracy.

Democracy is not an exclusive property of the West. Democratic norms and principles are universal, although the institutions through which they are realized may vary in time and space.

That many of the peoples of precolonial Africa experienced a measure of democracy at the village level and, indeed, beyond the village in larger political communities has been well established. There, as elsewhere, there was democracy, in addition to tyranny and other forms of rule. Democracy as "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," to use Abraham Lincoln's definition, does imply a number of norms or principles that were found in those societies, including:

- the idea that authority emanates from the people and that its exercise must be circumscribed by a set of rules with respect to its limits and mode of operation, and not be arbitrary;

- the principle of accountability, that rulers are accountable to the people for their acts;

- the right of citizens to participate in the management of public affairs;

- and the right of people to change the government, including the right to revolution.

The latter is a right that the people of Africa rose to exercise against colonial rule, which was based on economic exploitation, political repression, and cultural oppression. But, decolonization was a partial revolution. For though it was characterized by a rupture in state power or in political leadership, it was marked by a continuity in the functions of the state, namely, resource extraction and

Democracy is not an exclusive property of the West.

racy before the upheaval in the east included the "second independence movement" in Congo-Kinshasa, Zaire, similar uprisings in Chad and Uganda, social movements in the Horn of Africa and elsewhere, and the events of October 1988 in Algeria. However, if the democratic movement in postcolonial Africa did exist prior to changes in Eastern Europe, these developments gave it a new impetus.

The radical changes in Eastern Europe had an important demonstration effect all over Africa: in the north (Algeria), in the west (Benin, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Togo), in the center (Congo, Gabon, Zaire), in the east (Kenya), and the south (Zambia). If the monopoly of the party could crumble so rapidly in countries of Eastern Europe, where the security apparatus had immense resources of repression, it was inevitable that the

Democracy will not be handed over on a silver platter. It will come about only through popular struggles.

social control. Contrary to the countries of advanced capitalism, where the private sector is the primary arena of accumulation, the state in Africa is at once the major source of wealth and the means of preserving it. Hence the obsession with indefinite tenure of office. The result is the privatization of the state itself, the expansion of the state sector, and the diminution of its administrative capabilities. Servant of the minority in power, the state thus privatized is no longer capable of serving the majority of the population

in an adequate manner. Hence its authoritarian and antidemocratic character. To resolve the current economic crisis and realize their deepest aspirations, the people are determined to bring about a "second independence" through a radical transformation of the neocolonial state.

Democracy will not be handed over on a silver platter. It will come about only through popular struggles. It is, in other words, the result of such struggles, a conquest by freedom-loving people determined to realize their goal of a better life.

It is to be feared, at least in the short term, that current leaders may succeed in replacing the single-party dictatorship with a democratic formulation, or a democracy in form rather than content. I am alluding

The democratization process in Africa today is irreversible.

here to a multipartyism without democracy, as it is already practiced in Egypt, Senegal, Tunisia, and elsewhere (the dominance of one party, electoral fraud, lack of alternation in rule, etc.). Past developments in Gabon and Côte d'Ivoire have not been reassuring. A lot of hope remains with respect to the Beninois experiment, whose results, like those of Cape Verde, should be rich in lessons for the rest of the continent.

We must acknowledge that a lot of progress has already been made during the last two years. For example, we may cite the following developments:

- the widespread commitment to the principle of the rule of law, with a judicial system capable of ensuring the impartiality and the protection of basic rights;

- the evolution, slow but steady, of a culture of freedom, with the defense of the right to criticize the government, free-

dom of expression in general, and freedom of the press in particular;

- the commitment to the idea of political and trade union pluralism, together with the independence of mass organizations from the state and political parties;

- and the commitment to the principle of accountability, with a civil society that is assertive and eager to participate in the management of public affairs through free and fair elections, decentralized governmental structures, and non-governmental organizations.

The democratization process in Africa today is irreversible. There may be setbacks here and there, resistance by well-entrenched kleptocrats, and Machiavellian manipulation of democratic forces by clever leaders. But, two factors seem to promise hope for the future:

(1) The people can no longer be intimidated by the ruling oligarchies, as they are determined to assert their right to revolution;

(2) The neocolonial umbrella relied upon by corrupt and discredited regimes to stay in power has collapsed with the end of the Cold War. No longer is loyalty to one superpower or the other sufficient foundation for an authoritarian government.

Although change will come about as a result of political dynamics in each country, there is need for principled support for democracy in Africa by all the people of good will around the world.

