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# **Food Aid for Development in Sub-Saharan Africa**

**WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME  
AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK**



**World Food  
Programme**



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# **Food Aid for Development in Sub-Saharan Africa**

**World Food Programme/  
African Development Bank  
Seminar**

**held at**

**African Development Bank Headquarters,  
Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire**

**8 — 11 September 1986**

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## **PREFACE**

Food aid has rapidly become a significant resource for many countries in sub-Saharan Africa. During the recent African food crisis it has meant survival for large numbers of people. The need for high levels of food aid to Africa is likely to continue. This situation presents a challenge to African countries and to the international community to make the most effective use of this resource for development.

Food aid can have positive or negative effects on the recipient country, community or household depending on how it is supplied, deployed and utilized. Experience in managing food aid on a large scale in Africa is limited. There is, not surprisingly, a widely acknowledged gap between how food aid could be, and is being, used to promote development.

For food aid to be effective on any scale, it should be viewed in totality and used as a resource within the wider policy context of the national economy and the overall food system of individual recipient countries. More effective planning of food aid as a resource for development is, therefore, a major concern. A related concern is examination of areas in which opportunity exists for linking food aid with other forms of development assistance to foster sustained economic growth and self-reliance. The operational concerns of food aid also need to be examined more critically, taking into account the specific problems of providing food aid in Africa.

The challenge of responding to food crises in ways that contribute to rehabilitation, foster longer-term development and address the root causes of these crises, has been highlighted as many African countries have swung rapidly from food shortage to surplus and, in some cases, back to shortage again.

Against this background, the World Food Programme (WFP) and the African Development Bank (ADB) organized a seminar on "Food Aid for Development in sub-Saharan Africa", with generous support through special financial contributions to WFP from the Governments of Australia, Canada and the Netherlands, and through funds drawn from allocations to the ADB by the Governments of Norway and the United States of America. The seminar was held at the Headquarters of the ADB in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire from 8 to 11 September 1986.

The aim of the seminar was to contribute to the process of increasing the effectiveness of food aid for development in sub-Saharan Africa in four ways:

- by making further progress in understanding ways in which food aid can be used effectively to address key development problems, while avoiding disincentive effects;
- by facilitating closer working relations among WFP, ADB and other donor countries and organizations working to support development in sub-Saharan Africa;

- by strengthening directly the work of individuals participating in the seminar, and
- by providing materials that would be useful for WFP and ADB training activities.

Over 100 participants and observers took part in the bilingual (English and French) seminar. They included officials from 18 African countries and 10 international agencies, food aid donors and non-governmental organizations who attended in a personal capacity, representatives of four African-based organizations, two representatives from the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programmes, and resource persons with special knowledge of Africa and of food aid, as well as field and headquarters staff of WFP and ADB.

The seminar was structured around two themes: the planning and management of food aid as a resource for development, and project food aid in support of agricultural and rural development. Two groups met in separate sessions to discuss these themes. Reports on their discussions were reviewed at a closing, plenary session.

The seminar paid particular attention to case experiences of food aid planning, programming and use by national, non-governmental and international agencies, including ADB, in cooperation with WFP and bilateral donors. The seminar broke new ground in bringing together experiences in the constructive use of food aid growing out of the specific problems and priorities of African countries. Government officials, WFP field staff and officers of ADB and other cooperating agencies, with resource persons and consultants, prepared the case studies. Participants from African countries played a major role in presenting and discussing the case studies in the discussion groups.

## **Statement by the Acting President of the African Development Bank, Mr. S. A. Ogunleye**

I would like to take this opportunity first and foremost to welcome you all to the Headquarters of the African Development Bank, and to thank you for the interest you have shown in the theme of this seminar by your presence. The President of the Bank would very much have liked to open this seminar himself and take part in its proceedings but other engagements did not permit him to be with us. I therefore wish to convey to you his greetings and best wishes for the success of your deliberations, and his apologies for not being able to be with you.

This seminar, which is being held at a time when the FAO 14th Regional Conference for Africa is going on in Yamoussoukro, shows the willingness of African States, and their partners in development, to translate into reality the various resolutions passed by the Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity as well as the actions advocated by the last special session of the UN General Assembly for the economic crisis of the Continent, and more particularly for the problems relating to food self-sufficiency.

The African Development Bank is happy to organize this seminar jointly with the World Food Programme, and to place at your disposal its humble facilities for your deliberations, because we sincerely share in the concerns that bring us together. This is the second time that we are hosting high level international discussions on the relationship between food aid and development in Africa. In August 1981, we hosted a seminar sponsored by the United States Agricultural Development Council on the subject of the "Development Effectiveness of Food Aid in Africa." That seminar, in which I am happy to note some of you present here today also participated, underscored the crucial role food aid plays in encouraging and supporting the efforts to enhance domestic food self-reliance and the need for food aid to play a strategic role in supporting Africa's food security and other development objectives. The seminar recognized the danger to domestic self-reliant development inherent in over-dependency on food aid. It therefore listed among the items for future research and discussion agenda, the determination of specific modalities for using food aid to augment domestic food production and improve the distribution network, strengthen the efficiency of the institutions and infrastructures that are essential in facilitating the marketing of food and implementation of other development activities. I note with interest that the agenda of your seminar focuses on these very issues.

As a development bank, ADB's role is to mobilize both domestic and external resources for the financing of development projects in our member countries. In playing this role, we have found a perfect partner in food aid, especially during periods of acute food shortages. Under these circumstances and in view of the fact that the affected member countries have become increasingly unable to meet

the ever growing demand due to the worsening crisis, it has become more and more difficult for the African countries to meet their obligations in respect of both project financing and debt servicing. Food aid enables African countries to save foreign exchange which they would otherwise have spent on commercial food imports. Some of these savings may be used to defray foreign exchange costs of certain imported inputs, including spare parts, fuel, and the like. Similarly, food aid, once in the beneficiary country, may be monetized to provide local funds, part of which may be used to meet the local costs of projects, such as the payment of local wage bills.

In some instances, the implementation of projects are bedevilled by general absenteeism as workers have had to go searching for food or engage in other remunerative activities to supplement their incomes. Under these circumstances food aid provided in kind to workers as part of their wages has proved very helpful in improving workers' morale and hence project implementation.

Furthermore, food aid is often available in the form of foreign staples, such as wheat, rather than the staples of food deficit prone areas of Africa including, for instance, sorghum, millet and cassava, which are in line with the food habits and tastes of these areas. Lasting dependency on food aid tends to change the tastes and other food habits of the recipient populations and turns them away from the staples which are adapted to the ecological conditions of their areas. Food aid therefore tends to cause harm to the long-term food security of the recipient communities. It is therefore imperative that to the extent possible food aid be provided in the staples and form which is in conformity with the food habits of the recipient populations.

In this respect, I am attracted by the concept of triangular transaction which I note is on the Seminar's agenda. This idea involves the provision of funds or commodities, such staples as wheat, as aid, which are exchanged for traditional staples of the beneficiary populations from surplus areas within the recipient country or in neighbouring countries. This approach will enable us to meet these specific food needs of the target population. It can also promote trade within and between countries while, at the same time, avoid the negative effects of dependency on food aid that might otherwise result from possible changes in food habits.

It is therefore important that the supply of food aid be closely monitored to ensure that it does not create the mentality among the recipient populations of being perpetually assisted. In order to avoid the adverse effects of perpetual food aid dependency, the provision of such assistance needs to be phased out as soon as it becomes evident that adequate food supplies are available at affordable prices and that trade arrangements are possible between the food deficit areas and the surrounding food surplus areas or countries as the case may be.

This seminar is being held while African countries are in the midst of a desperate struggle to emerge out of the most devastating set of crises in their living memories. These multiple crises and emergencies compelled most African

countries to look outside the Continent for not only their development but also basic survival needs. It is worth noting that during this period of crises and even beyond, food aid has proved to be the most readily available and forthcoming form of assistance. As long as the emergency and crisis conditions lasted, this relatively greater availability of food aid was appropriate. However, as more and more countries emerge out of the crisis situation and focus their attention more on efforts for rehabilitation and long-term development, the challenge becomes one of finding the right combination of food aid and other resources so that the various forms of resources become mutually reinforcing towards supporting overall development. The challenge is real in view of strong suspicion that the ready availability of food aid tends to have a dampening effect on domestic efforts towards self-reliant development. We in the ADB have had the opportunity to appreciate at first hand the potential inherent in blending food aid with other forms of development resources. We shall have an opportunity to share some of this experience with you in the course of this seminar.

