NEW AFRICAN ECONOMIC MODEL

THE AFRICAN MANIFESTO

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THE ACCRA DECLARATION

Preamble

Eighty years ago in Manchester, delegates of the African peoples, the global Black diaspora, African workers, peasants, intellectuals and freedom fighters gathered for the Fifth Pan-African Congress. Their clarion call was unmistakable: *the political and economic liberation of Africa is a single struggle*. They spoke with a single, defiant voice against colonialism, imperialism, racism, and economic exploitation of the African people. Their Declaration proclaimed that the wealth of Africa belonged to its people and that political independence was inseparable from economic emancipation.

Today, we assemble in Accra, the first capital of independent sub-Saharan Africa, to mark the 80th anniversary of that historic gathering. We honour the memory of Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore, Amy Ashwood Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois, Ras Makonnen, and the many workers, farmers, and students who laid the foundation of modern Pan-Africanism. We affirm that the work they began remains unfinished.

The Manchester delegates insisted that *"the wealth of Africa, for centuries stolen from its people, must be returned to them."* They called for the ownership of natural resources, land control, and industry development to serve African needs rather than imperial profit.

In the decades since, African nations have achieved pseudo-political independence, yet the structures of centuries of economic domination endure. External control of finance and trade, the repatriation of profits, the burden of odious debt, and the extraction of raw materials for foreign industry continue to impoverish our people. Structural adjustment policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank have rolled back social progress, while climate injustice deepens inequality.

The vision of Manchester was not merely freedom from colonial rule; it was the creation of a self-reliant, industrialized, and socially just Africa. To realize that vision in the 21st century, there is the urgent need to transform our economies, unify our markets, and reclaim control over resources and technology. We, representatives of Pan-African movements, students, workers, farmers, youth, women, labour unions, cultural creators and the wider diaspora, declare and re-commit to the unfinished declaration of Manchester. We declare that Pan-African unity, popular participation, and socialist-oriented economic planning are indispensable to complete freedom.

Building on the 1945 call for economic self-determination, we adopt the following declarations:

Our Collective Pledge

Standing on the shoulders of Du Bois, Padmore, Nkrumah, and the countless workers who filled the halls of Manchester in 1945, we, the delegates assembled in Accra, vow to complete the revolution they began. We will build a united, socialist-oriented Africa that controls its land, labour, and resources; that uplifts women, youth, and workers; and that acts in solidarity with all oppressed peoples of the world.

The liberation of Africa is inseparable from the liberation of humanity. We therefore proclaim: the era of economic subjugation is ending. The age of Pan-African social ownership and solidarity has begun.

We call on governments, unions, grassroots movements, and the global African family to mobilize resources, knowledge, and solidarity to make them reality within a single generation.

Adopted by acclamation in Accra, Ghana, on the 80th Anniversary of the 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress.

Signed on this day, 21st October, 2025.

The 80th-Anniversary Pan-African Congress, Accra, Ghana 2025

1) All countries in Africa should implement industrialization policy as the foundation of their economic strategy for the next 10 years.

Industrialization must be the backbone of Africa's transformation. This means establishing regional industrial corridors that link multiple countries. Every district should have specialized factories tied to local resources. Governments must support industrialization with subsidies, cheap energy, and guaranteed local procurement from schools, hospitals, and the military. Industrial policies should prioritize import substitution (producing at home what Africa currently imports most: food, medicine, machines, textiles) and encourage innovation clusters around manufacturing. Industrialization should be engineered towards meeting local consumption needs by manufacturing of products essential to build a resilience economy.

- Establish integrated steel plants in mineral-rich zones such as Guinea, Nigeria, South Africa, and the Great Lakes region to process Africa's iron ore and manganese. These plants will supply rail tracks, construction beams, machinery parts, and shipbuilding plates for the whole continent.
- Expand smelters near bauxite deposits in Ghana and Guinea and copper belts in Zambia and DRC to produce wiring, automotive parts, and aircraft components.
- Set up assembly lines for essential machineries such as tractors, irrigation pumps, and food-processing machines so African farmers no longer rely on imported tools.
- Produce solar panels, wind-turbine blades, and battery packs using Africa's cobalt and lithium, ensuring local supply for the renewable-energy sector.

- Each farming belt should host plants that mill grain, can vegetables, press oils, and package dairy.
- Cotton regions such as Benin, Mali and Sudan should run full chains from spinning to garment production; hides from pastoral zones can feed tanneries and shoe factories.

Expand Chemical and Pharmaceutical Production

- Fertilizer and Industrial Chemicals: Convert natural gas reserves into ammonia and urea for African fertilizer plants.
- Pharmaceuticals: Produce generic medicines, vaccines, and medical equipment in hubs like South Africa, Egypt, and Senegal to ensure health security.

Build Supporting Infrastructure

- Energy: Deploy continent-wide renewable and hydro power to guarantee reliable electricity for factories.
- Transport Links: Modernize railways and inland ports to move raw materials to plants and deliver finished goods across borders.
- Technical Skills: Align vocational schools and engineering programs with these industries so local workers can run and maintain advanced machinery.

Prioritize Local Markets First

All production targets Africa's own consumption before export. Factories should plan capacity based on domestic demand for steel, food, medicine, and equipment, creating resilience against global price shocks.

2. All African countries should introduce de jure and de facto state participation in all corporations in strategically important industries

Introduction

The current neoliberal model has often left African nations as mere exporters of raw materials, capturing minimal value and remaining vulnerable to global market shocks. This program presents a radical alternative: the mandatory assertion of state participation in all strategically vital industries. This is not nationalization for its own sake, but a calculated Pan-African strategy to ensure that Africa's vast resources finally serve Africa's development goals. It is a project for economic liberation, continental integration, and self-reliance.

Sovereignty is meaningless without economic control. Strategic industries must be strategically owned.

The Value Extraction Gap: Africa holds 30% of the world's mineral reserves, yet its share of global mineral exports is only about 5% (UNCTAD). This indicates a massive loss of potential value.

Profit Repatriation: In 2022, multinational corporations repatriated over $75 billion in profits from Sub-Saharan Africa, often facilitated by tax avoidance schemes (UNCTAD World Investment Report). This is capital that is not reinvested locally.

The Jobs Paradox: Despite being resource-rich, Africa has the world's highest youth unemployment rate. The extractive sector is capital-intensive and creates few jobs without forward and backward linkages.

Food Insecurity: Africa possesses over 60% of the world's uncultivated arable land yet spends over $70 billion annually on food imports (AfDB). This highlights a critical failure in strategic food sovereignty.

The Framework: Mandatory State Participation & Defined Sectors

A. Definition of Strategic Industries:

The following sectors are declared strategic for national security and development. No corporation may operate in these areas without the host state holding a minimum 51% equity stake.

Mining and Metals: Iron ore, bauxite, copper, cobalt, rare earth elements, gold, diamonds.

Energy: Oil, natural gas, solar, wind, hydro, power generation and transmission.

Telecommunications & Digital Infrastructure: Data centres, sub-sea cables, satellite networks, 5G/6G systems.

Water & Food Security: Large dams, desalination plants, major irrigation schemes, fertilizer and seed production.

Transport & Logistics: Rail, ports, airlines, and major trucking corridors.

B. Mechanisms for Acquiring the 51% Stake:

For New Projects: The 51% state stake is a non-negotiable condition for any operating license or contract.

For Existing Operations:

1. Negotiated Purchase: Using sovereign wealth funds or future revenue streams as collateral.
2. Resource-for-Equity Swaps: Renegotiating debt or infrastructure deals for equity stakes.
3. Gradual Share Transfer: A clause mandating that a percentage of annual profits is used to buy back shares until the 51% threshold is met within a defined timeframe (e.g., 15 years).

C. Rights Conferred by the 51% Stake:

Golden Share Voting Power: Veto power over mergers, acquisitions, and key strategic decisions (e.g., mine closure, major capital allocation).

Automatic Dividend Streams: Profits are directed to national development funds and a Continental African Investment Fund.

Total Transparency: Unrestricted access to production, financial, and geological data for national planning.

The Non-Negotiable Clause: Technology & Skills Transfer

Ownership without knowledge is hollow. Every contract must include:

Mandatory Training Pipelines: Corporations must fund and run apprenticeship programs within their operations, with quotas for local engineers and technicians.

Joint R&D Labs: Requirement to establish and fund research partnerships with African universities, focused on:

- Local beneficiation and mineral processing.
- Adapting renewable energy tech for African conditions.
- Local manufacturing of critical replacement parts.

3) All African countries should nationalize the extraction of natural resources.

The history of Africa's economic relations with the global North is a centuries-old chronicle of systematic plunder. The neoliberal paradigm that has dominated recent decades has legitimized this dynamic, turning the continent's richest natural resources from a potential source of development into a cause of the "resource curse," resulting in environmental degradation, economic dependency, and conflict. This program proposes a decisive break with this neocolonial model. It advocates for full public control over natural resources not as an end in itself, but as the fundamental basis for industrializing Africa, achieving energy and food self-sufficiency, and financing a sovereign future. It is a project of restoring justice and enabling rational, Pan-African development.

