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# \* Africa as a partner

## Our goals and concrete initiatives

## **IMPRESSUM**

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# I Our goals

## Strengthening Africa as a partner

The 53 member states of the African Union (AU) are in highly different stages in their social, economic and political development. Yet, in spite of their heterogeneity, they all seem to be exhibiting positive development trends at present. The continent has become more safe and secure. At over \$ 1,000 a year, per capita gross national product (GNP) is higher than in many G20 member states, even if there are extreme differences in the distribution of income. In South Africa, for instance, per capita income was approximately \$ 5,700 in 2010, while the figure for the Ivory Coast was \$ 920 and merely \$ 250 for Malawi. Stability now prevails over much of the continent, and opinion surveys conducted in African societies show that democracy as a form of government now enjoys steadily rising popularity. The idea of personal or direct responsibility is making more and more headway. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the New Partnership for African Development (NePAD) are examples of a new awareness of the importance of good governance (among African élites). All the same, the continent is still caught up in a system of considerable dependency on international political developments – not only in the field of security policy, but also in trade issues and development policy. With the founding of the African Union (AU) in 2002 and the establishment of regional organizations, a new system of cooperation is gradually emerging which, with the support of the international community, is now capable of overcoming still-existing structural weaknesses.

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## Making change possible

A Social Democratic policy for Africa seeks to carry on a dialogue as equals over our common future. In a spirit of partnership marked by mutual respect, we want to help strengthen Africa's own direct responsibility and development, and to help make sure Africa's voice is heard loud and clear when it comes to global challenges and their solutions. This also requires change on the part of the industrialized countries. Double standards and inconsistent policies pursued by Europeans must become a thing of the past. Cases in point here include the EU's agricultural export subsidies, which skew economic relations at the expense of African countries, or the EU's fisheries policy, which is robbing African countries of their economic resources, paving the way for piracy and creating fertile ground for the growth of extremist groups. Change is also necessary in African countries as well, however: in addition to a democratic constitution this also means good governance, i.e. combating corruption, the development of local taxation systems, and the implementation of constitutional and civil-society control mechanisms that can place checks and balances on the exercise of power. In particular, we attach great importance in this connection to support and cooperation based on initiatives and organizations of civil society.

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## Benefit from common interests, achieve the millenium goals, stick to commitments

It is in the common interest of Europeans and Africans to create a just world order in which it is political decisions benefiting people that matter and not the financial sector or “might makes right” that dictate policy and human values. It is in our joint interest to establish rules in the globalized world that help counter financial speculation and strengthen the real economy, to establish rules that create a global social model in which exploitation has no place and economic responsibility goes hand in hand with social and ecological responsibility. It is in our common interest to end armed struggles and civil wars which plunge populations into misery, depriving them of future development opportunities. It is in our common interest to exploit all options available to prevent conflicts and put a stop to the sale and transfer of military weapons, armaments and even so-called small arms that foment civil wars and violence and play a role in violations of human rights. It is in our common interest for the European experience – ensuring peace through integration and cooperation – to help shape development in Africa as well. It is in our common interest for climate change to be confronted and for policies to be based on sustainability, for steps to be taken to save our natural resources, promote renewable energies and invest in technologies which ensure a viable future with a minimal environmental footprint. This is why we are calling for partnership and a joint effort by European and African states in the creation of new international climate conventions. It is in our common interest to do everything in our power to ensure that Africa achieves the millennium development goals (MDGs) by 2015. Without Africa it will not be possible to reach these global goals by 2015. That is why it is imperative that financial commitments made by the international community truly be honored, that in the promotion of development cooperation – diametrically opposed to the current trend – these resources not be cut back, but rather increased in line with the phased plan resolved by the EU, and that a financial transaction tax be introduced at last, as this is urgently needed to finance the struggle against poverty. It is in our common interests to combat the disintegration of states and the proliferation of economies and groups based on violence and produce a system of statehood that is geared to the interests of citizens. We also want to develop a partnership in the development of democracy and human rights. This does not mean exporting particular forms of voting rights or parliamentary work. The task at hand is to ensure that people, wherever they happen to live, are able to decide with their votes, freely and without obstacles, who is to hold the reins of power in their country.

