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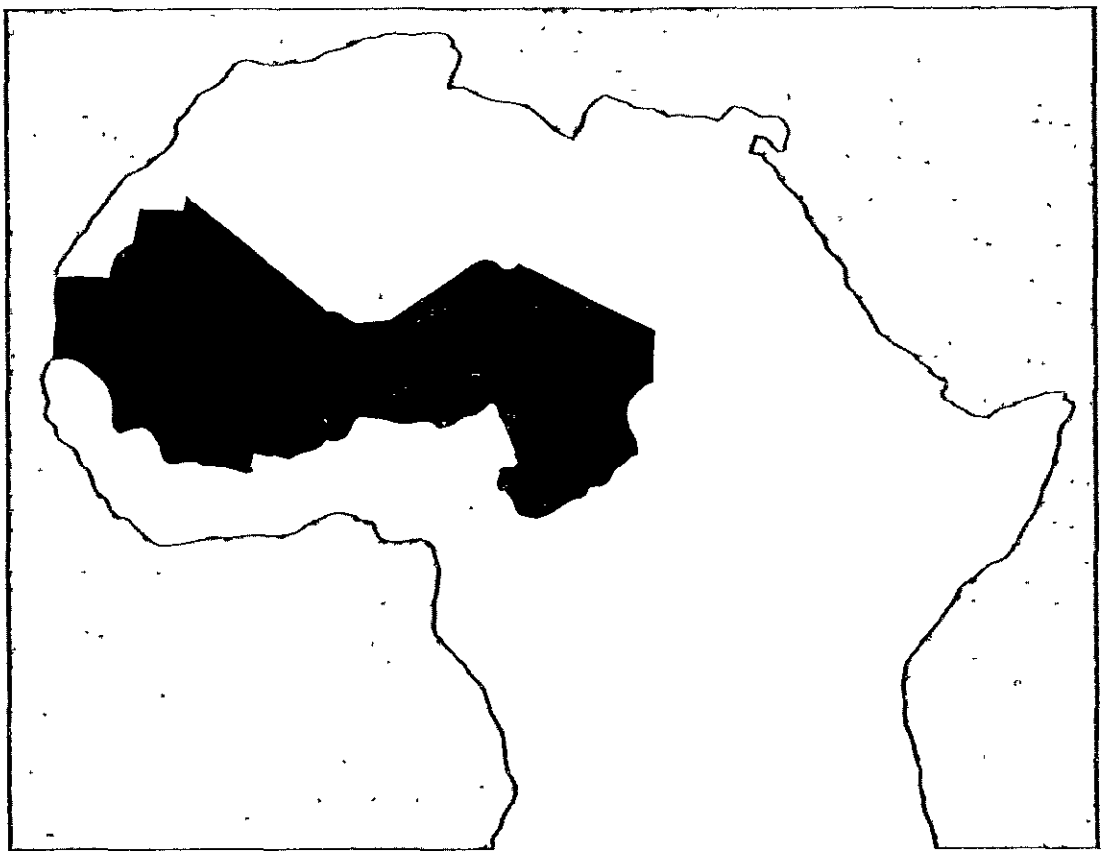
# Sahel Development Program

## Annual Report to the Congress

February 1982



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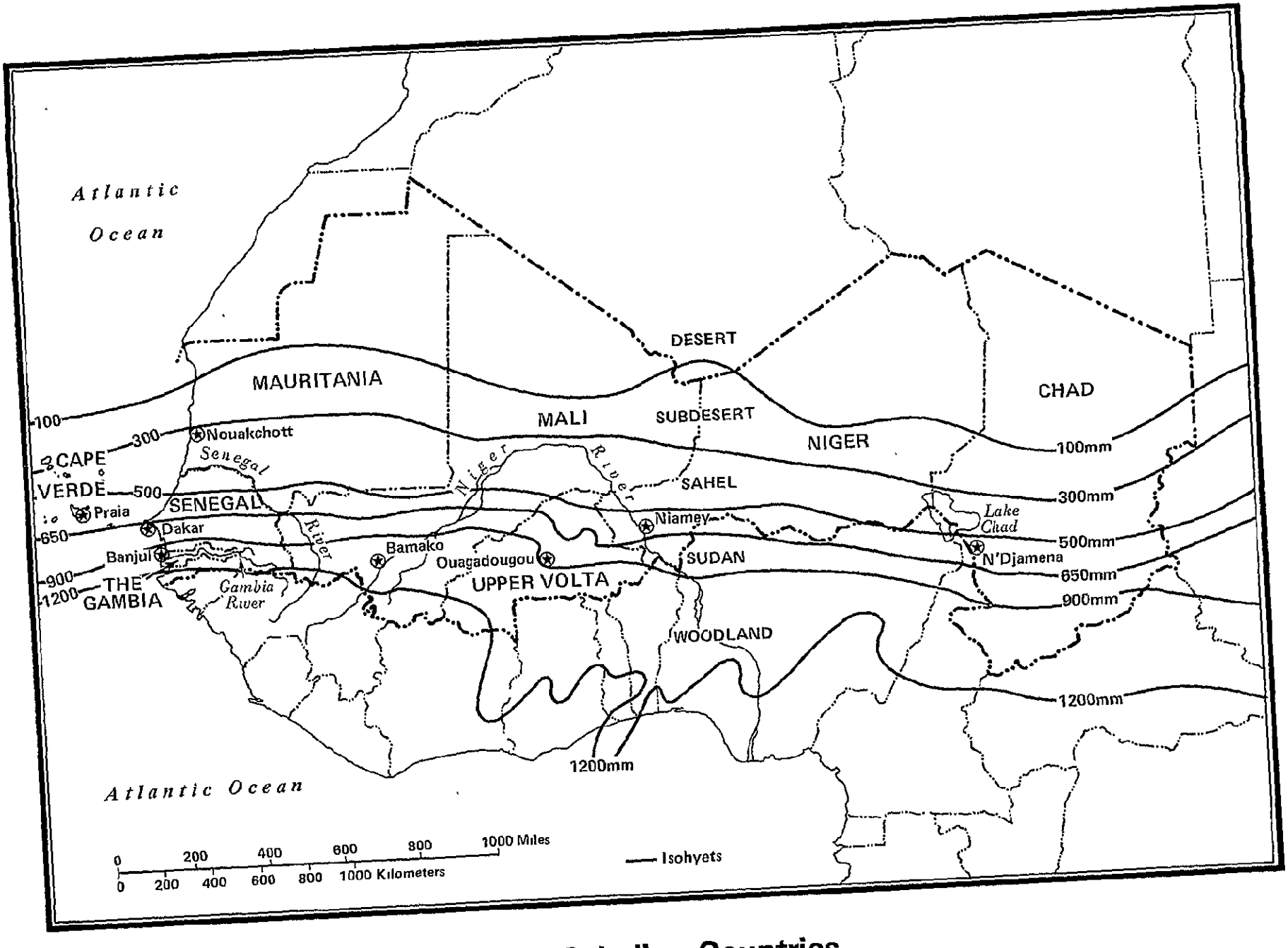


**The Sahelian Countries**
**Rainfall Map**

SAHEL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Annual Report to the Congress


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## I. Executive Summary

The Sahel Region of West Africa covers the seven countries at the southern edge of the Sahara plus Cape Verde. Hit by a devastating and enduring drought from 1968 to 1974, these nations responded by joining together to launch a coordinated food aid and drought rehabilitation program through the Sahel-wide Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel, known as the CILSS. As the drought abated in 1974, the Sahelians recognized the need for an effective longer-term development planning and coordinating organization. This then became the basic purpose of the CILSS. To support the Sahelian initiative more effectively, the donors in 1976 proposed the creation of the Club du Sahel which would join the donors with Sahel recipients in a complementary effort to marshal increased long-term development assistance and to increase inter-donor coordination. Working closely together, the CILSS and the Club have established a new and effective mechanism for North-South collaboration in the development of the Sahel.

Recognizing both the new strengths brought to Sahel development planning by the CILSS-Club mechanism and the increasing importance of the Sahel as a bridge between the arab North and the black-African South, both OECD and OPEC donors have steadily increased their long-term assistance for the Sahel. Commitments have risen from $755.9 million in 1974 to over $1.5 billion in 1980. With a 1980 commitment of $130 million or 8.7% of total contributions, the United States is currently the third-ranking donor.

The development strategy jointly adopted by the CILSS, the Club and their member states calls for food self-sufficiency by the end of this century under conditions of ecological balance and long-term growth and development. To develop the requisite strategy in each of the development sectors the CILSS and Club have provided a forum and organized a series of interlocking studies and seminars bringing together international experts with Sahelian national planners to develop concrete programs.

In 1981 the CILSS-Club focused on several vital policy issues. One was how to establish cereals pricing systems which would encourage farmers to increase production. Another was the perplexing problem of recurrent costs, i.e., how to increase the ability of Sahelian governments to meet the operating costs of the new activities and infrastructure which external assistance had brought into being. In addition, the need to insure that assistance was effectively administered on both a financial and administrative management basis also attracted CILSS-Club and donor attention. Good prospects developed for thorough-going improvement in both areas.