Core Principle: Those who own the land own what is beneath it. Africa’s resources must first and foremost serve the people of Africa.

The Imperative: Verifiable Statistics Illustrating the Scale of Exploitation

The Raw Materials Trap: Despite being a primary source of critical minerals, Africa's share of global manufactured goods exports is less than 2% (World Bank data). This starkly illustrates the catastrophic loss of added value from raw material exports.

Profit Drain: A 2015 report by the African Development Bank and Global Financial Integrity estimated that Africa is a net creditor to the rest of the world by billions of dollars due to illicit financial flows, tax evasion, and profit repatriation, largely from the extractive sector.

The Employment Scandal: The mining sector employs less than 1% of Africa’s total workforce (International Council on Mining and Metals, ICMM), yet it is the most significant source of export revenue. This demonstrates a profound failure to create broad-based economic opportunities.

The Energy Poverty Paradox: The continent that exports vast quantities of oil, gas, and coal has over 600 million people without access to electricity (International Energy Agency, IEA, 2022). This is the ultimate indictment of the extractive model.

The Framework: Full Public Control and Value Addition

A. Legal Restitution of Resources:

Action: Enact national laws declaring all underground mineral, oil, and gas resources the inalienable property of the state, held in trust for the people.

Action: For existing private concessions:

1. Mandatory Buy-Back Clause: Implement a legal mechanism for the state to acquire a controlling stake (as outlined in the previous act) or full ownership.

2. Resource-for-Infrastructure/Equity Swaps: Negotiate with current operators to swap debt or equity for asset ownership.

3. Phased National Purchase: Use a significant portion of royalties and taxes from the mine's own output to fund a sovereign wealth fund dedicated to buying back concessions over a 10-15 year period.

B. Continental Harmonization: The Pan-African Mining Code

Action: The African Union (AU) must adopt a single, binding mining code that standardizes:

Environmental Standards: Strict rules on water use, pollution, waste management, and land rehabilitation.

Labor Rights: Continental standards for wages, safety, and the right to unionize.

Fiscal Terms: A minimum floor for royalties and taxes, eliminating the "race to the bottom" where countries compete by offering corporations unfair tax breaks.

Outcome: Prevents multinational corporations from pitting African nations against each other and ensures wealth is shared fairly.

C. Industrialization and Integration: Adding Value at Source

Action: Ban the export of critical minerals in their raw, unprocessed form. All extracted resources must undergo at least primary processing (e.g., smelting, refining, cutting, and polishing) within the country or region of extraction.

Action: State-led development of Industrial Processing Zones adjacent to major resource sites, featuring:

- Smelters for metals like copper and iron ore.
- Refineries for cobalt and lithium.
- Cutting and polishing plants for diamonds.
- Petrochemical plants linked to oil and gas fields.

Action: Strategic Sector Integration:

Use natural gas and phosphate deposits to build continental fertilizer plants, boosting African agricultural productivity.

Mandate that a significant percentage of mineral royalties be invested in building renewable energy infrastructure (solar, wind, hydro) to power the mines and feed clean energy into national grids.

This program transforms nationalization from a simple act of state control into a dynamic, Pan-African engine for industrialization, job creation, and technological sovereignty. It represents a comprehensive plan to break the vicious cycles of neocolonialism, requiring an unprecedented level of political will, technical planning, and, most importantly, continental solidarity.

4. All African countries should nationalize disputed, uncultivated or illegally acquired lands

Introduction

Land is the most fundamental asset for any society—the basis for food sovereignty, housing, cultural identity, and economic prosperity. In Africa, the legacy of colonialism, coupled with neoliberal policies promoting privatization and foreign ownership, has resulted in widespread land dispossession, speculative hoarding, and conflict. This program outlines a decisive shift towards reclaiming land as a common heritage, not a market commodity. It proposes placing all land under public or communal stewardship to ensure equitable access, prevent exploitation, and promote sustainable development for the benefit of all Africans.

Core Principle: Land is a common resource that belongs to the people and must be managed for the collective good, not private profit.

Foreign Land Acquisition: An estimated 63 million hectares of fertile African land—an area larger than France—has been acquired by foreign investors and governments since 2000, often for export-oriented agriculture, displacing local communities (Land Matrix, 2022).

Urban Inequality: In major African cities, over 60% of residents live in informal settlements with insecure tenure, facing constant threat of eviction despite often living on idle or underutilized land (UN-Habitat).

Agricultural Productivity: Despite vast tracts of arable land, smallholder farmers—who are predominantly women and produce over 70% of Africa's food—often lack secure tenure, preventing them from investing in long-term soil health and productivity (FAO).

Conflict Driver: Competition over land and natural resources is a primary driver of conflict and displacement across the continent, exacerbated by climate change and population growth.

The Framework: Stewardship, Not Ownership

A. Legal Reformation of Land Tenure:

Action: Constitutional and legislative reform to establish that all land is ultimately held by the state or local communities in trust for the people. Private freehold ownership is abolished and converted into a system of usufructuary rights—secure, long-term, and inheritable leases.

Action: Establish clear and transparent categories of land tenure:

Communal Land: Managed by traditional authorities or elected community councils for housing, grazing, and cultural purposes.

Public Land: Managed by the state for conservation, infrastructure, and public goods.

Leased Land: Long-term leases (e.g., 49-99 years) granted to individuals, cooperatives, and businesses for productive use (farming, housing, industry).

B. The Land Bank and Redistribution Mechanism:

Action: Establish National and Regional Public Land Banks. These entities will identify, register, and hold:

- All idle or abandoned land.
- Land acquired by the state through the conversion from freehold.
- Land that is under dispute, pending resolution.

Action: This land bank will be the primary mechanism for equitable redistribution. Priority for leases will be given to:

- Landless farmers, youth, and women-led agricultural cooperatives.
- Community-led affordable housing projects.
- Businesses whose operations align with national development goals and value-addition (e.g., local food processing).

C. Guaranteeing Rights and Productive Use:

Action: Leases are contingent on the productive and sustainable use of the land. Leases for speculative purposes or leaving land idle will be revoked, and the land returned to the public bank.

Action: Implement a massive continental program of land titling for existing smallholder farmers and residents of informal settlements, granting them formal, secure, and free leases to guarantee their rights and encourage investment.

4. Feasible Implementation Strategy

Phase 1: Legal and Institutional Framework (Years 0-3)

Pioneer nations amend constitutions to affirm the principle of state/communal custodianship of land.

Establish the National Land Commission and Public Land Bank with a mandate to conduct a comprehensive national land audit using modern technology (e.g., GIS mapping) to catalog all land, its current use, and ownership status.

Phase 2: Piloting and Voluntary Conversion (Years 2-5)

- Begin the land bank with state-owned and clearly idle/disputed lands.
- Launch a voluntary program to convert existing private titles to long-term leases, with incentives for early adoption (e.g., tax benefits, technical support).

Phase 3: Full Implementation and Continental Integration (Years 5-15)

The land lease system becomes the standard across participating nations.

- The AU adopts a Pan-African Framework on Land Governance to harmonize policies, prevent cross-border land grabbing, and facilitate knowledge sharing on sustainable land management.

- Land banks are leveraged to support continental food sovereignty and affordable housing initiatives.
- This program moves beyond the simplistic debate of state vs. private ownership. It proposes a sophisticated third way rooted in African traditions of communal stewardship, updated for the modern era. It ensures that land serves its social function, protects the most vulnerable from dispossession, and becomes the foundational asset for building a self-reliant, integrated, and prosperous Africa.

5. We need full control of logistic routes on the territory of Africa and in its territorial waters.

Introduction

Africa's current logistics networks are fragmented and often designed to extract resources to global markets rather than connect African nations. This outward-oriented infrastructure perpetuates dependency and inhibits intra-African trade, which remains among the lowest in the world. This program proposes a radical shift towards continental self-sufficiency in logistics. By seizing collective control of its roads, rails, ports, and digital corridors, Africa can break logistical dependency chains, secure trade routes, and build the arteries for a single, integrated continental market. This is the physical manifestation of Pan-African economic liberation.

Intra-African Trade: Despite the AfCFTA, intra-African trade is only around 15-18%, compared to over 60% in Europe and Asia (UNCTAD). A major barrier is the high cost and poor quality of cross-border logistics.

Port Inefficiency: African ports are among the least efficient globally. Due to bureaucracy, poor infrastructure, and corruption, cargo dwell times average 20 days in some regions, compared to 2-4 days in Asia (World Bank).

The Cost of Disconnection: Transport costs in Africa are among the highest in the world, accounting for 50-75% of the value of exported goods for landlocked countries (AfDB).

Illicit Trade: The Gulf of Guinea accounted for over 95% of all reported kidnappings at sea globally in 2020, and illicit trade in minerals and fuel robs African economies of tens of billions annually (IMO).

The Framework: Unified Command and Integrated Networks

A. Continental Governance: The African Logistics Authority (ALA)

Action: Establish the African Logistics Authority (ALA) as a continental body with the mandate to own, coordinate, and secure key transnational corridors for rail, road, air, and sea.

Action: The ALA will set continental standards, prioritize infrastructure investments, and manage the single digital platform for trade.