Dr. Nzongola-Ntalaja is a professor of African Studies at Howard University. This article is reprinted with permission of The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, New York 10038 USA.



Africans Centers

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of democracy, culture, and development; and organizing and conducting seminars, workshops, and conferences.

For information: Gorée Institute, Center for Democracy, Development, and Culture in Africa. B.P. 6413, Dakar (Etiole), Senegal, telephone: (221) 217081, fax: (221) 225476.

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA)

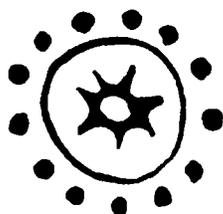
IDASA is committed to South Africa's transition to a non-racial democracy and focuses on key issues such as economic justice, education, civil rights, the media, and grassroots involvement in decision-making. The kind of institutions and practices IDASA regards as necessary for the achievement of a democratic society include: a bill of rights, a multiparty system, a just and efficient economic system, a democratic political culture, a strong civil society, a non-racial, non-sexist society, deeply-rooted social institutions, openness in public life, and the promotion of life affirming values.

Since 1986, IDASA has hosted a wide range of conferences both within South Africa as well as outside of the country in order to facilitate contact with the then banned opposition movements. Proposed activities at the Institute include a national training center for democracy, a mass media program to enhance public understanding of issues of transition and democracy, youth programs to mobilize the energies and resourcefulness of organized youth for peaceful transformation, as well as numerous conferences, seminars, and workshops throughout South Africa. IDASA also publishes a journal called "*Democracy in Action*."

For information: Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, IDASA, Hill House, 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray, Cape Town 7700, South Africa, telephone: (021) 473127, fax: (021) 477458.

Calendar

October 8-12, 1992, **The International Association of Women Judges (IAWJ)** will hold its inaugural conference in San Diego, California. For information: Contact your IAWJ International Director, or Karen Heroy, National Center for State Courts, 300 Newport Avenue, Williamsburg, Virginia 23187-8798 USA, telephone (804) 253-2000, fax: (804) 220-0449.



November 20-23, 1992, **International Conference on Redefining Democracy, the New World Order, and the Peoples' Struggles in Africa**, Tanzania. Sponsored by the International Institute for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa with the cooperation of the Chief Minister of Tanzania. The president of Tanzania will open the conference. For information: International Institute for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa, 3 Walker Close, Arnos Road, London N11 1AQ, United Kingdom, telephone: (081) 361-1794, fax: (081) 361-0985.

African Voices

The Africa Bureau Information Center
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Recent Publications on Democratization

Global Coalition for Africa: Documents on Development, Democracy, and Debt. available from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, DAF/GCA, P.O. Box 20061, 2500 EB The Hague, The Netherlands (free for European and African NGOs).

The Concept of Governance and its Implications for AID's Development Assistance Program. Available from The Africa Bureau Information Center, US-AID, Room 2664 NS, Washington, D.C. 20523-0037 USA.

Democratizing Development: The Role of Voluntary Organizations by John Clark. Available from Kumarian Press, 630 Oakwood Ave., West Hartford, Connecticut, 06110-1505 USA (Price: \$16.95); and from Earthscan, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD, United Kingdom (Price: £7.95).

Democracy, Governance and Economic Policy: Sub-Saharan Africa in Comparative Perspective by John Healey and Mark Robinson. Available from the Overseas Development Institute Publications, Regent's College, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London NW1 4NS, United Kingdom (Price: £10.95).

The Democratic Revolution: Struggles for Freedom and Pluralism in the Developing World edited by Larry Diamond. Available from Freedom House, 48 East 21st Street, New York, New York, 10010 USA (Price: \$24.95 cloth; \$12.95 paper).

The Silent Revolution in Africa: Debt, Development and Democracy by Fantu Cheru. Available from Humanities Press International, Inc., 165 First Avenue, Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey 07716 USA (Price: \$49.95 cloth; \$17.50 paper).

Governance and Politics in Africa by Goran Hyden and Michael Bratton (Price: \$40.00 cloth; \$16.95 paper). Available from Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1800 30th Street, Suite 314, Boulder, Colorado 80301 USA.

Democracy and Socialism in Africa edited by Robin Cohen and Harry Goulbourne (Price: \$39.50). Westview Press, 5500 Central Avenue, Boulder, Colorado 80301-2847 USA.

The Democratic Transition in Africa: An End to the One-Party State? by Stephan P. Riley. Available from the Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, London, United Kingdom (Price: £7.50).