It is important to emphasize that the seminar is taking place when most African countries and development agencies operating in the Continent are mapping out strategies and finding modalities for helping Africa transcend from the desperate struggle for survival of the past few years to an orderly drive to rehabilitation and development. The seminar therefore has an opportunity to contribute in concrete terms to the facilitation of this transition. The African Development Bank, for instance, is in the process of charting out its five-year operational programme for the period 1987-1991 and a Bank Group agriculture sector policy. Conscious as we are of the potentials inherent in food aid, we look forward to this seminar for guidance on even more specific and efficient ways in which food aid, this readily available development resource of growing importance, may be integrated with other resources in supporting medium-term rehabilitation and long-term development of African economies.

I understand, Mr. Chairman, that you, the participants in this seminar, have been chosen by your governments and institutions as being among the most experienced people with respect to the use of food aid in supporting development and meeting other human needs. Your stock of knowledge has been considerably enriched with the experience of recent years of massive food aid flows to Africa. You are therefore well equipped to address the issues before you and come out with specific practical measures which your governments and those of us charged with the responsibility of supporting development in Africa can implement. This, Mr. Chairman, is the challenge before you during the next four days.

On ending my speech, I would like to pay tribute here to the experts of the World Food Programme and to their Executive Director for the determination, efficiency and spirit of cooperation which they have shown during the preparation and organization of this joint seminar. I would not like to be silent either concerning the valuable financial support provided to us from other sources, particularly USAID and the Government of Norway.

Lastly, permit me to take the opportunity as the first speaker, on behalf of us all, to thank very sincerely the Minister of Livestock Production, Mr. Christophe Gboho, for the excellent hospitality and warm and fraternal welcome which the Government and people of Côte d'Ivoire have given us. We request him to convey our regards and profound gratitude to the Head of State, His Excellency, Felix Houphouët-Boigny.

## **Statement by the Executive Director of the World Food Programme, Mr. James Ingram**

First I would like to thank Minister Gboho for his warm welcome. It is good to be here in the Côte d'Ivoire.

We are very pleased that the African Development Bank has joined us in co-sponsoring this seminar and thank them for making available their facilities. We are looking forward to closer collaboration with the ADB in the future, particularly in support of development projects in the region.

We are especially grateful to the three food aid donor countries — Canada, Australia and the Netherlands — that have generously given financial support to the seminar.

Let me also welcome most warmly the participants who have given up their valuable time to be with us and whose expertise is indispensable in making progress on the vital task before us, namely to make better use of food aid for Africa's development.

Africa's continuing economic crisis continues to be the focus of world attention, most dramatically at the UN General Assembly's Special Session on the African crisis. Paradoxically, however, even though food aid has played an extremely important role both as part of essential emergency supplies and as a useful developmental resource, scant reference has been made to it in most resolutions and declarations.

The reality is that food aid has become a vital element to the economy of many African countries. Cereal imports of sub-Saharan African countries rose from around 7.5 million tons in 1979/80 to about 13 million tons in 1984/85. Moreover, the share of food aid in this greatly increased total nearly doubled, rising from just over twenty percent to almost forty percent.

Looking back at recent events in Africa two important and inter-related aspects stand out. First, the widespread drought and resultant food crisis are not extraordinary events but are an integral feature of the context in which African development must take place.

Secondly, with more favourable weather and the dramatic recovery in agricultural production during the last year, there is an urgent need to avoid a return to complacency about the short-term food situation. The swarming of locusts on a scale not seen for decades threatens to wipe out part of the production gains in some regions. Crisis can come again quickly. Preparedness against disaster and a capacity to ensure food security for rural as well as urban people is a necessary precondition for sustainable development.

This seminar is entitled "Food Aid for Development in sub-Saharan Africa". That is not because food aid should not be used for emergencies in Africa — you are aware of WFP's deep and crucial involvement in the massive effort of the past two years in responding to the food crisis in Africa. Nor is it because we

believe there are no points for discussion concerning emergency food aid in Africa. Rather, it is that we want to call attention to the developmental aspect of food aid, which for so long has been neglected or misunderstood in the African context.

Thus, the main purpose of this seminar is to explore the variety of applications of food aid that can address the underlying causes of hunger and underdevelopment and thereby help eliminate the need for food aid in the future.

The papers before the seminar are predominantly descriptions and analyses of specific cases of planning, managing or using food aid in Africa that have successful or promising features. On the whole, they show, I think, that it is certainly possible to use food aid effectively for African development. That is the first key point I would like to make.

The second is that it is not only possible, but it is necessary, to use food aid well in Africa. By any count it is clear that food aid has become an important part of development assistance in sub-Saharan Africa. Given the current state of domestic food production, and the limited capacity to import food of most African countries, food aid in substantial quantity will inevitably be a prominent feature in Africa for many years to come. Even if food aid badly used were not capable of causing economic and social damage, it would be nothing short of criminal to forego the opportunity to use it well — especially when other resources for development are in such short supply.

But the fact that food aid *can* be used well in support of African development, and the insistence that it *must* be used well, do not guarantee that it *will* be used well. As with all development activities and all external assistance, plenty of things can go wrong. If the papers prepared for this seminar tell us anything, they tell us that using food aid effectively takes forethought, effort and skill.

“How?” then becomes a key question of this seminar. How can we get the most development impact from food aid? How do the special needs and circumstances of African countries influence the successful use of food aid? How can food aid provided in emergency conditions serve development goals?

This seminar should identify at least some tentative answers to questions such as those. Here are, in a general sense, some of the several things I believe are needed:

- the first and most basic requirement is to be aware of food aid as a potentially valuable development resource;
- the second fundamental need, which flows from the first, is to integrate food aid into the overall development plans and programmes of the recipient country;
- this, in turn, implies not only that the use of food aid should be sound and developmentally oriented, but that food aid should be used not to achieve some isolated, *ad hoc* benefit, but in effective support of specific national development goals;
- naturally, for this to happen food aid will need to be coordinated, right

- from the start, with other forms of development investment — both with domestic resources and with external financial and technical assistance;
- more attention must be paid to the effects of food aid on the people it is meant to help — for example, whether it is, in fact, adding to the productive and income-earning capacity of the beneficiaries, and of the recipient country, in equitable and sustainable ways;
  - attention must also be paid, of course, to the avoidance of disincentives to food production, either nationally or locally, and of the variety of kinds of dependencies that can arise whenever resources are transferred;
  - in short, food aid needs to be planned and managed at least as carefully as other development resources, and the specific activities undertaken need to be properly designed and carried out to achieve the desired development result, and
  - in the African context, this seems to me to imply very strongly that it will not be enough only to continue traditional uses of food aid, developed and used successfully in other parts of the world, without significant adjustment to the special problems, difficulties and conditions of African countries.

Let me dwell for a moment on this last point — the need for new approaches.

We — the community of people, Africans and non-Africans, interested in the future of Africa — can take heart from some recent developments. The UN General Assembly Special Session on Africa seems to me in some sense to represent a formal watershed in thinking about African development. Perhaps the strongest sign of change — marked as I say in a formal way by the Special Session — is the widespread recognition that old formulas have not worked very well in Africa. There is a palpable groping for new approaches to Africa's problems. This shifting of attitudes has affected many African governments, and it has also been taken up by donor governments and by agencies responsible for supporting sound development in Africa.

The World Bank, with its series of special reports on African development; the FAO, which is right now discussing issues of African agriculture in Yamassoukro, only a few kilometres from here; the UN General Assembly through the Special Session and its follow-up activities; most importantly, the African governments through the ECA and the OAU, whose document "Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery, 1986-1990" has set the framework for current thinking and action — all have recognized the need for innovation in dealing with the problems of African development.

With regard to food aid itself, the major donors have also appreciated the need to develop special mechanisms and approaches tailored to the circumstances of African countries.

My point is that food aid planning, management and use must be adapted, in imaginative ways, to the African setting and the country-specific situation. Food aid must keep pace with the changes shaping African development and the new needs they impose.