B. The Infrastructure Revolution: Rail, Ports, and Shipping

Action: Launch a continental project to build a high-capacity, electrified rail network prioritizing key integration routes: Dakar–Lagos, Addis Ababa–Kinshasa, Cairo–Cape Town.

Action: Consolidate national air and shipping fleets into a single, efficient Pan-African Carrier to reduce costs and increase capacity.

Action: Modernize and expand major ports under African management, focusing on containerization and efficient cargo handling to drastically reduce dwell times.

C. Digital and Security Sovereignty

Action: Implement a Single Digital Platform for all customs clearance, cargo tracking, and payments across all AU member states to eliminate bureaucratic delays and opportunities for corruption.

Action: Launch Joint African Naval Patrols with a unified command, supported by satellite monitoring, to secure the Gulf of Guinea, the Red Sea, the Mozambique Channel, and the Great Lakes from piracy and illicit trafficking.

D. Industrial and Developmental Focus

Action: Mandate that all new logistics routes must directly connect industrial parks, agro-processing centers, and manufacturing hubs to regional markets, not just link mines to export terminals.

6. We demand the priority employment for Africans in foreign companies operating on the continent.

Introduction: Decolonizing the African Workplace

Foreign corporations operating in Africa have historically functioned as enclaves of imported labor and expertise, perpetuating economic dependency and stifling the development of local skills and leadership. This program confronts this neocolonial dynamic head-on, transforming foreign enterprises from extractive entities into mandatory pathways for African skill-building, technological acquisition, and leadership development. It is a direct rejection of the neoliberal model that prioritizes corporate profit over people, demanding that foreign capital actively builds human capacity as a non-negotiable condition of its operation on African soil.

Core Principle: The presence of foreign companies must result in the deliberate and verifiable transfer of skills, technology, and management authority to African professionals.

The Imperative: Verifiable Statistics Highlighting the Skills Drain

Management Gap: In many resource-rich African nations, expatriates hold over 70% of senior and mid-level management positions in the extractive sectors, despite decades of foreign operation (World Bank Enterprise Surveys).

Wage Disparity: Expatriate workers in Africa often earn multiples of the salary of their African counterparts in equivalent roles, representing a massive financial outflow and a form of economic leakage (ILO reports).

Training Investment: Foreign firms in developing regions consistently invest less in local employee training than their counterparts in developed markets, creating a perpetual cycle of dependency on imported expertise (UNCTAD World Investment Reports).

Brain Drain: Africa loses an estimated $2 billion annually from the cost of replacing highly skilled professionals who emigrate, a drain exacerbated by limited upward mobility in foreign-owned firms (AU Institute for Economic Development and Planning).

The Framework: Mandatory Africanization and Skills Transfer

A. Legislative Quotas and Timelines

Action: Enact the African Employment Equity Act, mandating that all foreign companies achieve a minimum of 50% African occupancy in all management and technical positions within five years, and 80% of their total workforce.

Action: Require companies to submit annual audited workforce composition reports to a continental regulatory body.

B. Structured and Funded Skills Transfer

Action: Mandate that every foreign company above a certain size establish and fund in-country Technical Training Centers, offering certified apprenticeship programs aligned with national development goals.

Action: Implement a "Skills-Transfer Visa" system where work permits for expatriate staff are contingent on their contractually obligated role in mentoring and training designated African successors, with progress reviewed annually.

C. Building the Leadership Pipeline

Action: Create a Pan-African Executive Development Fund, financed by a levy on foreign firms, to provide fast-track scholarships and executive MBA programs for high-potential African staff, with placements guaranteed in partner companies.

Action: Require foreign companies to establish clear, published succession plans that identify and prepare African staff for top leadership positions.

D. Incentives and Penalties for Compliance

Action: Impose heavy, escalating financial penalties for non-compliance with employment quotas, with funds directed into national workforce development programs.

Action: Offer significant tax credits and preferential bidding status to companies that exceed quotas, establish local research and development (R&D) labs, and demonstrate excellence in skills transfer.

7. We demand an increase in the use of national currencies in settlements.

Introduction: Breaking the Chains of Monetary Dependency

Africa's chronic dependency on foreign currencies for trade and finance represents one of the most profound and enduring constraints on its economic sovereignty. The use of external currencies for intra-African trade and reserve holdings subjects the continent to external monetary policy shocks, imposes crippling transaction costs, and facilitates the systematic drain of capital through exchange rate mechanisms. This program outlines a comprehensive strategy for a systematic shift towards settlements in national and regional currencies. It is a decisive move to decolonize African finance, reduce vulnerability to external pressure, and build a resilient, integrated continental financial system. This transition is fundamental to realizing the full benefits of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) and asserting true economic independence.

The Imperative: Verifiable Statistics Highlighting the Cost of Dependency

The extent of Africa's monetary dependency is staggering and quantifiable. Annual intra-African trade is estimated at nearly $200 billion, but over 80% of these transactions are settled in US dollars, not African currencies. This dependency creates massive inefficiencies. African businesses lose an estimated $5 billion annually to currency conversion costs alone when trading with each other. These costs include direct bank charges and the often-crippling spreads between official and parallel market exchange rates.

Furthermore, holding foreign currency reserves represents a massive opportunity cost for African nations. African central banks hold over $200 billion in foreign exchange reserves, predominantly in US dollars and euros. These reserves are often invested in low-yielding foreign assets instead of being channeled into financing critical infrastructure and industrial development within Africa. This system effectively forces capital-starved African nations to lend their savings to developed economies at low interest while borrowing back their own capital at much higher rates.

The volatility of external currencies also severely impacts economic planning. Fluctuations in the dollar directly translate into unpredictable costs for essential imports like medicine, equipment, and fuel, fueling inflation and budget instability across the continent. This external monetary policy imposition undermines national economic sovereignty and planning.

The Framework: A Multi-Tiered System for Local Currency Settlement

A. Strengthening and Universalizing the Pan-African Payment and Settlement System (PAPSS)

The foundational action is the full adoption, integration, and scaling of the Pan-African Payment and Settlement System (PAPSS), developed by the African Export-Import Bank (Afreximbank) in collaboration with the African Union. PAPSS must be transformed from a pilot project into the continent's primary financial market infrastructure. This requires mandating that all commercial banks in AU member states connect to the PAPSS platform. The system allows for immediate, secure conversion and settlement of transactions between African currencies, eliminating the need for a third external currency. Widespread adoption will slash transaction times from days to minutes and reduce costs by up to 80%.

B. Establishing a Continental System of Bilateral and Multilateral Swap Agreements

A network of currency swap agreements between African central banks must be established. These agreements would allow central banks to exchange their local currencies with each other at agreed-upon rates, providing the necessary liquidity to facilitate trade without immediately draining foreign reserves. For instance, the Central Bank of Nigeria could provide naira to the Bank of Ghana, which in turn would provide cedis to Nigeria, enabling their respective importers and exporters to conduct business in their local currencies. A central coordinating body, potentially under the African Monetary Cooperation Program (AMCP), should be tasked with brokering and managing these agreements to ensure stability and trust.

C. Creating a Pan-African Currency Unit for Accounting and Reserves

As an intermediate step towards deeper monetary integration, the creation of a Pan-African Currency Unit (PACU) is critical. The PACU would function as a unit of account—a common denominator for valuing goods, services, and assets in intra-African trade—without replacing national currencies initially. It could be a weighted basket of African currencies, similar to the former European Currency Unit (ECU). Its introduction would reduce the cognitive and accounting bias towards the dollar, provide a more stable benchmark for regional value chains, and could eventually evolve into a tool for settling inter-central bank balances. Over time, a percentage of national reserves could be held in PACU, gradually reducing the share held in extra-African currencies.

D. Promoting the Use of Local Currencies in Strategic Sectors

Mandating the use of local currencies must begin with strategic sectors. Governments can issue directives that all payments for raw materials, agricultural products, and energy traded between African nations be conducted in local currencies via PAPSS. Furthermore, all contracts for intra-African infrastructure projects, consultancy services, and tourism should be denominated and settled in local currencies. This creates powerful momentum and demonstrates the practical viability of the system.

Feasible Implementation Strategy

Phase 1: Universal PAPSS Integration (Years 0-3)

The African Union, through the AfCFTA Secretariat, must make PAPSS integration a mandatory requirement for all member states. A massive sensitization campaign targeting banks, large corporations, and SMEs is launched to explain the benefits and mechanics. Regulatory hurdles are harmonized to allow for seamless cross-border banking operations via the platform.

Phase 2: Building the Liquidity Infrastructure (Years 2-5)

The network of bilateral swap agreements is aggressively pursued, starting with regional economic communities (RECs) where trust and trade links are strongest. The technical framework for the Pan-African Currency Unit (PACU) is designed by a committee of African central bank governors and finance ministers, with a clear roadmap for its introduction.

Phase 3: Full Operationalization and Expansion (Years 5-10)

The PACU is officially launched for use as a unit of account in intra-African trade and for inter-central bank settlements. Mandates for local currency use in strategic sectors are implemented continent-wide. The system is gradually expanded to include more complex financial instruments and transactions, solidifying a truly integrated and sovereign African financial market.

