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DEVELOPMENT

COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY STATEMENT

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CAMEROON

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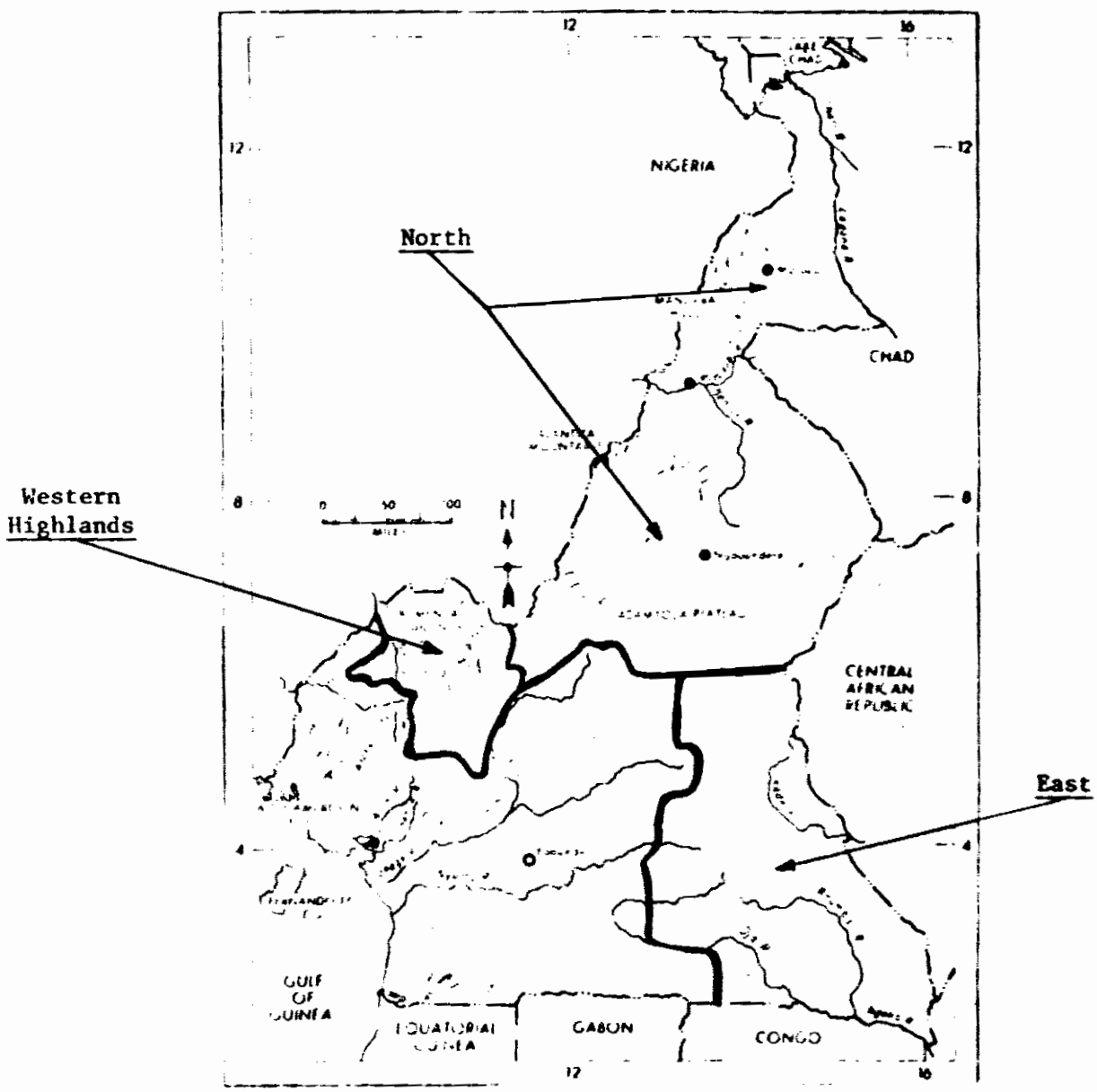
COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY STATEMENT

FOR CAMEROON

January 25, 1979


North
Western Highlands
East
NIGERIA
CHAD
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
GULF OF GUINEA
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
GABON
CONGO
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PART I - ANALYSIS

A. ANALYTICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE POOR

1. Introduction

The Government of the United Republic of Cameroon is a deliberate and prudent organization which very much believes in decisions by consensus. It has gone to great lengths to involve its citizens in the developmental process and to make development more relevant to the large mass of the population. The result of these efforts has been the Fourth Development Plan which addresses Cameroon's developmental constraints, needs, priorities and objectives. The USAID/Yaounde program philosophy is to seek, within the Government's planned programs, established objectives and priorities, those programs, objectives, and priorities which are in accordance with the Congressional Mandate. Our highest priority is agriculture and rural development with emphasis on increasing the efficiency of food crop production, improving nutrition, and extending basic services and facilities to rural populations.

Cameroon has an agriculturally based economy and consists of four major ecological zones: the Western Highlands (North West, South West, and West provinces); the southern rain forests (East, Center-South, and Littoral provinces); the central savanna (southern portion of the North province); and the northern arid region (northern portion of the North province).

2. Demographic

The rural population of Cameroon constitutes 71.5 percent of its total population (7.7 million)[1/]. Twenty-nine percent of Cameroon's population lives in the North, and its land area accounts for one-third of Cameroon total area. The forest zone provinces account for one-half of the land area and 37 percent of the population. The highlands zone provinces have 12 percent of the land area and support one-third of the population. The highest densities per square kilometer are in the West and North West, and the lowest population density is in the East.

When disaggregating the population density figures from the provincial level to the rural department level, the following are the most populated rural areas. Four of the six departments in the West province have densities of over 100 people per square kilometer. The Lekié department, located a few kilometers from Yaounde, also has a population density of over 100. The Margui-Wandala department in the North has 70 people per square kilometer. These figures compare with a national average of 16.5 people per square kilometer.

Average family size for Cameroon is 5.2 persons with a range from 4.6 persons in the Littoral province to 7.0 persons in the North West province. The dependency ratio[2/] in Cameroon's rural areas is 1:2 with a range from 1:1.8 in the North and East to 1:2.4 in the West and South West.

1/ Ministry of Economic Affairs and Planning, Census 1976. As of April 1976, the population was 7.7 million; it is now estimated to be 8.1 million.

2/ The ratio of persons aged 15-64 to persons under 15 years of age and 65 years of age and over.

	North	East	Center South	Littoral	West	North West	South West	Total
Population - %	29	5	20	12	14	13	8	101
Land Area - %	35	23	25	4	3	4	5	99
Density per Km^2	14	3	13	46	74	57	25	16.5

Source: Census 1976
Centre Géographique National

3. Income

The only stratified national income study[1/] available to the Mission indicates that 10 percent of the population receive 60 percent of the income. The remaining 90 percent of Cameroon's population receive 40 percent of the income. The implication of this is that 90 percent of Cameroon's population has a per capita income of less than one-half of the average national per capita income. There are, of course, income differences both within the rural and the poorer majority of the population. An examination of these diversities leads to the identification of geographical areas that are characterized by limited access to ideas, markets, and services.

A regional per capita income[2/] study was accomplished a decade ago[3/]. The lowest per capita incomes were in the North ($17) and the East ($45), whereas the highest per capita incomes were in the more urbanized provinces of Littoral ($141) and Center-South ($112). Other studies have been made during the past five years of the producers of

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1/ David Kom, Le Cameroun-essai d'analyze économique et politique, Paris, 1971.

2/ All per capita incomes are cash incomes and do not include a value for subsistence food production.

3/ C. Burghard and J. H. Manfred, La situation socio-économique du Cameroun à la veille du IVe plan, Berlin, 1975.

export cash crops. Per capita incomes of families raising cotton in the North were $21; tobacco-raising families in the East had per capita incomes of $65; cocoa-producing families received per capita incomes of $44 and $70 in the East and Center-South provinces respectively; and families raising coffee earned per capita incomes ranging from $34 in the North West to $120 in the West. In each province more than one-half of the families raise cash crops with the exception of the North[1/].

A further review of per capita income figures for Cameroon has identified a number of income studies that have been completed during the past decade of individual villages. These studies confirm that the lowest per capita incomes are found in the North, East, and North West. The highest per capita incomes are found in the more urbanized provinces of Littoral and Center-South.