## Strengthening Africa's voice in the world

Without Africa's voice in international organizations, there can be no solution to global problems. This is why it is essential to have Africa adequately represented on the UN Security Council in the future and to have Africa's developing countries better represented in the governing bodies and decision-making structures of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). And an end must be put to the practice of the US and Europe sharing the leadership in international financial institutions. Why should the next President of the World Bank - the most important development bank in the world – not be an African? Nor is the G20 structure in line with the principle of Good Global Governance, since African countries, the countries most seriously affected by climate change and the prevailing neo-liberal dogma, are unrepresented there. That is why all steps taken to date to create a global UN Security Council for economic and social issues, in which all regions of the world, including Africa, would be represented at the highest level, should be followed up. What we also need is implementation of the June 2009 resolution by the UN Assembly General on the creation of a Panel on Systemic Risks made up of high-ranking experts from all the world's regions and having wide-ranging of experience in all different types of economic systems. Its task should be to analyze systemic risks in the world's financial markets and develop proposals that could help avert future financial disasters.

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## Strengthening the AU's potential

Africa has more severe problems to deal with than other continents. This gives rise, first of all, to a special responsibility on the part of Africans themselves. In the AU, African states have institutionalized their own direct responsibility in the form of a regional organization. Its structure allows it in principle to bring about peace, ensure security and promote sustainable economic and human development. The task at hand now is to strengthen the basic potential and support the AU in its efforts to bring about positive development on the African continent. We endorse stronger support for Africa's own efforts to turn the AU and its governing bodies into fully functioning institutions and the work of AU peace-keeping missions, the AU Human Rights Court and the Pan-African Parliament. In addition to searching for internal funding mechanisms, we must press ahead with the education and training of qualified staff and the expansion of management capacities in the governing bodies of the AU, such as for example in the Pan-African Parliament.

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## Moving forward in the EU strategy for Africa and conflict-prevention

The EU strategy for Africa adopted in Lisbon in 2007 and the plan of action resolved were designed to place relations between the neighboring continents on a new basis. Genuine partnership specifically means assuming responsibility for political action. It is necessary to call for and encourage this type of direct African responsibility, established along with NePAD and the APRM as an important catalyst for democratic change. We are committed to having the EU strategy for Africa implemented as laid down in the plans of action for 2007-2010 and 2011-2014. We must voice our concern over the unholy link between the EU and Libya that has led to the present situation, with even political refugees from East African countries finding the way to the European Union barred while African refugees are being kept in Libyan camps under inhuman conditions. Europe cannot simply accept this profoundly immoral situation. What we need is a new refugee and migration policy that reflects European values of solidarity and humanity. The task is to combat the causal factors setting refugee movements in motion and not the refugees themselves. The AU and regional cooperation schemes should help avoid conflicts, encourage non-violent resolution of conflicts and, if necessary, intervene in conflicts and/or act to restore peace. The efforts of the AU and African regional organizations to restore and preserve peace must be given more support. The expansion of AU capacities for securing peace also needs to be stepped up. The Civil Peace Service is an effective instrument which can be deployed in conflict regions, and the work of the Centre for International Peace Missions must be placed on a sound long-term footing.

## Using three-way cooperation schemes to combat poverty

African countries need to increase their capacities to obtain competitive advantages in economic trade, and they should adopt a more strategic approach in new alliances to protect their national interests. African developing countries should use the money they receive from newly industrialized countries (NICs) to stabilize their own projects and repay loans. We advocate retaining “three-way cooperation” schemes even in the face of the financial and economic crisis and stepping up support for trade between developing countries. Cooperation with newly industrialized countries (NICs) that are active in Africa should contribute to better cooperation and collaboration as envisaged in the Accra resolutions. This includes greater integration of the private sector and parliaments into these partnerships.