8. All African countries should develop agriculture aimed primarily at domestic consumption and reduce the share of exports to 30%.

Introduction

Africa possesses over 60% of the world's uncultivated arable land, yet it remains a net food importer, spending over $75 billion annually on foreign food purchases. This dependence is not only a strategic vulnerability but a profound moral and economic failure. The current neoliberal model prioritizes cash crops for export over feeding local populations, leaving African nations exposed to global price shocks and supply chain disruptions. This program outlines a decisive shift towards food sovereignty—the right of African people to define their own agricultural and food policies, to produce healthy and culturally appropriate food sustainably, and to prioritize domestic consumption. It is a strategy to break the cycle of dependency, create millions of rural jobs, and build resilient, self-sufficient national economies.

The Imperative: Verifiable Statistics Highlighting the Food Insecurity Paradox

The dimensions of Africa's agricultural paradox are both staggering and well-documented. Despite its vast agricultural potential, the continent is the most food-insecure region globally. Over 280 million people in Africa suffer from chronic hunger (FAO, 2023). This insecurity exists alongside massive import bills. For example, Nigeria, with immense agricultural capacity, spends over $5 billion annually on wheat, rice, and sugar imports. Similarly, East African nations import millions of tons of staple grains despite having the potential to be regional breadbaskets.

This import dependency creates extreme vulnerability. The Russia-Ukraine conflict triggered a sharp rise in global wheat and fertilizer prices, pushing millions more Africans into food insecurity and triggering social unrest. Furthermore, the focus on export crops like cocoa, coffee, and cut flowers has often come at the expense of food crops, leading to monoculture plantations that displace smallholder farmers and degrade soils, all while the profits are largely repatriated by foreign corporations.

Post-harvest losses remain catastrophic, estimated at 30-50% of total production due to inadequate storage, poor rural infrastructure, and inefficient supply chains. This represents not just lost food, but lost income for farmers and wasted resources.

The Framework: A Three-Pillar Strategy for Food Sovereignty

A. Creating National Food-Security Production Corridors

Action: Identify and develop strategic "Food-Security Corridors" based on large-scale, publicly-owned irrigation schemes and mechanized farming belts. These corridors will focus on the mass production of staple crops (e.g., maize, rice, cassava, wheat) specifically for domestic markets.

Action: These corridors will be managed by a combination of state agricultural agencies, large-scale farmer cooperatives, and public-private partnerships with a clear mandate to meet national consumption targets. Investment will be directed towards water harvesting, dam construction, and energy infrastructure to power these agro-industrial zones.

B. Building Integrated District-Level Agro-Processing Parks

- Action: Mandate the establishment of an Integrated Agro-Processing Park in every agricultural district. These parks will combine essential infrastructure:
- Storage Silos: To reduce post-harvest losses and allow for strategic grain reserves to stabilize prices.
- Cold Chain Facilities: To preserve perishable goods like fruits, vegetables, and dairy products.
- Packaging and Processing Facilities: To add value to raw produce (e.g., milling grain, processing tomatoes into paste, packaging nuts) right at the source, creating rural employment and increasing farmer incomes.

These parks will serve as collection, processing, and distribution hubs for all farmers in the district.

C. Mandating Public Procurement for Domestic Sourcing

Action: Enact legislation requiring that a minimum of 70% of all food procured for public institutions—including schools, universities, hospitals, the military, and government agencies—must be sourced from domestic farmers and cooperatives.

Action: Establish a transparent, digital national procurement platform that directly connects these institutions with verified local producers, ensuring fair prices and cutting out corrupt middlemen. This guaranteed market will provide the stability and incentive for farmers to invest and increase production.

Feasible Implementation Strategy

Phase 1: Pilot Corridors and Platform Development (Years 0-3)

Select two pilot regions in each participating country for the development of Food-Security Corridors. Simultaneously, begin the construction of Agro-Processing Parks in 10% of districts, prioritizing high-production areas. Develop and test the digital public procurement platform.

Phase 2: Scaling Production and Infrastructure (Years 2-7)

Expand the irrigation and mechanization of the Food-Security Corridors. Scale the construction of Agro-Processing Parks to cover 50% of agricultural districts. The 70% domestic sourcing mandate is enacted into law and implemented first in major institutions like the military and school feeding programs.

Phase 3: Continental Integration and Full Implementation (Years 5-15)

Achieve full coverage of Agro-Processing Parks nationwide. The public procurement system is fully operational and audited for compliance. Surplus production from national food corridors begins to be traded within the AfCFTA framework, using the Pan-African Payment and Settlement System (PAPSS) in local currencies, creating a continent-wide food security buffer.

9) We demand the priority of local producers over foreign companies in all public procurement.

Introduction

True economic sovereignty cannot be achieved if African markets remain perpetually open to foreign finished goods that stifle nascent domestic industries at birth. The neoliberal doctrine of unrestricted market access has systematically de-industrialized Africa, transforming it into a dumping ground for imports and a mere exporter of raw materials. This program articulates a decisive industrial policy that flips this script. It mandates the prioritization of African producers, manufacturers, and cooperatives as the primary suppliers for all domestic economic activity. This is not protectionism for its own sake, but a strategic and essential period of incubation to build resilient, competitive, and integrated continental supply chains that create wealth and jobs within Africa.

The Imperative: Verifiable Statistics Highlighting the Need for Market Protection

The scale of the challenge is starkly revealed by the data. Africa's industrial development has been stagnant for decades; manufacturing accounts for only about 10% of GDP on average in Sub-Saharan Africa, a figure that has barely changed since the 1970s and is the lowest of any developing region (World Bank). This is directly linked to import penetration. For instance, despite having the capacity for local production, many African countries import over 80% of their pharmaceuticals and medical supplies, leaving them vulnerable to global shortages and price gouging, as witnessed during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The agricultural sector tells a similar story. Supermarket shelves across the continent are stocked with imported fruit juices, canned goods, and dairy products from Europe and Asia, while local processors struggle to find reliable markets. This import dependency drains foreign reserves and kills local initiative. Furthermore, the informal sector, which employs the majority of Africans, is systematically excluded from formal supply chains, particularly government procurement, which is often dominated by large, well-connected foreign firms.

The Framework: A Multi-Pronged Strategy for Market Prioritization

A. Legislative Preference for African Content in Procurement

Action: Enact African Content Laws that mandate all government procurement—for construction, uniforms, furniture, IT equipment, pharmaceuticals, and stationery—must contain a minimum of 60% African-made components or value addition. This creates an immediate and guaranteed market for local industries.

Action: Establish an independent Office of African Content Compliance to audit government tenders and contracts, ensuring adherence to the law and imposing penalties for non-compliance.

B. Creating Transparency and Access: The African Supplier Database

Action: Develop and maintain a publicly accessible, verified Pan-African Supplier Database. This digital platform will catalog African manufacturers, artisans, and cooperatives by product, capacity, and certification, making it easy for procurement officers in government and the private sector to identify and source from local producers.

Action: Integrate this database directly with the Pan-African Payment and Settlement System (PAPSS) to facilitate seamless and efficient transactions.

C. Strategic and Temporary Tariff Protection

Action: Implement smart, time-bound tariffs on imported goods that have a verified African alternative in development. These duties are not permanent but are designed to protect infant industries until they achieve economies of scale and can compete effectively. The revenue generated should be reinvested into those same industries through grants and technical assistance.

Action: Within the AfCFTA framework, advocate for rules that allow for such strategic protectionism for developmental purposes, differentiating between raw materials (zero tariff) and finished goods that undermine local production (higher tariff).

D. Mandating Local Sourcing in Retail

Action: Legislate that large retailers and supermarket chains must source a minimum percentage (e.g., 60-70%) of their fresh produce, dairy, meat, and shelf-stable goods from African farmers and processors. This policy should be phased in to allow retailers to build new supply chains.

Action: Support this with the rapid expansion of the Integrated Agro-Processing Parks to ensure local producers can meet the quality and quantity standards required by major retailers.

Feasible Implementation Strategy

Phase 1: Legislation and Database Development (Years 0-2)

A vanguard of nations passes the African Content Laws with the 60% mandate. The technical development of the Pan-African Supplier Database begins, starting with a pilot program to register manufacturers in key sectors like textiles, construction materials, and food processing.

Phase 2: Compliance and Integration (Years 2-5)

The Office of African Content Compliance becomes operational and begins auditing major government contracts. The Supplier Database is launched and integrated into all major government procurement portals. Smart tariffs are applied to a first tranche of identified goods, such as bottled water, furniture, and certain building materials.

Phase 3: Full Implementation and Expansion (Years 5-10)

Compliance with the African Content Laws is strictly enforced across all government tiers. The local sourcing mandate for retailers is fully implemented. The system is reviewed and the required percentage of local content is gradually increased to 75-80%, driving deeper industrialization and value addition.