4. Education

Approximately two-thirds of the children in Cameroon between the ages of 6 and 14 attend school. School attendance rates are one-third the national average in the North where only 22 percent of the children attend school. The school attendance rates in the North West province are also below the national average. The highest school attendance rates, over 90 percent, are in the Littoral and Center-South provinces.

The lowest literacy rate of persons 10 years of age and older is 11 percent in the North. The highest rates of literacy are again

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1/ In the North, 39 percent of the families raise cotton; in the East 54 percent raise cocoa and 42 percent raise tobacco; in the Center-South 86 percent raise cocoa; in the North West 79 percent raise coffee; and in the West 92 percent raise coffee.

in the Littoral (69 percent) and Center-South (67 percent). Males have higher school attendance and literacy rates than females.

	North	East	Center South	Littoral	West	North West	South West	National Average
Total Population								
School Attendance - %	22	67	92	90	87	59	76	65
Literacy Rate - %	11	49	67	69	48	43	56	44

Source: Census 1976

5. Health

There are approximately 9,200 health workers[1/] in Cameroon, and the highest proportion of population per health workers is in the North and North West. The North also has the lowest proportion of health facilities (16 percent) as compared to its share of the population (29 percent).

Life expectancy in Cameroon is 45 years. The national infant mortality rate is 165 per 1,000 live births, and in the North the infant mortality rate is estimated to be 190 per 1,000 live births. The National Nutrition Survey[2/] shows that 22 percent of the children under 5 years of age suffer from chronic undernutrition. The highest proportions of chronically undernourished children are found in the West (31 percent) and East (27 percent) provinces. Acute moderate to mild malnutrition is suffered by 4.8 percent of the children under 5 years of

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1/ Health workers include doctors, nurses, midwives, and health technicians.

2/ University of California at Los Angeles, National Nutrition Survey, October 1978.

age. The highest proportion of children with acute to mild malnutrition is in the North (7.5 percent)[1/].

	North	East	Center South	Littoral	West	North West	South West	National Average
Population per Health Worker	2,234	490	564	373	726	1,460	789	783
Health Facilities-%	16	12	31	14	11	9	8	-
Population -%	29	5	20	12	14	13	8	-

Source: Ministry of Health, Rapport Statistique d'Activité des Services de Santé Publique, 1975.

6. Shelter and Services

The great majority of rural families (90 percent) have their own homes, either as single-family dwellings or extended family compounds. Unbaked adobe-type bricks or mud are used to construct the walls of 80 percent of the rural houses. Thatching is used to roof one-half of the houses in rural areas,and thatch is used almost exclusively in the North. Corrugated metal roofs are used on 40 percent of the houses, and they are particularly prevalent in high rainfall areas. More than half of the rural families obtain water from springs and steams. In the arid North, families are more dependent upon wells. The more urbanized provinces of Littoral and South West have greater access to water pumps. The 1976 Census indicates that 70 percent of Camercon's population have pit latrines, although the incidence of fecal-borne disease would indicate

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1/ It is hypothesized that the North does not have the highest proportion of chronically undernourished children because of high infant mortality rates; that is, the severely undernourished children often do not survive long enough to be classed as chronically undernourished.

that the latrines are underused. In the North, about one-half of the families have no toilet facilities - the highest proportion in the country.

Water Sources - Percentages

	North	East	Center South	Littoral	West	North West	South West	National Average
Piped Water	2	1	6	7	4	15	7	5
Communal Pumps	5	4	17	44	12	13	41	17
Wells	42	17	19	12	3	3	4	21
Spring	9	67	50	25	45	42	34	32
Stream	38	10	7	12	35	25	9	23
Other	4	-	-	1	-	3	4	2

Source: Census, 1976

7. Energy

Kerosene, firewood, and the sun are the major energy sources for cooking, lighting, and the drying of agricultural products. Kerosene lanterns are the light source for three-quarters of the rural population, while the remainder depend upon firewood. Only one-half of one percent of the families in the rural sector have electricity. Most rural families in the North are dependent upon firewood for cooking and home lighting use. Food grains and cash crops, such as coffee and cocoa, are sun-dried.

8. Farmer Occupations

There are approximately one million farm-families in Cameroon who cultivate 1.5 million hectares of land[1/]. The mean farm size is

1/ UNDP/FAO, Agricultural Census, 1977. The census definition of cultivated land is land which has been cultivated a year before the census or during the year of the census. The census states that only 9,200 hectares of land were in fallow and are not included in the census as cultivated land.

1.6 hectares, and the median farm is 1.2 hectares. The mean farm size of the lower 50 percent of all farms is .6 hectares, whereas the mean farm size for the upper 50 percent is 2.6 hectares. The greatest number of large farms--more than 10 hectares each--is in the South West, which reflects the long tradition of plantation agriculture in that province. Similarly, the greatest number of small farms--less than .25 hectare each--is also in the South West. This is indicative of the availability of agricultural labor on the plantations so that a family requires only a small plot for basic food production.

Cultivated Land Distribution

	Farm Families %		Cultivated Hectares %
Lower	10	Control	1.4
	25		5.4
	50		19.5
	75		43.7
	90		68.0
	100		100.0

Source: UNDP/FAO, Agricultural Census, 1977

The great majority (79 percent) of this farm land is controlled by the farmer under customary tenure rights. In addition, 12 percent of the land is farmed by squatters, five percent of the land is rented, and four percent of the land is held through registered land titles. The largest proportion of squatters (20 percent) is found in the North. Almost one-third of the farmland in the South West is controlled by farmers with land titles.

Root crops and tubers are the major staple of the people of the forest zone. Although these foods are low in protein content, they are complemented by the consumption of maize and peanuts. Maize is the major staple of the Western Highlands, and the diet is varied by the consumption of root crops and peanuts. The people of the North are dependent upon sorghum and millet and, to a lesser extent, peanuts. Yield data vary greatly among regions and between years, but they suggest that higher root-crop yields are found in the forest zone, and higher maize yields are found in the Western Highlands. Poultry and livestock are raised by farmers throughout Cameroon. In addition, cattle are important in the North and are raised by one-third of the families.

Sorghum and millet production is dependent upon the rainfall in the arid North. Late rains in 1976 (June instead of April) resulted in low production and higher prices in early 1977. Normal rainfall in 1978 has yielded a bumper crop, relatively speaking, for 1979. Basic food crop prices have risen fairly rapidly during the past two years in the Western Highlands because of higher prices being paid for staples in Gabon and Nigeria and an increasing demand for foodstuffs in Cameroon's urban markets.

The major cash crops are cotton in the North, tobacco in the East, cocoa in the forest zone, and coffee in the Western Highlands. The participation rate in the growing of cash crops is very high by the rural population. Cameroon farmers are part of the cash economy, and their production accounts for 93 percent of the value of primary

agricultural export products[1/]. Their remuneration varies among crops and geographical areas. Cash crops are an important part of the economy, but export crops are cultivated on less than one-third of the cultivated lands. The major activity of farmers is food crop production, and two-thirds of all farm acreage is devoted to its production.

Crops are cultivated with basic agricultural hand tools such as the hoe and machete by virtually all farm families. (In the North, the sickle is used far more extensively than the machete.) Approximately 10 percent of the families use an animal-drawn plough in the North.

In general, men tend to take responsibility for the growing of cash crops, whereas women are responsible for basic food crop cultivation. In the farm areas surrounding the urban centers, basic food crops are becoming important cash crops, and men and women are involved in the commercialization of the food crops. During the short growing season in the North, men and women participate in food crop production.

9. Target Populations

The poorest areas of Cameroon, in terms of incomes and quality-of-life indicators, are the North province, the Western Highlands, and the East province. These regions are the greatest distance from the major Douala-Yaounde urban axis.

The North province, particularly the far northern arid zone, is the most isolated of these regions. The tsetse fly-infested savannas separate it from the southern forest zone. A rail and road trunk line

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1/ Small farms produce all of the cotton and cocoa exports and 90 percent of the coffee exports.

provided the first all-weather transportation link between this populous region and the main urban centers of the South in 1974. Its severe climate, poor resource base, and past isolation, however, are reflected in its high mortality figures, low literacy and school attendance rates, low number of health workers, and poor nutrition levels of children. One of Camercon's most densely populated departments, Margui Wandala, is in the North, and its 500,000 residents have one of the lowest per capita incomes in the nation. The major cash crop of the North is cotton, and it provides one of the lowest incomes to producers of any of the major cash crops. The collection of water and firewood is a major occupation of the women of the region.