## Combating poverty and hunger, pressing ahead with economic development for the sake of the poor

In our social democratic view of things, economic growth must not be at the expense of natural resources, and the poor must benefit disproportionately from economic growth (*Pro-Poor Growth*). If private investment is to function as an engine of economic development to the benefit of the poor, it is necessary for bureaucratic red-tape to be cut, corruption combated and legal security established. Above all, private investment must be integrated into national strategies for tackling poverty. The *decent work agenda* of the International Labor Organization (ILO) must be included in all strategies for dealing with poverty: jobs, the creation of social security networks, free trade unions, dialogue between labor and capital. We are in favor of strengthening independent trade unions in Africa and boosting the social dialogue with government and industry. The poor in particular need access to loans and capital, which is why we consider it especially important to improve access to financial services and microcredit, especially for women.

The right to food generally speaking obligates us not only to keep an eye on the goal of increasing agricultural productivity, but also to take targeted measures with a mass impact designed to combat poverty and ensure the food supply in urban and rural areas. The forward-looking resolution of African governments to invest ten percent of their budgets in the advancement of agriculture (the so-called 2004 Maputo *Pledge*) and the NePAD *Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme* (CAADP) are turning into a road map for the public promotion of agriculture in more and more countries. We support this new orientation. One important change is the inclusion of the small-farmer sector, which accounts for most of the rural population and must be freed of the stigma of subsistence farming. Small farmers and landless workers in the country are as much a part of the private sector and are just as entrepreneurial as the big agricultural firms. For us, this means promoting farming cooperatives, farmers' unions and farmers' professional associations. Professional associations and cooperatives are needed to give the majority of rural small farmers a political voice, economic clout and the ability to check state action. New and additional investment in agricultural research and extension services for poor households is urgently required. Also, research and consultation should strengthen the position of the poor by promoting knowledge, skills and self-organization and should take gender justice into account in all its aspects.

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## Putting a stop to landgrabbing

On a continent where over 300 million people still go hungry, food security is of paramount importance. Investment in Africa's soil must therefore ensure that enough food is produced for the domestic market and that no town loses its access to vital land, that local workers are also employed in accordance with applicable law, and that investment in infrastructure is geared to sustainable development. That is why we support African governments as they negotiate agreements that promote sustainable development and involve the townships concerned. Regional and international agreements must create effective standards worldwide for the purchase of, and investment in, large tracts of land. A stop must be put to purely speculative land purchases. Enterprises operating in the sector of agriculture in Africa must affirm their responsibility and commit themselves to long-term, sustainable investment instead of short-term profit-seeking.

## Allocating resources to benefit the public good

The most important reforms in allocating resources to benefit the public good must take place primarily in the countries affected themselves. Nevertheless there are at least three strategies that we support and which are designed to check the worst excesses of corruption, capital flight and authoritarian rule:

- 1) *Creating transparency:* From 2012 on American enterprises will be obliged under the Lugar-Cardin Amendment to disclose in detail payments they make to foreign governments broken down by country and project. Some 90 percent of all oil firms with international operations are affected by this rule. At the European level as well, similar statutory arrangements should be developed requiring all international firms to reveal their flows of payment to governments.
- 2) *Limiting the scope for abuse:* The latitude given to people or groups at the international level who are demonstrably engaged in the criminal exploitation of, and/or trade in, resources must be curtailed. This can be done both by imposing travel restrictions and drying up international tax havens.
- 3) *Strengthening political accountability:* A country's resources should benefit all of its citizens. Income generated by these resources could be distributed partly or entirely through a system of direct cash disbursements. This would help redistribute wealth from the few rich to the usually poor majority and give the latter an opportunity to invest this income and obtain a better life. The state would collect its share of these outpayments once again through an improved tax system. The result would be mutual accountability between state and society that has not existed hitherto in most African countries. The EITI (Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative) programmes that have been launched in various countries require systematic monitoring and evaluation. They will then be able to make a valuable contribution toward improving the living conditions of people in regions and states rich in resources.