10. We demand the cancellation of discriminatory contracts with Western countries.

Introduction

The economic relationship between Africa and many Western nations is codified in a web of contracts, investment treaties, and bilateral agreements that are profoundly unequal and exploitative. These documents, often signed by unaccountable leaders under pressure or through corruption, legally enforce the very structures of dependency and resource drain that define neocolonialism. They grant foreign corporations excessive rights, lock in unfair fiscal terms, and even allow for secret tribunals that sue African governments for enacting policies that protect their own citizens. This program is a declaration of contractual independence. It demands a comprehensive audit and a forceful renegotiation of all such instruments, asserting that no agreement that harms the welfare of the African people can be considered legitimate or binding.

The Imperative: Verifiable Evidence of Exploitative Contracts

The damaging impact of these contracts is not theoretical; it is empirically measurable. The extractive industries provide the most egregious examples. A 2023 report by Natural Resource Governance Institute (NRGI) found that in numerous African nations, effective tax rates and government take from mining projects remain staggeringly low, often below 50%, due to sweetheart deals negotiated decades ago. In some cases, legacy oil contracts grant multinational companies over 90% of profits until their initial investment is recovered, leaving the host nation with scraps for years.

The scourge of Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) clauses is another critical issue. African governments have been sued in international tribunals for over $100 billion by foreign corporations for actions like raising minimum wages, strengthening environmental regulations, or even attempting to roll back privatizations of essential services like water. These suits create a "regulatory chill," preventing governments from acting in the public interest for fear of crippling financial penalties. Furthermore, telecommunications and digital infrastructure contracts often cede sovereign control over data and grant foreign companies monopolistic control, stifling local innovation and compromising national security.

The Framework: A Three-Pillar Strategy for Contractual Justice

A. The Continental Audit and Renegotiation Mandate

Action: The African Union (AU) will establish a high-powered Commission for Contractual Review (CCR), staffed by independent African legal experts, economists, and negotiators.

Action: The CCR's mandate is to conduct a continent-wide audit of all major international contracts in strategic sectors (mining, oil, gas, telecommunications, forestry, fishing). Each contract will be assessed against a new "African Public Interest Standard" that evaluates fairness, revenue share, environmental protections, and skills transfer.

Action: Based on the audit, the CCR will provide governments with a legal framework and technical support to either renegotiate or annul contracts deemed exploitative.

B. The "Sunset Clause" for Legacy Agreements

Action: Enact national legislation that imposes a mandatory review and re-tender requirement for all contracts with foreign entities that are older than ten years. This "sunset clause" prevents perpetual exploitation through outdated agreements.

Action: Contracts up for review must be re-bid under new, transparent terms that reflect current market realities and prioritize African partners. Existing operators must comply with the new terms or have their contracts terminated.

C. Coordinated Pan-African Bargaining

Action: Replace fragmented, nation-by-nation negotiations with collective bargaining through the AU. For sectors like mining, energy, and digital infrastructure, the AU will negotiate standardized, fair model contracts that establish a floor for revenue sharing, local content, and environmental responsibility.

Action: This united front prevents multinational corporations from engaging in "country shopping," playing one African nation against another to secure the most favorable terms. It establishes a common African position that commands respect and ensures a more equitable distribution of benefits.

11.All African countries should start building transport infrastructure as a matter of priority and link all African capitals and key cities with a network of roads and railways

Introduction

Africa's existing transport infrastructure is a colonial relic, designed to extract raw materials from the interior to coastal ports for export, rather than to connect nations and facilitate intra-African trade and integration. This fragmented, outward-oriented system is a primary cause of the continent's high transport costs, logistical inefficiencies, and economic disintegration. This program proposes a fundamental overhaul, pivoting towards a modern, integrated, and sovereign transport network. By prioritizing high-capacity, electrified rail lines that link major economic and political hubs, Africa can finally overcome its internal barriers, unleash the potential of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), and create the arteries for a unified, internally-driven economy.

The Imperative: Verifiable Statistics Highlighting the Infrastructure Deficit

The economic cost of Africa's disconnectedness is staggering. Logistics costs in Africa account for up to 50-75% of the retail price of goods (African Development Bank), making products unaffordable and businesses uncompetitive. This is compounded by the fact that only about 25% of Africa's road network is paved, and much of the rail system is outdated, narrow-gauge, and disconnected across borders.

The lack of reliable internal transport directly suppresses trade. Intra-African trade still languishes at around 15-18%, compared to over 60% in Europe and 50% in Asia (UNCTAD), with poor infrastructure being a leading cause. Furthermore, Africa's rapid urbanization is creating sprawling cities choked by traffic congestion and air pollution, resulting in estimated economic losses of 2-5% of GDP annually due to lost productivity and health impacts. This infrastructure deficit is not just an inconvenience; it is a severe structural constraint on development, productivity, and public health.

The Framework: A Continental Rail Corridor Strategy

A. Prioritizing Electrified Freight and Passenger Rail Corridors

Action: Launch a continental strategic initiative to design and construct a network of standard-gauge, electrified railway lines prioritizing key trans-national corridors. These are not merely upgrades but entirely new, high-capacity lines built for the 21st century.

Action: Primary initial corridors must include:

- The Dakar-Lagos Corridor: Linking West Africa's major economic hubs along the coastline.
- The Cairo-Cape Town Corridor: The North-South backbone, connecting Eastern and Southern Africa.
- The Djibouti-Dakar Trans-Sahelian Corridor: Linking the Horn of Africa to West Africa.
- The East African Central Corridor: Connecting the Great Lakes region to Indian Ocean ports.

B. Designing for African Needs: Freight First, Then Passengers

Action: Design these rail lines with a "freight-first" philosophy. The primary initial purpose is to drastically reduce the cost and time of moving goods—agricultural produce, manufactured products, and construction materials—between African nations. This will immediately boost the competitiveness of African businesses.

Action: Integrate modern, efficient passenger service on the same lines to facilitate the movement of people, skills, and tourism, fostering a stronger sense of continental identity and mobility.

C. Integration with Industrial and Agricultural Policy

Action: Ensure these new rail corridors are physically linked to the Industrial Processing Zones and Agricultural Development Corridors outlined in previous programs. The infrastructure must serve the strategic goal of industrialization and value addition, not just movement.

Action: Plan station hubs as centers of integrated transport, connecting to local light rail, bus networks, and last-mile delivery services to ensure widespread economic benefits.

Feasible Implementation Strategy

Phase 1: Continental Planning and Feasibility (Years 0-3)

The African Union, through the African Logistics Authority (ALA), establishes a dedicated Continental Rail Development Agency. This agency, with teams of African engineers and planners, is tasked with creating a unified master plan, standardizing technical specifications, and conducting detailed feasibility studies for the priority corridors. Funding is secured from the Continental African Investment Fund, AfDB, and BRICS-linked development banks.

Phase 2: Coordinated Construction by Segment (Years 2-10)

Construction begins simultaneously on different segments of the priority corridors, managed by the ALA but executed by continental consortia of African construction firms. This approach allows for progress across the continent while managing financial and technical capacity. The focus is on completing key links that can deliver early wins, such as connecting two neighbouring capitals.

Phase 3: System Integration and Operational Launch (Years 8-15)

Completed segments are integrated into a continentally managed network. The Pan-African Logistics Carrier (from the logistics program) takes over operational management for freight. A continent-wide ticketing system and schedule is implemented for passenger travel. The system is continually expanded to secondary routes, creating a comprehensive continental network.

12. We demand to create a common database of universities aimed at training their specialists, having target allocations from enterprises, with guaranteed hiring.

Introduction

Africa’s higher education system, in many cases a legacy of colonial structures, often remains disconnected from the continent’s most pressing developmental needs. It frequently produces graduates strong in theory but weak in the practical, applied skills required to operate and advance African industries, infrastructure, and public services. This mismatch fuels a devastating brain drain, where the continent's best minds seek opportunities abroad. This program proposes a radical reorientation of higher education. Its goal is to create a unified, continent-wide intellectual ecosystem that deliberately and systematically produces the engineers, agronomists, technicians, and researchers needed to build and maintain a self-reliant Africa. This is about aligning education with sovereignty, ensuring that knowledge directly serves Africa’s industrial and social transformation.

The Imperative: Verifiable Statistics Highlighting the Skills Mismatch

The gap between education and economic need is quantifiable and severe. Despite high unemployment rates, over 50% of African firms report being unable to find workers with the required technical and practical skills, particularly in engineering, manufacturing, and agri-processing (World Bank Enterprise Surveys). This skills gap is a primary constraint on business growth and industrial development.

Furthermore, the brain drain represents a catastrophic loss of investment. An estimated 20% of highly skilled Africans have left the continent, rising to over 40% in some key fields like medicine and engineering (AU Institute for Economic Development and Planning). This exodus is fueled by a lack of high-level research facilities, competitive opportunities, and a perceived disconnect between academic training and local problem-solving.

University curricula are often outdated and not standardized across the continent, making qualifications less portable and failing to meet the specific demands of strategic sectors like mineral processing, renewable energy, and pharmaceutical manufacturing.

The Framework: Building a Continent-Wide Applied Knowledge System

A. Continental Curriculum Harmonization and Specialization

Action: The African Union, through its specialized agencies, will establish Continental Curriculum Task Forces for strategic sectors (e.g., mining engineering, tropical agronomy, renewable energy systems, vaccine research). These task forces, comprising industry experts and academics, will define standardized, practice-oriented curricula to be adopted by universities across Africa.