Let me just mention briefly a number of aspects of food aid planning and use that emerge, either explicitly or by implication, from the seminar papers. Not all of them are entirely new, but most are not widespread in Africa. Together they illustrate the broad range of possibilities.

- For example, there are a number of ways in which food aid can support structural and sectoral adjustment programmes, and we are exploring those possibilities with the World Bank and other interested parties.
- More forethought and planning can help food aid provided under emergency conditions to serve developmental objectives. Small, community-based works projects that can be mounted quickly, and larger development projects that can expand and contract depending on conditions, are but two of the various mechanisms that may be used to achieve this. In addition more food-aided projects can be undertaken to protect against vulnerability to future disasters.
- More attention can be paid to ensuring the productive use of the physical infrastructure built with food aid. In this connection, food aid can be provided not only for new construction but to help rehabilitate and maintain existing physical infrastructure.
- Food aid can be used more extensively to support programmes that will train people in employable skills.
- Food aid can be targeted more effectively on activities that will increase women's employment and income.
- Food aid can be used for a variety of forms of food reserves, including village level grain banks and to support price stabilization schemes in pursuance of national food strategies.
- In areas where livelihoods depend on animals, aid in the form of feed may be a particularly useful approach.
- Food aid can be sold for local currency to be applied to, for example, agricultural research and extension, agricultural credit for small farmers, or other development purposes.
- Finally, more creative exchanges of food aid can be used to enable it to have the most efficient and effective impact on the recipient. Exchanging, for example, imported wheat for local maize and maize for animals may be exactly the right thing to do as at least one successful instance shows.

I am not suggesting that these are all the possibilities raised in the papers. Neither am I proposing that all of these approaches are necessarily valid in all recipient countries, or for that matter that they are all appropriate for all food aid donors. Rather I suggest that they have been evoked by the papers we have before us.

The papers also identify certain important institutional considerations affecting the successful use of food aid for development, such as:

- the importance of strong mechanisms in individual countries for planning the use of food aid and coordinating it with other forms of external assistance;

- the need for more systematic means for collecting and analyzing information that will permit a determination of food aid requirements, not just on a countrywide or regionwide level, but specifically for particular identified groups of people, and
- the desirability in certain circumstances of concerted action to make good development use of counterpart funds generated by food aid provided by various donors in relation, for example, to structural adjustment.

Last, but by no means least, the recent crisis in Africa has reminded us of the planning and logistical problems resulting from there being so many food aid donors. Consultation, information-sharing and collective action were essential for tackling the recent crisis. This seminar offers the opportunity to identify ways and means to sustain and strengthen these and other positive developments in food aid planning and management, both to prevent the recurrence of the crisis and to support development action more effectively.

I look forward, therefore, to our discussions and hope that they will help us map out the new direction I believe are necessary if food aid is to reach its full potential as an effective resource for African development.

## **REPORT ON THE SEMINAR**

1. The report that follows summarizes the main issues discussed and the sense of the meeting with respect to those issues. The report, which was prepared in both English and French, was presented to the Seminar Participants in draft form for comment but not for adoption.

### **FOOD AID AND THE AFRICAN FOOD AND ECONOMIC CRISES**

2. In many parts of sub-Saharan Africa more people are becoming vulnerable to hunger as a result of increasing poverty. Food production, on which most depend for both food and income, has grown less rapidly than population. There have been recurrent, periodic famines. Countries bordering on the Sahara, in the horn of Africa and in southern Africa, have been particularly affected by drought. Recently, following good harvests in most of the Continent, food production is again threatened, this time by locusts and other pests. Storage facilities are also generally inadequate. Moreover, some African countries face external threats that have resulted in the systematic and deliberate sabotage of food production and distribution systems, as in the case of southern Africa.

3. These adverse trends have weighed most heavily on the poor — on their production capacities, incomes, nutrition and access to basic services. The decline did not begin with the 'loud emergency' of the drought crisis and will not end now that famine images have faded from television screens. The level of food aid has fallen sharply in 1985/86. This means that emergency food aid aimed at keeping human beings alive is not being converted into development food aid to rebuild their capacity to produce food, increase incomes and improve people's lives as well as their countries' economies.

4. The critical concern of African people about their food security is reflected in the goals of food self-sufficiency and self-reliance set by African leaders and contained in the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action and the 1985 African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery endorsed by the May 1986 Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly. Yet, the inability of many African countries to grow or buy enough food to keep pace with expanding populations means that food aid will continue to be required for many years.

5. The main point at issue is, therefore, how food aid can be used to accelerate development and self-reliance in Africa.

## **Food Aid for Development**

6. Much of food aid to Africa has been used as a temporary relief measure. While African countries have appreciated the food aid they have received, they do not wish to remain recipients of food aid in perpetuity. A growing school of thought suggests, however, that food aid can be used to support rehabilitation and growth in Africa and can therefore be a valuable resource for development. If it is to have a developmental role in the context of self-reliant strategies the ultimate goal of food aid should be to eliminate itself — to “work itself out of a job”. Much will depend on the policies and conditions under which food aid is given and used.

7. The division of food aid into emergency, project and programme categories has its uses, but hides overlaps critical to development. Emergency aid needs to focus on rehabilitation and development — for example, by helping peasant households regain their lost production capacity, to stay on their farms and to work to reduce their future exposure to the risk of famine. Programme and project food aid should support both general and specific policies and programmes that have self-reliant development as their goal.

8. The various potential uses of food aid with development objectives, many of them relatively new to Africa, include the following:

- structural and sectorial adjustment programmes;
- small community-based works;
- larger development projects;
- construction of new, and rehabilitation and maintenance of existing, physical infrastructure;
- soil conservation, watershed management and environmental protection;
- training programmes to provide people with employable skills;
- activities to increase women’s employment and incomes;
- development and reinforcement of food market structures both within and among countries;
- establishment and replenishment of food reserves and support of price stabilization schemes;
- protection against vulnerability to future disasters;
- animal production and improvement projects for which feed grains may be provided, and
- support of agricultural research, extension and credit for small farmers.

9. Food aid should be used especially to promote agriculture and rural development, increase productivity and generate employment and incomes.

10. Certain conditions should be met in order to obtain the greatest benefit for development. These include the integration of food aid within a national development policy framework, its coordination with other forms of development

assistance, and confidence in its assured future supply through, for example, multi-year programming to permit incorporation into longer-term plans.

11. It is Africans themselves who are primarily concerned with the development of their countries; they have the depth of knowledge — especially rural knowledge — to understand the relationships between needs and goals. Revision of current food aid practices and procedures is necessary for the needs of Africa to be adequately met. Donors can advise, suggest and provide specific knowledge and assistance, but African-led development must be the foundation of action in Africa.

### **New Directions**

12. Some African countries are food surplus and are well-endowed for agricultural production. They are already in a position to exploit export markets for their food surpluses. Other countries are food-deficit and face foreign exchange constraints that prevent them from importing the food they need. There are advantages to food-surplus countries, donors and food-deficit countries if “Africa-to-Africa” food aid can be financed. This approach would create additional demand for African food surpluses and promote regional food markets and regional trade.

13. Some regions in some countries are food-surplus while other regions and households in the same country experience acute food shortages due to infrastructural weaknesses or a failure of purchasing power. Sometimes countries in this situation find it more practical to import food at high foreign exchange cost rather than meet the needs of food-deficit areas from domestic supplies. Donors should help in the development of inter-regional trade and in improving the necessary transport infrastructure. Food aid donors can also assist by purchasing food locally.

14. Food aid almost always needs to be combined with financial and technical assistance if it is to play its development role most efficiently. Cooperation between WFP and the ADB and between WFP and the World Bank, for example, has already demonstrated the advantages of merging food aid and financial aid as a stimulus for development. National governments are also increasing their efforts to foster coordination between multilateral and bilateral food aid and financial aid programmes.

### **FOOD AID AS A DEVELOPMENT RESOURCE: ISSUES OF PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT**

15. Food aid represents additional food availability in countries with limited foreign exchange to import food commercially, particularly when food emergencies occur. Under these conditions it constitutes a transfer of resources from donor to recipient. Food aid also represents a resource transfer in support of a

country's balance of payments when there are structural food deficits and foreign exchange constraints. This way of transferring resources from donor to recipient country can be used to expand public sector investment if food aid is sold by the government as a means of supplementing domestic budget revenues.