The United States participates in this multi-national Sahel development program through A.I.D. and its special appropriation for Sahel development assistance. In implementing this assistance in 1981 A.I.D. placed new emphasis on several critical fields. Foremost among these was promoting policy reform. A.I.D. worked closely with the CILSS-Club and with other donors in encouraging the Sahelians to reexamine their cereals pricing policies, to address the problem of recurrent costs for completed development projects and, in some cases, to exercise greater fiscal discipline. Closely related to policy reform was A.I.D.'s emphasis on use of the private sector as a tool for development. Through such steps as encouraging the abolishing of government monopoly of the cereals market and providing small loans and management advice to small, rural-based entrepreneurs, A.I.D. was helping Sahelians reinvigorate their private sector. Institutionl development was another important facet of the 1981 program. A.I.D. was helping the Sahelians build the type of agriculture-oriented institutions needed to reach food self-sufficiency. These included extension services, agricultural research facilities, environmental conservation systems and development planning agencies. Promoting technological transfers has been another A.I.D. theme continued during this last year. This included extensive training programs for Sahelians at U.S. and third country institutions, the close linkages encouraged between American universities and Sahelians and strong support for agricultural research to improve crop yields in the arid Sahel. A.I.D. has encouraged the CILSS-Club to facilitate meetings between donors and national agencies for sector program coordination in each Sahelian country in order to increase correspondence between development programs and regional strategy.

In supporting Sahelian implementation of the CILSS-Club strategy, A.I.D. provides assistance in essential development sectors. In 1981 A.I.D. devoted $25 million or 26.2% of its entire Sahel program to direct food production activities. $34 million or 35.6% of the program went to institutional development, which included $14.5 million or 13.1% for agricultural research and $5.8 million or 6.1% for river basin development. Training and technology transfers took $29.8 million or 31.2% of the program. A.I.D.'s food production program assists rainfed agriculture, which remains the most productive sector of Sahelian agriculture, irrigated agriculture, especially in the larger river basins which are the hope of the future, the opening of new lands mostly through control of debilitating diseases and improving the production and marketing of livestock. In the forestry, ecology and energy sector, A.I.D. focuses on increasing fuelwood production and the efficiency of its use, since wood remains the most important source of domestic fuel. At the same time A.I.D. is experimenting with such alternate energies as solar, biogas and windpower. It

helps stabilize moving sand dunes threatening agricultural lands and supports programs to teach extension agents and farmers and herders the necessity and practicality of restoring the heavily degraded environment. In education and training A.I.D. funds both higher level technical training in the U.S. and elsewhere and lower level training related directly to villagers' needs. It also supports Sahelian programs to build up their own training systems, especially those related to agriculture. In health and population A.I.D. is a strong supporter of rural-based primary health care systems with an emphasis on preventive medicine and of national immunization programs for children and pregnant women. Family planning is another area receiving increasing Sahelian attention and A.I.D. supports both Sahel-wide and national programs.

In any development program of such scope and complexity problems will arise. The Sahel is no exception. Audits have revealed a variety of problems, especially related to national accountability of project funds which A.I.D. is addressing both with the CILSS and at the national level.

Sahel development is a long-term endeavor. It is programmed until the year 2000 and must be viewed in that time frame. Yearly results are difficult to measure precisely, yet it is clear that slow progress is being made. Recent statistical analyses indicate that cereal production has increased at an annual average of 2.9% since the drought abated in 1974. Livestock numbers are almost back to pre-drought levels and the average GNP in the Sahel has risen from $136 in 1973 to $214 in 1981. There are problems, but they are being openly and candidly addressed. The promise of reaching the CILSS-Club goal of food self-sufficiency by 2000 remains strong.

## II. The Origin of the Sahel Development Program

The Sahel covers the seven West African states skirting the southern rim of the Sahara. These nations share the harsh ecology of the desert's edge blending toward the south into savannah. They also share diverse ethnic mixtures of arab-influenced, semi-nomadic, Muslim herders and black, sedentary, Christian or animist agriculturalists. They are hardy survivors in an inhopsitable clime. Their expertise with livestock is legendary; their traditional agriculture has under normal circumstances met their cereal needs. At the fulcrum of political balance between potentially expansionist North African states and the developed nations of Coastal West Africa and Central Africa, the Sahel occupies an important geopolitical position which is heightened by continuing discoveries of exploitable mineral and petroleum wealth. The Sahelian states with Western donor support, are seeking to maintain their political stability and independence and to fulfill their

hopes for progress through accelerated economic and social development.

In 1968-1974 this already fragile region was devastated by the impact of a severe and long-lasting drought, a disaster the region was ill-prepared to meet. Extreme human suffering and ecological deterioration severely set back the region's development. Cattle losses, crop failures, the spread of desert aridity and sudden urban migration caused great economic loss and social dislocation. Many Sahelians died of malnutrition and many more were uprooted. However, the effects of this drought also brought new positive elements into the Sahel which were to cause a fundamental change in the old ways. International response to the drought disaster brought emergency aid for food and short-term rehabilitation on an unprecedented scale, a total of over $1 billion in emergency relief. It also brought home to the Sahelians the sharp realization that the only way they could recover from the effects of this drought and be better prepared for the next one was to establish a region-wide framework for a coordinated approach to Sahel development. Working together on their common problems would give donors confidence in the productive use of assistance and give the Sahelians an increased sense of control over their own destiny.

The leaders of the Sahel knew their problems and knew they would not be easy to overcome. Everywhere they could see inadequate food production, eroding lands, insufficient numbers of trained administrators and skilled technicians, inefficiencies of the traditional separation between raising crops and raising livestock, the absence of roads and viable rural markets, low levels of health and literacy.

To begin the process of regional coordination they met at Ouagadougou in 1973 to found the Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel, better known by its French acronym as the CILSS. Consisting originally of the six contiguous Francophone states of Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and Chad and later joined by the Gambia and Cape Verde, the CILSS sought to coordinate its requests for assistance from the donor community. Working closely with the United Nations Sahelian Office (UNSO) and many interested donors, the CILSS began to develop a long-term program, no longer just oriented to recovery from the drought's devastation, but focused on the planning necessary to achieve sustained economic and social development. In response to this joint Sahelian initiative and in recognition that for development in the Sahel to be effective it must become a long-term effort, the donors in 1976 under the leadership of the then DAC Chairman and with the full support of France and the United States invited the Sahelians to join them in forming

the Club du Sahel. The Club is a joint donor-recipient organization with a small secretariat in Paris which works closely with the Ouagadougou-based CILSS. Together they have established an unusually effective mechanism for bringing donors and recipient nations into close collaboration. They adopted common strategies for attacking the Sahel's immense economic and social problems, obtained the necessary initial funds to begin implementing these strategies and assisted in the execution of national and regional development projects under CILSS-Club sponsorship. The result of this new collaborative style of development planning and implementation has been both to make on-the-ground assistance more responsive to national and regional needs and to cause the CILSS-Club framework to be heralded as a model of effective North-South cooperation.

Over the last five years the CILSS-Club has developed a strategy for the Sahel which covers all essential development sectors. This strategy provides for (a) food self-sufficiency through production and trade, under conditions of ecological balance; and (b) long-term self-sustaining growth and development. The focus on food self-sufficiency consonant with ecological balance was stressed at the Club's most recent meeting at Kuwait in 1980. This strategy is given precision by elaboration of specific sectoral objectives in rainfed and irrigated agriculture, livestock, reforestation, renewable energy, and the supporting sectors of skills training, health and essential infrastructure. The strategy sets the year 2000 as the goal for achievement of its objectives and calls for a maximum coordinated effort by both the Sahelian countries and the donors to this end.

The significance of the evolution of this dual coordinating mechanism in the Sahel is twofold. First, it has made possible more rational programming. The CILSS-Club secretariats have supported a series of extensive sector analyses with full Sahelian and donor participation. As a result, greater precision has been possible in formulating program objectives. Also the process itself required a collective analysis leading to collective decision-making giving greater Sahel-wide support. This, in turn, has led to easier confrontation of delicate policy issues like cereal price subsidization.

Second, the CILSS-Club process has given the donors increased confidence in the validity of their development assistance undertakings in the Sahel. Reassured by the close and frank cooperation inherent in the CILSS and Club operations, the donors have responded by more than doubling their commitments since 1975. Assistance now is almost $50 per capita annually, considerably above both the developing country average and the average for the least developed countries worldwide. This

unusual degree of donor participation is directly attributable to the effectiveness of the CILSS-Club process.

## III. CILSS-CLUB DEVELOPMENTS IN 1981

### A. Donor Assistance

Donor assistance to the Sahel continued at a very high level in 1980, the last year for which figures are available. Total donor commitments were estimated at $1.5 billion, compared to the revised estimate of $1.6 billion for 1979. This apparent leveling off seems to indicate donor reaction to severe economic conditions and a downward shift in OPEC funds which tend to fluctuate from year to year for largely administrative reasons. Donor assistance more than doubled from 1975 to 1980. Most project commitments were for rural development (37%). Within this sector, general agriculture and irrigated agriculture each received 39% of donor resources, while livestock and fishing received 15% and 7%, respectively. In 1980, 51% of assistance came from OECD countries, 33% from multilateral institutions (including the UN) other than OPEC and 16% from OPEC countries and institutions. Overall the ranking donors were France ($319 million), the EEC ($180 million), the United States ($130 million, including Peace Corps and PL 480 food aid), the UN Agencies ($101 million), Germany ($94 million), and the Netherlands ($87 million).

### B. CILSS-CLUB Program Activities

On September 11, 1981 the Club donors met informally with CILSS Secretariat representatives. A strong census emerged in support of focusing the joint CILSS-Club consultative process on the review and coordination of donor and Sahelian sector programs at the national levels. This decision reflects a desire to bring national sector plans and strategies into closer harmony with the regional Sahel Development Program strategy. This new emphasis will focus initially on food production and forestry-ecology and should attract increased allocations of donor resources to these sectors.