In all of these approaches, civil society organized at the national or regional level is of central importance. It is primarily civil society that has to demand greater accountability, a focus on the

public good and a share in its government's profits from resources. In doing so, it can count on our direct and international support.

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## Implementing the human right to education

In the second goal of the Millennium Declaration, the international community undertook to ensure that all children in the world, both boys and girls, are able to complete primary school education by 2015. Education – and basic education in particular - is the foundation for all the other elements in our cooperation. Compulsory school education for children of elementary school age should become a matter of course in all African countries as well, since school attendance – for girls in particular – is often still subordinated to economic necessities such as forcing children to work as domestic help or as agricultural labor. Besides school enrolment rates, more attention needs to be paid to the graduation rate. It must moreover be ensured that there is qualified and adequately paid teaching staff. UNESCO estimates that up to four million additional teachers are needed in sub-Saharan Africa alone. To eliminate this gaping deficit, more must be invested in teacher training, especially at the elementary school level. Parallel to the creation of an efficient elementary school system, we also require appropriate, efficient secondary school structures. The goal in this respect must be to establish broad secondary education opportunities. The ultimate aim is to put a stop to the brain drain. Both professional and academic education must be designed to improve students' prospects for employment in domestic markets while taking the needs of the labor market in the respective partner country into account.

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## Organizing comprehensive health-care systems based on the principle of solidarity

In most African countries, the financial situation still precludes comprehensive health-care systems, which means that sustainable support is imperative on the part of the donor countries in the area of development cooperation. One key element in development policy and combating poverty is equal access to reasonable health care. We advocate basic care funded by budgets, and strengthening social security systems based on the principle of solidarity. This is the only way for the poorest of the poor in particular to be guaranteed coverage against all health risks. Profit-oriented private-sector systems are the wrong approach. The efforts of donors and partners to implement solidarity-based health systems must become a basic tenet in development cooperation. The establishment of holistic regional basic health-care systems must be combined with successful donor projects. This is because experience shows that it has been possible thanks to vertical health funds like the *Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria* (GFATM) to reduce mortality rates associated with serious diseases. These efforts must be continued and linked up with horizontal system strategies to create health-care systems based on the principle of solidarity. The training of medical staff and midwives plays an important role here. The recruitment of and reasonable pay for health professionals must be directly promoted in order to stop the brain drain among qualified health-care personnel. This can be done, for example, through budgetary

assistance in the health-care sector. At the national and European level, the *Code of Conduct* of the World Health Organization (WHO) aimed at preventing head-hunting of medical specialists must be respected. A supply of low-cost drugs and medication is a basic precondition for fighting disease, including diseases that have been neglected to date. Support of research and development by innovative instruments (PDPs) can ensure a long-term, low-cost supply of medication. To this end action must be taken to strengthen the production of, and trade in, generic drugs as stipulated in the "Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights" (TRIPS Agreement). The efficacy and utility of drugs must also be improved.

In order to improve women's health, sustainable education is needed on family planning and access to contraceptives. This requires special measures designed to strengthen the position of women, their sexual and reproductive health, the right of sexual self-determination and financial independence. Equal rights for women must be integrated into national strategies for health and social security. Family planning is a key factor in developing an awareness of avoidable population growth. It is part of a strategy for combating poverty and protection of the climate.

The funds available now which are being spent on health care must be used more effectively, with better coordination and review between all players. This requires a central body: Global Health Leadership. The WHO can and must assume this role. What is urgently needed is review and coordination at the international level between UN organizations like the UNFPA, UNAIDS, the IPPF, the GAVI Alliance and the GFATM as well as other multilateral funds and foundations in order to avoid double structures and improve efficiency. If we are to ensure equal access for everyone to medical health-care services, it must be recognized with respect to the African states as well that health is a public good. Hence, the health and financial risks relating to poor health must be insured against by nation-states by means of a social security system funded in line with the principle of solidarity.

Especially in the health sector it is becoming increasingly clear that the mandatory splitting of German financial resources in the field of development cooperation in a ratio of 2 to 1 for bilateral/multilateral aid is no longer adequate to meet present-day challenges. This must be revised at once.