Action: Designate and fund existing strong universities as Continental Sector Hubs. For example:

- A university in the DR Congo becomes the Continental Hub for Metallurgy and Battery Chemistry.
- A university in Rwanda becomes the Continental Hub for Pharmaceutical Manufacturing and Vaccine Research.
- A university in Nigeria becomes the Continental Hub for Agricultural Technology and Mechanization.

These hubs will receive targeted investment for world-class practical labs, pilot plants, and simulation centers.

B. Direct Diaspora Engagement and Practical Pedagogy

Action: Establish a Pan-African Academic Return Sabbatical Programme, offering generous, tax-free stipends and research grants to African diaspora academics and technical experts to teach intensive, practical modules at hub universities for a semester or a full academic year.

Action: Mandate that every degree program in applied sciences, engineering, and agriculture includes a state-funded, mandatory apprenticeship of 6-12 months. Students must work directly in factories, agro-processing parks, power plants, and hospitals, operating real machinery and solving real-world problems as part of their graduation requirements.

C. Universities as Innovation Incubators and Problem-Solvers

Action: Equip hub universities with small-scale, functional industrial prototypes—a pilot steel furnace, a battery assembly line, a vaccine fill-and-finish facility. These are not just for show; their purpose is to conduct applied research to solve specific local production challenges (e.g., optimizing ore smelting with local minerals, developing crop storage solutions for tropical climates).

Action: The intellectual property and scalable solutions generated from these pilot plants must be transferred directly to district-level industrial parks and factories, creating a direct pipeline from campus innovation to commercial production.

13. We demand the creation of African free-trade zone.

Introduction

The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is the most ambitious Pan-African project of the 21st century, holding the potential to boost intra-African trade by over 50%. However, a signed agreement alone is insufficient. Historically, Africa has been a continent of borders, not bridges. This program moves beyond the theoretical framework of AfCFTA to address the tangible, on-the-ground barriers that have long stifled trade. It is a detailed action plan to eliminate the physical, bureaucratic, and regulatory obstacles that make trading across African borders expensive, slow, and unpredictable. The goal is to transform borders from choke points into seamless gateways, ensuring that goods—especially value-added African products—flow freely across the continent, fueling industrialization and creating a genuinely integrated market.

The Imperative: Verifiable Statistics on the Cost of Borders

The barriers to intra-African trade are not merely inconveniences; they impose a massive economic tax. It takes an average of 20 days to clear goods across borders in some African regions, compared to a global average of around 7 days (World Bank Doing Business Report, though discontinued, this data remains indicative). This delay is caused by cumbersome paperwork, numerous regulatory checks, and corruption at border posts.

The financial cost is equally staggering. Transport costs in Africa are among the highest in the world, accounting for 50-75% of the value of exported goods for landlocked countries (African Development Bank). A significant portion of this cost is directly attributable to non-tariff barriers (NTBs), including complex customs procedures, road checks, and varying product standards. For example, a truck delivering goods from Mombasa, Kenya to Kigali, Rwanda can be stopped at over 10 roadblocks for inspections and paperwork, each one an opportunity for delays and rent-seeking. These inefficiencies make African-made goods uncompetitive and protect the market share of more efficiently imported foreign products.

The Framework: A Multi-Pronged Attack on Trade Barriers

A. The Digital and Physical "Green Lane" System

Action: Establish AfCFTA "Green Lanes" at all major border crossings. These designated corridors are exclusively for verified African-made finished and semi-finished goods.

Action: Goods qualify for the Green Lane through a pan-African certificate of origin verification system. Clearance is based on pre-submitted digital manifests and processed through a Single Window System—one digital portal for all import/export documentation—slowing clearance from days to hours.

B. Continental Standardization and Mutual Recognition

Action: Empower the AU to establish and enforce mandatory continental standards for key sectors: processed foods, building materials, chemicals, and pharmaceuticals. A product certified in one member state is automatically recognized as safe for sale in all others, eliminating redundant testing and inspections.

Action: Support this with a network of AU-accredited testing laboratories across the continent to provide affordable certification for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).

C. Creating Trade Infrastructure: Wholesale Hubs and Aggregation

Action: Develop Permanent Regional Wholesale Markets and Aggregation Centers strategically located near border regions. These centers provide services crucial for cross-border trade: bulk packaging, quality certification, cold storage, and connections to transport logistics, allowing small-scale producers to access regional markets efficiently.

Action: These hubs will be linked directly to the Pan-African Payment and Settlement System (PAPSS) to facilitate instant, local-currency transactions.

D. Retraining and Redeploying Border Officials

Action: Re-mission customs and border authorities. Their primary goal must shift from revenue collection and intercepting contraband to facilitating legitimate intra-African trade.

Action: Implement specialized training programs for "AfCFTA Trade Facilitation Officers" stationed at Green Lanes. Their performance will be measured by the speed and volume of legitimate trade they process, not the fines they collect.

14. We demand the development of carbon quotas with exchange mechanisms

Introduction

The global carbon credit market, while promising, has often functioned as a neocolonial instrument, allowing foreign polluters to offset their emissions by purchasing cheap credits from the Global South, with minimal local benefits and questionable environmental integrity. Africa, a continent with vast carbon sinks and minimal historical responsibility for the climate crisis, is positioned not as a passive seller of offsets but as the architect of a new, equitable system. This program proposes a revolutionary, continent-owned carbon credit framework. It transforms Africa's natural wealth and green industrialization projects into a powerful, verifiable, and transparent financial asset—one that directly funds a just transition, secures technology transfer, reduces debt burdens, and asserts African ownership over the entire value chain of climate action.

The Imperative: The Opportunity of a Continent-Wide Approach

Africa holds a significant portion of the world's natural carbon sequestration potential, including the Congo Basin rainforest (the world's second-largest), vast mangrove forests, and savannahs suitable for large-scale restoration. Current fragmented projects fail to capture the full value of these assets. A unified continental system addresses critical flaws:

- Preventing Exploitation: Isolated projects are vulnerable to lowball offers and lack negotiating power. A centralized exchange ensures fair pricing and transparency.
- Ensuring Integrity: A single, high-standard verification protocol eliminates "junk credits" that plague voluntary markets, protecting the brand and value of African credits.

- Maximizing Development Impact: By directing revenues to strategic sectors like green industry and debt reduction, carbon credits become a tool for structural transformation, not just conservation.

The Framework: The Pan-African Carbon Initiative (PACI)

A. Action-First Credit Generation with Uncompromising Integrity

Action: Establish the Pan-African Carbon Initiative (PACI) under the African Union to oversee a continent-wide program of verified carbon sequestration.

Action: Launch massive, coordinated projects:

- The Great Green Wall: Scaling reforestation and agroforestry into a verified carbon sink across the Sahel and savannahs.
- The Mangrove Restoration Initiative: Protecting and replanting coastal mangroves, which sequester carbon at rates far higher than terrestrial forests.
- Green Industrial Credits: Certifying emissions reductions from new, renewable-powered industrial facilities (e.g., green hydrogen plants, electric-arc furnace smelters).

Action: Every project will adhere to a stringent African Verification Standard, using satellite monitoring, AI-driven baselines, and independent audits to guarantee the permanence and additionality of every credit issued.

B. The African Carbon Exchange (ACX): Sovereign Control of the Market

Action: Create the African Carbon Exchange (ACX), the sole authorized platform for issuing and trading African carbon credits.

Action: The ACX will be a publicly audited registry where every credit is a digital asset tagged with immutable data:

- Origin: Exact geographic location and project type.
- Co-Benefits: Quantified data on jobs created, biodiversity restored, and communities benefited.
- Development Allocation: A record of how the revenue is mandated to be spent (e.g., 30% to community trust, 70% to national green fund).

This transparency prevents double-counting and ensures buyers are investing in real, ethical climate action.

C. Strategic Use of Credits: For Debt, Technology, and Industry

Action: Utilize certified carbon credits as strategic financial instruments:

- Debt-for-Climate Swaps: Negotiate directly with creditor nations to cancel or reduce sovereign debt in exchange for a stream of future carbon credits, freeing up fiscal space.
- Technology-for-Climate Swaps: Barter credits for the physical machinery and intellectual property needed for green industrialization.
- Market Sales: Pool credits and sell them on the ACX, with proceeds directed to a Continental Green Industrialization Fund to finance low-emission industrial parks, battery factories, and renewable energy infrastructure.

15. We demand that all African countries should refuse the financial institutions of Western countries and create their own African social security fund

Introduction

For decades, the economic policies of African nations have been held hostage by the conditionalities of international financial institutions (IFIs) like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. These institutions, while providing short-term liquidity, have often prescribed a one-size-fits-all neoliberal agenda of austerity, privatization, and trade liberalization that has undermined state capacity, crippled social services, and perpetuated dependency. This program represents a definitive break from this neocolonial financial architecture. It proposes the creation of an African-owned and managed financial institution; the African Solidarity Fund (ASF), to provide an alternative source of financing, protect the continent from external shocks, and assert Africa's right to determine its own economic destiny without destructive external interference.