In preparation for these national level consultations, the Club and CILSS Secretariats cooperated to plan and carry out food and forestry-ecology sector program analyses for CILSS member governments. The requisite analyses have already been developed for irrigated agriculture and are being developed for rainfed agriculture. Forestry-ecology sector analyses have been completed for Niger and the Gambia. The Upper Volta analysis has been prepared in draft and submitted to that government for review. During 1982, national food and forestry-ecology sector consultations will be held based on those completed analyses, while the remaining analyses are brought to completion.

Preparations continued during 1981 for a series of conferences on the recurrent costs problem pursuant to a mandate received following the presentation of the CILSS-Club study, Recurrent Costs Development Programs in Sahel Countries, at the Club's Kuwait meeting. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank agreed to collaborate in preparing a regional symposium that would be followed by national symposia. Studies were commissioned on key project and sector levels as well as macroeconomic aspects of the recurrent costs problem. Studies were carried out by Sahelian scholars in collaboration with international experts on such topics as public service employment policy in Mali, public utility charges in Senegal as a means of financing recurrent costs and the impact of the parastatal sector on public finance of Mali. The symposia will provide an opportunity for international and Sahelian experts and officials to consider all facets of the recurrent costs problem as well as the whole range of measures that are required by Sahelians and donors alike to reduce its eroding effect on Sahelian development.

THE CILSS-Club Colloquy on Cereals Policy, held in Nouakchott in July 1979, gave impetus to donor-Sahelian deliberations on this subject and these continued apace during 1981. In September, Club donor experts met with representatives of the CILSS Secretariat to discuss how food aid can be programmed and managed with a view to improving its contribution to agriculture development. The meeting produced a consensus favoring (a) stricter criteria for determining food aid requirements; (b) annual donor-Sahelian national level conferences to review food aid requirements and coordinate responses, and (c) the pooling and collective programming of generated counterpart funds to meet food sector strategy goals. Sahelian national experts gathered at a CILSS meeting in October and arrived at a similar consensus. Both groups will meet early in 1982 to develop a common position.

Pursuant to the Nouakchott Colloquy, a small CILSS-Club experts committee on cereals policy was established to consider how national cereals policies (prices, marketing and storage) could be improved and eventually harmonized throughout the region. Since September, it has been working on the question of regional food security reserves. Its purpose is to formulate an approach to this objective acceptable to both the CILSS member governments and the donor community.

Recent A.I.D. Inspector General audit reports have called attention to the need to strengthen accounting and financial management performance throughout the Sahel and within the CILSS Secretariat. The CILSS Secretariat has responded to this criticism by engaging an international management expert to develop improved management systems and train Secretariat

staff in their operation. It has also engaged a financial advisor funded by A.I.D. to improve CILSS accounting and financial operations and provided related staff training. In addition, the CILSS Secretariat has offered to sponsor the new Sahel-wide Regional Financial and Program Management project which A.I.D. is initiating. At the Executive Secretary's request, A.I.D. provided the services of a consultant to analyze the organization and staffing of the Secretariat and recommend any changes required to match CILSS's changing mandate. In November 1981, the CILSS Secretariat convened an informal donors' working group at Ouagadougou to review the CILSS work program and budget. The meeting resulted in a decision to recast the work program to focus on fewer priorities and place greater emphasis on preparing for national level sector conferences.

The Club Secretariat has been highly supportive of A.I.D.'s efforts to strengthen financial management in the Sahel. It recruited an A.I.D.-funded financial management expert for the CILSS Secretariat. It has also arranged for a French consultant to participate in the development of a simplified accounting system for Sahelian project personnel and the training program based on it. It arranged for translations of the two most important Inspector General audit reports on financial management and improving programming in the Sahel Development Program as well as the users manual on the simplified accounting system. The first two documents have been distributed to the donor community and the third will be soon.

The Club du Sahel continues to receive favorable attention in international development coordination circles as representing a unique and highly promising approach to the conduct of donor-recipient dialogue. Cited by the Brandt Commission and in the OECD annual reports of 1980 and 1981, the Club was designated in September as one of the organizations to facilitate the national-level donor conferences required for follow-up to the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries.

## IV. Sahel Development Program Prospects, Progress and Problems

### A. A.I.D. Development Themes in 1981

A.I.D. participates as one of many donors in the Sahel Development Program through the CILSS-Club coordinating process in implementation of the commonly adopted strategy. During 1981 A.I.D. has emphasized five basic themes essential to effective transfers of development assistance.

## 1. Promoting Policy Reform

No amount of development aid can be effective unless it is carried out in an environment encouraging development. One factor which has too often impeded aid in the Sahel, as elsewhere, is the lack of recipient government policies conducive to development. Paradoxically, in a region dedicated to increasing food production to self-sufficiency, government policies tend to depress producer farmgate prices while subsidizing urban food prices at unrealistically low rates. Rigid official food marketing boards with semi-monopolistic control of the food market add increased inflexibility to the system. Such policies undercut the farmer's incentive to produce more food. In 1981 A.I.D. and other donors began actively to encourage recipient governments to alter these unproductive policies. With groundwork already laid by CILSS-Club-sponsored workshops on food price policy, the donors were able in several cases to assist Sahelian governments to work out policy changes increasing producer prices while decreasing consumer subsidies. This gave more effective support to the Sahel-wide strategy of reaching food self-sufficiency. Similarly, macroeconomic policy changes were encouraged in those Sahelian countries where decreased exports, the oil crunch and a lack of budgetary discipline had combined to threaten their solvency. Here IMF, with the close support of A.I.D. and other donors, assisted several Sahelian countries in taking the hard decisions necessary to restore fiscal balance. Some of these key policy changes which A.I.D. has encouraged include:

- Senegal's Reform plan ("Plan de Redressement"), under which the government is seeking to turn the cereals market over to private sector traders and, with World Bank and IMF support, to restructure its external debt, reduce public enterprise deficits and implement a wide range of other reforms.

- Mali's food marketing system initiative where a group of donors, including A.I.D., are working with the Mali government to raise producer prices and phase out urban food subsidies. Parallel to this, the World Bank and IMF are helping Mali to liberalize other sectors of the economy now dominated by the public sector.

- Mauritania's cereals market restructuring program, where A.I.D. through its Food for Peace Program supports a progressively self-financing increase in grain prices along with a restructuring of the national cereals board. This helps Mauritania implement the broader program of economic reform it has negotiated with the World Bank and IMF.

## 2. Promoting Private Sector Development

The basic thrust of most of the policy reforms described above is to revitalize the private sector and reduce state control over the economy. In the Sahel, where agriculture accounts for over 80% of the work force, the principal measure of private sector progress is the progress in liberalizing cereals markets, which A.I.D. is supporting. In addition, the bulk of A.I.D. project assistance is directed to promoting the ability of private farmers to increase their production and participate more profitably in the broader development of their region. A.I.D. also is working to mobilize nascent rural private enterprise to provide farmers with such support items as plows and tools as well as broader markets through small-scale food processing industries. An excellent example of this approach is found in Upper Volta in the A.I.D. grant to Partnership for Productivity, a private American organization specializing in assistance to small-scale entrepreneurs. Partnership for Productivity uses the A.I.D. grant to support existing private rural enterprises and to encourage industrious Voltans to start new productive enterprises in support of a more vital and prosperous rural sector. The response by the new entrepreneurs has been overwhelmingly enthusiastic and the results can be readily seen.

## 3. Promoting Institutional Development

A major bottleneck to Sahel development is the lack of well-established, agriculturally-oriented institutions to support the farm-to-market food production and distribution process. This lack of fully developed institutions severely limits each Sahel country's capacity to absorb the assistance offered and considerably reduces potential development progress. To overcome this lack of effective institutions A.I.D. directs much of its assistance to developing those key institutions needed for expanded rural development. In this respect A.I.D. supports a variety of region-wide and country-specific agriculture research activities focusing on improving the productivity of cereal crops and farmer technologies. In Upper Volta and Mali A.I.D. assists government training centers for agricultural extension agents who form the essential link between promising new crop research results and the private farmer who can get them into production. Also in Upper Volta A.I.D. supports a forestry agent training school to prepare new agents to help farmers understand the value of trees and shrubs and the means to conserve them for soil preservation and non-destructive fuelwood harvesting. A.I.D. also assists planning units in national planning agencies, as was done in Mauritania, or in agriculture, education and health ministries as done elsewhere in the Sahel. A.I.D. assistance also goes directly to area rural development authorities, e.g., SAED in Senegal and the

ORDs in Upper Volta, to help stimulate increased food production. On the region-wide level A.I.D. support strengthens the Sahel Institute and AGRHYMET, a Sahel-wide meterological data-gathering organization, as well as the river basin development organizations for the Senegal, Gambia and Niger rivers.

4. Promoting Technological Transfers

A.I.D. is making American and international technology more accessible to Sahelians by programs of participant training, support for linkages between American universities and Sahelian institutions, sponsorship of certain critical high-technology initiatives, such as AGRHYMET and the regional remote sensing institute, and support for activities of the regional and international agricultural research organizations, such as ICRISAT and IITA. The latter two organizations have joined forces under A.I.D. sponsorship, in the Upper Volta based Semi-Arid Food Grains Research and Development (SAFGRAD) project to develop improved varieties of cereal crops for use in the semi-arid and arid regions of the Sahel. Another key sector for A.I.D.-sponsored technological transfers is alternative energy. A.I.D. is assisting in developing improved stoves, solar pumps and driers, and improved charcoal kilns.