16. Evidence is accumulating that suggests that the effectiveness of food aid as a development resource in Africa can be increased, even though this has not yet been fully recognized or adequately articulated in either African or donor countries.

17. African countries and donors alike are anxious to avoid negative effects that can arise from poor planning or management of food aid. For example, there is a need to guard against disincentives to farmers, to avoid unwanted changes in food habits and tastes that lead to the creation of a domestic market for food that cannot be produced locally, and to avoid displacing domestic and inter-regional trade in cereals and other important foodstuffs. The dangers of these disincentive effects can be reduced when food aid is used as a development resource.

18. In practice, the bulk of food aid is additional to other forms of development assistance and is not usually converted by donors into financial aid. However, funds derived from the sale of food aid in recipient countries are often additional to financial aid. The cost to the recipient government and beneficiaries related to the handling, storage and distribution of the food aid received, which is very high in some African countries, reduces the value of the assistance. These features of food aid, as conventionally provided by donors from their own food stocks, may reduce its flexibility and its value as a development resource.

19. The bulk of food aid is provided under the Food Aid Convention, which only covers grains. Funds appropriated for food aid programmes are used mainly to provide food and to cover related costs. Financial and technical assistance needed to support food-aided development activities must be obtained from other parts of donors' aid programmes. Donor flexibility is limited by financial regulations, programming cycles, the public perception of what food aid is intended to achieve and other factors. Donor policies have been influenced by public opinion that has been demonstrably responsive to emergency situations but needs to be better informed about, and focussed on, the need to support development initiatives to prevent the recurrence of these catastrophes.

20. There are a number of ways in which this can be done. Food aid, like other development resources, should be provided under procedures that can be adjusted to meet changing conditions and needs. It must also form part of a package of local resources and external assistance. There are considerable gains to be made by integrating food and complementary financial and technical aid in support of national projects and programmes.

21. Moreover, to be a dependable input into planned development, food aid needs to be secured for several years ahead. To the extent possible, therefore,

donors should make multi-year commitments as to the volume and timing of non-emergency deliveries. Recipients, on the other hand, should specify programmes and projects for which food aid can be used and the policy framework within which they will be implemented. For these purposes, they should be better informed about the ways to obtain and use food aid.

22. African countries and donors should both look for practical ways of being more flexible in the use of food aid and the arrangements under which it is provided so it can be effectively combined with other resources in support of development efforts.

### **Food Aid and Balance of Payments Support**

23. Food aid can serve to reduce the foreign exchange costs of food imports, especially for countries with structural deficits. The foreign exchange released as a result can also be used for development purposes. While saving lives, emergency food aid, too, serves as an immediate means of meeting unexpected foreign exchange costs of essential food imports.

### **Food Aid Sales Proceeds**

24. When the sale of food aid is appropriate and permitted by donor regulations, the local currency proceeds should be used within the framework of national development strategies defined by governments and acceptable to donors. In some countries the receipts of food aid sales are added to the general development fund or used to augment the government's recurrent budget. In other cases, specific programmes and projects to be supported by such funds are agreed in advance with donors.

25. One approach that is gaining popularity in some African countries as well as with many donors is the administration of proceeds from the sale of food aid provided by several donors through a common fund committed to supporting specified development policies and activities. This approach can act as a catalyst for strengthening the broader policy dialogue among recipient and donor countries and agencies and for facilitating greater coherence and developmental effectiveness of the assistance provided.

26. No one solution is uniquely preferable in all countries. Several have proved useful in specific contexts, particularly in providing a framework for the multi-year programming of food aid proceeds to support key sectoral or overall development objectives.

### **Food Aid and Structural Adjustment**

27. Attempts by countries to undertake major structural or sectoral adjustments, particularly but not only in their agricultural and food marketing sectors, offer a

framework for the effective use of food aid. Here food aid can complement financial and technical assistance provided for agreed reforms.

28. Multi-year structural and sectoral adjustment agreements also provide a context for multi-year food aid commitments on the part of donors.

### **Triangular Transactions**

29. The experience of supplying deficit African countries with food commodities, mainly maize, from surplus countries in Africa, has indicated several distinct advantages of using triangular transactions within which donors provide cash or food to obtain food surpluses in one developing country for use as food aid in another developing country. These advantages include: support for the balance of payments and for food production and agricultural policies of the supplying country; support for export demand and, therefore, a stimulus for the development of regional food markets; speedy delivery to neighbouring countries; the provision of more appropriate foods than are often available from traditional food aid donors; the promotion of regional cooperation; a reduction in transport costs; and improved transport links among neighbouring countries.

30. Problems have arisen that have restricted the wider use of triangular transactions, including fluctuations in food production in supplying African countries. Lack of accurate information about production and available storage facilities at the farmer level also makes projections of potential surpluses, and thus advance planning, difficult. Some countries are worried about the problem of managing surpluses in the present international trading environment. Concern has also been expressed that a policy of immediate surplus disposal could lead countries to invest inadequately in storage and stocks. Other difficulties include fixing prices, quality control, establishing firm delivery schedules, and finding donor partners. There may, therefore, be a need for a code of conduct covering triangular transactions.

31. However, even within existing regulations, many donors have supported triangular transactions and other less conventional uses of food aid, such as exchange arrangements and local purchases. These arrangements can contribute to improving the efficiency and effectiveness of food aid. They should be designed, however, to be cost-effective in supplying the final recipient and to be supportive of sustainable agricultural policies in the exporting country. The evidence available suggests that in the right circumstances these conditions can be fulfilled. Further study should be conducted of how best these objectives can be attained.

### **The Institutional Framework for Food Aid Coordination**

32. The institutional framework for the coordination of food aid should be improved at both the international and the national levels.

33. *The International Institutional Framework.* The effective use of food aid requires consultation, information sharing and collective action. Clearly articulated development policies of African governments provide the basis and framework for well-coordinated donor assistance. Recipient governments could assist coordination by involving donors in the national planning process.

34. African regional and sub-regional organizations can also assist in developing a clear policy framework within which donor inputs can be provided, information sharing can be facilitated and collective action can be stimulated. CILSS, the Club du Sahel and WFP have already facilitated coordination. One example of coordination is the emergency reporting service set up by WFP in 1984-85 to circulate timely information on food aid commitments and shipments by all donors to African recipient countries, which has proved valuable and should be continued.

35. Although coordination as a principle is rarely challenged explicitly, it is not easily accomplished. Coordination on a country-by-country basis can be facilitated by increased attention to food aid in World Bank Consultative Groups and UNDP Round Tables.

36. *The National Institutional Framework.* Experience in Africa indicates that a strong national apparatus to coordinate food aid inputs is required. Countries that have been most successful in managing food emergencies, for example, have food aid management units or national coordinating authorities with some executive responsibility, such as a high-level central coordinating committee with executive responsibility for drought management.

37. Countries that have coped better with drought have also built up relatively effective distribution systems for food. Some have already made progress in identifying vulnerable groups and have institutionalized programmes to deal with these problems. A critical aspect of better management has been relatively accurate and frequent reassessments of the needs of vulnerable groups. Such a framework not only makes it easier to use food aid effectively, but undoubtedly facilitates agreement with donors on the provision of adequate and timely assistance.

38. Some countries with more predictable structural deficits have formulated national policies to guide the use of imports including food aid. Good internal dialogue on economic and social policies is an additional positive factor in improving food aid utilization.

39. During the recent drought, countries that had made less progress in developing institutional frameworks found that their difficulties were amplified by weaknesses in the food management system. An encouraging development is the attempt to strengthen existing food management and needs assessment systems in many countries frequently affected by drought, emergencies and structural shortages.