## Safeguarding and protecting human rights

It is a hallmark of social democratic policy that reform-oriented governments be supported and civil society organizations strengthened. Good governance and human rights go hand in hand. This being so, we systematically support the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”, which calls for an important role to be played by women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and protection from (sexual) violence. We must more resolutely demand the right to sexual self-determination and support efforts by states in this direction. One positive example in this respect is South Africa, where sexual self-determination is protected under the constitution. One relatively new AU body is the African Court of Human Rights, which is being supported with German funds. We expect it, at least in the longer term, to make an effective contribution to ensuring that violations of this are punished. In reform-oriented states, we offer both bilateral and multilateral help in creating and strengthening structures based on the rule of law. Most African states have ratified the chief international human rights agreements and are obliged to abide by their provisions. Our political activity is guided, then, by the call for systematic implementation of political and civil, but also economic, social and cultural human rights. Structures based on the rule of law and human rights must also be strengthened, like the African Commission on Human Rights, for example, or national human rights commissions and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) dealing with human rights concerns and judicial reform. We are especially concerned about the fate of those courageous defenders of human rights who are exposed to grave risks in authoritarian African states.

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## Promoting gender equality

To accelerate the pace along the road towards equal rights, three fields of action are of great importance, and they find our support:

Strengthening women's position in politics, public service and the judicial system:

Women in Africa are far from having their fair share in important decisions in politics and public service. Women in politics are important role models and can encourage other women to participate in decision-making processes. That is why quota arrangements and election systems are crucial if women are to have greater participation in politics.

Promoting equal rights in society:

Women's cause must be advanced along a broad social front. Their empowerment is vital for the health of their families and the development of entire regions, and leads to higher growth rates. Steps needed include not only primary education, but also action to ensure access for girls to further education at schools and universities and to professional training, as well as financial independence and equal access to the labor market. Small loans make it easier for women to achieve independence and, hence, earn a living and secure their own livelihoods. This instrument

should be further expanded. In addition, we support women's organizations in helping overcome traditional, often patriarchal role perceptions and social behavior patterns and assuring women equal participation in society. All laws, relations and arrangements society must be devised and reviewed in terms of their compliance with the principle of *gender mainstreaming*.

Respect for sexual rights:

An end must be put to any and all forms of violence against women. Rape, including mass rapes used as a weapon in conflicts such as recently in the Congo, is a war crime. The UN Security Council has adopted a resolution establishing this. Those responsible for such crimes must be prosecuted and convicted at the international level. With its remit, the International Criminal Court gives grounds for hope that these criminals will be called to account for their deeds.

Female genital mutilation is a violation of women's right to physical integrity and is proscribed by UN resolutions. In the Maputo Protocol of 2003 on the rights of women, African states undertook to subject female genital mutilation to statutory penalties. Women's rights relating to sexuality must be strengthened. Family planning is the key here. What matters in this respect is access to contraceptives that is not subject to male control. HIV/AIDS is turning into a female issue: some 75 percent of all newly infected persons in sub-Saharan Africa are girls and women. The work done to date by non-governmental organizations and national and international organizations, above all the Global Fund and UNFPA, is making an important contribution in the fight against HIV/AIDS. In view of these dramatic infection rates – in some countries south of the Sahara this is well above 20 percent – help must be given more sustained support by the national and international community.