5. Collaboration Initiatives

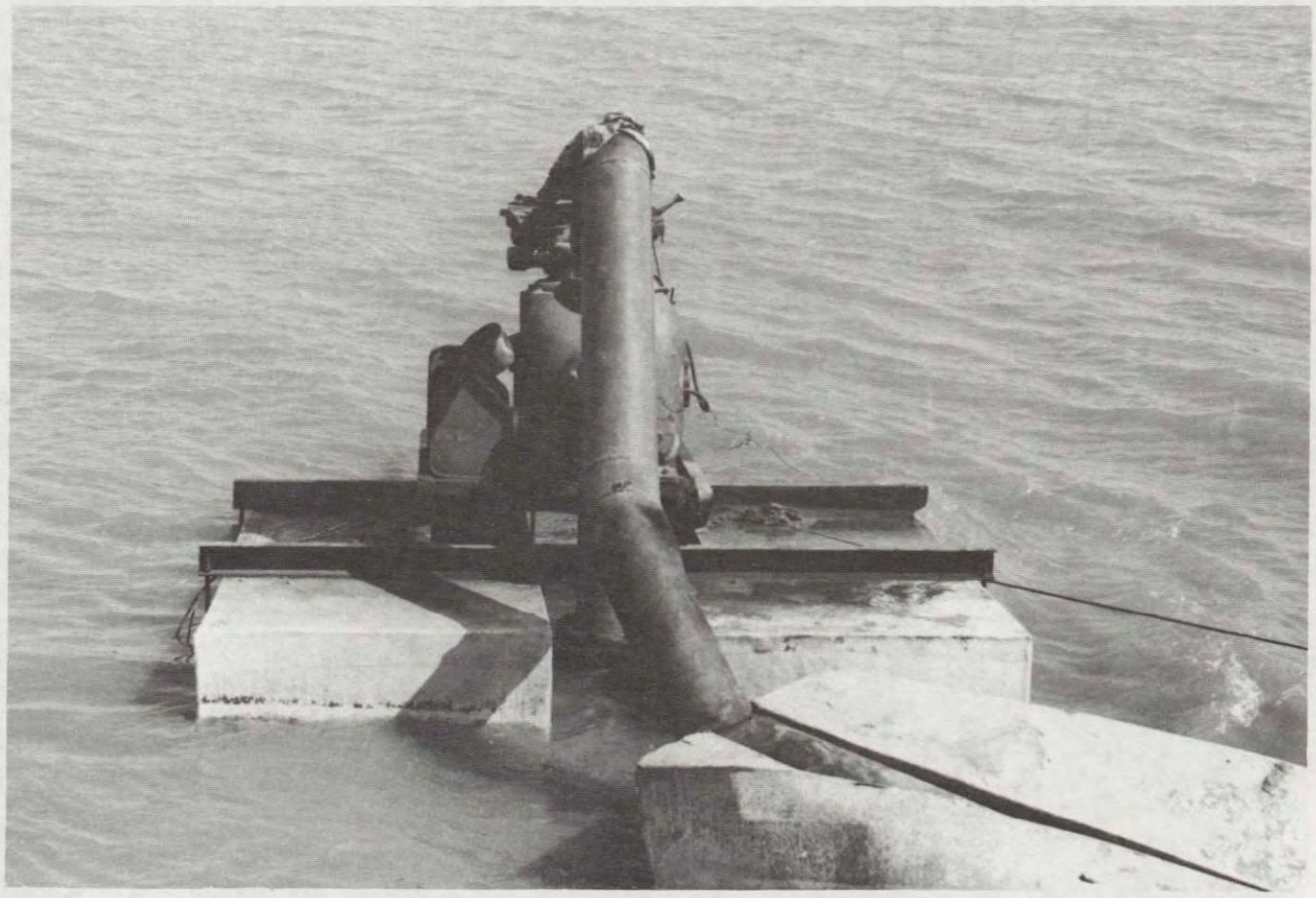
The CILSS-Club framework is a means to harmonize and focus the development effort for the region as a whole. Development programs, by their very nature, require coordination between the recipient government and other donors in the framework of a national development plan and a national aid strategy. In the course of the past two years, a variety of techniques have been utilized by A.I.D. to strengthen such collaboration.

- In Senegal, A.I.D. carried out a joint A.I.D.-Senegal evaluation of the U.S. program, involving Senegalese policy-makers and working-level technicians. The results of this evaluation were used by A.I.D. in restructuring its program to address national needs more effectively and initiate a joint planning process.

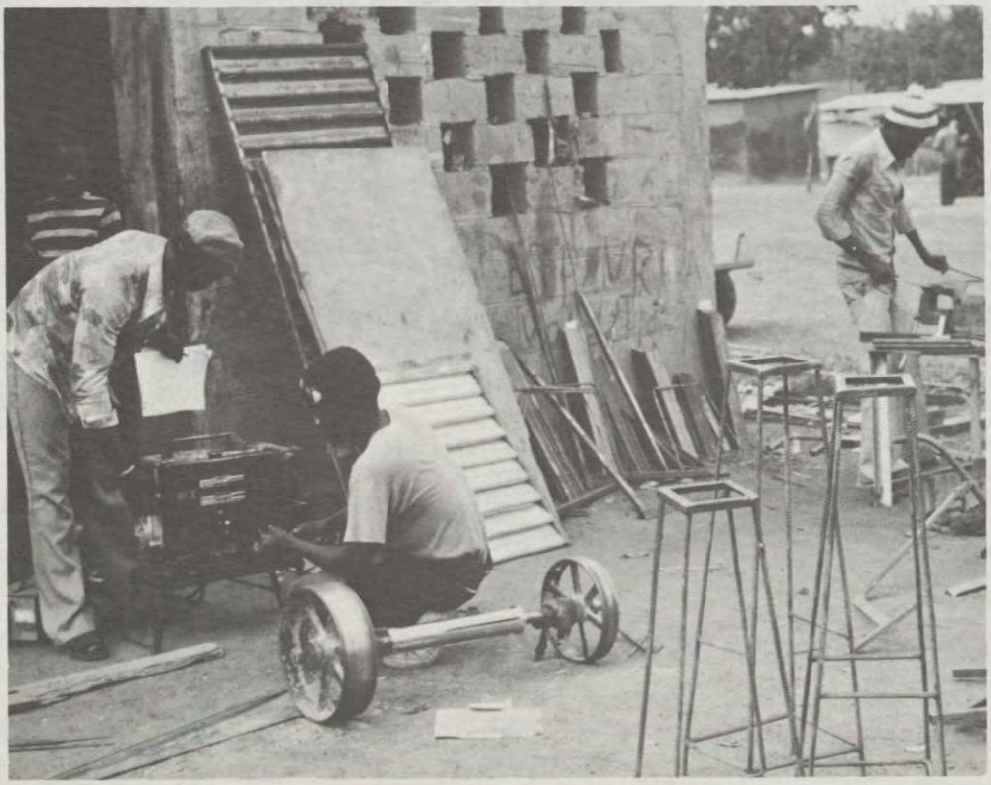
- In Niger, A.I.D. participates with other U.S. agencies in annual bilateral talks with the Niger Government. These talks focus on aid coordination and implementation issues, as well as achieving a mutual understanding of development strategy and priorities for the forthcoming year.

- Throughout the Sahel, A.I.D. has encouraged multi-donor food sector strategy missions in which a group

*Limited productivity in traditional dry land farming, as shown in this field being planted in millet in Mauritania (left), requires that modern irrigation practices be developed. The floating pump used to pump water from the Senegal River at Bakel (below) is permitting small farmers to achieve more than five times the productivity possible on dry land.*



*A.I.D. employs the skills of many non-U.S. government organizations. A technical adviser from the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. is meeting with farmers of a cooperative in The Gambia (above) to discuss non-formal education techniques. Partnership For Productivity assists a local private entrepreneur in this village shop in Upper Volta (left).*



of technicians and planners for several aid agencies work with the national government in devising plans to increase production and rationalize marketing and distribution.

- A.I.D. has promoted more direct CILSS involvement at the national level. In 1981 the CILSS and Club agreed to sponsor national meetings in each Sahelian state on specific sectors. One of these meetings was on Mali's human resources, held in Bamako in September 1981. Future meetings in each of the CILSS member states will address food sector and forestry/environment strategies.

B. Sectors of Development

The collective donor effort in the Sahel focuses on the primary element of the CILSS-Club strategy, i.e., reaching food self-sufficiency consonant with ecological balance. For this reason the bulk of American assistance and that of other donors has gone into food production. However, simply concentrating on food production as such is not enough to meet the Sahel strategy goal. Other essential programs in forestry and ecology, alternative energies, skills training, health and population planning must complement food production for the latter to succeed. In 1981 A.I.D. devoted $25 million or 26.2% of its entire Sahel program to direct food production activities. $34 million or 35.6% of the program went to institutional development, which included $14.5 million or 13.1% for agricultural research and $5.8 million or 6.1% for river basin development. Training and technology transfer took $29.8 million or 31.2% of the program.

1. Food Production

Food production in the Sahel is a complex sector. The tenuous concurrence of soil, water, animals and technology must be fostered through a variety of means. Soil and seed improvements, better animal health, introduction of animal traction, expanding water resources and building the institutional infrastructure to produce, market and distribute food crops and livestock are all essential elements of increased food production.