## **The Assessment of Food Aid Requirements**

40. The assessment of food aid requirements differs depending on whether aid is intended to meet emergency survival needs, temporary deficits, structural deficits or development objectives. For example, assessment of the food aid needed to meet structural deficits or development objectives should be carried out in a multi-year framework.
41. Assessing emergency food aid needs requires the estimation of such factors as population levels (especially of vulnerable group members, including displaced persons and refugees), consumption/nutritional requirements, regional and seasonal variations in production, incomes, prices and stocks at the national and household levels and imports already secured on a commercial or concessional basis.
42. Many African countries are strengthening their assessment of needs for potentially affected groups, including displaced persons. The assessment of food aid needs for rural populations should be broadened beyond crop assessment to include local food, livestock and labour market information and related socio-economic indicators of vulnerability.
43. The assessment of requirements related to the best use of food aid for development must take into consideration additional, and often complex, questions such as:
- (a) How much food should a country import commercially, given its economic situation and especially its foreign exchange position? Should the appropriate level be influenced by past food aid or commercial import levels, which may not accurately reflect current circumstances?
  - (b) What systems exist for the distribution of food aid within the recipient country?
  - (c) What financial demands will food aid deliveries place on the recipient country, and are there resources available to meet them?
  - (d) What complementary financial and technical resources will be needed to utilize the additional food effectively? How can these be mobilized?
  - (e) What commodities should be provided (frequently assessment is for cereals only)? How should assessment take into account local food preferences? Other local staples? Export or import impact? The total food basket? Preferences within the total food basket?
  - (f) What is the recipient country's absorptive capacity for food aid?
  - (g) How should food aid needs assessment be linked to overall development assistance and in particular the resources needed to complement the food aid?
  - (h) What institutional, legal and procedural reforms both by recipients and by donors would increase the effectiveness of food aid?

44. Donor countries have their own ways of assessing food aid needs and continue to grapple with the difficult problem of allocating limited resources amongst many potential recipients. From the point of view of recipients, the assessment of requirements calls for distinguishing between requirements for emergencies, and of temporary and structural deficits. The assessment of food aid requirements to meet structural deficits should be carried out in a multi-year framework.

45. Food aid levels reflect a combination of Food Aid Convention commitments, budgetary limitations, supply situations, and political and commercial commitments (including a set of rules defining usual marketing requirements), as well as public perceptions of food aid needs. Some donors have adjusted their food aid allocations according to efforts made by recipient governments to integrate food aid into the development process.

46. These complexities point to the need for much closer consultation and more sharing of information amongst all parties concerned with food aid needs assessment, recipients and donors, than has been the case in the past.

### **FOOD AID FOR INCOME, EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT: AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS**

47. The immediate goal of resource transfers to rural areas, where households have low or unstable incomes, is to encourage local investment that will have a rapid and positive effect on the level and stability of those incomes.<sup>1</sup> This objective is likely to result most often from the mobilization of labour in order to create productive assets which are accessible to the poor. Food aid can finance these activities, either directly as a commodity wage, or from the local currency proceeds as a result of its sale. Because many low-income households are headed by women, it is important to ensure that income transfer mechanisms — including seasonal or supplementary employment — are accessible to women and that their capacities as producers of food and other goods and services are enhanced. In households headed by women, in which shortage of labour is frequently a major constraint, providing such services as more dependable and accessible sources of household supplies of water and fuel that reduce the amount of time spent on burdensome tasks is an essential element for increasing productivity and household incomes.

48. This suggests certain criteria by which food aid-supported projects might be judged. First, the bulk of the benefits should flow to the most vulnerable households and should result in an increase in the level and stability of their production and income. Second, the employment, income and economic benefits of projects financed by food aid should be sustainable — i.e., able to continue once the food

1. Income in the context of this report includes that part of production or output that is retained by producers.

aid is withdrawn. In other words, it is important that the activities supported by the initial transfer of resources through food aid should become part of the economic life of the community. Third, food aid should do more than create temporary employment. It should result in the creation of permanent employment opportunities, particularly for the most vulnerable families — opportunities that generate income and output that are both stable and adequate for sustenance and improvement of living standards.

49. In contrast with other regions, the rural economy in most sub-Saharan African countries consists almost entirely of agriculture. The rapid rural-urban migration now characteristic of these countries, leading to the highest urban growth rates in the world, is partly the result of a lack of rural employment opportunities outside agriculture. The often hard and unrewarding nature of agricultural work and the lesser quality of life in rural areas strongly induce this migration and reduce the demand for goods and services, resulting in lack of rural employment opportunities outside agriculture. Although many activities supported by food aid will centre on agriculture, resulting in increased food production, it is important to note that agricultural growth alone will not absorb the rapidly growing labour force in African countries. There is a necessity, and in some cases a great urgency, to support employment opportunities outside the agricultural sector through the development of rural industries, services and community-based projects.

### **Rural Investment, Employment and Income Generation**

50. The direct use of food aid for wages in agricultural and rural development projects in Africa raises complex issues. Social and cultural habits and differences between countries must be recognized. Food distribution on its own is rarely a satisfactory way to reimburse productive labour. On the other hand, food as an addition to cash wages, or as an incentive to self-help ventures, is widely acceptable. There are circumstances, however, when food payments are preferred to cash payments, particularly at times, and in areas, of serious food shortage.

51. There have been only a few cases in sub-Saharan Africa in which food aid has been used as a resource transfer in support of large-scale labour-intensive projects. But there are many opportunities to support small-scale community works at the village level and to use food as an incentive to increase labour productivity. There are many examples of such projects in sub-Saharan Africa.

52. In designing these projects, it is particularly important to recognize the role of women. They constitute the bulk of the rural labour force and have a powerful influence over household food security as well as the allocation of resources within the household. Projects designed to mobilize rural labour, especially those utilizing food aid, need to be designed more perceptively in order to support and mobilize women's contribution to development. Special efforts should continue

to be made with respect to the formulation of policies, programmes and projects to involve women and to improve their technical and analytical capabilities, as well as their income-earning opportunities, particularly as rural economies in Africa become increasingly more diversified.

53. Development projects designed for implementation along conventional lines, including those utilizing food aid, tend to place too many demands on government capacity. Within the general framework of national development objectives, there is scope for greater involvement of non-governmental organizations, local as well as international, the private sector and, most especially, the local communities themselves, in the implementation of projects.

54. There is often a dichotomy perceived between the humanitarian and nutritional objectives and the development objectives of food aid. The activities of many food-aided projects have been strongly determined by the food needs of beneficiaries rather than by developmental considerations. As a result, such projects have difficulty in attracting financial support, especially from international lending institutions.

55. Long-term maintenance and sustainability of the benefits of food-aided projects are vital elements in their planning and implementation. Consideration needs to be given to these issues at the outset of project conception and formulation.

56. Frequently there is ambiguity regarding the objectives of food-aided projects, including whether the real beneficiaries are individuals, community groups or the nation. Targetting should be improved and objectives defined more clearly.

### **Human Resource Development**

57. It is of some importance that food aid in the context of human resource development should be seen in a broader context than its more traditional nutritional objectives. Nutritional and welfare objectives remain important for the mothers and children of labour-scarce, resource-poor households. However, human skills and capacities need to be expanded and improved if people are to find new ways of earning a living.

58. Africa has inherited an educational system aimed at services and industries for which colonial powers required labour. Training in artisanal and entrepreneurial skills related to the development of rural industries and services, as well as better farming techniques, are urgent priorities that can be financed, at least partially, by food aid.

59. The development of rural industries and services implies choices regarding the mix of labour, capital and technology. These choices involve many factors but, wherever possible, they should tend towards encouraging labour-intensive,

small-scale enterprises supplying products and services for which demand increases rapidly as rural incomes rise.

60. There is a need, therefore, to consider more innovative uses of food aid for the development of human resources. This would extend traditional uses of food aid for the nutritional improvement of vulnerable groups of mothers and children through supplementary feeding programmes into its wider use for the development of human capital. This objective might be achieved through a wide variety of training projects designed to expand and improve the skills and capacities of people so they can be employed more effectively in occupations within and outside the agricultural sector.

### **Implementation Strategies**

61. Radical changes are required in the design of most food-aided projects in order to enhance their effectiveness in the development process. Such changes should give particular attention to support of an employment-oriented strategy for development that raises the growth rate of the economy and production and improves income distribution.

62. More rigorous attention should be given in project formulation, appraisal and design to the analysis of the problems which food-aided projects are to address; to the people who should benefit both from the results of projects and from the food aid provided; to the best ways of providing the food aid; and to the monitoring and evaluation systems needed to assess the results. A critical requirement in this respect is the strengthening of national capacities and procedures to support a better, more integrated and more efficient collection and analysis of essential socio-economic information, especially about target groups, food requirements and food availability, together with the costs and benefits of alternative intervention strategies.