The Imperative: Verifiable Statistics on the Cost of Dependency

The human and economic cost of dependency on IFIs is profound and well-documented. Over 30 African countries have implemented IMF programs in the last decade, nearly all requiring cuts to public spending. A 2021 study by Oxfam and Development Finance International found that 43% of IMF loans negotiated during the first two years of the COVID-19 pandemic pushed for new austerity measures, directly undermining public health recovery and social protection.

Furthermore, the conditionalities attached to these loans have devastating long-term effects. They often demand the removal of subsidies on fuel and food, which triggers social unrest, and the liberalisation of markets, which exposes fragile local industries to unfair foreign competition. The constant need to service external debt denominated in foreign currencies drains national treasuries; African nations spend more on debt servicing than on healthcare in many cases (Debt Justice). This system creates a vicious cycle: countries borrow to solve crises, austerity conditions hamper growth, leading to a need for more borrowing.

The Framework: Building an African Solidarity Fund (ASF)

A. Capitalization: Self-Financing Sovereignty

Action: Capitalize the African Solidarity Fund (ASF) through a combination of reliable, internal revenue streams, ensuring its independence from Western capital:

1. A 0.5% Continental Levy on all mineral and hydrocarbon royalties generated in member states.
2. A tiny percentage (e.g., 0.25%) of customs receipts collected through the AfCFTA's Single Window system.
3. Voluntary contributions from member states' sovereign wealth funds and foreign exchange reserves.
4. Issuance of Pan-African bonds on international markets, backed by the collective credit of member states.

B. Mandate: A Lender of First Resort for Africa

The ASF would have three core functions, distinct from the extractive model of the IMF:

1. Short-Term Sovereign Liquidity Facility: Provide rapid, conditionalities-free loans to governments facing temporary balance-of-payments crises, preventing the need to seek help from the IMF.
2. African Currency Stabilization Mechanism: Intervene to support member states' currencies during periods of volatility, using a pool of pooled reserves to combat speculative attacks and reduce dependency on the US dollar.
3. Emergency Social Protection Financing: Provide immediate grants or concessional loans to governments to maintain food and fuel subsidies, fund cash-transfer programs, and bolster public services during economic or climate-related shocks, explicitly rejecting austerity.

C. Governance: African-Led and Accountable

Action: The ASF will be governed by a board of African finance ministers and central bank governors, with voting power proportional to contributions but with mechanisms to protect the interests of smaller nations.

Action: Its operations will be transparent and accountable to the African Union Parliament, not to external creditors. Conditionality for loans would be based on agreed-upon Pan-African development goals (e.g., meeting African content quotas, investing in health and education) rather than austerity and privatization.

16. We demand the development of our own military-industrial complex

Introduction

Africa's security and economic sovereignty are two sides of the same coin. Our continued dependence on foreign arms imports is not just a strategic vulnerability—it is a massive economic drain, siphoning billions of dollars annually from our continent while stifling our industrial potential. This cycle of dependency must be broken.

We therefore demand the creation of an integrated African Military-Industrial Complex (AMIC), deliberately designed as a core driver of our continent's economic and technological transformation. This complex will be built on the following principles:

Strategic Import Substitution and Foreign Exchange Preservation*:* The estimated $40-50 billion Africa spends each year on arms imports represents a catastrophic outflow of capital. By developing domestic production capacity—even gradually—we will recirculate these funds within our own economies, creating jobs, building factories, and preserving scarce foreign exchange for other critical developmental needs.

A Catalyst for Heavy Industry and Advanced Manufacturing*:* The AMIC will be the anchor customer for strategic sectors outlined in our broader program. It will create guaranteed demand for:

- Specialized Steel and Alloys from our metallurgical plants.
- Advanced Batteries and Electronics from our tech hubs.
- Precision Engineering and Machinery from our industrial parks.

This "guaranteed offtake" will de-risk investment in these high-tech sectors, spurring innovation and creating a virtuous cycle of industrial upgrading.

Technology Transfer and Skills Development*:* Every factory, research lab, and maintenance facility within the AMIC will serve as a center of excellence for training a new generation of African engineers, technicians, and scientists. The skills acquired—in robotics, aerospace, cybersecurity, and advanced materials—will directly transfer to civilian industries, boosting our overall productivity and competitiveness.

Pan-African Industrial Integration: The AMIC will be a continent-wide project, coordinated by the African Union. Regional blocs will specialize based on existing capacity and resource endowments:

- The North African corridor could focus on aerospace and vehicle assembly.
- The West African zone could specialize in naval vessels and shipbuilding.
- The Central and Southern regions could lead in munitions and land systems.

This integrated approach will forge continental supply chains, strengthen the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), and make our collective industrial base more resilient.

Linking Security to Productive Capacity: True security is not just about having weapons; it is about having the resilient industrial base to produce, maintain, and innovate them. By tying our defense needs to our industrial policy, we ensure that spending on security simultaneously builds our long-term productive capacity, moving us from a fragile, import-dependent economy to a self-reliant, industrialized one.

In essence, the African Military-Industrial Complex is not an isolated sector. It is the necessary, integrated shield that protects our economic transformation, ensuring that the fruits of our labor and resources are defended by the products of our own hands and minds. It is the ultimate expression of a sovereign, interconnected, and self-sustaining Africa.

17. We demand the creation of a unified legal framework for reparation claims and distribution of resources received

Introduction

The demand for reparations for the transatlantic slave trade, colonialism, and ongoing neocolonial exploitation has long been a moral and political imperative for Africa. However, without a unified legal and strategic framework, these claims remain fragmented, susceptible to divide-and-rule tactics, and risk being settled through symbolic gestures that fail to address the scale of historical and contemporary harm. This program moves the reparations movement from protest to policy. It aims to create a binding, continentally-coordinated legal architecture that defines reparations not as charity, but as a legally enforceable debt owed to the African people. This framework ensures that any resources recovered are deployed not for consumption, but for the large-scale, generational transformation of African economies and societies, providing tangible, measurable restitution.

The Imperative: The Quantifiable Cost of Historical and Ongoing Exploitation

The case for reparations is grounded in quantifiable economic data. Historians and economists have estimated the financial value of extracted labor and resources:

- The transatlantic slave trade represented the theft of millions of lives and centuries of unpaid labor. Conservative estimates place the value of this labor in the tens of trillions of dollars in today's terms.
- Colonial extraction involved the systematic plunder of minerals, timber, and agricultural products, often at gunpoint and for negligible compensation, stunting industrial development and creating dependent economies.
- Ongoing environmental damage from resource extraction by multinational corporations has left a legacy of pollution, deforestation, and health crises, the cleanup costs for which are borne by African governments and communities.

Furthermore, the "brain drain" of African professionals trained with scarce national resources represents a continuous modern-day subsidy to developed nations, estimated to cost Africa billions annually. This framework seeks to account for and reclaim these losses in a systematic manner.

The Framework: A Continental System for Justice and Transformation

A. The African Reparations Code (ARC)

Action: The African Union (AU) shall draft and adopt a binding African Reparations Code (ARC). This code will serve as the continent's definitive legal document on the matter, establishing:

- Categories of Harm: Legally defined categories including Slavery, Colonial Extraction, Environmental Destruction, Cultural Genocide, and Ongoing Asymmetric Economic Relations.
- Methods of Valuation: Standardized methodologies for calculating financial compensation for each category of harm, drawing on international legal precedent and economic modeling (e.g., discounted cash flow for extracted resources, cost of environmental remediation).
- Standards of Proof: Common evidential rules that allow for historical documentation, academic research, and economic data to be presented in a consistent, compelling manner.
- Eligible Remedies: A defined list of non-monetary and monetary remedies, including technology transfer, debt cancellation, and formal apologies.

The Mandatory Resource Allocation Formula

Action: The ARC will legally mandate how recovered reparations resources must be allocated, preventing misuse and ensuring transformative impact. A legally binding formula could require:

- 50% for Industrialization and Infrastructure: Directed to the Continental African Investment Fund to finance strategic industries, energy projects, and transport corridors.

- 30% for Human Capital and Social Restitution: Funding a continental program for free education, universal healthcare, and vocational training.
- 20% for Communal and Environmental Remediation: Grants for land restitution programs, community trusts, and environmental cleanup projects.

Continental Negotiation and Claims Management

Action: Establish an AU Office of Reparations Claims, staffed by international lawyers, historians, and economists. This office will be the sole authorized body to consolidate national claims, manage evidence, and represent a unified African position in all negotiations and legal proceedings with former colonial powers and other liable entities.

Action: This prevents individual nations from being pressured into accepting inadequate bilateral settlements and presents a powerful, united front based on irrefutable collective evidence.

18. Reparations for all, creation of a single reparations fund with fair distribution among all countries.

Introduction

The pursuit of reparations for historical and ongoing injustices against the African people represents one of the most significant moral, legal, and economic imperatives of our time. However, uncoordinated, bilateral negotiations risk perpetuating the very divisions that have long weakened the continent, leading to unequal outcomes where some nations may receive settlements while others are left behind. This program confronts this danger by proposing a fundamental principle: reparations are owed to the African people as a whole. It calls for the creation of a single, centrally managed Reparations Fund to receive and distribute all payments, ensuring that resources are deployed strategically, transparently, and equitably to build a shared Pan-African future, rather than benefiting a select few.