Food needs will not remain stable. They are expected to double over the next twenty years. Even so the Sahel, if properly developed, can feed itself. Production goals to achieve food self-reliance are demanding but fully realizable. They include:

- increasing the area under rainfed crops 4 million acres and productivity 2% per year;
- increasing irrigated land by 1 million acres and productivity 3% per year;
- increasing meat production 2.5% and milk production 2% per year.

To meet these production goals A.I.D. and other Sahel donors are concentrating on improvements in four basic subsectors, i.e., rainfed agriculture, irrigated agriculture, opening of new lands and livestock improvement. Project activity in support of these subsectors includes direct assistance to production projects in rural development, animal traction and seed distribution. These are aided by other projects in agricultural research and institution-building related to agricultural extension and marketing. The Cape Verde Rural Works project is an excellent example. There A.I.D. is funding the construction of dikes, retaining walls and aqueducts on the arid mountainous islands to retard erosion, increase water infiltration into the soil and increase the quantity of productive land. The result has been 130 hectares of land now reclaimed for irrigation and greater water supplies for irrigation and domestic use.

In Senegal's Bakel area and directly across the Senegal River in Mauritania's Guidimaka region A.I.D. is funding two projects directly linked to food production. In Senegal the Small Irrigated Perimeters project is introducing irrigation techniques to farmer groups in 24 villages. This has permitted farmers to make large increases in cultivation of lands which were once too arid. The total cultivated area developed under the small perimeter approach increased from 160 acres in 1976/77, the first year of the project, to 850 acres in 1980/81, the fifth year of the project. Financial analysis shows that farm family incomes rose steadily with a 3% increase in the first year and a 22% increase through year five. Average rice yields increased from 4 tons per hectare in 1979 to 4.5 tons per hectare in 1981. On the Mauritanian side of the river the Integrated Rural Development project is more experimental in nature. In an intensive 20 kilometer zone around Selibaby, the A.I.D. project is introducing new varieties of cereals, fruit trees and other trees and shrubs as well as techniques of animal traction and range grazing control to improve food productivity and protect the environment.

In Mali A.I.D.'s Operation Mils (millet) project helps 1800 farmers expand cereal production through agricultural research and the extension of its results, the dissemination of improved technologies, such as animal traction, treated seeds, vegetable-raising, small-scale irrigation and safe, efficient

crop storage. These elements are augmented by the training of extension agents and blacksmiths to repair the plows newly acquired through this project's agricultural credit system. In addition 100 kilometers of rural roads have been constructed. Also in Mali another A.I.D. project is developing a series of technical packages from adaptive research on sorghum, millet and certain selected legumes in the semi-arid rainfall zone (400-1200 mm) and will make them available to farmers and herders through crop operations and livestock projects. Through an A.I.D. grant to the International Crops Research Institute for Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT), research activities originally conducted by ICRISAT in Mali under Operation Mils are being continued and expanded under the direction of the Institute for Rural Economy. Major activities involve breeding and production of improved strains of sorghum and millet and development of better agronomic techniques, e.g., intercropping of legumes and cereals, utilization of forage crops and expansion of animal traction.

Good quality, high-producing seed is a basic prerequisite for increasing food production. In Upper Volta A.I.D. support to the national food crop seed service has resulted in a highly effective system for producing seeds and selling them to farmers at prices high enough to insure their use as seed and not as food. In Niger A.I.D. is supporting the seed program through funding of five seed multiplication centers, training Nigerien seed technicians and farmer seed producers in seed production, processing and distribution. In both countries A.I.D. assistance has meant the difference between the old ways and new effective systems for producing and insuring utilization of improved, higher-producing seeds.

While most Sahelians currently live off rainfed agriculture, irrigation is an obvious means for greatly expanding crop production. Fortunately, the means are readily at hand in the Sahel's three major river basins. A.I.D. and other donors contribute to the long-term, large-scale development of these basins through the semi-autonomous governing authorities established for each basin by riparian states.

The Senegal River Basin Development Organization (OMVS), created by the governments of Senegal, Mali and Mauritania, is charged with the integrated development of the Senegal River Valley. The principal development plans of OMVS are the construction of a salt intrusion barrier at Diama near St. Louis in Senegal; a water control and hydroelectric dam at Manantali in Mali; a navigable river system and ports extending from Kayes in Mali to St. Louis in Senegal, and the development of irrigated agriculture in an area covering 310,000 hectares of land to be brought under production by the year 2028. Donor and national funding for both dams has been assured and preparations for construction are underway.

A.I.D. support for OMVS includes (1) a fiscal allocation project which will permit the three member states to partition development costs and benefits according to a computerized socio-economic formula; (2) an aerial photography and mapping project which has provided OMVS and interested donors with detailed maps of the basin at a scale of 1/150,000; (3) a groundwater monitoring project aimed at assessing the non-riverine water resources of the basin; (4) an agronomic research project aimed at improving agricultural production through applied research, and (5) an environmental assessment and plan of action to assure a balance between physical development of the basin and its long-term effects on the human, animal and vegetative environments. In addition, in November 1981, A.I.D. began the design of a six-year integrated development project aimed at the development of 5,000 hectares of irrigated agriculture, the construction of farm-to-market roads, the establishment of health monitoring and surveillance posts and, for the long-term, the definition and study of major policy constraints which affect the rural development of the basin.

The Gambia River Development Organization (OMVG). The Gambia, Senegal, and more recently, Guinea, are working together through the OMVG to develop the Gambia river basin which emcompasses virtually all the Gambia, 20% of Senegal and 3% of Guinea. The full development of this vast area depends on the ability to utilize surface and groundwater resources threatened by the upriver movement of salt during the dry season. A.I.D. assists the OMVG by undertaking (a) essential aerial photography and cartography of the entire basin; (b) long-term socio-economic and environmental impact studies scheduled to begin in mid-1982, and (c) long-term technical assistance to develop the institutional capability of the OMVG to plan and carry out river basin development.

The Niger Basin Authority (NBA) addresses the systematic development of Niger river basin resources. New leadership provided by Guinea in 1979 has succeeded in revitalizing the NBA. As a result it has launched a new development plan containing both initial pre-feasibility planning studies and direct-impact forestry and well-digging projects. France, Canada, the European Economic Community, OPEC, UNDP and the U.S. are financing most of the pre-feasibility work. A.I.D. has authorized $1 million for data collection by the Corps of Engineers as the first phase of a river systems analysis program. This four-year program and the socio-economic and environmental studies also to be funded by A.I.D. beginning in 1982 will provide NBA with the analytical tools required to determine the impacts of proposed infrastructure projects and to make knowledgeable decisions concerning long-term development.

New Lands Development. There are large areas of land in the Sahel which are potentially arable but cannot be utilized for

lack of water or the existence of disease. Under CILSS-Club leadership a start has been made in opening up these new lands. In Cape Verde the A.I.D.-funded Rural Works project is providing water for previously arid land. In a broad swath of southern Upper Volta, Mali and Senegal the dreaded disease of river blindness (onchocerciasis) has blocked use of arable land. With WHO and the World Bank as implementing agents, a large group of donors, including A.I.D., is conducting a program to control the disease-carrying black fly that will open these new lands to cultivation. This program has met with considerable success. It may become a model for similar campaigns elsewhere against sleeping sickness carried by the tse-tse fly.

Livestock. The livestock industry is the main source of income for 21% of the Sahel's population and contributes 16% to the region's GNP. Livestock numbers, severely decimated by the drought, have now returned to 96% of pre-drought levels. Livestock herding is a way of life for many Sahelians. However, its importance is conditioned by two factors. One is the limits of the Sahelian range's carrying capacity. The other is the Sahelians' tendency to view livestock as wealth on the hoof, not to be marketed. Most donor activity centers on these two factors. Project activity is demonstrating how proper range management can accommodate reasonable numbers of animals more effectively and how herders can better exploit timely animal marketing opportunities. The Sahelians' primary concern is usually animal health which also remains a subject of significant donor assistance.

A.I.D. participates actively in a variety of livestock projects. In the Gambia Mixed Farming project, A.I.D.'s range expert and his Gambian counterparts have begun range reseeding to improve grazing conditions and have initiated the stockpiling of forage, using cornstocks, groundnut vines and grasses. The Niger Range and Livestock Management project has gathered data on range, livestock and social conditions among herders as a basis for pilot range management activities, including a range management plan for improving Niger's grazing areas, and improvements in animal health. In Mali, A.I.D. funds a cattle feeding project which has gained enthusiastic farmer support and a range protection project which has built 180 kilometers of firebreaks to protect 20,000 acres of range in the Doukouloumba Forest. A.I.D.'s support of the Central Veterinary Laboratory near Bamako has resulted in vaccine production which exceeds Malian domestic requirements and is now exported. Vaccines to prevent rinderpest, bovine pleuropneumonia, black leg, pasteurellosis and anthrax in cattle are in production. The Senegal Range and Livestock Development project, located in Eastern Senegal, tests a range management system organized around rain-filled ponds. Building on

successes in East Africa, the ponds system can have an important effect upon future range management schemes in the Sahel.

### 2. Forestry, Ecology and Energy

The Sahel development strategy is designed to enhance natural resource conservation over the region as a whole by reducing pressure on less productive areas and increasing fuelwood production, the region's primary source of energy. In order to protect arable land from desert encroachment donors have supported both large-scale and village-level reforestation projects. Where the deserts are closest to productive farm lands, as in Mauritania, Mali and Niger, experimental programs of sand dune stabilization have been undertaken.