The Western Highlands, though closer to the commercial center of Douala, are isolated by a combination of mountains and rainfall. Unpaved roads, poor drainage, and rain inhibit the flow of goods and services into this area. The levels of income, school attendance rates, health services, and nutrition status are below national averages. The region has one of the densest populations in the country, and average farm sizes are the smallest. It is the area of highest out-migration.

The East province is bypassed in many development efforts because of its very low population densities so that development costs are relatively expensive per person served. Incomes are low, and there are special nutrition problems such as a high incidence of goiter. The low population density means that it is likely that there

are many isolated groups living deep in the rain forest that are not receiving basic governmental services.

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Most of the data for Part I.A have come from the first national population census and the first agricultural census. The information was generally available at the provincial level, enabling us to identify the poorer areas of Cameroon. The Census 1976 is expected to be released this year, and most of the population data will be presented at the departmental level. With this information, we will be able to continue our efforts at directing our activities to those people most in need of basic services.

B. IDENTIFICATION OF CAUSES OF POVERTY

1. Macro-Economic Description

During most of the 1960s, Cameroon's real economic growth rate averaged approximately 7.6 percent per year. During the third Five-Year Plan (1971-1976), however, this growth rate fell to less than 3 percent. The main causes were deteriorating terms of trade brought on by falling prices for its main export crops and sharply rising prices for its industrial imports, especially petroleum products. Beginning in 1976, an increase in world market prices for coffee and cocoa, Cameroon's main exports, helped ease the situation, and the real growth rate climbed to six percent. With population growth estimated at 2.0 percent per year, this translates into corresponding per capita growth rates of approximately 5.4 percent (1960s), 1.0 percent (1971-1976), and, perhaps, over 3.6 percent from 1976 onward.

Cameroon's Gross Domestic Production is derived from the modern and traditional sectors with each sector contributing half the value of the GDP. The traditional sector's share of the GDP is primarily through agricultural production which accounts for one-third of the total GDP. The value of the modern sector, of course, is through the secondary and tertiary economic sectors.

2. Resources

Ethnic diversity is a striking characteristic of Cameroonian society. There are approximately 200 ethnic groups speaking 24 major languages and numerous dialects. The official languages are French

and English, reflecting Cameroon's colonial history. In a similar fashion, Cameroon's religious traditions reflect its heritage: Muslims predominate in the North and Christians in the South, with about half of the population adhering to indigenous beliefs and practices. During the time of Cameroon's independence and unification, there were rivalries among the northerners, the southerners, and the English-speaking westerners. These have largely dissipated except for intraregional tensions in the North between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Cameroon contains 47 million hectares of land of which 30 million hectares are under forest cover. Sixteen million hectares are pasturelands, permanent tree crops, and arable land. Nine percent of these agricultural lands are under cultivation, the most productive being in the Western Highlands and forest zone. Production in the North is limited by the availability of water resources. Large areas of the North (notably the departments of Adamaoua and Benoue) are tsetse-fly infested so that population densities are very low. There are three rural areas of high population density: most of the West province, the Lekie department in the Center-South, and Margui-Wandala department in the North. These three areas have been identified as sources of migration movements. People in the West are moving in a southwestern direction to the Moungo and Nkam departments in the Littoral. In the Lekie department, such migration is directed north to the Sanaga River and into the Mbam department. The Kirdi are making short (2-3 km) moves within the Margui-Wandala department.

There has been little natural resource exploration in Cameroon. There are bauxite deposits in the North, but the cost of recovering them would be prohibitive. The aluminum processing plant in Edea imports alumina from Guinea. Off-shore oil drilling is being done along the coast of the South West province, and Cameroon began exporting modest quantities of crude oil in 1978. A refinery is to be built near Victoria. Adequate supplies of oil will be produced to enable Cameroon to become self-sufficient during the next five years. The timber resources of the southern forest zone are exploited and exported.

3. Major Exports/Imports

The majority of Cameroon's exports are primary and processed agricultural products. Two-thirds of the exports, by value, are primary products and include cocoa, coffee (Arabica and Robusta), timber, cotton, and bananas. Processed cocoa, timber, and cotton products account for 15 percent of the exports. Major imports include construction materials, machinery, transportation equipment, and petroleum products. During the past five years, the tonnage of Cameroon's exports has fallen, but the decrease in quantity has been offset by world price increases for cocoa and coffee so that revenues have remained constant. Increasing import costs resulted in a negative balance of payments during the mid-1970s which has since improved.

4. Finance

Over 50 percent of all revenues for the 1976-1977 budget come from customs receipts. The dependence upon these receipts places a

strain on the budget when exports or imports are low. Income taxes and other government receipts provide the balance of revenues. During 1978-1979, general salary increases, a higher level of economic activity, increasing employment opportunities, and more effective tax enforcement are expected to increase direct tax revenues and reduce the relative share of customs receipts. Since smallholders produce all of the cocoa and 90 percent of the coffee, the major Cameroonian exports, the rural population is an important tax source. Farmers also pay an annual tax. The amount varies among provinces and according to farm size, but the lowest rate is $4 in the North, and the highest rate is $14 in the Center-South and Littoral provinces for farmers with less than two hectares.

Cameroon is a member of the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa (UDEAC), and its tariffs and customs duties are determined collectively. These tariffs and customs duties serve to protect domestic production and to generate government revenue. In general, the highest customs rates are placed on luxury items and other finished consumer goods. Foodstuffs and industrial raw materials draw a middle range of rates, and the lowest rates are generally on machinery, spare parts, and other capital goods. Cameroon's tariff structure encourages imports of capital goods and intermediate inputs to domestic production.

Cameroon shares a common Central Bank with Gabon, Chad, Congo, and the Central African Empire. The operations of this bank are also

governed by agreement with France, so that the scope for manipulating money and credit measures along with other economic policy tools by Cameroon is limited. Cameroon's general monetary policy has been to encourage economic expansion by keeping interest rates low. Since the demand for loans at the commercial bank rates far exceeds the amounts available, credit is largely allocated by administrative means and tends to flow to the most risk-free borrowers, i.e., larger, and often foreign, enterprises. To offset this tendency, GURC banking laws require that 20 percent of commercial bank loans be allocated to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). It appears that it is also the larger and most risk-free of these enterprises that benefit from this requirement. As a result of increases in deposits with commercial banks, including sizable public sector desposits, banks expanded their loan operations in 1977. This led to a 33 percent increase in total domestic credit. This figure was projected to fall to 16 percent for 1978. The National Fund for Rural Development (FONADER) makes loans to farmers and farmers' groups. The trend, since its inception, has been to place rural institutions, such as cooperatives and development associations, between it and the ultimate beneficiaries.

During the Second Five-Year Plan (1966-1971), Cameroon's investment rate was 16 percent of GDP. This figure rose to 18 percent of GDP during the Third Five-Year Plan despite the low real economic growth rate. One-third of total investment was financed by external resources. Wage and agricultural producer price increases have not

kept up with the general level of price increases. This has resulted in substantial improvement in savings by public enterprises and Stabilization Funds in the last five years and corresponding reductions in the real growth of consumption, particularly private consumption -- from nine percent per year to two percent per year. Cameroon is expected to maintain a policy of modest growth in real consumption. Recent improved terms of trade for exports have further increased public savings.

The artisanal, informal, and SME sectors are estimated to comprise between 15 to 20 percent of the workforce in Cameroon. The ratio of capital investment per job is typically much lower than in the industrial sector. This small-scale sector is sufficiently large, and the Government favorably enough disposed to it, that it could be a significant component of a strategy to deal with mounting employment and urbanization problems. In general, the Government's policy is to raise Cameroonian participation in the industrial sector, while not interfering in foreign investment, through encouragement of small-scale enterprises. The Department of Industrial Promotion is aware of the danger of allowing advantages to large-scale firms that compete with smaller ones, and attempts to investigate the ability of small-scale producers to supply the market when considering applications of large-scale enterprises for benefits. If the Government could generate greater dynamism in this sector, it would have a favorable impact on job-creation and help to redress the present bias toward capital intensity in the industrial sector.

