

Frustration with this imposed orthodox approach to structural adjustment and conditionality has led to the search for alternatives that are expansionary, less economic, and more self-reliant. Africans in particular see the need for a new development model to break the cycle of debt and dependency. There is also recognition that Africa's economic crisis has been worsened by the corruption and mismanagement of some of its governments. Reforms are required in many spheres, not just the economic, and political legitimacy is essential to carry forward these reforms. This can only come through indigenous forms of popular participation. Acknowledging these domestic political and policy challenges, consultant Chisanga Puta-Chekwe nonetheless stressed that misery is unavoidable when the prices for key exports plunge on Northern commodities markets. In the two cases we studied, he contended that "economic trade opportunities for Zambia and Ghana have not improved so far with structural adjustment." Their crises were brought about by a hostile external trading environment more than by domestic policy failings.⁽¹⁶⁾ Still, there is no getting around the responsibilities for reform which developing countries must themselves shoulder if recovery is to be achieved.

We note that African governments last year adopted an "African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation" (AAF-SAP), the broad outlines of which were presented to us by Dr. Adedeji of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). It proposes a different economic emphasis from that of the IMF and World Bank, integrated with social and political reforms, and combined with sharp reductions in debt service so that more resources can be available for domestic investment in the priorities of human resource development and food self-sufficiency. On a global basis, UNICEF has for some years been calling for an alternative model of "adjustment with a human face." UNICEF argues that economic adjustment must focus on long-term sustainable human development and must protect the poor and most vulnerable groups.⁽¹⁷⁾

(16) Sub-Committee on International Debt, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, Issue No. 5, 8 March 1990, p. 15.

(17) For a comparison of the UNICEF and orthodox approaches, see Richard Jolly, "Poverty and Adjustment in the 1990s," in Valeriana Kallab and Richard Feinberg, eds., *Strengthening the Poor: What Have We Learned?*, Overseas Development Council, New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Books, 1988, p. 168. See also *The State of the World's Children 1990*, p. 10 and passim.