In energy the CILSS-Club sector strategy emphasis has been on both traditional energies (fuelwood and charcoal use surveys, fuelwood production, environmentally sound agriculture and pastoralism, efficient stoves and charcoal production techniques) and the development of alternative energy sources. There is no current adequate substitute for fuelwood that could reduce dependency on that source of energy within the next quarter century. Primary attention must continue to be directed to increasing fuelwood production and the efficiency of its transformation and utilization. At present, little is known about hydrocarbon deposits and ample hydroelectric potential must await construction of large-scale dams. The World Bank, other donors and the private sector are expected to become increasingly involved with the development of hydroelectric power and regional fossil fuel resources. At the same time, A.I.D. and European donors continue research in solar, biogas, wind and other energy technologies.

In Mauritania, the A.I.D.-funded Renewable Resources Management project is engaged in supporting village-level reforestation, range control demonstrations and the stabilization of moving sand dunes. In this largely desert country, wind-driven sand dunes threaten to move over highly valued agricultural lands and even to swallow whole villages. This drought-aggravated phenomenon has become a national concern and the A.I.D. project is demonstrating how the use of shrubs, grasses and appropriate fencing can stabilize these advancing dunes. In Upper Volta A.I.D. supports the Dinderesso Forestry Training Center which trains forestry extension agents to be more effective in helping farmers and herders employ rational land and water resource uses. In Upper Volta A.I.D. has funded a solar energy project in which NASA installed an experimental photovoltaic cell-driven water pump and flour mill for village use. In Mali A.I.D. funds further solar energy research and experimentation for meeting village needs. In Senegal, A.I.D.'s Renewable Energy project is designed to increase fuelwood supplies in fifty village woodlots, improve the efficiency of

charcoal production, expand the use of more efficient domestic woodstoves and improve preservation of fish with solar dryers. A companion A.I.D. project will create a 3,000 hectare plantation to help provide fuelwood for urban centers, reduce pressure on natural forest lands, improve charcoal production, establish tree nurseries and provide training for foresters. In Niger, A.I.D. finances a Forestry and Land Use project ($13.6 million) that is preparing a comprehensive 20-year plan to rehabilitate, exploit and protect the country's soils, water, natural vegetation and firewood resources.

### 3. Education and Training

Development of the Sahel's human resources is essential to effective delivery of agricultural and social services and the expansion of village-level skills. Almost all donors fund long-term training of Sahelians in the donor country and some, including the United States, fund training in other countries. Many are also engaged in various types of training in each Sahelian country. A.I.D.'s undertakings include participant training and the strengthening of Sahelian agricultural institutions and basic skills training for the rural population.

A.I.D.'s region-wide Sahel Manpower Development project provides higher level technical training in the Sahel, in other countries and in the United States. Additionally, many A.I.D. projects have participant training components. By these means the higher-level technicians needed for planning, research, extension and management are becoming increasingly available. At the end of fiscal year 1981 in excess of 3,000 technicians (not including extension agents) were scheduled for training under various A.I.D. projects. An estimated one thousand of these participants have already completed study.

Other A.I.D. projects more directly benefit farmer groups and farmer families by offering them basic occupational skills, often including functional literacy, needed to improve rural life. In Upper Volta the Agricultural Human Resource Development project is expanding the capacity of the government to train personnel at all levels of the agricultural extension system with emphasis on professional and mid-level training. U.S. technical assistance fills teaching positions while Voltans are being trained and additional educational facilities built. This combination of interim technical assistance, plant construction and expansion allows the government to increase its output of trained agricultural extension agents significantly.

In Mali an A.I.D. project is establishing functional literacy centers in the Mopti area. These centers provide villagers with practical, low-cost education, including basic skills in

numeracy and reading in their mother tongues, Dogon or Fulani. Farm families receive training in health care and hygiene; marketing functions and improved agricultural techniques, such as in-line seeding to facilitate use of small plows, spacing plants for optimal development, fungicides to protect seeds and fertilizers to increase yields. More than double the number of functional literacy centers envisioned have already been installed (65 operational). These have been established only at the request of the villagers and have been built by the villagers with local materials as their contribution to the project.

In Niger, the Niamey Department Development project promotes village level organizations capable of self-managed development. This project supports the organization of 42 cooperative associations through creation of three farmer-couple training centers to train villagers selected by their villages to serve as cooperative managers and demonstration agents. The Cooperative League of the U.S.A. (CLUSA) has an A.I.D.-funded education project to train 24 cooperative inspectors as trainers in cooperative principles, literacy and numeracy. The Save the Children Federation (SCF) has received an A.I.D. grant to train community development assistants and members of village development committees.

### 4. Health and Population

Health is an essential factor in Sahel development, not only as a basic element in the quality of life but also as an important contribution to increasing productivity. As in most developing countries health care facilities in the Sahel are concentrated in the cities. Rural health care has been largely neglected and left generally to traditional healers. To address this imbalance the CILSS-Club health sector strategy stresses the importance of primary health care systems for the rural areas with an emphasis on preventive health. A.I.D. is an active proponent of this stragegy and, together with WHO and France, a primary contributor to rural health care in the Sahel. In Niger A.I.D. funds a national rural health delivery program which has become a model for the Sahel. Village health worker teams (VHWT), consisting of a health worker and a traditional midwife, provide the base of the organizational pyramid. They provide preventive care, such as village water hygiene and sanitary disposal, health education and treatment of infant diarrhea and prenatal care. An average of 8 to 10 VHWT are supervised monthly by the rural dispensary nurse who is, in turn, supervised every 3 months by a doctor or chief nurse. A rural sensitization team, in collaboration with the health center staff, assists the farming village health committees in selecting their own VHWT.

In Mauritania 1981 saw full-scale implementation of a basic health project in the Trarza region which provides a comprehensive, self-sustaining, community-based rural health delivery system. Using A.I.D. technical assistance and U.S. Peace Corps volunteers the project focuses on development of a network of village-selected health workers supervised by regional health professionals, similar to the system used in Niger.

In Gambia, a U.S.-assisted national immunization program will eventually cover the whole country. It provides measles, tetanus, BCG, polio, diphtheria and whooping cough vaccine to children under 3 and tetanus to pregnant women through fixed centers and mobile teams. Similar A.I.D.-supported immunization programs exist in Mauritania and Upper Volta. In Upper Volta, A.I.D. finances a village water program providing 600 mechanically drilled and handdug wells. The Peace Corps provides technical assistance in the project's health education component, since most of the infant mortality due to dehydration derives from improper water and food handling inside village huts. The wells, some operated by handpumps, bring potable water within easy reach of the villagers and bring a direct improvement in villagers' health.

Family planning is an aspect of the Sahel health program which has not received the same attention as other components. Traditional constraints imposed by religious tenets, seemingly sparse populations and the accepted norm of the large family have, in the past, muted concern over population growth. However, this is changing. Sahel governments are becoming increasingly sensitive to the problems of a population growth rate of 2.7% per annum and its adverse impact on per capita food production, education and other social services requirements. A.I.D. is assisting the Sahelians in the analysis of these national and regional population pressures through the A.I.D.-funded Regional Demographic Data Collection and Analysis project administered by the Sahel Institute in Bamako with complementary assistance from the United Nations Fund for Population Assistance (UNFPA). At present national family programs of limited scope exist in Cape Verde, Gambia, Mali and Senegal. A.I.D. is assisting the Senegal program and encourages national and international organizations to start family planning programs integrated with primary health care.

## C. Special Concerns

### 1. Financial Management

During 1980 and 1981 A.I.D.'s Inspector General conducted nine audits in the Sahel, mostly at the request of the A.I.D. field missions. A recurrent theme underlying several of the audits

was that accounting for expenditures of funds for financing local costs under A.I.D. projects was inadequate. These funds were usually local currencies turned over to the Sahelian governments for use in A.I.D. projects. Responsibility for keeping books and records of expenditures lay with the host country. A.I.D. recognized that the general pattern of poor financial management was due largely to countries' weak institutional capacity and low level of human resources development.

Responding to the audit reports and the expressed concerns of the Congress, A.I.D. took immediate steps to reconcile accounts where records of expenditures were inadequate, to issue Bills for Collection where it was determined that misuse had occurred and to withhold any further disbursements in cases where adequate accounting systems and reconciliation had yet to be achieved. With the exception of projects in Mali and Cape Verde where reconciliation is still underway, most funds have now been accounted for and, where appropriate, repayments have been negotiated.

The audits of the Sahel were considered serious enough by A.I.D.'s Africa Bureau to send a financial management team to the Sahel in March 1981. That examination resulted in:

- design and testing of a training program to bring host country accounting up to required minimum accounting standards. The training program is now underway;

- halting of disbursements until Mission Directors certify that the host country accounting system for each project is adequate, as specifically requested by the Congress;

- design of a project to (a) provide short-term financial management consulting services and development of training programs geared to specific country needs and (b) identify institutional development requirements for raising the level of Sahelian financial and program management capacity.

2. Administrative problems

The audits also revealed certain general and some specific problems in the Sahel program other than in financial management. One audit dealt with the need to improve programming within the CILSS-Club regional framework in order to increase the correspondence between regional and national strategies, to improve the evaluation system and to identify the constraints to utilizing development assistance in the Sahel. In order to increase the match between regional and national sector strategies, the CILSS-Club will assist member governments in launching sector program consultations between donors and national agencies at the national level.