63. A better understanding of the functions, processes and effects of food aid is necessary in order to extend its benefits, avoid pitfalls and promote greater coordination with other forms of development assistance in cooperation with other aid organizations.

64. The co-financing of development projects with financial and food aid should be expanded in two mutually fortifying ways. Food aid can help increase the benefits and serve as a stimulus to the more speedy implementation of projects externally financed. Conversely, financial aid can help meet both the cost of importing and distributing food aid and of other complementary inputs in food-aided projects. International and bilateral financing institutions and aid programmes should give more attention to these potential benefits.

65. The real costs and benefits of food aid should be more carefully assessed in order to determine the best ways to use appropriately selected food aid commodities for development. Attention should be given to a reasonable sharing of food

aid costs among recipient governments, donor countries and aid agencies with a view towards facilitating and expanding its use and sustainability.

66. Special attention should be given to improving the management of food aid in recipient countries at all levels and to providing assistance to build up the capacity of those responsible for handling and monitoring its effective use.

67. In view of the nature and magnitude of the problems to be addressed, the importance of using the capabilities and resourcefulness of local communities in the design and implementation of food-aided projects needs further emphasis, including the capacity of local communities to identify and assess commodity requirements, as well as to mobilize and reach needy households.

68. The particular advantage of the multi-purpose project approach lies in the way it increases flexibility in the use of food aid. However, this approach requires that more attention should be given to the special demands of these projects on management and to designing logistic systems for deploying food aid to a large number of community-based development schemes dispersed throughout the rural areas of a country.

69. The research capabilities of local personnel in assessing food needs and providing early warning of shortages should be strengthened. The development and use of local analytical capacity for the evaluation of project results is also important in assuring that the real accomplishments of projects are identified, presented and understood by policy-makers and operational managers.

70. There is a need to increase public awareness of the successes already achieved in reaching the world's poorest and most malnourished communities with the most important of basic needs and in involving them in social and economic development projects and programmes.

71. Food aid can act as a development resource by filling both the gap between demand and supply and between need and demand. Food aid for sale to meet the gap between supply and demand at reasonable prices can promote development by preventing inflation and consequent suffering, particularly for the poor. So long as it does not exceed the demand-supply gap, it will not produce disincentive effects on local agricultural production or price the poor out of the market.

72. Project food aid in nutrition improvement and employment projects can create both the supply of, as well as the demand for, food. Special attention should be given, however, to the timing of food aid supplies in relation to seasonal needs, their geographical distribution within a country, and the commodity composition of food aid, in order to avoid disincentive effects.

73. A policy dependence on food aid by a recipient government should also be avoided, so that the necessary efforts are made to increase domestic food production.

## **THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EMERGENCIES AND DEVELOPMENT**

### **Interrelated Issues**

74. Food crises and famines have long-term origins and are related to a country's state of development. Traditional emergency assistance, including emergency food aid, has little or no development impact and rarely addresses these underlying causes, leaving people as vulnerable as ever to periodic starvation. Moreover, things rarely 'go back to normal', and often are much worse after a famine. If emergency food aid is to contribute to the prevention of famine, it needs to be used in the context of a clear understanding of underlying causes.
75. The issues involved are often extremely complex and difficult. Sometimes they involve choices between sources of livelihood that may have become so vulnerable to collapse that their viability as the main source of household income and support is in doubt. Often long-standing problems, such as those of nomads, have been historically neglected, leaving whole sections of a country's population particularly vulnerable to crises. Moreover, population growth, together with economic and social change, are dynamic forces that induce long-term shifts in sources of livelihood, increasing the difficulty of defining and implementing lasting solutions for vulnerable areas within which emergency relief can be delivered.
76. Even in a famine situation, however, it is possible to strengthen a community's capacity to withstand crises. Moreover, because famine is predictable and recurrent, and because famine relief mobilizes resources on a considerable scale, it is important for emergency assistance to have explicit and intimate linkages with development strategies. Specifically, such assistance should be directed towards increasing levels of food production and the income of the poor, reducing their vulnerability to seasonal and crisis collapse, providing income possibilities and protecting them from the effects of external climatic or other shocks. This approach implies a radical change in the policies and practices of both donors and recipients of emergency food aid and a conscious effort to redefine and target aid.
77. Within this overall development approach, obviously vital humanitarian objectives can frequently be achieved simultaneously with development objectives. Food aid can transfer income to households in a way that at the same time meets their urgent needs.

### **Emergency-Development Strategies**

78. The traditional strategy that relates emergency relief to development objectives involves a 'relief-rehabilitation-development' sequence, which frequently begins well but often runs out of resources and cannot be sustained.

79. Other strategies may be more appropriate. Emergency programmes can be developed, for example, with a built-in development capacity. Conversely, development programmes can be designed that can be expanded rapidly to provide emergency assistance. Another approach is to adopt a simultaneous emergency-development strategy whereby resources can be provided, of which food aid may be a part, to guarantee employment in the local district when there is a collapse in household food production or income. That employment can, in turn, create household assets capable of generating future income. Alternative food or cash crops could be introduced as part of, or separate from, employment-guarantee schemes as well as other work programmes, such as improved water supplies, that bring longer-term benefits to the population at risk. These measures, capable of reducing seasonal fluctuations in household production and income, could be quickly expanded during crisis periods to reduce the risk of the total collapse in household incomes.

80. 'Emergency-development' programmes should be directed towards the most vulnerable households — those with the lowest and most variable income and those, like livestock herders and nomads, whose livelihoods depend on a narrow range of income-earning possibilities. Their aims should include a sustained increase in the level of household production, employment and income, a reduction in their variability, and support for expansion or changes in the sources of household income, employment and production where existing sources do not provide a secure livelihood. They should include improvement in infrastructure to facilitate exchange and mobility and training programmes to increase productivity and versatility.

### **Practical Implications**

81. A national strategy is a prerequisite to the development of these programmes. They require careful research and the consideration of strategic alternatives and their feasibility. The participation and support of the people involved are critical to success. Projects that can provide temporary employment in times of crisis should be designed as part of emergency preparedness plans so that they can be put into effect rapidly while longer-term measures are introduced and implemented. The development of such plans should be undertaken as a matter of priority in disaster-prone countries, for which external assistance should be provided.

82. Food aid is a potentially important resource in support of emergency-development strategies, whether they are mounted in response to a food crisis or, better, developed in famine-prone areas before a crisis begins. However, food aid will almost certainly have to be combined with financial and technical assistance. A mechanism is required to ensure the coordination of donor inputs within an overall national framework.

83. Understanding needs to be increased among the people and governments of

recipient and donor countries that the underlying causes of famines require urgent development response if they are to be prevented in the future. Moreover, it should be more appreciated that the costs of emergency relief can be as high, if not higher, than the costs of measures to prevent famines.

## **PROPOSALS FOR FOLLOW-UP ACTION ARISING FROM THE SEMINAR**

84. A number of specific proposals for future steps to follow up the issues and concerns raised during the seminar were made by participants.

### **Special Areas of Concern**

85. Ways and means should be identified by which food aid can support regional, sub-regional and national efforts towards self-reliant and self-sustaining development within the context of Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery, 1986-1990, and the United Nations Programme of Action for Economic Recovery and Development adopted by the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa in May 1986.

86. The various ways by which food aid could assist in the process of structural and sectoral adjustment should be examined.

87. Greater use should be made of food aid in support of strategic food reserves and food security at the national, community and household levels, which might provide the focus for a special seminar among recipient and donor countries and aid agencies.

88. Rural development projects supported with food aid should be appraised to determine the long-term maintenance and sustainability of their benefits and the extent to which they should become 'bankable' (i.e. can generate an economic return) and, therefore, could attract loan finance, during the initial stage of their formulation.

89. Innovative, employment-creating food-aided projects, as well as training programmes to provide and improve skills and thereby increase productivity and employment possibilities, should be developed and expanded.

90. Food aid should be used more effectively to enhance women's roles as producers, especially in the agricultural sector, and as key decision-makers in household food security, thereby increasing their incomes and reducing the vulnerability of their households to malnourishment, ill health and other negative effects of poverty.