5. Parastatal Organizations

The Government has promoted the creation of Development Authorities as a means of directly reaching small farmers. These parastatal organizations, under the nominal control of the Ministry of Agriculture or the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Planning, are structured around specific crops, such as coffee or cotton, or in specific geographic areas. Increasing emphasis has been given to food crop production within the Development Authorities. The Development Authorities do not follow a "standard model," and each one has variations that reflect various needs and biases. The impact of these parastatal organizations upon farmers' agricultural production techniques and yields and, in turn, their impact upon levels of living is being studied.

All coffee, cocoa, and bananas exported by Cameroon are sold through the appropriate Stabilization Fund (Caisse de Stabilization). The Funds establish producer prices which have been 50 to 60 percent of world prices. The difference collected by the Funds is a source of government revenue. General marketing rules stipulate the profit margins of both the exporters and their agents. The agents are gradually being replaced by cooperative societies which are being formed by producers. The exporters will be absorbed within a national marketing structure.

6. Transportation

The Transcameroon Railroad is the backbone of Cameroon's transportation system. Its main line (908 km) runs from the port of Douala

through Yaounde to Ngaoundere. The Western line (171 km) runs northeast from Douala to Nkongsamba. A short spur (30 km) runs from Mbanga to Kumba. Industrial products are carried from Douala into Cameroon, and agricultural products and timber are transported to the port. The rail line between Douala and Yaounde was built half a century ago and is in the process of being realigned. The Yaounde-to-Ngaoundere portion of the railroad was completed in 1974.

Cameroon has 28,000 km of roads, of which only 2,000 km are paved. One major paved road starts at the Ngaoundere railhead and continues north almost to Ndjamena. Another major paved road goes from Douala northeast to the West province. There is a partially paved road running from West to East in central Cameroon which is part of the Transafrican network of highways. Secondary unpaved roads lead into the paved road network and the rail line. Many of these roads are not passable during the rainy season, and they require a great deal of maintenance during the dry season to repair the damage caused by the rains and heavy trucks. Maintenance during the dry season is not always undertaken. In general, the need to rehabilitate and maintain existing secondary roads takes priority over the construction of new roads.

7. Government Policy

"The social and economic development of the country as a whole depends on the achievement made in the agricultural sector, which

constitutes the core of economic activity."[1/] The Government desires that increases in rural production be obtained through the policy themes of self-help (auto-centre) and self-sustained (auto-entretenu) improvement of rural levels of living.

The Government wants to accelerate product diversification, export expansion, and food self-sufficiency. Within the framework of the Fourth Plan, greater emphasis has been placed on attaining rapid advances in production of food and export crops so as to strengthen the economy's base, to redress imbalances in income distribution and head off potential acceleration of the urbanization and unemployment rates.[2/] Favorable market forces during the past several years have fueled an expansion of food crop production ranging from four to seven percent annually during recent years. This was partially a result of less concentration on export crops. Cameroon has attempted to re-establish a balance by strengthening price incentives for export crops. Within the last two years, producer prices have increased by 73 percent for cocoa, 28 percent for Robusta coffee, 53 percent for Arabica coffee, 18 percent for cotton, and 22 percent for peanuts. Coffee and cocoa production is expected to increase. Thus, the smallholders who grow the vast bulk of both food and export crops will be encouraged to allocate more resources to the latter.

1/ Cameroon Agricultural and Forestry Policy, December 1974.

2/ Rural development activities proposed by the Plan include the expansion and creation of Development Authorities and the construction of agricultural processing plants.

Cameroon's budget policy is characterized by fiscal prudence and conservatism. The National Budget for 1978/79, composed of a recurrent budget (69 percent) and an investment budget (31 percent), is balanced at FCFA 165,245 million. While this 21 percent increase over the 77/78 budget of FCFA 137,000 million is large in money terms, when discounted for inflation it approximately corresponds in real terms to economic growth of the country and thus represents no significant increase of Government's share of GDP. Cameroon has traditionally kept quite strict control over recurrent expenses and has often ended the fiscal year with a slight budget surplus which it then channels into special investment projects. Unlike many former French colonies, Cameroon does not receive budget support subsidies from France.

The Cameroon poor are not as productive as they could be, not because of basic Government policy or lack of purpose, but because of the economy's inability to provide all Cameroonians with the benefits of a modern economy, as well as the Government's inability to provide the major portion of its citizens' access to improved agricultural production techniques and profitable markets.

8. Political, Administrative, and Institutional Structure

Although Government administration is highly centralized, it has shown signs of trying to incorporate a broader-based approach to decision-making. Government policies and decision-making are, however, conditioned by aspects of traditional social organization which affect participation in varying ways throughout the country. For example, the intricate politico-religious hierarchy of the Fulani dominates

much of the North and encourages an authoritarian style for program implementation. In the Highlands, the influence of traditional men's and women's societies have contributed substantially towards the success of Government efforts to develop cooperatives. Rather than aim at dramatic changes of these structures or the norms they imply, the Government has most often implemented its programs affecting the rural poor in ways that are consistent with them.

Perhaps the most important organization in terms of the entire population--and illustrative of the relationship between Government and rural poor--is the Cameroon National Union (C.N.U.), currently Cameroon's sole political party. It reaches all levels of Cameroonian society. The C.N.U. is a pyramid structure based on the cell of the village/urban neighborhood level. Although the role of the cell is primarily political education, the sentiments of its members are taken into account in party decision-making and policy formation. The women's organization of the C.N.U. is large and active in the South and has a high degree of grass-roots participation.

Upon independence, Cameroon inherited a relatively well-developed cooperative movement in the English-speaking West and a virtually non-existent one in the East. Since then, Cameroon has made efforts to develop and improve cooperatives, particularly in agriculture, with emphasis on the small-scale Cameroonian farmer. Local training colleges have been established, and in 1966 the National Center for the Development of Cooperatives was founded. In 1973, the SOCOOPED

(Cooperative Savings and Development Association) was established. The relative success of this organization and others like it in mobilizing rural savings has contributed heavily to the exceptionally high supply of money and quasi-money in the economy. The cooperatives devoted to coffee and cocoa are the most highly developed. Approximately 600 cocoa cooperatives were in existence in 1975, and three-fourths of all cocoa is produced by members of cooperatives. The cooperatives movement is weaker in non-cocoa and coffee areas. It scarcely exists in the North.

Traditional forms of leadership are still important political and administrative forces in parts of Cameroon. In the North, the lamidous still exercise control, and in the Western Highlands, the fon retains political power. The Government implements some of its rural development policies through the traditional leaders who are in close contact with the rural population.

Non-government organizations, particularly churches, also play an important role in mobilizing the rural population for development. Both FEMEC (Federation of Evangelical Churches and Missions in Cameroon) and the Catholic Church channel assistance to small producers with limited access to training and new techniques. They are a variety of approaches, including rural development projects, farm schools, rural training centers as well as cooperatives.

Finally, several projects, particularly in health and community development, have incorporated village-level planning and decision-making through village committees and district councils.

9. Constraints on Development

The majority of the rural poor live in the North and the Western Highlands. These areas are in different ecological zones and, because of the limitations in the transportation network, both regions are isolated from marketing centers. During the rainy season, unpaved roads become quagmires, and vehicles that do pass through the area leave deep ruts. Erratic road maintenance during the dry season results in interrupted flows of market produce and agricultural inputs as well as other government services.

The fragile ecology of the far North is subject to further degradation by people searching for firewood and livestock searching for grasses and water. High population densities in the Western Highlands are resulting in smaller farm sizes and some outward migration by the young. Major diseases such as schistosomiasis, onchocerciasis, and malaria debilitate the population and require that water-related development projects be carefully monitored. The prevalence of the tsetse fly in the southern portion of the North causes vast tracts of land to remain unused.

The educational system has been skewed in favor of the humanities and the law. As a result, the upper- and middle-level manpower needed to staff Government services in agriculture, health, and education is inadequate. The same is true of the directly productive sectors.

A lack of sufficient fiscal resources tends to foster Government spending in potentially risk-free projects with good economic rate of return at the cost of some investment in projects in resource-poor isolated areas.

The heterogeneous nature of Cameroonian society and its multiplicity of languages creates special problems for planners, technicians, and the rural population. One day of field work may require three or four languages, none of them the country's official languages. Cameroon's ecological diversity results in different food and cash crops in each region and requires specialized planning for each area. This diversity also works in Cameroon's favor as it reduces its dependency upon any one crop.