## Promoting climate protection

For African countries, adapting to climate change poses an acute problem. For ecological conversion processes and the transition to a *low carbon economy* to be able to offer an opportunity in the form of an environmentally sound upswing, it is necessary for countries like Germany to serve as role models - also as a result of their historical responsibility for climate change (*New Green Deal*). Germany and the EU thus have a great interest in decoupling energy consumption and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from economic growth. Climate protection must in particular address those areas where CO<sub>2</sub> avoidance is most efficient and can be obtained at lowest cost. Since this is the case especially in newly industrialized countries (NICs) in view of their still low levels of technological development, climate protection measures in development policy cooperation should be assigned priority there as well. In spite of these efforts, as a result of economic and population growth, greenhouse gas emissions will continue to grow in years to come, above all in newly industrialized countries (NICs), at a faster rate than the reductions which the industrialized countries have committed to so far. Africa's teeming mega-cities, with their growing road and air traffic and their expanding industries along with the proliferation of air-conditioning in buildings and private homes, will inevitably lead to a negative environmental balance in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. If poverty is to be successfully combated, this necessarily means an increase in energy consumption in developing countries –

which is why our partner countries must have access to climate-friendly, more effective systems of energy generation and energy use which in the long term must above all be based on marketable, renewable energies. In our view, nuclear energy is not a viable future technology for African countries, either. The fact of the matter is that Africa's climate offers the right conditions for the use of modern technologies in the area of renewable energies. We are working to ensure that the follow-up conferences to Copenhagen are a success. The objective is to produce a legally binding agreement based on the target of a maximum two-degree Celsius temperature rise. This will require internationally binding, long-term financing strategies to help developing countries be able to bear the costs of climate change. International climate-protection financing must provide additional funds for development and must be reliable and sustainable so that partner countries can plan long term.

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## II What concrete initiatives do we want to take?

1. We are in favor of an alliance between those actors in African states and European countries who are keen on forging an ambitious new climate agreement, expanding renewable energies and in addition implementing adjustment mechanisms.
2. We are in favor of strengthening the African Union and its voice in all international institutions – both in the UN Security Council and in the G20 – and support the Pan-African Parliament. We would also like cooperation with regional security communities to be stepped up.
3. We wish to help achieve the Millennium Development Goals in Africa by 2015. This means above all education, more investment in rural development, fighting HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis, and reducing mortality among mothers and children. It is to this end that we are supporting the work of the Global Fund. We are helping to make sure that the commitments made at the Gleneagles conference (an increase of \$ 25 billion per year for Africa) are honored.
4. We want to assist in building social security systems and strengthening the position of women, *inter alia* by ensuring women's access to family planning resources and improving their economic independence.
5. We are supporting the *decent work agenda* of the International Labor Organization (ILO), i.e. the creation of jobs and training options that adhere to the ILO core labor standards: no exploitation of child labor, no forced labor, free trade unions and non-discrimination. We are in favor of binding rules being laid down in the revision of OSCE guidelines to ensure adherence to social and human rights standards in the business practices of multinational companies. We call for equitable trade agreements which foster development, put an end to agricultural export subsidies and internal support by industrialized countries that distort trade while at the same time offering developing countries reasonable options to protect both their agricultural sectors, which is vital to their food security, and the industrial and service companies being established there.
6. We support initiatives which seek to regulate the use of resources to the benefit of the public good. At the EU level, a binding statutory arrangement should be adopted requiring multinational enterprises to disclose payments they make to governments in developing countries. We support all transparency initiatives, including EITI.

7. We are in favor of an agreement preventing the transfer of small arms and other weapons that foment civil war and violent disputes and are used in heinous violations of human rights.
  8. We demand the principles of *good governance* be adhered to, i.e. the strengthening of democracy and rights of participation for people, the combating of corruption, changes in power by means of elections and an expansion of the freedom of speech and the press.
  9. In all future decisions we wish to strengthen the position of civil society groups and organizations and seek cooperation with them. This is particularly true of those groups and individuals who advocate the strengthening of women's and employees' rights.
  10. We are in favor of an energy partnership between Europe and Africa. This energy partnership has many facets: it involves the transfer of technologies in the area of renewable energies and the corresponding creation of infrastructure and education in African countries themselves. Economic growth must not be achieved through greater use of coal-based or nuclear energy if the world is to avert the risks these portend. This partnership can be supported with development cooperation funds or through development partnerships with business. Energy initiatives such as e.g., *DESERTEC* must promote energy generation and distribution in African countries while encouraging the transfer of know-how and the growth of local industries.
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