91. Local communities should be more involved in planning and implementing food-aided projects, for which a special study of past experience should be undertaken and operational guidelines formulated.

92. Coordination among bilateral, multilateral and non-governmental agencies providing food aid, as well as dialogue among them and with recipient countries, should be improved, through both the designated inter-governmental consultative forum of the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programmes, World Bank Consultative Groups, UNDP Round Tables and other appropriate channels with individual recipient countries.

93. Regulations and procedures governing the provision and use of food aid in donor and recipient countries and aid organizations, including the monetization of food aid, should be made more flexible.

94. Criteria and regulations governing emergency food aid operations should be amended to facilitate their interaction with development assistance programmes.

95. A closer association of food and financial assistance, as exemplified in the working relationships established between WFP and the ADB and WFP and the World Bank, should be fostered.

96. More effective use should be made of the proceeds accruing from the sale of food aid in support of policies, programmes and projects, for which operational guidelines should be drawn up and mutually agreed upon for each recipient country by the government and donors concerned.

97. Greater use should be made of triangular transactions in food aid in Africa taking into account their difficulties as well as their potential benefits, for which a special study should be undertaken.

98. Closer attention should be paid to the costs of food aid in recipient countries, to the sharing of such costs between recipients and donors, and to identifying the most cost-effective systems of using food aid, in view of the shortage of financial resources in donor food aid programmes as well as in the developing countries.

99. New initiatives in using food aid in Africa should be undertaken, including: support for agricultural research, extension, information gathering and training; the use of proceeds from the sale of food aid for rural credit schemes for small farmers; the commitment of food aid for a specific period in support of activities conducted in area-based, integrated rural development programmes; and the provision of food aid in support of projects designed to increase the income and improve the well-being of poor urban as well as rural households and communities.

100. Deliberate steps should be taken to convince ministries of planning and finance in recipient countries, as well as relevant authorities in donor countries, to consider food aid as a development resource equivalent in status to financial aid and to use food aid as carefully as financial assistance to make it an effective resource for development.

## **Management and Training Issues**

101. Food management units within government administrations in recipient countries should be established or strengthened with the help of external financial and technical assistance and training, as has already been done in several countries in Africa, to minimize use of scarce technical personnel in the administration of food aid, as well as to facilitate the planning and programming of food aid and to increase efficiency in food aid operations.
102. Adequate project management personnel and training should be provided at all levels of food-aided projects.
103. Technical assistance should be improved for food-aided projects and food aid operations through, among other things, the selection of people with practical experience relevant to the particular circumstances of individual recipient countries, which may require changes in the recruitment and administrative procedures of development assistance agencies.
104. Training materials should be developed from various sources, including the documentation prepared for, and resulting from, this seminar, and the sharing of these materials and the costs involved in producing and using them through joint training programmes among the agencies involved in food aid.
105. Seminars and workshops should be sponsored to discuss practical management and logistic issues in food aid operations.

## **Information and Data**

106. The issues and concerns discussed at the seminar should be communicated through workshops organized at the sub-regional and country levels in Africa;
107. An education campaign should be undertaken to emphasize the appropriateness of food aid as an effective development resource, through a greater appreciation of its potential positive, as well as possible disincentive, effects, i.e. addressing the root causes of Africa's development problems, in order to gain the same kind and level of support for its supply and use for developmental purposes as have been forthcoming for emergency relief during the food crisis in Africa.
108. Examples of the successful uses of food aid in development projects should be disseminated through the media and other public information materials.
109. Assessment of food aid requirements should be improved, for which appropriate methodologies and data are needed.
110. Provision should be made for the collection, analysis and improvement of data as part of food aid project activities and costs.
111. Special attention should be given to assessing the costs and benefits of food aid in development projects, which requires more attention to the real values and costs of food aid as a development resource.

## **ANNEX I: SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS<sup>1</sup>**

### **WFP HEADQUARTERS**

- Mr. James Ingram, Executive Director
- Mr. Salahuddin Ahmed, Deputy Executive Director
- Mr. Charles Paolillo, Director, Office of Policy Development and Coordination
- Mr. Namanga Ngongi, Chief of Africa Service
- Mr. Jean-Pierre Nastorg, Deputy Director, Programmes, Project Management Division
- Mr. D. John Shaw, Senior Economist, Office of Policy Development and Coordination
- Mr. Bronek Szynalski, Chief, Operational Evaluation Branch
- Mr. Peter Jobber, Senior Programme Officer, Project Management Division
- Mr. Jean-Pierre Peeters, Chief, Western Africa Branch, Project Management Division
- Mr. Johannes Mengesha, Programme Management Officer, East and Southern Africa Branch, Project Management Division

### **ADB HEADQUARTERS**

- Mr. G.R. Aithnard, Director, Training Centre
- Mr. E.K. Andah, Principal Training Officer, Training Centre
- Mr. K.S.M. Nyahe, Deputy Director, Agriculture and Rural Development Department
- Mr. B.A. Gardaad, Agricultural Economist, Agriculture and Rural Development Department
- Mr. E.K. Mpande, Agriculture Economist, Agriculture and Rural Development Department
- Mr. N. Sangbé, Principal Agro-Economist, Agriculture and Rural Development Department
- Mr. R.P. Randrianarison, Agronomist, Agriculture and Rural Development Department
- Mr. G. Tibaldeschi, Agronomist, Agriculture and Rural Development Department
- Mrs. S.S. Diop, Project Officer, Agriculture and Rural Development Department
- Mr. M. Masumbuko, Deputy Director, Central Projects Unit
- Mr. A.G. Baldé, Economist, Procurement Officer, Central Projects Unit
- Mr. W.K. Kasonga, Chief Economist, Programme I Department
- Mr. Y.I. Kandé, Principal Loan Officer, Country Programme I Department

1. Many of the WFP and ADB staff attending the seminar were observers who occupied seats at the seminar tables on a rotation basis.

- Mr. G.M.B. Kariisa, Chief Economist, Country Programme II Department
- Mrs. A.D. Ndiaye, Country Economist, Country Programme II Department
- Mr. S.S. Omari, Deputy Director, Department of Planning and Research
- Mr. M. Msuya, Agricultural Economist, Department of Planning and Research
- Mr. H.D. Akroyd, Principal Agricultural Economist, Department of Planning and Research

### **WFP FIELD STAFF**

- Mr. Dieter Hannusch, WFP Chief of Operations, Botswana
- Mr. Gonzalo Ribo-Dieguez, WFP Chief of Operations, Burkina Faso
- Mr. Alfredo Garciduenas-Mejia, WFP Assistant Representative, Cape Verde
- Mr. Piet Winnubst, WFP Chief of Operations, Chad
- Mr. Max Diaw, WFP Chief of Operations, Côte d'Ivoire
- Mr. Thomas Grannell, WFP Project Officer, Ethiopia
- Mr. Ibrahim Sharif, WFP Chief of Operations, Ghana
- Mr. Pascal Woldemariam, WFP Chief of Operations, Kenya
- Mr. John Murphy, WFP Chief of Operations, Lesotho
- Mr. Arild Oyen, WFP Chief of Operations, Madagascar
- Mr. Francis Valère-Gille, WFP Chief of Operations, Mali
- Mr. Danto Bamezon, WFP Assistant Representative, Sao Tome
- Mr. Joseph-Alain Charrière, WFP Chief of Operations, Senegal
- Mr. John Murray, WFP Director of Operations, Somalia
- Mr. Apollo Ongoma, WFP Project Officer, Uganda
- Ms. Georgia Shaver, WFP Project Officer, Zambia

### **OTHER AFRICAN-BASED INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES**

- OAU (Organization of African Unity), Dr. I.M. Nur
- ECA (Economic Commission for Africa), Mr. Hsalidou Ouedraogo
- CILSS (Comité Permanent Inter-Etats de Lutte contre la Sécheresse dans le Sahel), Mr. Dramane Coulibaly, Expert Agro/Economiste, Projet de Mise en Place de la Cellule Régionale de la Sécurité Alimentaire
- SADCC (Southern African Development Coordination Conference), Mr. Tobias Takavarasha (also representing Zimbabwe), SADCC Coordinator for Food Security