Cost-efficient systems for the delivery of appropriate agricultural technology have not been developed. This is also the case for such services as basic health care and the technical and managerial supports needed to improve the quality of life in rural areas.

C. PROGRESS AND COMMITMENT TO GROWTH WITH EQUITY

1. Development Performance

During the early 1970s the growth rate of Cameroon's GDP fell because of lower prices for its main export crops and increasing prices for its industrial imports. Since 1976, however, prices for coffee and cocoa have been increasing and the real growth rate has risen to six percent.

Per capita incomes are higher in the urban centers and in the rural areas around the major towns compared to the more isolated regions

of the North, the Western Highlands, and the East. The majority of the farmers do raise cash crops and the centrally controlled producer prices for these crops have risen between 18 percent and 73 percent in the past two years. The per capita incomes in the more isolated areas are lower.

An agricultural credit institution, the National Fund for Rural Development, has been established in an attempt to deliver credit services to farmers. It has an innovative approach at reaching its mandated audience. For example, a registered land title is not required for collateral, loans can be made to a group of farmers who can share the costs and benefits of a loan, and a special fund is available for loans to young couples wishing to establish a farm. The organization is still small and does not have an effective delivery system for rural credit but it has begun.

Infant and maternal mortality rates are high and life expectancy rates are low. Cameroon conducted its first national census in 1976 so that national population statistics are available for the first time. However, this makes the evaluation of past trends difficult since previous statistics were estimated for a population that was under-estimated by 10 percent. Cameroon has established a medical school and hospital to train various levels of medical personnel. Medical students do research and doctors provide medical services in the rural areas. The Government is ready to embark on a rural health program in an attempt to make basic health services available to its entire population by 2000.

Basic food crop production has been increasing at a rate (four to seven percent annually) faster than the population growth rate. Much

of this increase is traceable to the demand from urban areas for more foodstuffs and from neighboring Gabon and Nigeria. For the first time, the Government has established research priorities for basic food crops, and most new rural development projects include a food crop emphasis. Much of the growth in the production of food crops has been at the expense of export crops. Government-controlled export crop prices have not risen as much as the prices for food crops. Recent Government actions to increase export crop prices may cause a shift from high annual food crop production increases to higher export crop production increases.

An Interministerial Nutrition Committee was set up by the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs during the planning phase of the National Nutrition Survey. The Committee was created to ensure widespread Government support of the National Nutrition Survey, to raise nutrition consciousness, and to develop a coordinated national nutrition strategy. The first follow-up activity to the National Nutrition Survey will be an in-country workshop in April, 1979. Seven nutrition policy areas have been chosen by the Interministerial Committee based on the survey results. Seven working groups were appointed to make their presentations at the April workshop. The purpose of the workshop is to demonstrate the need for a nutrition coordinating unit in the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Planning and to define priorities for nutrition programming and research.

Education indicators such as rates of literacy and school attendance show dramatic changes since Cameroon's independence in 1960. The population that is over 34 years of age, that is, those persons who were already adults at independence, have very low (less than 5 percent) rates of literacy and school attendance. There are steady and marked increases in these rates for younger persons. School attendance rates have virtually been reversed, to over 90 percent, in the Littoral and Center-South. They are still low in the North and Western Highlands, but the attendance rates are increasing annually.

In the modern sector women are represented, although not proportionately, in the upper levels of administration and in the professions. In the traditional sector they are responsible for the cultivation of most food crops and for some food marketing. The major exception is in the North where men and women share in food crop cultivation. In the Western Highlands and the southern forest zone, women produce most of the food crops and men most of the cash crops. Women usually have effective control over the proceeds from disposition of food crop production in excess of family needs. The women play important roles in marketing, including wholesale trade. In the North, Fulani women can inherit land outright according to Islamic law. In urban areas, they engage actively in trade and sometimes possess a fair amount of economic independence. Nevertheless, the restraints on women's activities outside the family circle are much more severe than in the South. To date, Government programs have largely avoided the sensitive question of women's participation in economic development in the North.

Cameroon's heterogenous population and ecological diversity require sensitivity on the part of the Government in the establishment of national priorities. Government's sincerity in fostering growth with equity is demonstrated by its efforts: (1) to increase agricultural productivity directly benefiting the majority of the rural population; (2) to reduce infant mortality; (3) to reduce regional income disparity; and (4) to increase literacy rates.

2. Human Rights

Cameroon is a single-party State with a civilian government operating under a Constitution adopted in 1972. Its unique history as the only African country to have fused former French and British territories into a single political entity as well as its wide variety of ethnic groups has led Cameroon to make national unity a principal objective. While there is no legal proscription against additional parties, in practice all political activities take place under the umbrella of the Cameroon National Union. At the local level it is possible for a citizen to participate actively in the party politics which involve competition among factions representing various political points of view. For the overwhelming majority of the Cameroonian people who are not active participants in party affairs, the voting process involves no element of real choice. Nevertheless, the Government values citizen involvement and urges all voters to go to the polls.

In the development of the current national Five-Year Plan (1976-81), an effort was made to bring local-level leaders into the

planning process. Agricultural agents collected data on local conditions throughout the country and organized meetings to tap village concerns regarding problems and solutions, goals and constraints. A written report was then sent to various government agencies concerned with development sectors. The results of this exercise were fed into provisional sectoral plans.

A broad spectrum of the Cameroonian population participates in agricultural production. An estimated 79 percent of the population has control over approximately three-quarters of the land under cultivation by customary or traditional tenure. Customary tenure is fully recognized by the Government as long as the people on the land continue to use it.

In sum, the Government's record on political and economic rights is relatively good.

D. HOST COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT PLAN AND BUDGET

The basic development theme of the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1976-1981) is improvement of the level of living conditions of the people within the framework of planned liberalism. Planned liberalism is a mixture of State and private enterprise within priorities established by the Government. The Fourth Development Plan has proposed an investment of 3.1 billion dollars (in 1974/75 prices). The Plan is more an aggregate of projects and objectives than a blue print for development. However, the Plan's objectives are compatible with the basic human needs thrust of our assistance and reflect a concern for self-sustained growth with equity.

The Plan gives emphasis to agricultural development (16 percent of total investment), power (11 percent, mainly the Song-Loulou hydro-electric dam), and manufacturing and mining (22 percent, with a substantial part for oil exploitation, refining, and storage). Transport infrastructure is allocated 25 percent, urban development seven percent, and social infrastructure seven percent. These figures do not fully reflect the division of public investment between rural and other development priorities. Because of the extent to which investment in transport, power and social sectors benefit rural areas, they receive much more than the 16 percent allocated to agricultural development. By the same token, the cities receive much more than the seven percent nominally attributed to urban development.

Cameroon's policy is to develop and diversify its agriculturally based economy in order to better serve the basic needs of its population. In the 1978/79 national budget, approximately one-fourth of Cameroon's operational expenditures will be for the Ministries of Agriculture, Livestock. Health and Social Affairs, and Education. In 1972, 21 percent of the national budget was devoted to these Ministries.

The agriculture and livestock sectors are to receive 15 percent of the total planned investment envisioned in the Plan. The Plan empahsizes assistance with import-substitution crops and local food crops. Approximately 30-40 percent of the expenditures in the Plan in agriculture and livestock production are expected to be a direct benefit to the small farmer.

In order to provide employment in rural areas and to provide additional markets for agricultural production, a number of agricultural processing plants are being established. These will include palm oil extraction, sugar refining, flour mills (wheat and cassava), and fruit canneries. Slaughterhouses for processing beef and pork will be established and a tannery has recently been opened in the North. Additional small workshops for the building of agricultural tools will be established. Saw mills will be built as well as a paper processing plant. These new agriculture processing plants are expected to create over 18,000 new jobs, generally in rural areas. There were 64,000 persons looking for employment in the rural areas at the time of the 1976 Census.

The education sector which receives approximately 13.4 percent of the Government's annual operating budget is to receive five percent of the planned investment during the Plan period. Approximately one-half of the funds will be spent for technical and vocational education, one-fourth will be for general education projects at the primary and secondary level and the remaining quarter will be for higher education. Education projects will be carried out in all provinces of Cameroon.