Certain country audits pointed to project-specific deficiencies. These have now been corrected. To cite a few examples:

- a recommendation to dispose of an A.I.D.-supported livestock feedlot in Mali by selling it to the private sector;

- a recommendation to provide better storage for U.S. PL 480 food donations to Cape Verde;

- a recommendation to clarify the management responsibilities of the regional Integrated Pest Management project in the Gambia;

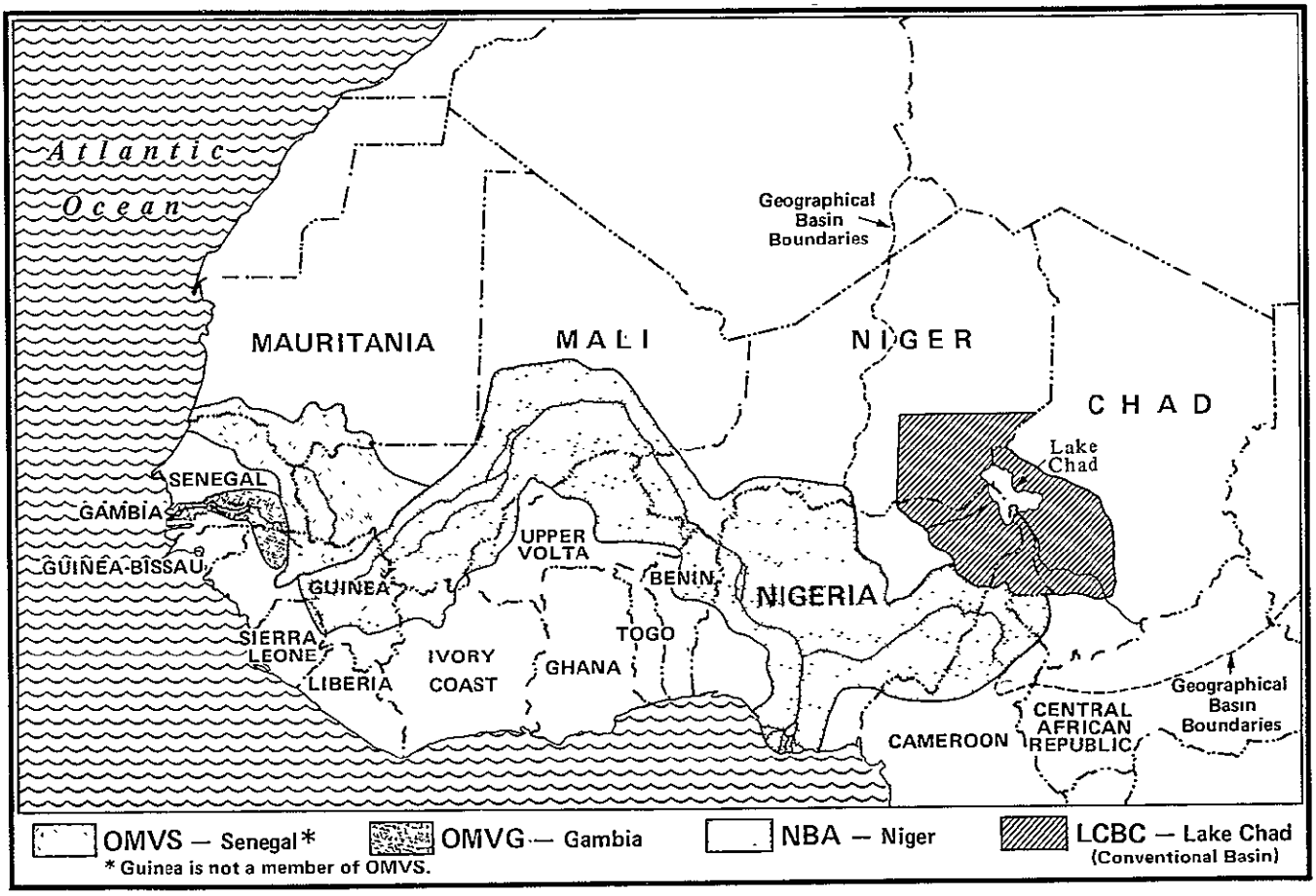
- a recommendation not to expand a cereals production project in Senegal until cereals production increases can be demonstrated under the existing project.

Finally, the management of the CILSS headquarters in Ouagadougou and of the Sahel Institute in Bamako were criticized for lacking acceptable accounting systems. A.I.D. has undertaken a thorough review of past accounts and will provide a long-term financial management advisor to CILSS during FY 1982 to help introduce an adequate accounting system.

## V. Conclusion

Sahel development is a long-term endeavor. It is programmed until the year 2000 and must be viewed in that time frame. Yearly results are difficult to measure, given the infant stage of Sahel data-gathering systems, and are potentially misleading, given the yearly vagaries of climate, export prices and social conditions. However, it is clear that progress is being made. In the prime strategic sector of food production, cereal production has increased between 2% and 3% annually since the 1974 termination of the region-wide drought. Livestock numbers are almost back to pre-drought levels and to the current carrying capacity of the Sahel range. Per capita annual GNP has increased by $78 since 1973 and great strides have been made in rural primary health care and preventive medicine. These are the indicators of progress which the CILSS-Club strategy, implemented through a broad grouping of national and international donors, is bringing about. There are problems, both managerial and technological, which remain to be overcome. But progress is being made. The Sahelian governments and their peoples are very much aware of the donor assistance mobilized to help them. With the support of A.I.D. and the many other Club donors, the Sahelians are prepared to take the very real and seldom easy steps needed for continued and accelerated progress toward that increased economic and social development foreseen for the year 2000.

# Sahel River Basins




The Sahel has four major river basins (above). A.I.D. projects with the Sahelian river basin commissions are managed by the USAID office nearest the basin headquarters office (below):

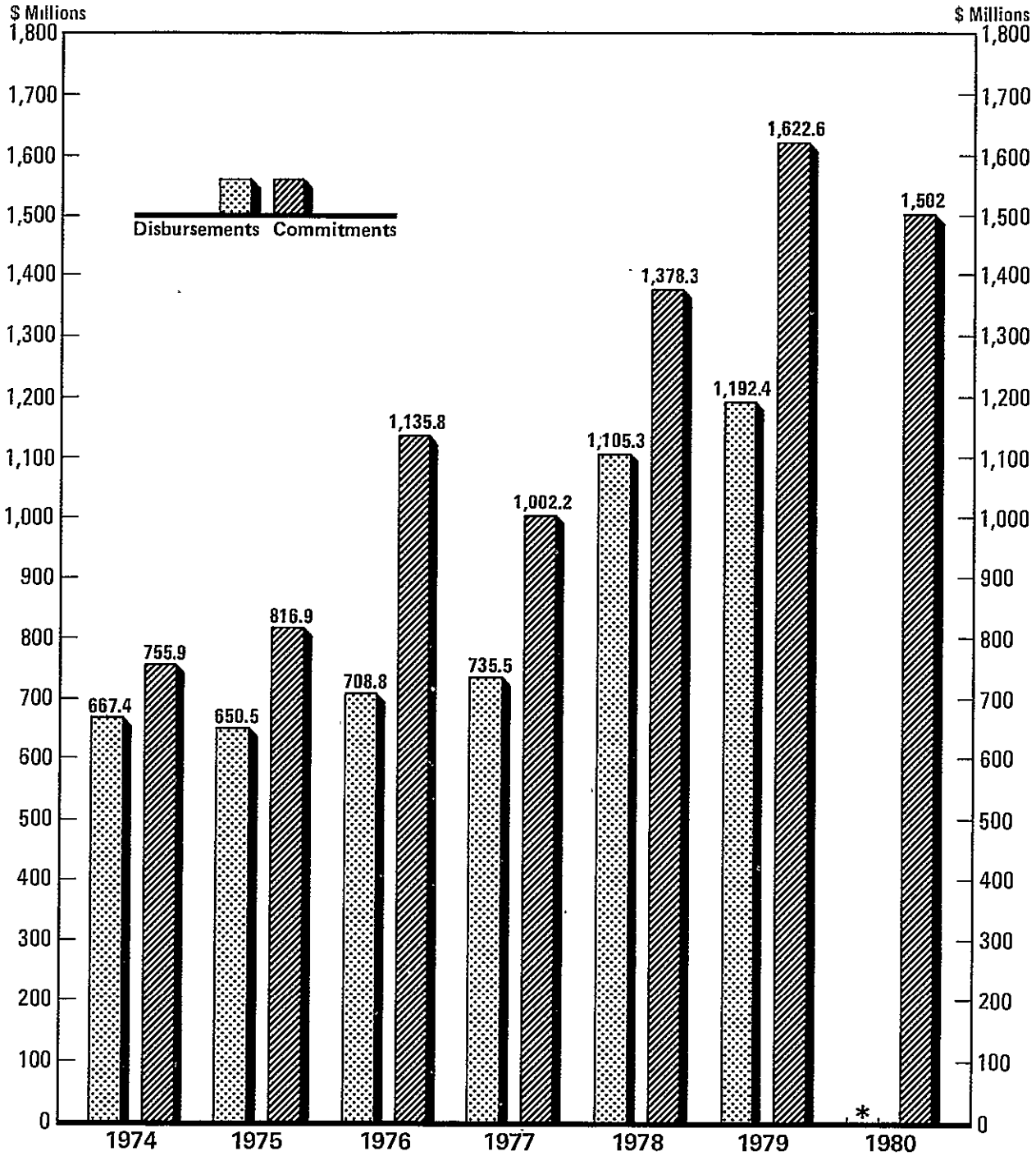
| Basin | Organization Name | Headquarters | Member States |
|---|---|---|---|
| OMVS | Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Senegal (Senegal River Development Organization) | St. Louis, Senegal | Senegal, Mali, Mauritania |
| OMVG | Organisation pour la Mis en Valeur du Fleuve Gambie (Gambia River Development Organization) | Kaolack, Senegal | Gambia, Guinea, Senegal |
| NBA | Niger Basin Authority | Niamey, Niger | Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Upper Volta |
| LCBC | Lake Chad Basin Commission | N'Djamena, Chad* | Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Nigeria |

*The LCBC headquarters is temporarily moved to Maroua, Cameroon, and A.I.D. management is currently divided between Washington and USAID/Yaounde.