### **AFRICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS**

- Eenin: — Mr. Danhounsi Tossou Emmanuel, Ingénieur agronome, spécialisé en développement en Afrique sub-saharienne
- Botswana: — Ms. Tswelopele Cornelia Moremi, Head, Rural Development Unit, Ministry of Finance
- Burkina Faso: — Mr. Mathias Lamoussa Zigani, Directeur du Comité d'Aide Alimentaire

- Cameroon: — Mr. Dang Mekoula, Secrétaire Exécutif, Comité de Gestion du PAM, Ministry of Agriculture
- Côte d'Ivoire: — Mr. Soundélé Konan, Directeur Général de la Sodefor
- Ethiopia: — Ato Kebede Tato, Head of Community Forest Development and Soil Conservation, Ministry of Agriculture
- Ghana: — Mrs. Margaret Clarke, Senior Economist, Head of Multilateral Food Aid Unit, IERD
- Lesotho: — Mrs. Q. Moji, Deputy Director, Central Planning and Development Office
- Mali: — Mr. Sall Abdoulaye, Homologue du Conseiller PRMC auprès du Ministère de Tutelle des Sociétés et Entreprises d'Etat
- Mauritania: — Dr. Mohamed Sidya Ould Bah, Commissaire à la Sécurité Alimentaire
- Mozambique: — Mr. Manuel Jorge Aranda Da Silva, Minister of Internal Trade
- Rwanda: — Mr. Kabiligi Juvénal, General Director, Rural Engineering
- Senegal: — Mr. Amadou Moustapha Kamara, Conseiller, Chargé de la Filière des Stratégies de Développement et de la Sécurité Alimentaire
- Sudan: — Mr. Elhag Eltayeb Eltahir, Deputy Relief and Rehabilitation Commissioner
- Uganda: — Dr. SHEME Masaba, Minister, Animal Industry
- Zimbabwe: — Mr. Tobias Takavarasha, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Resettlement

#### **CFA Representatives**

- Congo: — Mr. Michel Mombouli, Représentant permanent adjoint, Représentation permanente de la République populaire du Congo auprès de la FAO
- Kenya: — Mr. S. M. Guantai, Alternate Permanent Representative, Permanent Representation of the Republic of Kenya to FAO

#### **INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES AND OTHER FOOD AID DONORS**

- Government of Australia — Mr. Angus Macdonald, Counsellor (Development Assistance), Australian Embassy, Rome
- Government of Canada — Mr. Bill Rolston, CIDA
- Government of Canada — Ms. Sandelle Scrimshaw Canadian Embassy, Abidjan
- Government of the Netherlands — Mr. Karel Schouw, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- Government of the Netherlands — Mr. Rens Westdijk, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
- Government of the United States — Ms. Julia Chang Bloch, Assistant Administrator, Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance, USAID
- CARE — Dr. Emily Moore, Director of Food Programming
- Club du Sahel — Mr. Stephane Jost, Cellule d'Urgence, Ministère de la Coopération, France
- CRS — Mr. Francis Carlin, Deputy Director, African Region (N.Y.)
- EEC - Ms. Karen Fogg, Principal Administrator, Food Aid Division
- FAO — Mr. Panos Konandreas, Senior Economist, Commodities and Trade Division
- World Bank — Dr. Edward Schuh, Director, Agriculture and Rural Development Department
- World Bank — Mr. Vinod Dubey, Director, Country Policy Department

### **RESOURCE PERSONS**

- Ms. Judy Bryson
- Dr. Abass Bundu, Minister of Parliament, Sierra Leone
- Dr. Edward J. Clay, Institute of Development Studies (IDS), University of Sussex, UK
- Dr. Hannan Ezekiel, International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), Washington, D.C., USA
- Dr. Jim Fitzpatrick
- Dr. Reginald Green, Institute of Development Studies, (IDS), University of Sussex, UK
- Dr. Roger Hay, Food Studies Group, Oxford University, UK
- Dr. Raymond Hopkins, Director, Program in Food Systems and Food Policy, Swarthmore College, USA
- Dr. Achola Pala Okeyo, Kenya
- Mr. Albert Van Binsbergen, World Food Council

### **OBSERVERS**

- Ms. Maria Nita Dengo, Chief, Food Security Office, Ministry of Commerce, Government of Mozambique
- Dr. Duncan Miller, Assistant Director, Program Analysis and Development Division, USAID Regional Office, Abidjan
- Ms. Christine Farhat, Program Assistant, Food for Peace, USAID Regional Office, Abidjan

### **SEMINAR SECRETARIAT**

#### **World Food Programme**

- Mr. Charles Paolillo
- Mr. D. John Shaw
- Ms. Peggy Nelson

Ms. Hélène Fourcaud  
Ms. Jackie Hall  
Ms. Pamela Montoleone

**African Development Bank**

Mr. G.R. Aithnard  
Mr. J.B. Ansoada  
Mr. E.K. Andah  
Mr. M.M. Msuya  
Mr. B.A. Gardaad  
Mr. L.I. Nguijol Mayi  
Mr. M.A. Isayode  
Mr. A.A. Oru Babalao

**IDS/Sussex Consultant**

Dr. E.J. Clay

**INFORMATION**

Mr. Paul Mitchell, WFP  
Mr. E.B. Achonu, ADB

## ANNEX II: SEMINAR PAPERS <sup>1</sup>

1. *Food Aid to sub-Saharan Africa (background paper)*: Ms. C. Benson (Relief and Development Institute/London)
2. *Hunger, Poverty and Food Aid in sub-Saharan Africa: Retrospect and Potential*: Dr. R. Green (IDS/Sussex)
3. *Food Aid Resources Planning and Management*: (WFP/HQ)
4. *Mali: Economic and Political Background*: Mr. J-P. Peeters (WFP/HQ)
5. *Rwanda: Country Food Aid Planning Review*: Ms. A. Roebbel (WFP/HQ)
6. *Cape Verde: Food Aid Resource Planning in Support of the National Food Strategy*: Mr. A. Van Binsbergen (WFC)
7. *Food Aid Resource Planning: Botswana Experience*: Ms. T. Moremi (Government of Botswana)
8. *Botswana: Food Aid Management*: Dr. J. Borton (Relief & Development Institute/London)
9. *Zimbabwe: Food Aid Planning and Management*: Mr. T. Takavarasha (Government of Zimbabwe)
10. *Note on "Triangular Transactions in Food Aid — The Zimbabwe Experience"*: Mr. L. Joshi (Consultant, WFP)
11. *Food Aid in the Sahel*: Stephane Jost (Club du Sahel and Government of France)
12. *Food Aid Management in Selected African Countries*: Mr. J-P. Nastorg (WFP/HQ)
13. *From Disincentives to Incentives: The Case for Programme Food Aid in Africa*: Dr. S. Maxwell (IDS/Sussex)
14. *Food Aid in Agricultural and Rural Development*: (WFP/HQ)
15. *Food Aid in Development Financing: Some Experiences from ADB Operations*: ADB
16. *Ethiopia: Food-for-Work for the Rehabilitation of Forest, Grazing and Agricultural Lands in Ethiopia*: Mr. T. F. Grannell (WFP/Ethiopia)
17. *The Multi-Purpose Approach and the Case of Benin*: Mr. P. Winnubst and WFP/HQ
18. *Case Study of Burkina Faso and the Multi-Purpose Project Approach*: Mr. R. Woodham
19. *The Lesotho Food-for-Work Programme of Catholic Relief Services*: Ms. J. Bryson
20. *Case Study of Turkana, Kenya: Food Aid and Stock Aid: Rehabilitation in a Drought-Affected Area with a Largely Nomadic Population with Special Reference to the Relationship between Emergency and Development Assistance*: Professor. R. Apthorpe (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague)

1. Copies of these papers may be obtained on request from WFP or ADB Headquarters.

21. *Karamoja, Uganda: A Case Study*: Dr. J. Fitzpatrick
22. *Two Food Aid Projects in Cameroon: Rural Settlement Establishment of a Cash Crop Farm*: Mr. Dang Mekoula (Government of Cameroon)
23. *Food Aid and Relief-Development Strategies*: Dr. R. Hay (Food Studies Group/Oxford)
24. *Food Aid and the Development of Human Resources*: Dr. R. Hay (Food Studies Group/Oxford) and Dr. E.J. Clay (IDS/Sussex)