In addition to six percent of the national budget, the health services sector will receive 1.6 percent of the planned investment. About two-thirds of the planned investment will be for curative medicine projects which include the establishment and development of provincial hospitals. Fifteen percent of the planned investment will be for preventive medicine projects which will include rural health centers and mother and child

welfare centers. The balance of the planned investment will be for the control of communicable diseases and for public health demonstration zones.

Many of the Plan's targets are obtainable; however, the Government's ability to meet all its intermediate objectives is dependent on a substantial level of external assistance as the Plan investment program is about 80 percent higher in real terms than the estimated level achieved during the previous Development Plan period.

E. ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY

The Government's policy of increasing agricultural rural development programs requires decentralization of Government activities, and, therefore, more managers and technicians. Cameroon development-related institutions suffer from a severe shortage of trained middle and low-level personnel required to deliver basic agriculture, health, education and community services to the rural population. A World Bank study estimates that the Government's agricultural sector alone will require over 900 new university graduates and higher technicians trained in agricultural specialities before 1990. Cameroon is far short of the 1,500 scientists and engineers which the UN recommends for a developing country the size of Cameroon. The Fourth Five-Year Plan reports that its survey of 290 business enterprises reveals that 1,410 higher-level positions were held by expatriates while only 484 were held by Cameroonians.

Cameroon's present relatively low foreign indebtedness, reputation for sound management of its public finances and the onset of modest oil production will facilitate the Government's ability to mobilize foreign

capital to finance its development plans. Also, Cameroon's stable political structure in combination with the Government's sustained seriousness of purpose has created a favorable framework for the absorption of external economic assistance.

Recurrent costs are not now a major problem as the Government has been traditionally able to maintain a balanced budget which in its view meets its operational needs. The Ministry of Plan reviews AID's project proposals with special concern for the impact of the project on the Government's limited financial resources. Continued expansion of the economy sustained by current prices of cocoa and coffee, coupled with modest oil revenues, should help meet moderate future increases in recurrent costs. However, a serious drop in world cocoa and coffee prices would undermine the financial basis of this program.

F. OTHER DONOR ASSISTANCE

The Government's apparent policy on donor assistance is one of working with donors on an individual basis rather than encouraging formal donor cooperation. While there is not a consortium of donors, contact between donors is sufficiently frequent to avoid duplication of effort and to provide exchanges of information. It has been our policy to seek such opportunities.

The major sources of external assistance to Cameroon in CY 1977 were France (c. $91 million), Germany (c. $51 million), World Bank Group (c. $39 million), European Development Fund (c. $45 million), Netherlands (c. $20 million) and Canada (c. $12 million) and Saudi Arabia (c. $11 million) totaling some $269 million. Approximately

$54 million was for technical assistance and $215 million for loans and financial assistance. Approximately one-third of all other donor assistance was for Agriculture, Rural Development and Education and Health. The Health sector received the smallest percentage of assistance, some three percent. Loans were the predominant mode for other donor assistance. The transportation section to which A.I.D. did not contribute in 1977 received $80 million.

Of the major donors, the World Bank and the European Development Fund (EDF) are most involved in developmental activities in the North and Western Highlands.

In the North, the EDF is currently engaged in a $5 million resettlement project in the Upper Benoue Valley. This project is the fifth attempt in the last twenty years to draw people from the resource poor Mandara Mountains into new areas. During the first three years of project operations, 650 families have been resettled of which ten percent are from the Mandara Mountains. The EDF is also interested in approving the establishment of irrigated areas in the most northern department of Logone and Chari and may provide up to $4.5 million to this kind of activity.

There are two major World Bank funded activities currently underway in the North, the SEMRY Rice Project to which the Bank is contributing $29 million for the irrigation of 4,300 hectares and the Rural Development Fund Project. The latter project will finance the construction of ten small dams in the Mandara Mountains, the improvement of 300 hectares

of bottomland plains (Yaeres) near Moulvouday for rice cultivation, and the development of 250 hectares for onion and vegetable production near Maroua. The Bank's contribution to this project is estimated at $7.0 million.

In the early planning stage is a large World Bank project ($47 million) whose geographic focus is the center north area for the North province but excluding the Mandara Mountains. This project's major emphasis is to increase cotton production. However, increased corn, peanut and sorghum production is also planned.

The major World Bank agricultural activity in the Western Highlands is a $25 million Western Highlands Rural Development Project for which the IDA is providing funds for just over half of the project costs. The project primarily is aimed at increasing Arabica coffee production and thereby agricultural income. The EDF is planning to begin next fiscal year a $9.0 million Arabica coffee production project in the North West province which will complement the Bank's coffee production project in the Western province.

Other donor assistance in the North and Western Highlands is, in the main, concentrated on tree or fiber crop production in order to generate more rural income. Since most tree or fiber crops cultivation is done by smallholders, EDF and World Bank projects are indeed beneficial to a wide range of the rural population. We believe, however, that the material well-being of the rural population would be better served by a more diversified agricultural growth. Therefore, additional external agricultural

assistance should be complementary to EDF and World Bank assistance by focussing on food grain and legume production as (1) the demand for them is expected to steadily increase, and (2) they better meet the nutritional needs of the rural population. Furthermore, neither the EDF nor the World Bank programming has concentrated on the special health and educational needs of the people of the North and Western Highlands which must be addressed if the long-term productive capacity of the population is to be self-sustained. However, the World Bank has made significant contribution to the educational sector especially in secondary teacher training, in secondary curriculum development and in adult vocational school construction.

PART II - STRATEGY

A. A.I.D. OBJECTIVES IN CAMEROON

1. To diversify and strengthen the agriculture sector of the economy so that small farmer income is enhanced through self-sustained real growth in per cultivator agricultural production, especially in the area of food crops which have potential export as well as domestic markets.

2. To strengthen the Government's ability to increase the access of the rural population, particularly women and children, to health (including child-spacing and subfertility treatment) and education services which are (a) relevant to the rural poor's basic needs and (b) within the capacity of the Cameroonian economy to sustain on a cost-effective basis.

3. To train Cameroonian personnel essential to the sustained growth of the rural economy as well as to the Government's ability to plan and implement development programs for the poor.

4. To develop the Government's awareness of the need and its capacity to insure that the development process proceeds with minimum negative impact on Cameroon's resource base and environment--especially in the North where the ecology is fragile and in the West where the population pressure on the land is high.

A.I.D.'s assistance objectives are consistent with the expressed policy objectives of the Government. In the view of the Government and the World Bank, Cameroon's long-term comparative advantage lies in the development--either through agro-industrial plantations or smallholder schemes, depending on the crop and region--of a diversified agricultural sector comprising export crops as well as food crops to feed the growing urban population and to replace imports. While we recognize the merit of this mixed approach, our assistance is focused on the needs of the smallholders. In addition to increasing incomes, it is intended to improve the nutritional status of the rural population.

The following are long-range targets which A.I.D. assistance is intended to help the Government achieve and by which progress toward objectives can be evaluated: (a) doubling of small farmer real income in the Sahelian North and Western Highlands by the year 2000; (b) full primary, health care coverage for the entire population circa 1990 to reduce infant and child mortality as well as maternal deaths per 1,000 live births; (c) increase of primary school enrollment of children ages 6-14 to 70 percent in the North and North West provinces by year 2000; (d) a national functional literacy rate of 50 percent by the year 2000; (e) at least two thousand middle- and high-level technicians trained in agriculture-related specialties by 1990; and (g) child-spacing and subfertility services fully integrated with the GURC's health services by 1990.

B. A.I.D. ASSISTANCE STRATEGY

1. Key Problems

Our assistance proposes to concentrate on the following key problem areas or subsectors which must be addressed to achieve A.I.D. social and economic objectives in Cameroon:

a. Low efficiency of small producers of food crops in the Sahelian North and Western Highlands;

b. Poor access of food producers in the North, North West, West, and East provinces to domestic and foreign markets;

c. Insufficient primary health care system on a nationwide basis, particularly in the North, North West, and East provinces;

d. Limited basic and basic life skills learning in the North and North West provinces;

e. Deterioration of natural resource base, especially in the Sahelian North and in the departments of high population densities such as Lekié, Mifi, Menoua, Bamboutos, and Upper Nkam;

f. Severe shortage of well-trained Cameroonian agricultural technicians and administrators in the governmental, parastatal, and private agricultural organizations; and

g. Lack of reproductive health services.