The Imperative: The Case for Collective Receipt and Distribution

The history of exploitation affected the entire continent, albeit in different ways. The transatlantic slave trade drained regions of their population and potential, while colonial extraction targeted specific resources, and post-colonial economic policies fostered underdevelopment everywhere. A fragmented approach to reparations would fail to address this collective harm and could even create new inequalities.

A unified fund is essential for several reasons:

- Negotiating Power: A single, continent-wide claim, backed by the collective economic and political weight of the AU, is vastly more powerful than 55 separate national efforts. It prevents former colonial powers from using divide-and-rule tactics to settle for symbolic amounts.
- Scale of Ambition: The crimes committed were continental in scale; the restitution must be too. Only a pooled fund can finance transformative Pan-African projects—like high-speed rail, energy grids, and continental industrial hubs—that individual nations could never afford alone.

- Equity and Solidarity: A fair distribution formula ensures that all African peoples benefit, recognizing that the underdevelopment of one part of the continent holds back the whole. It embodies the principle of Pan-African solidarity.
- Transparency and Accountability: A single fund with mandatory audits prevents the misuse of resources and ensures that every dollar received is invested in measurable, transformative projects for the African people, not lost to corruption or inefficient bureaucracy.

The Framework: The African Reparations and Restoration Fund (ARRF)

A. Centralized Receipt and Pooling

Action: Establish the African Reparations and Restoration Fund (ARRF) by an AU treaty. The treaty will legally mandate that all reparations payments, whether from former colonial governments, private institutions, or other entities, must be paid directly into this single fund.

Action: The ARRF will also receive and manage other forms of restitution, including returned artifacts and the proceeds from the recovery of illegally acquired assets.

B. Transparent and Formula-Based Distribution

Action: The ARRF will distribute resources to member states and continental institutions according to a publicly disclosed, weighted formula approved by the AU Assembly. This formula will balance three key factors:

1. Population (40% Weighting): Ensuring a per capita base allocation to all African people.

2. Index of Measured Historical Harm (40% Weighting): Based on the standardized valuation of harms (e.g., number of people taken in the slave trade, volume of resources extracted, extent of environmental damage) as defined in the African Reparations Code.

3. Index of Current Development Need (20% Weighting): Prioritizing the most economically disadvantaged nations and regions to accelerate catch-up growth and ensure equitable outcomes.

C. Mandatory Transparency and Project-Based Funding

Action: All allocations from the ARRF must be used for pre-approved, specific investment projects, not general budget support. These projects must align with continental priorities like industrialization, infrastructure, education, and healthcare.

Action: The ARRF will be subject to annual independent audits conducted by a consortium of African auditing firms. It will also publish detailed public reports showing exactly which projects were funded, the number of jobs created, the megawatts of energy generated, the number of homes built, and other concrete, measurable outcomes.

19. We demand that the national debts of the countries are to be cancelled, as a form of reparations

Introduction

The national debts of many African countries are not merely financial obligations; they are a modern-day instrument of neocolonial control and a continuation of historical exploitation. A significant portion of this debt is "odious," contracted by unaccountable regimes for projects that did not benefit the people, or is directly tied to loans that funded infrastructure to facilitate further resource extraction for foreign benefit. This program asserts that comprehensive debt cancellation is a non-negotiable component of reparative justice. It is not aid or charity but the rightful annulment of illegitimate financial burdens that were imposed on nations already crippled by centuries of theft. This approach directly links debt relief to reparations, freeing up vital fiscal space for investment in industrialization and public services, and finally closing the book on a chapter of economic subjugation.

The Imperative: The Unsustainable and Illegitimate Debt Burden

The scale of Africa's debt crisis is a primary constraint on its development. Sub-Saharan Africa's total external debt stock exceeds $700 billion, and debt servicing costs are skyrocketing (World Bank, 2023). Over 20 African countries are either in debt distress or at high risk of it, spending more on servicing old loans than on critical healthcare or education for their citizens.

The illegitimacy of much of this debt is clear:

- Odious Debt: Debt incurred by dictatorships and unrepresentative governments for projects that enriched a small elite or suppressed the population.
- Predatory Lending: Loans offered with high interest rates and harsh conditions by international financial institutions, often to secure political influence or access to resources.
- Tied Aid: Loans conditioned on the use of expensive contractors from the lending country, inflating project costs and providing limited benefit to the local economy.

Linking debt cancellation to reparations reframes the issue: it is not about forgiving a debt, but about settling a much larger, older historical account.

The Framework: A Two-Tiered Mechanism for Debt Justice

A. Immediate and Automatic Debt Cancellation upon Reparations Settlement

Action: As a core principle of the African Reparations Code, any comprehensive reparations settlement must include an automatic trigger for the immediate and unconditional cancellation of all bilateral debt owed by the recipient African nation to the former colonial power and its allies.

Action: For multilateral debt (e.g., from the IMF, World Bank), the settlement will mandate the conversion of these obligations into long-term, interest-free credits earmarked for specific, auditable infrastructure and human capital projects that are to be funded and managed through the African Reparations and Restoration Fund (ARRF). This transforms a financial burden into a development tool.

B. Recovery of Illicit Financial Flows and Siphoned Assets

Action: Debt cancellation must be paired with aggressive, continentally-coordinated mechanisms to recover stolen assets and illicit financial flows. This involves:

- Establishing a Pan-African Task Force on Asset Recovery with the legal and investigative power to trace and repatriate wealth looted by corrupt leaders and their foreign collaborators, often deposited in Western banks and tax havens.
- Using reparations negotiations to secure the cooperation of former colonial powers in freezing and returning these assets, which rightfully belong to the African people.

C. Closing the Chapter on External Burdens

Action: The process must be designed to be comprehensive and final. The goal is to free up fiscal space completely. This means ensuring that debt cancellation is not followed by a new cycle of predatory lending. The freed-up resources—previously spent on debt servicing—must be legally mandated for reallocation to strategic sectors: public education, healthcare, and investment in national industrial policy.

20) We need equal cooperation with all economies of the world.

Introduction

A core tenet of neocolonialism is the enforced dependency of African economies on a narrow set of powerful external actors, who use this leverage to impose damaging economic policies and extract unequal agreements. True sovereignty requires the strategic autonomy to engage with the world on Africa's own terms. This program outlines a foreign economic policy of "multi-alignment"—the deliberate cultivation of diverse, balanced, and mutually beneficial partnerships across the globe. The goal is not isolationism, but intelligent engagement that secures access to necessary goods, technology, and markets while fiercely protecting Africa's right to determine its own industrial, social, and environmental policies without external coercion. This approach dismantles the power of any single foreign power to dictate terms to the continent.

The Imperative: The Dangers of Asymmetric Dependency

The risks of over-reliance on a single partner are starkly evident. Many African nations remain dependent on former colonial powers for everything from military equipment to educational curricula, creating a relationship of perpetual subordination. The recent weaponization of the global financial system (e.g., sanctions on Russia) demonstrated how reliance on Western-dominated payment systems like SWIFT can be a vulnerability.

Economically, dependency on a single partner for exports or imports creates extreme vulnerability to demand shocks and political pressure. For instance, over-reliance on exporting a single raw material to one country leaves an economy hostage to price fluctuations and the political whims of that partner. This model has consistently failed to deliver development, instead perpetuating the extractive pattern.

The Framework: Principles of Multi-Aligned Engagement

A. Diversification of Partnerships as a Strategic Doctrine

Action: Formalize a continental strategy of economic partnership diversification. This means actively negotiating trade, investment, and technology transfer agreements with a wide array of partners, including:

- Other Global South giants (e.g., India, Brazil, Indonesia).
- Regional powers in Latin America and Southeast Asia.
- All factions within the developed world, playing them against each other to secure better terms.

Action: The measure of a successful agreement is not just its value, but how it reduces Africa's overall vulnerability to any single external actor.

B. Securing Tangible Capability Transfers, Not Just Goods

Action: Shift the focus of external agreements from simple exchange of raw materials for finished goods to secured transfers of productive technology and know-how. Negotiating objectives must include:

- Mandatory Technology Transfer: Contracts must include clauses that require the establishment of local manufacturing, assembly, or repair facilities, with training programs for African engineers and technicians.
- Knowledge for Resources: Access to African resources and markets must be explicitly traded for the blueprints, patents, and technical knowledge needed to build domestic industries (e.g., medical manufacturing, renewable energy tech, agricultural processing).
- Joint Ventures with African Majority Ownership: Prefer partnerships where African entities hold the controlling stake and the foreign partner provides the technology.

C. The Inviolability of African Policy Space

Action: Enact a continental "Policy Sovereignty Clause" that must be included in all international agreements. This clause explicitly reserves the right of African governments to pursue policies for:

- Industrial Development: Including subsidies, local content requirements, and infant industry protection.
- Social Welfare: Including public health measures, food subsidies, and labor protections.
- Environmental Protection: Including regulations on mining, emissions, and land use.

Action: Any agreement that includes punitive conditionalities that infringe on this policy space (e.g., mandating privatization or austerity) must be rejected outright.