*Table 1*

## Total Public Aid for Development of the Sahel 1974 to 1980

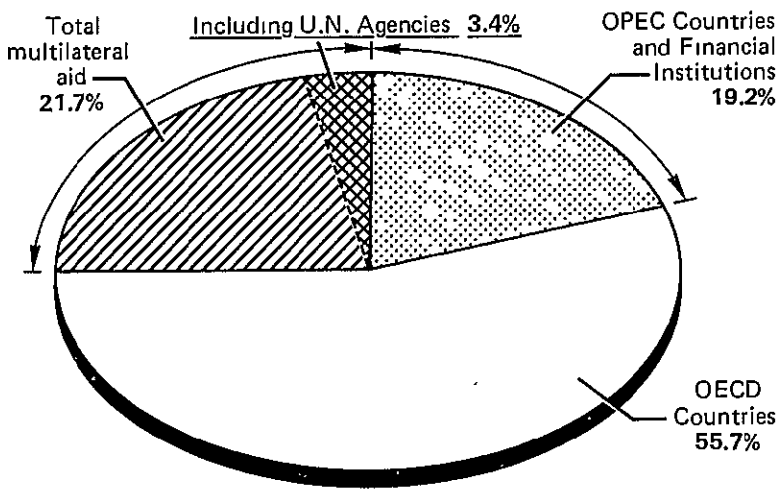
Disbursements and Commitments



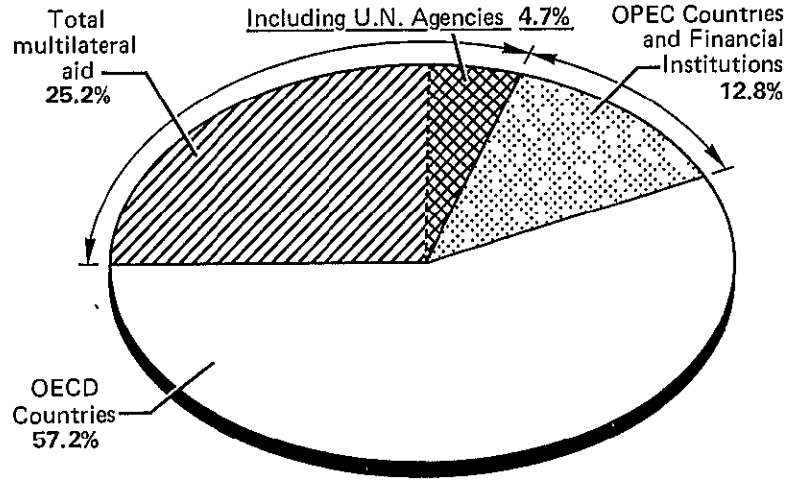

*Figures for 1980 disbursements are not available.

*Table 2*

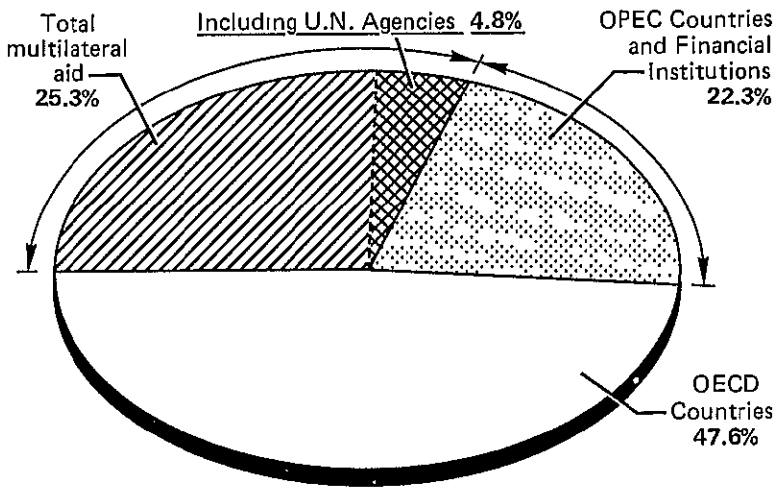
## Contributions to Sahel Countries by Major Groups of Donors 1977 to 1980



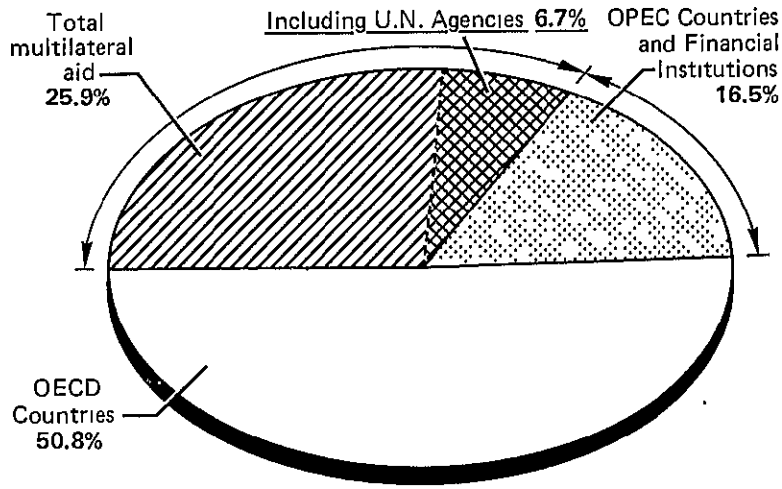

1977




1978




1979




1980

Table 3

Ten Leading Donors to Sahel 1977-1980
- Commitments, $ Millions -

| 1977 | | | 1978 | | | 1979 | | | 1980 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rank | $ (M) | % | Rank | $ (M) | % | Rank | $ (M) | % | Rank | $ (M) | % |
| France | 186 | 18.6 | France | 243 | 17.6 | France | 278 | 17.1 | France | 319 | 21.2 |
| EEC | 129 | 12.9 | EEC | 185 | 13.4 | EEC | 240 | 14.8 | EEC | 180 | 12.1 |
| Saudi Arabia | 122 | 12.2 | United States | 144 | 10.4 | Germany | 136 | 8.4 | United States | 130 | 8.7 |
| Germany | 96 | 9.5 | Canada | 129 | 9.5 | United States | 123 | 7.6 | World Bank | 122 | 8.1 |
| United States | 86 | 8.6 | Germany | 112 | 8.1 | Saudi Arabia | 117 | 7.2 | UN Agencies | 101 | 6.7 |
| Canada | 76 | 7.6 | World Bank | 103 | 7.5 | World Bank | 110 | 6.8 | Germany | 94 | 6.2 |
| World Bank | 64 | 6.4 | African D.B. | 70 | 5.1 | Kuwait | 86 | 5.3 | Netherlands | 87 | 5.8 |
| Netherlands | 42 | 4.2 | Netherlands | 65 | 4.7 | U.N. Agencies | 78 | 4.8 | Saudi Arabia | 68 | 4.5 |
| U.N. Agencies | 34 | 3.4 | U.N. Agencies | 53 | 3.9 | Netherlands | 58 | 3.6 | Iraq | 47 | 3.1 |
| OPEC Special Fund | 26 | 2.6 | Saudi Arabia | 52 | 3.7 | Japan | 47 | 2.9 | Kuwait | 40 | 2.7 |
| Subtotal | 861 | 86.0 | | 1,157 | 83.9 | | 1,273 | 78.5 | | 1,188 | 79.1 |
| Other Donors | 140 | 14.0 | | 220 | 16.1 | | 351 | 21.5 | | 314 | 20.9 |
| Total | 1,001 | 100 | | 1,377 | 100 | | 1,624 | 100 | | 1,502 | 100 |

Definition: ODA Commitments, including food aid.
Source : CILSS/Club documents SAHEL D (80) 103, SAHEL D (81) 144 and subsequent updates.
Note : Excluding food aid, U.S. assistance between 1977 and 1980 ranged from 5% to 7% of total contributions.

Table 4
PL 480 Food Aid Country Summaries

| | FY 1980 ($ 000) | FY 1981 ($ 000) |
|---|---|---|
| Cape Verde | | |
| Title II | $ 1,479 | $ 3,410 |
| Chad | | |
| Title II | 1,453 | 0 |
| Gambia | | |
| Title II | 1,283 | 978 |
| Mali | 0 | 0 |
| Mauritania | | |
| Title II | 4,247 | 6,370 |
| Niger | 0 | 0 |
| Senegal | | |
| Title II | 7,000 | 7,000 |
| Title III | 6,128 | 9,763 |
| Upper Volta | | |
| Title II | 9,248 | 12,988 |
| TOTALS | $ 30,838 | $ 40,509 |

Country levels reflect bilateral programs only. PL 480 contributions through World Food Programs are not reflected.

PROJECT NUMBER:

PROCESS: ACTION DATES: INITIALS:

CATALOGUE ✓ return to 1656

ABSTRACT

FICHE ✓ RANDD

COMMENTS

SIGNU