2. Projected Achievements

a. Agriculture and Rural Development

A.I.D. assistance is meant to help increase small producers' productivity, primarily in the North and Western Highlands,

thereby creating for them opportunities for additional income. The additional purchasing power gained will, above all, provide the means for small producers increasingly to satisfy their needs for such items as superior foods (e.g., fish or rice), low-cost farm implements, consumer goods, and building materials (e.g., metal roofing and cement).

To improve small farmer income through increased productivity and increased processing of agricultural commodities, several changes in the agriculture sector are required. Agricultural education and adaptive research organizations must be strengthened or established and made capable of contributing to the development of low-cost or cost-reducing technological packages for increasing food crop production in ways that are ecologically sound. These institutions, in turn, must be able to extend, inter alia, appropriate cultivation practices, improved varieties of seed and pest control techniques to small producers. The kind of extension activities best suited to Cameroon's needs are those which are low-cost per farmer, participatory (involving two-way communication), and effective in reaching the producers (usually women).

No fully appropriate extension system has yet emerged for food crop production in Cameroon. Presently the extension function is fragmented among myriad development societies and authorities. The problem is at least twofold: (1) how to insure universal availability

of broad-spectrum extension services--either by plugging the gaps that presently exist, by broadening the purviews of the parallel systems now in place, or by creation of a unified, multifunctional system; and (2) how to strengthen the linkages between the extension service(s) and research. In the North, the Government has transferred all agricultural extension functions to SODECOTON for the Central North. SODECOTON has been successful in extending agricultural information and is capable of increasing peanut production. However, its methods are not participatory. We will encourage the Government to investigate alternative extension models and support its efforts to solve the problems caused by the existing fragmentation. In the meantime, we will insure that our functional projects (such as, National Cereals Research and Extension) and area-focused integrated development programs will include extension aspects.

Small farmers need improved access to better technology, credit, inputs, and produce markets. All-weather rural roads and an efficient North-South railroad link are also needed to connect producers and markets. They provide access to new production technologies and reduce the cost of marketing production, thereby increasing the profitability of those technologies. In addition, they facilitate provision of health and educational services as well as the flow of ideas and information.

Over 80 percent of all smallholders in the Western Highlands already have a commercial orientation because of their involvement

in coffee production. What we would hope to see developed by them are efficient marketing systems, capable of dealing with food crop storage and handling, market information flows, and credit requirements.

In addition to focusing on production and marketing techniques for food crops, our assistance should seek areas in which to introduce low-cost technologies which allow on-farm or village-level intermediate processing of primary agricultural commodities. Improved techniques for drying food grains, cocoa, and coffee by the growers would add to the value of their commodities and increase rural employment as well as income.

The North is the poorest region of the country and has great need of improved low-cost food production technology. The rainfall pattern is that of heavy rains during a relatively brief period, severely limiting dry-farm production. Episodically insufficient rainfall creates food-deficit areas in the North. The basic Northern rainfall pattern, of approximately four months of intense rain followed by eight months of no rain, makes the full utilization of available water and the development of potential water sources a key long-term problem. The North's Sahelian ecology is much more finely balanced with a narrower tolerance for environmental stress than other regions. Potable water is scarce during the latter part of the dry season, and firewood is always scarce. Overgrazing by cattle in the North is causing deterioration of the region's ecology. The region has the lowest per

capita incomes in the country (a scant 17 dollars a year) and the highest proportion of children under five who are seriously malnourished. In light of its poor resources, the North is a priority target area for our assistance programming.

The Western Highlands have also been targeted as a focus of our efforts to help the Government improve its agricultural production efficiency because of their (1) high population densities, (2) small average farm size and hence need for higher per-hectare yields, and (3) high level of chronic undernutrition.

b. Health

While increased purchasing power can be used for such basic essentials as simple drugs, school fees, shelter improvement, and better, more varied foods, the absolute amount by which small-producer income may be expected to increase is limited. Therefore, the Government is required to make primary health care services accessible to the rural population on terms affordable to the rural population and to the Cameroonian economy. Our assistance is aimed at helping the Government establish the delivery of low-cost primary health services to the rural population. Beginning in the North, where Government health services are weakest, we plan to assist the Government in instituting basic, integrated health and nutrition services, particularly at the village level. While the proposed health system will deliver both basic curative and preventive services, relative emphasis will be on preventive health services, of which health education will be the most important component. The rural population's

attitudes and folkways related to such basic daily habits as personal hygiene, use of pit latrines, and indiscriminate use of water sources will have to be changed so that the incidence of fecal and waterborne disease and parasitic infection will be reduced.

The provision of preventive and curative health services will address a basic human need - improved health - and represents an investment in the productive capacity of the rural population.

Maternal and child health is adversely affected by problems associated with reproduction. The effects of unregulated fertility on health (usually related to "too many children too fast") are well known. In Cameroon there are also severe health and social problems associated with involuntary subfertility and infertility. Cameroon has a population of 8.1 million with a growth rate of approximately 2.0% per year. A 1976 World Health Organization (WHO) study showed a 16% incidence of primary sterility. The Government sees sterility as a greater problem than population growth. It does, however, recognize the importance of parents' determining the size and spacing of their families. Government family planning services are now offered at the national hospital in Yaounde. The Ministries of Health and Social Affairs have proposed expansion of these services, with inclusion of services to assist with the problems of subfertility and infertility. A.I.D. will work with these ministries and the medical sector to help expand reproductive health services throughout the country. Priority

will be given to incorporating reproductive health services in to health programs in the Western Highlands and the East.

The reasons for the low enrollment levels in primary schools in the North and North West are attributed to their remoteness from the main centers of Cameroon and to the strength of their cultural traditions which resisted missionary influence and educational efforts. The Government projects an increase in enrollment in these two provinces at an average annual rate of 7 percent. For other provinces, the rate is projected at 3-5 percent. For the North, the average annual increase will need to reach 12 percent in the 1980s if the goal of 70 percent is to be attained.

c. Human Resources and Education

A.I.D. assistance will support the Government's objective of greater school enrollment in the North and North West through several interrelated activities which are mutually supporting. This multifaceted approach to increasing enrollment includes: (1) increasing classroom availability and reducing class size; (2) increasing the supply of trained teachers and experimenting with the use of community education aides; (3) making primary school curricula and materials more effective in teaching reading and numbers skills as well as basic life skills; (4) encouraging community participation in school programming and construction; and (5) improving the efficiency and management of the school system in ways that will make it cost-effective and affordable relative to the community's and Government's ability to pay.

Special attention will be given to increasing the access of girls to primary education. At present, girls make up 25 percent of the primary school enrollment in the North and 40 percent of the enrollment in the North West. The target will be to raise these percentages to the average level in Cameroon, which presently is 45 percent.

A.I.D.'s strategy will be to help provide the number of classrooms needed to accommodate an accelerated enrollment rate in the North and North West by supporting community self-help school construction projects. A.I.D. assistance will also be provided to support pre-service and in-service teacher training programs in order to help assure an adequate supply of teachers to staff the new classrooms. Teacher requirements will be calculated on the basis of a pupil-teacher ratio of 50 to 1, which is a slight reduction in the present average ratio in Cameroon of 52 to 1. Teacher-training curricula will have to be modified to include more preparation for teaching practical rural life skills. Secondary level teacher-training schools will be provincially based with training primarily given to men and women from the surrounding area who are more likely to stay in the region and whose general attitudes, manner, and language are familiar or more in keeping with those of the parents of children who will attend the village schools.

The Government has expressed its encouragement for the extension of parent-teacher associations to rural communities. We

plan to support this initiative by assisting the Government to developing active and direct village participation through contributions of labor toward the construction and maintenance of rural primary schools. Ideally, the community also would be involved in the identification and implementation of basic life skills learning so that its relevancy is assured. Experimentation in the use of community education aides will be initiated through the parent-teacher associations.

While community participation would reduce cash outlays for construction and maintenance, cost-effective delivery of basic education will also require more efficient administration, management, and support for rural school systems. A.I.D. assistance will be provided to help achieve these objectives.

Finally, cost-effective delivery of basic education and basic life skills may also be supported by the use of mass media. For the North and North West provinces where illiteracy rates are high, radio is the logical medium. Radio could be effectively used as a classroom aid for primary teachers as well as a basic tool for providing basic life skills to young people and adults.

3. Assistance Approaches

The Government's capacity to reach its rural population varies with the particular need addressed. Therefore, our assistance will follow three basic courses of action depending on the problems that are to be faced. They are:

a. To support Government efforts which address the basic human needs of the rural poor through area-focused, integrated development programs.

b. To assist in developing systems which link the poor to the markets, technology, and resources to which they require access.

c. To strengthen national institutions which produce technology or resources required to solve the problems of the rural poor.

We plan that our future program development will be chiefly centered on area-focused, integrated development--either through multisector A.I.D. projects or through functionally oriented projects undertaken in a multisector context in coordination with other donors. The only exceptions will arise in cases where it is clearly necessary to address high-priority needs of national institutions or linkage systems in order to strengthen the Government's capacity to meet the needs of the rural poor.

In some subsectors, infrastructure or institutional development is critical. In other areas, better linkages between institutions and the poor have special priority. The structure of the existing health services delivery system is relatively sophisticated from the level of the Ministry of Public Health to the intermediate-level medical facilities. The principal constraint to the further extension of

the Cameroon health system to the village level is the lack of sufficient intermediate-level and village-level health workers as well as the lack of the supervision and support systems needed to maintain them. At present Cameroon has numerous training programs for intermediate-level health workers which are distributed throughout the country but which lack standardization and coordination. Thus, our strategy is to establish an integrated low-cost comprehensive health services delivery system to reach the entire population, with all the aspects of such a system, i.e., preventive and curative services, community organization, health education, and incorporation of traditional medicine addressed through a single focal point: health manpower training. The emphasis of this training will be on intermediate-level practitioners who will train and supervise village-level health workers. These two levels of health workers will establish the linkages by which the Cameroon health services system will make contact with the intended beneficiaries, the rural poor.

To help small food producers increase their production efficiency, our assistance will be designed to develop selected governmental or quasi-governmental institutions which serve as linkages between the small producer and improved food production technology. The sought production technology improvements include: the development and provision of higher-yielding varieties of food grains, as well as the development of improved technology adapted to the capabilities of the

small farmers and the development of the means to protect crops against insect and bird damage. In addition to improving the access of the small producer to appropriate agricultural technology, we are proposing to support development and expansion of cooperatives' ability to service the credit, the input distribution, and the produce marketing needs of small farmers.

Part of the constraint on increased food production and marketing by small farmers is the lack of roads which give their production access to the major transport axes which connect to the domestic markets as well as those in neighboring countries and overseas. As part of our strategy to stimulate and assist the small producer to obtain an equitable share of the increasing market for food products, we will recommend improvement of rural transport systems where consistent with area development priorities and of significant benefit to the rural poor.

In addition to support of development institutions and linkages to the rural population, our assistance will have geographic foci in the North, the Western Highlands, and the East. We propose to address the problems of these areas through large and comprehensive integrated development projects which are a combination of agricultural production, income-generating, educational and health activities, as well as such physical infrastructure as roads, health posts, and classrooms.

Cameroon's ecology is varied and includes four major climatic zones: the semiarid North, the Central savanna, the Western grasslands, and the Southern rain forest, each with its own particular

environmental problems. The Sahelian North and Western Highlands, however, are under severe land-use pressures: the former because of its inherent fragility, and the latter because of very high population densities. Therefore, in preparing our assistance to the North and Western Highlands, environmental issues will be carefully considered. These issues usually will be addressed in the context of our integrated development programs.

The following intermediate targets are the results we expect the Government to achieve over the five-year planning period of the CDSS with U.S. economic assistance:

(1) Twenty percent increase in small-farmer real income by 1986 in the Sahelian North and Western Highlands;

(2) Nine hundred technicians trained in agriculture-related specialties by 1986;

(3) Forty percent primary health care coverage of entire population of North and North West and East provinces by 1984;

(4) Primary school enrollment of children ages 6 to 14 increased by 35 to 40 percent in North and North West provinces by 1986;

(5) The national functional literacy rate at 30 percent by 1986; and

(6) Access of approximately fifty percent of Cameroonian women of reproductive age to child-spacing principles by 1985.

In order to maximize utilization of limited A.I.D. personnel, our program planning will emphasize larger project units. However, there are several potential projects of a smaller scale which are well suited to the amelioration of the basic living conditions of the rural and urban poor. Often these smaller-scale activities require relatively low-level technicians and are personnel-intensive. To take advantage of small-scale but effective activities such as provision of year-round sanitary wells, small-pond fish production, and selected reforestation, it will probably prove useful to increase our collaboration with Peace Corps and PVOs. A.I.D. participation in these personnel-intensive projects will be limited to oversight.

Our direct-hire, full-time A.I.D. U.S. personnel requirements will level off at approximately 33. This assumes that most field implementation will be carried out by contractual technicians. We estimate that a staff of 33 U.S. A.I.D. direct-hire employees is required for effective management of the implementation and design of proposed or active projects.

Our U.S. contractor personnel requirement may peak at approximately 80. Most contractors will be working in small groups at widely separated locations and, therefore, will present a low profile.

PART III - PROPOSED ASSISTANCE PLANNING LEVELS (PAPL)

(in $ millions)

	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	Total
I. Agriculture and Rural Development Sector						
A. Project Grants						
1. Efficient food crop production	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	5.0
a) Adaptive research	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	6.5
b) Manpower development	5.3	5.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	22.3
c) Linkages to farmer						
2. Increased smallholder income	.6	1.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	13.6
a) Marketing, credit, storage systems	-	-	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.0
b) Village-level processing						
B. Loans						
1. Access to markets	6.5	10.0	-	20.0	-	36.5
2. Manpower development	-	6.6	-	-	-	6.6
3. Area-focussed integrated development	7.5	-	15.0	-	15.0	37.5
II. Health Sector						
Project Grants						
1. Development of low-cost health delivery	4.5	4.5	2.2	5.0	5.0	21.2
2. Maternal and child health and nutrition	.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	6.5

	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	Total
III. Human Resources Sector						
A. Project Grants						
1. Increased school enrollment	.5	.5	.5	.5	.5	2.5
2. Development of basic life skills learning	-	.5	.5	.5	.5	2.0
3. Manpower development	.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	4.5
B. Loans						
1. Classroom and normal school construction	-	6.0	-	-	13.0	19.0
2. Manpower training for development	-	2.4	-	-	-	2.4
TOTAL GRANT AND LOAN ASSISTANCE:	27.9	41.0	33.2	40.0	47.0	189.1
IV. P.L. 480, Title II	.6	.6	.6	.6	.6	3.0

We are proposing a total assistance level of $189 million, of which $44 million is to finance our present portfolio of activities. Nearly 70 percent ($131 million) is for the Agriculture and Rural Development sector, with the Health and Human Resources sectors each receiving approximately 15 percent ($28 million). About 53 percent ($101 million) of our assistance is for loans primarily for area-focused integrated development programs ($38 million) and improved access to markets ($37 million).

Slightly less than half of our proposed assistance level ($88 million) is earmarked for project grants. Approximately $41 million of this grant assistance is to help the Government develop linkages between the rural poor and the resources, facilities, and markets to which they need access. Over $21 million is earmarked for the development of a basic health delivery system.

Our limited P.L. 480 Title II program, which is administered by Catholic Relief Services, is directed to maternal and child health (MCH) activities. While Cameroon is not a food-deficit country, food shortages do occur. They are, however, localized and often the result of distribution problems. Furthermore, substantial efforts are being made by the Government to increase agriculture production, which would make food imports counter-productive or a disincentive. Therefore, we propose to support the ongoing CRS program, but not start new food import activities.

We believe the above PAPL is most appropriate for Cameroon, as Cameroon needs more technical and financial assistance in agriculture, health, and manpower development sectors, and most other donors tend to associate themselves more with the transportation, communication, and other large infrastructure capital sectors. The level of our assistance is within the absorptive capability of the Government and the management capacity of the Mission at currently planned manpower levels (see Part II, p. 55). Our loan program will both provide and attract resources to our assistance objectives. By providing such loans in a multilateral context, we will attract other donor as well as Government resources to the rural poor.

We estimate that our assistance strategy will require approximately $2 million in program design and support funds over a five-year period beginning in FY 1980. These funds will be needed to finance subsector studies and project design assistance for the Mission.